



# **MARKSCHEME**

**May 2000**

**HISTORY - AFRICA**

**Higher Level**

**Paper 3**

## Notes on Individual Questions

### 1. Explain when and why the slave trade from Africa began to decline.

This question refers both to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the slave trade from East Africa. Although the British Parliament resolved to abolish the Atlantic slave trade in 1807 and although Britain signed agreements with Sultan Seyyid Said in 1822 and 1845 limiting the slave trade, it was still then flourishing in both west and east Africa. More slaves were exported from West Africa in the 1820s and 1830s than in any other decade except the 1780s. The slave trade in East Africa grew throughout the reign of Sultan Seyyid Said of Oman and Zanzibar (1804 to 1856). The best answers will be aware that passing laws and signing treaties against the slave trade did not automatically lead to a decline in the trade.

The campaign for the abolition of the slave trade started in Europe partly on humanitarian grounds and was spearheaded by Britain after parliamentary debates led by William Wilberforce. The humanitarian factor was important in moving people to take steps to stop the slave trade and abolish slavery. But the success of these measures depended on economic factors. The slave trade was more important for the British economy of the mercantilist period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than for the industrial economy of the nineteenth century when Britain required the raw material and markets of the Far East and Africa more than the sugar plantations of the West Indies.

Britain could enforce abolition on its citizens but it took time to get other nations to make laws prohibiting the slave trade and to sign bilateral treaties so that the navies of each country had the right to search and seize the merchant ships of the other nations if they were caught in the slave trade. France did not agree to stop the trade until the 1830s and the USA only in the second half of the nineteenth century.

It was thus not until after 1845, when Britain signed a treaty with Portugal and Brazil, giving them the right to stop Brazilian slave-ships that the Atlantic slave trade began to decline. Even then it required the American abolition of slavery during the Civil War (1861 to 1865) and action by the Spanish rulers of Cuba to end slave imports in 1866, to bring an effective end to the Atlantic slave trade. It took longer to end the Zanzibar-based slave trade which declined only after threats of naval blockade by the British in the 1870s.

Mark out of twelve if only one region is referred to. Answers which make only general reference to factors contributing to the abolition of the slave trade would not score **[10 marks]**. To score **[14 marks]** and above answers must show knowledge of when the slave trade began to decline in East as well as West Africa and analyse the reasons with accurate details.

**2. Show how and why larger, more centralised states emerged in Africa in the nineteenth century. Answer with reference to at least *three* states.**

Answer must refer to the factors in at least three states which stimulated the enlargement of political scale and show how the states referred to were organised. Answers in the top mark band may challenge the assumption of the question by showing that large states like the Sokoto empire or Ethiopia under Tewodros were not effectively centralised. Reference is likely to be made to several of the following states: Buganda, Benin, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Egypt, Zululand, the Mandinka, Sokoto or Tokolor empires, the Ndebele State. Reference could be made to the consolidation and expansion of European ruled states such as Algeria, Natal or the Boer republics.

No generalisation could explain why all these states became bigger or more centralised. Answers should analyse the specific factors which led to the rise or consolidation of each of the states mentioned. Answers which make a generalisation and do not analyse specific examples would not merit more than **[8 marks]**.

Answers may be better on the reasons for the growth of larger political units than on the organisation of those units. Answers worth **[14 marks]** and above will make specific reference to administration, to financial organisation and taxation, to the weakening of provincial authorities, to the promotion of men of commoner or slave origin to provide a more efficient civil service, as well as to military reform and the creation of standing armies. These aspects of state organisation should be illustrated by appropriate evidence.

**3. Assess the achievement as a moderniser of any *one* ruler in either North or North-east Africa in the nineteenth century.**

Candidates can be expected to discuss either Tewodros or Menelik of Ethiopia or Muhammad Ali or Ismail of Egypt. Some answers will be largely narrative and would not be awarded more than **[8 or 9 marks]**. Good answers should focus on economic, political, social, military and intellectual modernisation. An answer on Muhammad Ali, for example, would discuss his efforts to industrialise and to develop a cash economy for agriculture, his encouragement of education and the acquisition of scientific knowledge especially in engineering and medicine, the growth of urbanisation and the modernisation of the army.

Candidates are asked to assess the achievement of the ruler they choose and should make a judgement on the success of the modernisation with supporting evidence. Answers in the top mark band will show an awareness of the limits of modernisation. Menelik of Ethiopia's attempts to modernise, for example, 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.

**4. How and why did the exercise of power in Buganda change between 1875 and 1900?**

Answers are expected to analyse the position of the kingdom of Buganda especially during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa and Mwanga and should end by assessing the significance of the Uganda Agreement of 1900.

Under Mutesa I up to 1875, Buganda enjoyed unprecedented power, wealth and confidence. Its military might was feared or respected throughout the lake region. The Kabaka could send well organised plundering expeditions comprising of many thousands of men or large fleets of war canoes across Lake Victoria. The success of the Buganda kingdom at the time was largely due to its strong and centralised government with adequate revenue, its system of choosing Kabakas, its military organisation, trade and agricultural output.

By the time Mutesa died in 1884 his sponsorship of Islam and of the Christian missionaries provided alternative loyalties for his subjects and caused criticism of his conduct. From the beginning of the reign of his ill-fated successor Mwanga, many of the Kabaka's pages, personal servants trained to serve the king, had converted to Islam or Christianity. These new religions did not teach the type of unquestioning obedience to the ruler which Buganda's political system called for. This class was only prepared to obey the Kabaka as long as his demands did not conflict with their religious duties. Conflict had already arisen between Mutesa and his Muslim pages. In 1885 to 1886 the persecution of the Christian elite by Mwanga led the surviving Muslims and Christians to join forces in a revolution which reduced the Kabaka to a constitutional monarch, leaving real power in the hands of the new elites. There followed a period of turmoil in which religious civil war pitted brother against brother in the name of rival religions and candidates for kabakaship. This uncertain political situation coincided with the arrival of the agents of British imperialism. The Anglo-German agreement of 1890 recognised Buganda as a British sphere of influence but Lugard had to make this a practical reality by establishing some control over the country. He did so by supporting the Protestant Christians, converts of the mostly English CMS missionaries, in their struggle for power over the Catholic party. Lugard's backing of the Protestants ensured their victory. When direct British rule replaced the rule of the Imperial British East African Company, the alliance of the British and the Protestant party led by the Katikiro Apolo Kagwa continued to the mutual benefit of both.

The Protestant chiefs supported the British against Mwanga when he attempted to assert his independence and rebel against British rule. They agreed to his deposition and replacement in 1897 by his one year old son Daudi Chwa and in 1899 helped to capture Mwanga who was deported to the Seychelles.

In 1899 Sir Harry Johnston arrived as special commissioner and negotiated the Uganda Agreement of 1900 which defined the basis of the British colonial system in Buganda and rewarded the senior Christian leaders for their loyalty to the British. This agreement was the only local treaty actually negotiated rather than dictated by the British. Buganda lost its ultimate sovereignty and became part of a larger colonial unit, the Protectorate of Uganda, but its status as a separate kingdom was recognised as was its territorial expansion largely at the expense of its old rival Bunyoro. Buganda obtained a significant measure of internal autonomy. The kabakaship remained but the Kabaka's powers were limited by the establishment of a parliament called the Lukiiko.

The position of the leading Christian chiefs was greatly strengthened by the new system of private free land tenure in mailo estates which destroyed the traditional system of royal patronage. It would be relevant to mention that the special position of the Baganda was reflected by their use as local agents of British overrule in many parts of Uganda in which they spread their language, customs and forms of government.

The history of Buganda is a complex story and the question covers an extended period. Reward good answers which adopt an analytical approach and seek to explain what happened. The best candidates will see the earlier years of Mutesa's reign and the 1900 Agreement as high points in the fortunes of the Buganda kingdom between a period of two decades of political instability which could have ended in disaster. Candidates in the top two bands will be aware of the changing nature of political power in Buganda and of how the 1900 Agreement represented a blow to traditional political forces in Buganda and completed the revolution of Christian chiefs in Buganda begun in 1887. A narrative account of the reigns of Mutesa and Mwanga might not reach **[10 marks]**.

**5. Explain the emergence of new leaders in the Niger Delta in the nineteenth century.**

The nineteenth century saw the decline in the Niger Delta of the Atlantic slave trade and the rise in the palm oil trade. The delta city states extended their trading empires into the interior to palm-oil producers' markets. The city states such as Brass, Nembe, Calabar and Bonny were divided into houses. Each house had its own trading and war canoes. House heads were second in rank to the king. Traditionally they had been members of the royal family but in the nineteenth century more commoners and even ex-slaves were promoted on the basis of their ability to trade and compete with commercial rivals. The social mobility that was possible in the Houses led to the rise of new men, commoners or ex-slaves to challenge the authority of traditional rulers in the delta.

This general explanation should be given by candidates and supported by at least two examples illustrated in depth. Reference can be expected to the position of the Ekpe and the Order of Blood Men in Calabar, to the ex-slave Alali, head of the Anna Pepple House in Bonny, to the great ex-slave Jaja who established the new settlement of Opobo and to Olomu and his son Nana of Itsekiriland.

Answers which merely narrate the rise of power of new leaders or which analyse the emergence of only one leader would not score more than **[10 marks]**. Award **[14 marks]** and above to answers which clearly show how the House system in the nineteenth century encouraged social mobility and contributed to the emergence of new leaders.

**6. Assess Mosheshwe's success as a defensive nation builder.**

At a time of aggressive nation building in Southern Africa, Mosheshwe stands out as a leader who built a new state for defence. Using traditional Sotho political techniques he gathered the communities of Lesotho into one nation. He resorted to war only in self-defence or under severe provocation.

From 1822 to 1836, when the Sotho-Tswana lands were ravaged by the Difaqane, Mosheshwe gathered a band of refugees on the mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu and created the southern kingdom of Lesotho.

Good answers will show accurate knowledge of when and how he defeated assaults on Thaba Bosiu and his use of an armed cavalry, his loaning of cattle under the mafisa system, his use of the pitso to solve disputes and his federal system of government. In accounting for his success, reference could also be made to his personal qualities, his courage, generosity, accessibility, common sense and diplomacy.

Reference could also be made to the extent to which his enemies helped to create his kingdom. During the difaqane they drove people to take shelter with him, and they made it impossible for them to leave him. Then came the Great Trek and the Boers occupied much of the land round the Sotho, and this made it difficult for his subordinate chiefs to migrate and to break away from him. The Sotho had to keep together to resist the Boers.

To score more than **[10 marks]**, answers should focus on the concept of defensive nation building and analyse the reign of Mosheshwe in the light of it.

Answers which give a clear account with explanation of how Mosheshwe built up his kingdom and overcame threats to it will score **[14 marks]** and above. Very good answers will challenge the assumption of the question by pointing out that there were limits to Mosheshwe's success. Mosheshwe defended Thaba Bosiu from assaults by the British in 1852 and the Boers in 1858 and 1866 but in the long run superior firepower told against him and the Basotho were defeated in 1868. Mosheshwe offered his country to the British as a protectorate in 1868 and thus preserved the identity of his nation but not its independence.

**7. Explain the reasons for, and consequences of, the decision to hold the Berlin West Africa conference.**

This clearly a two part question.

Why was the conference held?

To answer this part fully candidates should show accurate knowledge of events from 1876 to 1884 including the activities of King Leopold in the Congo, de Brazza's treaty with Makoko, British occupation of Egypt and Bismarck's sudden declaration of German protectorates.

Bismarck wished to divert French attention from Alsace - Lorraine into colonial expansion in Africa. The French and Germans persuaded the Portuguese to put territorial disputes arising out of European activities in the Congo region to an international conference. Bismarck summoned this conference which was held in Berlin (1884 to 1885) to control a potentially dangerous situation. He was concerned that rivalry over Africa might lead to a European war.

Consequences of the conference:

The unintended result of the conference was, to give impetus to the partition. The treaty produced by the conference laid down ground-rules for further scrambling for Africa. Powers had to prove 'effective occupation' and inform their rivals before annexing territory. The doctrine of effective occupation was a powerful stimulus to actual European invasion on the ground in order to make good the claims of spheres of influence on maps. The process of African treaty making developed at an even faster pace. In a rapid sequence of events into the 1890s, commercial coastal spheres were turned into inland colonies, African states were conquered and boundary negotiations effected. By 1912 all the continent, except Ethiopia and Liberia, was brought under European colonial rule.

The treaty also internationalised the Congo basin and split the Niger basin between Britain and France recognising the British sphere of influence in the Niger.

The question is limited in scope and answers to score **[14 marks]** and above should cover accurately the points made above. Answers in the top bands will explain in depth the events leading up to the conference and illustrate how it exacerbated the scramble.

**8. Account for the rise of the African Independent Church movement before 1914 with reference to at least *three* countries.**

The merit of answers will depend on the range of examples selected and the depth and accuracy of the analysis of the reasons for the rise of particular independent churches.

A major reason for the rise of independent churches was the desire to escape western domination. The first generation of converts were often in close contact with missionaries but the second generation was not. They expected to be the teachers and church leaders who would Christianise their society but European missionaries were reluctant to Africanise the priesthood let alone the episcopate. Missionaries socialised less and less with their flocks and were usually reluctant to voice African grievances against colonial rule. In the view of some African Christians, there was no difference between a missionary and a settler or a colonial official in their attitude to African aspirations.

The issue of leadership was the major cause of the earliest schisms from the missions. Candidates should be familiar with the independent churches in South Africa which were strongly influenced by conditions of South African life including colour bar, alienation of land and problems of a migrant labour economy as well as by African Americans and events in Ethiopia.

In Malawi, the growth of independent churches was fuelled by typical grievances, land alienation, hut tax and forced labour as well as slow African involvement in European - dominated churches.

The most successful independent church leader was the Liberian evangelist Wade Harris who went to the Ivory Coast where he soon made over 60,000 converts. He tolerated polygamy and was not associated with the hated French regime. In Nigeria, Agbebi, a Yoruba, was prominent in the African Baptist church. He believed in an African church based on African culture and personality but was willing to co-operate with disinterested European church leaders. Like many leaders of independent churches, he placed great emphasis on African education

Other independent churches were established in Cameroon and in 1929 the African Orthodox Church was founded in Uganda for 'right-thinking Africans who wish to be free in their own house and not thought of as boys'.

Answers which merely list independent churches and their leaders would score about **[8 marks]**. Answers which generalise the reasons but give at least three supporting examples might score up to **[13 marks]**. Give **[14 marks]** and above for those answers which give specific reasons for the growth of African churches in at least three countries with supporting evidence.

**9. Explain the different African responses to European encroachment in North and East Africa between 1880 and 1914 using at least *three* examples.**

The merit of answers will depend on the range of responses analysed and the accuracy of the analysis. Answers should not be limited to North or East Africa and should give examples of both resistance and co-operation.

The activities of Colonel Urabi in Egypt (1880 to 1882) and the emerging Egyptian Nationalist Movement, the resistance to the British in Sudan of Khalifa Abdullah and that of Menelik to the Italians are all relevant examples as are the Maji Maji and Hehe risings and the resistance of the Banyoro and the Nandi in East Africa. Mumia, Lenana, Apolo Kaggwa and Semei Kakungulu are interesting examples of different degrees of co-operation undertaken for different reasons.

Candidates should analyse at least three examples in depth to score [*14 marks*] and above. Award more marks according to the depth and accuracy of analysis, and an understanding of the variety and complexity of responses.

**10. Explain why Samori Toure was able to resist the French for so long and why he was finally defeated.**

Samori Toure was at the height of his power when he first came into contact with the French in 1882. He had built up his large Mandinka empire and had a powerful professional, well trained and disciplined army. His soldiers were loyal, united with him in the Islamic faith and Mandinka nationalism. His experience as a successful trader enabled him to ensure a regular supply of food and equipment for his army. He paid for modern European arms from the sale of gold and ivory. His smiths made ammunition and spare parts for rifles. His small units of riflemen were trained to shoot accurately. He abandoned traditional cavalry charges and used horses for transport. He avoided direct confrontation with the French and used guerilla tactics to devastating effect. Like Menelik, he was able to mobilise the people against the invaders.

These factors enabled him to resist the French for over a decade but did not save him from final defeat. His defeat cannot be attributed to his qualities as a leader. His one serious military error was his decision to attempt to capture Sikasso. The geography of his country did not help him. He failed to persuade any other Africans to join him in his struggle against the French. The French themselves were formidable opponents, as ruthless in their atrocities against civilians as he was in his scorched earth policy. Samori had no real answer to the vastly superior weaponry of the French.

Narrative accounts of Samori's long resistance against the French are likely to be largely irrelevant and would hardly score [*8 marks*]. Mark as a whole bearing in mind a balance of 12:8 or 14:6 as there is more to say in answer to the first part of the question. Answers which provide convincing explanations for the long resistance and Samori's ultimate failure should be awarded [*14 marks*] and above depending on the depth of treatment.

**11. How successfully, and with what results, did Lobengula and Lewanika deal with the ambitions of European imperialists and concession seekers?**

**Lobengula**

Lobengula had diplomatic contact with Europeans long before Rhodes appeared on the Central African scene. He had offered mining concessions to two foreign companies in 1870, concessions which broke with Ndebele tradition, but did not at first endanger his sovereignty or provoke an anti-foreign reaction among the Ndebele. The policy worked in 1870 but failed disastrously twenty years later.

Lobengula's main aim during the scramble for Matabeleland and Mashonaland was to save his kingdom from being violently overrun by white people. He failed for two reasons. First, he was not an absolute ruler who could dictate policy to his people and see it carried out without opposition. Secondly, he was outwitted by Cecil Rhodes and his agents who hid their political ambitions behind commercial interests and in this way managed to deceive Lobengula into granting them the Rudd Concession in 1888, an act which resulted in Lobengula losing all control over white penetration of his country.

Lobengula regretted having signed the concession and soon repudiated it. Rhodes, however, was determined to exploit it. He formed the British South Africa Company, which was given a charter by the British government who saw it as an inexpensive means of establishing a British protectorate and ensuring the fabled mineral wealth of Central Africa for Britain. Rhodes' pioneer column occupied Mashonaland against his will. In 1893, Jameson invaded Matabeleland, inciting Lobengula to armed resistance by murdering his peace envoys. The Ndebele were defeated. Lobengula was neither killed nor captured. He died in 1894 and the leaders of the Ndebele regiments surrendered to the British. In the aftermath of British victory, there was mass starvation among the Ndebele whose cattle were seized by the British and who were prevented from ploughing and sowing until they had fully surrendered.

**Lewanika**

Lewanika of Bulozhi (Barotseland) co-operated with British colonialists rather than resist them. By negotiations and treaties with the British he preserved his kingdom and his position as King. Lewanika had already established good relations with the French Protestant missionary Coillard, who became an influential adviser. Lewanika was also influenced by the pro-missionary chief Khama of the Ngwato, who accepted British protection in 1885 to safeguard his people from Ndebele and Boer invasion. Under the influence of Coillard and Khama and of Lozi men who had worked in Kimberley, Lewanika put his kingdom under the protection of the British South Africa company by Lochner Treaty of 1890. Lewanika gave the company mining rights throughout his kingdom. The company promised to pay him £2000 per year, to develop trade, and to build schools and telegraphs. It failed to keep its promises. Another treaty in 1900 finalised the establishment of British rule and recognised the authority of Lewanika as Paramount Chief of the Barotse, but after 1900 his authority was reduced. The Lozi assisted the company in establishing British rule much as the Baganda did in Uganda.

The question asks for reference to both Lobengula and Lewanika. Maximum of *[12 marks]* for essays which deal with only one of the two rulers. The question does not require a comparative approach but such an approach could be illuminating and might produce answers meriting top marks. Lewanika might appear to have been more successful than Lobengula and the results were less disastrous for him and his people than those of Lobengula. But it is

doubtful if Lobengula could have found a way of avoiding his downfall and the destruction of the Ndebele nation given Rhodes' determination, the geographical position of Matabeleland and the unwillingness of a military people like the Ndebele to surrender their independence without fighting. As it was, Lewanika's kingdom lost both its independence and separate identity.

To score *[14 marks]* and above, answers must assess the success of the dealings of the two men and analyse the consequences of their actions.

**12. Assess the impact of German administration in South West Africa on the Herero and Nama peoples before 1914.**

Answers should refer to the effect of the initial German invasion on the Herero and Nama peoples and their response to it and to the reasons for and consequences of the Nama and Herero risings. The hostility between the Nama and the Herero played into the hands of the Germans after they established a German 'protectorate' over South West Africa in 1884. Initially the Germans had difficulty establishing effective control over the areas as both the Nama and Herero resisted them. But Samuel Herero the ruler of the Herero after 1890, and Hendrik Witbooi the Nama leader, both made peace treaties with the Germans and even helped them against other African peoples resisting the Germans.

From the 1890s to 1904 both the Herero and Nama experienced the negative impact of German rule. Both suffered from loss of land and cattle and felt the full effects of more direct German occupation.

The Herero lost land to the steadily increasing number of white settlers and to the railway companies. Many of their cattle died in the Rinderpest epidemic of 1897 and their remaining animals were lost to German traders who seized them after the 1903 Credit Ordinance to settle debts.

The Herero rising targeted only German men but was brutally suppressed. Von Trotha ordered genocide and less than a quarter of the Herero survived.

The Nama revolted later than the Herero in October 1904. Their resistance was more prolonged but their loss of life was less severe. Even so the Nama population in 1911 was less than half of the 1892 figure. The survivors were condemned to years of forced labour and many deported to other parts of the colony. The surviving Herero were turned from freemen, landowners and ranchers into land-less labourers for German settlers.

The Germans treated the Nama and Herero risings with a brutality unparalleled in the history of colonial rule in Africa. Their overreaction had the most disastrous effect on the Nama and Herero peoples.

Answers should show how the negative impact of German rule led to the risings and the appalling results of their suppression. Answers which deal generally with both the Herero and the Nama will not score more than *[13 marks]*. Answers which distinguish between the two peoples and provide a consistent analysis of the impact of the German administration will score *[14 marks]* and above depending on the depth of treatment.

**13. Analyse the causes and results of the Boer War (1899 to 1902).**

This is a straightforward two part question. Some answers may be more detailed on the causes than the results and possibly vice versa.

Causes include:

- Increasing tension between the British and the Boers in the nineteenth century. The Boers believed in defending their land and sovereignty while the British wished to extend their sovereignty to the Boer republics. The war was the result of a long period of misunderstandings, suspicions and hostilities between the two peoples which was intensified by the failure of the Jameson Raid of 1895.
- Persistence of Afrikaner Nationalism. This Afrikaner nationalism had been evident in the Great Trek, an attempt to regain Boer independence. The Boers wished to maintain their existence as independent people retaining their culture, language and ideas of racial supremacy.
- Discovery of minerals. British capitalists took part in the gold and diamond rush and settled in the Boer republics. They were regarded as foreigners ('uitlanders') and were denied political rights. This was a major cause of conflict.
- The role of Cecil Rhodes. He believed in the extension of British rule from the Cape to Cairo and was unhappy with the mistreatment of British settlers in the Boer republics. He also saw the extension of British rule to the Transvaal as a way of safeguarding his investments.
- The imperialism of Chamberlain and Milner. Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary and Milner, Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner for South Africa, both wished to extend British imperialism to the Boers and were not interested in a peaceful solution to the problem. In June 1899 Milner deliberately refused Kruger's terms although they were a solution to the problem of the uitlanders. He wanted war.
- Boer confidence.

The Boers overestimated their strength and despised the British military capability remembering their defeat of the British at Majuba Hill.

- Consequences:

Candidates should be familiar with the terms of the Peace of Vereeniging and the subsequent moves to unify South Africa economically and politically, the granting of self-government to Transvaal and the Orange River Colony and the Union of South Africa Act.

The Peace of Vereeniging was a generous conclusion to a disastrous war. The Boers lost the war but won the peace, obtaining very favourable terms and a great deal of what they had fought for over the years. They emerged from the conflict strong and united. The British gave in to the Boers over the issue of African political rights and their concessions charted the road to racial segregation and apartheid in South Africa.

The question does not lend itself to a narrative approach. Candidates should score good marks (**[14 marks]** and above), by covering the major causes and showing how the war resulted unexpectedly in a more united, Boer-dominated South Africa despite the British military victory.

Mark as a whole but allow for a 12:8 division of marks where one part of the question is treated in greater depth.

**14. Evaluate the impact of Christian missions on the health, education and culture of African people in any *one* region of Africa.**

The question requires reference to only one region and most answers will deal with either west, east or southern Africa. There is no time limit to the question. Answers which cover developments only up to 1914 could be very good if they cover the impact on the three specified aspects, health, education and culture, in sufficient depth. Answers which merely list missionary schools and hospitals with incidental reference to cultural conflict will not deserve more than **[8 marks]**. The impact of these hospitals and schools and the extent to which Christian missions changed traditional African ways of life must be assessed with supporting evidence.

Answers worth **[14 marks]** and above would provide a balanced assessment showing, for example, that missionaries played a positive role in the preservation of African languages and in providing education for children of a wide range of social backgrounds, but that their education was limited in the range of skills imparted and was often available only at primary level. Answers which go beyond 1914 should show that paradoxically mission education both provided the personnel to serve the colonial system and began undermining the system by educating many future leaders of the nationalist struggle for racial equality and political reform.

Discussion of the cultural impact should go beyond vague generalisations about undermining African culture. In East Africa, for example, the attitude of the Christian missionaries to circumcision caused no conflict with the Baganda, who abhorred mutilation, but caused a major collision with the Gikuyu in the 1920s and 1930s. The Gikuyu established independent schools to restore traditional initiation rites and to provide education for those excluded from mission schools.

**15. With specific reference to at least *three* nationalist movements examine the factors which promoted or hindered African nationalism between 1890 and 1939.**

Answers to this question may treat the whole period together and in a generalised way. Such answers may not merit more than **[8 to 10 marks]**.

At the beginning of the colonial period there was traditional nationalism which took the form of initial primary resistance to colonial rule or resistance arising out of grievances resulting from the imposition of colonial rule involving armed rebellion. Such resistance almost never succeeded. By 1914 another type of resistance was emerging which involved the advocacy of political reform and greater racial equality by western educated elites. This type of nationalism was intensified by the impact of the First World War. The hopes raised by the war that the emergent elites would be given greater opportunities, socially, politically and economically, were soon frustrated and this led to greater resentment of and agitation against the colonial regimes.

There were considerable regional and local variations in the expression of nationalism. The intensity of nationalist feeling and action depended on factors like the type of leadership, the nature of the colonial administration, the extent to which education was fostered or neglected, and the number and significance of the white settler population. The settler factor explains the difference in the intensity of the expression of African nationalism in Algeria and Senegal, for example.

Nationalist movements were almost all led by the new western educated elites, some of whom co-operated with, and others of whom challenged traditional leaders. The spread of education in West Africa earlier than East Africa helps to explain why modern types of nationalist organisation developed earlier in West Africa.

The Italian occupation of Ethiopia and international movements like the Communist International and Pan-Africanism contributed to the intensification of nationalist feelings in some areas.

To merit **[14 marks]** and above, answers should make specific reference to at least three nationalist movements and should provide adequate accurate supporting evidence to explain which factors promoted and which hindered nationalism at different times between 1890 and 1939.

**16. Assess the contribution made by any *one* political party in either North or East Africa to the achievement of independence.**

Candidates are expected to select only one political party to show the contribution made by its organisation, leadership, political programme and by the degree of support it was able to command among different interest groups to the achievement of independence. In assessing the contribution, the best answers will analyse the nature of the appeal of the particular party and advance arguments with supporting evidence to explain its success. Answers which merely narrate events leading to independence with incidental reference to a political party would not score above **[8 to 10 marks]**. To merit **[14 marks]** and above, answers must link the achievement of independence to the organisation, leadership and programme of the party.

Candidates are likely to choose either the FLN in Algeria, Neo-Destour party in Tunisia, TANU in Tanganyika, UPC in Uganda or KANU in Kenya as parties which became the ruling parties after independence but are not obliged to do so.

**17. Explain the long and short term reasons for the Egyptian revolution of 1952 to 1953.**

Answers should discuss the relationship between Britain and Egypt after 1922, the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936, the position of Britain in the Canal Zone and the anti-British feeling which led to riots in Cairo in January 1952. They must also discuss the alien and corrupt nature of the government and parliamentary system under King Farouk and the impact of the 1948 to 1949 Arab-Israeli war. The main effect of the war on the Egyptian army was to convince the younger officers of the criminal incompetence of the men who were ruling Egypt.

The Cairo riots hastened the end of Egypt's monarchy and parliamentary regime. One helpless government succeeded another until the Free Officers organisation decided to intervene in an almost bloodless coup and send King Farouk into exile. The nominal head in 1952 of the Free Officers was General Neguib but the real leader and organiser was the young Colonel Nasser. As a result of their revolution, Egypt was ruled by native Egyptians for the first time in two thousand years.

This question is limited in scope and answers must therefore be comprehensive in their explanations to score **[14 marks]** and above, giving due weight to all the factors mentioned above. Limited general answers would score **[8 to 10 marks]**.

**18. How and why did Kwame Nkrumah succeed in leading his country to independence?**

Candidates should be familiar with the main developments in post-war Gold Coast (Ghana).

- (1) The phase of conflict. In 1947 J B Danquah and others founded the moderate United Gold Coast Convention. They invited Kwame Nkrumah to be the full-time organiser. In 1948 riots broke out when police fired on demonstrators and Nkrumah and others were imprisoned. But as a result of this a committee of Africans - the Coussey Committee - was appointed to advise on political changes. The resulting constitution had many more elected members in the legislative council. Nevertheless, Nkrumah was critical of this new constitution. He founded his own party known as the Convention People's Party, and this won the election of 1951.
- (2) The phase of co-operation. Nkrumah left prison in 1951 to become leader of government business and in 1952 prime minister. From 1951 to 1957 Nkrumah governed the country in co-operation with the British. Further elections were held in 1954 and 1956, which confirmed his party's position. Ghana became independent in 1957.

Answers which merely narrate these events should not score more than **[8 marks]**. Good answers will use an analytical approach to explain how and why Kwame Nkrumah succeeded. They could refer to the following factors:

- the economic and social position of the Gold Coast: its relative prosperity, its network of schools and number of graduates, its professional middle class and businessmen.
- the British readiness to initiate a policy of decolonization in the absence of a settler community needing protection. The African cocoa farmers could be expected to continue to trade with Britain and there was a generally good relationship between African and expatriate civil servants.
- the charisma and energy of Nkrumah, a brilliant speaker and tireless campaigner and party organiser, with his radical agenda demanding freedom now and justice with equality for all.
- the lack of appeal of the moderate UGCC and the fragmented opposition which played on the ethnic fears of the Asante and Ewe in trying to promote devolution.
- the organisation and national appeal of the CPP.
- the role of the governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, and his relationship with Nkrumah.
- the contribution made to the speed of change by market women, wage-workers, war-pensioners and ambitious young school leavers.

Candidates who give a well-supported analysis of the contribution of most of these factors should get a mark of **[14 marks]** and above depending on the depth of coverage.

**19. Analyse the changing nature of opposition to apartheid within South Africa after 1948.**

Opposition to racial discrimination, oppression and exploitation in South Africa before 1939 took the form of independent churches, peasant protest, elitist organisations and working class movements. The African National Congress (ANC) was originally a small, moderate conservative body.

World War Two and its aftermath gave birth to the more militant Congress Youth League. The election of Malan's Afrikaner National Party and its policies in government created more frustration. ANC president Luthuli found that the government had eliminated all legal means of peaceful protest against increasingly discriminatory and oppressive government policies. A more militant Pan-Africanist Congress was formed in 1959.

The 1960 Sharpeville Massacre was a turning point in the history of opposition to apartheid. The ANC now formed a military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, which went underground and engaged in sporadic attacks. Its leader Nelson Mandela was arrested and imprisoned. The nationalist movement was fractured and weak in the 1970s and early 1980s. Chief Buthelezi built up Inkatha as a Zulu movement with a moderate platform.

As a result of a complex set of internal and external factors, the situation changed dramatically in the 1990s when Mandela was released, the ANC unbanned and Mandela became President of an ANC government after the dismantling of the apartheid system.

Answers should illustrate with adequate accurate knowledge the different phases of opposition to apartheid after 1948 and make some reference to its collapse to reach marks of **[14 marks]** and higher. Lower marks **[8 to 13 marks]** will be obtained by more limited, often narrative answers.

**20. With reference to at least *three* countries show how important ethnicity has been as a factor in African politics since independence.**

Answers, to be convincing, will need to examine a range of examples before reaching a conclusion. Fewer than three should be considered inadequate and such answers will hardly get beyond *[8 to 10 marks]*.

The best answers will show that ethnic tension has been less important a factor in some countries than others, for example in states whose boundaries make them more ethnically homogeneous like Swaziland, Botswana or Morocco. But the new nations of Africa were mostly artificial creations by foreigners during the Scramble for Africa which included within their boundaries different ethnic groups which had often been traditional rivals. The underlying political reality in Africa was its people's predominantly local concerns leading them to perceive national issues in terms of local interests and to judge their representatives and the state by their service to local advancement.

Ethnic tension was a main cause of the fall of the First Republic in Nigeria in 1966. Much of the opposition to Nkrumah was ethnically based from Asante and the northern territories. In Liberia tensions between the indigenous people of Liberia and the American - Liberians monopolising power led to a coup in 1980. It has been a minor factor in Tanzania whose politics have been dominated by TANU/CCM, a mass nationalist party which has succeeded since independence in attracting support on non ethnic lines. In some countries, political parties have attracted multiethnic support, or the support of only one ethnic group. Ethnicity has created regional imbalances in development within a country and led to the favouring of one group at the expense of others.

At its most extreme it has led to civil war and to genocidal conflict in Rwanda.

The merit of answers will depend on the accuracy and depth of analysis. Answers which largely consist of a list of civil wars would not be satisfactory. Candidates must provide a considered judgement of how far ethnicity contributed to particular political situations backed by supporting evidence to score *[14 marks]* and above.

Answers which analyse at least three examples with valid arguments and evidence to show that ethnicity varied in importance as a factor in African politics would qualify for *[17 marks]* and above.

**21. Analyse the causes and the impact of military intervention into the politics of any *one* African country since independence.**

This is an open-ended question and there is a large number of countries from which to choose such as Somalia, Ethiopia, the Sudan, Algeria, and Libya in the north and east to Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Togo in the west.

Good answers should show sufficient accurate knowledge of the causes of military intervention which may vary in a country which has had several interventions. If Uganda is selected, for example, candidates would be expected to understand the developments in Uganda after independence which led to the overthrow of Obote in 1971 and those which led to an invasion of Uganda from Tanzania and the overthrow of Amin in 1979. Soldiers seized power for a complex of reasons: to eradicate the 'VIPs of waste' as Nigeria's first military leaders put it; policy reasons, as in Libya; specifically military grievances, as in Togo; fear of victimisation, Amin's main reason in 1971; ethnic rivalry and personal ambition.

Candidates should go on to assess the impact of the intervention on the selected country. In the case of Uganda they would have to assess the political, social and ethnic impact of Amin's regime on the people of Uganda, on the Uganda Asians, on the East African Community, *etc.* They would need to assess how far the intervention of 1979 contributed to the return of Obote.

Narrative answers would not score more than about **[8 to 10 marks]**. Answers which combine accurate detailed knowledge with sustained analysis of causes and impact can reach **[17 marks]** and above.

**22. Analyse the changing relationship of Tanzania under Julius Nyerere with other East African states.**

The question requires reference to the relationship between Tanzania and Kenya and Uganda. Credit reference to Zanzibar if it is treated as a separate state.

**KENYA:**

Nyerere had hoped for close ties with Kenya and Uganda in an East African federation but the scheme collapsed because of an absence of real interest in it by Kenya and Uganda. Kenya and Tanzania did work together in the East African Community after 1967 but it was always hampered by Tanzania's fear of Kenyan economic domination and ideological differences especially after the Arusha Declaration. Relations between Kenya and Tanzania became very bitter after the break-up of the community in 1977. Tanzania closed her border with Kenya until 1983. Since 1983, partly as a result of mediation over the disposal of assets of the community, relations between the two countries steadily improved.

**UGANDA:**

Tanzania and Uganda enjoyed good relations and had a mutual mistrust of Kenya within the community but relations changed when Obote was overthrown by Amin in 1971. Tanzania allowed Obote to invade Uganda unsuccessfully in September 1972. Nyerere refused to meet with Amin so the community's highest body, the East African Authority consisting of the three presidents, did not meet after 1971. This precluded any high level negotiations to rectify problems in the community.

Tanzania was greatly provoked by Amin's seizure of border territory in the Kagera district and retaliated by invading Uganda, accompanied by Ugandan exiles in a Uganda National Liberation Army in 1979, seizing the capital and installing President Lule. Obote soon returned to Uganda and began a second period of rule hardly less bloody than Amin's.

**ZANZIBAR:**

In April 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined to form the Republic of Tanzania with Nyerere as President and Karume as Vice-president. The latter was assassinated in 1972. The relationship until then was unhappy with Nyerere having no real influence over Zanzibar. Since then, relations have improved and Nyerere handed over the presidency of Tanzania to Ali Hassan Mwinyi, former president in Zanzibar.

Some answers may focus largely on the rise and fall of the East African Community and if they accurately analyse the factors involved in sufficient depth they could score up to **[13 marks]**. But answers in the top two mark bands should bring in reference to events after the fall of the Community to bring out the high and low points of Tanzania's relationships with her neighbours under Nyerere. Answers are not required to refer to Zanzibar but must refer to both Kenya and Uganda to score above **[10 marks]**.

**23. Explain the fluctuating fortunes of Malawi since independence under the rule of Dr Hastings Banda.**

The key words are ‘fluctuating fortunes’ and answers should analyse the changing political and economic situation in Malawi. Malawi became independent in 1964 under Banda. In 1966, he became President of a one-party republic and was named life president in 1971. He developed into a conservative dictator, intolerant of opposition but successful in surviving threats of civil war. He made a commercial agreement (1967) and established diplomatic relations with South Africa. He entered into dialogue with Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, and sought to maintain good relations also with his white neighbours in Mozambique.

Malawi became more politically isolated when Mozambique became independent in 1975 and Zimbabwe in 1980. The civil war in Mozambique from 1986 to 1989 had a destabilising effect as Malawi faced an influx of nearly a million refugees.

The end of the cold war, the independence of Namibia and the release of Nelson Mandela put more pressure on Banda. Despite civil unrest in 1992, he resisted calls for free, multiparty elections. Western aid was suspended over human rights violations. Reluctantly, he did eventually accept multi-partyism and he and his Malawi Congress Party were defeated in subsequent elections.

Banda succeeded in developing Malawi’s agricultural economy to the point that in 1978 he was able to raise a European loan of £14 million. Malawi maintained its agricultural output until the 1990s unlike many countries where output per capita declined. Malawi’s economic development was constrained by the absence of economically exploitable minerals and limited opportunities for industrialisation. The development of its people has depended on the export of cash crops such as tea, tobacco and cotton. The export trade was vulnerable to fluctuations in demand and price.

Good answers meriting **[14 marks]** and above will seek to explain both the political and the economic situation in Malawi. The best answers will show how far developments in the rest of Southern Africa created external and internal pressure for political change in Malawi. They will also analyse Malawi’s situation as a landlocked agricultural country economically dependent on South Africa. Narrative accounts of Dr Banda’s rule are unlikely to score more than **[8 to 10 marks]**.

**24. Account for the frequent changes in government in Nigeria since independence.**

Chronology:

- 1960 Independence within the Commonwealth.
- 1963 Republic with Azikiwe as President.
- 1966 Military coup of General Ironsi in January followed by countercoup led by General Gowon in July. Slaughter of Ibos in the north.
- 1967 Declaration of independent state of Biafra and outbreak of civil war.
- 1970 Surrender of Biafra and end of civil war.
- 1975 Gowon ousted and replaced by Generals Mohammed (assassinated after a few months) and Obasanjo.
- 1979 Return to civilian rule under Shehu Shagari.
- 1983 Shagari overthrown by General Buhari.
- 1985 Buhari replaced in bloodless coup by Babangida.
- 1992 Multiparty elections. Results annulled.  
General Babangida replaced by General Abacha (died 1998).

Candidates are not expected to discuss events in recent years after 1992 but should cover the main changes until then and explain them in terms of ethnic tensions, corruption, personal ambition and rivalries within the army or, as in the case of Obasanjo, a willingness to restore a military rule. The best answers will refer to the impact of changes in Nigeria's federal structure.

Narrative answers are unlikely to be worth more than *[8 to 10 marks]*. Answers for *[14+ marks]* must combine comprehensive coverage with consistent and accurate analysis.

**25. Assess the impact of African members on the activities of the United Nations.**

This is an open - ended question which does not require reference to a specified number of members or of activities. But answers should refer to several countries and types of activities.

The decolonization of Africa led to some fifty African countries eventually becoming members of the United Nations. As they became members African countries were active in calls for decolonization. The UN became deeply involved in the affairs of the Congo after independence from 1960 to 1964 and later in varying degrees in the civil wars in Mozambique and Rwanda. The General Assembly and Security Council passed resolutions relating to Rhodesia after its unilateral declaration of independence in 1965.

Candidates could examine the impact of the civil wars in Angola on the UN and the activities of UNAVEM or in Somalia and the activities of UNOSOM 1 and 2 and UNITAF. Many UN bodies denounced and assisted in the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. Many UN bodies including the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Security Council were involved in the affairs of Namibia where UNTAG oversaw the transition to independence.

Candidates may refer to the impact of African members on the General Assembly and Security Council and the appointment of Boutros Ghali and Kofi Annan to the office of Secretary-general.

Increased African membership has led to an increase in the number of UN specialised agencies, to an expansion in the scope of their activities and to the establishment of UNEP in Nairobi. Reference could be made to the expanded role of UNICEF, UNHCR, WHO, UNESCO, FAO or WFP for example.

Answers which cover only activities relating to the resolution of conflict could score up to **[13 marks]** depending on the depth of treatment. Answers which also cover the UN's humanitarian activities and the role of the specialised agencies could score marks in the top bands depending on the depth of knowledge and analysis. Vague, unsupported generalisations will not reach **[8 marks]**.

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