MARKSCHEME

May 2007

HISTORY - AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

1.   **Analyse the changes in agriculture and trade in Africa before 1885.**

There was considerable growth in the African economy up to 1885. There was increased production, for example, of palm-oil for export, of groundnuts and of cloves newly introduced on the East African coast. A whole range of food crops was introduced into the East African interior. Plantation agriculture, dominated by the Swahili-Arabs on the east coast, was extended to the Congo Basin.

A system of intensive agriculture developed on the present Nigeria/Cameroon border, which included soil conservation, the use of fertilisers, crop rotation and afforestation. Trade expanded considerably in the same period. The Saharan trade reached its peak around 1875 but then began to decline. There was a rapid expansion of the savannah trade in cattle, horses and kola nuts. Candidates can be expected to discuss the transition from slave trade to legitimate trade, especially in palm oil in West Africa or the later ending of the slave trade in East Africa and the growth in the long distance trade in commodities such as ivory, salt, iron and copper ore.

Maximum [12 marks] if only agriculture or trade is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague descriptive answers which may be limited to the abolition of the slave trade.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with implicit sense of change in the scale and patterns of agriculture and trade.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the reasons for and nature of changes in the period.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced answers with supporting detail.

[17+ marks] for answers which show the diversity and complexity of the changes at different times and in different parts of Africa.

2.   **To what extent did African traditional religions survive the impact of Islam and Christianity in the nineteenth century?**

The question is limited to the nineteenth century and candidates should be aware that the impact of Christianity was quite limited on the eve of colonial rule.

Christianity was spread by missionaries but their major impact in evangelisation and the provision of educational and medical skills came later. They made more impact in some societies, *e.g.* the Igbo, the Baganda, the Basotho and among some outcast or refugee groups, than others.

Islam was much more widespread than Christianity at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It had many centuries earlier conquered North Africa and made a considerable impact in West Africa and on the East African Coast. There was a strong link in these areas between Islam and trading networks. In the nineteenth century, Islam continued to spread in East Africa especially as a result of Arab-Swahili traders in the interior. In West Africa the spread of Islam was associated especially with the success of a number of Jihads such as those of Dan Fodio and Al Hajj Umar.

The survival of traditional religions is less well documented than the spread of Christianity and Islam. It is nevertheless evident that they were the religions of the vast majority of Africans before the end of the nineteenth century. They were strong and adaptable. The Mwari cult, for example, spread from the Shona to the Ndebele and played a prominent part in early resistance to colonial rule.

Maximum [12 marks] if only Christianity or Islam is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations which may exaggerate the impact of Christianity.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with specific knowledge of traditional religions.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers dealing more explicitly with impact and survival.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced coverage of the impact of both Islam and Christianity and discussion, with some supporting detail, of the extent of the survival of traditional religions.

[17+ marks] for answers which bring out the diversity of religious belief in different parts of Africa during the nineteenth century.

3. **"The nature of Turco-Egyptian rule in the Sudan explains the success of the Mahdist movement to 1885." How far do you agree with this statement?**

There was widespread resentment in the Sudan of the Turco-Egyptian rule imposed on the country since 1821. The popularity and success of the Mahdi's revolt was in large part the result of grievances over Turco-Egyptian rule. Three major groups rallied to the support of the Mahdi and became the Ansar or helpers. The Baqqara cattle-keeping nomads of south Kordofan and Darfur formed the bulk of the Mahdist army. They strongly objected to the heavy taxation levied by force, which had resulted from the expansion of Egyptian power in the south. Another group was composed of people who had been threatened economically by the attempts to suppress the slave trade in the Bahr al-Ghazal. This trade was the basis of the domestic and agrarian economy in Northern Sudan. The Ja'aliyin and Danaqla were Arabic speaking peoples from the north of Khartoum who wanted to revive the slave trade and their former fortunes.

There were also genuinely religious followers who believed in Muhammad Ahmad Ibn Abdallah's claims to be the Mahdi. His Jihad had a religious objective of restoring a purified Islam to the Sudan. His movement developed from 1881 to 1885 from religious protest into a powerful and militant state whose laws, administration and finance were based on strictly Islamic policies. Without the personality and leadership of the Mahdi, the revolution would never have occurred, let alone succeeded. But the success of the Mahdist movement was certainly helped by changing political conditions in Egypt after the deposition of Ismail, the defeat of Urabi and the occupation of Egypt by Britain, which was not then prepared to spend money on controlling the Sudan.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative or descriptive answers with implicit link between Turco-Egyptian rule and Mahdist success.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the factors which led to the success of the Mahdist movement.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused answers which analyse the role of the Mahdi, the nature of his support and the political situation in Egypt and Sudan.

[17+ marks] for answers which show clearly how the Mahdi was able to capitalise on Sudanese discontent with Turco-Egyptian rule and draw successfully together in one movement people with very different aims and grievances.

4. **"Menelik did more to unify and modernise his country than any other nineteenth-century ruler of Ethiopia." How far do you agree with this judgment?**

The extent to which Menelik succeeded in forging national unity was seen at the battle of Adowa in 1896 when almost every region in Ethiopia sent contingents to the force of 100 000 troops he mobilised to defeat the Italians. But he also embarked earlier on wars of expansion in southern and eastern Ethiopia, which ended some local wars and may have established law and order in some areas where little peace had existed, but it also caused an increase in crime and social dislocation and brought little benefit to many of the occupied peoples.

Menelik worked hard in his later years to modernise the country. Railways and modern roads were built and there were other reforms in administration, education, health, banking and currency and the establishment of postal services.

Better candidates will be aware of the limits of modernisation. Menelik was 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 as Menelik and his nobles preserved their privileges.

The question is on unification and modernisation and discussion of threats to Ethiopian independence are relevant only in so far as they relate to issues of national unity. It is not possible to answer the question satisfactorily without reference to at least two rulers and preferably to both Tewodros and Johannis. Tewodros was the first nineteenth-century ruler to have a vision of the emperor as a focus for imperial unity but his reforms provoked internal opposition and failed to achieve much of lasting importance. Johannis (Johannes) IV adopted a more cautious approach. He tolerated regionalism and maintained a higher degree of national unity by reaching an accommodation with his rivals, notably Menelik of Shoa.

Maximum [12 marks] for answers which refer only to Menelik.

[0 to 7 marks] for narrative answers not focused on the terms of the question.

[8 to 10 marks] for implicit reference to unification and modernisation.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit comparison of Menelik's policies of modernisation and promoting national unity with those of his predecessors.

[14 to 16 marks] for a clear and focused comparison of the policies of Menelik, Tewodros and Johannis.

[17+ marks] for answers, which in addition to the above, show awareness of the limits of unification and modernisation.

5. **Assess the impact on the East African mainland and its people before 1856 of the Omani sultanate in Zanzibar.**

Seyyid Said encouraged trade with the mainland through a well organised caravan system into the interior financed by Indians and led by Arab Swahili merchants. Despite the Moresby and Hamerton treaties, the main item of trade was the export of African slaves, which continued to grow along with other items, principally ivory and skins. The establishment of clove plantations on Zanzibar and other islands increased the demand for slaves.

The slave trade had many damaging consequences economically, socially and politically as the Arab traders penetrated the interior as far as the Great Lakes and Buganda. Land was laid waste, agriculture interrupted, local industries and crafts damaged, and population drastically reduced.

Among the more positive results on the mainland were the spread of Islam and the Swahili language as a "lingua franca". Though slave trading caused political chaos and endemic warfare in many areas, it led to the rise or strengthening of states capable of turning slaving to their own advantage.

Zanzibar became a gateway to the interior for European explorers and missionaries. In the long run, their activities led to an end to the slave trade, undermined the political power of the Omani and paved the way for colonial rule.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations about the slave trade.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit reference to the impact of Omani rule.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with some explicit reference to the impact of Omani rule.

[14 to 16 marks] for a balanced assessment of the impact, both positive and negative, of Omani rule in Zanzibar on the mainland and its people, with reference to economic, political and social impact.

[17+ marks] could be given for perceptive analysis of the impact including an appreciation of the long-term effect of the spread of Kiswahili, Islam and European activity in the interior.

6.   In what ways, and for what reasons, did the House system lead to 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. 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 rival houses. The competition was so fierce that each house tried to choose the best trade leader it could, whether freeman or slave.

The social mobility that was possible in the House system led to the rise of new men, commoners or ex-slaves, to challenge the authority of traditional rulers in the Delta. That mobility can be illustrated by a discussion of the emergence of the ex-slave Alali, head of the Anna Pepple House in Bonny and the great ex-slave Jaja, who established the new settlement of Opobo and Olomu and his son Nana of Itsekiriland.

Maximum [12 marks] if only ways or reasons are discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of the rise to power of one or two leaders weakly linked to the House system.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of how the House system led to the emergence of new leaders.

[14 to 16 marks] for a balanced analysis of both the ways and the reasons the House system contributed to the emergence of new leaders.

[17+ marks] for perceptive answers with in-depth knowledge.

7.   Why did Britain withdraw from Asante in 1874 but re-occupy it in 1896?

British policy had tended to support the coastal Fante people against the Asante, who had encroached on Fante territory, and there were several wars earlier in the century. The British were on the point of withdrawing from the Gold Coast, which was no longer seen as profitable, when the Dutch handed over their coastal forts to them in 1870–71. Britain could now collect enough income to pay the administration. Britain acquired Elmina, rented to the Dutch by the Asante, and refused to return it to them. This led to another war, in which Asante imperial and military power was effectively destroyed. The Asante had to renounce all rights on the Gold Coast, abandon their claim to Elmina and pay the British an indemnity. The British withdrew from a severely weakened Asante to avoid the military expenditure occupation could have entailed.

In 1888, a new Asantehene, Prempeh I, defeated rebel Asante states and reunited the Asante confederacy. The British feared an Asante revival and were upset by Prempeh's refusal to accept British rule and insistence on being treated as a sovereign ruler. The British authorities refused to recognise Asante independence and occupied Asante in 1896, partly to pre-empt French and German advances in the region. British traders on the Gold Coast wanted Asante to be opened up to them. Since Asante refused free trade, a war of conquest would be necessary. Britain also wanted to abolish the slave trade and spread Christianity. Above all they wanted to forestall a grand alliance between Asante and Samori's second Mandinka empire against expanding European colonialism.

Maximum [12 marks] if answer deals only with 1874 or 1896.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narrative.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with some implicit reference to the reasons for Britain's change of policy.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the factors causing the two events.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, well supported analysis of British policy in 1874 and 1896.

[17+ marks] for perceptive answers which show an understanding of the historical context of changing Asante and British imperial policy.

8.   Analyse the causes of, and the results for South African peoples, of the Boer Trek.

The Boer Trek was caused by the hostility of Boer farmers to British policies at the Cape. They were outraged by the circuit courts established in 1812, having previously felt free to use and abuse their workers as they saw fit. They resented the attitudes and influence of missionaries which led to Ordinance 50. Both that and the abolition of slavery were resented by the Boers of the eastern frontier regions. The labour policies of the British at the Cape were a strong incentive for frontier Boers to consider emigrating northwards beyond the boundaries of the colony. In 1835 the British administration handed back to the Xhosa the territory they had annexed between the Keiskama and the Kei, to the disgust of the frontier Boers, many of whom decided to join the growing number of their compatriots who were packing their belongings and trekking northwards from the colony.

Several thousand Boer families trekked into the southern highveld. Their initial settlement was concentrated in areas temporarily depopulated by the upheavals of the Mfecane. The further expansion of settlement was slow and largely dependent on the extent and nature of African reaction. The Rolong welcomed them as allies against the Ndebele. Elsewhere the Boer settlement was checked by the strength of Swazi, Pedi and Venda resistance. The Boers killed three thousand Zulu but did not yet dare to occupy the densely populated Zulu kingdom. The Boers continued to expand at the expense of their neighbours. Moshoeshoe lost the most productive and valuable part of his Sotho kingdom to Boer conquest.

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

[0 to 7 marks] for sketchy narrative.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with implicit sense of cause and consequence.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the causes and consequences of the Great Trek.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, in-depth analysis of causes, and consequences for South African peoples, of the Boer Trek.

[17+ marks] for answers which are aware of the variety and complexity of the results of the Boer Trek for particular South African peoples.

9.   To what extent was the partition of Africa by Europeans assisted by African political and military weakness?

Answers may be expected to discuss the relative political and military weakness of African peoples at the time of the European conquest of Africa. Most African states were small and the largest political unit was often the clan. The slave trade had increased hostility between states. There were rivalries over trade and frequent civil wars caused by succession disputes and a lack of common ideology to unite separate communities. Even Islam failed to provide a unifying force in West Africa because of rivalries between Islamic states. The exception was Ethiopia, where a united people defeated the Italians at Adowa in 1896. Colonialists were able to exploit longstanding rivalries between African states and offer "protection" against traditional enemies.

African military weakness was an even more crucial factor. In the 1870s and 1880s, African armies were rapidly overtaken by advances in European weaponry. First came the breech-loading repeater rifle to be followed by the Maxim in 1889, which gave European armies a decisive advantage. African armies could not acquire sufficient ammunition or spare parts and lacked skilled repairmen or gunsmiths. There were few adequately trained standing armies.

Maximum [12 marks] for answers which discuss only political or military weakness.

[0 to 7 marks] for general discussion of causes of partition.

[8 to 10 marks] for generalisations about military and political weakness with some supporting evidence.

[11 to 13 marks] for more specific illustration of African political and military weakness linked to the partition.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, well supported analysis of political and military weakness clearly linked to partition.

[17+ marks] for answers which also consider other facilitating factors, for example the discovery of quinine and advances in European transport and communications.

10. **Compare and contrast the responses to European expansion of any *two* peoples in East Africa before 1914.**

Popular choices could include the Maji Maji and Hehe risings and the Nandi resistance. The Baganda would be a good choice because at different times they both resisted and collaborated and they provide more of a contrast.

The most common response to European encroachment was initial primary resistance. The Hehe and Nandi resistance are examples of this. Mkwawa had built up a powerful military state as ruler of the Hehe and had no intention of submitting to German rule. The Germans could not allow him to raid Africans under German rule and his control of trade routes was another cause of conflict. His rising began in 1891 but was soon defeated by superior German military technology. The Nandi resistance, in contrast to the others, lasted over a decade. Their primary resistance against the British came at a time when they had in Koitalel an Orkoiyot or religious, political and military leader who acted as a major unifying force. He was a strong nationalist opposed to any accommodation with foreigners.

The Maji Maji rising was different in being multi-ethnic and strongly influenced by the Kolelo cult and the spirit medium Kinjikitile. Religious belief was an important factor in Maji Maji but not in the Hehe rising. It began in 1905 as a post-primary resistance resulting from a variety of economic, social and political grievances arising from the imposition of German rule. The situation in Buganda was the most complex. Kabaka Mwanga at first cooperated with the British but later left Kampala and raised the standard of revolt against British rule in Buddu county. But the leading Protestant and Catholic chiefs supported the British against Mwanga, agreed to his deposition and negotiated the Uganda Agreement of 1900 which rewarded them for their loyalty to the British.

Maximum [12 marks] for the response of only one people.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with implicit sense of similarity and difference.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit comparison and contrast of the response of two peoples.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced well supported answers with a clear comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for perceptive analysis which includes the reasons for different responses.

11.   Analyse the causes and results of the Ndebele-Shona rising of 1896 to 1897.

Rhodes and the British South Africa Company acted as if the Africans were not a factor in the local balance of power. But both the Ndebele and the Shona rose against the company. Both the Ndebele and the Shona objected to the loss of independence, ill-treatment by company officials and forced labour. The Ndebele had lost cattle and the Shona were forced to buy goods from the company at a higher price than they were previously paying to the Portuguese. The Ndebele began the revolt in March 1896 and were joined by the Shona in June.

There was also a strong influence of traditional religion. Spirit mediums and priests of the Mwari cult made the rising, known in Zimbabwe as the first Chi Murenga, into a mass movement. Rhodes recognised the Ndebele indunas as salaried officials and official spokesmen. The struggle for freedom in the 1890s was an important inspiration for a later generation of African nationalists.

Maximum [12 marks] for answers which only deal with causes or results.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague narratives of the rising.

[8 to 10 marks] for more specific knowledge of the rising with an implicit sense of causes and results.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of causes and revolts.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced in-depth analysis of causes and results.

[17+ marks] for insight and depth of coverage.

12.   **Compare and contrast British treatment of the Zulu kingdom and Bechuanaland (Botswana) before 1900.**

The Zulu king Cetshwayo (1873–1884) favoured an anti-Boer alliance with the British but they did not want a strong Zulu nation on their Natal border. After annexing the Transvaal in 1877, Frere, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, decided that the Zulu must be crushed to remove the continuing threat on Natal's border. He sent an ultimatum to Cetshwayo, who accepted all but the disbandment of the Zulu army. The subsequent Anglo-Zulu war resulted in the conquest and destruction of the Zulu kingdom which lost its separate identity.

There is more contrast than comparison in the British treatment of Bechuanaland. Khama and two other Tswana rulers used Britain to their advantage to protect them from the Boers and the Ndebele, and Britain declared a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1891, having already declared it a British sphere of influence. Khama knew the British were anxious to pre-empt a Boer or German move to take over the territory. His diplomatic skills impressed all who met him on his visit to London in 1895. He persuaded the Colonial Secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than come under the British South Africa Company. Though the British appointed a Resident Commissioner, Khama was effectively allowed to operate as an independent ruler. He used British officials against internal rivals as they approved his policies of promoting Christianity and education and developing agriculture and trade.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit sense of different British policies.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit comparison of the reasons for the destruction of the Zulu Kingdom and the preservation of Bechuanaland.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced answers with a clear comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for a perceptive analysis of the different historical contexts affecting British policy towards Bechuanaland and the Zulu kingdom and the responses of Khama and Cetshwayo.

13. **Assess the reasons for, and the effects of, the policies of Smuts and Hertzog in South Africa from 1919 to 1948.**

From the beginning of the Union of South Africa non-whites were denied political rights and a series of discriminatory laws were passed. Both Smuts and Hertzog were determined to protect the white minority and regarded blacks as racially different from whites, a rural people unsuited to city life and best grouped in tribes and led by chiefs.

The Mines and Works Acts of 1911 and 1926 established an industrial colour bar. The Natives Land Act of 1913 forbade blacks to own land except in native reserves (7% of the country) or to practise share-cropping. The Act turned them in the long term into labourers for white farmers. In the short term it led to harsh suffering as black share-croppers were evicted. The Native Urban Areas Act regulated the presence of non-whites in town and encouraged the building of black townships well away from city centres.

As the economy deteriorated in the 1920s and early 1930s, the "poor whites" were protected by job creation at the expense of the blacks, notably on the railways.

A new Land Act of 1936 increased the area of the reserves from 7% to 13.5%. At the same time Hertzog's segregation laws abolished black voting rights at the Cape despite "entrenched clauses" meant to protect them.

Both Smuts and Hertzog were convinced segregationists. Their main difference lay in their attitudes to the British. Hertzog put Afrikaners first and fiercely opposed Smuts' decision to fight alongside Britain in the Second World War. The economic situation improved from the mid-1930s and more jobs were available in the cities. Worsening conditions in the rural areas encouraged black migration to the cities. Wartime pressures caused Smuts to relax both the colour bar and the enforcement of the pass laws.

Maximum [12 marks] if only reasons or effects are discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations about segregation.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers with some knowledge of policies and implicit sense of reasons and effects.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the aims of Smuts and Hertzog and the impact of their policies.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, in-depth analysis of the policies of Smuts and Hertzog.

[17+ marks] for answers which put the policies in context and show their impact on all sections of society.

**14.	Assess the impact of colonial rule on African arts and culture.**

This is a very open-ended, wide-ranging question but answers are expected to give specific examples and avoid unsupported generalisation.

The arts include sculpture, crafts and painting, art for tourists and foreign patrons, the art of the body including personal adornment, clothing and hairstyles, dance, sacred and popular music, pageantry, theatre, radio and cinema. From the 1930s there was a remarkably diverse outburst of creativity which produced hundreds of artists in all media, genres and arts. On the whole, the new arts were not derived from European traditions even though they developed at the peak of European cultural influence, but they did involve the adoption of western techniques and instruments, for example in written as opposed to oral literature. Culture can include religious and other beliefs, language, food, dress, customs, economic and social organisation. No answer could do justice to a fraction of these areas, and a very good answer could discuss a few areas in depth, *e.g.* Kamba and Makonde woodcarving in East Africa, highlife music in Ghana or the Egyptian cinema or the poetry of Cabral and Neto.

The colonial impact can include the growth of urbanisation and classes with the leisure time and money to be "consumers" of the arts. The impact of missionary activity during the colonial period on African culture is also relevant and its effect on many cultural practices, including polygamy and female circumcision, could be discussed. The spread of western education largely through mission schools, also made a major contribution to the development of what have been called the academic arts.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations about African arts and culture in the colonial period.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit attempts to analyse the impact of colonial rule on art and culture.

[14 to 16 marks] for well supported analysis of several areas in the context of the question.

[17+ marks] for in-depth analysis of the extent to which African arts and culture were affected by the colonial impact.

15. Explain the rise and fall of Mengistu in Ethiopia.

Mengistu rose to power as a member of the provisional military council, known as the Dergue, which replaced the imperial regime of Haile Selassie in 1974. Haile Selassie had ruled Ethiopia like a medieval fiefdom, unable to understand or respond to the agricultural stagnation, inequitable distribution of land and general lack of development. Famine and the cost of war in Eritrea fuelled popular discontent and the Dergue seized power in a revolution. After two years of infighting within the Dergue, Mengistu emerged at the head of the dictatorship. He executed his rivals within the regime. Tens of thousands were killed or tortured as he wiped out the opposition and imposed his own vision of Marxism-Leninism.

Mengistu was never able to achieve widespread support. His political and military responses to the Eritrean, Tigrayan and Oromo nationalist movements were inadequate, and the country was further weakened by the catastrophic famine of 1984–5. The international response to the disaster was slow, partly because of Ethiopia's close links with the Soviet Union.

The military situation deteriorated after 1988. Disillusion grew in the army and Mengistu's refusal to seek a political solution to the challenges of the Eritrean and Tigrayan nationalist movements was increasingly seen as a liability. Mengistu's eventual concessions were insufficient and came too late. As the opposition EPRDF forces closed in on Addis Ababa in February 1991, Mengistu fled to Zimbabwe.

Maximum [12 marks] if only rise or fall is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate relevant knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the reasons for the rise and fall of Mengistu.

[14 to 16 marks] for a more detailed analysis of the factors which contributed to the rise and fall of Mengistu.

[17+ marks] for answers which show a perceptive understanding of the nature and effectiveness of Ethiopian nationalist movements and how Mengistu's character contributed to both his rise and fall.

16. **Analyse the effect of ethnic and religious rivalries on the politics of Uganda from 1945 to 1962.**

Politics in Uganda were dominated by ethnic and religious rivalries to an extent unknown in other parts of East Africa. During the colonial period the British had treated the kingdom of Buganda as though it were a separate unit within the Uganda Protectorate. The independence constitution of 1961 allowed Buganda to exercise internal self-government and to have indirect elections to parliament. The Buganda royalist party, the Kabaka Yekka (The King Alone) had no ideology or programme beyond securing a privileged place for the kingdom of Buganda within Uganda. There was a conservative Catholic-dominated Democratic Party which competed strongly with the Protestant-dominated Uganda People's Congress, which came to be led by Milton Obote. In order to win power, the UPC entered into a marriage of convenience with the Kabaka Yekka, and Uganda became independent in 1962 with an uneasy coalition of the UPC and Kabaka Yekka. Both were largely Protestant but had little else in common. The Kabaka became a ceremonial president and Obote Prime Minister. The rich farmers in Buganda were attracted to the Kabaka Yekka; Protestant leaders and traders in the rest of the country to the UPC, but neither of these attracted the Catholic civil servants, other educated elite and trade unionists who rallied to the DP.

[0 to 7 marks] for unsatisfactory knowledge of the political situation.

[8 to 10 marks] for unfocused narrative.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit discussion of ethnic and religious rivalry.

[14 to 16 marks] for well supported analysis of the effect of ethnic and religious rivalry.

[17+ marks] for exceptional insight and depth.

17. Compare and contrast the factors which led to the achievement of independence in West Africa of *one* British and *one* French colony.

Ghana or Nigeria will probably be chosen as examples of British colonies and Senegal, Cote d' Ivoire or Guinea as examples of French colonies. Candidates may compare or contrast the role of political parties, of nationalist leaders like Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Senghor and Touré, the attitude of the colonial authorities and the political, economic and social circumstances in the two countries. Sekou Toure's defiance of De Gaulle contrasts with Nkrumah's cooperation with Arden-Clarke. The nationwide appeal of Houphouet-Boigny's RDA contrasts with Nigerian parties which failed to win significant support outside their own regions. British colonial policy may be contrasted with De Gaulle's attempt to establish a French Community and his change of policy in 1959 which led to eight West African countries all becoming independent within a few months of each other in 1960. Sekou Touré was exceptional among French West African leaders in demanding independence as forcefully as Nkrumah had in Ghana. Senghor's reluctance to campaign so vigorously for independence was partly due to his desire to retain the former large federations of French West and Equatorial Africa and avoid what he called the "balkanisation of Africa".

Maximum [12 marks] if only one country is treated or if the two countries chosen are both former French or both former British colonies.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narrative.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with limited linkage.

[11 to 13 marks] for sequential accounts with explicit comparison and contrast of factors in two countries.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused answers with a clear comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for an understanding of the very different context of British and French colonial rule.

18.   Examine the causes and results of conflict in Angola and Mozambique from 1975 to 1995.

Angola became independent in 1975 as the Portuguese abruptly withdrew but it did so in a state of civil war involving foreign intervention. The socialist MPLA led by Neto secured the capital, Luanda, and received weapons and training from the Soviet Union.

An FNLA invasion from Zaire was repulsed with the help of 13 000 Soviet-equipped Cuban troops. The greatest threat to the MPLA government was Jonas Savimbi's Unita, based in southern Angola. It was backed with money and weapons by the United States and by South Africa, which feared that an MPLA government in Angola would provide support for the SWAPO liberation movement, which they were fighting in Namibia. The civil war in Angola continued in varying degrees of intensity beyond 1995 despite the attempts by the UN to broker a peace and monitor elections won by the MPLA. The United States and the Soviet Union had fought a destructive proxy war in Angola. Their involvement did much to prolong a war which inflicted incalculable suffering on the Angolan people.

Frelimo, led by Machel, took power in Mozambique after the Portuguese withdrawal in 1975. But the Rhodesian government of Ian Smith financed and armed a group of dissatisfied Mozambicans called Renamo. They were used by the Rhodesian security forces to blow up bridges, cut powerlines and attack villages in an unsuccessful attempt to force Frelimo to abandon its support for ZANU. After Zimbabwe's independence, South Africa took over sponsorship of Renamo. But in the early 1990s, the UN achieved remarkable success in Mozambique. Renamo gave up its armed struggle and accepted Frelimo's victory in elections organised by the UN.

Maximum [12 marks] if only one country is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for sketchy knowledge of events in the two countries.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with implicit analysis.

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

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, in-depth analysis of the causes and results of conflict in both countries.

[17+ marks] for perceptive analysis of the impact of foreign involvement and UN intervention on Angola and Mozambique.

19. **"The saviour of his country."** **To what extent do you agree with this assessment of the contribution of Nelson Mandela to the achievement of majority rule in South Africa?**

The ANC revived as a political force in the 1980s and Nelson Mandela, the prisoner whom the nationalist government hoped the world might forget, came back into prominence as the focus of the Free Mandela campaign. He became increasingly involved in unofficial contacts with the South African government and even met President Botha. The deteriorating economic and political situation within South Africa and mounting international condemnation of apartheid were among a variety of factors which led the new South African President de Klerk to end the ban on the ANC. Mandela was released from prison in February 1990.

Four years of intensive and dramatic negotiations led to the first non-racial elections in South Africa in 1994. In these negotiations the ANC and its president Mandela played a crucial role. He helped to transform it from a liberation movement into a political party with a coherent organisational structure. He ensured the party's moderation, inclusiveness and its appeal to a greater range of social groups and ideological positions than any other competing parties. The protracted negotiations were played out against a background of violence, much of it provoked by Buthelezi's Inkatha party, elements in the government's security forces and the far right Afrikaner AWB.

Elections in 1994 were won by the ANC. The unimpeachable moral authority of Nelson Mandela and his fellow Robben Islanders as worldwide symbols of hope and endurance was decisive in leading ANC to victory and the government's success in building a stable democracy in multi-racial harmony. "The miracle", as it has been called, of South Africa's "negotiated revolution" and transition from white supremacy to multiracial democracy was achieved in large measure as a result of the personality and role of Mandela. But a full assessment should give credit to the contribution of the ANC as a whole and especially of F. W. de Klerk, with whom he was jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge of the relevant period of South African history.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of events with implicit assessment.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment of Mandela's role in the achievement of majority rule.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused answers which assess Mandela's achievement in depth.

[17+ marks] for answers which combine in-depth assessment of Mandela with explicit analysis of the contribution of de Klerk and the ANC as a whole.

20. **Analyse the successes and failures of Moi as President of Kenya up to 1992.**

Moi succeeded Kenyatta as president in 1978. He began by relaxing some of the political repression of the latter years of Kenyatta's presidency. After a coup attempt in 1982 he made Kenya a de jure one-party state and his regime became increasingly repressive. A combination of external pressures from donor countries and increasing internal opposition forced him to accept a multi-party system under which elections were held in 1992. A divided opposition enabled Moi and Kanu to return with only 36% of the popular vote. Kenya's economy remained dependent on external aid and exporting to earn the income to import what Kenya did not produce. Moi embarked on structural adjustment and economic reform at the behest of the IMF and the World Bank.

The Kenyan economy relied on a strong private sector in manufacturing and services as well as in the farming sector. Moi's agricultural policy involved a shift in priority from cash crops to a greater emphasis on wheat production, which benefited grain farmers in the Rift Valley.

Candidates may discuss social policy including the introduction of the 8-4-4 system of education, and foreign policy. Moi had enjoyed good relations with the West in the Cold War era and was surprised by the increasingly sharp criticism of corruption and human rights abuses in Kenya after 1990. Relations between Kenya and its two East African neighbours were uneasy but began to improve in the 1980s. The three members of the EAC reached agreement on the distribution of their assets and liabilities in 1983 and the border between Kenya and Tanzania was reopened.

Not many candidates will have been taught this topic and those who answer the question may draw on background knowledge and media criticism of the Moi era and give a very negative picture of pervasive official corruption including in the judiciary, rampant grabbing of public land, torture, detention and state-sponsored ethnic clashes.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives of some events in Moi's presidency to 1992.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit analysis and assessment.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment of Moi's achievement.

[14 to 16 marks] for in-depth assessment of a variety of policies and their success or failure.

[17+ marks] for balanced answers which show an appreciation of both the positive and negative aspects of Moi's policies and credit him with giving Kenya a degree of political and economic stability enjoyed by few of her neighbours.

21. **"A union only in name." To what extent do you agree with this assessment of the relationship between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania from 1963 to 1995?**

The relationship between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania created by the Act of Union of 1964 is neither a proper federation nor a unitary state. Zanzibar retained its own president. It had a full set of ministries, its own assembly and kept its own exchange earnings. Mainlanders could not own property in Zanzibar and needed a passport to go there. No such restrictions apply to Zanzibaris on the mainland. With 5% of Tanzania's population, Zanzibar has 30% of the seats in the Union Assembly. From 1985 to 1995 two of the occupants of the top three posts in Tanzania came from Zanzibar. For over 15 years Zanzibar did not pay for electricity supplied by the mainland.

Despite these privileges, many Zanzibaris felt they should have maintained links with oil-rich Oman and could then have benefited from substantial investment and development assistance. The legitimacy of the Act of Union has been called into question. It was a deal between two leaders, Nyerere and Karume, the latter having come to power unconstitutionally. There was no democratic consultation preceding such a radical step. Separatist movements emerged together with a pro-independence political party, the Civic United Front. The ruling CCM won narrowly in elections in Zanzibar in 1995, which were widely regarded as fraudulent.

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

[8 to 10 marks] for a general description of the relationship between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania.

[11 to 13 marks] for a clearer understanding of the relationship.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused in-depth assessment.

[17+ marks] for understanding of how the relationship is perceived by both sides.

22. **Compare and contrast the achievements of *two* rulers in Central Africa from independence to 1995.**

Candidates can choose between Banda, Kaunda, Mugabe and Mobutu. Banda established a personal dictatorship in Malawi and headed a ruthless police state until forced to accept multiparty democracy in 1994. Any evaluation of Banda must be mainly critical of a regime under which 250 000 people had been killed and the interests of agricultural workers ignored, even if he may be credited with providing stability, a new rail link with the Indian Ocean and expanding the manufacturing industry.

Mobutu provided Zaire with a degree of political stability but his regime was marked by misguided economic policies, neglect of agriculture, massive corruption and extravagant spending on arms, buildings and prestige projects. The political and economic situation continued to deteriorate. In the 1990s, a rebellion backed by Rwanda and Uganda developed in Eastern Zaire and Mobutu was driven from the country in 1997.

Kaunda was president of Zambia from 1964 until his defeat in multiparty elections in 1991. His one party-rule was less dictatorial than that of Banda and Mobutu but there was widespread corruption. Kaunda's government improved social welfare but did little to diversify the economy. Candidates may take a more favourable view of Kaunda's achievements. In 1990 he agreed to a multiparty system and in 1991 lost the election to Fredrick Chiluba.

Mugabe became Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe in 1980 and later president. In discussing Mugabe, candidates must take note of the end date. Discussions of more controversial aspects of recent Zimbabwean history are irrelevant. Mugabe was unexpectedly moderate in his first decade and a half as a ruler and maintained the previous economic system. Ndebele protests were ruthlessly suppressed. An impressive economic plan attracted international support but was rendered precarious by drought and political instability.

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

[0 to 7 marks] for vague, unsupported assertions.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential narratives of two rulers.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit comparison and contrast.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused in-depth answers with a clear comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for depth of understanding of the two rulers.

23. **Account for the political stability of Senegal and Cote d'Ivoire in the years from independence to 1980.**

Both Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire emerged into independence in 1960 with highly respected charismatic leaders, sensitive to the need to maintain political stability by promoting economic development and striving to reduce ethnic tensions.

Both Senghor and Houphouët-Boigny were veteran politicians who had served in French ministries and kept close links with France, which helped to boost already thriving economies and encourage political stability. Senghor resigned as President of Senegal in 1980, having nominated Diouf several years earlier as his successor, while Houphouët-Boigny remained in office until the 1990s when, as in Senegal, there was a smooth transition to a chosen successor, Konan Bedié.

Côte d'Ivoire emerged into independence with a single nationalist political party, the PDCI, which combated ethnicism and ensured national unity around the regime's free enterprise ideology. A limited expression of difference of opinion was allowed as long as government policy was not seriously challenged. The government dealt ruthlessly with leftwing challenges in the early 1960s with hundreds of arrests and detentions and some executions.

More positively, Houphouët-Boigny maintained political stability by ensuring that there was an ethnic balance in government and administration, as did Senghor. The economies of both countries were relatively well managed and lacking in corruption.

Maximum [12 marks] if only one country is treated.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts with implicit reference to stability.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis.

[14 to 16 marks] for a focused and balanced assessment of the factors which contributed to political stability in the two countries.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight.

24. **Assess the impact of United Nations involvement in any *two* countries in Africa since 1960.**

There are many examples to choose from. There was the failure of UNOSOM 1 and 2 and UNITAF to end the civil war in Somalia. Even more disastrous was the impotence of UNAMIR faced with the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. More positively the UN made some contribution to the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa.

The role of ONUC in Congo from 1960 to 1964 was both complex and controversial, but the UN can be credited with preventing the disintegration of the Congo, restoring law and order, ending the secession of Katanga, securing the removal of European mercenaries and helping in the reconstruction of the ruined state.

The UN was involved with Namibia, at least through the Trusteeship Council, from 1945 to 1990. The Namibian issue was twice referred to the International Court of Justice, but South Africa defied its decisions. The General Assembly and the Security Council passed a series of resolutions which had little impact on the situation in Namibia. The UN, however, played a key role in the transition to independence in 1990.

The UN had a limited impact in Angola where its resources and mandate were inadequate. The UN could not prevent Savimbi resuming civil war after he refused to accept the outcome of elections they had monitored. But the UN in Mozambique was able to organise elections after a protracted civil war. They were involved in resettling refugees, de-mining and rebuilding shattered infrastructures.

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

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative of UN involvement with implicit sense of impact.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit assessment of UN impact.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused in-depth analysis of the impact of UN involvement.

[17+ marks] for sophisticated analysis of why the UN may have been more effective in one country than another.

25. **Analyse the reasons for military intervention into the politics of *three* African countries since independence.**

This is an open-ended question and there is a large number of countries from which to choose such as Somalia, Uganda, the Sudan, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia and Togo.

Good answers must 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 VIP's of waste as Nigeria's first military leaders put it; specifically military grievances, as in Togo; fear of victimisation, Amin's main reason in 1971; ethnic rivalry and personal ambition. Corruption, lavish spending, dictatorial intolerance of criticism and neglect of the country's worsening economic situation led to the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966. There were also specific military grievances related to proposed cuts in defence spending, pay and political interference in army affairs.

Maximum [8 marks] if only one country is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for sketchy narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with implicit sense of causes.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of causes.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused, in-depth analysis of causes.

[17+ marks] for sophisticated analysis of the different causes of military intervention in the three countries.