MARKSCHEME

May 2008

HISTORY – AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

27 pages

1.   **Assess the importance of the factors which helped and those which hindered the abolition of the slave trade in West Africa.**

In 1807 the British parliament resolved to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. Britain and other European countries became increasingly opposed to the slave trade for humanitarian reasons. The campaign was spearheaded by Britain after parliamentary debates led by Wilberforce. Its success depended on economic factors. The slave trade was less important for the industrial economy of nineteenth century Britain which now became more interested in the raw materials available in West Africa. West Africans also came to realize that their economic future lay in the production of commercial crops and other products. States with a suitable geographical location within or near the palm oil belt, with the availability of easy transport facilities by water and effective leadership such as Jaja and Nana in the Niger Delta were well placed to facilitate the transition. The demand for other products like groundnuts in Senegal, gold and cocoa in Ghana, timber in Sierra Leone and coffee and rubber in Liberia facilitated the transition from slave trade to legitimate trade.

Britain began a naval blockade which was not very effective because of the length and nature of the West African coastline. 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 other nations if they were caught in the slave trade. France did not agree to stop the trade until the 1830s and the US only in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1845, when Britain signed a treaty with Portugal and Brazil, giving them a right to stop the 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 the Atlantic slave trade largely to an end. International pressure was increased by the banning of the trade by the Berlin Conference. Some West African peoples involved in the slave trade were more reluctant to end it for lack of an alternative export. More slaves were exported from West Africa in the 1820s and 1830s than in any other decade except the 1780s.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague general comments.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive or narrative answers with implicit sense of factors.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced assessment of factors which facilitated and hindered the abolition of the slave trade.

[17+ marks] for depth of analysis and detail.

2. **"A prophet of change who could not achieve his vision." To what extent do you agree with this assessment of Tewodros II of Ethiopia?**

Tewodros's "vision" as a prophet of change should be briefly identified at the beginning. He was the first nineteenth century ruler of Ethiopia to have a vision of the emperor as a focus for national unity. His main objective was to unify and to modernize Ethiopia after a century of turmoil during the "era of the princes". He was committed to political and administrative reform and attempted rather inconsistently to curb the power of the rases. The army had a central role and he tried to improve its discipline and create a national army which cut across local loyalties with soldiers from different regions in one regiment. He replaced billeting by the payment of salaries. He managed to manufacture some modern weapons. He tried to end the endemic slave trade, eradicate Islam and encourage the development of literary Amharic. He sought a reduction in the wealth and privileges of the church in order to improve his revenue base and to redistribute land to the peasants. He sought to cultivate friendly relations with European nations and especially Britain. Yet his reforms provoked widespread opposition as did the means of implementing them. The regular use of the army to enforce his views and policies and to crush opposition came to alienate the nobles, the clergy and the peasants. He became increasingly liable to fits of violence and paranoia. His tactless foreign policy provoked a British military expedition and his reign ended in suicide and the desertion of most of his army. But it is possible to take a sympathetic view of his good intentions and to recognize how his vision of a united Ethiopia under imperial rule inspired and was later achieved by his successors.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate, unfocused narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of Tewodros's reign with implicit assessment.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment of the statement.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused assessment of Tewodros's aims and the extent to which he achieved them.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight into the long-term impact of Tewodros on Ethiopian history.

3.   **To what extent was the emergence of centralized states in Tanzania the result of the Nguni invasions?**

Zwengendaba led an Nguni invasion of the Fipa country of southwest Tanzania. After his death in 1848, the Nguni broke into groups and spread as far north as Lake Victoria. The Nguni impact was dramatic. They introduced a new concept of centralized military organization based on age-regiments. They had little interest in cultivation. Their lives were dominated by cattle and by war, and their raids caused great social and economic disruption. But they also contributed indirectly to the emergence of centralized states in Tanzania.

A number of peoples learnt from the Nguni. Among the more successful were the Hehe of southern Tanzania. They adopted the Nguni military structure. Under the leadership of Munyigumba the scattered Hehe chiefdoms united into a single, centralized state which was able to resist further Nguni raids and later offered firm resistance to German conquest in the 1890s under Munyigumba's son Mkwawa. Nguni warriors reached Unyamwezi in the 1850s. Mirambo learnt their language and adopted their military techniques and founded a kingdom, Urambo, named after himself. He built an army of men from many different ethnic groups, absorbing large numbers of war captives and offering local kings a choice of submission or war. His power depended partly on control of trade routes. He was successful in war and trade more than as an administrator and the state he created did not outlast his death in 1884.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives of Nguni invasions or sketchy discussion of one state.

[8 to 10 marks] may be scored by a narrative of Nguni invasions with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of the link between Nguni invasions and the emergence of centralized states.

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

[17+ marks] for answers which appreciate that the emergence of the states depended as much on the leadership qualities of the local rulers as on the Nguni impact.

4. **Compare and contrast the results of the jihads of Usman dan Fodio and Al-Hajj Umar.**

The chief result of Usman's jihad was the defeat of the Hausa rulers of Gobir and the emergence of the Sokoto caliphate, the largest single West African state of the early nineteenth century. Usman retired into religious life, and the active leadership of the empire was taken over by his brother and his son Muhammad Bello. Similarly Umar's jihad led to the conquest of the Bambara Kingdom of Kaarta and the upper Niger states of Segu and Masina and the creation of the Tukolor Empire. Usman's achievement was much greater than Umar's. The Sokoto Caliphate had, twenty years after his death, some ten million people. It consisted of a number of separate emirates which acted independently in local matters but took their religious authority from the Caliph at Sokoto to whom the Emirs submitted an annual tribute. Both empires led to the growth of Islamic education and the increasing importance of sharia courts. In the caliphate, however, the unity of Islam brought an end to the destructive wars of inter-state rivalry whereas the Tukolor Empire was seriously weakened after Umar's death in 1864 by internal revolts and lack of unity among his sons and closest followers. The French exploited this situation to their advantage in the 1880s.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations or irrelevant discussion of causes or if only one jihad discussed.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more comparative analysis of the two jihads.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis of the results of the two jihads in a comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight.

5.   **Assess the strengths and weaknesses of Samori Toure as ruler of the Mandinka Empire.**

The strengths are more evident than the weaknesses. Samori had many commercial, military and administrative skills and abilities, which made him a great ruler and they are evident in the methods he used to establish the Mandinka Empire. His experience as a Dyula trader was invaluable in his rise to power. He then built up his own army. Through his gifts as a military strategist, he won the devotion of his soldiers and founded a small state in Konyan and then an empire with its capital at Bissandugu.

He was aware of the importance of a flourishing economy. The state controlled markets and trade and organized agriculture. By 1882 he had built up a powerful, professional, well trained and disciplined army. He incorporated male captives into the army rather than selling them as slaves, which increased local loyalty to him and the state. He imported the latest rifles from Freetown through the sale of gold and ivory and used local ironsmiths to manufacture and repair muzzle-loading guns.

He won the support of the Dyula by keeping their trade routes open and opposing the exactions of local chiefs. He also won the support of some local chiefs through marriage alliances. As his state expanded, he identified increasingly with Islam and promoted Muslim education, the building of the mosques and sharia law as the basis of his rule. His empire was divided into six sections, the central section ruled by himself, the rest by provincial governors. Unfortunately his empire came into conflict with the French at a time when they were determined to conquer large parts of West Africa. It might be considered a weakness that he did not submit to them to preserve at least the identity of his empire if not its independence. He made desperate and ultimately unsuccessful attempts to resist the French and relocate his empire. These may not, however, be seen as signs of his weakness though his attempt to capture Sikasso was a serious tactical error. The French supplied his enemies and incited some of his people to revolt. Some were also alienated by his policy of forced conversion to Islam.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations or sketchy narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit sense of strengths and weaknesses.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of Samori's qualities as a ruler.

[14 to 16 marks] for in-depth analysis, which may focus more on strengths.

[17+ marks] for a perceptive analysis of possible weaknesses as well as strengths.

6. **Compare and contrast Shaka and Mosheshwe as nation builders in Southern Africa.**

There is a clear contrast between the policies of Shaka as an aggressive nation builder and Mosheshwe who stands out as a leader who built a new system for defence. The two were similar in benefiting from the Mfecane and relations with foreigners, traders or missionaries. Both relied on military strength.

Shaka turned a chiefdom into a nation, imposing Zulu customs and his will on all the territory from Drakensberg to the sea. He expanded and consolidated his kingdom by attacking and absorbing others along with their lands. He adopted the age-grade system for military purposes and perfected a well-drilled and disciplined standing army which was merciless with the enemy. Mosheshwe, in contrast, offered refuge to many of the tribes who fled from Shaka. He resorted to war only in self-defence or under severe provocation. He was assisted by the mountainous character of his kingdom in defending and consolidating it. From 1822 to 1836, when the Sotho-Tswana lands were ravaged by the Mfecane, Moshoshoe gathered a band of refugees on the mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu. Mosheshwe loaned cattle under the mafisa system. He was much less autocratic than Shaka, used the pitso to solve disputes and had a federal rather than centralized system of government.

Both created nations. The Zulu kingdom was later destroyed by the British but the people are still proud of their Zulu identity. Mosheshwe offered his country to the British as a protectorate in 1864 and thus preserved its identity as a nation.

The question is on the two rulers as nation builders. Lengthy discussion of Shaka's wars and the Mfecane would be irrelevant.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations and sketchy narrative or if only one ruler is addressed.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with implicit comparison.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more comparative approach.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, in-depth focused analysis in a clear comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for insight into the distinct nature of the two nation-builders.

7. **"The main reason for the partition of Africa was the economic interests of the European countries." To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

For many years European countries traded with African peoples without colonizing them. But during the Depression in Europe from 1875 to 1900 European businessmen came to believe that investment in Africa would bring greater profit. They exerted pressure on their governments to colonize because they were failing to make adequate profits and needed European government action against trading rivals. France and later Germany realized that the way to beat British competition was to establish colonies where the trade of other European rivals could be excluded or heavily taxed.

There was also much discussion of Africa as a source of raw materials. Vegetable oils were used in the manufacture of soaps and industrial lubricants. There was a growing demand for rubber, ivory, cocoa and groundnuts. The discovery of huge quantities of diamonds and gold in Southern Africa heightened expectations for the whole continent. The Lenin-Hobson thesis, which related the partition to the export of surplus capital, is largely discredited. Only South Africa received significant amounts of capital during the partition. The partition of Africa was too complex a process to be ascribed only to economic interests. This is a "to what extent" question which therefore requires some consideration of other factors such as European national rivalry, strategic factors *e.g.* that led to the British occupation of Egypt and the impact of Leopold and Bismarck including the holding of the Berlin Conference.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations about the partition.

[8 to 10 marks] for a limited discussion of economic factors.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of economic factors and some discussion of other factors.

[14 to 16 marks] for in-depth, balanced assessment of the quotation.

[17+ marks] for answers which may be familiar with the historiography, and/or may challenge the quotation and show historical understanding of the complexity of the partition.

8. **Analyse the reasons why Britain signed the Uganda Agreement in 1900 and discuss its impact on Uganda.**

The agents of British imperialism arrived in Uganda after the Anglo-German agreement of 1890 recognized Uganda as a British sphere of influence. Lugard as agent of IBEAC began to establish British authority. He did so by supporting the Protestant chiefs in their struggle for power over the Catholics. A protectorate was proclaimed in 1894. In 1897 Kabaka Mwanga led a revolt against British rule. But the leading Protestant and Catholic chiefs resolutely opposed his rebellion and supported the British. Mwanga was deposed and exiled and Apolo Kagwa became senior regent as well as Katikiro.

Kagwa was the leading negotiator with Sir Harry Johnson of the Uganda Agreement of 1900 which defined the basis of British administration. It rewarded the senior Christian leaders for their loyalty to the British by a new system of land tenure. Buganda lost its ultimate sovereignty but obtained a significant measure of internal autonomy and recognition of its status as a separate kingdom within Uganda. The Kabakaship remained but the Kabaka's powers were limited by the establishment of a parliament called the Lukiko. The agreement was a blow to the traditional clan chiefs. The Christian chiefs benefited from the mailo freehold system of land tenure. The Lukiko was allowed to spend funds without supervision from the British and no new direct taxes could be imposed on the Buganda without their consent. Buganda was, like other provinces of Uganda, subject to the laws which the British made for the whole protectorate. The Agreement had less direct impact on the rest of Uganda but it marked the beginning of British colonial administration of all Uganda, often using Buganda agents. These agents were not simply self-seeking collaborators but took positive steps to promote education, eradicate sleeping sickness and spread new crops around the country. Buganda's distinctive situation was later to complicate the path to independence in Uganda.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of reasons for, and impact of, Uganda Agreement.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, in-depth analysis of the origin and significance of the Uganda Agreement for Uganda.

[17+marks] for perceptive answers which may explore the Agreement as a unique example of negotiation between coloniser and colonised and/or assess its detrimental long-term impact on the politics of Uganda.

9.   **"Lewanika betrayed his people by collaborating with the British." To what extent do you agree with this judgment of Lewanika?**

Lewanika of Bulozi, like several other rulers in Central and Southern Africa such as Mosheshwe, chose the strategy of protectorate or wardship rather than resistance. In 1889 he sought a British protectorate for his kingdom, known to the British as Barotseland. He was encouraged by the example of the Bechuanaland protectorate where Khama had protection from Boer aggression without, up till then, interference in internal Tswana affairs. Lewanika was partly motivated by a sense of insecurity, increased by his brief overthrow from 1884 to 1885 and the knowledge that his two immediate predecessors had been assassinated. He also sought protection from the constant threat of Ndebele raids. He adopted Westernization, missionary alliance and British protection as essential instruments of policy. The Protestant missionary Coillard became a confidant and influential adviser of Lewanika. By negotiations and treaties with the British he preserved his kingdom and his position as king.

By the Lochner Treaty of 1890 he put his kingdom under the protection of the British South Africa Company. He gave the company mining rights throughout the kingdom and his chiefs assisted the company in establishing British rule in the western part of northern Rhodesia (Zambia).

In assessing the quotation, one might compare the results of his collaboration with those of the rulers who resisted the British such as Cetshwayo or Lobengula. Many of his leading subjects were bitterly critical of his policy but they may have been motivated by personal ambition in their resentment of any move by the king to strengthen his position.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations or sketchy narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts with an implicit sense of the people's interest.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of the motives for and results of Lewanika's collaboration.

[14 to 16 marks] for focus on the judgment and discussion of "to what extent".

[17+ marks] for answers which analyse Lewanika's policies in depth and make a well supported, balanced assessment of the validity of the judgment.

10. **Analyse the methods used by Mzilikazi to found and maintain the Ndebele kingdom.**

The Ndebele state was founded by Mzilikazi, who succeeded his father in 1818 as ruler of the Khumalo chiefdom under Zwide. With the defeat of Zwide by Shaka, the Zulu leader, Mzilikazi transferred his allegiance to him. He eventually quarrelled with Shaka and fled north with his people. He established a powerful state incorporating many Sotho communities. Threatened by powerful enemies he moved his capital several times and eventually settled in western Zimbabwe.

He dealt ruthlessly with potential rivals to the throne including many of his own children. Mzilikazi also employed force against the Shona, the original inhabitants of Zimbabwe. By the time he reorganized his state, his wealth was seriously depleted and he raided the Shona for grain and cattle. The boundaries of the Ndebele states were not fixed but marked by the farthest extent of the Ndebele raids for cattle, food crops and people, recruits for his army and women to produce children. The central core of the state was under the direct rule of the king. Further away were four zones of Shona-speaking peoples, the nearest which paid regular tribute to Mzilikazi, another which paid occasional tribute and two others which were virtually independent. Mzilikazi developed a strong central government in which the king made all important decisions and appointed generals and administrators. The administration gradually became more civil than military. The Indunas took on new duties as territorial chiefs and commoners were appointed to high office. Mzilikazi used marriage to cement national unity and had perhaps four-hundred wives from different sections of the nation. The use of Sindebele promoted social unity. But Ndebele society remained divided into castes and marriage between them was generally forbidden. The Ndebele and Shona were not constantly at war with each other. The old Shona system of trade was not disrupted and Ndebele cattle were peacefully exchanged for Shona grain. Mzilikazi freely asked Shona doctors to treat him and adopted the Mwari cult for rainmaking purposes. In 1859 he allowed missionaries to settle in his country. He died in 1868, having built a kingdom which was to survive all internal and external pressures until destroyed by European settlers in 1893.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

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

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

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, in-depth analysis of Mzilikazi's methods.

[17+ marks] for impressive detail.

11. **For what reasons, and with what results, did the British undermine and destroy the Zulu Kingdom between 1879 and 1897?**

Britain invaded Zululand in 1879 partly to win the favour of the Transvaal Boers. They wanted to reconcile them to the 1877 annexation and to the idea of a British-dominated federation of white states in Southern Africa, the prosperity of which would be guaranteed by the wealth of the diamond fields. The Boers had steadily infiltrated into the Zulu kingdom. The British interpreted the legal resolution of a land dispute between the Zulus and the Boers in favour of the latter. The British High Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, deliberately triggered war between the Zulu kingdom and the British Empire. The war began disastrously for the British with the destruction of a third of their forces at the battle of Isandhlwana in January 1879. In spite of this victory, however, the British won the war. They successfully defended Rorke's Drift, destroyed the Zulu capital Ulundi in July 1879, and captured and exiled Cetshwayo, the Zulu King.

Zululand was destroyed as an independent state but it was not annexed by Britain until 1887. It was divided into thirteen autonomous chiefdoms loosely supervised by a British resident. The collapse of traditional authority led to anarchy and civil war. Cetshwayo was restored to his kingdom but civil war continued until his death in 1884. The Boers were given part of Zululand and the rest was declared a British colony in 1887. It was a separate entity until 1897 when it was handed over to the Natal government and white settler control. The Anglo-Zulu war had the opposite effect to what the British intended. It inspired the Transvaalers not to confederate with Britain but to fight for their independence from Britain. Isandhlwana had shown that Britain was not invincible. Ulundi had removed the Zulu threat to Transvaal and rendered Boer links with Britain unnecessary.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate, unfocused narratives.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of reasons for, and results of, British policy.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused and balanced answers with in-depth analysis of the reasons for, and the impact of, British policy on the Zulu kingdom.

[17+ marks] for insight into how Zulu responses affected British policies and contributed to their outcome.

12. **Assess the consequences for South Africa up to 1910 of the South Africa War (1899 to 1902).**

It has been said that the Boers lost the war but won the peace. The war was militarily disastrous for them. The British looted and burnt their farms and put thousands in concentration camps. Africans retook their alienated land. The Boer republics surrendered because of their hopeless position, and the suffering of their families.

The Peace of Vereeniging was a generous conclusion to the war. The Boer republics were annexed but self-government was promised to them in the near future. Much money was spent on reconstruction. The Dutch and English languages were to have equal status. The peace was followed by moves to unite South Africa economically and politically. A customs union was formed in 1903 and the railway systems were harmonized. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State became self governing in 1907. The South Africa Act passed in 1909 became effective in 1910. This was an act of reconciliation between the two European groups which ignored the needs of the African majority. Luthuli later called it "the great segregation act". White supremacy and segregation of the white and non-white peoples in South Africa were guaranteed by the act's clauses on the franchise. No non-whites were eligible to stand for election to the legislature and the right to vote was granted only in Cape Province where it had previously existed and was now protected by an entrenched clause.

By 1910 the Boers had thus won much of what they had fought for. The British gave in to them over the issue of African political rights and their concessions charted the road to racial segregation and apartheid. Answers should cover and limit themselves to the period 1902 to 1910. Causes of this war or discussion of later legislation would not be relevant.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations or sketchy narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative of events from 1902 to 1910 with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the consequences of the war.

[14 to 16 marks] for well-supported analysis of the consequences of the war.

[17+ marks] for insight into how the South Africa Act helped determine the history of South Africa for most of the twentieth century.

13. **Evaluate the impact of colonial rule on agriculture in Africa in the colonial period.**

Many cash-crop areas enjoyed unprecedented prosperity. Motor transport enabled African cultivators to colonize further land for cash crops especially when world prices were high in the early 1920s, late 1940s and 1950s. Pioneers created new cash-crop areas; cocoa in Cameroun and Gabon; coffee in Cote d'Ivoire and Tanganyika; tobacco in Nyasaland. Unrestrained private enterprise led to falling yields for groundnuts in Senegal and cocoa in the Gold Coast's pioneer areas.

Agricultural change was not confined to export crops. Many savanna peoples began to lay more emphasis on agriculture than pastoralism. Tools and techniques of cultivation were improved. Maize continued to spread at the expense of millet and sorghum. Cassava expanded even more quickly. Potato growing spread rapidly in Rwanda and Burundi. When faced with land shortage it was common for crowded highlanders to spread into neighbouring lowlands. Technological change was limited. Most Africans "went into colonialism with a hoe and came out with a hoe", though often a better hoe.

European settler farmers had considerable advantages. Railways and roads ran through their area. Land banks gave them credit. European agriculture largely monopolized export production in settler colonies like Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique and shifted from smallholder grain farming to plantation crops such as tea and coffee in Kenya and tobacco in southern Rhodesia, a trend reinforced by mechanization. White farming and population growth reduced many African reserves in Southern Rhodesia to labour reservoirs. In Kenya, the Kikuyu retained most of their valuable land close to Nairobi but a large landless class was swollen by the eviction of labour-tenants from white farms in response to mechanization.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of agricultural change in the period.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, in-depth analysis of the impact of colonial rule on agriculture.

[17+ marks] for insight into local and regional variations and the different impact on white and African farmers.

14.   **Analyse the reasons for the rise of African Independent Churches in *three* countries before 1915.**

Between 1883 and 1914 the independence movement in the churches in Africa got under way as African Christians broke away from European churches. A major reason was the desire to escape Western domination and to protest against the slow progress made by mission-controlled churches in ordaining Africans to the priesthood and promoting them in the hierarchy. The issue of leadership was the major cause of the earliest schisms but other grievances fuelled the growth of independent churches, for example, land alienation, hut tax and forced labour in Malawi. In South Africa there were over thirty Ethiopian churches by 1913, the name being inspired by the Ethiopians' victory over the Italians at Adowa in 1896. All the Independent Churches believed that Christianity in Africa must come to terms with African culture and that more effort needed to be put into education as a means of promoting higher living standards in Africa.

The most successful independent church leader was the Liberian evangelist Wade Harris who went to Côte d'Ivoire where he soon made over 60 000 converts. He tolerated polygamy and unlike the Catholic missionaries was not associated with the hated French regime. The Yoruba Agbebi was associated with several independent churches in Nigeria. John Chilembwe in Malawi became the most anti-colonial leader of an independent church and his rising occurred in 1915.

Answers must refer to three countries. South Africa, Malawi and Cote d'Ivoire or Nigeria are the likely but not the only choices.

[0 to 7 marks] for discussion of only one country, vague generalizations or a list of independent churches.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit analysis of reasons.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of reasons related to three countries.

[14 to 16 marks] for well-organized, balanced, in-depth analysis.

[17+ marks] for answers which bring out comparisons and contrasts by analysing the growth of African churches in the specific context of each of three countries.

15.   Analyse the changing fortunes of Haile Selassie as Emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974.

Haile Selassie's rule in Ethiopia as Ras Tafari, regent and heir to the throne from 1916 to 1930, is outside the scope of this question. Haile Selassie's reign as emperor can be clearly divided into three or four phases.

Haile Selassie began, with constitutions in 1931 to 1935, to establish himself as the absolute ruler of a unitary state. He reconstructed feudalism, enhanced the political power of the monarchy and guaranteed the economic privileges of the nobility. He established political and administrative control of the provinces. But he soon began to face an external threat from Italy, which led to Italian conquest and occupation from 1936 to 1941 and the emperor's exile. Mussolini had avenged Italy's defeat at Adowa and exposed the futility of the League of Nations. But four years later by entering World War II on the side of Germany, he provoked British attacks on Ethiopia from Sudan and Kenya which led to the restoration of Haile Selassie in 1941.

The period from 1941 to 1974 marked the culmination of efforts at imperial absolutism and union with Eritrea. Despite Haile Selassie's international prestige and the choice of his capital as headquarters of OAU, he became increasingly dependent on the United States. The power of the state increased to an unprecedented degree, exercised by a ruling class headed by the emperor. In spite of the growth of a few towns and some industries after 1941, Ethiopia remained predominantly rural. Rebellion by landless peasants became endemic but the emperor was surrounded by such a cult of personality that he was oblivious to growing discontent. There was a short-lived coup in 1960 after which opposition became more open and mass-based. In the face of widespread opposition, Haile Selassie's government saw no need of reform. It continued its policy of repression until the emperor was deposed in a military coup in 1974.

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives with little or no sense of changing fortunes.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of changing fortunes.

[14 to 16 marks] for well-supported analysis of the different phases of the emperor's reign.

[17+ marks] for answers which perceptively analyse changing fortunes in the context of Ethiopian history and its external relations.

16.   Why was independence achieved less peacefully in Kenya than in Tanganyika?

The key word is "peacefully", and answers should analyse the factors which made the achievement of independence less peaceful in Kenya and more peaceful in Tanganyika. There should be balanced coverage of the two countries with perhaps slightly greater emphasis on Kenya. An adequate answer on Kenya would have to consider the Mau Mau movement. Kenya was a settler colony and Tanganyika was not. As the settlers in the white highlands of Kenya mechanized their farms, they evicted many of the squatters who had exchanged their labour services for herding and cultivation rights. Some of these were resettled at Olengruone and it was there that secret oathing was widely employed as a form of popular solidarity and resistance. The murder of the leading Kikuyu loyalist, Chief Waruhiu, led to the declaration of a state of emergency in October 1952. The Mau Mau struggle involved much violence by Kikuyu against Kikuyu. Most of these murders, however, came after the British security forces launched a counter insurgency campaign, began detaining Mau Mau suspects without trial and introduced compulsory villagization to separate forest fighters from rural and urban supporters. Mau Mau involved resistance against enforced agricultural policies including compulsory terracing and rinderpest regulations.

The Mau Mau movement led to the detention of Jomo Kenyatta but also persuaded the Colonial Office to go ahead with constitutional change leading to independence despite settler objections. There was from the late 1950s a peaceful transition to independence in Kenya which was achieved in December 1963. Tanganyika, by contrast, was helped by its UN trusteeship status and the leadership provided by Nyerere at the head of the overwhelmingly dominant nationalist party, TANU. He helped build it into a party that won the trust of all ethnic and racial groups. Nyerere pursued a peaceful, non-confrontational campaign for independence in cooperation with Governor Turnbull from 1958, helped by the absence of serious tribal rivalry and of a large settler population and the unifying influence of the widely spoken Swahili language.

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives with little sense of factors which made Kenya's situation less peaceful.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit sense of factors making Kenya's achievement of independence less peaceful.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis.

[14 to 16 marks] for a focused and balanced in-depth analysis, perhaps in a comparative structure, of the factors which made the achievement of independence peaceful in Tanganyika and less so in Kenya.

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

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

17.   For what reasons did Ghana achieve independence before Nigeria?

Ghana's rapid and relatively peaceful transition to independence might not have been predicted in February 1948 when riots broke out in Accra and the British arrested Nkrumah for suspected communist sympathy. The Coussey Constitution enabled his CPP to win a large majority in the National Assembly in 1951. Nkrumah left prison to become leader of government business. His good relationship with the governor, Arden-Clarke, eased a smooth transition to independence in the face of growing opposition from disaffected cocoa growers in the north. In the 1954 elections the CPP won a reduced majority and lost control of the north. But Arden Clarke continued to support Nkrumah in his determination to achieve independence as a unitary state which was achieved under the leadership of Nkrumah in March 1957.

Nigerian decolonization was more difficult than Ghanaian because of deeper ethnic and religious divisions. The north was Muslim and ruled by feudal Fulani landowners. The south was mainly Christian, but divided between the Yoruba in the west and the Igbos in the east. Regionalism undermined nationalism. The first party to call itself nationalist, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (1944), was in fact regional and Igbo dominated. Nigeria did not have a strong nationalist middle class like Ghana's despite the western seaboard being commercially developed. The 1951 elections saw two more regional parties emerge: the Action Group representing the Yoruba and the Northern People's Congress representing the Northern Muslims. The British felt the only hope of creating a national state out of divided Nigeria was to concede full regional autonomy. The structure of three regions was maintained in the pre-independence constitutions but a major difficulty concerned the number of seats to give to each region in a central parliament when population census results were suspect. None of the three parties managed to win significant support outside their own regions in the 1954 and 1959 elections. The compromise solution was to concede regional autonomy and give somewhat limited power to the federal government. At independence in 1960, the first federal government was a fragile coalition of the NPC and the NCNC with Azikiwe as governor-general and later president and Balewa from the north as prime minister.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the factors delaying Nigeria's achievement of independence.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced focused analysis of the factors that promoted and hindered the independence movements in the two countries.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight into the different historical contexts of the two countries.

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

18. In what ways, and for what reasons, did *either* Angola *or* Mozambique achieve independence?

The Portuguese saw the future development of their colonies lying in closer union with the metropolitan power and certainly not in devolution or independence. In 1951 Angola and Mozambique became "overseas provinces" of Portugal.

It was impossible for the two territories to remain immune from the unrest and growing sense of nationalism which was sweeping over Africa by the 1960s. The Portuguese abolished forced labour but their reforms were inadequate. The first serious uprising was in northern Angola in February 1961. The Portuguese retaliated with full military force and up to 60 000 may have died. The rebellion spread to Mozambique. Portugal continued to try to retain control of Angola and Mozambique. As the poorest country in Europe, she believed that her colonies were indispensable to her economy. She had encouraged settlers to go to Angola and Mozambique to alleviate her own unemployment problem and by 1970 there were half a million white settlers in the two colonies. Unlike most other colonial powers Portugal was a dictatorship and ready to ignore the pressure of public opinion whether domestic or international through the United Nations. Portugal was still insisting in the early 1970s that her colonies were overseas territories and an integral part of Portugal. South Africa and some Western countries which invested in South Africa regarded Angola and Mozambique as essential to the defence of the "white south". They were willing to offer military aid to Portugal in her struggle with the African liberation forces in Mozambique and Angola. The West sympathised with the Portuguese domino theory that if white power collapsed in Southern Africa, it would be replaced by black communism. European capital was attracted to investment in the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric dam and thus gained an interest in the survival of Portuguese colonialism.

Independence came only when the Portuguese army lost the will to resist and suffer further losses and overthrew the Portuguese dictatorship in a coup in 1974. The colonies were the immediate beneficiaries. The new regime, backed by the army, negotiated the independence of Mozambique in June 1975 and Angola in November 1975.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of events leading to independence with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of lateness and violence.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced in-depth analysis of reasons for lateness and violence.

[17+ marks] for answers with insight into the factors which were unique to Angola and Mozambique as Portuguese colonies.

19. **"The events of 1960 were a turning point in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa." To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Answers should begin with a description of the events in 1960. At Sharpeville in March the police opened fire on unarmed demonstrators, killing sixty-nine and wounding one hundred and eighty, most of them shot in the back as they fled. Others were killed and wounded at Langa township in the Cape. Fearing revolution the government banned the ANC and PAC and thousands of their members were arrested. The massacre marked a new phase in the struggle against apartheid. The South African government was condemned by the United Nations and in 1961 the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the ANC president Luthuli. Oliver Tambo went abroad to re-establish the banned ANC in exile. The ANC executive now realised that the time for peaceful protest had passed. Mandela went underground to form Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), an armed wing of the party, and to plan a campaign of sabotage. Before Sharpeville, African resistance to apartheid involved large scale passive resistance, *e.g.* the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955. But, as Luthuli said in his Nobel acceptance speech, "thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently and moderately, at a closed and barred door."

1960 was a turning point particularly in its impact on international opinion. Just before the Sharpeville massacre, Macmillan's "wind of change" speech in the Cape Town parliament made it clear that Britain and the Commonwealth found South Africa's apartheid policies unacceptable. Anti-apartheid groups were set up worldwide and South Africa was increasingly isolated especially in sporting events. The OAU formed in 1963 made the abolition of apartheid one of its main aims and the UN became increasingly critical of apartheid. Within South Africa, there was still passive as well as violent resistance to increasing repression, *e.g.* through strikes and the Black Consciousness Movement led by Steve Biko.

[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 change in the struggle against apartheid.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused answers which analyse the quotation in depth with some reference to "what extent".

[17+ marks] for answers which combine in-depth assessment of the impact of Sharpeville with an understanding of continuity as well as change in the struggle against apartheid.

20. Analyse the reasons for political instability in Uganda between 1966 and 1986.

Uganda at independence had no nationalist party comparable to TANU or KANU and no leader with the charisma and authority of Nyerere or Kenyatta. The country had deep ethnic and religious divisions.   It was ruled after independence by an unstable coalition of the Buganda royalist Kabaka Yekka and the Uganda People's Congress led by Obote. Obote was prime minister and Kabaka Mutesa was non-executive president. Relations between the two became increasingly tense. Obote used the army to depose the Kabaka, who fled into exile, and assumed the presidency. He alienated many ethnic groups and failed to maintain army loyalty. He was deposed in his absence by the army commander Idi Amin in January 1971, who feared that he might otherwise be sacked. Amin's bloodstained rule ended when he provoked a Tanzanian invasion in 1979. There was much infighting and a succession of rulers before Obote returned to power as president in 1981 after rigged elections. Once again he failed to unite the country, heal the ethnic and religious divisions or keep the army in check. From 1982 he faced a small group of dedicated insurgents, the NRA, led by Museveni. The NRA enjoyed popular support around its bases to the west of the capital, precipitated by deep-rooted hatred of Obote's regime and fuelled by the regime's brutal counter insurgency operations. The death in a helicopter crash in 1983 of General Oyite Ojok threw Obote's army into confusion. This eventually resulted in his overthrow in 1985 and replacement by a weak and unstable military regime led by Tito Okello. Museveni's army entered Kampala in January 1986 and overthrew the Okello government.

[0 to 7 marks] for sketchy narratives or vague generalizations.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit analysis of the reasons for instability.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis of factors causing instability over the whole period.

[17+ marks] for perceptive answers with understanding of the complex interplay of many factors in Ugandan history in the period.

21. Assess the successes and failures of Banda as ruler of Malawi.

Banda became prime minister of Malawi in 1964. In 1966, he became president of a one-party republic and was named life president in 1971. He was successful in maintaining himself in power for thirty years. Two attempted risings in 1965 and 1967 were put down. He developed into a conservative dictator intolerant of opposition but successful in surviving threats of civil war. His personal dictatorship could be seen as a failure to establish democracy. Two months after independence Banda crushed opposition from the more youthful, liberal members of the educated elite. Six cabinet ministers, who were in favour of rapid Africanisation of the civil service and a non-aligned foreign policy, were forced to resign. By the 1970s Malawi was a ruthless police state. In 1977 two leading officials, the secretary-general of the MCP and the head of the Special Branch were arrested. 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. In 1993 pressure from the West and donor countries led Banda to agree to a referendum which voted in favour of free elections and multiparty democracy by 1994. Bakili Muluzi and his United Democratic Party won the election with Banda and his Malawi Congress Party a poor second. Under Banda's regime, 250 000 people were killed or disappeared.

Banda succeeded in maintaining good relations with his white neighbours but alienated African governments. He made a commercial agreement in 1967 and established diplomatic relations with South Africa. He entered into dialogue with Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, and became an outcast in black Africa by establishing full diplomatic relations with South Africa after a visit by Vorster in 1970. Malawi became more politically isolated when Mozambique became independent in 1975 and Zimbabwe in 1980. Malawi did succeed in remaining more stable than Mozambique, whose civil war from 1986 to 1989 led to an influx of nearly a million refugees into Malawi.

With investment from South Africa, Banda built a new capital at Lilongwe, a new railway link to the Indian Ocean at Nacala and expanded the manufacturing industry. Banda succeeded in developing Malawi's agricultural sector to the point that in 1978 he was able to raise a European loan of fourteen million pounds. Malawi maintained its agricultural output until the 1990s, but the agricultural workers who sustained the key tea, tobacco and cotton growing sectors were paid some of the lowest wages in Africa. The export trade in these cash crops was vulnerable to fluctuations in price and demand. It was no fault of Banda's that Malawi's economic development was constrained by the absence of economically exploitable minerals and limited opportunities for industrialization.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of Banda's rule with implicit sense of success and failure.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of success and failure.

[14 to 16 marks] for in-depth balanced analysis of the political and economic situation in Malawi under Banda.

[17+ marks] for perceptive judgment of success and failure in the light of Banda's domestic and external policies.

22. **Compare and contrast the causes and results of military intervention in Nigeria and Ghana between 1966 and 1981.**

Both Ghana and Nigeria had military coups in early 1966. In Nigeria the widespread belief that the elections of 1964–65 had been rigged finally destroyed the credibility of the civilian government. The coup leaders said they had come to eradicate the "VIPs of waste". Similarly in Ghana, corruption, lavish spending and intolerance of criticism led to the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966. There had been a growing feeling among Ghanaians that Nkrumah was playing the international statesman at the expense of his country's mounting economic problems. But there were additional specific military grievances related to pay, proposed cuts in the defence budget and alleged government interference. The first army coup in Nigeria in 1966 was followed by another in July, amid fears of ethnic domination by the Igbo. The massacre of thousands of them in the north led Colonel Ojukwu to declare a secessionist state of Biafra in the southeast. This led to civil war from 1967 to 1970. Meanwhile the military government in Ghana, having purged the civil service of Nkrumah's political supporters, handed power back to the civilian veteran politician Kofi Busia. When he failed to solve Ghana's mounting economic problems in the face of a further sharp fall in world cocoa prices the army returned to power under Acheampong in 1972. Once again specific military grievances, including further cuts in the military budget, seem to have prompted the army into action.

In Nigeria, Gowon achieved a remarkable level of reconciliation after the civil war but his government grew increasingly inefficient and he was overthrown in another coup in July 1975. Mohammed began embarking on widespread reforms but was assassinated in a failed coup. General Obasanjo continued Mohammed's reforming policies and returned the country to civilian rule in 1979.

Acheampong's government in Ghana was undermined by corruption, rising inflation and oil prices, and economic decline. Flight Lieutenant Rawlings seized power in 1979, had three former military heads of state executed for corrupt practices and returned the country to civilian rule. He seized power again in 1981, proclaiming a people's revolution. Nigeria then had a civilian government tolerant of both press freedom and official opposition but also of rampant corruption and greed which crippled what should have been a thriving economy.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge or if only one country is discussed.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with limited sense of causes and results.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit comparison of the causes and results of military interventions or sequential accounts with good linkage.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced analysis of causes and results in a comparative structure.

[17+marks] for depth and insight.

23. **To what extent were United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa affected by the Cold War?**

Candidates may opt to deal with two operations in depth or range more widely over several operations including some which were not affected by the Cold War. In the Congo crisis, the Soviets backed Lumumba whereas the Americans supported and largely financed the UN peacekeeping force which restored public order and ended the secession of Katanga. America was suspected of complicity in the murder of Lumumba. ONUC (1960 to 1964) was the most complex civilian and military operation ever mounted by the UN.

The UN sought to have an impact on Namibia, then South West Africa, when it became the responsibility of the UN Trusteeship Council. The issue was referred to the ICJ and the General Assembly passed a series of resolutions which had little impact. The end of the Cold War transformed the situation in Namibia. The Soviet Union withdrew its backing for Cuban troops in Angola and the Security Council established UNAVEM to verify Cuban withdrawal. South Africa was then ready to give up Namibia and UNTAG in 1989 had 8000 peacekeepers and civilians to monitor South Africa's withdrawal and to organize elections in November 1989 which led to Namibian independence.

UNOSOM 1 and 2 and UNAMIR were post Cold War operations in the early 1990s which failed for other reasons. UNOSOM could not end clan warfare in Somalia and UNAMIR, with an inadequate mandate, was even more disastrously impotent in the face of genocide in Rwanda.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of the effects of the Cold War on UN peacekeeping operations.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused in-depth analysis of the extent of the impact of the Cold War on UN peace-keeping operations.

[17+ marks] for insight into the complexity of the political situation in Africa and understanding of why some operations were not affected by the Cold War.

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

24. **Assess the achievements of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the South African Development Cooperation Conference (SADCC), between 1975 and 1995.**

In 1975 the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) was founded in Lagos. This new regional grouping of West Africa's sixteen states was significant in cutting across the divide of Anglophone and Francophone barriers. It did not attempt political union but concentrated on gradually increasing regional economic cooperation, starting with transport and telecommunications and moving on to greater financial and commercial interchange.

In 1990 ECOWAS took the bold political initiative of assembling and landing a peacekeeping force called ECOWAS in civil war-torn Liberia. It failed to bring lasting peace to Liberia but showed that West African leaders were ready to take collective responsibility for affairs beyond their immediate national borders. In 1993 members signed the Cotonou Treaty committing member states to the establishment of a common trading market and common trading currency.

The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was founded in 1980. It brought together the independent states in southern Africa in a determination to gradually break their economic dependence on South Africa. Namibia joined it on achieving independence in 1990. SADCC, like ECOWAS, enabled its region to coordinate long-term development planning and to produce a united front when negotiating for foreign aid and development loans. SADCC began moves towards establishing a regional economic and trading network and in 1993 it changed its name to the Southern African Development Community as it looked forward to the incorporation of a South Africa under majority rule.

[0 to 7 marks] for a vague general description of the activities of the two organizations.

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

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

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

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

Maximum of *[12 marks]* if only one organization is discussed.

25. **Analyse the economic and social problems faced by *two* African governments since independence and assess the methods they used to overcome them.**

Some generalizations might be valid for many countries. At independence, most Africans depended on subsistence farming in rural areas. African economies had been directed towards exporting cheap agricultural raw materials and unprocessed minerals to Europe. Prices for the commodities were controlled by developing countries. Cultivation of food for subsistence had been neglected. The transport system and infrastructure were generally inadequate. Agricultural marketing boards paid low fixed prices to farmers.

The new African leaders saw rapid urban-centred industrialization as the means to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Yet many early schemes were over-ambitious or inappropriate. All the expertise, technology, machinery and building materials had to be imported from the West. This could lead to huge international debt which together with drought often stifled African economic development in the 1980s and 1990s. Governments had to accept structural adjustment programmes imposed by the IMF to reduce state controls and employment in the public sector, maximise exports and remove price and exchange controls.

Social problems included the need to provide better education and healthcare, and from the 1980s dealing with the AIDS pandemic. Rapid urbanization created many social problems. By the early 1990s, a third of the population in sub-Saharan Africa lived in towns. There was inadequate housing provision and a rapid growth of slums. Urban unemployment led to rising crime rates and problems like street children, prostitution and drug abuse. Mass urbanization, combined with population growth and economic decay, helped to create the armed youth who terrorised Mozambique, Liberia, Somalia and Sierra Leone.

There was considerable variation in type and extent of problems from country to country and in policies adopted to deal with them. Answers must deal with the problems of specific countries. The economic and social policies of Kenya and Tanzania were in sharp contrast, as were those of Francophone countries where France, as the major aid donor, exercised considerable control over economic development, and former British colonies. Zambia had problems related to over-reliance on the copper industry.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations not related to specific countries.

[8 to 10 marks] for more specific answers with implicit sense of methods and problems.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of social and economic problems and policies in two countries.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of social and economic problems and policies.

[17+ marks] for insight into the changing and varied nature of both economic and social problems and policies.

Maximum of *[12 marks]* if only one government is discussed.