

MARKSCHEME

May 2002

HISTORY - AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

1 . Analyse the political organisation before European colonisation of any *one* African state. What were the strengths and weaknesses of the state you have chosen?

This open-ended question gives candidates the opportunity to choose from a wide range of African states which were consolidated or formed in the nineteenth century. Lesotho, the Zulu kingdom, Buganda and Asante are some of the many appropriate examples. Candidates are asked to show how the chosen state was organised and may refer to the relative power of the ruler and provincial authorities, the judicial system, financial organisation and taxation and the role of the army. These aspects of state organisation should be illustrated by appropriate evidence. The strengths or weaknesses may be implied throughout the discussion. The latter might include disputes over succession, a lack of effective central authority or too great a dependence on the ruler or over-emphasis on military expansion.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with some implicit discussion of strengths and weaknesses.

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

[14 to 16 marks] candidates should present a detailed and clear analysis of the political organisation of a state.

[17+ marks] and above for a convincing, well focused analysis of strengths and weaknesses.

2. **Which nineteenth century ruler of Ethiopia made the greatest contribution to the unification and modernisation of his country? Specific evidence must be given to support your choice.**

This question is likely to be popular and candidates may be expected to refer to the emperors Tewodros, Johannes IV and Menelik II and are likely to conclude that Menelik made the greatest contribution. Tewodros was the first nineteenth century ruler to have a vision of the emperor as the focus for imperial unity. He was committed to military and administrative reform and ending the slave trade but his reforms provoked internal opposition and failed to achieve anything of lasting importance. Johannes IV (1872-89) had a more cautious approach to national unity which has been described as “controlled regionalism” and was prepared to share the government of Ethiopia with his subordinates while he confronted external challenges from Egypt, Italy and the Sudan.

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. Thereafter he worked hard 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.

The question is on unification and modernisation and discussion of the threats to Ethiopian independence is likely to be irrelevant unless it is clearly related to issues of national unity. It is not possible to show satisfactorily which emperor made the greatest contribution without reference to at least two rulers. Answers which refer only to Menelik should be marked out of **[12 marks]**. Allow arguments for Tewodros and Johannes, crediting them according to the quality of the supporting evidence.

[8 marks] might not be reached for narrative answers not focused on the terms of the question.

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

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

[14 to 16 marks] and above for a clear comparison of the contribution of Ethiopia’s rulers.

[17+ marks] if answers in this top band show an awareness of the limits of modernisation. There was no social revolution in Ethiopia at the time as Menelik and his nobles intended to preserve their traditional and privileged way of life by adding to it only those aspects of westernisation that would strengthen rather than destroy it.

3. To what extent can the Mahdist revolt in the Sudan (1881-1885) be considered a nationalist movement?

The leader of the Mahdist revolution, Muhammad Ahmad Ibn Abdallah, led a jihad with the religious objective of restoring a purified Islam to the Sudan and of spreading it to the whole world by force if necessary. There is no doubt about his piety and religious inspiration and his retreat to the Nuba Mountains has a parallel in the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Many of his supporters, however, were primarily interested in ridding the country of the alien Turco-Egyptian administration imposed on them since 1821. During its four years (1881-5), the Mahdiyya developed from a movement of religious protest into a powerful and militant state whose laws, administration, finance and judicial principles were based on strictly Islamic policies. The popularity and success of the Mahdi's revolt was nevertheless the result in large part of the resentment of corrupt Turco-Egyptian rule, of its heavy taxation levied by force and of its attempts to suppress the slave trade which was the basis of the domestic and agrarian economy in Northern Sudan. Whether intentionally or not, the Mahdiyya thus became a nationalist movement and the Mahdi is seen as the founder of modern Sudanese nationalism.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of events, with implicit reference to the nature of the revolt, which led to the killing of General Gordon and the capture of Khartoum in 1885.

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

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which focus on the nature of the Mahdiyya, the ideals of its leader and the motivation of his followers.

4. Analyse the factors which contributed to the growth of Omani influence and power in East Africa before 1840.

The most important factor contributing to the growth of Omani influence and power in East Africa was the personality and political and economic ambitions of Sultan Seyyid Said (1806-56). Having achieved stability in Oman, Seyyid Said took advantage of the disunity and instability of the East African coast to achieve economic and political expansion. He began to make contacts with local peoples and rulers by negotiating treaties and taking sides in their rivalries. By 1823 he had established himself in Pate and LAMU. The declaration of a short-lived British protectorate over Mombasa in 1824 was only a brief setback to his ambitions. Over the next thirteen years, Seyyid Said defeated his major rivals, the Mazrui, the ruling dynasty in Mombasa who were also of Omani origin. After gaining control over Mombasa, Seyyid Said decided to move his capital to Zanzibar which he transformed into the most important economic centre on the East African coast, making good use of its maritime facilities and potential for agricultural production.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of Seyyid Said's activities before 1840 with an implicit sense of growth in power and influence. Discussion of the impact of Omani rule in Zanzibar would be irrelevant as the question is limited to events before 1840 when Seyyid Said established his capital.

[11 to 13 marks] for which there should be explicit reference to the role of Seyyid Said and to the political disunity he exploited.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers supported by detailed knowledge of the political conditions on the East African Coast and in Oman before 1840 and the key stages in the growth of Omani power and influence.

5. Assess the consequences for the Niger Delta states in the nineteenth century of the transition from the slave trade to legitimate trade.

The transition from the slave trade to legitimate trade had a great impact especially in the eastern Niger Delta. It introduced an era of gunboat diplomacy in which the British used naval power to negotiate favourable conditions for British traders, missionaries and explorers. Treaties were signed with local chiefs requiring the stoppage of the slave trade and the adoption of legitimate trade, laying down rules for its conduct and specifying the amount of customs duties to be paid by the traders. The transition led to an increased interest of British traders and missionaries in the interior of Nigeria which was to pave the way for colonisation and a British protectorate.

The transition to trade based on palm-produce caused political upheavals within the delta states. It led to the rise of new enterprising leaders at the expense of the old ones. The delta city states such as Brass, Calabar and Bonny which extended their trading empires into the interior to palm-oil producers' markets were divided into houses. House heads, second in rank to the king, had traditionally been members of the Royal Family. In the nineteenth century more commoners and even ex-slaves such as Alali, head of the Anna Pepple House in Bonny or Jaja, who established the new settlement of Opobo, were promoted on the basis of their ability to trade and compete with commercial rivals. The new trade led to an increase in the internal slave trade to supply new labour needs. The growth of new houses and heads disturbed the internal political balance by challenging the authority of traditional rulers. Competition for the hinterland markets led to several wars between the delta states.

As European traders and consuls like Hewett became more active in the Niger Delta the position even of the new leaders was threatened and they were provoked into resistance and ultimately defeated by superior British firepower. This was the fate of both Nana Olomu of Itsekiriland and Jaja of Opobo.

[8 marks] might not be reached for a narrative of the rise of a new leader.

[8 to 10 marks] for some understanding of the house system.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which show how the house system and the switch to the palm oil trade contributed to the emergence of new leaders.

[14 to 16+ marks] for those who are aware of how the transition to legitimate trade increased European interest in the Niger Delta and led before the end of the nineteenth century to the overthrow of leaders and the establishment of a British protectorate.

6. Assess the impact of Shaka on the history of southern Africa.

There are two major and related aspects of Shaka's impact, his creation of a Zulu kingdom and its consequences for his neighbours. When Dingiswayo, ruler of the Mthethwa, was killed in a war against Zwide, chief of the Ndwandwe, in 1818, his general Shaka headed a small Zulu chiefdom of a few thousand. When Shaka was assassinated by his half-brother ten years later, the Zulu had become a nation, imposing their customs and will on all the territory from the Drakensberg to the sea. Shaka subdued neighbouring tribes, and exercised supreme power. He reorganised the army, adapted the age-grade system for military purposes and perfected Dingiswayo's military techniques and tactics during the wars he fought for the expansion of the Zulu kingdom. He used a short stabbing spear for close combat and maintained a well-drilled and disciplined standing army which was merciless with the enemy. He defeated Zwide in 1820. His kingdom was later destroyed by the British but millions of South Africans are still proud of their Zulu identity.

Shaka's wars contributed to a period of upheaval and prolonged warfare and migration, known as the Mfecane. Shaka was by no means the sole cause of the Mfecane but his actions made it more intense. It led to the emergence of new states, some with aggressive military policies like the Zulu, Ndebele and Gaza and defensive kingdoms like Lesotho, Swazi and Kololo. It contributed to the emergence of remarkable new leaders like Mzilikazi, Zwangendaba and Sebetwane. It also led to the temporary depopulation of large areas, facilitated the Great Trek and made some states more vulnerable to Boer incursions.

[8 to 10 marks] possibly, for a narrative of Shaka's career with some reference to his creation of a Zulu Kingdom.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit analysis of his impact.

[14 to 16+ marks] for those who do not just limit themselves to Shaka's impact within his Zulu kingdom. In a question which asks for Shaka's impact on southern Africa, there should be a discussion of his contribution to the Mfecane and its consequences in the top mark bands.

7. To what extent did the activities of both Leopold II in the Congo, and the British occupation of Egypt, contribute to the European scramble for Africa?

The question requires a knowledge of the activities of King Leopold II of Belgium in the Congo and of the circumstances in which Britain occupied Egypt in 1882 together with a discussion of how far either was responsible for the flare-up of European rivalry known as the scramble for Africa.

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

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

[8 marks] might not be reached for generalisations about the causes of the scramble.

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

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

[14 to 16+ marks] for candidates who focus on to what extent and discuss how far other factors may have contributed to the scramble.

Answers in the top two mark bands may discuss the historiographical debate over the significance of the British occupation of Egypt triggered by Robinson and Gallagher's argument in "Africa and the Victorians" that without the occupation of Egypt the scramble would not have occurred when it did.

8. With reference to at least *two* examples, explain why most African peoples were unsuccessful in their attempts to resist European conquest.

Answers may be expected to discuss the relative political and military weakness of African peoples in the nineteenth century 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 Northern or West Africa because of rivalries between Islamic states.

The European advantage over Africa in military technology was an even more crucial factor. African armies could not acquire sufficient ammunition or spare parts and lacked skilled repairmen or gunsmiths. There were few standing armies and inadequate training made it difficult for African armies to match those of Europe in discipline, organisation and tactics. Machine guns like the Gatling and Maxim, heavy artillery and magazine rifles gave European armies a decisive advantage. Knowledge of the terrain could give African armies an advantage but this was lessened by the fact that European armies in Africa were primarily African armies under European leadership.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which make specific reference to the attempts to resist European conquest of at least two African peoples.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which are well focused on specific examples *e.g.* of how and why Lugard's force of 600 men defeated the army of the caliph of Sokoto who outnumbered them fifty to one.

[17+ marks] for answers which comment on the significance of "most" in the question and refer to the Zulu defeat of the British at Isandhlwana in 1879 or the Ethiopian defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1896.

9. Compare and contrast the relationship with the British in Buganda to 1900, of Kabaka Mwanga and Apolo Kagwa.

Mwanga sometimes co-operated with the British with varying degrees of reluctance and at other times resisted them. His Katikiro (prime minister) Apolo Kagwa consistently co-operated with them. Mwanga's first years as Kabaka from 1884 were stormy and led to a civil war and an uncertain political situation which coincided with the arrival of the agents of British imperialism. Mwanga had accepted the offer of a German protectorate but the Anglo-German agreement of 1890 recognised Buganda as a British sphere of influence. Lugard as agent of the Imperial British East Africa Company sought to make this a practical reality by establishing some control over the country. In December 1890 Mwanga reluctantly signed a protection treaty with the company. Lugard supported the Protestant Christians, converts of the mostly English CMS missionaries, in their struggle for power over the Catholic party. This brought him into conflict with Mwanga at the battle of Mengo in 1892. Mwanga fled to an island in Lake Victoria but returned as Kabaka to sign, even more reluctantly than before, a new treaty with IBEAC which further reduced his powers. In 1894 the British government took over from the IBEAC and Mwanga's resentment of British rule increased. Angered by loss of political power, interference with Kiganda traditions and with his right to appoint his own servants Mwanga left the capital, Kampala, and raised the standard of revolt against British rule in Buddu county. The leading Protestant and Catholic chiefs supported the British against Mwanga. They agreed to his deposition and replacement in 1897 by his one-year old son Daudi Chwa and in 1899 helped to capture Mwanga who was deported to the Seychelles.

From 1890 Apolo Kagwa had led the Protestant chiefs in consistent support of the British. Lugard backed them at Mengo Hill and they welcomed the protectorate. Kagwa resolutely opposed Mwanga's rebellion and became the senior regent as well as Katikiro when Mwanga was deposed. Kagwa was the leading negotiator with Sir Harry Johnston of the Uganda Agreement of 1900 which defined the basis of the British colonial system in Buganda and rewarded the senior Christian leaders for their loyalty to the British by a new system of land tenure. The Agreement represented a blow to traditional political forces in Buganda and completed the revolution of Christian chiefs in Buganda which Kagwa had led since 1887.

[8 to 10 marks] could be reached for a narrative of these complex events with an implicit sense of differing relationships with the British.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit contrast.

[14 to 16+ marks] for a clear, well supported contrast between Mwanga's change from reluctant co-operation to outright resistance, and the consistent and willing co-operation of Kagwa.

10. To what extent, and for what reasons, did Samori Toure preserve the independence of his empire up to 1894?

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

After his first indecisive war against France, he signed a treaty giving up a small part of his empire to France. He then made the serious military error of attempting to capture Sikasso. The French supplied his enemies and incited some of his people to revolt. By 1891 most of his empire was still intact but the threat of advancing French colonialism was graver than ever. His overtures to the British in Sierra Leone were rejected although British traders supplied him with 6000 repeater rifles and vast quantities of ammunition. Three years later, the French overran his empire, already devastated by his scorched earth policy.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of Samori’s resistance with implicit reference to the factors which explained his success.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit reference to the factors which prolonged his resistance would be expected.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which combine an analysis of the factors that enabled him to preserve Mandinka independence with accurate detailed knowledge of the stages by which he lost control of his original Mandinka empire.

Samori’s foundation of an entirely new but shortlived empire to the east after 1894 is outside the scope of the question and therefore irrelevant.

11. In what ways, and with what success, did Lobengula seek to protect the interests of the Ndebele people before 1890?

From 1870 to 1890, Lobengula consistently pursued a well thought out strategy to protect the interests of his people. Though he had offered mining concessions to two foreign companies in 1870, these did not at first endanger his sovereignty. He restricted immigration and informed alien whites that he did not wish to open up his country to them for mining or hunting. He was skilful at pitting European countries, companies and individuals against each other. In the long term he sought military alliance or protectorate status with the British government to counter the threat of Portuguese expansion from the east and from the Afrikaners in Transvaal to the south. Lobengula tried to make enough concessions to the Europeans to satisfy them and avoid the loss of independence.

Lobengula's methods worked well enough until 1888 when he was outwitted by Cecil Rhodes and his agents who deceived Lobengula into granting them the Rudd Concession which resulted rapidly in the loss of his country's independence. The verbal conditions he set out during the negotiations were not included in the written agreement. Lobengula repudiated his concession in 1890 but Rhodes was granted a royal charter for the British South Africa Company and in 1890 his pioneers occupied Matabeleland against the will of Lobengula and later raised the British flag in Salisbury [Harare].

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of Lobengula's career as king with implicit reference to his methods and sufficient knowledge of events up to 1890. Discussion of events after 1890 up to 1894 are irrelevant to the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for which more explicit reference to the protection of Ndebele interests is needed.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which should be focused on Lobengula's policies and an evaluation of their success given.

[17+ marks] for answers which may argue that Lobengula was not to blame for the ultimate failure of his policies as a number of factors made it almost inevitable that the Ndebele nation would be destroyed. It lay on the direct route from the south and was an obvious target for Rhodes' expansion. He and his associates were determined by whatever means to exploit the region between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers considered to be rich in gold, fertile and suitable for white settlement.

12. For what reasons, and with what consequences, did Cetshwayo change from a policy of friendly relations with the British to one of armed confrontation?

Violent confrontation was virtually inevitable for the Zulu as the British became more determined to dismantle the Zulu nation to achieve a federation of settler colonies. The Zulu were the most powerful African nation south of the Limpopo and under Mpande they had been able to maintain their independence and security through diplomacy and an isolationist foreign policy. Cetshwayo continued this policy at first, allying with the British in Natal as a counter to the threat from the Transvaal Boers. When the British annexed Transvaal in 1877, the alliance collapsed as Shepstone, previously a friend of Cetshwayo, supported the Boers who crossed the Buffalo River into Zululand and began claiming land. Cetshwayo won temporary support from the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal but the new British High Commissioner for South Africa, Sir Bartle Frere, took advantage of a trivial border incident to send an ultimatum to Cetshwayo which he knew would be rejected. It included demands for disbanding the Zulu army within thirty days and stationing a British resident in Zululand.

In January 1879, the Zulu won a memorable victory over the British at Isandhlwana which made the British all the more determined to destroy the Zulu nation. In July 1879 they overran the Zulu capital. Cetshwayo was banished to Cape Town and Zululand divided into thirteen puppet chiefdoms whose rivalry was so great that Cetshwayo was brought back. The authority of the Zulu king had now been so undermined that civil war could not be averted. Cetshwayo died in flight from battle in 1884. The result of armed confrontation was the destruction of the Zulu kingdom which unlike Swaziland and Lesotho however did not become a protectorate or an independent kingdom again.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers of events in the Zulu kingdom up to 1884 with an implicit sense of change of policy and its results.

[11 to 13 marks] would be given for a more explicit analysis of the reasons for confrontation.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which do justice to both parts of the question.

[17+ marks] will be given for answers which focus on an in-depth assessment of Cetshwayo's policy and its consequences for the Zulu kingdom.

13. Analyse the economic and social consequences for South Africa until 1900 of the discovery and exploitation of diamonds and gold.

The discovery of large quantities of diamonds in 1871 began a transformation of the South Africa economy with profound social consequences. By the late 1950s the diamond mines needed expensive machinery and individual claimholders gave way to companies which could raise the necessary capital. By 1889 the De Beers company owned by Cecil Rhodes had a complete monopoly of diamond mining at Kimberley.

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

The mines created a great demand for migrant labour. Over 100 000 Africans were employed in the gold mines. There was also a huge influx of foreign white workers. Their presence created social and political tension with the Boers in the Transvaal. There was greater competition for agricultural land and many Africans lost their land. Their subsistence economy began to fall apart and many Africans began to work on white farms. Migrant labour created social problems as the African workers accepted six-month contracts at low wages and lived in fenced compounds separated from their families, giving rise to problems of crime and prostitution. The competition for land also led to the rise of a class of landless "poor whites". That in turn eventually led to racially discriminatory employment laws reserving certain jobs for whites to protect them from competing with African labour. Both the white and black miners, but especially the latter, had to face the health hazards of working in the mines and of the cold of the High Veld in Johannesburg in winter. Silicosis, a fatal lung disease caused by rock dust, and pneumonia and tuberculosis killed vast numbers of miners.

The profound political consequences of the mineral revolution are not relevant to the question. Narrative accounts of the discovery and exploitation of diamonds and gold might not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers with implicit reference to the social and economic consequences.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit reference.

[14 to 16+ marks] for due weight given to both factors and where the consequences in depth are explored.

14. Compare and contrast the British and French systems of administration in their African colonies.

Indirect rule was attempted in almost all British-ruled Africa. Lugard applied this system in Northern Nigeria where he did not have enough men or money to administer the vast new protectorate. The Fulani emirs, who had many trained and experienced officials to administer justice, maintain order and collect taxes, were enlisted as partners in government. They ruled the people under the supervision of British residents answerable to the government.

Indirect rule could only be applied to centralised communities with an established hierarchy of government but could not be applied successfully to those who lacked such a system like the Igbo of eastern Nigeria or most Kenyan communities.

The French initially adopted a policy of assimilation but applied it only to the four communes of Senegal where citizenship was granted to all Africans long before the colonial era. Assimilation was absorption of the African to European culture and acceptance of the African as a partner in government. The dominant French colonial practice, however, was association or paternalism. This involved replacing traditional institutions by new ones imposed by the French. In principle these would be administered by the French but for financial reasons Africans had to be used as administrators and “associated” with colonial rule. In practice, association and indirect rule might appear similar as both could involve using traditional African rulers in administration. But whereas the British system was a deliberate attempt to rule through local leaders and institutions, association was reluctantly applied and necessitated by an absence of enough Europeans or of a Europeanised African elite.

In some areas, notably in Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania and Chad the French used the same system of indirect rule as the British. Both systems were imposed and alien to African traditions and did not take note of the considerable innovation and adaptation that had taken place in African government in many states in the nineteenth century. In areas where there had been no chiefs, they were created and almost always unacceptable to those they ruled. Both systems involved forced labour and taxation and both were based on the same premise that colonies should at least be financially self-sufficient and not become a drain on metropolitan finances.

[0 to 7 marks] if only the British or the French system is addressed *[8 marks]* cannot be reached.

[8 to 10 marks] for end-on accounts.

[11 to 13 marks] for accounts with good linkage.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers in a comparative structure.

15. Evaluate the part played by improvements in transport in the economic development of any *two* African countries before 1939.

Reference should be made to the building of modern roads but the crucial improvement was the construction of railways which helped economic growth because they made it easier to export cash crops and minerals and reduced transport costs.

The Uganda Railway may be a popular example and it illustrates some of the typical contributions of railway systems to economic development in Africa. It enabled African farmers to sell their produce outside their home areas and led to a boom in cotton farming in Uganda. It was built with the help of over 30 000 Indian labourers about a quarter of whom stayed on and together with traders who migrated from Gujarat they established shops at various points along the railway. They replaced the old trade in beads and wire with trade in cloth, soap, iron and tobacco. The railways encouraged urbanisation: Nairobi, Nakuru and Kisumu began as railway towns and developed into administrative centres and created employment opportunities. In 1905, the capital of Kenya was transferred to Nairobi, the railway headquarters, and this accelerated economic development in the geographical centre of the country.

To offset the huge cost of building the Uganda Railway, Sir Charles Elliot, commissioner for the East Africa protectorate, encouraged settlement in the Kenya highlands made accessible by the railway in the hope that freight rates on their farm produce might make the railway pay. The white settlers had a profound economic impact on Kenya as they began to grow sisal, rubber, wheat and high quality tea and coffee and established dairy, beef and sheep industries.

The Uganda Railway once it reached Kampala and was extended northwards and westwards had a profound impact on the economies of both Uganda and Kenya. A discussion of this railway alone could, therefore, meet the demands of the question. Candidates are more likely, however, to select two examples *e.g.* the railway systems in South Africa, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Guinea or the Gold Coast.

Up to **[7 to 8 marks]** for answers with vague generalisations. Answers that deal with only one country should be marked out of **[12 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers according to depth of knowledge and quality of analysis.

[14 to 16+ marks] will be given where answers are focused on the economic impact of improvements in transport with specific supporting evidence from two countries and answers in the top two mark bands may refer to negative aspects. Railways generally did not facilitate regional economic integration as builders used different gauges to ensure that the railways of one colony should never join those of another rival European power. Railways also facilitated the import of European goods to the detriment of African craftsmen and manufacturers.

16. Assess the impact of the Second World War on the growth of nationalism in Africa.

The Second World War brought a revolution in world politics which had a profound effect on Africa. It reduced the major colonial powers in Africa, Britain and France, to the second rank of world power and raised the USA and USSR to the first rank.

Both of these new superpowers were anti-colonial and actively encouraged decolonisation. They also dominated the new United Nations Organisation which applied pressure in the general assembly and Trusteeship Council on the colonial powers to prepare their African subjects for self-government. The Second World War weakened European colonialism in Asia and soon after the war the European empires in Asia collapsed and the newly independent Asian states, especially India, were an inspiration to African nationalists and undermined the case for indefinite colonial rule in Africa.

Apart from these external pressures on European colonialism in Africa created by the Second World War, there were even more fundamental pressures within Africa. Recruitment into colonial armies expanded the political consciousness of the Africans who fought far from their home towns and villages for the British Empire or French Republic. The direct involvement of hundreds of thousands of Africans in the war, whether in Africa, Asia or Europe, contributed enormously to the growth and eventual success of African nationalism. Africans who had fought for the British or French against Fascist tyranny and imperialism in Europe and Asia now demanded the same rights of self-determination and political liberty that their colonial masters enjoyed. Their hopes were raised in the case of Britain by the accession to power of a Labour government – itself a direct result of the war – but the Labour government was more concerned with domestic affairs and granting independence to India than with the concerns of African nationalists. In the short term the returning soldiers were very disillusioned but they soon contributed to a more realistic and determined commitment to win political freedom.

[8 to 10 marks] for generalisations about the impact of the war.

[11 to 13 marks] for analytical essays with sufficient relevant and accurate knowledge.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which make specific reference to nationalist movements with evidence of the impact of the war on those movements.

17. Evaluate the role of leadership and party organisation in the achievement of independence of *either* Kenya *or* Tanzania.

Leadership played a crucial role in the achievement of independence in Kenya and Tanzania but in very different circumstances. Nyerere was a charismatic leader, respectfully known as Mwalimu, the teacher. He built up TANU into a party that won the trust of all ethnic and racial groups and had such mass appeal that it won the most overwhelming victory of any African political party before independence. He established trust and a good working relationship with the British governor of Tanganyika. He shrewdly made the most of his country's trusteeship status under the United Nations to apply pressure on Britain for rapid progress to independence.

Kenyatta was denounced by a British governor as a leader to “darkness and death”. When the Mau Mau revolt broke out he was arrested and sentenced in a rigged trial though he had no knowledge of or influence over Mau Mau activities. In detention in a desert outpost of the northern frontier, he became a symbol of freedom to his people. He emerged from detention in 1961 to bring Kenya's conflicting political interests together in KANU though he was not able to overcome the fear of smaller ethnic groups of a government dominated by Kikuyus and Luos. These groups allied in KADU and advocated a regional system of government but they were convincingly defeated in the 1963 elections which preceded independence. Kenyatta charmed the white farmers and absorbed into his party Kikuyu who had worked for the colonial administration.

TANU was a mass party whose organisation into boundaries down to the village level made a major contribution to its dramatic electoral success. KANU was only active at election time and its victory in the pre-independence election was due to the appeal of its leaders and the fact that the ethnic groups which supported it in an election where voting was on strictly ethnic lines outnumbered those who supported KADU. It was not due to superior party organisation.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers which merely narrate events leading to independence with incidental reference to leadership and party organisation.

[11 to 13 marks] if a more explicit discussion of these factors is given.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which assess the importance of leadership and party organisation in the achievement of independence in Kenya or Tanzania with convincing supporting evidence.

18. Why did the Gold Coast (Ghana) achieve independence before Nigeria?

The Gold Coast developed a well organised modern party, the CPP, with mass national appeal, before Nigeria. It was led by the very able, charismatic Nkrumah, a brilliant speaker, tireless campaigner and party organiser with a radical agenda demanding freedom now and justice and equality for all. A good relationship and understanding were established between the governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke and Nkrumah. The British were ready to initiate a policy of decolonisation and expected the African cocoa farmers to continue to trade with Britain.

Nigeria's path to independence, on the other hand, was complicated by regional and ethnic rivalry. It developed three modern political parties which became rivals for a dominant position within an independent Nigeria. The parties represented the three main regional divisions: the mainly Hausa North, mainly Yoruba South-West and Igbo South-East. In Ghana there were similar problems in the last stages of the independence struggle when opposition parties played on the ethnic fears of the Asante and Ewe in trying to promote devolution. The opposition, however, was fragmented and the problems nothing like as serious and intractable as those in Nigeria where it was very difficult to devise a post colonial structure that would satisfy the ambitions of rival politicians. A compromise was eventually reached that gave considerable powers to the prime ministers of the three regions and somewhat limited power to the federal government. Britain needed to be reasonably satisfied that ethnic rivalries would not lead to a breakdown of law and order before agreeing on a date for independence for Nigeria, which came three years later than in Ghana.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative account of the path to independence of Ghana and Nigeria with implicit reference to factors which speeded up the attainment of independence in Ghana and delayed it in Nigeria.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit comment.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which clearly explain and contrast the differences in the political situations of the two countries and show how these affected the achievement of independence.

19. Assess the significance in the history of South Africa of Albert Luthuli and Nelson Mandela.

Albert Luthuli was elected president of the African National Congress in 1952. He had served as a Zulu Chief from 1936–1952 and was a member of the Native Representative Council until its dissolution in 1946. As President of the ANC he became universally known as the leader of non-violent opposition to apartheid. From 1956 he suffered frequent arrests and harassment by the South African government. As leader of the ANC in the 1950s, Luthuli, a teacher and lay Methodist preacher, showed great personal and moral courage. He was a dignified and inspiring exponent of the politics of passive resistance and was the first South African to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. But for several reasons, including ill-health and official restrictions on his movements, his day-to-day grip on ANC affairs was often tenuous and his liberal Christian pacifism could not easily be reconciled with the move to more militant forms of confrontation later in the decade. A section of the ANC led by Robert Sobukwe broke away to form the Pan-African Congress.

The Sharpeville massacre in March 1960 was followed by the banning of the ANC. Sharpeville exposed the strategic limitations of non-violent resistance. The ANC was driven underground and its executive reluctantly admitted the need for armed resistance. It formed an armed wing of the party, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Nelson Mandela had by then emerged into greater prominence as a member of a new generation of young, educated Africans including fellow lawyer Oliver Tambo and trades-unionist Walter Sisulu. In 1963, after several successful sabotage attacks, the leadership of Umkhonto including Mandela was arrested and brought to trial in 1964 and sentenced to life imprisonment for high treason. For at least a decade after 1964 the ANC virtually ceased to exist and the military wing had negligible success. The ANC revived as a political force in the 1980s and Mandela came back into prominence from being an almost forgotten prisoner to becoming the focus of the Free Mandela campaign. 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 unban 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. As the new president, Mandela and his ANC-dominated government were faced with the massive challenge of meeting the aspirations of the people and building a stable democracy in multi-racial harmony.

N.B. *The cut-off date for the syllabus is 1995.*

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of the careers of Luthuli and Mandela with an implicit sense of significance.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with more explicit reference.

Essays which only discuss Mandela should be marked out of **[12]**.

[14 to 16+ marks] for focused answers which assess the significance of the two in depth.

20. For what reasons, and with what consequences, has there been a civil war in any *one* African country since independence?

There is a large number of examples to choose from: Angola, Burundi, Chad, Congo, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. The Congo has had two civil wars, one soon after independence, the other more recently. Each civil war is related to the history of the particular country and the specific roots of conflict in that country should be explored in depth. No generalisation could cover them all. The circumstances which led to the attempted secession of Biafra and the civil war in Nigeria are quite different from those which led Museveni and a small band of men to attack Kabamba barracks and begin a war of insurgency in Uganda.

Apart from the obvious point that civil wars cause death and injury, disruption of civil life, damage to infrastructure and displacement of peoples, no generalisation could cover the consequences which have been as different as the causes. Insurgencies in Uganda, Rwanda and Ethiopia led to the overthrow of established governments but attempts at secession in Nigeria and the Congo were crushed, in the latter case by UN troops. Some of the civil wars attracted foreign interventions and United Nations involvement. The effectiveness of the UN in conflict resolution in Africa varied considerably from success in Mozambique to virtual failure in Angola. Some civil wars, notably Angola, became a focus for active Cold War confrontation between the superpowers. Some wars were ended by regional mediation while others are continuing.

Narratives would be largely irrelevant and unlikely to reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for generalisations about causes and consequences with limited supporting evidence.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which demonstrate adequate knowledge of specific causes and consequences.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which explore in depth the long and short term causes of conflict and its consequences.

[17+ marks] for answers which demonstrate conceptual ability and depth of historical understanding.

21. With reference to at least *two* countries, explain why since independence some African countries have adopted single-party systems while others have adopted multi-party systems.

African countries inherited at independence a system of politics and government established by the colonial power and this was generally based on a multi-party system. In the last years of colonial rule the British transferred to their territories the “Westminster” model of government, *e.g.* in Kenya, Nigeria, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Ghana and Tanganyika. Except in a few cases such as Tanzania, this model encouraged multi-partyism and electoral competition among parties. Some parties such as Senghor’s PDS or Nyerere’s TANU were truly nationwide and transcended ethnic loyalties and mobilised their people for independence. Many others were not. The NPC in Nigeria, KY in Uganda or CONAKAT in Zaire had a purely ethnic or regional appeal. A multi-party pluralist system could therefore be a major obstacle to national unity, a crucial aim of newly independent states faced with the legacy of artificial boundaries created by the colonial powers.

Multi-party systems gave place sooner or later to one-party systems in most African countries. This was done to promote national unity as well as for authoritarian reasons of consolidating power in the hands of a dictator. Sometimes it simply involved changing the constitution to recognise the reality of a *de facto* one-party state as in Tanzania. More often it was accompanied by oppressive measures such as detention without trial and press censorship.

A few African countries such as Botswana have successfully kept the multi-party system inherited at independence. This was more likely to happen in countries with a greater degree of ethnic cohesion. Since the end of the Cold War, internal and external pressures have led many African countries, *e.g.* Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi, to switch from a one-party to a multi-party system. These pressures have included demands for more transparency and accountability and greater respect for human rights such as freedom of expression and association.

The question requires reference to at least two countries and should include an example of each system. Answers which refer to only one system are unlikely to reach **[12 marks]**. Answers are unlikely to be narrative but may be too vague and generalised to reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers making some relevant reference to party systems in two countries.

[11 to 13 marks] for a better quality of analysis of the same theme.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which have a focused, in-depth explanation of the party system in at least two countries.

[17+ marks] for answers which may refer to Museveni’s no-party “movement” system in Uganda as a successful alternative to both one-party and multi-party systems.

22. “President Nasser made a significant contribution to the development of Egypt.” To what extent do you agree with this judgment?

President Nasser sought to achieve economic independence through socialist policies, by centrally planned development and the creation of state-run industries. From 1960 banks, insurance and trading companies and industries were nationalized and a progressive taxation system introduced as a means of redistribution of wealth.

Nasser’s major contributions to the development of Egypt were in the fields of agrarian reform, agricultural production, industrialization and social reform. Ownership of land was limited to 100 feddan but only 8 % of fellahin families had benefited by 1970. The fellahin did, however, gain from government-sponsored co-operatives which advanced loans and invested profits as an insurance against a drop in cotton prices or on socially useful buildings such as mosques, clinics, social centres and new housing. The cooperatives also arranged for the storage and transport of crops and carried out pest-control, crop selection and irrigation improvements. Triennial rotation, made compulsory in 1963, led to higher yields. The Aswan High Dam led to a twelve-fold increase in electric power in Egypt and to the reclamation of a million feddan of land from the desert.

During Nasser’s period in office, industrialization increased rapidly and Egypt manufactured a wide range of goods for domestic consumption: lorries, tractors, railway wagons, television sets, cement, fertilizers and refrigerators. But productivity was low and Egypt could not export enough industrial goods to pay for food imports. The expansion of industry lagged behind the increase in the number of urban unemployed. The rapid growth in population created economic and social problems. In the 1960s Egypt began to negotiate debt-financing loans. War also held back the expansion of the economy as did massive purchases of Russian and Czech arms. Corruption was reduced but not eradicated. Despite some failures, Nasser’s government did more than any previous one to develop and modernize the country.

Nasser’s most considerable achievements were in the field of social reform, in health, education and the status of women. The provision of free medical care transformed the nation’s health. Malnutrition and children’s eye diseases were largely eliminated and tuberculosis and malaria much reduced. The number of doctors more than doubled and clean drinking-water was provided to all villages. Compulsory primary education was introduced, a new university opened and new faculties introduced at Al-Azhar University. There was a progressive if gradual approach to the status of women which led to an increase in their employment and enrolment in universities and to the abandonment of the veil. There was also a cultural revival of Classical Arabic drama and traditional forms of entertainment.

Narratives of Nasser’s career might not reach **[8 marks]**. Discussion of Nasser’s rise to power or foreign policy would not be relevant.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive essays on the Egyptian economy.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with more explicit reference to development.

[14 to 16+ marks] for a critical evaluation of Nasser’s economic and social policies and their contribution to the development of Egypt.

23. Analyse the problems faced by Mobutu in Zaire. How successful was he in dealing with them?

Mobutu faced the problem of restoring political stability and reviving indigenous culture and creating a system of government capable of administering such a vast country after years of civil war and national disintegration. Zaire lacked economic and social development and Mobutu had to meet several military challenges to his regime.

He seized power in a military coup in November 1965 and instituted a dictatorship. Within two years he had consolidated a unitary regime with a strong central government able to suppress ethnicism, regionalism and secessionism. In 1967 he promulgated a new constitution giving the president great power, and established a single political party. He brought many civilians into government but operated a personal “court system” in which political clients paid him homage and sought patronage and favours in return.

With Western assistance he defeated military challenges to his regime. White mercenaries helped him defeat a Lumumbaist revolt in the north-east and French troops helped him defeat rebels in Shaba in 1977 and 1978. He had some success in fostering the growth of national consciousness through a programme known as Authenticity from 1971 and “Mobutuism” from 1974. Colonial names were removed from the cities, a lake was renamed after him and all Zaireans had to have indigenous names.

Mobutu provided Zaire with a degree of political stability which led to some economic progress for a time. Zaire’s position as a major world producer of valuable metals was re-established. Nationalisation measures increased revenue for development programmes. The government became a partner in the mining companies but Mobutu encouraged foreign investment. Agricultural production increased and education was considerably expanded.

Both internal and external factors led to a severe downturn in Zaire’s economy in the 1970s. Internal factors included misguided economic policies, neglect of agriculture, massive corruption and extravagant spending on arms, buildings and prestige projects. External factors included OPEC price rises, a fall in the price of copper and the impact of the Angolan Civil War. The economic decline continued in the 1980s and Mobutu defaulted several times on loan agreements.

By 1990, after the end of the Cold War, there was mounting external and internal pressure for democratization. In April 1990 Mobutu conceded the right to form opposition political parties but the very next month the police suppressed a student protest, killing eleven people. A national conference opened in August 1991 as a gesture towards political pluralism while Mobutu concentrated with some success on dividing his opponents. From 1992, the political and economic situation in Zaire continued to deteriorate. In failing health, Mobutu could not change the habits of a dictator. A rebellion backed by Rwanda and Uganda developed in Eastern Zaire and Mobutu’s demoralized army could not prevent the rapid march of forces loyal to Laurent Kabila who occupied Kinshasa in May 1997 and drove Mobutu from Zaire.

N.B. *The cut-off date for the syllabus is 1995.*

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of Mobutu’s presidency.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which refer to problems and attempted solutions.

[14 to 16+ marks] and above for a structured and balanced analysis of Zaire’s problems and Mobutu’s attempts to deal with them.

24. Account for the political stability of Senegal and Ivory Coast from independence to 1980.

Both Senegal and Ivory Coast 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 Houphouet-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 Houphouet-Boigny remained in office until the 1990s when, as in Senegal, there was a smooth transition to a chosen successor, Konan Bedie.

The Ivory Coast 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 left-wing challenges in the early 1960s with hundreds of arrests and detentions and some executions. Party officials or civil servants suspected of socialist views were dismissed. The 6000-strong militia easily contained the violent student protests of 1968 and a revolt in Bere region in 1973.

More positively, Houphouet-Boigny maintained political stability by consistently maintaining an ethnic balance in government and the administration, thus reducing the ethnic tensions that had before independence threatened to destroy the Ivory Coast. Senghor also contained political dissent in Senegal by a mixture of repression and maintaining an ethnic balance in political appointments. The economies of both countries were relatively well managed and compared to other African countries there was a relative lack of corruption. Dakar and Abidjan flourished as capital cities though Abidjan was slowly relieved of its function as capital as the centre of government was gradually transferred to Houphouet-Boigny's home town Yamoussoukro.

Senghor managed a remarkably smooth transition of his country in 1977–8 from one-party to multi-party state. In multi-party elections characterised by free speech and press freedom, Senghor won a third seven-year term as President. He had been careful to ensure that the new opposition parties were national and not ethnic-based. His revival of multi-partyism was his final contribution to Senegal's political stability.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with a more explicit reference.

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

Mark out of *[12 marks]* if only one country is treated.

25. To what extent has any *one* regional organisation in Africa since independence succeeded in promoting economic and political co-operation?

This is unlikely to be a popular topic as it is given limited coverage in most histories of Africa. The syllabus makes specific reference to three of these organisations, the East African Community (EAC); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC). All of these organisations have attempted to reduce the dependence of their member states on external forces, especially in the economic sphere, and to co-ordinate the development of economic programmes to achieve faster economic growth. None of them has achieved much success in the first aims. It is paradoxical, for example, that the attempts of SADCC countries to reduce dependence on South Africa in the field of transport and communication depend on the availability of foreign sources of aid and investment.

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

[8 to 10 marks] for a general description of the activities of one organisation with implicit reference to economic and political co-operation.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which relate activities to objectives.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which give a clear evaluation with adequate supporting evidence showing the extent to which the organisation achieved its objectives.
