

MARKSCHEME

May 2004

HISTORY - AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

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1. Analyse the reasons for the spread of Christianity and Islam in the nineteenth century.

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

Christianity spread as a result not of trade but of missionary activity. The mission churches in Africa were staffed by members of missionary societies such as the Catholic White Fathers and the Church Missionary Society linked to the Anglican Church. The Christian churches showed increasing interest in Africa, fuelled by stories of the slave trade and of explorers and encouraged by the success of some early missionaries. The educational and medical skills and facilities provided by the missionaries assisted the spread.

Islam's spread was related to its appeal as a religion which changed the outlook of believers and their understanding of themselves and of God. The spread of Islam was not so linked to the provision of facilities though converts might be attracted by the use of Arabic writings and Muslim dress. The appeal and spread of Christianity depended partly on the political and social structure of particular African communities and made more headway in some societies, e.g. the Igbo, the Baganda and the Basotho, than others.

This is a topic which is not always studied in depth. Vague answers with unsupported generalizations will not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with some understanding of why both religions spread.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of similarities and differences.

[14+ marks] for in depth answers which analyse the spread of the two religions in specific parts of Africa.

2. “Both Tewodros II and Yohannes IV of Ethiopia failed in the objectives they had set out to achieve.” How far do you agree with this assessment?

Some attempt to define objectives will be essential. Tewodros was the first nineteenth century ruler of Ethiopia to have a vision of the emperor as the focus for national unity. His main objective was to unify and modernize Ethiopia after a century of turmoil during the “era of the Princes”. He was committed to military and administrative reform, to the creation of a well equipped standing army and to a reduction of the wealth and privileges of the church and the power of the rases and to ending the slave trade. But his reforms provoked widespread internal opposition and failed to achieve anything of lasting importance. The regular use of the army to enforce his views and policies and crush opposition alienated the nobles, the clergy, and the peasants. His tactless foreign policy provoked a British military expedition and his reign ended in suicide and the desertion of most of his army.

Yohannes had more cautious objectives. He also sought national unity but tolerated regionalism, conscious of the impediments to establishing a unitary state. He tried to seek an accommodation with his two main vassals, Menelik of Shoa and Tekle Haymanot of Gojjam. But his policy of creating a loosely united Ethiopia encouraged centrifugal tendencies which were always a potential threat to the unity of the state. He was successful against Egypt but faced a growing threat from Italy and was killed in battle against the Mahdists.

Candidates may view Tewodros sympathetically and point out how his vision of a united Ethiopia inspired his successors. They may also challenge the assumption that Yohannes failed.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with some reference to objectives.

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

[14+ marks] for an in-depth balanced assessment of how far the two rulers failed to achieve their objectives. Answers in the top bands should challenge, at least partially, the assumption of failure.

3. Analyse the factors which led to the end of the Mahdist State in 1898.

The Mahdist State did not collapse because of any incompetence on the part of its ruler. Abdallahi had prevented the northern Sudan from relapsing into anarchy after the Mahdi's death. His strength of personality and administrative talent was such that he established his control so firmly that it was broken ultimately only by a foreign invader with superior military resources anxious to control a vital strategic area.

After an unsuccessful Mahdist attempt to invade Egypt in 1889, Britain did not follow up her victory because the Mahdists no longer seemed a threat. The whole diplomatic and military situation in the upper Nile valley changed in 1896. After Menelik's victory at Adowa, Anglo-Egyptian forces moved into Dongola, not to reconquer the Sudan for Egypt, but to help Italy by distracting the Mahdists from trying to win back Kassala, captured by the Italians in 1894. Kitchener's forces soon captured the province of Dongola.

In 1897 Marchand came from Brazzaville to Fashoda in the southern Sudan. Britain then embarked on the full reconquest of the Sudan to forestall French and Ethiopian ambitions in the region. The railway which had been built up the Nile from Wadi Halfa to support Kitchener's expeditionary force was now continued to Hamad. The starving Ansar made a courageous stand at Atbara in 1898 but it was to no avail against Kitchener's machine guns. The Mahdist army, mostly armed with antiquated muskets or spears, could not hope to hold out against the British gunboats, howitzers cannon, maxim guns and the latest repeater rifles. The battle of Omdurman in 1898 marked the end of the Mahdist State though Abdallahi was not killed till 1899. The Mahdist State had fallen because of Sudan's strategic significance. Britain's occupation fitted into the Scramble for Africa in general because Britain's motive was to keep rival powers out of the upper Nile valley.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with some sense of reasons.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit comment on the factors.

[14+ marks] for an in-depth analysis of Britain's motives in the wider context of her strategic interests in the region.

4. Why did Zanzibar increase in economic and political importance up to 1856?

The most important factor contributing to the increase in importance of Zanzibar was the personality and the political and economic ambitions of Sultan Seyyid Said. He took advantage of instability on the east African coast to expand his empire and in 1840 he moved the Omani 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. He made commercial agreements with America, Britain and France. He introduced clove growing in Zanzibar which became a major exporter of slaves. The cultivation of cloves also contributed to the growth of the slave trade. Seyyid Said encouraged Indian enterprise and settlement in Zanzibar. His policies led to increased European interest in East Africa. The British saw him as the key to the abolition of the slave trade in East Africa and sought political influence in Zanzibar. In practice the Moresby (1820) and Hamerton Treaties (1845) signed by him with the British had little effect. Zanzibar became a gateway to the mainland for traders and explorers.

Zanzibar was important as a centre of the slave trade which expanded into the interior, incidentally spreading Islam and the Swahili language and eventually leading to the rise of a few new states capable of turning slaving to their own advantage. The slave trade also had many damaging consequences, economically, socially and politically as the Arab Swahili traders penetrated the interior as far as the Great Lakes and Buganda.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative with implicit sense of growth in importance.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit reference to the reasons for increasing importance.

[14 marks] for detailed knowledge of the political and economic factors which contributed to the increasing importance of Zanzibar.

5. What difficulties did Jaja of Opobo face in his rise to power and how did he overcome them?

The nineteenth century saw the decline in the Niger Delta of the Atlantic slave trade and the rise in the palm oil trade. The delta city states extended their trading empires into the interior to palm oil producers' markets. The city states, such as Bonny and Nembe, were divided into houses. Each house had its own trading and war canoes. House heads were second in rank to the king. Traditionally they had been members of the royal family. Jaja was born in the Orlu area of Igboland, enslaved as a child and taken to Bonny.

Here he was still at risk of being sent on a Spanish slave ship to America despite the presence of British warships. He soon came to realize that his only chance of a better future lay in becoming a palm oil trader. The trading houses competed with each other. The competition was so fierce that each house tried to choose the best trade leader it could, whether freeman or slave. Jaja started as a paddler or "pullaboy" in one of the canoes and became head of a canoe. By 1863 he dealt with goods worth about fifty thousand pounds. The Anna Pepple House for which he worked chose him to become its chief. Political life in Bonny was dominated by two rival houses, Anna and Manilla Pepples. Jaja's success provoked the Manilla Pepple into declaring war. Jaja could not defeat his opponents militarily but in a move of great boldness, he led his supporters in 1869 to a new island home at the mouth of the Imo river. Manilla Pepple was thus defeated commercially. Bonny was cut off from its oil markets and fell into serious financial problems. Jaja ruled his flourishing kingdom for 18 years. He fostered education but supported traditional religion and culture. Jaja rose from slave to head of house and overcame the great disadvantages of his background through honesty, hard work and exceptional commercial skills as a negotiator who inspired confidence. Eventually he fell victim to British imperial ambitions, a victim of his own success.

[8 to 10 marks] will be scored for narrative answers with implicit sense of overcoming difficulties.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment.

[14+ marks] for answers which analyse Jaja's rise to power in depth, focusing clearly on the difficulties he overcame in his rise from slave to head of house to independent ruler of Opobo.

6. Examine the methods used by Samori Toure in establishing the Mandinka Empire?

Samori founded an empire in the Western Sudan through trade, sound administration, military strength and later Islamicisation. He rose to power in the highlands of eastern Guinea at a time when they were torn apart by the ambitions of rival Dyula clans. Samori's experience as a Dyula trader was invaluable in his rise to power. He then built up his own army. Through his brilliant 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. His experience as a successful trader enabled him to ensure a regular supply of food and equipment for his army of 30 000 men, mostly foot soldiery but with an elite cavalry corps. They were well armed with muskets and rifles, imported through Freetown through the sale of gold and ivory or manufactured and repaired by his own metalworkers. His small units of riflemen were trained to shoot accurately.

His soldiers were united with him in Mandinka nationalism and Islamic faith. He won the support of the Dyula by keeping their trade routes open and opposing the exactions of local chiefs. He won the support of some African chiefs through marriage alliances. As his state expanded, he identified increasingly with Islam, seeing it as a unifying ideology for his new empire and in 1884 took the title of Almami. His empire was divided into six sections: the central section, almost half of the whole, which was ruled by Samori himself and five provinces ruled by governors.

Narrative answers with irrelevant reference to Samori's encounter with the French may not reach **[8 marks]**.

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

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

[14+ marks] for in-depth analytical answers clearly focused on Samori's methods.

7. Compare and contrast the policies and impact on southern Africa of Shaka and Mosheshwe.

There is a clear contrast between the policies of Shaka as an aggressive nation builder and Moshoeshe who stands out as a leader who built a new state for defence. The two were similar in being helped by, or taking advantage of, the Mfecane and relations with foreign traders and/or missionaries. Both relied on military strength.

Shaka turned a small chiefdom into a nation, imposing Zulu customs and his will on all the territory from the Drakensberg to the sea. He subdued neighbouring tribes, jettisoned customs, reorganized the army, adapted the age-grade system for military purposes and perfected Dingiswayo's military tactics. He used a short stabbing spear for close combat and maintained a well-drilled and disciplined standing army which was merciless with the enemy.

Moshoeshe used traditional Sotho techniques to gather the Sotho communities into one nation. He resorted to war only in self-defence or under severe provocation. From 1822 to 1836, when the Sotho-Tswana lands were ravaged by the Mfecane, Moshoeshe gathered a band of refugees on the mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu. Moshoeshe loaned cattle under the mafisa system, had a federal system of government and used the pitso to solve disputes.

Shaka had the greater impact on Southern Africa. His kingdom was later destroyed by the British but millions of Africans are still proud of their Zulu identity. Moshoeshe offered his country to the British as a protectorate in 1868 and thus preserved the identity of his nation but not its independence. Shaka's wars contributed to a period of upheaval and prolonged warfare and migration. His actions made the Mfecane more intense. It led to the emergence of new states, some with aggressive and others with defensive policies. It also led to the depopulation of large areas, facilitated the Great Trek and made some states more vulnerable to Boer incursions. Moshoeshe, in contrast, offered a refuge to many of the tribes terrorized by, and fleeing from, Shaka. After the Great Trek the Boers occupied much of the land round the Sotho, who had to keep together to resist them.

[8 to 10 marks] for end-on accounts with reference to policies and impact.

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

[14+ marks] for focused answers with in-depth comparative analysis of policies and of their impact on southern Africa. Answers in the top marks will clearly assess policies in the context of their impact on southern Africa.

8. Assess the importance of strategic and economic factors in the partition of Africa.

Strategy was a key factor in the partition though it was one of many factors and is more relevant to the partition in north and east Africa than in most of the rest of the continent. The French fear that Italy might occupy the North African coast and gain increasing control of the Mediterranean led to the French occupation of Tunis. Strategic reasons particularly influenced British policy in north and east Africa. After 1869 the Suez Canal was the shortest route between Britain and India. When Arabi led a nationalist revolt in 1881 in Egypt, Britain feared he would interfere with shipping in the canal and invaded Egypt. Britain remained in Egypt for strategic reasons. She feared the growing power of Russia and was afraid that the Russian fleet might enter the Mediterranean from the Black Sea. As Egypt was dependent on the waters of the Nile, it became an aim of British policy to prevent any other European country from making colonies along the Nile banks. To achieve this, Britain eventually occupied Uganda, Kenya and the Sudan.

During the Great Depression in Europe from 1875 to 1900 European businessmen came to believe that investment in Africa would bring greater profit, expectations that were not always realized. European economic imperialism could flourish without political imperialism. But European businessmen exerted pressure on their governments to colonize because they were failing to make adequate profits and needed European government action against trading rivals. There are clear examples of this in west Africa and especially the Niger Delta, European traders wanted both to destroy the African middleman trade and keep out other European 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. A further economic factor in the partition was the European belief that Africa had a vast potential supply of raw materials. There was a growing demand for rubber, palm oil, groundnuts and cocoa. The discovery of huge quantities of diamonds and gold in southern Africa heightened expectations for the whole continent.

Essays that neglect the strategic aspect will lack balance. A major weakness in answers on the partition is irrelevance. Candidates who write all they know about the partition are unlikely to reach **[8 marks]**.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for adequate knowledge of strategic and economic factors.

[14+ marks] for focused answers with well supported assessments of the importance of both economic and strategic factors.

9. Analyse the similarities and differences between the causes and the results of the Hehe and Maji Maji risings in German East Africa.

The Hehe Rising was an initial primary resistance to German rule while the Maji Maji was a post pacification primary resistance. Mkwawa had built up a powerful military state as ruler of the Hehe and had no intention of submitting to German rule. The Germans could not allow him to raid Africans under German rule or remain an independent ruler without endangering their own position. Mkwawa's control of the trade routes from the coast to Unyamwezi was a major cause of conflict. Mkwawa first found armed resistance necessary when, in 1891, his offer of gifts was misunderstood.

The Maji Maji rising began in 1905 as a result of grievances arising from the imposition of German rule. Among the economic causes were the cotton programme, forced labour and taxation. There were also social and political causes including resentment at attacks on traditional religious practices and the abuse of Ngindo women. Diverse ethnic groups in south-east Tanzania rose under the inspiration of Kinjikitile, a Kolelo spirit medium. Religious belief was an important factor in Maji Maji but not in the Hehe rising.

Both risings were defeated by superior German military technology but both served as an inspiration to later nationalists. Both showed the people the importance of unity if freedom were to be attained and the futility of resorting to armed resistance against a colonial power possessing vast military capacity. The Maji Maji rising jolted the Germans more than the Hehe rising and led to a number of reforms. The new governor, Rechenberg, encouraged African cash-crop farming. In general German rule improved from fear of another Maji Maji rising.

Narrative accounts of the risings might not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for end-on discussion of causes and results with little reference to similarity or difference.

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

[14+ marks] for balanced answers with a comparative structure and detailed knowledge of causes and results of both risings.

10. Assess the significance of John Chilembwe in the history of Nyasaland and of Africa.

Answers should be focused on explaining the significance of John Chilembwe for Africa in general and Nyasaland in particular. The question is not limited to his rising in 1915. Reference may be made to Chilembwe's significance as a leader of an independent church. Such churches were generally established as a protest against the slow progress made by mission controlled churches in ordaining Africans to the priesthood and in promoting them to higher posts in the church hierarchy. Once established, independent churches also played a leading role in protesting against colonial exploitation.

Chilembwe's revolt against the Nyasaland administration in 1915 was the first example in black Africa of secondary resistance led by the western educated elite. He was increasingly aware of major abuses involved in the colonial economic system such as low wages, child labour, lack of night shelter, compulsory recruitment for the mines and harsh taxation. The last straw was the recruitment of Africans into the British army. He campaigned against it, seeing no reason why Africans should die in a white man's war. The government tried to arrest him and his followers at the mission station rose in response.

Chilembwe's rising was an early form of modern nationalism aiming, not at self-government but at reforms in the colonial system, giving greater racial equality. The aim was to build an inter-ethnic society with the help of Europeans prepared to accept African leadership. Chilembwe's rising attracted little support. He resolved to "strike a blow and die" and he was shot while attempting to escape. His rising came too early to attract mass educated support but the blow he struck was symbolic and an inspiration to a later generation of nationalists.

[8 to 10 marks] will be scored for narrative answers with implicit sense of significance.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers with clear focus on significance in African history. Answers in the top bands should analyse Chilembwe's significance as a leader of an independent church as well as of the rising named after him.

11. How successful was Khama as ruler of Botswana?

Khama was ruler of the Bamangwato from 1875 to 1923. He and two other Tswana rulers chose to ask for British protection in 1885 after their territory had been declared a British sphere of influence at the Berlin West Africa Conference. Britain declared a protectorate over Botswana, then Bechuanaland, in 1891. Khama sought protection from the Boers and the Ndebele and he knew that the British were anxious to pre-empt a Boer or German move to take over the territory.

Khama's soldiers fought with the British South Africa Company against the Ndebele in 1893. Khama travelled to London in 1895 and his diplomatic skills impressed all who met him. He persuaded the Colonial Secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than come under company rule. He compromised by giving up some unoccupied land to company administration.

The British appointed a Resident Commissioner and technically Khama was a colonial chief under indirect rule. In practice, he was allowed to operate as an independent ruler, partly because British administrators approved his policies of promoting Christianity and education and developing agriculture and trade. He managed to increase the power of the Ngwato monarchy in the community by using British officials against internal rivals.

Khama's rule of the Ngwato covered half a century of change and development. When Khama became chief the Ngwato were independent in the far interior, proud of their traditional rule and life. At his death they lay within a British Protectorate. Christianity was dominant, the chief's powers had diminished and alien influence had been established. Western clothing and trade, the railway and the telegraph had been accepted. Change was marked but it had been peaceful and largely beneficial. Under Khama's rule the Ngwato had come to terms with change and with European penetration in southern Africa. The Ngwato had not been conquered and their lands had been preserved. Under Khama they had welcomed change and accepted what they saw as beneficial.

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

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

[14+ marks] for an in-depth answer with a well supported judgment on the extent of Khama's success.

12. **“A desire for personal gain” or “A belief in British Imperialism”.**
With reference to the career of Cecil Rhodes in Southern Africa explain which statement you consider to be more appropriate.

Cecil Rhodes came to South Africa for his health in 1870 at the age of 17 and made an early and massive fortune as a mining businessman on the Kimberley diamond fields. He began by buying up cheaply the claims of bankrupt owners and soon acquired the wealth to buy more profitable concerns. After an epic struggle with a business rival, he managed to bring together all diamond production in South Africa in his company, De Beers Consolidated. But his ambition was more than just to accumulate wealth. Like many millionaires he planned to gain money and use it to achieve political power. He became Prime Minister of Cape Colony in 1890 with Afrikaner support but he was interested in more than personal power. He remarked of Englishmen: “We are the first race in the world and... the more of it we inhabit, the better for the human race”. He was determined to build a vast British empire in Africa. He intended to “paint the map red” from the Cape to Cairo. His vision was to win for Britain a continuous belt of territory from South Africa to Egypt, linked by railway and telegraph.

The impact of his British South Africa Company extended into present day Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. He unsuccessfully attempted to secure the right to administer Botswana in 1894.

His political career in South Africa was destroyed by his attempt to overthrow the Transvaal government, which lost him Afrikaner backing. His actions around the Jameson raid in 1895 were driven both by a wish to create a Transvaal fit for capitalism, to extend British hegemony and to unload the cost of the northern adventures of his British South Africa Company onto a united South Africa. But he made a serious error of judgment in assuming the uitlanders would rise up in revolution against Transvaal’s President Kruger, an error which ruined his political career.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit reference to motives.

[14+ marks] for an in-depth assessment of Rhodes’ career clearly focused on desire for gain or a genuine belief in the potential for good of British influence and rule or both.

13. “The British system of indirect rule did more for the development of Africa than the French system of association.” How valid is this claim?

Historians have argued for years over the merits and demerits, similarities and differences of the French and British “systems” of colonial administration. Candidates are expected to explain the two “systems” and then assess critically their impact on African development. The British system of indirect rule, first applied by Lugard in Nigeria involved maintaining, as far as possible, the local rule of traditional kings or chiefs. The French, after a limited adoption of assimilation in four communes in Senegal, developed a system of association. This involved replacing traditional rulers and 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 because of an absence of enough Europeans or of a Europeanized elite. The British deliberately excluded the educated elite from their administration.

Both systems were imposed and did not take note of the considerable innovations that had taken place in African government in the nineteenth century. In areas where there were no chiefs *e.g.* among the Ibo or Kikuyu, they were created, and almost always were unacceptable to those they ruled. Both systems involved forced labour and taxation and were based on the premise that colonies should at least be financially self-sufficient and not become a drain on metropolitan finances.

The French system can easily be criticized for its paternalism and for the exploitation and injustice suffered by subjects who supplied heavy taxes and yet had hardly any individual rights. The British thought their system was the cheapest and the best. But good candidates may well challenge the assumption of the quotation. Indirect rule was a poor foundation for future self-government. It excluded a new generation of educated elite who emerged as the leading nationalists and it sought to perpetuate traditional, conservative societies interested in serving their own interests and retaining their power.

Vague generalizations will not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with some explanation of the differences between the two systems.

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

[14+ marks] for a critical, supported assessment of the two systems, with answers in the top bands challenging the quotation.

14. Analyse the impact of the Italian occupation (from 1936 to 1941) on Ethiopia.

Italian rule in Ethiopia was largely confined to the towns where the impact of the occupation was mainly felt. The Italians made a lasting effect on the architecture of the regional capitals and especially of Addis Ababa which expanded southwards and eastwards and received its first urban supplies of water and electricity. Textile mills and a cement factory were established in Dire Dawa and oil, flour and sawmills all over the country. Despite the fascist policy of racial segregation there was a great deal of interaction between Ethiopians and most of the moderate Italians. The cash economy was significantly reinforced.

There was road construction especially in the north. Though it was geared more towards conquest than development it gave an impetus to the development of motor transport. In the economic sphere Italian rule was corporatist. Parastatal organizations were set up in industry, commerce and agriculture. They were meant to facilitate the settlement of Italian farmers in selected fertile areas of Ethiopia. But the scheme was disappointing. Far from feeding the metropolis the colony could not even support itself. The settlers lived under the constant threat of attack by the patriot guerilla bands.

Though the Italian occupation had lasting consequences, it faced nationwide resistance throughout the period. The first phase, essentially a continuation of the war, was largely led by members of the upper nobility. The second phase followed the abortive attempt on the life of the Italian viceroy Graziani in 1937 to which the Italians responded with a reign of terror in Addis Ababa of such proportions as to create a “missing generation” of Ethiopian intellectuals and political leaders. The new phase involved guerilla units, mostly led by lower nobility, which kept Italian troops under constant threat. The resistance had a corrosive effect physically and psychologically on Italian rule and made Italian troops highly vulnerable when the British launched the final campaign of liberation in January 1941 which led to the capture of Addis Ababa in April 1941 and the return of the emperor.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of the occupation with implicit sense of impact.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment.

[14+ marks] for in-depth analysis of the impact on Ethiopian society, economy and politics of the Italian occupation.

15. Assess the contribution made by *one* political party to the achievement of independence in *either* Kenya or Tanganyika.

Candidates are likely to choose Kanu for Kenya or Tanu for Tanganyika, though reference could be made to KADU. The presence of a large settler community, British reaction to the Mau Mau emergency, inter-ethnic rivalry and suspicion together with the existence of leadership rivalry until Kenyatta's release from prison were all obstacles limiting the effectiveness of political parties in Kenya until a few years before independence.

Whichever party is chosen, candidates are expected to show the contribution to the achievement of independence made by its organization, leadership, political programme and by the degree of support it was able to command among different interest groups. The absence of serious tribal rivalry and of a large settler population and the unifying influence of the widely spoken Swahili language all helped TANU to emerge as the single, dominant nationalist party in Tanganyika. It pursued a peaceful, non-confrontational campaign for independence in cooperation with the British governor and the UN Trusteeship Council. A crucial factor in Tanu's success was the leadership provided by the charismatic Nyerere respectfully known as Mwalimu, the teacher. He helped build 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.

Kanu was not really effective till Kenyatta's release from detention. He had become a symbol of freedom and tried in 1961 to bring Kenya's conflicting political interests together. He failed to do so and his party was dominated by Kikuyus and related tribes and by the Luo. Whereas TANU was a highly organized, active mass party, KANU was only active at election time and its victory in 1963 was due to the appeal of its leaders and the fact that the ethnic groups which supported it and voted on strictly ethnic lines outnumbered those who supported KADU.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with incidental reference to party organization and leadership.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit discussion of these factors.

[14+ marks] for answers focused with in-depth analysis on the role of the party in the achievement of independence.

16. Analyse the factors which stimulated the growth of nationalism in the Gold Coast (Ghana) to 1951.

Post-war Gold Coast was relatively prosperous. It had a network of schools and a rising number of graduates. The African middle class had won responsibility in city politics and even gained seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative council. African nationalism in Ghana, as elsewhere in West Africa, had been stimulated by the Pan-African movement, the invasion of Ethiopia, a variety of grievances relating especially to economic issues, the rise of the press, the growth of cities and the impact of the Second World War especially on African soldiers who had fought abroad and seen European vulnerability at first hand. The post-war labour government was more sympathetic to nationalists who were also encouraged by the example of the Indian nationalist movement.

In 1947, Danquah and other educated professionals and businessmen founded the moderate United Gold Coast Convention. They invited Kwame Nkrumah, who had studied for 10 years in the United States and acted as organizing secretary of the Pan-African Congress in Britain in 1945, to be the full time organizer. He was a tireless campaigner and brilliant speaker. In 1948 riots broke out when police fired on demonstrators and Nkrumah and others were imprisoned. The Coussey Committee was appointed to advise on political changes. The resulting constitution had many more elected members in the legislative council but Nkrumah was critical. He founded his own party known as the Convention People's Party. This won the election of 1951 and he left prison to become leader of government business. Nationalism was fuelled by the charisma and energy of Nkrumah and the organization and national appeal of the CPP which attracted market women, wage-workers, war-pensioners and ambitious young school leavers.

Reference to events after 1951 is irrelevant.

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

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

[14+ marks] for a well-supported analysis of how a variety of factors stimulated the growth of nationalism up to 1951.

17. Why did Malawi achieve independence earlier and more peacefully than Mozambique?

Malawi emerged as an independent country not long after the break-up of the Central African Federation. The Devlin and Monckton Commissions had already conceded that African opposition to the federation was almost universal and that any territory wishing to secede should be allowed to do so. Dr Banda had returned to the then Nyasaland and became the dominant political figure. Malawi had no settler class to delay the process of decolonization. The transfer of power to Malawi politicians was achieved by peaceful negotiation with a British Conservative government which had already accepted “the wind of change” blowing through Africa. Nyasaland was granted self-government in May 1963 and full independence as Malawi in July 1964.

Mozambique became independent 11 years later and only after an armed struggle because Portugal, the poorest of the colonial powers, believed that her colonies were indispensable to her economy. Dr Salazar was a dictator ready to ignore the pressure of public opinion and his government insisted that Mozambique was an overseas territory and an integral part of Portugal. The large-scale white settlement which Portugal had encouraged to alleviate her own unemployment problem was an obstacle to majority rule. Mozambique was regarded by South Africa and some western countries who had invested in South Africa as essential to the defence of the “white south”. These countries offered military aid to Portugal in her struggle with Frelimo. Independence came only when the Portuguese army lost the will to resist and to suffer further losses and overthrew the Portuguese dictatorship in a coup in 1974. The new government in Portugal negotiated with Frelimo and Samora Machel became the first President of Mozambique in 1975.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of events leading to independence with implicit sense of peaceful and violent tactics.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit contrast.

[14+ marks] for answers which focus clearly, and with some depth of analysis in the explanation provided, on “earlier” and “more peacefully” and make balanced reference to both countries.

18. How and why did South Africa change from the system of apartheid to parliamentary democracy?

In the 1960s and early 1970s the South African government brutally suppressed all opposition and pressed ahead with apartheid policies. The ANC and its military wing were driven into exile. But the collapse of Portuguese rule in 1974-5 was a psychological boost to black South Africans. After the Soweto uprising and murder of Steve Biko, the government began a limited process of reform. But as opponents of the system pointed out, apartheid could not be reformed. It could only be abolished. There was growing conflict in the townships and the international news organizations relayed to the world television coverage of security forces firing live ammunition into crowds of unarmed demonstrators. There was growing international condemnation of apartheid and foreign capital began to flee the country in the mid-80s. Meanwhile prominent white businessmen and later politicians and academics were holding secret discussions with the ANC in exile. The defeat of South African forces at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola forced the South African government to the negotiating table and led to Namibian independence in 1990.

The accession of FW de Klerk to the presidency in 1989 had a dramatic effect on South African politics. It coincided with the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe which changed Afrikaner perceptions of their opponents and themselves. They abandoned the claim to be bastions of Christian civilization against the hordes of the evil empire. De Klerk reassessed the whole situation. He lifted the state of emergency, unbanned the ANC and other political parties, repealed some of the apartheid laws and in February 1990 released Nelson Mandela after 27 years in prison. There followed four years of intensive negotiations which led to South Africa's first non-racial elections in April 1994 and an ANC-dominated government led by President Mandela. FW de Klerk had calculated in 1990 that he could control the process of transition to guarantee his own interests. It was a mistaken calculation.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit comment.

[14+ marks] for answers clearly focused on an in-depth analysis of the factors which facilitated the transition to majority rule.

19. Explain how Museveni and the National Resistance Army succeeded in achieving power in Uganda.

The National Resistance Army (NRA) became one of the most effective guerilla insurgencies in Africa. Its victory showed that it was possible for a small group of dedicated insurgents to launch an armed struggle which eventually led to the overthrow of an incumbent African regime. The NRA captured the capital, Kampala, in January 1986, without any significant external support and without a friendly frontier across which to retreat or to use for communications with the outside world. The NRA's military equipment came almost entirely from the government forces and its food from the host society. The NRA enjoyed popular support around its bases to the west of the capital, precipitated by deep-rooted hatred of Obote's regime and was fuelled by that regime's violent counter-insurgency operations. The NRA's effective organizational structures maintained the cohesion of the movement. The NRA political programme reinforced the commitment of the insurgent forces. The NRA benefited from the weaknesses first of the Obote and then of the Okello regimes and especially from the death in a helicopter crash in 1983 of General Oyite Ojok which threw Obote's army into confusion and eventually resulted in his overthrow in 1985 and replacement by a weak and unstable military regime led by Tito Okello.

The role of Museveni's leadership in motivating the NRA fighters was undoubtedly crucial for success. Museveni was the military and political pillar of the NRA, sharing in the field the risks to which all the insurgents were exposed. His charisma, strength of character and will inspired his followers with his vision which they adopted as their own and also inspired the civilian population in the war zone to entrust him with their lives.

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

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

[14+ marks] for answers which clearly focus on the factors which led to the NRA victory with in-depth analysis.

20. Assess the contribution of Kaunda to the solution of his country's problems since independence.

A satisfactory answer to this question has to be based on an analysis of Zambia's problems. A full answer should include reference to political, economic and social problems. Some reference might be expected as to how far these problems were part of the colonial legacy, and how far they were created, or at least increased, by Kaunda himself.

Kaunda became the first president of independent Zambia in 1964. Like many other African rulers he introduced a one-party state but eventually gave in to increasing internal opposition and external pressure and agreed to a multiparty political system. He lost the first multiparty election to Frederick Chiluba in 1991. He supported the nationalist movement in the then Rhodesia but Zambia suffered from the effect of economic sanctions imposed on its former close trading partners.

Zambia spent lavishly on free education and health and a whole range of prestige urban building projects. But there was little effort to diversify the economy and no effective investment in peasant food cultivation. The civil service boomed and the rapid expansion of non-technical education drained people away from life in the rural areas. Corruption became widespread. While the majority rural population remained relatively poor and urban unemployment continued to rise, government ministers and other members of the minority educated elite were becoming increasingly wealthy.

Candidates may take a more favourable view of Kaunda's achievements. Accept well supported interpretations.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of Kaunda's presidency with implicit sense of problems and solutions.

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

[14+ marks] for answers fully focused on problems and solutions with some depth of assessment.

21. Analyse the causes and the impact of military intervention in Ghana and Nigeria up to 1981.

Soldiers seized power for complex reasons: to eradicate the “VIPs of waste” as Nigeria’s first military leaders put it; specific military grievances related to pay, promotion, resources and conditions of work; ethnic rivalry and personal ambition. In assessing the impact, candidates can judge how far the military leaders solved the problems they claimed to wish to remedy.

Corruption, lavish spending, dictatorial intolerance of criticism and neglect of the country’s worsening economic situation led to the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966. There were also specific military grievances related to proposed cuts in defence spending, pay and political interference in army affairs. The military regime purged the civil service of Nkrumah supporters then returned the country to civilian rule in 1969. Dr Busia failed to tackle Ghana’s economic problems in the face of falling cocoa prices and he was overthrown by Colonel Acheampong. Again, there were specific military grievances. Inflation continued to rise, and the blatant wealth of the ruling military elite prompted Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings to undertake a brief “cleansing exercise” in 1979. Three former military heads of state were executed for corruption. After a brief return to civilian rule, Rawlings seized power again in 1981.

An army coup in Nigeria in January 1966 raised suspicions that the Ibos were plotting to seize power. In May Ibos were slaughtered in the north and General Gowon led a counter-coup in July. Further violence against Ibos led Colonel Ojukwu to proclaim an independent Biafra. The civil war which followed ended with the defeat of the Ibos in 1970. General Gowon was ousted in 1975 and replaced by General Mohammed and after his assassination, by General Obasanjo who returned the country to civilian rule in 1979. Military intervention in Nigeria sharpened ethnic rivalry, led to considerable loss of life and destruction in the civil war and delayed the development of multi-party democracy.

Narrative essays which amount to little more than a list of military rulers might not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] could be scored by narrative with an implicit sense of the reasons for coups and their impact.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis with balance between the two countries.

[14+ marks] for answers which are quite comprehensive in coverage and focused on the causes of coups and their impact.

22. For what reasons was United Nations intervention more successful in ending conflict in Mozambique than in Angola?

The UN has always performed best in the resolution of conflict within states when these preconditions are met: the parties are genuinely willing to cooperate, a clear mandate has been given by the Security Council and adequate financial, manpower and equipment resources have been provided for the UN operation.

In Angola, the resources and the mandate were inadequate. Only a few hundred unarmed observers were provided to monitor but not organize the first ever elections in a huge country which had been devastated by war since independence in 1975. The UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi would not accept defeat in the election and the UN could not prevent him returning to the bush and resuming civil war.

In Mozambique, in contrast, the UN took on a much greater role and Renamo proved far more cooperative. The UN was created to deal with conflicts between states and has discovered that far more is expected of it in situations of civil war like Mozambique and Angola than in the management of inter-state conflict. Peacekeeping has become no longer a question of a thin blue line of unarmed observers or lightly armed forces deployed along an established ceasefire line. The UN operation in Mozambique involved the disarming and cantonment of militias, organizing elections, resettling returning refugees, de-mining, rebuilding shattered infrastructures, retraining police forces and much more, activities which were a heavy drain on UN resources. The preconditions for success were present in Mozambique but not in Angola where Savimbi would only have accepted electoral victory.

[8 to 10 marks] could be scored by answers which narrate UN involvement with implicit reference to conflict resolution.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment.

[14+ marks] should clearly analyse how and why the UN was more effective in Mozambique than Angola with balanced discussion of both.

23. Why was the East African Community shortlived?

The question calls for an analysis of the factors that led to the collapse after only 10 years of the East African Community.

The East African Community grew out of the East African High Commission (1948) and the East African Common Services Organization (1961). It was established in 1967 to promote cooperation between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania in the fields of education, transport and communications, trade and economic development. Progress was made for some years but after Amin's coup in Uganda in 1971 Tanzania refused to recognize the new regime and the East African Authority consisting of the three heads of state did not meet again.

There was a growing feeling in Tanzania and Uganda that Kenya benefited most from the organization and its activities. Most of the Community's offices were in Nairobi. Kenya's stronger, more diversified economy brought her significant advantages. Considerable rivalry developed between the three countries with each feeling it was subsidizing the other. The East African Income Tax Department ceased to exist in 1974. By 1975 the common market was virtually a dead letter as exchange control restrictions between the partner states became permanent. A series of unilateral actions by member states led to a complete breakdown of the work of the Community. Tanzania restricted road traffic between Kenya and Zambia on the pretext that Kenya's lorries were damaging Tanzanian roads. Kenya retaliated by closing some border roads and interfering with rail and steamer traffic. The Harbours Corporation split into two national services in 1975 and East African Airways broke up in 1976. The East African Community was dead by 1977, having only lasted 10 years. Personal differences between the heads of state and ideological differences especially after the Arusha Declaration played a part in the break-up but economic nationalism and rivalry was a more important factor.

A description of the activities of the Community might not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for description/narrative with implicit sense of problems facing the Community.

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

[14+ marks] for well supported in-depth analysis of the reasons for the collapse of the Community.

24. How far have ethnic factors contributed to civil wars in Africa since independence?

There is a large number of examples to choose from: Angola, Burundi, Chad, Congo, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Sudan. 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 causes of conflict in that country should be explored in depth. The extent to which ethnic factors were important varies enormously. In Somalia, those fighting were all Somali and shared a common language and religion but were influenced by clan rivalry. Power hungry leaders like Charles Taylor in Liberia or Savimbi in Angola exploited ethnic divisions. Ethnic factors were involved in the attempted secessions of Katanga and Biafra. Two civil wars where the ethnic factor has been predominant have been in Burundi and in Rwanda where it led to genocidal conflict between Hutus and Tutsis in 1994. A common factor in most civil wars has been the perception that only violent protest can accomplish change.

Vague generalizations about ethnicity would not reach **[8 marks]** nor would answers consisting largely of a list of civil wars.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative of wars with some sense of ethnic factors.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis.

[14+ marks] for essays with a well supported judgment of how far ethnicity contributed to civil wars.

25. Compare and contrast how *two* African governments have tried to deal with problems of economic development.

African economies had been directed towards exporting cheap agricultural raw materials and minerals to Europe and importing relatively expensive manufactured goods. Subsistence cultivation for Africa's basic food needs was often neglected. Transport and telecommunications were inadequate.

Soon after independence there was a drive to industrialize but governments had to import all the expertise, technology, machinery and building materials. They soon ran into debt and had to export ever more cash crops and minerals to finance the debts and the adverse terms of trade, controlled from Europe and America, got worse. Nkrumah coined the term "neocolonialism" to describe Europe's continuing economic control over politically-independent Africa. Governments spent lavishly on expensive industrial and prestige projects.

Governments neglected rural areas and failed to invest surplus government funds or expensive foreign loans in that sector of the population which had ensured some economic self-sufficiency. Small-scale farmers received little reward for their products. From the mid 1960s there was a dramatic fall in world commodity prices. Countries had to cut back on vital imports. Inflation rose rapidly and there was a shortage of goods in the shops.

These generalizations can be illustrated by examples drawn from many African countries but there were exceptions. After the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere took Tanzanian development in an entirely new direction. Governments which had achieved independence through guerilla struggle often based their subsequent development on adaptations of socialist principles.

By the 1980s and 1990s many African economies had been crippled by drought and debt and had to turn for emergency loans to the IMF which demanded, as preconditions known as structural adjustment programmes, balanced budgets, devaluation of currency and a liberalization of capital controls. These measures were meant to encourage foreign investment but did not solve the problem of the lack of indigenous capital.

Vague generalizations would not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with an implicit sense of problems and policies.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit assessment with some comparison and contrast.

[14+ marks] for answers which clearly identify problems and policies and give well supported comparison and contrast of economic policies with reference to two countries. Answers in the top band may contrast capitalist and socialist approaches to development.
