



# **MARKSCHEME**

**November 2008**

**HISTORY – AFRICA**

**Higher Level**

**Paper 3**

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**1. Assess the African response to the arrival of Christian missions in the pre-colonial period.**

In some African societies the rulers allowed missionaries to work, gave them positive encouragement, and many people were converted to Christianity. Khama of the Ngwato and the rulers of Bonny welcomed missionaries because they accepted the gospel message and led Christian revolutions in their own states. Other rulers allowed missionaries to settle for non-religious reasons. Mutesa of Buganda and Lewanika of Buluzi welcomed missionaries as part of a policy of diplomatic alignment with European military and political power, but were not themselves converted. Some associated with the missionaries for economic benefit, and also for guns – which they rarely got. Most rulers kept the missionaries out of their areas for fear that they would disturb the traditional way of life on which their authority depended. In both Dahomey and Jaja's Opobo the missionaries were banned because it was felt that they claimed spiritual authority over the local ruler who was also the traditional religious leader.

The converts in pre-colonial times were generally “marginal men” in society. They were often slaves or freed slaves or refugees. Among the Igbo, the early Christians were drawn from the poor and the rejected such as those suffering from leprosy and the mothers of twins. In Malawi, converts were often vulnerable communities who looked to the missionaries to protect them from powerful enemies. In the exceptional conditions of Buganda, converts were made among men of social standing such as chiefs and court pages. Polygamy was probably the strongest reason to reject Christianity. In most communities the number of wives was an indication of a man's wealth, and for rulers like Mutesa and Moshweshwe wives represented alliances which helped to ensure the loyalties of localities. Africans could have been discouraged by divisions between Catholics and Protestants. In Buganda, however, these divisions did not hinder the progress of the gospel but did lead to civil war. Missionaries demanded a greater theological understanding before converts were accepted than did Islam, which spread more rapidly at the time. The vast majority of Africans still adhered to their traditional religions, but that was to change in the colonial period.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for unsupported assertions.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit assessment of African responses.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for focused in-depth analysis of different responses.

*[17+ marks]* for insight into the conditions which produced different responses.

**2. Assess the contribution of Menelik II to the unity, modernization and preservation of the independence of Ethiopia.**

Menelik II became emperor after Yohannis IV died in 1889. He had to employ both military and diplomatic manoeuvres to achieve the position of emperor. Internally he had to rally the powerful provincial King of Tigre, Ras Mangasha, behind him after realising that Italians were occupying more of Tigre land. Between 1870–1889, Menelik was busy consolidating his own position by conquering the Galla to the south of his Shewa Kingdom and the sultanate of Harar to the east. He also had to contend with the growing threat from the Mahdist state in the Sudan. In 1889 he signed the Ucciali Treaty with the Italians. This treaty's interpretation was to cause the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. In 1890, Menelik began to open negotiations with other powers and received both French and Russian emissaries. This led to a full-scale offensive by the Italians protesting that Menelik had flouted clauses of the Ucciali Treaty by allowing French/Russian emissaries in Ethiopia. Italy sent a large force to Massawa to enforce their right of occupation which Menelik had renounced. In the battle of Adowa Menelik soundly defeated the Italians by getting the support of most of the Ethiopian princes who together had a combined force of over 100 000 men. His expansion to the south and east earlier was a major factor in maintaining Ethiopian independence. He had a large store of arms given by Italians, and others purchased from other European powers and from Egypt with loans received from Italy. The relationship with the Khalifa in Sudan improved after the victory of Adowa as both the British and the French sought Menelik's favours to protect their own interests in Somalia, Kenya and Djibouti.

For effective control of the empire, Menelik created Addis Ababa as the capital in 1889, and created bases in provinces, districts and villages. Emperor Menelik appointed department heads who were his relatives. Provincial governors collected taxes, provided soldiers and maintained law and order. He transferred them frequently as a precaution against rebellion. He built garrisons on conquered territory to maintain peace. After Adowa he turned his attention to economic and social developments. He modernized postal services, introduced a national currency and a central bank was established. Electricity was generated for the first time, a government school established, the first railway was constructed and the road network improved. By 1910, over 1000 foreigners were resident in Addis Ababa in an effort to modernize the country. Menelik's contribution to modernization was limited both by lack of resources and manpower as well as his determination to preserve a traditional way of life.

*[0 to 7 marks]* maximum for narrative and unfocused answers.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of contribution to unity, modernization and preservation of independence.

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

*[17+ marks]* for in-depth analysis of all aspects and a clear awareness of the limits of modernization.

**3. For what reasons was the Mahdist movement in Sudan able to overthrow Egyptian rule so quickly?**

The leader of the Mahdist movement, Muhammad Ibn Abdallah, led a jihad with the religious objective of restoring a purified Islam to the Sudan and spreading it to the whole world by force if necessary. The core of the Mahdist support came from the West Nile especially the Baqqara Arab-speaking, cattle-owning people of Kordofan and the Nuba mountains who resented the Egyptian government's attempts to tax and control them more than did the settled agriculturalists of the Nile Valley north and south of Khartoum. They also had economic grievances including loss of their slaves on whose labour they had depended for their livelihood. Religious grievances were also important as the Egyptians had increasingly brought to the Sudan their own Muslim teachers and religious dignitaries whereas Sudanese Islam had its own strongly established sheikhs and religious brotherhoods, who resented these newcomers and their different ways. Khedive Ismail's appointment of Charles Gordon, a Christian deeply committed to the anti-slavery campaign, as governor-general of the whole Sudan, upset the Muslims further. The British authorities in Egypt ignored an otherwise small religious matter until after the capture of El Obeid in 1883. The Egyptian expedition was limited due to the bankruptcy of the Egyptian state and the British restricted themselves to Egypt until its finances were restored. It was therefore easy for the Mahdi to move quickly and take full control. Khartoum fell and Charles Gordon, sent to evacuate it, was killed in 1885. The Mahdi had the enthusiastic support of most Muslims in Sudan.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate knowledge.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative answers with reference to causes of revolt.

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

*[14 to 16 marks]* for focused, well-supported analysis of reasons for Mahdist success.

*[17+ marks]* for depth and insight.

**4. Analyse the impact of Omani rule on the sultanate of Zanzibar and the East African mainland.**

Sultan Seyyid Said took advantage of the instability on the East African coast, caused by feuding Arab families, to expand his empire. He moved his Omani capital to Zanzibar which he transformed into a great economic centre on the East African coast, making good use of its maritime facilities and potential for agricultural production. He exploited the agricultural potential by using slave labour from the mainland, thus impacting negatively on the East African communities. He made commercial agreements with America, Britain and France which later had effects on colonial rivalries in the region. He introduced the cultivation of cloves in the first plantations in East Africa. Seyyid Said encouraged Indian business enterprise and settlement at the coast. The activities of Seyyid Said helped to spread Islam on the mainland. It also increased European interest in the sultanate and the mainland as the British saw him as the key to the abolition of the slave trade in East Africa. The Moresby (1820) and the Hammerton Treaties (1845), signed by Sultan Seyyid Said with the British, had little effect. Zanzibar became the gateway to the mainland for traders and explorers. Zanzibar became the centre for the spread of Swahili culture leading to the foundation of new states capable of turning the slave trade to their own economic advantage. The slave trade had damaging effects economically, socially and politically in the mainland.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for unsupported assertions.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narratives with implicit sense of impact on Zanzibar and mainland.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for explicit reference to impact.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for detailed, balanced analysis of impact on the sultanate and mainland.

*[17+ marks]* for full analysis of impact, both positive and negative.

**5. Analyse the factors which led to the emergence of new rulers in *two* states in the Niger Delta in the nineteenth century.**

The likely choice of rulers are Jaja of Opobo and Olomu in Itsekiriland. 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. They were divided into houses which had their own trading and war canoes. House heads were second in rank to the king. Traditionally they had been members of the royal family but in the nineteenth century commoners and even ex-slaves were promoted on the basis of their ability to trade and compete with commercial rivals. The social mobility that was possible in the houses led to the rise of new men, commoners or ex-slaves, to challenge the authority of traditional rulers in the delta.

Jaja was enslaved as a child and taken to Bonny. Here he made a name for himself through honesty, hardwork and commercial skill. He rose from a canoe paddler to head of a canoe to becoming chief of Anna Pepple House. Political life in Bonny was dominated by two rival houses, the Anna and Manilla Pepples. Jaja's success provoked the Manilla Pepple into declaring war. Jaja could not defeat his opponents militarily but in a bold move he led his supporters in 1869 to a new island home in Opobo at the mouth of the Imo river. The Itsekiri found the transition to the palm oil trade very difficult and it led to a political upheaval in 1848 when slaves took control of the capital and the Olu or traditional ruler was replaced by a wealthy trader, Olomu. His success aroused the jealousy of the ousted royal family, of the other trading houses and even of his own family. He needed a more defensible headquarters and built the well-fortified town of Ebrohimi, reclaimed from the mangrove swamps.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for vague generalizations or inadequate material.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of the rise of two rulers.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for well structured, balanced analysis.

*[17+ marks]* for depth of analysis of the factors that led to the emergence of new leaders.

*N.B. maximum [12 marks] if only one ruler is discussed.*

**6. Compare and contrast the factors that contributed to the decline of the Oyo and Asante Empires in the nineteenth century.**

Oyo had already experienced a major breakdown in the system of government by the nineteenth century. No eighteenth-century Alafin died a natural death. In the early nineteenth century there was an Islamic revolt. In 1824 Abdussalami became the first Fulani emir of Ilorin, which became a southern outpost of the Sokoto caliphate. Oyo was also gravely weakened by the revolt of other subject peoples. The Egba, under their leader Lisabi, had won their freedom at the end of the eighteenth century. The Nupe and Borgu kingdoms broke away. This was a serious loss as it cut off Oyo's supply of cavalry horses on which it largely depended. Its well-trained cavalry had previously overwhelmed the infantry of neighbouring states. Dahomey ceased to pay tribute in the early years of the nineteenth century. Attacks by the Fulani from Ilorin seriously disrupted Oyo and the capital Old Oyo was abandoned in about 1835.

There is more contrast than comparison in the reasons for Asante decline. There was no Muslim jihadist factor to weaken the empire. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the empire was effectively led by Osei Bonsu. He reorganized the administration of the Asante state, appointing representatives of the provinces to keep them under control. He appointed civil servants on the basis of ability and not of family connections. The British and Dutch had forts on the coast and the Dutch had a tradition of alliance with the Asante. British support for the Fante proved to be the single most important factor to contribute to the decline of the Asante. The Fante acted as middlemen and made a profit on Asante exports of gold and slaves and on imports. If Asante conquered the Fante states, all this trade would be in their own hands. The British supported the Fante because they had a stronger hand if they dealt with a number of weak states. If Asante conquered the coastal area, a single powerful African state would have complete control of trade.

The fourth Fante-Asante war was also the first Anglo-Asante war. The Asante won a crushing victory in 1824 but Osei Bonsu died that year and in 1826 the British and Fante forces invaded Asante and defeated them. A series of subsequent defeats inflicted by the British destroyed the military strength of metropolitan Asante, upon which the continued allegiance of the vassal states depended. The system of provincial administration never became effective despite Osei Bonsu's reforms. That weakness and British intervention were the key factors in the decline of the Asante empire.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for unsupported general comments.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for sequential narratives with implicit sense of contributory factors.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for some linkage and explicit comparison.

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

*[17+ marks]* for impressive, detailed knowledge of the two empires.

*N.B. maximum [7 marks] if only one empire is discussed.*



**7. Analyse the causes of the Mfecane in Southern Africa.**

The Mfecane was a time of upheaval in Southern Africa which started off in the first decades of the nineteenth century. There has been much debate about the causes, with some historians in the 1980s questioning whether it really happened. It originated in the south-eastern lowveld among the emerging northern Nguni kingdoms of the Mthethwa, Ndwandwe and Ngwane. It stemmed from increased competition for the region's limited resources. High average rainfall and the adoption of maize may have contributed to population growth. In the early nineteenth century population pressure and land shortage aggravated by drought and famine in 1800–03, 1812 and 1816–18 led to a struggle for supremacy in the region. The development of long-distance trade with the Tsonga and Portuguese at Delagoa Bay encouraged the growth of northern Nguni states. The desire to control the export of ivory heightened competition for the rich hunting grounds of the coastal forest belt. The Nguni of the lowveld held initiation ceremonies and formed age-regiments, a practice perhaps adopted from the Sotho-Tswana. As chiefdoms grew in size and competition between them for limited resources became more marked, the role of the armed regiments grew ever more significant. They helped to expand a chiefdom's range of grazing, cultivating and hunting land, and to defend their holdings from the raids of rivals. In the period of famine crisis regiments were almost permanently in the field, defending territory and raiding neighbours. Weak chiefdoms sought the protection of more powerful neighbours and were incorporated into the major kingdoms voluntarily or by force.

Competition in the region culminated in a period of intensive warfare between 1816 and 1819. Sobhuza's Ngwane were expelled north of the Pongola valley and in the final showdown between Ndwandwe and Mthethwa, the Ndwandwe first appeared victorious. Dingiswayo was killed but a new leader of the small Zulu chiefdom continued and perfected the military reforms introduced by Dingiswayo. This made the Mfecane more intense and widespread. After a prolonged and devastating war Shaka's regiments defeated their enemies and drove the broken Ndwandwe army north of the Pongola. They and other Nguni carried the Mfecane northwards.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate specific causes.

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

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

*[14 to 16 marks]* for more focused in-depth analysis.

*[17+ marks]* for depth of analysis with may show familiarity with the historiography of the Mfecane.

**8. “Without the Berlin West Africa Conference, there would have been no European partition of Africa.” To what extent do you agree with this judgment?**

The main purpose of the Berlin Conference was to pre-empt any serious conflict by European countries over Africa. It was not the initial intention of the conference to attempt a general partition.

The result of the conference however was to give impetus to the partition. The conference ended up laying the ground rules for further scramble for Africa. Powers had to prove “effective occupation” and inform the rivals before annexing territory. The doctrine of effective occupation was a powerful stimulus to actual European invasion on the ground in order to make good their claim of spheres of influence. The process of African “treaty making” developed at an even faster pace. The immediate result of this decision by the conference was the turning of commercial coastal spheres into inland colonies. African states were conquered and boundary negotiations were effected. Within twenty years most of Africa had lost its independence and its people were being exploited by colonial powers. Only Ethiopia and Liberia remained independent. In the short term, the conference guaranteed free navigation on the Niger and the Congo and committed all powers to end slavery. The Niger basin was split between Britain and France.

In considering to “what extent”, candidates need to explain that the partition had already begun and make reference to the activities of King Leopold II in the Congo, De Brazza’s treaty with Chief Makoko, the British occupation of Egypt and Bismark’s sudden declaration of German protectorates in Togo, Tanganyika, Namibia (South West Africa), and Cameroon.

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

*[8 to 10 marks]* for knowledge of the conference and its results with implicit analysis.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for explicit analysis of impact of the conference.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for balanced, structured answers focused on extent.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which show understanding of the complexity of the partition and are ready to challenge the quotation.

**9. Why did the Nandi put up such prolonged resistance to the establishment of British rule in Kenya?**

The Nandi are historically a very proud and brave people in defending their rights. The Nandi put up the strongest and longest resistance to the establishment of British rule of all the people in Kenya. Nandi resistance began in the early 1890s and continued until their leader Koitalel Arap Samoei was treacherously murdered by British commanders at a meeting in 1905.

The main reasons for the impressive resistance by the Nandi revolve around their military organization and political structures. The Nandi had organized themselves into territorial units defended by warriors from each of these units. These units came together under the leadership of the Orkoiyot, a ritual expert who acted as the religious leader and a political and military prophet. He decided when the army would go on a raid. There was a link to the Orkoiyot from the territorial councils known as Maotiks. In contrast to other communities who easily fell to imperial invasion, the Nandi were territorially based instead of clan-based. The Nandi inhabited a country that was mountainous, with steep, heavily wooded valleys and little open country. It was ideal for guerrilla warfare and not the maxim gun. The mixed economy practiced by the Nandi reduced the effects of crop burning and confiscation. The wet and cold climate caused respiratory infections among the invading forces. The mobility of invading forces was restricted by large numbers of porters carrying food and supplies. The Nandi had an ardent martial spirit and a disciplined and efficient army experienced in battle from previous wars with neighbours. Their democratic system of electing leaders ensured continuity of leadership. The Orkoiyot was a strong nationalist opposed to any collaboration with foreigners.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate material.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative answers on Nandi resistance with implicit ideas on why it was prolonged.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of the nature of Nandi resistance.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for in-depth focus on the reasons for the lengthy Nandi resistance.

*[17+ marks]* for perceptive comments which fully address the question.

**10. Compare and contrast the causes of the Maji Maji rising in Tanzania and the Nama-Herero risings in Namibia.**

The most obvious similarity is that both were a reaction to cumulative German colonial oppression. The people of southeast Tanzania resented taxation, forced labour and the cotton programme. By January 1904 the Herero, who had earlier signed an armistice and cooperated with the Germans, were experiencing the full negative effects of more direct German rule. They lost land to the steadily increasing number of white settlers and to the railway companies, and lost cattle to a rinderpest epidemic and to German traders who seized them as repayment of debts. The Nama did not join the Herero rising but rose against the Germans in October 1904. They shared the same grievances as the Herero over loss of land and cattle but their resort to armed resistance was a response to the German plan to disarm and disperse their community. The Nama and Herero risings were separate and in contrast to different ethnic groups uniting in one rising in Tanzania. The most important unifying factor in Maji Maji was the Kolelo snake god cult which spread rapidly across clan and ethnic boundaries under the inspirational leadership of Kinjekitile who gave war medicine to the Pogoro and Ngindo communities and later to the Zaramo and Ngoni. Religious belief was an important factor in the Maji Maji rising but not in the Nama-Herero Rising. The Maji Maji rising had social causes including resentment at attacks on traditional religious practices and the abuse of Ngindo women and political causes such as the desire of the Ngoni to avenge the Boma massacre of 1897.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for narrative answers with irrelevant discussion of cause and results of risings.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative answers with only implicit comparison.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit comparison or sequential accounts with good linkage.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for a clear comparative structure and balanced, well-supported analysis of the causes of the two risings.

*[17+ marks]* for answers which place the causes in their historical context and show insight into reasons for similarities and differences.

*N.B. maximum [7 marks] if only one rising is discussed.*

**11. Analyse the means by which Mzilikazi built the Ndebele Kingdom and identify its main features.**

An interesting feature of the nineteenth century African administrative revolution was the use of men of common or slave origin to enhance both royal powers and efficiency. Mzilikazi is one of the rulers that improved his government this way. Ndebele means “men of long shields”, a nickname given to them by Sotho-Tswana. Mzilikazi rebelled against Shaka Zulu in 1821 fleeing first to Transvaal and then across the Limpopo River into central Africa. In their flight the Ndebele absorbed various Nguni, Sotho and Shona speakers in the clan after many defeats at the hands of Boers and they escaped into Rowzi country to the north of the Limpopo River where they set up their Ndebele kingdom. Their conquest of Rozwi was because of their superior military methods of hit-and-run tactics and the use of slaves and commoners as well as inter-ethnic co-operation. The state became highly unified and militarily structured. Other Shona who were not absorbed had to accept vassal relationships. Those who did not surrender to Mzilikazi were subdued by burning their kraals and enslaving their young ones. He used the tactics of moving capitals several times when threatened by his enemies. In his bid to stay in power, he fostered a common identity between the conquered and his ruling state. Under threat from European encroachment he welcomed traders and missionaries but did not accept their teaching. He was quick to put to death any of his subjects who wished to become Christians. Mzilikazi made a strong central government in which the king made all decisions and appointed generals and administrators. As the Ndebele settled, the regiments became territorial administrative divisions. The indunas took on a more civil role as well as military duties. Soldiers were organized into age-regiments which cut across ethnic and clan boundaries.

Mzilikazi used marriage to achieve unity and increase loyalty by having 400 wives from different sections of the community. The common language was Sindebele. It became a requirement for all conquered people to understand and speak it. Class stratification was split into three main castes – Zansi, Enhla and Shona at bottom. Marriage between the castes was forbidden.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for narrative answers without reference to state structures.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narratives with implicit sense of state formation.

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

*[14 to 16marks]* for balanced analysis focused on state formation and features.

*[17+ marks]* for depth and insight.

**12. Assess the achievements of Khama as ruler of Botswana.**

Khama was the ruler of the Bamangwato from 1872 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 in 1885. Khama sought protection from the Boers and the Ndebele and he knew that the British were as anxious as he was to forestall 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 and helped to defeat the later Shona-Ndebele rising. He travelled to London in 1895 to persuade the colonial secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than let Botswana come under the rule of the British South Africa Company. His diplomatic skills impressed all who met him. The protectorate preserved Khama from foreign control. In particular, it kept his people out of the Union of South Africa established in 1910. 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. During his long rule, Khama faced challenges from his family, *e.g.* opposition from his brothers to Khama's ban on local brewing, and from his ambitious son Sekhoma, whom he exiled in 1898 but welcomed back in 1922 as his heir.

Khama's rule covered half a century of change and development. When he became chief the Ngwato were independent, in the far interior, and proud of their traditional way of life. At his death in 1923 they lay within a British protectorate. Christianity and Western influences were dominant. The powers of the chief had diminished. Western clothing, methods of cultivation, trade, the railway and the telegraph had been accepted. Under Khama's rule his people had come to terms with change that was peaceful and largely beneficial and with European penetration in Southern Africa. His firm leadership, which had produced conflict with his own family, had preserved his chieftaincy and the land of his people. His generosity and personal integrity were an example to all. His grandson Seretse Khama would become the first President of the independent republic of Botswana in 1966.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate knowledge.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit assessment of achievement.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for clear and focused analysis of Khama's policies in some detail.

*[17+ marks]* for depth of knowledge which may include negative as well as positive assessment of Khama.

**13. Why was African resistance to segregation in South Africa so ineffective before 1948?**

As segregation became more effective and widespread, black people increasingly organized themselves against it. The resistance failed despite the talented leadership and rigorous campaigns. The weakness of the black people was not surprising as they were not united as one people. Many were illiterate and were scattered all over a large area in South Africa. They were also migrating from rural to urban areas in search of jobs. The resistance faced a determined white community that wanted to keep their position and also controlled security forces (army and police). The few educated blacks organized themselves into associations with objectives of gaining more political and social rights. The South African Native National Congress was a moderate organization that made petitions which were ignored by the South African parliament from 1912. Jan Smuts and Hertzog were determined segregationists who could not accept such petitions.

As conditions for blacks worsened in the mines and reserves, black resistance increased. The blacks refused to pay taxes, demonstrated against pass laws and went on strike. Some abandoned white churches for African churches. The government crushed these forms of resistance using troops. The trade union known as Industrial and Commercial Workers Union transformed itself into a mass movement between 1926–1928 but its leadership was divided. The South African Native National Congress which became the African National Congress kept sending delegations to Britain which did not yield any positive results. With new leadership in the ANC in 1940s, it was expected that resistance to segregation would be more effective. However Afrikaner nationalism led to more racist policies. Dr Daniel Malan formed the Purified National Party in 1934 with extreme views on segregation. They saw themselves as people under threat from Britain and protectors of Christian civilization in South Africa. The secret society they formed, Broederbond, was determined to set up a segregated society and no resistance could stand in their way.

The Second World War boosted the efforts of black nationalists but the new leadership of ANC were made more ineffective by the division of blacks through land acts and pass laws. The police and army were used to crush the strike of 1946. The coming to power of the Purified National Party of Dr Malan in 1948 sealed the failure of black resistance to segregation in South Africa before 1948.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for generalized narratives.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narratives with implicit sense of resistance to segregation.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of ineffective resistance.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for clearly focused and supported analysis of ineffective resistance.

*[17+ marks]* for critical in-depth analysis of black resistance with discussion of rise of Afrikaner nationalism.

**14. Compare and contrast the British system of indirect rule and the French system of association.**

Historians have for years argued over the merits, demerits, similarities and differences of the French and British systems of colonial administration. Indirect rule was attempted in almost all British colonies in Africa. This system involved maintaining, as far as possible, the local rule of traditional kings or chiefs and their political structures so long as they were loyal to the local resident or governor. Frederick 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, as this would cause less friction with the mainly Muslim population in the caliphate. The chiefs ruled under the supervision of the British residents answerable to the government. Indirect rule could only be applied to highly centralized communities but could not apply to those who lacked the structures as in Igboland and in most Kenyan communities.

The French initially adopted the policy of assimilation in four communes in Senegal then abandoned the policy in favour of association. Assimilation entailed the absorption of the African into European culture and acceptance of the African as a partner in the government. Africans in the four communes were granted French citizenship. Association became the dominant French colonial practice. 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, indirect rule and association might appear similar as both could involve using traditional African rulers in administration. 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 an African elite. The British deliberately excluded the educated elite from the administration. Both systems were imposed and did not take note of the considerable innovations that had taken place in African structures of government. In areas where there were no chiefs, these were created and always became unacceptable to those they ruled. Both involved forced labour and taxation as the aim was for colonies to be self-sufficient financially and not a drain on the colonial administration. The French can be said to have been more exploitative and highly unjust to subjects who were taxed and did not have any rights.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for vague generalization.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit comparisons.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for critical, well balanced, comparative supported assessments of the two systems.

*[17+ marks]* for sophisticated comparative analysis of the two systems.

*N.B. maximum [7 marks] if only one system of rule is discussed.*



**15. “The Italian occupation of Ethiopia was a brief interlude which benefited Ethiopia.”  
To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

The Italian occupation was brief. It lasted from 1936 until the capture of Addis Ababa in April 1941 and the return of the emperor. The occupation did bring some economic benefits. The Italians had a lasting effect on the architecture of the regional capitals and especially 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 were set up all over the country. 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.

It has been argued that one reason for the Ethiopian defeat in 1936 compared to their triumph at Adowa fourty years earlier was their loss of martial spirit. That martial spirit revived under the Patriots’ Resistance Movement which confined Italian rule largely to the towns. When the British launched the final campaign of liberation in 1941 the Italian army’s morale had been corroded and they were highly vulnerable. But the Ethiopians paid a very high price. Thousands died during the conquest and, after the abortive attempt on the life of the Italian Viceroy Graziani in 1937, 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. Emperor Haile Selassie lost his throne in 1936 but was the first Ethiopian emperor to have the option of exile. He appeared before the League of Nations and attracted international attention. He was able to return in triumph and strengthen his absolutist rule. The Italian occupation and defeat in the Second World War was to lead to the loss of all its colonies including Eritrea which was federated and later united with Ethiopia. Though it gave Ethiopia a coastline, it was to prove a mixed blessing.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for insufficient knowledge.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative with implicit assessment of the quotation.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of the extent of benefits.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for well structured focus on the quotation, giving some attention to “to what extent”.

*[17+ marks]* for perceptive interpretation of the quotation and question.

**16. Analyse the nature and impact of the Mau Mau struggle in Kenya.**

The militant nationalism associated with the Mau Mau struggle was the product of economic desperation in both urban and rural areas of Kikuyuland. The Mau Mau struggle was in part a squatters' revolt. Africans who had exchanged their labour services on white farms for herding and cultivation rights, had been evicted as the farmers became more mechanized. From 1950 the Kikuyu actively employed oathing as a means of forging tribal unity and encouraging cultural revival. The Mau Mau struggle involved resistance against enforced agricultural policies including compulsory terracing and rinderpest regulations. In 1952 the Mau Mau made their base in the Mount Kenya and Aberdare forests. They spread their network over the highlands, the Rift Valley and into Nairobi. The declaration of emergency in October 1952 was preceded by the murder of the leading loyalist, Chief Waruhiu. The Mau Mau struggle involved much violence by Kikuyu against Kikuyu. But most of these murders came after the British security forces had launched a counter-insurgency campaign, began detaining Mau Mau suspects without trial and introduced compulsory villagization to separate forest fighters from rural and urban supporters. The Mau Mau struggle was above all an anti-colonial movement even if it attracted little support outside Kikuyuland. It was a violent conspiracy to oust the British and to regain "stolen lands".

By the end of 1955 the Mau Mau struggle was virtually defeated though Dedan Kimathi continued his activities in the Aberdares until 1956. The struggle had cost the lives of ten thousand Mau Mau, two thousand "loyalist" Kikuyu, one thousand government troops and fifty eight civilian Europeans and Asians. Tens of thousands of people had been forced into reserves and detention camps where they suffered harsh treatment and bad living conditions. It had divided clans and families into loyalist and Mau Mau groups. It had cost the government fifty million pounds. But it won for Kenyans as a whole the possibility for major political reform. It persuaded the Colonial Office that Kenyan settlers were unable to control the internal situation and that Kenyans would only accept majority rule. It persuaded the British government to abandon the extreme demands of the local white settlers whose oppressive laws had provoked the crisis. By 1960 the British had accepted the principle of African majority rule for a self-governing Kenya.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate narratives.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative accounts of the Mau Mau struggle with implicit analysis.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of nature and impact.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for balanced and focused analysis with supporting evidence of both nature and impact.

*[17+ marks]* for detailed knowledge and understanding of different interpretations of the nature of the Mau Mau struggle.

**17. Analyse the changing attitudes and policies of nationalist politicians and the colonial government in French West Africa from 1944 to 1960.**

For a long time both Africans and the French in West Africa sought greater equality for Africans in overseas France in accordance with the concept of assimilation. The small body of educated West Africans tended to have an outstanding mastery of French language and culture, and a close attachment to France. Another central issue was whether the French West African colonies should form a single federation. The contribution of African troops to the Free French Forces persuaded de Gaulle to call the Brazzaville conference in 1944. This marked the beginning of changes of attitude, as well as constitutional and institutional changes in French colonial administration in Africa. Forced labour and the “indigénat” subject status were abolished in 1946. All became citizens of Greater France. Only a small minority of French West Africans had the vote. They provided only 14 out of 618 deputies in the French National Assembly. There was also a Federal Great Council in Dakar, and an assembly in each territory.

The most important party taking part in elections was the RDA led by Houphouët-Boigny, from Cote d’Ivoire. Leading Senegalese politicians like Senghor never joined it. In 1956 the RDA won the elections in every country except Senegal and Mauritania. The Loi Cadre of 1956 conferred internal autonomy (excluding defence, foreign affairs and economic development) on each of the French West African territories. From 1956 to 1958, there were two conflicting sets of attitudes expressed by African politicians. Houphouët-Boigny wanted to concentrate on the development of Cote d’Ivoire and not share its resources with poor countries like Niger. The French came to favour decentralisation as they would have greater power over small, poor countries. For that same reason Senghor, Toure and Keita saw the survival of the federation as strengthening the position of Africans in the French Union.

In 1958 de Gaulle asked all the colonies to vote in a referendum on whether they wanted to retain their connection with France. All except Guinea voted yes. But in Guinea, over 80% of the voters supported Sekou Toure’s courageous and defiant demand for independence. French aid to Guinea was promptly withdrawn.

Guinea’s independence inspired a revolution in attitudes in French West Africa. Countries which had been nervous about the prospect of independence without adequate French support now demanded it. The French acquiesced with startling speed and eight West African countries all became independent within a few months of each other in 1960. France faced an escalating colonial war in Algeria and felt that early reform in sub-Saharan Africa would forestall another crisis. The African leaders in French West Africa had started their search for freedom by accepting the French idea of assimilation. The French made concessions in a manner which eventually convinced them that the French did not intend to accord Africans true and equal partnership. That led Sekou Toure to act in a way that made independence inevitable.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate knowledge.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of changing attitudes and policies.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for focused in-depth analysis covering the whole period.

*[17+ marks]* for insight into the interaction of African nationalist leaders and the French government.

**18. Why did Malawi achieve independence earlier and more peacefully than Zimbabwe?**

Malawi emerged as an independent country not long after the break-up of the Central African Federation, which was dominated by the white settler colony of Southern Rhodesia. Dr Banda returned from Britain to take over the leadership of the Malawi National Congress. He was arrested in 1959 but the British Conservative government of Harold Macmillan came to recognise the winds of change sweeping across Africa. The colonial secretary, Macleod, released Banda from jail and agreed to internal self-government for Nyasaland. The Monckton Report brought British acceptance of the right to secede from the federation, which Nyasaland did. It became the independent state of Malawi in 1964. It had a dominant political figure in Dr Banda and no settler class to delay the process of decolonization.

Decolonization in Zimbabwe proved far more difficult. Southern Rhodesia, which had been self-governing since 1923, wanted independence under white minority rule. Ian Smith made a unilateral declaration of independence in 1965 after rightly concluding that Britain would not use military force against its own “kith and kin”. African nationalist movements launched guerrilla warfare against the Smith government. The UN applied sanctions but these were not well supported and were evaded with the help of South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique. Britain failed to get the Smith government to restore legality. The war of liberation intensified after the independence of Mozambique. The Zimbabwe Africa National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) united in the Patriotic Front in 1976 and could now operate from bases in Zambia and Mozambique, though they remained under separate command. Smith was not prepared to negotiate with the Patriotic Front and tried to reach an internal settlement. When even the Thatcher government began to insist on all-party elections, Smith gave in, aware that he could never defeat the Patriotic Front through military means. Britain organized a conference at Lancaster House and sent a governor to Rhodesia. A ceasefire was signed and elections held in February 1980 and monitored by the Commonwealth led to a decisive victory for ZANU-PF. Mugabe became the first Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for generalized narratives.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit analysis of factors making the achievement of Malawi’s independence both earlier and more peaceful.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for focused, balanced analysis of the factors.

*[17+marks]* for answers which analyse in depth both the internal and external factors prolonging conflict and delaying the achievement of Zimbabwe’s independence.

*N.B. maximum [12 marks] if only one country is discussed.*

**19. Compare and contrast the impact of government repression in 1960 and 1976 on African resistance to apartheid in South Africa.**

At Sharpeville in March 1960, 67 armed protesters were killed and 186 were wounded. Many were shot in the back as they fled. There were later marches, days of mourning and boycotts. The government responded by declaring a state of emergency and outlawing the major African political parties. African nationalists were then forced to turn from peaceful protest to violent resistance and defiance to a liberation struggle. The ANC reluctantly formed an armed wing. In the immediate aftermath of Sharpeville there was great optimism among African nationalists, fuelled by the surge of decolonization elsewhere in Africa and strong international reaction to Sharpeville. But by the mid-1960s African nationalism was in disarray, the leaders in prison or in exile, the organizations banned. On the surface the white government gained a firm grip as it stamped on African political parties but more blacks were drawn into the urban areas, international pressure increased and claims for a more just society persisted.

The Soweto Rising of 1976 lasted longer and led to hundreds of deaths. The direct impact of Sharpeville in South Africa had been localised. In contrast Soweto spread across the country and persisted. It was a rising on an unprecedented scale, drawing in hundreds of thousands of people. Whereas those who died at Sharpeville were seen as apartheid's victims, at Soweto they were seen as heroes in the struggle against apartheid. They were militant youths, who represented a radical new element in African society. They knew little of the ANC, now operating in exile. The government was now forced to respond to an agenda set by its opponents. By 1978 the rising was over but it had ignited a major and sustained black challenge and changed the political mood by weakening white confidence and giving hope to African nationalists. It recharged the efforts of the exiled parties and it gave hope to imprisoned leaders like Mandela. The revival of anti-apartheid activism was more complex and dispersed than before. The work place and the schoolroom became political battlegrounds and action was promoted by diverse groups – student bodies, Black Consciousness members, trade unions, churches, civic and community groups. After Sharpeville the police were quickly back in complete control. After Soweto they could never be sure of the townships, which became increasingly ready to shelter ANC guerillas.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate knowledge.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for explicit comparison of impact.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for adequate knowledge of impact in a focused comparative framework.

*[17+marks]* for full comparison based on detailed specific knowledge.

*N.B. maximum [7 marks] if only one period of oppression is discussed.*

**20. Assess the achievements of Jomo Kenyatta as President of Kenya up to 1978.**

In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta called for nation-building in the spirit of “harambee”. At Independence Day, Jomo Kenyatta announced that his government would build a democratic African socialist state. The idea was that the benefits of economic and social development would be distributed equitably, that differential treatment based on tribe, race, belief or class would be abandoned and that every “mwananchi” (national), whether black, white or brown would be given an equal opportunity to improve their lot.

Kenyatta’s government was faced with many political problems. There were many ethnic and ideological divisions. There was the Somali secession question. There were two political parties, the Kenyan African Democratic Union and the African Peoples Party, that needed to be contained. Economically the great tasks facing Kenyatta were land distribution, scarcity of capital resources and skilled manpower. Immediate measures were needed to industrialize, improve methods of farming and intensive training of manpower. The economy was in the hands of the expatriates who owned large companies, banks, hotels, farms, shops and businesses; Kenyatta was faced with the need to correct this imbalance in favour of Africans. He did not have any particular social philosophy. In the early years of independence he showed little interest in Pan-African or international issues. It became clear that Kenyatta was an African capitalist who would depend on a trusted civil service as the backbone of his regime. He preserved what he most needed from colonialism *e.g.* the law and order aspect. He was in direct charge of provincial administration, police and army and retained the white expatriates, to the annoyance of the radicals who wished for faster Africanization, and rebuked those who talked of revenge. This encouraged whites to take up Kenyan citizenship. He ruled by manipulating factions and using his ethnic Kikuyu base for fulfilment of his ambition. Kenyatta had the power to detain without trial. He managed to lure KADU and APP to join the government and Kenya became a one party state. He failed to deal adequately with the land issue, or to eradicate poverty, illiteracy, disease or unemployment. Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 created new controversies. He detained those advocating commissions of inquiry *e.g.* Oginga Odinga. He enabled the country to develop agricultural production, infrastructure, banking and the insurance industry. The country received substantial loans to expand healthcare and education. As Kenyatta’s health deteriorated his henchmen panicked and started political assassinations of potential successors notably Tom Mboya and J M Kariuki. He intimidated trade unions and filled the army with his men. Kenyatta must be credited with the peace that prevailed although democracy was stifled and basic freedoms were curtailed. Whereas Kenya emerged from independence with a lively multiparty system, vociferous parliament, and an independent press, by 1970 these were non-existent. Kenya became heavily reliant on Western countries for skilled manpower, development and technical grants.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for inadequate knowledge.

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

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit assessment of achievements.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for clear and focused analysis of Kenyatta’s rule in some detail.

*[17+ marks]* for depth of knowledge of both successes and failures.

**21. “Banda of Malawi was the most successful ruler of Central Africa up to 1995.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

This is a controversial assertion which requires some comparison of Banda with other rulers though candidates may not cover all the three alternatives, Kaunda of Zambia, Mobutu of Zaire and Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Banda was successful in maintaining himself in power for 30 years and in surviving attempted risings and threats of civil war. He did so by establishing a police state in which as many as 250 000 people were killed or disappeared. His personal dictatorship could be seen as a failure to establish democracy. Pressure from Western donors eventually led him to accept multiparty elections in 1994 which resulted in a resounding electoral defeat for him. He succeeded in maintaining good relations with South Africa but alienated African governments and became politically isolated. But Malawi avoided civil war and military coups. He built a new capital, a new rail link with the Indian Ocean, developed Malawi’s agricultural sector and expanded its manufacturing industry. The economic development of Malawi was, however, constrained by limited resources and opportunities for industrialization.

It would be difficult to argue that Mobutu was more successful except in enriching himself. The Zairean treasury became synonymous with his bank account. Like Banda, he won himself decades of supreme power as the absolute ruler of a single party state. The economy collapsed in the 1970s and most of the transport system was in ruins. After the Cold War he could no longer rely on external support and by the mid-1990s his army was disintegrating in the face of a rebellion in the east.

Kaunda stayed in power until he lost the first multi-party elections in 1991 but his rule was more benign than that of his neighbours. He spent lavishly on free education and health and urban building projects but failed to invest in peasant food cultivation or to diversify the economy. Corruption became widespread and urban unemployment rose. He supported the nationalist movement in Zimbabwe. Despite his failings, a case could be made in favour of his being the most successful ruler, depending on the definition of success.

Mugabe only began to rule in 1980. In discussing him, candidates must take note of the end date. Discussions of more controversial aspects of recent Zimbabwean history are irrelevant. Ndebele protests were ruthlessly suppressed but Mugabe was otherwise unexpectedly moderate in his first decade and a half as ruler. He maintained the previous economic system and an impressive economic plan attracted international support.

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

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narratives of several rulers.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for more explicit comparison of success or failure.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for in-depth analysis of several rulers.

*[17+ marks]* for depth, insight and readiness to challenge the assertion with well supported arguments.

*N.B. maximum [12 marks] if only Banda is discussed.*



**22. Analyse the factors which led to political instability in Ghana and Nigeria in the 1960s and 1970s.**

In Nigeria, friction between the three major ethnic groups was one of the main causes of the fall of the First Republic in 1966. In that year, too, large numbers of Igbos living in the north were killed, which paved the way to the Nigerian Civil War of 1967–70. Much of the opposition to Nkrumah was regional, from Asante and the northern territories. Accusations of profiteering and inefficiency were also made against politicians. This encouraged military intervention, usually carried out in the name of efficiency and reform. The main weakness of military rulers was to spend more on the army than the economy could stand or the situation of the country justified. Military rulers in both Ghana and Nigeria were willing to return their countries to civilian rule, but they still expected civilian governments to maintain the same defence budgets and failure to do so could provoke further military intervention. Corruption, lavish spending, dictatorial intolerance of criticism and specific military grievances led to the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966. The country was returned to civilian rule but Busia was overthrown by Colonel Acheampong after failing to tackle Ghana’s economic problems. There were three more military coups before a brief return to civilian rule in 1979. In Nigeria the Igbo-led coup in January 1966 led to a counter-coup. General Gowon was ousted in 1975, his successor assassinated in 1976 and General Obasanjo returned Nigeria to civilian rule in 1979.

Both countries faced problems of national unity and the lack of a tradition of multi-party democracy. Their boundaries had been created artificially by the British during the “scramble for Africa”. They included within their boundaries different ethnic groups, religions, languages and cultures. They faced severe economic strains. Many members of opposition parties at independence left them to join the party in power. In Nigeria during the First Republic each of the regions was dominated by one party. The Action Group split into two. One section cooperated with the coalition in power but Awolowo, leader of the main group, was imprisoned. This situation led to chronic disorder and unrest in the Western Region.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for insufficient relevant knowledge.

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

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

*[14 to 16 marks]* for balanced and focused analysis.

*[17+ marks]* for depth of analysis of the situation in both countries over the whole period.

*N.B. maximum [12 marks] if only one country is discussed.*

**23. To what extent did Cold War rivalry affect the United Nations’ intervention in Angola and Namibia?**

Angola became the focus of the most active Cold War confrontation between the superpowers. The Soviet Union sold military hardware and Cuba provided soldiers to the MPLA in the Angolan Civil War. South Africa supplied weapons to UNITA, which was also backed by American business interests. The US and the Soviet Union were fighting a destructive proxy war in Angola while the UN’s role of mediating was seriously hampered by the same powers within structures of international diplomacy. The US’s constant infringement of the sanctions imposed on the South African apartheid regime by the United Nations was indicative of the double role these two countries played. It rendered the United Nations ineffective in achieving peace in Angola. It prolonged the civil war in Angola, which inflicted incalculable suffering on the Angolan people. By 1989 this conflict had claimed an estimated 60 000 to 90 000 lives and created 700 000 refugees which the UN failed to cater for. This rivalry was taken to the United Nations where the two superpowers accused each other without offering lasting solutions to the civil war.

The United Nations tried to make South Africa prepare Namibia for independence but the apartheid regime led by Verwoerd disregarded the United Nations resolution. Namibia’s independence was only achieved after the end of the Cold War and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Cold War helped to prolong South African rule in the country at a time when the South African government was apprehensive about the Communist Party and the role of the Soviet Union. Apartheid South Africa presented itself as a bastion of Christian civilization against the expansion of communism. The UN’s International Court of Justice declared South Africa’s occupation of Namibia illegal and ordered South Africa to leave. This was promptly ignored by South Africa which went on to declare SWAPO as an illegal organization, thanks to the Cold War rivalry. After the end of the Cold War, however, the United Nations organized elections and facilitated the transition to independence of Namibia.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for insufficient relevant knowledge.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for mainly narrative or descriptive accounts of UN’s involvement with implicit analysis of Cold War.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for explicit analysis of impact of Cold War rivalry.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for analytical, in-depth and balanced analysis of impact of Cold War rivalry.

*[17+ marks]* for fully analytical answers with detail and insight addressing all aspects of the question.

*N.B. maximum [12 marks] if only one country is discussed.*

**24. To what extent has ethnicity been a cause of national disunity in *two* African states since independence?**

There are many examples to draw from: Burundi, Angola, Chad, Congo, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Kenya and Rwanda. Many of these countries have had civil wars or clashes related to ethnic differences. Ethnic mobilization is often found at the heart of political competition. No state is devoid of its influence. This is not to say that the expression of ethnicity always resulted in violence. Ethnic issues could be channeled through political institutions, just like other clashes of interest within society. Given the fact that African states are relatively young, sentiments of ethnicity were often as powerful as the notion of nationalism.

A basic definition of ethnicity would be the conviction of people that they have a common identity and common fate based on issues of origin, kinship ties, tradition, cultural uniqueness, a shared history and possible shared language. Each ethnic/civil war was related to the history of the particular country and the specific causes of conflict in a country should be explored in depth. The extent to which ethnic factors were important varied enormously. The Congo has had two civil wars; the Somali were killing each other in total disregard of shared common language and religion, theirs was a clan-based rivalry; in Rwanda the genocide, that saw 800 000 people dead in three months, was the result of long standing ethnic hatred. Power-hungry leaders like Charles Taylor in Liberia or Savimbi in Angola exploited ethnic divisions. Ethnic factors were involved in the attempted secession of Katanga and Biafra. The Burundi civil war was similar to that of Rwanda. Ethnic groups remained an important form of social organization because they continued to serve contemporary political and economic needs. A common factor in most civil wars was the perception that only violent protest can accomplish change.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for vague generalization about ethnicity or lists of civil wars.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for a narrative discussion of national disunity with some knowledge of ethnic factors.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for a more explicit analysis of ethnicity as a cause of national disunity.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for balanced, focused assessment of the extent to which ethnicity has caused national unity.

*[17+ marks]* for depth and insight into the historical context of the two selected states and analysis of other causes of national disunity.

*N.B. maximum [12 marks] if only one state is discussed.*

**25. To what extent has corruption hindered the economic development of any *two* African states?**

Corruption remains the biggest challenge to economic development. Enormous natural resources in a number of African countries have attracted elites and international business concerns. Foreign aid has been misused. Public services are unevenly provided and of poor quality, and civil servants are often poorly paid, thus resorting to petty corruption in order to survive. Any African country may provide examples. Nigeria, Kenya or the Democratic Republic of Congo would be suitable examples.

In Nigeria, political office was the only sure way of acquiring wealth through corruption and abuse of power. Transparency International has consistently rated Nigeria as one of the top three most corrupt countries in the world. There is apparently systematic corruption in public and private sectors and the welfare of the people suffers inadequate attention or conscious neglect. Political instability in Nigeria with military governments taking over brought in social disorder and the neglect of economic development. President Sani Abacha stole over \$10 billion in revenue from oil and donor funds. There has been a short supply of petrol even in oil-producing states. Corruption in Nigeria has made the government lose revenue, discouraged foreign investment, and stifled economic growth.

In Kenya, the Perception Index 2005 ranked Kenya 144 out of 159 of most corrupt nations. Corruption permeated the regimes of Jomo Kenyatta and Arap Moi. Corrupt deals made the treasury lose up to 10% of its annual GDP every year. Grand corruption of the magnitude of the Goldenberg scandal made the country lose much needed revenue for economic development. Development partners have given conditions to be met before further disbursement of aid. Some have suspended the promised aid for budgetary and development support.

The Democratic Republic of Congo is a good example of kleptocracy. Cold War rivalry led to the US supporting Joseph Mobutu who looted the country's resources. Donor aid was paid through Mobutu's personal accounts. Mobutu made no attempt to build concrete economic structures. DRC had enormous resources which could be used to make it one of the wealthiest countries in Africa. Mining multi-nationals were eager to profit from Congo's diamonds, gold, uranium, petroleum and coltan resources. Civil war made foreign investment impossible. Smuggling of these resources was so rampant that economic development of the country was secondary. There were few roads, schools, hospitals or simple food items in the market.

*[0 to 7 marks]* for vague generalizations about corruption.

*[8 to 10 marks]* for narrative answers with implicit analysis of two countries' lack of economic development due to corruption.

*[11 to 13 marks]* for explicit analysis of extent of corruption and lack of economic development.

*[14 to 16 marks]* for well-structured and balanced analysis of the impact of corruption on the economic development of two countries.

*[17+ marks]* for in-depth analysis of extent of corruption on two countries illustrated with specific examples.

*N.B. maximum [12 marks] if only one state is discussed.*

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