



MARKSCHEME

MAY 2010

HISTORY

Route 2

Higher Level

**Paper 3 – Aspects of the history
of Africa**

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*Paper 3 markbands: The following bands provide a précis of the full markbands for paper 3 published in the History guide (2008) on pages 77–81. They are intended to assist marking, but must be used in conjunction with the full markbands found in the guide. **For the attention of all examiners: if you are uncertain about the content/accuracy of a candidate’s work please contact your team leader.***

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| 0: | Answers not meeting the requirements of descriptors should be awarded no marks. |
| 1–2: | Answers do not meet the demands of the question and show little or no evidence of appropriate structure. There is little more than unsupported generalization. |
| 3–4: | There is little understanding of the question. Historical knowledge is present but the detail is insufficient. Historical context or processes are barely understood and there are little more than poorly substantiated assertions. |
| 5–6: | Answers indicate some understanding of the question, but historical knowledge is limited in quality and quantity. Understanding of historical processes may be present but underdeveloped. The question is only partially addressed. |
| 7–8: | The demands of the question are generally understood. Relevant, in-depth, historical knowledge is present but is unevenly applied. Knowledge is narrative or descriptive in nature. There may be limited argument that requires further substantiation. Critical commentary may be present. An attempt to place events in historical context and show an understanding of historical processes. An attempt at a structured approach, either chronological or thematic has been made. |
| 9–11: | Answers indicate that the question is understood, but not all implications considered. Knowledge is largely accurate. Critical commentary may be present. Events are generally placed in context, and historical processes, such as comparison and contrast, are understood. There is a clear attempt at a structured approach. Focus on AO1, AO2 and AO4. Responses that simply summarize the views of historians cannot reach the top of this markband. |
| 12–14: | Answers are clearly focused on the demands of the question. Relevant in-depth knowledge is applied as evidence, and analysis or critical commentary is used to indicate some in-depth understanding, but is not consistent throughout. Events are placed in context and there is sound understanding of historical processes and comparison and contrast. Evaluation of different approaches may be used to substantiate arguments presented. Synthesis is present, but not always consistently integrated. Focus on AO3 and AO4. |
| 15–17: | Answers are clearly structured and focused, have full awareness of the demands of the question, and if appropriate may challenge it. Accurate and detailed historical knowledge is used convincingly to support critical commentary. Historical processes such as comparison and contrast, placing events in context and evaluating different interpretations are used appropriately and effectively. Answers are well-structured and balanced and synthesis is well-developed and supported with knowledge and critical commentary. |
| 18–20: | Answers are clearly focused with a high degree of the awareness of the question and may challenge it successfully. Knowledge is extensive, accurately applied and there may be a high level of conceptual ability. Evaluation of different approaches may be present as may be understanding of historical processes as well as comparison and contrast where relevant. Evaluation is integrated into the answer. The answer is well-structured and well-focused. Synthesis is highly developed. |

1. Compare and contrast the achievements of Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda and Mirambo of Unyamwezi as rulers.

Mutesa became Kabaka or king of Buganda, which already had a highly centralized system of government and was the strongest state in the East African interior. Mirambo was the son of the ntemi chief of Ugowe, which contained only a few thousand people. He became an ivory trader and used the wealth gained from it to equip a private army which he welded into a highly disciplined force using Ngoni weapons and tactics. In a few years he created a state of his own called Urambo, having annexed most of the small states of western Unyamwezi.

Both rulers were aware of the importance of trade. Mutesa expanded the traditional export trade in barkcloth and coffee beans throughout the interlacustrine area. He allowed Swahili–Arab traders to settle in Buganda from 1862, and to develop the export trade in ivory and slaves and the import trade in guns. The traders brought new food crops such as maize, cassava and rice, which contributed to the growth of the economy. Mirambo controlled the major trade routes from Tabora to Ujiji and could exact tolls on all of them. This brought him into conflict with the Swahili–Arab traders, but in the end they agreed to pay him tolls. Both rulers welcomed those Europeans they thought would be useful to them. Both welcomed missionaries. Mirambo did so to ensure friendly relations with the British consul in Zanzibar. Mutesa did so because he wanted British diplomatic support to counter Egyptian designs on his country. His interests in Christian missionaries waned rapidly in 1879 when Egypt ceased to be a threat to Buganda.

Mutesa’s kingdom survived his death in 1884 and Buganda later acquired a special status within the Uganda Protectorate. The state Mirambo created was insecurely built on his personal charismatic qualities and did not long survive his death, also in 1884. He created no centralized administration. When he conquered an area he had the existing ruler killed, but appointed a new one from the traditional ruling family. During Mirambo’s lifetime the new local rulers were loyal to him, but after his death many rebelled to reassert the traditional authority of their families. No real community feeling ever developed and the personal loyalty of Mirambo’s soldiers was not carried over to the new rulers.

If only one ruler is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

2. Assess the success of Lewanika as a nation builder.

The Lozi kingdom had been conquered by the Kololo during the Mfecane. They were overthrown and a new Lozi kingdom was set up. There were dynastic disputes between the two Lozi groups and from the beginning of his reign in 1878 Lewanika was preoccupied by these disputes. His attempts to centralize the government led to his overthrow in a revolt in 1884, but Angolan traders helped him regain his throne in 1885. He then ruthlessly purged disloyal elements. He centralized his government without too much opposition. He ended the indunas' power over the army by abolishing their private regiments and putting all soldiers under his command. The old concept of Lozi divine kingship was revived and royal ceremonies increased. The ancient cult of the royal graves, which claimed that the king was descended from the High God, was revived in an attempt to raise the prestige of the monarch.

Lewanika greatly expanded the kingdom eastwards, at the expense of the Ila and Tonga peoples, from whom he obtained ivory, cattle, food crops and slaves as tribute.

He expanded the ivory trade with Angola and enslaved many conquered peoples, but he did not sell them outside the kingdom. The expansion of the kingdom kept potentially dangerous factions busy with the spoils of war. He welcomed European traders and missionaries, such as Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Society, who set up a mission station in 1885. Ultimately he was to prove himself to be a skillful diplomat in adapting himself to the European partition of Africa. His relations with the British at this time may be mentioned at the end of an answer. He cooperated with them and managed to preserve both his kingdom and his position as king into the colonial period. But detailed consideration of this collaboration is outside the scope of the question.

3. “Mosheshwe was a more successful ruler than Shaku Zulu.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

There is a clear contrast between the two leaders. At a time of aggressive nation building in Southern Africa, Mosheshwe stands out as a leader who built a new state for defence. He used traditional Sotho political 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 Difaqane, Mosheshwe gathered a band of refugees on the mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu and created the southern kingdom of Lesotho. He had an armed cavalry, loaned cattle under the mafisa system, used the pitso to solve disputes and had a federal system of government. In accounting for his success, reference could be made to his personal qualities, his courage, generosity, accessibility, common sense and diplomacy. It could also be pointed out that there were limits to his success. He defended Thaba Bosiu from assaults by the British in 1852 and the Boers in 1858 and 1866, but in the long-run superior firepower told against him and the Basotho were defeated in 1868. Mosheshwe offered his country to the British as a protectorate in 1868 and thus preserved the identity of his nation but not its independence.

Shaku was much more autocratic than Mosheshwe and created a more centralized system of government. He turned a small chieftom into a nation which, by the time of his assassination by his brother in 1828, imposed its customs and will on all the territory from Drakensberg to the sea. He subdued neighbouring tribes, 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. Shaku’s wars contributed to a period of upheaval and migration and made the Mfecane more intense.

In assessing his success, he cannot be blamed for the later destruction of his kingdom. Millions of South Africans are still proud of their Zulu identity.

If only one ruler is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

4. Assess the relative importance of political, social and economic factors as causes of the rise of the Mandinka Empire.

The political factors would include the leadership role of Samori Toure, founder of the Mandinka Empire. 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. He 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. By 1882 he had built up a powerful professional, well-trained and disciplined standing army. He incorporated male captives into the army rather than selling them as slaves, which increased local loyalty to him and the state. His empire was divided into six sections: the central section, almost half of the whole empire, which was ruled by Samori himself and five provinces ruled by governors.

Economic factors were crucial in the rise of the Mandinka Empire. Samori's experience as a Dyula trader was invaluable in his rise to power and he was aware of the importance of a flourishing economy. His sale of gold and ivory enabled him to import the latest rifles from Freetown and he used local ironsmiths to manufacture and repair muzzle-loading guns. The state controlled markets and organized agriculture. Samori's experience as a successful trader enabled him to ensure a regular supply of food and equipment for his army of 30 000 men. He won the support of the Dyula by keeping their trade routes open.

Socially, the empire was united by Islamic faith and Mandinka nationalism. Samori won the support of chiefs through marriage alliances. As the state expanded, Samori identified increasingly with Islam and promoted Muslim education, the building of mosques and sharia law as the basis of his rule. He took the title of Almami in 1884 and Islam was the unifying ideology of the empire.

The question is on the rise of the empire, so narration of Samori's later encounter with the French would not be relevant.

5. To what extent did explorers and traders contribute to the European partition of Africa?

The European “explorers” in Africa in the nineteenth century were motivated by a spirit of enquiry, a sense of adventure, a desire for fame or all three. But those who financed their journeys did so in the hope of greater trading profit in the future. The main objects of European exploration in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s were the courses of the major rivers of Africa: the upper Nile, the Zambezi and the Congo. The rivers of Africa were viewed by Europeans as trading arteries, as the highways through which they could open up the continent to European trade and exploitation. Burton, Speke and Grant traced the source of the White Nile to Lake Victoria. Stanley completed Livingstone’s work as he crossed the continent from Zanzibar between 1874 and 1877 and he sailed down the Congo and revealed the vast navigable possibilities of the Congo basin. Leopold II of Belgium was to exploit the opportunity and sent Stanley back on a colonizing expedition. From then European “explorers” were generally direct agents of European colonial expansion. European, and particularly British traders thrived for a long time without political imperialism. After 1875, however, they began to exert pressure on their governments to colonize, because they were failing to make adequate profits and needed European government action against trading rivals. In the Niger Delta, Jaja’s skill in cornering the interior Igbo market for palm oil, and his plans to ship oil direct to Europe, were too much for the British traders in the Niger Delta.

Goldie’s Royal Niger Company could not compete with the trading houses of Brass until it had political powers and military resources to deploy against them. European traders were also increasingly concerned at the possibility of serious rivalry with each other. When French and German traders began to compete with the British, especially in the late 1870s, British traders began to favour customs duties to keep out the goods of their European rivals. To collect these, it was necessary to have political control, which meant establishing colonies. Both British and French trading companies feared that German commercial expansion would result in their exclusion from unclaimed areas of Africa, and so put pressure on their governments to forestall the Germans before they could take over too many new markets. German merchants also feared British annexations in their areas of trading interest.

Explorers and traders certainly contributed to the partition of Africa, but in a “to what extent” question, there should be some discussion of other factors *e.g.* the impact of specific events and strategic and humanitarian factors.

6. To what extent did the activities of King Leopold II of Belgium and de Brazza in the Congo region accelerate the European annexation of Africa?

Leopold II of Belgium was a constitutional monarch with limited power and income at home, but he came to seek absolute power and wealth in the Congo. He hosted an international conference on Africa in 1876 where his declared aim was to suppress slavery and the slave trade. But his real aims were to make massive trading profits for himself and to establish a political empire in the Congo region. He recruited Stanley to help set up and join trading stations and set up a Congo Free State.

Stanley's activities stimulated French activity in the region. In 1879, a French naval officer, de Brazza, was sent to the Congo by the French government with instructions to make trade treaties with African rulers and so draw the future trade of the Congo basin to French Gabon. De Brazza made a political treaty with Makoko, ruler of some of the Bateke, and established a French post at his home. He returned to France in 1882 in order to get his treaty ratified by the French government. The French government, which had embarked on colonial expansion in West Africa, was not interested in the Congo. De Brazza launched a press campaign which only succeeded when the British announced their unexpected occupation of Egypt. French public opinion changed as did that of the government, which had looked on Egypt as its sphere of influence. It now ratified the de Brazza–Makoko treaty. De Brazza was sent back to the Congo as Governor of a new French colony. In turn the ratification of the treaty had radical effects. Leopold and Stanley stepped up their activities on the south bank of the Congo and established the Congo Free State in 1884. This stimulated the making of the Anglo–Portuguese Treaty of 1884, in which Britain supported Portuguese control of the Congo estuary. Bismarck seized the opportunity to host the Berlin West Africa Conference, partly to settle the issue of the Congo basin. One result of the Conference was a powerful stimulus to European annexation of territory in Africa. The “scramble for Africa” began in the Congo and the activities of Leopold and de Brazza triggered a chain of events that would eventually lead to the European colonization of almost all of Africa.

European rivalry, strategic, economic and humanitarian factors and African political and military weakness also contributed to the partition and there should be some discussion of them in a “to what extent” question.

If only Leopold II or de Brazza is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

7. For what reasons did Menelik II succeed in maintaining Ethiopia's independence?

The greatest threat to Ethiopian independence came from the Italians during the reign of Menelik II. He signed the Treaty of Wichale with the Italians in 1889. The Italian version of the treaty made Ethiopia an Italian protectorate, but the Amharic version did not, and Menelik abrogated the treaty. The Italians then tried to persuade the rases but they could not match Menelik's diplomatic skills. All the great provincial chiefs, who had for years been accepting gifts and arms from Italian negotiators, lined up at the Battle of Adowa on the side of their emperor.

The Ethiopian victory over Italy at Adowa was a devastating and decisive defeat for the invading Italians, who were outnumbered more than five to one. At Adowa, Menelik was able to summon about 100 000 men. A second advantage for Menelik was his superiority over the Italians in firepower. Menelik was very well-supplied by the Italians themselves and given by them a loan of four million lire, which he used to buy arms all over Europe. At Adowa three out of four Ethiopian soldiers had modern firearms.

The incompetence of the Italian commander, Baratieri, and his officers played a major part in the Ethiopian victory. Two Tigrean allies of the Italians defected to Menelik with information of Italian battle positions, yet Baratieri kept his original positions. He was fed with false information about Menelik's army splitting up and retreating. Menelik also owed much to the generalship of Alula. Menelik's policies after Adowa were also crucial in securing the recognition by European powers of the sovereignty and independence of Ethiopia. A peace treaty signed in Addis Ababa in October 1896 accepted Italian Eritrea's Mareb frontier. Menelik also had diplomatic contacts with France and the Anglo-Ethiopian settlement of May 1897 marked the end of Europe's threat to Menelik's empire. His post-Adowa diplomacy had consolidated his battlefield success, safeguarded Ethiopia's position on all sides, and won territorial and economic concessions from his powerful European neighbours.

8. Compare and contrast the causes and results of the Maji Maji Rising of 1905 and John Chilembwe's rising of 1915.

Both risings were secondary resistances, responses to grievances created by colonial rule. The Maji Maji Rising began in 1905 among the people of south-east Tanzania, who resented the taxation, forced labour and cotton programme imposed on them by the German rulers. There were also social and political causes including resentment at attacks on traditional religious practices and the abuse of Ngindo women. Diverse ethnic groups rose under the inspiration of Kinjekitile, a Kololo spirit medium, who gave war medicine to the Pogoro and Ngindo communities and later to the Zaramo and Ngoni. Religious belief was an important factor in both risings. Chilembwe was the leader of an independent church in Malawi. He had developed his own independent Baptist mission and put into practice contemporary black American ideas of black improvement. His revolt against the British administration was the first example in 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 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 as 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.

Both risings failed. Chilembwe's rising came too early to attract mass educated support. He resolved to "strike a blow and die" and he was shot attempting to escape. The rising did not lead to reforms in the colonial system. The Maji Maji resistance was more prolonged, but was eventually defeated by the German scorched earth policy and superior military technology. The Maji Maji Rising jolted the Germans much more than Chilembwe's did the British. The new governor, Rechenberg, encouraged African cash-crop farming and German rule generally improved. Both risings showed the futility of resorting to armed resistance against a colonial power possessing vast military capacity. But both were an inspiration to a later generation of nationalists.

If only one rising is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

9. Analyse the reasons for, and the results of, the Anglo–Asante confrontations up until 1901.

British policy had tended to support the coastal Fante people against the Asante, who had encroached on Fante territory. This led to several wars. The Asante defeated a small British force in 1824, but British expeditions heavily defeated them in 1826, and drove them out of their southern vassal states. Another Asante-British war broke out in 1863–1864 because of the British Governor of the Fort's failure to understand Asante law and culture. The British forces withdrew, having suffered heavy casualties from malaria and dysentery. The loss of life and heavy expenditure on a war that had no sensible cause or useful result led a British parliamentary committee to recommend British withdrawal from the Gold Coast, which was no longer seen as profitable. But the Dutch handed over their coastal forts in 1870–1871 to Britain, which could now collect enough income to pay for the administration. Britain acquired Elmina, rented to the Dutch by the Asante, and refused to return it to them. This led to another war between 1873 and 1874, in which Asante imperial and military power was effectively destroyed. The Asante had to renounce all rights on the Gold Coast, abandon their claim to Elmina and pay the British an indemnity. The British withdrew from a severely weakened Asante to avoid the military expenditure occupation would have entailed.

The Asante kingdom revived after 1888 under a new asantehene, Prempeh I, who defeated rebel Asante states and reunited the Asante Confederacy. The British feared an Asante revival, and were upset by Prempeh's refusal to accept British rule and his insistence on being treated as a sovereign ruler. The British authorities refused to recognize Asante independence and occupied it in 1896, partly to preempt French and German advances in the region. British traders on the Gold Coast wanted Asante to be opened up to them. Since Asante refused free trade, a war of conquest would be necessary. Britain also wanted to abolish the slave trade and spread Christianity. Above all they wanted to forestall a grand alliance between Asante and Samori Toure's second Mandinka Empire against expanding European colonialism. A British protectorate was proclaimed and the asantehene was exiled. But the Asante army was intact and rose in a full-scale rebellion against the British in 1900. The rising was led by the Queen Mother of Edweso state and led by General Kofi Kofia, who beat back three British relief expeditions by using skilled forest warfare tactics. But eventually the Asante resistance collapsed as they ran out of ammunition. Asante was declared a Crown Colony and Prempeh was exiled to the Seychelles.

If only reasons or results are discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

10. For what reasons, and with what results, did the Herero resist German rule in Namibia?

By the turn of the century the Germans had extended their control over most of the territory of South-West Africa, apart from Ovamboland in the extreme north. The spread of rinderpest between 1896 and 1897 crippled the pastoralist Herero economy and eased the rapid spread of German settlement after 1896. German attempts to turn the whole territory into a colony of white settlement provoked one of the great wars of African resistance. White settlers took advantage of Herero losses in the rinderpest epidemic to move on to valuable African grazing land. At the same time white traders systematically stripped African pastoralists of their few remaining cattle in order to stock the newly acquired white-owned ranches. Traders extended loans of food and clothing to impoverished African stockowners and they insisted upon repayment in the form of their few remaining livestock.

In 1904 the Herero rose in revolt, killed over a hundred German traders and settlers and reoccupied much of their former territory. The Germans brought in reinforcements and isolated the Herero in the Waterberg area. When they broke out of their encirclement, the German general Von Trotha issued a notorious order to exterminate every Herero, man, woman or child. The retreating Herero were driven westwards into the Kalahari Desert where tens of thousands died of thirst and starvation. By the time Von Trotha's proclamation was cancelled only a quarter of the Herero were left alive within the territory out of a previous population of 80 000. The Germans destroyed any remaining Herero independence by confiscating all their cattle and deposing all their chiefs. The survivors were forced into the position of a subordinate, low paid workforce, serving the German farms and mines.

The question is on Herero resistance, so discussion of the reasons for and results of Nama resistance is irrelevant.

If only reasons or results are discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

11. Analyse the economic, social and political consequences of the discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa.

The discovery of large quantities of diamonds in 1871 began a transformation of the South African economy with profound consequences. By the late 1870s the diamond mines needed expensive machinery and individual claimholders gave way to companies which could raise the necessary capital. By 1889 the De Beers Company owned by Cecil Rhodes had a complete monopoly of diamond mining at Kimberley.

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

The mines created a great demand for migrant labour. Over 100 000 Africans were employed in the mines. There was also a huge influx of foreign white workers. Their presence created tension with the Boers in the Transvaal. There was greater competition for agricultural land and many Africans lost their land. Their subsistence economy began to fall apart and many Africans began to work on white farms. The competition for land led to the rise of a class of landless “poor whites”. That in turn eventually led to racially discriminatory employment laws reserving certain jobs for whites to protect them from having to compete with African labour.

Social problems were created by the use of migrant labour. African workers accepted six month contracts at low wages and lived in fenced compounds separated from their families, giving rise to problems of crime and prostitution. Both the white and black miners, but especially the latter, had to face the health hazards of working in the mines and thousands died of silicosis, pneumonia and tuberculosis.

The discovery of diamonds and gold also set the stage for the bitter and violent struggle between the Boers and the British. Transvaal’s economy was transformed by Rand gold-mining. The British feared a new wave of Afrikaner expansion. The white mining population in Transvaal, the mainly British uitlanders, were denied political rights. The Jameson Raid, backed by Rhodes, was an utter failure but it left the British determined to avenge the failure. Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary and Milner, the High Commissioner to the Cape, were determined to establish a British confederation by force if necessary. The mineral revolution was thus a long-term cause of the South Africa War. It was also a cause of the destruction of the Zulu kingdom.

12. Assess the importance of De Klerk in the history of South Africa.

The accession of 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.

In his first big speech, De Klerk amazed his country and the world by announcing the legalization of the ANC and other political parties and the release of hundreds of political prisoners including Mandela and Sisulu. He declared his readiness to work with all political groups to create a new constitution giving equal rights to every South African. His motives have been debated, but certainly included pressure from economic advisers, and followed on from informal meetings with Mandela and unofficial meetings in Europe between ANC leaders and Afrikaner politicians and businessmen, which changed the latter's perception of the ANC and Mandela.

At the end of 1991, De Klerk agreed to hold a "Convention for a Democratic South Africa" to work out with the ANC and other political parties a new constitution which would give democratic rights to all citizens. Both he and Mandela had great difficulties keeping their supporters behind them and the CODESA discussions were slow and complicated. De Klerk held a whites-only referendum, which supported his CODESA negotiations by a big majority. But the talks broke down and the country was on the edge of civil war, with much of the violence involving the Zulu Inkatha Movement and the extreme right-wing white AWB.

An agreement was reached at last in November 1993 on a one-person one-vote election in April 1994. 400 MPs would be elected by a system of proportional representation and there would be a government of national unity for five years. The ANC won 62.5 % of the vote and the Nationalist Party 20.5 %. De Klerk conceded defeat graciously and became a deputy president in the new government. Mandela congratulated the National Party on its performance and said that the time for quarrelling was past. It was time "to drink a toast to a small miracle", one to which De Klerk had significantly contributed.

13. Compare and contrast the colonial administrative systems of the British in Tanganyika and the Portuguese in Mozambique.

Tanganyika was a former German colony mandated to Britain in 1919. Britain fulfilled its formal obligations to the League of Nations Mandates Commission and later the UN Trusteeship Council. In general Tanganyika was assimilated to the norm of a British colony. But its status as a mandate was an effective obstacle to several British attempts to create an East African Federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, which could have been dominated by the white settlers in Kenya.

Cameron, as governor of Tanganyika from 1925, established indirect rule in local government and authorized local leaders in the 11 provinces to collect taxes, administer justice and carry out some administrative duties. Local authorities had their own funds to pay minor officials and provide public services. There were problems in some areas, for example among the Chagga and Maasai where the British failed to understand the traditional political systems. At the Arab-dominated coast, the government appointed officials who had no support from the people. But on the whole the system worked quite well, except that it excluded Africans until the 1950s from participating in central government. The concentration on tribes and clans slowed down the growth of the idea of nationhood. There were few effective African political organizations until the emergence of TANU in the 1950s, but there was growing discontent among educated Africans who would be the future nationalist leaders.

The official Portuguese policy had been one of assimilation, absorbing Africans into European culture, and accepting them as partners in government and business enterprise. But various forms of ruthless exploitation had destroyed the basis of this policy. By 1900 only a tiny handful of Africans in Mozambique had *assimilado* status, and this remained the case throughout colonial rule. Centralized power was exercised from the metropolis, and indirect rule was not practised. Salazar's government never intended to prepare Mozambique for independence and it was formally declared to be an overseas province of Portugal. There were some attempts to reform Portuguese colonial administration. In many outlying areas there were military commanders, but civil administrators in less "troublesome" areas. These agents had complete authority over the local population and were almost entirely unsupervised. Some were incorruptible, others far from it but all paid little regard to the welfare of the African peoples. Every effort was made to exploit Mozambique, to make it pay, regardless of the interests of the local people.

If only one colonial administrative system is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

14. “French rule benefited the Senegalese more than British rule benefited the people of Ghana (the Gold Coast).” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Candidates may come to quite different conclusions and could certainly challenge the statement. Senegal was part of the French West African Federation, whereas Ghana (the Gold Coast) was ruled separately. The policy of assimilation was applied in the Four Communes (towns) of coastal Senegal including Dakar, where the inhabitants were treated like French citizens, had a French-type education and the right to vote for a deputy to the French National Assembly. But the benefits of this could be questioned. The French treated French-speaking Senegalese as their equals whereas the British were often hostile to the educated. But the idea of assimilation implied that French culture was superior and that Africans should abandon their own culture to become Frenchmen. The British showed more respect for traditional authority in Ghana when the Asantehene was restored. They also did more to promote education, for example with the foundation of Achimota College in 1927. Taxes were much heavier in Senegal than in Ghana. Army recruitment was also more burdensome. The French recruited far more soldiers from Senegal in the First World War than the British in Ghana. By 1939 only 500 people had obtained French citizenship outside the Four Communes. The most serious weakness of French colonialism was the exploitation and injustice suffered by the subjects, who supplied heavy taxes, forced labour and soldiers, and yet who had hardly any individual rights.

The colonial economies were exploitative in both countries. Railways were built in Senegal and Ghana, but with different gauges to prevent the development of an integrated railway system in West Africa. The Ghana cocoa industry became the largest in the world and was a success story for African peasant production, but European firms controlled the export trade and fixed prices at a low level then resold the cocoa at a much higher profit in Britain and other parts of Europe. Both Ghana and Senegal were over-dependent on one crop, cocoa for Ghana and groundnuts for Senegal. In Senegal this led to a neglect of food crops, especially rice, thousands of tons of which had to be imported from French Indochina. As in Ghana, agricultural expansion depended on peasant producers. In Ghana, gold was exploited by the expatriate-owned Ashanti Goldfields Corporation. Africans were paid very low wages, less than African cocoa farmers paid their workers, yet the colonial government neither imposed income tax on the companies nor taxed their profits. Nationalism was intensified in both countries by the Second World War but Africans were involved in central government from an earlier stage in Ghana, where Nkrumah governed the country in cooperation with the British from 1951 until it became fully independent in 1957, three years before Senegal.

If only one country is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

15. Why did some Africans join the Independent Church Movement while others joined or remained members of missionary Christian churches?

A significant part of the appeal of missionary churches lay in the educational services the missionaries provided. The missionaries had been helped by European political occupation which improved communications and imposed a new kind of law and order, but missionaries often supported African grievances against the colonial administration. They were stern critics of Leopold II's Congo. The extent to which Africans joined or remained in the mission churches depended very much on local conditions and on the political and social structures of particular African communities. The missionaries made more headway in some societies, for example, the Igbo, the Baganda and the Basotho, than others. In Buganda missionaries had already established secondary schools for the sons of chiefs by the beginning of the twentieth century. The provision of health services was also part of the appeal of mission churches and it contributed to the decline of infant mortality and unprecedented population growth. Christianity also appealed as a religion which taught of a caring and forgiving god, and freed people from the fear of offending ancestral spirits and numerous distant gods.

Independent churches developed before the end of the nineteenth century. A major reason was the desire to escape Western domination and to protest against the slow progress made by mission-controlled churches in ordaining Africans to the priesthood and promoting them to the hierarchy. The issue of leadership was the major cause of the earliest schisms, but other grievances fuelled the growth of independent churches, for example, land alienation, hut tax and forced labour in Malawi. In South Africa there were over thirty Ethiopian churches by 1913. All the independent churches believed that Christianity in Africa must come to terms with African culture and that more effort needed to be put into education as a means of promoting higher living standards in Africa.

The most successful independent church leader was the Liberian evangelist Wade Harris who went to Cote d'Ivoire where he soon made over 60 000 converts. He tolerated polygamy and unlike the Catholic missionaries was not associated with the hated French regime. The Yoruba Agbebi was associated with several independent churches in Nigeria.

16. Analyse the obstacles to the suppression of the slave trade in West *or* East Africa. How was the trade finally eliminated?

The British parliament resolved in 1807 to abolish the Atlantic slave trade from West Africa and later began a naval blockade, which was not very effective because of the length and nature of the West African coastline. Some West Africans could not adjust easily to legitimate trade. The demand for slaves continued in the Americas and profits for those who were prepared to take the risk were greater. Britain could enforce abolition on its citizens but it took time to get other nations to make laws prohibiting the slave trade and to sign bilateral treaties so that the navies of each country had the right to search and seize the merchant ships of the other nations if they were caught in the slave trade. France did not agree to stop the slave trade until the 1830s and the US only in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In East Africa, Britain signed agreements with Sultan Seyyid Said in 1822 and 1845 limiting the slave trade, but it was still flourishing in East Africa. The trade grew throughout the reign of Sultan Seyyid Said of Oman and Zanzibar (1804–1856). Signing treaties did not automatically lead to decline in the trade. The Zanzibar based slave trade took longer to end than the West African one. It declined only after threats of a naval blockade by the British in the 1870s.

The Atlantic slave trade did not decline significantly until 1845 when Britain signed a treaty with Portugal and Brazil. Even then it required the American abolition of slavery during the civil war (1861–1865) and action by the Spanish rulers of Cuba to end slave imports in 1866, to bring the West African slave trade to an end. By then West African peoples involved in the slave trade, who were reluctant to end it for lack of an alternative export, came to realize that their economic future lay in the production of crops. The demand for palm oil in the Niger Delta, groundnuts in Senegal, gold and cocoa in Ghana (the Gold Coast), timber in Sierra Leone and coffee and rubber in Liberia, all helped to end the slave trade. International pressure was increased by the banning of the trade by the Berlin West Africa conference in 1885.

If only the obstacles or the elimination is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

17. Analyse the roles of leadership and party organization in the achievement of independence of Kenya and Tanganyika.

In Tanganyika, the absence of serious ethnic 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 built TANU into a party that won the trust of all ethnic and racial groups and had such mass appeal that it won the most overwhelming victory of any African political party before independence. He established trust and a good working relationship with the new British governor of Tanganyika, Turnbull. He shrewdly made the most of his country's trusteeship status under the United Nations to apply pressure on Britain for rapid progress to independence.

Whereas TANU was a highly organized active party down to the village level, KANU was only active at election time. The party was dominated by Kikuyus and related tribes and by the Luo, which made other smaller ethnic communities feel marginalized. They allied in KADU and advocated a regional system of government. The situation in Kenya was complicated by the presence of a large settler community and British reaction to the Mau Mau emergency. Kenyatta was arrested in 1952 and sentenced to detention in a rigged trial. He was denounced by a British governor as a leader to "darkness and death". His detention was an obstacle to the effectiveness of political parties, though he was a symbol of freedom to his people. When he was released from detention, he failed to bring the warring political interests of KANU and KADU together though he did manage to charm the white farmers. He chose to lead KANU and its victory in elections in 1963 was due to the appeal of its leaders including Kenyatta and Odinga and to the fact that the ethnic groups which supported it and voted on strictly ethnic lines outnumbered those who supported KADU.

If only Kenya or Tanganyika is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

18. Why was independence in Zimbabwe achieved late and only after an armed struggle?

After the break-up of the Central African Federation, Zambia and Malawi became independent under majority rule in 1964. Southern Rhodesia was dominated by its large white settler population, and had been self-governing for 40 years. In 1964, the ultra-conservative Rhodesian Front Party won the election and Smith became prime minister. His party wanted independence from Britain under white rule. He rightly concluded that Britain would not use military force against its own “kith and kin” when he made an illegal and unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. African nationalist movements launched guerilla 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. It was difficult for Britain to negotiate with African leaders until legality was restored. A new constitution in 1970 dealt a blow to prospects of this, and the British government broke off all diplomatic relations with Rhodesia. The situation was also complicated by the existence of rival nationalist movements under different leaders.

Portuguese decolonization and the independence of Mozambique in 1975 transformed the situation. ZANU and 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 came under increasing pressure from South Africa and the US to reach an accommodation with the African nationalist leaders and move towards majority rule. As guerilla war intensified, Smith tried to reach an internal settlement and made a deal with Bishop Muzorewa’s new party, the United African National Congress. His efforts were rebuffed by the Commonwealth, and the 1979 elections were boycotted by the Patriotic Front. He could never defeat the Patriotic Front through military means. When even the Thatcher government began to insist on all-party elections, Smith gave in. 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 decisive victory for ZANU-PF. Mugabe became the first prime minister of independent Zimbabwe.

19. Compare and contrast the role in the achievement of independence of Nkrumah in Ghana and Sekou Toure in Guinea.

Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah came from very different backgrounds. Sekou Toure had been educated in Guinea and worked for a French commercial firm, but became an active trade unionist serving as secretary-general to Guinea's trade unions, which were linked to the powerful French communist trade union movement, the CGT, from which he later broke away, to assert his African identity. He saw in trade unionism a means of acquiring control over the masses, but he was also active in party politics and became a secretary-general of the PDG, the Guinea section of the RDA, the main nationalist party in Francophone West Africa. He was elected mayor of the capital, Conakry, in 1955 and was the Guinea deputy in the French parliament from 1956. Guinea unexpectedly became independent in 1958, thanks to the courageous and defiant stand of Sekou Toure with the full support of the workers and the students. De Gaulle came to power in France in 1958 and prepared a new constitution for the Fifth Republic. He asked all the colonies to vote in a referendum on whether they wanted to retain their connection with France. They could join a French community within which France would retain control of their defence and foreign policies. All except Guinea voted "yes". In Guinea the "no" vote was over 80 % and Guinea proclaimed its independence in October 1958. French aid to Guinea was promptly withdrawn. De Gaulle's revenge stripped it of everything down to its French supplied telephones.

Sekou Toure was exceptional among French West African leaders in demanding independence as forcefully and successfully as Nkrumah had in Ghana. His defiance of de Gaulle, however, was in sharp contrast with Nkrumah's relations with Governor Arden-Clarke. From 1951 to 1957 he governed the Gold Coast (later Ghana) in cooperation with the British, who were ready to implement a policy of decolonization. The intellectual Nkrumah had studied abroad and was invited back to be full-time organizer of the United Gold Coast Convention, but he soon became impatient with its moderate policies and founded the Convention People's Party which won the elections of 1951. Further elections were held in 1954 and 1956, which confirmed his party's position. Ghana became independent in 1957. Nkrumah's charisma and energy were a key factor in his party's success. He was a brilliant speaker and a tireless campaigner and party organizer, with a radical agenda demanding freedom now and justice with equality for all. He was helped by the fragmented opposition which played on the ethnic fears of the Asante and Ewe in trying to promote devolution and by the absence of a white settler community needing protection, which could have delayed the achievement of independence.

If only one leader is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

20. Analyse the role of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in the achievement of independence for Namibia.

SWAPO was founded in 1960 as a national movement devoted to liberating Namibia from South African rule. South Africa ruled it from 1919 under a League of Nations mandate. That mandate was revoked by the UN in 1966 and the ICJ declared South Africa's presence illegal. South Africa ignored this. In 1966 SWAPO decided to launch an armed struggle. From 1960 it was also involved in political mobilization and won support from all sectors of Namibian society. South Africa tried to organize rival so-called nationalist movements, but it gradually became clear that SWAPO could not be suppressed. Many of its leaders were put on trial but from 1975 it acquired bases in the northern parts of Angola controlled by the MPLA government.

SWAPO cooperated with the UN's campaign to establish its sovereignty over Namibia. South Africa's repressive policies and its attempts to achieve an internal settlement by delegating authority to handpicked tribal "representatives" failed to impress the international community. In 1973 the Security Council ended two years of dialogue with South Africa. The UN General Assembly appointed Sean McBride as UN Commissioner for Namibia and recognised SWAPO as "the authentic representative of the people of Namibia". SWAPO could not defeat South Africa militarily, but South Africa could not defeat SWAPO or undermine its legitimacy in the eyes of Namibians either. SWAPO's opportunity came when South Africa lost the political will to retain Namibia. By the late 1980s, it was prepared to give it up, on condition that Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola. The end of the Cold War transformed the situation. UNAVEM verified Cuban withdrawal from Angola and in 1989 the UN Transitional group, UNTAG, was deployed to organize elections in Namibia and to monitor South African withdrawal. The elections were a triumph for SWAPO. Its political and military work over 30 years was rewarded with over 60 % of the vote and its leader Sam Nujoma became president of independent Namibia in March 1990. SWAPO continued to rule Namibia for the next two decades, but discussion of events since 1990 is outside the scope of the question.

21. How did any *two* independent African countries respond to the challenge of poverty and economic development up until 2000?

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

The new African governments tended to see rapid urban-centred industrialization as a means to achieve economic self-sufficiency. But many early schemes were over-ambitious or inappropriate. Most of the expertise, technology, machinery and building materials had to be imported from the West. This could lead to huge international debt which together with drought often stifled African economic development in the 1980s and 1990s. Governments had to accept structural adjustment programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), for which they had to turn for emergency loans. They had to have balanced budgets, devalue their currency, remove price and exchange controls and reduce employment in the public sector. Mass urbanization and population growth made it increasingly difficult to create full employment and overcome poverty. Some governments coped well with the challenges while others aggravated the problems by pervasive official corruption which discouraged foreign investment and donor funding. The challenges were often aggravated by political instability and civil war.

There was considerable variation in the type and extent of challenges from country to country and in the policies adopted to deal with them. The economic policies of Kenya and Tanzania were in sharp contrast, as were those of former British and French colonies. France, as the major aid donor, exercised considerable control over the economic development of francophone countries. After the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere took Tanzanian development in an entirely new direction. Governments which had achieved independence through a guerilla struggle often based their subsequent economic development on adaptations of socialist principles. Zambia had specific problems related to over-reliance on the copper industry at a time of dramatic falls in world commodity prices.

If only one country is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

22. With reference to any *two* African countries, analyse the reasons for the adoption of single-party rule and for the later change to multiparty democracy.

African countries inherited at independence a system of politics and government established by the colonial power and this was generally based on a multiparty system. The “Westminster model” in former British colonies encouraged electoral competition among parties. Some parties such as Senghor’s PDS or Nyerere’s TANU were truly nationwide, but others such as the NPC in Nigeria, KADU in Kenya, KY in Uganda and CONAKAT in Congo/Zaire had a purely ethnic or regional appeal. A multiparty system could therefore, with its encouragement of tribal and regional interests, be a major obstacle to national unity, stability and security, a crucial aim of newly independent states faced with the legacy of artificial boundaries created by the colonial powers. So multiparty systems gave place sooner or later to single-party systems. Nyerere of Tanzania argued that single-party systems were compatible with democracy providing the party presented a choice of candidates in each constituency. There were other countries, however, like Ghana (the Gold Coast) and Kenya, in which the main motive for the establishment of single-party government was to keep an ambitious leader in power, and it was accompanied by oppressive measures such as detention without trial and press censorship. Single-party government all too often led to abuse of power by members of the ruling party, serious mismanagement of the economy and failure to deliver promises to the people.

Since the end of the Cold War, internal and external pressures led most African countries to switch from single-party to multiparty systems. These pressures included demands for more transparency and accountability and greater respect for human rights such as freedom of expression and association. In Kenya, for example, the corruption, repression, ethnic discrimination and disregard for the rule of law by the KANU government in the 1980s caused lasting damage to national institutions and to the economy. Left-wing intellectuals, urban professional classes, small-scale commercial farmers and business interests, clergy, lawyers and the independent press began to rise in a protest which spread to urban underclasses, working people, rural smallholders and principled political leaders. External aid donors and their ambassadors, international human rights groups and the global news media played an important role in discrediting single-party governments. Many gave in to external pressures to change to multiparty systems, as Kenya did in December 1991, when the World Bank and donor countries refused any further aid until governments became more transparent, accountable and tolerant of opposition.

If only one country is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

23. How successful was the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in achieving its aims?

The organization was established in 1963.

The obvious introduction would be a statement of the organization's aims:

- to promote closer ties and solidarity amongst Africa's states with the ultimate aim of political unity
- to liberate African countries still under colonial rule
- to mediate in conflicts between member states
- to avoid interference from outside the continent, whether in the form of military aggression or neo-colonialism and protect members from such interference
- to promote economic and social cooperation and progress amongst member states.

How successful?

The area in which the greatest success was achieved was that of freeing the continent from colonial rule. From the foundation of the organization this was the one area on which there was no disagreement amongst members. This enabled the organization to put strong pressure on colonial powers, and on individual members to give support and refuge to nationalist organizations in exile. Egypt and Tanzania played major roles in this respect. Success was less complete in combating interference and less overt forms of neo-colonialism by the outside powers. During the Cold War rival power blocs introduced their rivalry into the continent, for example in Congo, Angola and Ethiopia. One major weakness was that it had no legal sanctions to enforce its resolutions. It was often criticized as a "talking-shop". It did not prevent conflict breaking out within and between member states such as disputes between Ethiopia and its neighbours Eritrea and Somalia and civil wars in Liberia, Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi and Sierra Leone. It played a part in the resolution of some disputes for example between Morocco and Algeria and encouraged regional peace keeping, for example by ECOMOG.

Africa's general poverty prevented any significant progress in social and economic cooperation. The African Development Bank helped mobilize finance for African development projects. But African development was hampered by corruption and poor leadership, the burden of debt, adverse terms of trade and a lack of intra-African trade and foreign investment.

24. Why did the United Nations intervene successfully in Mozambique, but fail to do so in Rwanda?

The UN was set up in October 1945 with peacekeeping as one of its main aims. At the time, this was seen as preventing, or bringing a peaceful end to conflict between states. The problem in recent years is that most conflict has been within states, much of it in Africa, and as an indirect result of artificial colonial boundaries. Conflicts like those in Mozambique and Rwanda were very difficult for the UN to deal with. The main victims were innocent civilians and the pressure of international opinion could force the UN to get involved. The UN however could only be successful if three prior conditions were met. The parties to a conflict must be genuinely willing to cooperate; the Security Council had to give a clear mandate; and adequate financial manpower, equipment and resources had to be provided for the UN operation. These conditions were present in the reconstruction of Mozambique after over a decade of civil war. The UN's role in Mozambique was a great success, but also a heavy drain on the resources of the UN. The UN operations in Mozambique involved disarming militias, demining, resettling returned refugees, rebuilding shattered infrastructures, running ministries and retraining police forces. The UN organized elections and the results were accepted by the governing Frelimo and the rebel Renamo movement and its leaders.

From April to the end of June 1994, one million people, mostly Tutsi, were killed in Rwanda in the worst genocide since the Holocaust. It was done in broad daylight, prepared for months and incitement to genocide was broadcast daily through a radio station. As early as 24 April, an Oxfam officer warned that genocide was taking place, but the UK and the US resisted the use of the word in the Security Council. The Canadian General Dallaire was in charge of a small peacekeeping mission UNAMIR but it had no power of intervention. Only a few months earlier a UN force in Somalia with power of military intervention under Chapter seven of the UN Charter had failed disastrously with loss of American and Pakistani lives. Neither America nor other major powers wanted to put their troops at risk in a country in which they had no geopolitical interest. In mid-May the Security Council did approve the deployment of over 5000 troops to Rwanda but none were available. The genocide ended only when the rebel RPF took over the capital and the strongholds of Hutu extremist power. General Dallaire left Rwanda in 1994, deeply traumatized by his failure to stop the genocide despite his repeated appeals for an adequate mandate and resources. In a study of the Rwandan genocide, titled "A People Betrayed", credit is nonetheless given to the Canadian government's help to UNAMIR and to Ghana (the Gold Coast) for allowing its troops to stay, (while others like Belgium withdrew,) thus saving UNAMIR from almost certain collapse.

If only Mozambique or Rwanda is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].
