



MARKSCHEME

MAY 2011

HISTORY

Route 2

Higher Level

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

*This markscheme is **confidential** and for the exclusive use of examiners in this examination session.*

*It is the property of the International Baccalaureate and must **not** be reproduced or distributed to any other person without the authorization of IB Cardiff.*

*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.***

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, 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 contribution of Tewodros II and Yohannis IV to the reunification of Ethiopia.

Tewodros was the first nineteenth century ruler of Ethiopia to have a vision of the emperor as the focus for national unity. His main objective was to unify and modernize Ethiopia after a century of turmoil during the “era of the princes”. He was committed to military and administrative reform, to the creation of a well-equipped standing army and to a reduction of the wealth and privileges of the Church and the power of the rases and to ending the slave trade. But his reforms provoked widespread internal opposition and failed to achieve anything of lasting importance. The regular use of the army to enforce his views and policies and crush opposition alienated the nobles, the clergy, and the peasants. His tactless foreign policy provoked a British military expedition and his reign ended in suicide and the desertion of most of his army. By the time of his death, Ethiopia had broken up once more into warring provinces.

Yohannis learnt from Tewodros’ failure and had more cautious objectives. He strengthened the central power by diplomacy rather than war. He created a federation rather than a strongly centralized state but this at least was attainable and acceptable to the provincial rulers. In 1878 Yohannis made an agreement with Menelik of Shoa and Menelik’s daughter married Yohannis’s son. Menelik paid tribute to Yohannis and dropped his claim to the imperial title. Constant external threats from Italy, Egypt and Sudan prevented Yohannis from fully uniting the country. He never really established his authority over either the King of Gojjam or over Menelik, who refused to fight the Mahdist invaders. Yohannis was more successful than Tewodros because his aims were more limited and realistic and he avoided making enemies.

He tried to seek an accommodation with his two main vassals, Menelik of Shoa and Tekle Haymanot of Gojjam, but his policy of creating a loosely united Ethiopia encouraged centrifugal tendencies, which were always a potential threat to the unity of the state. He was successful against Egypt but faced a growing threat from Italy and was killed in battle against the Mahdists.

Candidates may view Tewodros sympathetically and point out how his vision of a united Ethiopia inspired his successors. Some reference to foreign policy would be relevant but the question is on reunification, therefore lengthy discussion of modernization policies would not be relevant.

If only Tewodros II or Yohannis IV is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

2. Analyse the contribution of *either* Mirambo to the rise of Unyamwezi *or* of Mkwawa to the rise of the Hehe state.

Mirambo was the son of the ruler of a small Ntemi chiefdom. He gained experience as a warrior and trader and gained a large loyal following which helped him create a larger state of his own. He controlled the major trade routes from Tabora to Ujiji, Buganda and to Shaba and could exact tolls on all of them. He fought against the Swahili – Arabs of Tabora until they agreed to pay tolls. Despite his expansion of territory and his personal qualities he was not a successful modernizer. The state he created did not long survive his death in 1884. He created no centralized administration and after his death many local rulers reasserted their authority. The personal loyalty of his soldiers was not carried over to his successors.

In 1879 Mkwawa succeeded his father Munyigumba, who had already built a strong united state from the scattered Hehe political units. He quickly emerged as one of the most powerful rulers of new states in eastern Africa. He won battles against the Ngoni and forced them to make peace in 1881. Raids, trade and tribute from weak neighbours helped to build up wealth. He created terror by killing opponents but many people were loyal to him out of gratitude for protecting them from the Ngoni. He improved his father's political organization by making provincial rulers subject to appointment and dismissal by himself as head of state. He thus increased the strength of the central government. Areas which did not resist his expansion retained their own rulers, who had to pay regular tribute. Marriage alliances were concluded with as many groups as possible. It was no fault of Mkwawa that German rule later destroyed his state.

3. Compare and contrast the achievements of Nana and JaJa as rulers of Niger Delta trading states.

Good answers should have a comparative structure and there should be balanced treatment of Nana and JaJa, but there is more to compare than to contrast in the achievements of the two rulers. Both were successful traders. JaJa was an ex-slave from the Orlu area of Igboland in the Niger delta. In 1863 he was elected head of the Annie Pepple House in Bonny, bitter rivals of the Manilla Pepples. In 1869, when his House was losing in the struggle with the Manilla Pepples, he led his followers to a new home on an island at the mouth of the Imo River. Here, at Opobo, he was able to cut Bonny off from its palm oil markets. Bonny fell into serious financial problems while Opobo flourished. He fostered education but opposed Christianity.

Nana succeeded his father Olomu in 1883 as Governor of the Benin River in Itsekiirland. The post was supposed to alternate between two powerful families and this created problems for Nana from those who felt he should not have succeeded his father. Like JaJa he had trading rivals but he was a very wealthy and powerful merchant. He lived in Ebrohimi, a well-fortified town his father had founded in an area of swamp.

The achievements of both JaJa and Nana were cut short by British intervention. JaJa ruled his independent kingdom for only 18 years. He was deported by the British consul, Sir Harry Johnston, and died in exile. His independent kingdom was a challenge to the spreading colonial power of Britain, which established the Oil Rivers Protectorate in 1891, renamed the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1893.

British merchants thought they would make greater profits if they bought palm oil directly from JaJa's suppliers, but he was beginning to export his own oil which would have done away with the European middlemen. Nana's town was captured in 1894 by Itskekiri rivals and the Niger Coast Protectorate army for the same reasons and he too was deported. As with JaJa, the British could not tolerate an independent state so close to their protectorate and they wished to monopolize the lucrative palm oil trade.

If only Nana or JaJa is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

4. To what extent did the organization of the Zulu state under Shaka contribute to the Mfecane?

When Dingiswayo, ruler of the Mthethwa, was killed in a war against the Ndwandwe ruler Zwide, his general Shaka headed a small Zulu chieftdom of a few thousand. In the next ten years he created a nation and Zulu customs and power were imposed on all the territory from the Drakensberg to the sea. Shaka organized the army, adapted the age grade system for military purposes and perfected Dingiswayo's military techniques and tactics during the war he fought for the expansion of the Zulu kingdom. He used a short stabbing spear for close combat and maintained a well-drilled and disciplined standing army which was merciless with the enemy.

Shaka's wars contributed to a period of upheaval, prolonged warfare and forced migration known as the Mfecane. Shaka was by no means the sole cause of the Mfecane though his actions made it more intense. There has been much debate about the causes. It was assumed that population pressure, soil exhaustion and land shortage, aggravated by severe famine, led to a struggle for declining resources in the Northern Nguni area. Later research stressed the importance in the struggle for supremacy and survival of competition for the new trade in imported goods at Delagoa Bay. Shaka's role in the Mfecane has also been played down in recent years. He was only one of many great Nguni and Sotho leaders who turned age sets into powerful military forces which were used to conquer neighbouring communities and create larger states.

5. **“The key to understanding the sudden scramble for Africa is to be found in events in Egypt between 1879 and 1882.” To what extent do you agree with this statement as an explanation of the European annexation of Africa?**

In 1882 Gladstone, the British Prime Minister, dispatched General Wolseley to defeat a nationalist uprising led by Urabi and safeguard the Suez Canal, and sent Lord Cromer to administer Egypt until Egyptian debts were paid. He thus unwittingly accelerated European imperial activities all over Africa. Robinson and Gallagher argued in *Africa and the Victorians* that the occupation of Egypt began the scramble for Africa. This is now regarded as an overstatement. Other factors in Europe and Africa, including the activities of Leopold and De Brazza in the two Congos, were already building up pressure for a scramble for Africa. But Britain’s occupation of Egypt led to further European annexations in Africa. The immediate result was the ratification of the De Brazza–Makoko treaty and the establishment of a French colony in the Congo. Disputes over the Congo led to the Berlin West Africa Conference (1884–1885), which gave great impetus to the European annexation of Africa. It laid down the principle that a European power had to occupy and administer territory if it was to claim it. It also divided the Congo Basin between France and Portugal and the Niger Basin between Britain and France. Britain’s occupation of Egypt had caused much French resentment even though the French could have taken part in a joint expedition against Urabi but withdrew because of an internal political crisis. But they were still upset that the British defeated Urabi on their own and went on to occupy Egypt, which the French had regarded as their sphere of influence. The French had dominated European enterprise in Egypt for many decades and a Frenchman supervised the building of the Suez Canal.

This is a “to what extent” question and good candidates may challenge the quotation and argue that the scramble had already begun, was accelerated later or was caused by many factors.

6. To what extent was the European partition of Africa determined by economic and humanitarian factors?

Economic factors, such as the search for raw materials and markets, played an important part in the scramble for colonial territories in the late nineteenth century. Britain, France and Germany had rapidly industrialized and had a surplus of manufactured goods which had to be sold. Colonies could offer assured markets which could be monopolized by the colonial power through the imposition of tariffs.

European businessmen exerted pressure on their governments to acquire colonies because they were failing to make adequate profits and needed European government action against their rivals. British traders in the late 1870s began to favour customs duties to keep out German and French traders. To collect customs duties, it was necessary to have political control, which meant establishing colonies. Companies such as the Royal Niger Company wanted colonial rule to enable them to undermine African trading houses engaged in the profitable palm oil trade in the Niger Delta. In reality, the opportunities for marketing industrial goods in Africa were slight, but hopes were always more powerful than reality.

Industrialization also generated a demand for more raw materials. By the late nineteenth century, raw materials other than iron, coal and cotton, became important. There was a great increase in the demand for palm oil, used to make soap and industrial lubricants. There was an increase in the demand for rubber from the Congo for tyres for bicycles and later cars, as well as for the insulation of electric wires. Cocoa was introduced to the Gold Coast to meet the new taste for chocolate. The huge growth in demand for pianos in the late nineteenth century and the popularity of billiards led to a great increase in the demand for ivory. Another economic explanation of the partition of Africa relates to a theory of surplus capital and was put forward by Hobson in 1902 and developed by Lenin in 1916. This theory has been discredited by more recent historians who point out that European powers invested only a small part of their capital in their newly acquired colonies, only 10 % of France's and 2 % of Germany's.

Do not expect balanced answers. Economic factors were more important but an attempt should be made to define humanitarian factors. They relate to the activities of missionaries who wanted to westernize Africans. They wanted their government to put a stop to wars between African states, to end the slave trade in the interior, to protect them from attacks by Muslims in places like Malawi and Uganda and to destroy the authority of traditionalist rulers like JaJa and Nana. All these would make evangelization easier. Missionary societies had considerable influence in Europe and governments, especially the British, could not ignore their views.

The “civilizing mission” provided a justification for political invasion, reinforced by social Darwinist beliefs in racial supremacy. This is a “to what extent” question and one set of factors alone cannot explain such a complex phenomenon. Different combinations of factors were at work in different parts of Africa including European national rivalry and strategic considerations and the impact on European governments of the spread of mass nationalism and the popular press.

7. Analyse the causes and results for both Africans *and* the colonial power of the Ndebele–Shona rising (1896–1897).

The British South African Company's administrators and settlers believed that, having occupied Ndebele country, they could concentrate on exploiting the land and labour of Southern Rhodesia without fear of any serious African protest.

However, the Ndebele objected to the loss of their independence and to their being given only the same rights as the other African peoples whom they had conquered in the past. The Ndebele also resented the loss of their cattle, many of which had been confiscated by the company at the time of occupation while others had been killed by a rinderpest epidemic. Generally the Ndebele had lost so much in 1893 and afterwards that they felt they had nothing to lose from further armed resistance. The opportunity to rise against the Company came early in 1896 with the defeat of the Jameson Raid by the Afrikaners of the Transvaal. Thus most of the Company police were out of Ndebele country, leaving the European farms unprotected. The Ndebele rose in revolt. The Shona also resented Company rule. The Shona at first believed that the Europeans had come for a short period, but when they found that they had come to stay and to rule they greatly resented their loss of independence. They also objected to the Company's bad administration, which led to abuse of police power and forced labour on European farms. Moreover the Company had stopped the Shona from trading with the Portuguese and had obliged them to buy goods from the Company, whose prices were higher.

Many Ndebele and Shona were killed in the rising, and trade and agriculture were disrupted, but it would be incorrect to think that Africans gained nothing by their resistance. Rhodes negotiated a peace settlement with the Ndebele to cut the war short, partly because of the back-breaking expenses to the Company and partly because of his fear of a revocation of the charter and an assumption of direct control by the British government. A regular system of procedures was established to check ill-treatment of Africans. It was not much but it was far more than the Ndebele would have got without a rising. The British government was alarmed by the rising. Although the British South Africa Company kept its charter, fear of further rebellion led the British government to withdraw over-provocative measures like the increase in 1903 hut tax from 10 shillings to GBP 2 a year. The Colonial Secretary set the tax at GBP 1 a year with a delay in collection.

Many Shona turned to the missionaries after 1897 in an attempt to master European methods and perhaps turn them to their advantage later.

If only Africans or the Colonial power are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

8. Analyse the reasons for, and the results of, Kabaka Mwanga's responses to the gradual loss of Buganda's independence.

Mwanga became Kabaka in 1884 and a few years later civil war in his kingdom coincided with the arrival of the agents of British imperialism. Mwanga accepted the offer of a German protectorate but the Anglo–German Agreement of 1890 recognized Buganda as a British sphere of influence. Lugard, as agent of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) sought to make this a practical reality by establishing some control over the country. In December 1890 Mwanga reluctantly signed a protection treaty with the company. Lugard supported the Protestant Christians, converts of mostly English CMS missionaries, in their struggle for power over the Catholic party. This brought him into conflict with Mwanga at the battle of Mengo in 1892. Mwanga fled to an island in Lake Victoria but returned as Kabaka to sign, even more reluctantly than before, a new treaty with the IBEAC, which further reduced his powers. In 1894 the British government took over from the IBEAC and Mwanga's resentment of British rule increased. Angered by loss of political power, interference with Kiganda traditions and with his right to appoint his own servants, Mwanga left the capital, Kampala, and raised the standard of revolt against British rule in Buddu County in 1897. The leading Protestant and Catholic chiefs supported the British against Mwanga. They agreed to his deposition and replacement in 1897 by his one-year-old son Daudi Chwa, and in 1899 helped to capture Mwanga who was deported to the Seychelles. From 1890 Apolo Kagwa had led the Protestant chiefs' consistent support of the British. Lugard backed them at Mengo Hill and they welcomed the protectorate. Kagwa resolutely opposed Mwanga's rebellion and became the senior regent as well as Katikiro when Mwanga was deposed. Kagwa was the leading negotiator with Sir Harry Johnston of the Uganda Agreement of 1900, which defined the basis of the British colonial system in Buganda and rewarded the senior Christian leaders for their loyalty to the British by a new system of land tenure. The agreement represented a blow to traditional political forces in Buganda and completed the revolution of Christian chiefs in Buganda, which Kagwa had led since 1887.

**9. “Cetshwayo was not to blame for the conquest and destruction of the Zulu kingdom.”
To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Cetshwayo succeeded his father Mpande in 1873 when Zulu military power was at its height. Despite the territorial dispute with them over land on his northern border, he did not at first want to fight the Boers. He favoured an anti-Boer alliance with the British but they did not want a strong Zulu nation on their Natal border. They also wanted to persuade the Boer authorities in the Transvaal to join them in a confederation, partly to guard against a possible African victory over a white state. After the Transvaal had been defeated by the Bapedi, the British annexed it. Frere, the British High Commissioner at the Cape, decided that the Zulu must be crushed to remove the continuing threat on Natal’s border. He sent an ultimatum to Cetshwayo, who accepted all but the disbandment of the Zulu army. The British invaded Zululand early in 1879 and were defeated at Isandhlwana. Cetshwayo knew the victory would provoke British retaliation and ordered his troops to retreat and wage a guerilla war. They ignored his orders and were defeated at Ulundi. Cetshwayo, who opposed Boer claims to his land, ended up being forced to fight the British against his wishes.

The Anglo–Zulu war resulted in the conquest and destruction of the Zulu kingdom. Cetshwayo was captured and exiled. Zululand was destroyed as a united state when the British divided it into 13 small provinces which fought each other. Cetshwayo was recalled from exile in 1883 to restore law and order but was forced to flee during the civil war and died in 1884.

Zululand, unlike Botswana or Lesotho, lost its separate identity. The quotation exonerating Cetshwayo from the destruction of the kingdom can be easily defended. Cetshwayo did not want to fight either the British or the Boers but resisted Boer claims to some of Zululand and ended up resisting British aggression.

10. Compare and contrast the reasons for British intervention in Asante *and* French intervention in the Mandinka Empire in the nineteenth century.

British policy tended to support the coastal Fante people against the Asante, who had encroached on Fante territory, and there were several wars earlier in the century. The British were on the point of withdrawing from the Gold Coast, which was no longer seen as profitable, when the Dutch handed over their coastal forts to them in 1870–1871. Britain 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, 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 that occupation could have entailed.

In 1888, a new Asantehene, Prempeh I, 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 insistence on being treated as a sovereign ruler. The British authorities refused to recognize Asante independence and occupied Asante in 1896, partly to pre-empt 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 the Asante and Samori's second Mandinka Empire.

French intervention, like the British, was part of the scramble for Africa. France and Britain wanted to divide West Africa between them. Some states not only failed to resist the French but openly allied with them. The French were officially at peace with the Mandinka Empire from 1886 to 1891 after a treaty ending an indecisive five year war, but for the French this was only a lull in the fighting as they were determined to expand their possessions in West Africa and conquer the Mandinka Empire. They continued to undermine Samori by sending military supplies to his neighbours and later by invading his northern provinces and inciting people to revolt against him. The British refused to help Samori or offer the protectorate he requested. By 1894 the French had overrun the Mandinka Empire and they captured Samori in 1898. He had begun negotiations with the Asante King Prempeh but an alliance was forestalled by Britain's occupation of Asante in 1896.

If only British or French intervention is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

11. “The Boers lost the war but won the peace.” To what extent do you agree with this statement about the results of the South African War (1899–1902)?

It has been said that the Boers lost the war but won the peace. The war was militarily disastrous for them. The British looted and burnt their farms and put thousands in concentration camps. Africans retook their alienated land. The Boer republics surrendered because of their hopeless position, and the suffering of their families. The peace of Vereeniging was a generous conclusion to the war. The Boer republics were annexed but self-government was promised to them in the near future. Much money was spent on reconstruction. The Dutch and English languages were to have equal status. The peace was followed by moves to unite South Africa economically and politically. A customs union was formed in 1903 and the railway systems were harmonized. The Transvaal and Orange Free State became self-governing in 1907. The South Africa Act, passed in 1909, became effective in 1910. This was an act of reconciliation between the two European groups which ignored the needs of the African majority. Luthuli later called it “the great segregation act”. Non-whites were not eligible to stand for election to the legislature and the right to vote was granted only in Cape Province where it had previously existed and was not protected by an entrenched clause.

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

12. Assess the relative importance of internal and external factors contributing to the end of apartheid.

In the 1960s and early 1970s the South African government brutally suppressed all opposition and pressed ahead with apartheid policies. The ANC and its military wing were driven into exile. But the collapse of Portuguese rule in 1974–1975 was a psychological boost to black South Africans. After the Soweto uprising and murder of Steve Biko, the government began a limited process of reform. But as opponents of the system pointed out, apartheid could not be reformed, it could only be abolished. There was growing conflict in the townships and the international news organizations relayed to the world television coverage of security forces firing live ammunition into crowds of unarmed demonstrators.

There was growing international condemnation of apartheid and foreign capital began to flee the country in the mid-1980s. Meanwhile prominent white businessmen, and later politicians and academics, were holding secret discussions with the ANC in exile. The defeat of South African forces at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola forced the South African government to the negotiating table and led to Namibian independence in 1990.

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

From the above it can be seen that internal factors and external factors were both crucial, but neither by themselves would have ended apartheid.

**13. “The people of Tanganyika benefited more from British rule than from German rule.”
To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Candidates are likely to largely agree with the statement and contrast brutal aspects of German rule (as seen in their treatment of Mkwawa and the Maji Maji rising) with Tanganyika’s status as a mandated territory and a trusteeship under British rule and the country’s smooth and peaceful transition in the 1950s and 1960s to independence. But answers to a “to what extent” question should try to achieve some balance. After the Maji Maji rising, the forced cotton programme was abandoned and a new reforming governor, Von Rechenberg, gave more support to African cash farming. He punished settlers who ill-treated their workers. The Germans built railways with African forced labour from Tanga to Moshi and Dar-es-Salaam to Kigoma, which boosted African production and export of cash crops as they also helped to increase the profit of German firms. Between 1894 and 1906 the German government invested over £4 million in Africa at a time when the British were unwilling to spend public money on their colonies.

Unlike the British of the time, the Germans were willing to fund education to supplement missionary schools and by 1914 there were 99 government schools. They encouraged the spread of Kiswahili to unify the country and to make administration easier. The First World War however, brought devastation to Tanganyika. General Von Lettow-Vorbeck tied down thousands of Commonwealth troops in East Africa but railways, roads and buildings were destroyed. Thousands of Africans were called to serve as soldiers and died from battle or from disease. Farms and plantations went back to the bush and there was widespread famine. When the British took over the territory, there was very gradual economic and political advance using a system of indirect rule, but Tanganyika’s achievement of independence should be largely credited to Nyerere and his TANU party.

14. Assess the economic development of the Gold Coast under colonial rule to 1957.

The transformation of the Gold Coast's economy was a success story for African peasant production but was also an example of colonial economic exploitation. The Sekondi–Kumasi railway line was completed in 1903 and greatly reduced the cost of transporting locally produced goods. But the railways also allowed European cotton goods and iron tools to be sold in the interior much more cheaply than those of African manufacture and many African craftsmen, especially weavers and blacksmiths, lost their livelihood.

The Gold Coast switched in the 1890s from being the world's leading rubber producing country after competition from Malaysia to cocoa production, and by 1911 had become the world's leading exporter. The colonial government played a part by making seeds and plants available but the real innovators were the migrant Akwapem farmers who switched from less profitable palm products to cocoa farming. They used long-established patterns of cooperative enterprise to finance the migration and buy land. Their work contributed to substantial economic growth in the Gold Coast but throughout the colonial period Europeans controlling the export trade fixed cocoa prices at low levels. They then resold the cocoa at much higher prices in Britain and other parts of Europe. Another weakness in the Gold Coast colonial economy was over-dependence on the cocoa crop. Gold was another natural resource exploited by expatriates at maximum profit for themselves. The mines were consolidated under the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation which paid the workers very low wages but paid no taxes on profits.

Many of the grievances which fuelled the nationalist movement were related to colonial economic policies. Ex-servicemen were discontented by the foreign control of trade and the denial of import licences to aspiring businessmen, who were unable to use their gratuities to buy homes. Market women saw big companies diverting supplies to their own stores. Farmers objected to instructions to cut down cocoa trees infected with swollen shoot.

However, the economic success of the Gold Coast may help to explain why it was the first colony in sub-Saharan Africa to achieve independence. The United Kingdom was confident that it would have continued access to the Gold Coast's dollar-earning resources. The African cocoa farmers could be expected to continue to trade with Britain which had enjoyed a 50 % increase in government revenue from 1951 to 1957 because of rising cocoa prices. The goldmines were also expected to continue under British ownership.

15. Analyse the reasons for, and the extent of, the spread of Islam in *either* West or East Africa in the nineteenth century.

In East Africa, the spread of Islam from the coast to Unyamwezi, Buganda and further east was mainly the result of the establishment of an Omani sultanate in Zanzibar and the activities of the Arab and Swahili Muslim traders. Decisions taken by African rulers often played a big part in the spread of a particular religion. Mutesa I of Buganda encouraged trade with Muslim traders from the coast and this briefly promoted the spread of Islam in Buganda. But Mutesa later invited Christian missions into the country when faced by the threat of Muslim invasion from Sudan. Most answers are likely to be on West Africa where the spread was much more extensive.

Islam made a much greater impact in West Africa, where its spread was associated with a number of jihads, such as those of Dan Fodio, which created the Sokoto Caliphate, and that of Al-hajj Umar. These jihads were aspects of a Muslim revival aimed at purifying Islam and strengthening its general influence, political as well as religious, in the area. One of the first and most important jihadists was Dan Fodio, a Fulani living in the nominally Muslim state of Gobir. He was an Islamic scholar and believer, associated with the Qadiriyya Brotherhood. The sultans of Gobir tried to curb his activities but his followers had the high morale of people who considered themselves to be true believers fighting a holy war. His brother and son also provided effective military leadership. The success of his jihad strengthened Islam and Sharia courts became more important. Al-hajj Umar joined the rival Tijaniyya Brotherhood, but he was inspired by the example of Dan Fodio. His attempts to spread Islam by force were not always successful but they did help the spread of Islam, the growth of Islamic education and the expansion of Islamic Brotherhoods. Samori Toure also promoted Islam in the Mandinka Empire. Vague generalisations should be avoided but it would be valid to argue that Islam may have been helped to spread by the relative simplicity of its teachings, the fact that they could accommodate traditional African customs like polygamy and that the Muslim leaders were themselves African. Unlike Christianity, it was not associated with the colonial powers.

16. For what reasons, and to what extent, did African art and culture change in the colonial period? Answer with specific reference to *either* West or Eastern and Central Africa.

This is unlikely to be a popular question and may lead to vague generalizations about art and culture, which are very broad terms. Good answers, however, must support arguments with specific regional examples. Culture could include the impact of missionary activity, changing attitudes to polygamy, female circumcision and the role of women. The arts could include the development of modern literature including poetry, novels and plays. African literature in the period was influenced by traditional indigenous values, Islamic influences and the impact of Western culture. Candidates might consider visual arts including sculpture and painting, traditional art and what might be called tourist art, body adornment, clothing, music and dance, pageantry and theatre, cinema and radio. On the whole, the arts showed continuity with earlier times though a clearer break and a greater impact of European cultural influence has been evident in fiction, the theatre and the beginning of African film-making. This subject is well-covered in two chapters of the final volume of the *UNESCO General History of Africa* where there are a host of specific examples in all areas.

17. For what reasons did the Central African Federation collapse and in what ways did the collapse contribute to the achievement of independence in Malawi?

From the start, the movement for the amalgamation of the three territories of Southern and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was opposed by most Africans who saw it as a means of preserving and extending white domination in the region. Developments in the next few years confirmed their fears. The initial constitution gave minimal rights to Africans and the first changes made in 1957 were insignificant. African nationalist leaders, including Banda and Kaunda, stepped up their campaign against the federation. The disturbances which followed Dr Banda's return to Nyasaland in 1958 led Britain to appoint two commissions, the Devlin and Monckton commissions, to report on the situation. The two commissions' reports led to the collapse of the federation. Devlin reported that African opposition was deep rooted and almost unanimous. Monckton said that any individual territories that wished to do so should be allowed to secede.

In Nyasaland, nationalists educated in the mission schools recalled the anti-colonial resistance of their forefathers, such as Chilembwe, and demanded the end of a federation which disadvantaged them politically and economically. Southern Rhodesian soldiers arrested their political leaders but British public opinion became more critical of their attempt to evade responsibility for the rights of black colonial subjects who were quite aware of independence movements in western Africa. The transfer of power to nationalist politicians was negotiated over the next four years.

Nyasaland got a new constitution in 1960, which placed power firmly in African hands. The Federation was dismembered by the end of 1962. Nyasaland was granted self-government in May 1963 and full independence as Malawi in 1964 with Dr Banda as the first president.

18. Analyse the nature of the Mau Mau Rising and its contribution to the achievement of independence in Kenya.

The militant nationalism associated with the Mau Mau Rising was the product of economic desperation in both urban and rural areas of Kikuyuland. The Mau Mau Rising 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 farms became more mechanized. From 1950 the Kikuyu actively employed oathing as a means of forging tribal unity and encouraging cultural revival. The Mau Mau Rising 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 Rising 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 Rising 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 poor 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 and Kenya attained independence in 1963.

19. To what extent did regional rivalry delay the achievement of independence in Nigeria?

Regional rivalry was a major factor in the struggle for independence in Nigeria, a vast, very diverse country which contained almost a quarter of Africa's population. The British had solved their administrative problems in two ways. In the south, they encouraged the spread of Christian education; and they created a network of educated Yorubas in the west and Igbos in the east, who acted as intermediaries between the local people and foreign economic interests. In the north, Islam remained supreme and the Hausa emirs ruled their kingdoms on behalf of Britain. Britain had three sets of officials in the east, west and north, directly or indirectly responsible for order, revenue, communications and the free flow of trade.

It was very difficult to find a post-colonial structure that would satisfy the ambitions of rival politicians in Nigeria. Controversy raged over how many seats to give each of the three regions in a central parliament where no one had been able to conduct a generally acceptable census. A compromise was eventually reached that gave considerable powers to the prime ministers of the three regions and somewhat limited power to the federal government. The first federal government was a coalition of north and east with an eastern president and a northern federal prime minister, which caused political dissatisfaction in the west where politicians rightly felt that they had lost access to patronage and the award of contracts. The decolonization of Nigeria involved a lengthy process of trial and error beset by regional rivalry, which still bedevils Nigerian politics. This is a "to what extent" question and it could be argued that regional rivalry did not considerably delay the achievement of independence in Nigeria. Nigeria became independent in 1960, only three years later than Ghana and earlier than any British colony or protectorate in East, Central or Southern Africa.

20. Compare and contrast the factors that helped and hindered the achievement of independence in Angola and Namibia.

Many answers may be narrative sequential accounts of the path to independence in each country, but better answers will have a balanced comparative structure. A clear comparison is that in both cases the colonial power was most reluctant to grant independence and this was only achieved after forced struggle. In both cases there was a substantial presence of European settlers opposed to majority rule. Namibia had been the German colony of South-west Africa but was ruled by South Africa after 1919. Angola was a Portuguese colony but in 1951 the Salazar government decreed that it was an “overseas province” of Portugal. During the next two decades the white settler population grew rapidly, as did tension between black Africans and the white settlers. In both Angola and Namibia the African majority could not remain immune from the unrest and growing sense of nationalism, which was sweeping over Africa in the 1960s. The Portuguese abolished forced labour but their reforms were inadequate. The first serious uprising was in Northern Angola in February 1961. The Portuguese responded ruthlessly and up to 60 000 may have died. Unlike most colonial powers, Portugal was a dictatorship and ready to ignore international condemnation. South Africa was equally ready to do so. After Salazar’s death in 1970 his successor continued his policy for a few more years until the economic cost and the drain on Portugal’s human resources became intolerable.

The major contrast is between the short-term factors which facilitated the achievement of independence in the two countries. Independence for Angola came only when the Portuguese army lost the will to resist and suffer further losses and overthrew the Portuguese dictatorship in a coup in 1974. The new military regime granted independence to “the people of Angola as a whole” in 1975. In Namibia, by contrast, the United Nations played a major role. The UN sought to have an impact on Namibia, then South-west Africa, when the mandated territory, ruled by South Africa since 1919, became the responsibility of the UN trusteeship council. After 1948, the South African government withdrew cooperation with the UN but stopped short of annexation. The Namibian issue was twice referred to the International Court of Justice, which in 1971 gave an advisory opinion that South Africa was in illegal occupation and should withdraw. The General Assembly established an eleven-nation council to administer South-west Africa until independence. From 1966, the General Assembly and the Security Council passed a series of resolutions which had little impact on the situation of Namibia. By the mid-1980s, South Africa was prepared to give up Namibia, but only on the condition that Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola. The end of the Cold War transformed the situation. The Security Council established a small mission, UNAVEM, to verify Cuban withdrawal from Angola, and in 1989 established the UN transition group in Namibia, UNTAG: eight thousand peace keepers and civilians, deployed to organize and supervise elections and to monitor South African withdrawal. The whole operation was remarkably quick and free of incident. UNTAG organized the elections in November 1989 and Sam Nujoma, leader of the majority Swapo, became president of an independent Namibia in March 1990.

If only Angola or Namibia is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

21. Define neocolonialism and analyse its impact on any *two* countries in Africa since independence.

This is a difficult question and is unlikely to be popular. In the early 1960s Nkrumah wrote *Neocolonialism: the last stage of imperialism*. Neocolonialism was the continuing informal power the colonialists exercised in many parts of Africa. Nkrumah complained about the financial influences which adversely influenced independent African states as producers of underpriced raw materials and consumers of overpriced foreign manufactures. In Tanzania, Nyerere watched helplessly as the price of sisal fell and the price of tractors to cultivate it rose. The Lome Convention guaranteed that individual African countries would keep the industrial nations of the north supplied with cheap raw materials rather than cooperate in setting up processing and manufacturing plants of their own.

Neocolonialism could involve influencing the decisions of African presidents and ministers through bribery. Neocolonial influence could, and did, both trigger and stop military coups. France stopped a military coup in Gabon to preserve its oil reserves. Candidates who answer this question may choose to focus on Francophone Africa and the links between French presidents and governments and their former colonies. When most French colonies became independent in 1960, the Gaullist advisors and intelligence officers, and when necessary paratroops, remained. The new countries used the French currency and France retained almost monopolistic trading rights. Neocolonialism involved not only economic domination, business corruption and military destabilization, but also control by pervasive cultural influence related to education, fashion, religion and the media.

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

22. With reference to any *two* independent African countries, analyse the reasons for, and the results up until 2000, of the return to multiparty democracy.

The reasons usually differed from country to country but certain generalizations can apply to many countries. It was usually a combination of internal and external pressures that led to the transition from one party to multiparty states, especially in the early 1990s. There was a dramatic change of attitude when the Cold War ended and Western governments and financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF began to demand greater transparency and accountability and greater respect for human rights, such as freedom of expression and association and free and fair elections. Before this, Western governments had been largely indifferent to official corruption and human rights abuses in Africa as long as African governments were on their side. To take Kenya as an example, in late November 1991 a meeting of the Consultative Group, comprising the World Bank and almost all the donor countries, told a Kenya delegation in Paris that no further aid would be given until the Kenyan government became more transparent, accountable and tolerant of opposition. Just ten days later, the KANU governing council met and made a dramatic about-face and decided to amend the national constitution to allow the formation of the opposition parties it had sworn never to legalize. Multiparty elections were held in 1992. Internal pressure came from the mounting protests which were often led by left-wing intellectuals and later from clergy, lawyers and the independent press. It gradually spread to the business class, principled political leaders and the world media. Opposition parties became bold enough to hold rallies. These were often banned by the government and broken up by police who arrested opposition leaders and tear-gassed their supporters. Multiparty elections did not necessarily lead to a change of ruling party. They did in Zambia and Malawi, for example, but not in Kenya or Tanzania up to 2000.

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

23. To what extent did the Abyssinian Crisis (1935–1936) destroy the credibility of the League of Nations?

The credibility of the League was weakened by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the failure of the World Disarmament Conference. But Japanese action in Manchuria was not at first obvious flagrant aggression. The Japanese controlled the South Manchurian railway and had the right to keep troops. The Japanese actions took Britain and France by surprise and came at a time when both had been weakened by the Great Depression which began in 1929. But the Italian invasion of Abyssinia did not take Britain and France by surprise. Mussolini made no secret of his intention and his determination to avenge Italy's defeat by the forces of Emperor Menelik II at Adowa in 1896. Britain did not close the Suez Canal to Italian troopships. The League condemned Italy and introduced economic sanctions, but these did not include the export of oil, coal and steel to Italy. The sanctions were so half-hearted that Italy was able to complete the conquest of Abyssinia by May 1936. Banning the sale of oil to Italy could have seriously hampered her war effort. But Britain and France, the two leading League members, were anxious to avoid any action which might provoke Mussolini into declaring war on them. They were also hoping to revive the Stresa Front and use Italy as an ally against Hitler.

The results were disastrous. The League and the idea of collective security were discredited. The League was never taken seriously again and small states lost all faith in it. Mussolini was annoyed by the sanctions anyway and began to be drawn towards friendship with Hitler who had not criticized the invasion nor applied sanctions. The League's prestige suffered a further blow when it emerged that the British Foreign Secretary had made a secret deal with the French Prime Minister to hand over a large section of Abyssinia to Italy, more than she had then captured (Hoare–Laval pact of December 1935). The League was only as strong as the determination of its leading members to stand up to aggression and Abyssinia showed that determination was sadly lacking.

24. With reference to any *two* countries, assess the impact of the Cold War on Africa.

Egypt, the Congo and Angola would be the most suitable choices. Egypt was a focus of Cold War tension, especially in the early years of Nasser's presidency. America withdrew offers of aid when it realized that Nasser was doing business with America's Cold War rival, the Soviet Union. These events led to the Suez Crisis in 1956 and its outcome can be linked to the impact of the Cold War.

In the Congo crisis, the Soviets backed Lumumba, whereas the Americans supported and largely financed the UN peacekeeping force, which restored public order and ended the secession of Katanga. The US was suspected of complicity in the murder of Lumumba and later gave support to Mobutu, which helped him to remain in power until the end of the Cold War.

Angola became the focus of the most active Cold War confrontation between the superpowers. The Soviet Union sold military equipment and Cuba provided soldiers to the MPLA in the Angolan civil war, while 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. Their involvement did much to prolong a war which inflicted incalculable suffering on the Angolan people.

Ethiopia under Mengistu was supported by the Soviet Union. Cold War rivalry was partly responsible for the outbreak of the Ogaden War in 1977 and encouraged Ethiopia and Somalia to settle their differences on the battlefield. The Cold War intensified conflict within and between countries. In Namibia it delayed independence, whereas in Congo, Cold War conflict resulted from developments just after independence. One very damaging aspect of the impact of the Cold War on Africa, which is often given little attention, was the indifference of Western governments to official corruption and human rights abuses in Africa, as long as African governments were on the "right side".

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