



MARKSCHEME

NOVEMBER 2011

HISTORY

Route 2

Higher Level

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

17 pages

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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.

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. Assess the contribution of Emperor Menelik II to Ethiopian expansion.

Menelik embarked on a number of wars to expand his kingdom. The wars of expansion in southern and eastern Ethiopia between 1872 and 1898 began as part of the African partition of Africa and continued as part of the European partition. Menelik's motives for expansion were varied. Generally he wanted manpower for his army, tribute, and control of trade routes and of agricultural regions. Menelik was equally determined that Europeans would not occupy regions that former Ethiopian emperors had ruled. He brought several million people firstly under Shewan and then Ethiopian rule, more than doubling the size of the empire. Gurage was overrun in 1875, Jimma and Limmu in the early 1880s, Wallaga in 1886, Harar in 1887, the rest of Gurage in 1889, Ogaden and Sidamo in 1891, many of the Borana Galla in 1896, Kaffa in 1897, and in 1898 the Ethiopian army reached the northern shores of Lake Turkana. Menelik incorporated conquered states by peaceful methods wherever possible. For example, in 1881–1883 many of the western Gallas around Jimma submitted peacefully, having been won over by Menelik's Galla general Ras Gobana. Menelik confirmed their former rulers in their positions. However, more frequently the local rulers and people resisted and their lands were absorbed by Menelik only after heavy fighting, ruthless punishment and widespread devastation. Muslims, traditionalists and non-Amhara resented the spread of the Amharic language and Orthodox Christianity. However, this cultural imperialism did have the advantage of helping Ethiopian unity. Moreover, Menelik appointed officials on the basis of loyalty rather than ethnic background. Amhara, Tigre, Galla and Somali all ruled as governors of provinces or districts. Menelik ruled his empire through a combination of direct rule by generals or indirect rule by hereditary rulers. It would be wrong to characterize Menelik's expansion as entirely opposed to peace and stability. Many local wars were ended, such as the Gurage–Galla wars, and law and order was established over vast areas where little peace had existed before. On the other hand, Menelik's expansion was colonialist. The effects of Menelik's expansion on the Amaro-Burji and their Konso neighbours provide a case in point. The Amaro-Burji are a Galla-speaking community who lived around the Burji mountain in Southern Ethiopia. In 1895–1896 they were invaded by Menelik's general Ras Gidi. The Burji ruler, Guyo Aba Gada, advised cooperation because the Burji had no guns, and a treaty of friendship was made. The Burji did not, therefore, experience the destruction inflicted on their neighbours, the Konso, who fought heroically but uselessly, and suffered thousands of fatalities and extensive looting and burning. However, after Adowa and the removal of the Italian threat Menelik intensified his control of the south. The Amaro-Burji soon lost their freedom as they were rounded up, counted and divided among the occupying soldiers as slave labour. Unoccupied land was declared "crown land" and the Amaro-Burji were made to work it. The Amaro-Burji, like most of the people in the outlying provinces of Ethiopia, benefited little from Menelik's occupation of their land or from his modernization programme.

2. Analyse the reasons for the rise of the Ndebele state under Mzilikazi.

In about 1840 Mzilikazi and the Ndebele conquered the Rozwi Empire and in its place set up a new Ndebele kingdom with its capital near present Bulawayo. The conquest was comparatively easy because the Rozwi Empire was so weak following its ravaging by migrating Ngoni only a few years earlier. The boundaries of the Ndebele state in Central Africa were not clearly marked. It could be said that the boundaries were marked by the farthest extent of Ndebele raids for cattle, food crops and people. Areas near the capital were under firmer rule than areas farther away. The latter only paid tribute when forced to do so by Ndebele regiments. The central core of the state was under the direct rule of the king, and contained both the Ndebele themselves and scattered Shona villages. Farther away to the north-east were four zones of Shona-speaking peoples; the first, in western Mashonaland nearest the Ndebele, paying regular tribute to them; another in central Mashonaland, paying occasional tribute to Mzilikazi; a third, in eastern Mashonaland, virtually independent, paying tribute on very rare occasions when the Ndebele invaded; and a fourth, on the eastern boundary, and north-eastern Mashonaland, having no contact with the Ndebele at all, except perhaps through long-distance trade. In this latter area the Rozwi rulers still maintained their authority. Once the Ndebele settled in Rhodesia the internal organization of their state took its final form. Mzilikazi developed a strong central government in which the king made all important decisions and appointed generals and administrators. Although in its early years the Ndebele kingdom was a military state, organized for war, Mzilikazi in the course of time allowed the administration to become civil rather than military. At first the army and the whole people were grouped together in military towns. Later he adopted the political systems the Ndebele had known in South Africa. The Indunas, though still appointed by the king, took on civil as well as military duties as territorial chiefs. Commoners who owed everything to the king were often appointed to high office. Soldiers continued to be organized in age-regiments which cut across ethnic and clan boundaries but as the Ndebele settled in their new land and regimental encampments became permanent, inevitably new regional loyalties arose. Mzilikazi attempted to give unity to his empire in various ways. He used marriage to cement national unity and increase loyalty to himself and the central government. He had perhaps four hundred wives from different sections of the nation. Sindebele, based on the Khumalo dialect that all captives had to learn, became the common language of Khumalo, Sotho and Kalanga.

3. Analyse the political and social organization of the Sotho Kingdom under Mosheshwe.

At a time of aggressive nation building in Southern Africa, Mosheshwe stands out as a leader who built a new state for defence. Using traditional Sotho political techniques he gathered the communities of Lesotho 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. The mountainous character of Lesotho helped him to maintain and consolidate his kingdom. Good answers will show accurate knowledge of when and how he defeated assaults on Thaba Bosiu and his use of an armed cavalry, his loaning of cattle under the *mafisa* system, his use of the *pitso* to solve disputes and his federal system of government. In accounting for his success, reference should also be made to his personal qualities, his courage, generosity, accessibility, common sense and diplomacy. To a large extent his enemies helped to create his kingdom. During the Difaqane they drove people to take shelter with him, and they made it impossible for them to leave him. Then came the Great Trek and the Boers occupied much of the land around the Sotho, and this made it difficult for his subordinate chiefs to migrate and to break away from him. The Sotho had to keep together to resist the Boers. Mosheshwe was not an innovator in the political field. His federal state had no united or uniform administration, no standing army and not even uniformity of language. He was more radical in social affairs. He allowed Christian Sotho to be buried by Christian rites. He stopped, for a time, initiation schools for youths, he granted divorces to baptized women, and he refused to countenance the killing of those accused of being witches or the use of the death penalty except in rare cases.

4. Assess the reasons for, and the results of, the rise of the Sokoto caliphate in the nineteenth century.

The Sokoto caliphate was created as a result of the jihad of Usman Dan Fodio. His jihad was primarily a religious movement. Usman attacked the Hausa rulers for combining Islam with traditional African religious practices. He was an educated Muslim scholar who sought to convert Fulani pastoralists. His jihad appealed to those opposed to the luxury, corruption and heavy taxation of the Gobir kingdom. The pastoral Fulani supported the jihad partly out of resentment of Hausa taxation of their cattle. The Hausa rulers failed to unite against the Islamic risings begun by Usman. Centuries of interstate rivalry proved their undoing. Usman's brother Abdullah and son Muhammad Bello were able to create a huge new Sokoto caliphate, which showed greater respect for Islamic law. Sharia courts became more important. The caliphate was one of the largest states ever created in West Africa and yet it remained a loose federation. When Usman died in 1817, there was no other popular government that could rival the new administration. The task was to extend the administration of the caliphate to rural areas. The source of authority in the state was Islamic law, and administrators were accountable to the Muslim community. In 1817 the land of the caliphate was divided. Usman's son Muhammad Bello became the new caliph and centre of political authority, and controlled the rich eastern emirates on whose revenues the caliphate depended. The Sokoto caliphate's greatness depended above all on the unity of purpose of its Muslim rulers and administrators and not on a centralized system of government. The other emirs were former fellow students of the caliph and related to him as equals with a considerable degree of autonomy. The caliph depended on the emirs for revenue provided in the form of gifts, taxes and tributes. In carrying out his duties, the caliph depended on his immediate relatives, household staff, former fellow jihadists, the leaders of the clans and families of his father's old community who formed the scholar class.

5. Compare and contrast the impact of the British occupation of Egypt and the Berlin West Africa Conference on European annexation of Africa in the late nineteenth century.

In 1882, the British prime minister Gladstone sent the British fleet to bomb Alexandria and defeat the Egyptian nationalist revolt led by Urabi and sent Lord Cromer to administer Egypt until Egyptian debts to Europe had been paid. His primary motive was strategic, to safeguard the Suez Canal as the shortest route to India. He thus unwittingly accelerated European imperial activities all over Africa. The French, who had joint supervision over Egyptian finances since 1878, resented British control of Egypt and hoped for compensation elsewhere in Africa. The immediate result was the ratification of the de Brazza–Makoko treaty (1882) and a new French colony in the Congo. It also provoked Anglo–French rivalry in West Africa and contributed to a spread of British influence in Uganda, and later Sudan. King Leopold of Belgium established the Congo Free State in 1884 and rivalry over the Congo was an important reason for calling the Berlin West Africa Conference by Bismarck at the request of Portugal. The conference gave even greater impetus to the partition and was accompanied by the sudden declaration of German protectorates in Africa. The conference established the idea of spheres of influence, which had to be supported by effective occupation. This accelerated European invasion on the ground in order to make good the claims made on maps. The process of African “treaty-making” developed at an even faster pace. In a rapid sequence of events in the 1890s, commercial coastal spheres were turned into inland colonies. By 1912 all of the continent except Ethiopia and Liberia was brought under colonial rule. In a compare and contrast question, the answer should show how both accelerated the partition but a case can be made for either contributing more to the European “scramble for Africa”.

If only one element of the question is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

6. “Many of the attempts to explain the European partition of Africa have exaggerated the importance of economic factors.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

For many years European countries traded with African people without colonizing them. European economic imperialism could flourish without political imperialism. However during the Great Depression in Europe from 1875–1900, European businessmen came to believe that investment in Africa would bring greater profit. They exerted pressure on their governments to colonize because they were failing to make adequate profit and needed European government action against trading rivals. There are clear examples of this in West Africa and especially the Niger Delta. European traders wanted both to destroy the African middleman trade and keep out other European traders. France, and later Germany, realized that the way to beat British competition was to establish colonies where the trade of other European rivals could be excluded or heavily taxed. There was also much discussion of Africa as a source of raw materials. Vegetable oils were used in the manufacture of soap and industrial lubricants. There was a growing demand for rubber, ivory, cocoa and groundnuts. The discovery of huge quantities of diamonds and gold in southern Africa heightened the expectations of the whole continent. The Lenin–Hobson thesis, which related the partition to the export of surplus capital, is largely discredited. Only South Africa received significant amounts of capital during the partition. The partition of Africa was too complex a process to be ascribed only to economic factors. This is a “to what extent” question that therefore requires some consideration of factors such as European national rivalry, strategic factors *e.g.* those that led to the British occupation of Egypt and the impact of Leopold and Bismarck, including the holding of the Berlin Conference. Mention could also be made of a variety of facilitating factors including African political and military weakness and humanitarian factors, including the role of missionaries. Candidates are free to challenge the statement with well-supported arguments.

7. **“Lewanika defended the interests of his people more successfully than Lobengula.” With reference to the methods used by the two rulers to deal with the ambitions of imperialists, to what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Lewanika of Buluzi, like several other rulers in central and southern Africa such as Khama and Moshoeshe, chose the strategy of protectorate or wardship rather than resistance. Because of his insecure position and the vulnerability to Ndebele raids, he adopted westernization, missionary alliance and British protection as essential instruments of policy. The Protestant missionary Coillard became an influential advisor to Lewanika. By negotiations and treaties with the British, he preserved his kingdom. By the Lochner Treaty of 1890, he put his kingdom under the protection of the British. He gave the South Africa Company mining rights throughout the kingdom and his chiefs assisted the company in establishing British rule in the western part of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). The company failed to keep its promises to pay him £2000 per year to develop trade and to build schools and telegraphs. He was given the title of paramount chief of the Barotse but his real authority was much reduced.

Lobengula also had diplomatic contact with Europeans and offered mining concessions to two foreign companies in 1870, concessions which broke with Ndebele tradition but did not at first endanger his sovereignty. The policy worked in 1870 but failed disastrously twenty years later. Lobengula's main aim during the scramble for Matabeleland and Mashonaland was to save his kingdom from being violently overrun by white people. He failed partly because he did not have the absolute power to implement policy without opposition and because he was outwitted by Rhodes and his agents. They hid their political ambitions behind commercial interest and deceived him into granting them the Rudd Concession in 1888, an act which resulted in Lobengula losing all control over white penetration of his country. Lobengula regretted and soon repudiated the concession but Rhodes was determined to exploit it and the pioneer column of his British South Africa Company occupied Mashonaland and then invaded Matabeleland. Lobengula was provoked into armed resistance. His people were defeated and dispossessed of land, livestock and minerals after the leaders of their regiments had surrendered to the British. Lobengula was neither killed nor captured but died in 1894.

Lewanika might appear to have been more successful than Lobengula as the results of his policies were less disastrous to him and his people. But it is doubtful if Lobengula could have found a way of avoiding his downfall and the destruction of the Ndebele nation, given Rhodes' determination to exploit the region between the Limpopo and Zambezi rivers, considered to be rich in gold, fertile and suitable for white settlement, and the unwillingness of his people to surrender their freedom without a struggle. As it was, Lewanika's kingdom lost both its independence and its separate identity.

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

8. For what reasons did the Nandi in Kenya manage to resist British imperialism for so long?

The Nandi put up the strongest and longest military resistance to British imperialism of all the peoples in Kenya. It began in the early 1890s and did not end until after their leader, Koitalel arap Samoei, was murdered by the British commanders in 1905, at a meeting which had been treacherously arranged. Nandi society was divided into territorial units and warriors from each unit were responsible for the defence of their territory. These armies came together under the leadership of the *orkoiyot*, a ritual expert who acted as a religious leader and a political and military prophet. He decided when the army should go on a raid. The armies were linked to him through *maotik*, agents who sat on each territorial council. Nandi society was centred on territory rather than clan and this made it more cohesive and militarily stronger than its neighbours. Nandi terrain with its steep heavily-wooded valleys and lack of open country was ideal for guerrilla warfare. The cold, wet climate was a health hazard for invading forces largely composed of Sudanese and Maasai auxiliaries accustomed to a very different climate. The Nandi subsistence agriculture made it difficult for invading troops to live off the land and with their mixed economy the Nandi could live off their livestock when their crops were burnt or confiscated. They were more mobile than the British and had disciplined, efficient and experienced soldiers. Their traditional tactics, involving night fighting and ambushes, worked well against the British. Resistance against the British came at a time when the Nandi had in Koitalel an *orkoiyot*, who acted as a major unifying force and significant aid to resistance. He was a strong nationalist, opposed to any accommodation with foreigners.

9. Compare and contrast the relations of Khama with the British and the Nama with the Germans before 1920.

The Nama resisted the Germans from 1884 to 1894 and then signed an armistice and cooperated with the Germans until 1904, by which time they had experienced the full negative effects of German rule. They had lost land and cattle but their resort to armed resistance was a response to the German plan to disarm their community. Their resistance lasted until 1909 because of their skilful use of guerrilla tactics in the desert. It should be noted that the question is on the Nama and so discussion of the Herero is irrelevant. Khama was ruler of the Bamangwato from 1875 to 1923. He and two other Tswana rulers chose to ask for British protection in 1885 after their territory had been declared a British sphere of influence at the Berlin West Africa Conference. Britain declared a protectorate over Botswana, then Bechuanaland, in 1891. Khama sought protection from the Boers and the Ndebele and he knew that the British were anxious to pre-empt a Boer or German move to take over the territory. Khama's soldiers fought with the British South Africa Company against the Ndebele in 1893. Khama travelled to London in 1895 and his diplomatic skills impressed all who met him. He persuaded the Colonial Secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than come under company rule. He compromised by giving up some unoccupied land to company administration. The British appointed a Resident Commissioner and technically Khama was a colonial chief under indirect rule. In practice, he was allowed to operate as an independent ruler, partly because British administrators approved his policies of promoting Christianity and education and developing agriculture and trade. He managed to increase the power of the Ngwato monarchy in the community by using British officials against internal rivals.

If only one element of the question is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

10. For what reasons did the Mandinka resist the French for so long and why were they finally defeated?

Samori Toure was France's single most formidable military opponent in western Africa. He commanded an army of 30 000 men, mostly foot soldiers but with an elite cavalry corps. They were well armed with muskets and rifles imported from Sierra Leone through the sale of gold and ivory, or manufactured and repaired by his own metal workers. His small units of riflemen were trained to shoot accurately. He was at the height of his power when he first came into contact with the French in 1882. He had built up his large Mandinka empire and had a powerful, professional, well trained and disciplined army. His soldiers were united with him in the Islamic faith and Mandinka nationalism. His experience as a successful trader enabled him to ensure a regular supply of food and equipment for his army. He avoided direct confrontation with the French and used guerrilla tactics to devastating effect. These factors facilitated his early resistance and he even signed a treaty with the French, which proved to be only a lull in the fighting, which the French used to undermine him by supplying and inciting his rivals. The French invaded from the north in 1891, having overcome the resistance of the Tukolor empire. In 1894, they overran his empire and he escaped, conquered and founded an entirely new empire on the northern borders of modern Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana. But Samori was now a foreign conqueror facing the internal opposition of a subject people. He surrendered to the French in 1898. The factors which enabled the Mandinka to resist the French for over a decade could not save them from final defeat. Samori did not fail as a leader. His one serious military error was his decision to attempt to capture Sikasso. The geography of his country did not help him. He failed to persuade the British to grant him a protectorate or any other African leader to join him in his struggle against the French. The French themselves were formidable opponents, as ruthless in their atrocities against civilians as he was in his scorched earth policy. Samori had no real answers to the vastly superior weaponry of the French.

11. “Despite their defeat in the South African War (1899–1902), the Boers emerged in a strong position by 1910.” How and why did this happen?

The South African War (1899–1902) was militarily disastrous for the Boers. The British expected their capture of Pretoria to end the war. When it did not, they looted and burned farms and put thousands of Boers in concentration camps. Africans retook their alienated land. The Boer republics surrendered because of their hopeless position, the breakdown of their social order and the suffering to their children. The terms of the Peace of Vereeniging were, however, a generous conclusion of the war. The two Boer republics that had lost the war were annexed but promised the right of self-government at an early date. Their language, Afrikaans, was accepted as an official language with equal status to English. £3 million was to be paid in compensation to Boer farmers for their resettlement. Subsequent moves were taken to unify South Africa economically and politically. A customs union was formed in 1903 and the railway systems were harmonized. Transvaal and the Orange River Colony were granted self-government in 1907. The South Africa Act of 1909, which became effective in 1910, made non-whites ineligible for election to the Union Parliament. The right to vote was granted only in Cape Province where it had previously existed. Although the Boers were not allowed to annex the High Commission territories (the Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland protectorates), they won a great deal of what they had fought for and emerged from the conflict strong and united. The British gave in to the Boers over the issue of African political rights and their concessions charted the road to racial segregation and apartheid in South Africa. For that reason it has justifiably been argued that the Boers lost the war but won the peace. The war resulted unexpectedly in a more united, Boer dominated South Africa despite the British military victory. The act of 1909 was one of reconciliation between the two European groups but one which ignored the needs of the African majority.

12. For what reasons was South Africa able to have elections under majority rule in 1994?

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. By the mid-80s, however, there was growing international condemnation of apartheid and foreign capital began to flee the country. Prominent white businessmen and later politicians and academics were holding secret discussions with the ANC in exile. The accession of FW de Klerk to the presidency in 1989 had a dramatic effect on South African politics. It coincided with the collapse of communist rule in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War. De Klerk reassessed the situation, 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. The government agreed to hold a Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) to work out with other parties a new constitution that would give democratic rights to all citizens. The discussions were slow and complicated but agreement was finally reached in November 1993, which paved the way for a one-person-one-vote election in April 1994. Mandela played a crucial role. He ensured the party's moderation, inclusiveness and its appeal to a greater range of social groups and ideological positions than any other competing parties. The unimpeachable moral authority of Nelson Mandela helped to lead ANC to victory. Mandela became president and de Klerk a deputy president. The transition from white supremacy to multiracial democracy was achieved in large measure as a result of the personality and role of Mandela but de Klerk also played a major role and he and Mandela were jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993.

13. Compare and contrast the impact of British colonial administration on *one* African country and French colonial administration on *one* other African country.

This is a compare and contrast question, so good answers should have a comparative structure that clearly brings out similarities and differences. There is a large number of countries to choose from. The impact was clearly different in settler countries like French Algeria and British Southern Rhodesia than in countries with few settlers such as British Tanganyika and French Senegal. Candidates are likely to compare the French policy of assimilation and association with the British policy of indirect rule but better answers should bring out the limitations and disadvantages of both. Impact is a key word in the question and answers should attempt to show how the administrative systems affected African people's political, social and economic development in the chosen countries with specific supporting evidence. Candidates may well focus on West African examples such as Senegal or Cote d'Ivoire and the Gold Coast (Ghana) or Nigeria, but there are many suitable British examples from East, Central and Southern Africa.

If only one element of the question is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

14. Analyse the nature of Portuguese rule in Angola up until 1975.

The Portuguese empire in Africa proved an exception to the rule that European countries were prepared to decolonize. The Portuguese saw the future development of her colonies lying in closer union with Portugal and certainly not in devolution or independence. Portugal was one of the poorest countries in Europe and its colonial interests, including Angola, were central to its economic existence. In 1951 Angola became an overseas province of Portugal. Many Portuguese were encouraged to settle in Angola to alleviate unemployment back home. There were over 200 000 settlers in Angola by 1960. Unlike most other colonial powers, Portugal was a dictatorship. It persistently ignored the rising tide of negative public opinion, both internal and international. There was considerable economic development, especially in the 1950s, but agricultural and mining development, especially the Angola diamond mines, remained firmly in European hands. Portugal's racial policy was in theory similar to the French policy of assimilation, but the status of citizen conferred few political rights. To become a citizen, an African had to comply with educational and economic tests. Schools were so few, and economic opportunities were so lacking, that by 1950 there were only 30 000 "*assimilados*" (assimilated people) in Angola. The vast majority of the populations were "*indigenas*", natives whose main function was to provide largely forced labour.

Dr Caetano succeeded Dr Salazar as prime minister of Portugal in 1968. By then the Angolan legislative council had slightly increased powers, but further immigration was still encouraged. It was impossible for Angola to remain immune from the unrest and growing sense of nationalism sweeping over Africa in the 1960s. The first serious uprising in the capital Luanda in 1961 began a liberation war. The nationalist movements could not achieve their liberation but so demoralized the Portuguese army that it overthrew the Portuguese dictatorship in a coup in 1974 and the new military regime gave independence to the people of Angola as a whole in November 1975.

15. Why was legitimate trade able to expand in West Africa in the nineteenth century?

The main focus should be on legitimate trade and not on a discussion of the abolition of the slave trade, though some discussion of this would certainly be relevant. In West Africa, Britain and other European countries became increasingly opposed to the slave trade for humanitarian reasons. The naval blockade became more effective and the demand for slaves from America gradually ended. West Africans came to realize that their economic future lay in the production of legitimate crops and other products as Europeans became more interested economically in the raw materials and potential markets available in West Africa. West Africa had raw materials in great demand in Europe, especially palm oil and groundnuts. States with a suitable geographical location within or near the palm oil belt, with the availability of easy transport facilities by water, and effective leadership and efficient government such as that provided by Kings Gezo and Glele in Dahomey, Jaja in Opobo and Nana in Itsekiriland, were well placed to facilitate the transition to legitimate trade and supply the products required by European traders. Candidates may discuss how the House system in the Niger Delta city states encouraged social mobility and contributed to the emergence of new leaders, promoted on the basis of their ability to trade and compete with commercial rivals. The demand for other products like groundnuts in Senegal, gold and cocoa in Ghana, timber in Sierra Leone, coffee and rubber in Liberia, facilitated the expansion of commerce but not all regions that had been involved in the slave trade had an alternative export.

16. Analyse the reasons for the rise of the Africa Independent Church movement in *either* West, South *or* Eastern and Central Africa in the colonial period.

The merit of answers will depend on the range of examples selected and the depth and accuracy of the analysis of the reasons for the rise of particular independent churches. A major reason for the rise of independent churches was the desire to escape Western domination. The first generation of converts were often in close contact with the missionaries but the second generation was not. They expected to be the teachers and church leaders who would Christianize their society but European missionaries were reluctant to Africanize the priesthood, let alone the episcopate. Missionaries socialized less and less with their flocks and were usually reluctant to voice African grievances against colonial rule. In the view of some African Christians, there were no differences between a missionary and a settler or colonial official in their attitude to their African aspirations. The independent churches in South Africa were strongly influenced by conditions of South African life, including colour bar, alienation of land and problems of a migrant labour economy as well as by African Americans and events in Ethiopia. Many were known as Ethiopian churches. There were over 30 by 1913, the name being inspired by Ethiopia's victory over the Italians at Adowa in 1896. In Eastern and Central Africa, independent churches were established in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Mozambique and the Congo. In Malawi, the growth of independent churches was fuelled by typical grievances, land alienation, hut tax and forced labour, as well as slow African involvement in European dominated churches. The main leaders were Eliot Kamwana and Charles Domingo, the Watch Tower movements and John Chilembwe, who set up the Baptist Independent Mission and led the Chilembwe rising in protest especially against the recruitment of Africans to fight in the First World War. The most successful independent church leader was the Liberian evangelist Wade Harris who went to the Cote d'Ivoire where he soon made over 60 000 converts. He tolerated polygamy and was not associated with the hated French regime. In Nigeria, Agbebi, a Yoruba, was prominent in the Baptist church. He believed in an African church based on African culture and personality but was willing to cooperate with disinterested European church leaders. Like many leaders of independent churches, he placed great emphasis on African education.

17. Compare and contrast the roles played in the achievement of independence for their countries of Nyerere in Tanganyika and Kenyatta in Kenya.

Nyerere and Kenyatta were charismatic leaders whose parties won convincing election victories before independence but they operated in very different circumstances. Nyerere became president of the Tanganyika African Association (TAA), an elitist movement with limited appeal. In 1954 he formed TANU and turned his organizational talents into making it a countrywide political party. He skillfully exploited Tanganyika's status as a trusteeship territory in the interests of his country. He was in favour of compromise and from 1958 developed a good working relationship with the new governor, Turnbull. By 1960 TANU had won the trust of all ethnic and racial groups and had such mass appeal that it won 70 of the 71 seats in the Legislative Council, the most overwhelming victory of any African political party before independence. Nyerere benefited from the absence of serious tribal rivalry and of a large settler population and from the unifying influence of the widely spoken Kiswahili language. Kenya, in contrast, had ethnic divisions, a large white settler group and governors hostile to African nationalism. Kenyatta had returned to his country in 1946 and was immediately recognized as leader of the Kenya African Union, but progress towards African participation in politics was so frustratingly slow that in 1952 Mau Mau emerged as a movement of violent resistance mostly among Kenyatta's own tribe, the Kikuyu. He was sentenced to seven years imprisonment in a rigged trial and later confined to the Northern Province and banned from active politics until 1961. Like Mandela in South Africa, he remained the country's real leader, but, neither in prison, nor in the short period before independence could he unite all the tribes. Two parties emerged, KANU and KADU, which were voted for on strictly ethnic lines. Kenyatta's KANU had the support of the larger ethnic groups, the Kikuyu and the Luo, who outnumbered the small tribes supporting KADU. Candidates should contrast the two very different situations and the factors that enabled Nyerere's Tanganyika to obtain independence without violence, racial and ethnic divisions and prolonged imprisonment, factors which all complicated Kenyatta's role in Kenya.

If only one element of the question is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

18. In what ways, and with what results, did nationalist movements in Malawi and Zambia respond to the imposition of the Central African Federation?

In the late 1940s the white settlers of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland proposed that the three territories be amalgamated into a Central African Federation. It was a deliberate attempt to pre-empt the emergence of independence movements. The Africans of Southern Rhodesia already suffered all the disadvantages of white discrimination but the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland stood to suffer an immediate loss and African nationalist leaders protested vigorously against the federation, but their leaders, Nkumbula and Banda, were both then in Britain. Federation was pushed through by the British government and white settlers in 1953. There was a brief lull in African political activity but new racist legislation confirmed African fears that the federation was just a means of consolidating white domination of the region. The 1957 constitution gave minimal representation to Africans in the Federal Assembly. Banda's return to his country was followed by disturbances that led the British government to appoint the Devlin and the Monckton commissions which were both highly critical of the federation. After a cycle of protest leading to banning political parties and the imprisonment of their leaders and formation of new parties and more protests, the British government of Harold Macmillan released Banda from jail and agreed to internal self-government for Nyasaland. The Monckton Report brought British acceptance of the right to secede from the federation which Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia did in 1962 and 1963 and the independent states of Malawi and Zambia were born in 1964, leaving Southern Rhodesia still firmly under white settler rule.

If only Malawi or Zambia are addressed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

19. Assess the contribution of Nkrumah and the CPP to the achievement of independence in the Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1957.

Post-war Gold Coast was relatively prosperous. It had a network of schools and a rising number of graduates. The African middle class had won responsibility in city politics and even gained seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative council. African nationalism in Gold Coast, as elsewhere in West Africa, had been stimulated by the Pan African movement, the invasion of Ethiopia, a variety of grievances relating especially to economic issues, the rise of the press, the growth of cities and the impact of the Second World War, especially on the African soldiers who had fought abroad and seen European vulnerability at first hand. The post-war Labour government was more sympathetic to African nationalists who were also encouraged by the example of the Indian nationalist movement. In 1947, Danquah and other educated professionals and businessmen founded the moderate United Gold Coast Convention. They invited Kwame Nkrumah, who had studied 10 years in the United States and acted as organizing secretary of the Pan African Congress in Britain in 1945, to be the full-time organizer. He was a tireless campaigner and brilliant speaker. In 1948 riots broke out when police fired on demonstrators and Nkrumah and others were imprisoned. The Coussey committee was appointed to advise on political changes. The resulting constitution had many more elected members in the Legislative Council but Nkrumah was critical. He founded his own party known as the Convention People's Party. This won the election of 1951 and he left prison to become leader of government business and in 1952, prime minister. Further elections were held in 1954 and 1956 which confirmed his party's position. The Gold Coast became independent as Ghana in 1957. Nkrumah and the CPP were helped by his relationship with the governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, and the British readiness to initiate a policy of decolonization in the absence of a settler community needing protection. The African cocoa farmers could be expected to continue to trade with Britain. The moderate UGCC lacked appeal and the opposition, which played on the ethnic fears of the Asante and the Ewe in trying to promote devolution, was divided. Nationalism was fuelled by the charisma and energy of Nkrumah and the organization and national appeal of the CPP, which attracted market women, wage-workers, war-pensioners and ambitious young school leavers.

20. For what reasons was independence in Namibia achieved only after a prolonged armed struggle?

Namibia, as South-west Africa, became a German colony in the 1880s but after the German loss of all her colonies at the end of the First World War it became a mandated territory ruled by South Africa. The United Nations withdrew the mandate in 1947 but this was ignored by South Africa. A UN resolution in 1966 terminated the mandate. In 1974 the Security Council ruled that South African occupation was illegal. The International Court of Justice also denounced South Africa, which, however, refused to obey any international decision until 1989. SWAPO was founded by Sam Nujoma in 1964 to fight for Namibian independence and was able to mount a proper guerrilla war from Angola after the Portuguese left in 1975. South Africa responded by raids into Angola to break up SWAPO bases. This eventually brought South Africa into conflict with the Cuban army in Angola. Namibian independence was only achieved after the end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, at a time when the South African government was no longer apprehensive about the Soviet Union. Apartheid South Africa presented itself as a bastion of Christian civilization against the expansion of Communism. Influenced by the end of the Cold War, worn down by international pressure and faced with a growing crisis of military morale, South Africa eventually agreed to Namibia's independence. The UN sent a peacekeeping force to Namibia, UNTAG, to oversee the return of refugees and to supervise the elections. Despite having to cope with phases of considerable tension between the remaining South African forces and their guerrilla enemies, who were set to take power on independence, UNTAG was successful in organizing elections. Nujoma became Namibia's president in March 1990, heading a SWAPO-led coalition government.

21. To what extent have ethnic factors contributed to civil wars since independence in any two African countries?

There are plenty of examples to choose from including Angola, Burundi, Chad, Congo, Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. This is a “to what extent” question and some conflicts have been due to other factors, *e.g.* Museveni’s guerrilla war. In Somalia, those fighting were all Somali and shared a common language and religion but were influenced by clan rivalry. The secession of Biafra and consequent war in Nigeria involved ethnic factors, as did the secessionist war in Congo’s Katanga Province and the Ethiopian war which culminated in the overthrow of Mengistu. The rebels were led by Tigrayans and Eritrea reacting to Amhara dominance. The Sudanese civil war was the result of division between the Arab North and black African South and had ethnic and religious aspects. Some civil wars were fuelled by external intervention *e.g.* the involvement of South Africa, the US, the USSR and Cuba in Angola and Mozambique. Civil wars were also partly caused by conflicts over resources such as oil, or what have become known as “conflict diamonds”. Each ethnic conflict is related to the history of the particular country, and the specific causes of conflict in that country should be explored in depth. Congo had two civil wars, one soon after independence and one starting in the 1990s. They had very different causes. Though there are some similarities, the precise circumstances that led to the attempted secession of Biafra in 1967 are quite different from those that led to civil war in Burundi and genocidal conflict in Rwanda in 1994 between Tutsi and Hutu.

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

22. With reference to any two countries, analyse the factors that have hindered development in post-independence Africa.

Many factors, political, economic, social, internal and external can be cited but they must be supported by examples from two countries. At independence there was an absence in most countries of a sense of national identity or ethnic homogeneity. Many political parties had a purely ethnic or regional focus. Multiparty systems often gave way to single party rule which led all too often to abuse of power and serious mismanagement of the economy. This could be the justification or pretext for military intervention. Development was often hindered by ethnic rivalry which led to civil war in many 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 the developing countries. Infrastructure and the transport system were generally inadequate. Attempts were made to industrialize but many early schemes were overly ambitious or inappropriate. Most of the expertise, technology, machinery and building materials were imported and this could lead to huge international debt and acceptance of structural adjustment programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund. Mass urbanization and population growth made it increasingly difficult to create full employment and overcome poverty. These problems could be aggravated by pervasive official corruption which discouraged foreign investment and donor funding. Social problems included the need to provide better health care and from the 1980s to deal with the AIDS pandemic. African states also faced major challenges in the provision of education. The curricula were often irrelevant and school facilities, libraries and equipment were often inadequate. The problem was made worse by the limited availability of resources. The provision of education, especially at university level, was expensive and most of the costs were borne by the national treasuries. Urban unemployment brought the social problems of rising crime rates, and the problems associated with the increase of street children, prostitution and drug abuse. These general points must be supported by specific reference to two countries.

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

23. Analyse the impact of any *two* United Nations specialized agencies on Africa since independence.

This is unlikely to be a popular question but candidates need to have specific knowledge of the impact of two agencies. There are many examples to choose from but the most likely choices are FAO and related agencies like WHO, UNHCR and its work for refugees created by civil war, poverty and instability in many parts of Africa, the UN Environment Programme, UNICEF, UNESCO, UNDP, IMF and the World Bank. The WHO initiated campaigns against major diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis and, from the 1980s, the AIDS pandemic. Its most successful campaign was the eradication of smallpox by 1980. It also coordinated research and helped African governments set up health services and to train doctors, nurses, technicians and health administrators to work in them. UNICEF did much to promote the health of children in Africa with programmes of oral rehydration therapy to treat diarrhea, by encouraging breast feeding, healthy eating, family planning and programmes of immunization against child-killing diseases such as measles, diphtheria, tetanus, polio and TB. UNESCO has promoted literacy programmes and, by the 1980s, had published an eight volume, more Afrocentric history of Africa. The UNDP is the world's largest multilateral source of grants for sustainable development. It has worked with the World Bank to help finance long-term economic growth and development. The IMF made short-term loans to countries with balance of payment difficulties but usually insisted on measures to improve the financial strength of the countries concerned. The ILO has sought to promote international labour standards for union membership, wages, loans and conditions of work, social security and safety. In analysing the impact of specialized agencies in Africa, it should be mentioned that their work is limited by financial constraints, and countries can ignore their recommendations and refuse to implement their programmes.

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

24. Why was the East African Community short-lived?

The question calls for an analysis of the factors that led to the collapse after only ten years of the East African Community. The East African Community grew out of the East African High Commission (1948) and the East African Common Services Organization (1961). It was established in 1967 to promote cooperation between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania in the fields of education, transport and communications, trade and economic development. Progress was made for some years but after Amin's coup in Uganda in 1971 Tanzania refused to recognize the new regime and the East African Authority consisting of the three heads of state did not meet again. There was a growing feeling in Tanzania and Uganda that Kenya benefited most from the organization and its activities. Most of the Community's offices were in Nairobi. Kenya's stronger, more diversified economy brought her significant advantages. Considerable rivalry developed between the three countries with each feeling it was subsidizing the others. The East African Income Tax Department ceased to exist in 1974. By 1975 the common market was virtually a dead letter as exchange control restrictions between the partner states became permanent. A series of unilateral actions by member states led to a complete breakdown of the work of the Community. Tanzania restricted road traffic between Kenya and Zambia on the pretext that Kenya's lorries were damaging Tanzanian roads. Kenya retaliated by closing some border roads and interfering with rail and steamer traffic. The Harbours Corporation split into two national services in 1975 and East African Airways broke up in 1976. The East African Community was dead by 1977, having only lasted ten years. Personal differences between the heads of state and ideological differences, especially after the Arusha Declaration, played a part in the break-up but economic nationalism and rivalry was a more important factor.