



MARKSCHEME

May 2005

HISTORY- AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

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1. What factors facilitated the expansion of legitimate trade in West Africa in the nineteenth century?

The main focus should be on legitimate trade and not only 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. States with a suitable geographical location within or near the palm oil belt, with the availability of easy transport facilities by water and with 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.

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 which had been involved in the slave trade had an alternative export.

Answers which are limited to the abolition of the slave trade may not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] may be awarded to descriptive or narrative answers with implicit sense of the factors that helped to provide legitimate trade.

[11 to 13 marks] could be scored by a more detailed explanation of the expansion of legitimate trade.

[14+ marks] will be awarded to candidates who clearly identify and explain the factors that facilitated the expansion of legitimate trade and illustrate them in detail. Marks will increase according to the quality of the argument and supporting material.

2. Explain the survival of Ethiopian independence before 1900.

This question requires an analysis of the factors that enabled Ethiopia to survive as an independent state. Tewodros failed to achieve his vision of national unity, alienated many sections of society and pursued a tactless foreign policy which provoked British intervention and the desertion of most of his army. Johannis IV, in contrast, tolerated regionalism and maintained a higher degree of national unity by reaching an accommodation with his rivals, notably Menelik of Shoa. He was thus better equipped to face external threats from Egypt, Italy and the Mahdist state. The greatest threat to Ethiopian independence came from the Italians in the reign of Menelik. Both Johannis and Menelik were helped by the possession of a large, well equipped standing army, the skill of the great general Alula, who served them both, their diplomatic skills, the geographical features of Ethiopia, which caused problems to invaders, the mistakes of Italian military leaders in the campaign leading up to Adowa and the numerical superiority and spirit of national unity demonstrated at Adowa. Almost every region of Ethiopia sent contingents to the force of 100 000 troops to defeat the Italians. Menelik's policies after Adowa were also crucial in securing the recognition by European powers of the sovereignty and independence of Ethiopia.

Narrative accounts of the battle of Adowa may not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] may be awarded to narrative answers with some implicit sense of factors facilitating survival.

[11 to 13 marks] could be scored by a more explicit explanation of the survival of Ethiopian independence.

[14+ marks] will be awarded to candidates who analyse in depth how both Johannis and Menelik contributed to the survival of Ethiopia as an independent state.

3. Why and with what results did the Nguni invade Tanzania in the nineteenth century?

The Nguni were threatened by the events of the Mfecane in Southern Africa, in particular by the aggressive Zulu warfare under Shaka. One group of Nguni was led by Zwangendaba into the Fipa country of south-west Tanzania. After his death in 1848, they broke into groups and spread over parts of Tanzania as far north as Lake Victoria.

The Nguni impact was dramatic because they introduced into East Africa an entirely new concept of centralised military organization based on age-regiments. The Nguni had little interest in cultivation. Their lives were dominated by cattle and by war, and their raids caused great social and economic disruption and a temporary increase in the slave trade.

A number of Eastern African peoples learnt from the Nguni, especially the Hehe, who adopted their military techniques and used them successfully against them. Under the leadership of Munyigumba, the scattered Hehe chiefdoms united into a single centralized state which was able to resist further Nguni raids and later offered firm resistance to German conquest in the 1890s.

[0 to 7 marks] for unsupported general comments.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of Nguni invasions with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] could be scored by more explicit analysis of causes and consequences of Nguni invasions.

[14+ marks] will be awarded to a balanced, well supported analysis, linking the Nguni invasion to the Mfecane and evaluating its impact on Tanzania.

4. What problems were faced by the rulers of Itsekiriland up to 1894 and how far did they overcome them?

The Itsekiri were a trading people in the western Niger Delta. The Delta was a maze of waterways and mangrove swamps, and farming was impossible. The Itsekiri relied on exporting salt and dried fish in return for yams, livestock and other foods. As long-distance traders they were much involved in the slave trade and found the transition to the palm oil trade very difficult and it led to a political upheaval in 1848 when slaves took control of the capital and the Olu or traditional ruler was replaced by a wealthy trader, Olomu. His success aroused the jealousy of the ousted royal family, of other trading houses and even of his own family and he fought two wars against the neighbouring Urhobo. The British government appointed consuls in northern Nigeria and these too caused occasional problems to Olomu, sometimes bombarding his land or imposing heavy fines. Olomu also needed a more defensible headquarters and built the well-fortified town of Ebrohimi, reclaimed from the mangrove swamp. His son Nana replaced him on his death in 1883. His problems came from three directions: his trading rivals, those who felt that he should not have succeeded his father, and the British who could not tolerate an independent state so close to their delta protectorate. The British were the biggest threat. As Governor of the river, he signed a treaty with them in 1884. Nana continued to maintain control over the Itsekiri and shared custom duties with them.

His relations with the British steadily deteriorated and his rivals took advantage of this. In 1894 Ebrohimi was captured by a massive combination of forces, including his Itsekiri rivals, most of the naval forces in West Africa and the Niger coast protectorate army. Nana escaped, but later surrendered and was deported. He could overcome his internal rivals but though Ebrohimi had been well protected, he could not match British firepower. Nana was too powerful and independent to fit into the new protectorate the British were building.

[0 to 7 marks] for general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with some sense of problems and responses.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit assessment of the problems and policies of Itsekiri rulers.

[14+ marks] for focused answers which analyse in depth the problems faced by the Itsekiri rulers and evaluate their attempts to overcome them.

5. Analyse and explain the changing fortunes of the Asante Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Asante empire achieved the peak of its power in the reign of Osei Bonsu (1801–24). He reorganized the administration, appointing representatives in the provinces to keep them in control. He appointed civil servants on the basis of ability, and not of family connections, and employed Muslims to keep records in Arabic. But there was often conflict between the Asante and the Fante, who acted as middlemen and made a profit on Asante exports of gold and slaves to the coast, and on the import of the European goods. The British had forts on the coast and supported the Fante because they had a stronger hand if they dealt with a number of small weak states. If Asante conquered the coastal area, a single powerful African state would have complete control of trade.

The fourth Fante-Asante war (1823–4) was also the first Anglo-Asante war. The Asante won a crushing victory in 1824 but Osei Bonsu died that year and in 1826 British and Fante forces invaded Asante and defeated them. Asante power began to decline. Despite the work of Osei Bonsu, the system of provincial administration never became effective. The vassal states were never fully incorporated into the empire. Their desire to regain control over their own affairs remained as strong as ever. Their continued allegiance to the Asantehene depended on the military strength of metropolitan Asante. That strength was destroyed by a series of defeats inflicted on the Asante by the British after 1824.

The expedition of 1826 was launched to crush the rebellion of the southern states. By the Maclean treaty of 1831, the Asante had to agree to the independence of all the southern states except Elmina.

The British became involved in the long-standing conflicts to preserve their position at the coast, to promote legitimate trade, western education and Christianity and from ignorance of and hostility towards Asante customs and institutions. British intervention and the weakness of the Asante provincial administration were the key factors in the decline of the Asante empire.

[0 to 7 marks] for unsupported general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative answer with implicit sense of changing fortunes.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the factors which contributed to Asante's rise and decline.

[14+ marks] for focused, balanced, detailed answers analysing the reasons for the rise and decline of the empire.

6. Assess the impact of British rule in the Cape up to 1834.

The incorporation of the Cape Colony into the British empire from 1806 greatly affected social, economic and political relations in the area. Economic growth was encouraged by British investment and immigration. The climate, social infrastructure and success of early missions encouraged an expansion of missionary activity in the colony. The head of the London Missionary Society campaigned successfully against the legal disabilities especially of the Khoisan, which were removed by Ordinance 50. The abolition of the slave trade in 1808 was to be followed by the abolition of slavery. In December 1834 all slaves in the Cape were liberated. British rule led to a series of wars with the Xhosa in the eastern cape culminating in a major and very destructive war in 1834. The long term northward movement of farmers combined with increasing Afrikaner displeasure at the policy of the British in South Africa, notably at Ordinance 50 and the emancipation of slaves, led to the Great Trek, the movement out of the colony of several thousand Boer farmers. This in turn led to a massive increase in the extent of South Africa dominated by people of European descent. British rule at the Cape thus led to one of the crucial events in the formation of South Africa.

[0 to 7 marks] for general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative answer with implicit sense of impact.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more detailed explanation of the results of British rule.

[14 + marks] for answers which assess in depth the impact of British rule on the Cape, on relations with the Xhosa and the Boers.

7. For what reasons, and to what extent, did the Berlin West Africa Conference (1884–5) contribute to the increase in the growth of European activity in Africa?

It was not the initial intention of the conference to attempt a general partition of Africa. The result of the conference was, however, to give impetus to the partition. The resolutions by the conference laid down ground rules for further scrambling for Africa. It established “spheres of influence”. Powers had to prove “effective occupation” and inform their rivals before annexing territory. The doctrine of effective occupation was a powerful stimulus to actual European invasion on the ground in order to make good the claim of spheres of influence. The process of African “treaty-making” developed at an even faster pace. In a rapid sequence of events into the 1890s, commercial coastal spheres were turned into inland colonies, African states were conquered and boundary negotiations effected. By 1912 all the continent, except Ethiopia and Liberia, was brought under European colonial rule. In the short term, the conference also internationalised the Congo basin and split the Niger basin between Britain and France.

In considering the second part of the question, “to what extent”, candidates should point out that the partition of Africa had already begun and refer to the activities of King Leopold in the Congo, De Brazza’s treaty with Makoko, the British occupation of Egypt and Bismarck’s sudden declaration of German protectorates.

Answers which discuss the partition in general might not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers which show some knowledge of the conference but do not discuss other events.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which evaluate the relative importance and other factors.

[14+ marks] for balanced, structured answers focusing in depth on reasons and extent.

8. Why and with what results did Mwanga resist British intervention in Buganda?

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. Buganda was recognised as a British sphere of influence in 1890 and a protectorate in 1894. Lugard established British authority in Uganda by supporting the Protestant chiefs in their struggle for power over the Catholics. In turn they supported him against Mwanga when he attempted to assert his independence and rebel against British rule. Mwanga led a revolt in 1897 because he fiercely distrusted European colonial rule. He objected to the stopping of tribute from the Basoga, which had been a major source of income, to a law which ended his prerogative as the sole giver of land and to interference with his court appointments by chiefs backed by the British administration. He wanted the restoration of his old political power and recognition of his right to appoint his own servants. When he began a revolt in the mainly Catholic province of Buddu he received the support of thousands of Baganda of all religious parties and sections of the population. But the leading Catholics and Protestants who held senior government posts like Kagwa and Mugwanya resolutely opposed his rebellion and allied with the British whose maxim guns carried the day. Mwanga fled to German East Africa but was later captured and deported to the Seychelles where he died. He was replaced as Kabaka by his infant son.

In the 1900 agreement, the senior Christian leaders were rewarded for their loyalty to the British. Buganda lost its ultimate sovereignty but obtained a significant measure of internal autonomy and recognition of its status as a separate kingdom within Uganda. The Kabakaship remained but the Kabaka's powers were limited by the establishment of a parliament called the Lukiko.

[0 to 7 marks] for unsupported narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for a narrative of events with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more detailed explanation of Mwanga's relationship with the British.

[14+ marks] for in-depth analysis of Mwanga's motives and the consequences of his revolt.

9. Compare and contrast the policies and achievements of Mzilikazi and Lobengula as rulers of the Ndebele.

The Ndebele state was founded by Mzilikazi, who succeeded his father in 1818 as ruler of the Khumalo chiefdom under Zwide. With the defeat of Zwide by Shaka, the Zulu leader, Mzilikazi transferred his allegiance to him. He eventually quarreled with Shaka and fled north with his people. He established a powerful state incorporating many Sotho communities. Threatened by powerful enemies he moved his capital several times and eventually settled in western Zimbabwe. His state survived and expanded through geographical mobility and military might. His success resulted from his effective political and military organisation, adopted from the Zulu state. He used diplomacy when he could to achieve peace with his external enemies and tried to foster a sense of common identity between conquered peoples and his ruling elite. He had opened up his state to European missionaries and traders before his death in 1868.

Lobengula also used diplomacy and force where necessary to try and save his kingdom from being violently overrun by white people. He faced a more serious external threat than Mzilikazi had. The Ndebele state was threatened under Lobengula by the ambitions of European imperialists and concession seekers. He offered mining concessions which broke with Ndebele tradition but did not at first endanger sovereignty or provoke anti-foreign reaction among the Ndebele. The policy worked in 1870 but failed disastrously later when he was deceived into granting the Rudd concession in 1888 and thus lost all control over white penetration of his country. He failed for two reasons. First, he was not an absolute ruler who could dictate policy to his people and see it carried out without opposition. Secondly, he was outwitted by Rhodes and his agents. He soon repudiated the concession but Rhodes was determined to exploit it. Jameson's invasion of Matabeleland in 1893 incited Lobengula to armed resistance. The Ndebele were defeated but Lobengula was not captured before his death in 1894. Mzilikazi clearly achieved more than Lobengula but he did not have to face the brutal determination and military might of Rhodes and his pioneer column.

If the policies of only one leader are discussed **[8 marks]** cannot be reached as the demands of the question have not been addressed.

[0 to 7 marks] for general narrative/descriptive accounts.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with limited linkage.

[11 to 13 marks] for sequential accounts with good linkage or some comparison of Mzilikazi and Lobengula.

[14+ marks] for detailed, well organized answers assessing comparatively the achievements of the two rulers.

10. “The policies of Cetshwayo led inevitably to the conquest and destruction of the Zulu kingdom”. How far do you agree with this assessment?

Cetshwayo succeeded his father Mpande in 1873 when Zulu military strength 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 favored 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 against his wishes being forced to fight the British.

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 civil war and died in 1884.

Zululand, unlike Botswana or Lesotho, lost its separate identity. The quotation blaming Cetshwayo for the destruction of the kingdom cannot 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.

[0 to 7 marks] for general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with implicit judgment.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit linkage between Cetshwayo’s policies and what happened to the Zulu kingdom.

[14+ marks] for a well supported evaluation of Cetshwayo’s policies and how far they may have contributed to the destruction of the Zulu kingdom.

11. To what extent could it be said that the Boers lost the South Africa War (1899-1902) but won the peace?

The war was militarily disastrous for the Boers. The British expected their capture of Pretoria to end the war. When it did not they looted and burnt farms and put thousands of Boers in concentration camps. Africans retook their alienated land. The Boer republics surrendered because of their hopeless position, the suffering of their children and the breakdown of the social order as they had known it.

Candidates should be familiar with the terms of the Peace of Vereeniging, a generous conclusion to the war, and the subsequent moves to unify South Africa economically and politically, the granting of self-government to Transvaal and the Orange River Colony and the South African Act of 1909. The Boers 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. No non-whites were eligible to stand for election to the legislature and the right to vote was granted only in Cape Province where it had previously existed. But the Boers were not allowed to annex the High Commission territories.

Narratives of the war would not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers with some understanding of how the outcome favoured the Boers.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the aftermath of the South African War related to Boer aspirations.

[14+ marks] for answers which demonstrate detailed specific knowledge of events after 1902 and relate them to Boer aims and aspirations.

12. Evaluate the social impact on Africa of Christian missions in the colonial period with particular reference to education, culture and health.

Missionaries played a major role in providing education for children of a wide range of social backgrounds. The degree of provision depended on a variety of factors including the receptiveness of particular African societies to Christian teaching, the degree of cooperation missionaries had already obtained from traditional rulers, for example, in Botswana and Buganda, the policies of particular colonial governments and the spread of Islam. In West Africa mission schools made a much greater contribution to the development of education in British than in French colonies. In Buganda missionaries had already established secondary schools for the sons of chiefs by the first decade of the twentieth century whereas the three British territories in Central Africa did not have a single secondary school for Africans before the Second World War. Mission education provided both the personnel to serve the colonial system and began undermining the system by educating many future leaders of the nationalist struggle for racial equality and political reform.

Discussion of the cultural impact must go beyond vague generalizations about undermining African culture. The attitude of missionaries caused no conflict in Buganda but a major collision with the Gikuyu in the 1920s and 1930s who established independent schools to restore traditional initiation rights and to provide education for those excluded from mission schools. The missionary provision of health services varied as much as the educational provision but it contributed to the decline in mortality rates, especially infant mortality, and to a period of unprecedented population growth. Modern education also contributed to this process with educated women far less likely to lose their children to diarrhea, malnutrition, malaria, measles or polio.

Answers which merely list missionary schools and hospitals may not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with some sense of social impact.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of missionary activities in relation to education, culture and health.

[14+ marks] for a balanced assessment of the impact of the missions on society.

13. Why was independence in the Sudan followed by civil war and military intervention?

Sudan had been an Anglo-Egyptian condominium but General Neguib accepted Sudan's right to self-determination and Sudan became independent in January 1956 after elections won by the Nationalist Party. When the British withdrew from Sudan, they left serious unresolved tensions which had in some ways been increased by British policies. They left a mainly Arabic-speaking and entirely Muslim north confronting a mainly animist south led by a small missionary-educated Christian elite. The British had differentiated between north and south without separating them politically. It was, therefore, almost inevitable that the far stronger north would try to assimilate the southerners by force and that this in turn would provoke southern resistance.

The first Sudanese Prime Minister, Azhari, was soon replaced. His successor Khalil grappled with economic problems and a revived fear of Egypt. He may have connived at his own replacement in a military coup in 1958 by General Abboud. Since then Sudan has been ruled by a succession of generals including Nimeiry and el-Bashir, has had only eight years of civilian rule and almost constant civil war. The problem all along has been the Sudanese government's policy of Arabization and the difficulty northern and southern Sudanese have had in arriving at a settlement on terms acceptable to both parties.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit explanation of the factors contributing to civil war and military intervention.

[14+ marks] for a focused explanation of the divisions in Sudanese society which led to civil war and military intervention.

14. Compare and contrast the roles played by Nyerere in Tanganyika and Kenyatta in Kenya in the achievement of independence.

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 favor 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 to 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 Swahili 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 the 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 smaller tribes supporting KADU.

If the policies of only one leader are discussed **[8 marks]** cannot be reached as the demands of the question have not been addressed.

Candidates should contrast the two very different situations and the factors which 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.

[0 to 7 marks] for general narrative/descriptive accounts.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential narratives with limited linkage.

[11 to 13 marks] for attempts at a comparison of the roles of Nyerere and Kenyatta.

[14 to 16+ marks] for well structured answers focusing on comparison and especially on contrast.

15. Analyse the problems which were faced by Nigeria in its progress to independence.

The chief obstacles to Nigeria's progress towards independence were ethnic and regional. Nigeria had a large, rapidly growing and very diverse population. The British had encouraged the spread of Christian education among the Yorubas of the western region and Ibos of the eastern region. In the north, through a system of indirect rule, the Muslim Hausa and Fulani emirates had retained their supremacy. British overlordship had been exercised by three different sets of officials in the east, west and north. The structure of three regions was maintained in the pre-independence constitutions but a major difficulty concerned the number of seats to give to each of the three regions in a central parliament when population census results were suspect.

The first party to call itself nationalist, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, led by Azikiwe, was in fact regional and Ibo-dominated. The 1951 elections saw the emergence of two more regional parties: Chief Awolowo's Action group representing the Yoruba and the Northern People's Congress.

None of these parties managed to win significant support outside their own regions in the 1954 and 1959 elections. The compromise solution was to concede regional autonomy and give somewhat limited power to the federal government. The first federal government was a fragile coalition of the NPC and the NCNC with Azikiwe as governor-general and later president and Balewa from the north as prime minister heading the party with most seats in the federal parliament.

[0 to 7 marks] for general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with implicit sense of obstacles.

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

[14+ marks] for answers which identify and explore in depth the major regional and ethnic obstacles to the achievement of early independence.

16. Why did nationalist movements in Central Africa fail to prevent federation and how did they later respond to it?

In the late 1940s the white settlers of the Rhodesias 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 an African independence movement. The enlarged state would be economically powerful enough to resist moves towards African majority rule. 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 in 1956 led to a series of strikes, boycotts and demonstrations in the northern territories and the leading nationalists chose alternative African names for their new states. After a cycle of protest leading to banning political parties and the imprisonment of their leaders and the formation of new parties and more protests, the British government of Harold Macmillan recognized the winds of change sweeping across Africa. The colonial secretary, Ian Macleod, released Banda from jail and agreed to internal self-government for Nyasaland. The Monckton Report brought British acceptance of the right to secede from the federation, which Nyasaland 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 independent under white settler rule.

[0 to 7 marks] for narrative/descriptive accounts.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with implicit sense of failure to prevent federation and later success in ending it.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the reaction of nationalists to federation.

[14+ marks] for well supported analysis of the growing strength of African nationalist protest in Central Africa leading to the break-up of the federation.

17. “A man of patience and fortitude”. How did Albert Luthuli demonstrate these qualities as a leader of the ANC in South Africa?

This quotation comes from Nelson Mandela and certainly applies to Luthuli. A trained teacher, he became an elected Zulu chief. He lost this position when the South African government gave him an ultimatum in 1952 to renounce the ANC and the Defiance Campaign or be dismissed as chief. He chose the ANC in a statement of principles in which he reaffirmed his support for non-violent passive resistance and pointed out to the government that he had spent “thirty years of my life knocking in vain at a closed door”. The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was planned as a peaceful protest against apartheid laws. Luthuli, president of the Natal ANC, at the end of the year became the national president. In 1954 he was banned from taking part in political meetings but contributed to the preparation of the Congress of the People, held outside Johannesburg in 1955, which adopted a ten-point Freedom Charter, affirming a host of democratic rights. Luthuli continued to denounce apartheid including the establishment of Bantustans. After the Sharpeville massacre, Luthuli took the painful decision to accept the need for a separate armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to engage in acts of sabotage but avoid loss of life. Luthuli’s years of non-violent protest had proved futile but earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961. His autobiography “Let my people go” (1963) is a testament to his patience and fortitude. He watched helplessly under another banning order as eight ANC colleagues including Mandela and Sisulu were sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia trial. He died in 1967 after years of ill-health, of house arrest and humiliation. His non-violent methods had failed to bring change but his perseverance, courage and integrity made him an internationally respected figure.

[0 to 7 marks] for unsupported general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with implicit sense of Luthuli’s qualities.

[11 to 13 marks] for a fuller account of Luthuli’s leadership and character.

[14+ marks] for well supported assessment of Luthuli’s leadership focused on his patience and fortitude.

18. **“Apartheid was a deliberate attempt to weaken African unity and destroy African nationalism”. For what reasons, and in what ways, were apartheid policies in South Africa designed to achieve these aims?**

The racist laws introduced by the National Party government in South Africa after 1948, known as apartheid or separateness, were designed to guarantee permanent white domination in South Africa and make blacks “foreigners” in the 86 % of South Africa which was officially designated “white”. Blacks, who made up nearly 70 % of the population, were to be restricted to the poverty-stricken, overcrowded reserves, later designated “Bantustans” or “homelands” unless they were in the direct employ of whites.

The Mixed Marriages Act (1949) made it illegal for members of different races to marry. The Population Registration and Group Areas Acts of 1950 formed the cornerstone of the apartheid system. They classified people into whites and non-whites and sub-divided the Bantu or majority black population into various ethnic groups on the principle of divide and rule.

A wide range of other apartheid laws affected every aspect of South African social life. The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) could be used against any African nationalist group. The Native Laws Amendment Act (1952) and the Abolition of Passes Act (1952) controlled the movement of blacks in and out of cities and forced them to carry pass-books. The Separate Amenities Act segregated public places, such as post offices, trains, buses, parks and beaches. One of the most hated laws was the Bantu Education Act (1953) forcing blacks into government schools to study syllabuses designed to emphasize ethnic differences and prepare them for life in the homelands or as unskilled workers for the whites.

Verwoerd as Prime Minister from 1958 to 1966 took apartheid policy a stage further with the establishment of eight bantustans along ethnic lines, geographically fragmented states with little or no economic or social strength, artificially created without any popular support by an essentially hostile white government. No other nation recognized them.

Vague generalizations about discrimination might not reach **[8 marks]**.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit reference to the impact of apartheid on black South Africans.

[14+ marks] for an in-depth analysis of apartheid policies focused on why and how they were designed to weaken African nationalism and unity.

19. Why was Tanzania more politically stable than Uganda in the twenty years following independence?

Tanzania had a more homogeneous society than Uganda, with Kiswahili as a lingua franca and an internationally respected charismatic leader as its first president. Tanzania became a one-party state by virtue of the overwhelming electoral victory of TANU. Nyerere's careful but firm handling of the economy, his accessibility and lack of corruption, his championing of liberation movements in Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa, made him the unchallenged leader of Tanzania until he stepped down as President in 1985 and made way for a smooth transition to the presidency of Hassan Mwinyi. There were problems in his relationships with Zanzibar and with Kenya and Uganda but they did not seriously threaten the stability of the country even when his army helped topple the Amin regime in 1978-9.

Uganda before independence had no nationalist party comparable to TANU and no leader with his charisma and moral authority. The country had deep ethnic and religious divisions. It had been briefly ruled before independence by the Catholic dominated Democratic Party but it was led to independence in 1962 by an unstable coalition of the Buganda royalist Kabaka Yekka and the Uganda People's Congress led by Obote. Most were Protestants but had little else in common. The Kabaka became President and Obote Prime Minister. Obote lured enough MPs to his side to be able to rule without the Kabaka Yekka and relations between him and the Kabaka became increasingly tense. He used the army to depose the Kabaka and assume the presidency. But he failed then, and during a later term as President, to maintain army loyalty and was ousted by military coups in 1971 and in 1985. His 1971 successor Amin's bloodstained rule ended when he provoked a Tanzanian invasion in 1979 but his rule was followed by a succession of rulers to 1985 who failed to unite the country, to heal the ethnic and religious divisions, to revive the economy or to keep the army in check. In that respect, all Uganda's post independence leaders to 1985 were in sharp contrast to Nyerere, who was revered as father of the nation.

[0 to 7 marks] for unsupported general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit reference to relative stability.

[11 to 13 marks] for a comparison of the political situation in Tanzania and Uganda.

[14+ marks] for answers which analyse in depth the factors which explain why the political history of the two countries after independence was so different.

20. Analyse the successes and failures of Robert Mugabe’s leadership in Zimbabwe between 1980 and 1995.

Mugabe became Prime Minister of independent Zimbabwe in 1980 and initially adopted a conciliatory attitude to his rivals. But the rift between Mugabe and the majority Shona and the Ndebele led by Nkomo sharpened. Nkomo was expelled from government in 1982 and the Ndebele became progressively more alienated and distrustful, an estranged fifth of the population. Their protests were ruthlessly suppressed. Internal violence led to illegal detentions without trial, rampage by army units and the diversion of food from, and consequent starvation in, politically selected areas. An impressive economic plan attracted international support but was rendered precarious by drought and political instability. There was growing inflation and very limited land reform. Despite this, Mugabe’s personal reputation remained high and he had no serious challenger. Mugabe was unexpectedly moderate in his first decade as a ruler, maintaining the economic system built by Smith and avoiding radical transformation of Zimbabwe into a socialist state.

Candidates must take note of the end date. Discussions of more controversial aspects of recent Zimbabwean history including land reform and the treatment of political opponents in the multi-party era are not relevant to this question. Neither is discussion of Mugabe’s role in the achievement of independence for his country. Questions on post-independence leaders are generally not popular but in any answer, however negative or positive, the assessment must be supported by specific evidence.

[0 to 7 marks] for generalized narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of Mugabe’s rule with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more detailed evaluation of Mugabe’s policies with explicit reference to successes and failures.

[14+ marks] for a balanced, well supported assessment of Mugabe’s contribution to the development of Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1995.

21. “The most successful president in West Africa since independence.” How far do you agree with this assessment of Senghor of Senegal?

The political history of independent Senegal was certainly smoother and more stable than that of Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Benin or Sierra Leone. The cultural homogeneity among its ethnic groups, Wolof as the lingua franca and a small population all made the task of government easier. But there were potentially divisive forces especially in Casamance which had to be kept in check by firm and prudent government. Senghor skillfully incorporated different sections of Senegalese society in one political party (UPS) and persuaded an opposition party to merge with his. In 1968 his government was saved from a serious crisis by the army. He made a substantial comeback in the 1970s, delegating powers to Abdou Diouf the Prime Minister, to whom he would hand over the presidency in 1980. He was helped by the French, who not only kept a military presence in the country but had a considerable stake in the economy. The country’s economy was largely dependent on groundnuts and peasant farmers were at the mercy of falling prices and periods of drought. Senghor was secure enough to legalize several opposition parties which were subsequently defeated in democratic elections.

Good candidates might question the degree of Senghor’s success and could certainly make out a case for the even more long-serving Houphout-Boigny of Cote d’Ivoire, president from 1960 to his death in 1993. His government managed to diversify and intensify the rural sector, to encourage industrialization and investment and to avoid heavy spending on defence. The country managed an average growth rate of 8 % but this did not mean prosperity for many and, as in Senegal, involved a heavy dependence on the French. By a mixture of conciliatory persuasion and occasional imprisonment, he dealt skillfully with political opponents.

[0 to 7 marks] for general descriptive accounts.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more detailed comparative explanation of Senghor’s policies.

[14+ marks] for well supported assessments of Senghor’s presidency and the extent of his success and those in the top mark bands may challenge the assessment and argue in support of the Ivorian leader.

22. Compare and contrast the impact of the Cold War on *two* countries in Africa.

Egypt, the Congo, Angola and Namibia 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 in the Soviet Union. The events that 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. America was suspected of complicity in the murder of Lumumba and later gave support to Mobutu, which helped maintain him 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. America 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.

Namibia only achieved independence after the end of the Cold War and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. The Cold War helped to prolong South African rule in the country at a time when the South African government was also paranoid about communism and the Soviet Union, and presented itself as a bastion of "Christian civilization" against it.

Ethiopia and Somalia could be mentioned. Ethiopia under Mengistu was supported by the Soviet Union. Cold War rivalry was partly responsible for the outbreak of the Ogaden war in 1977. The massive military aid given by Warsaw Pact and NATO countries encouraged Ethiopia and Somalia to settle their differences on the battlefield.

There are many points of comparison and contrast. The Cold War intensified conflict within and between countries. In Namibia it delayed independence whereas in the Congo it resulted from developments just after independence. In the Congo, America was on the winning side but in Angola it was the reverse.

If only one country is discussed **[8 marks]** cannot be reached as the demands of the question have not been addressed.

[0 to 7 marks] for general narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential narratives with limited linkage.

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

[14+ marks] for well supported analysis in a comparative structure of the impact of the Cold War on at least two countries in Africa. Higher marks should be awarded according to the level of conceptual ability and depth of historical understanding.

23. How important was United Nations involvement with Africa in the second half of the twentieth century?

This is an open-ended question which does not require reference to a specified number of members or of activities. But answers should refer to several countries and types of activities.

The decolonization of Africa led to some fifty African countries eventually becoming members of the United Nations. As they became members African countries were active in calls for decolonization. The UN became deeply involved in the affairs of the Congo after independence from 1960 to 1964 and later in varying degrees in several civil wars, e.g. in Mozambique. The General Assembly and Security Council passed resolutions relating to Rhodesia after its unilateral declaration of independence in 1965.

Candidates could examine the impact of the civil wars in Angola on the UN and the activities of UNAVEM or in Somalia and the activities of UNOSOM I and II and UNITAF. Many UN bodies denounced and assisted in the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa. Many UN bodies including the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Security Council were involved in the affairs of Namibia where UNTAG oversaw the transition to independence.

Candidates may refer to the impact of African members on the General Assembly and Security Council and the appointment of Boutros Ghali and Kofi Annan to the office of Secretary-General.

Increased African membership has led to an increase in the number of UN specialized agencies, to an expansion in the scope of their activities and to the establishment of UNEP in Nairobi. Reference could be made to the expanded role of UNICEF, UNHCR, WHO, UNESCO, FAO or WFP for example.

[0 to 7 marks] for generalized narratives/descriptive accounts.

[8 to 10 marks] for a general description of UN activities in Africa with some implicit understanding of impact.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit reference to impact of African members.

[14+ marks] for an in-depth analysis of the impact of African members supported by specific discussion of activities.

24. In what ways, and to what extent, has the role of women in Africa changed since independence ?

Most changes in the role of women can be related to the many western influences, notably the spread of Christianity and western education and western technology, which began to affect traditional African lifestyles before independence but much more rapidly since independence. Education provided women with career opportunities and career reasons for planning their families.

Changes in women's roles varied from rural to urban environment, from one social class to another and according to other cultural and religious factors. Women became less likely to be part of a polygamous relationship, especially in towns. Traditions died harder in rural areas where women's roles remained dominated by agricultural work, marketing and providing fuel and water. Provision of clean piped water freed women to perform other jobs. The scope for paid employment increased. Women have become judges, professors, pilots, business executives, doctors, creative writers and artists. Rwanda has had a woman Prime Minister and Uganda a vice-president. But African societies still remain male dominated and progress in the political, social and economic empowerment of women has been uneven and relatively slow in some countries.

Textbooks devote little if any attention to this topic, and unless it has been taught, answers may be vague generalizations which may not reach **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for some implicit understanding of role.

[11 to 13 marks] for an understanding of the nature and extent of change.

[14+ marks] for answers which analyse, with specific supporting evidence, the changing role of women.

25. Assess the economic, social and political impact of urbanisation in Africa since independence.

Migration to towns, already important in the colonial period, was accelerated in the 1960s by education, population growth and employment opportunities. This involved the rapid growth of provincial centres as well as capitals. By the early 1990s, townspeople comprised 30 % of the population in sub-Saharan Africa. The most rapid migration was by those fleeing rural dislocation notably in Mozambique and other states with civil wars. Housing provision lost all contact with need and there was a rapid growth of slums. Urban wages far exceeded rural earnings during the 1960s but fell over 30 % on average in the 1980s. Urban unemployment rose in many countries to over 20 % with the social consequences of rising crime rates, and problems like street children, prostitution and drug abuse. Survival in decaying cities depended heavily on informal occupations, which employed some 72 % of Nigeria's urban labour force in 1978. The "second economy" was an important field for entrepreneurship and often relied on ethnic ties. Private schools, informal enterprises, illicit trading groups, vigilante forces and urban welfare associations all mobilized ethnic solidarities. Capital cities were also important centres of political activity. The success of military coups depended on capturing key installations in the capital. Urban riots, often over food prices, destabilized several governments, *e.g.* in Liberia, Sudan and Zambia. From the end of the 1980s it was largely urban groups which attacked one-party regimes weakened by economic crisis and their western backers' unwillingness to support continued authoritarianism once the Cold War ended. This led to a dramatic rise in multi-party states. Mass urbanisation, combined with population growth and economic decay, helped to create the armed youth who terrorised Mozambique, Liberia, Somalia and Sierra Leone.

Vague generalizations about city life would not reach **[8 marks]**.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit focus on economic, social and political impact.

[14+ marks] for balanced, well supported assessment of the economic, social and political impact of urbanisation.
