



MARKSCHEME

November 2005

HISTORY - AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

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1. Examine the factors responsible for the development of legitimate commerce between Europe and West Africa in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The decline of the slave trade could be regarded as the starting point for this change. Candidates need to show awareness that it was a gradual development that took place over a period of time. To obtain marks in the top bracket, candidates will be expected to refer to specific examples from the Niger Delta States, Dahomey, the Gold Coast and the Senegambia.

Answers could include the following factors: increasing European demand for agricultural products and the adaptation of Africans to meet this need; the presence of European missionaries and traders and the establishment of experimental farms for cash crops; the establishment of European trading companies and the emergence of the House system and “trading princes” in the Niger Delta area; the control of malaria through the use of quinine and increased European awareness of the untapped mineral and agricultural resources of West Africa.

Other factors (external) will centre on the decline and final abolition of the slave trade and a change in European perception of, and attitude to the African states.

Do not expect all these. Reward candidates who show an awareness of the multiple factors responsible for this development.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the factors responsible for the abolition of the Slave Trade only if it is linked with the beginning of the legitimate commerce.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with explicit focus on the question. Answers in this range will recognize the different forces at work and the changing economic demands that prompted a shift in trading patterns.

[14 to 16+ marks] for analytical answers that address the relevant forces at work in this transformation. Top of the range responses will recognize that the European companies were just adapting to an existing infrastructure e.g. trading companies, ships, forts and castles, trading posts, to meet new economic needs and also include reference to specific examples in West Africa.

2. How far would you agree with the view that the Mahdist jihad in the Sudan was a reaction to Turco-Egyptian rule?

The concept of the Mahdi is a religious one which pre-supposes a desire to purify Islam and re-establish the authority of Allah. The appearance of the Mahdi is foretold and he is a saviour, similar to the Jewish Messiah who was supposed to “fill the world with equity and justice, after it had been filled with tyranny and oppression.”

Evidence of tyranny and oppression in the Sudan existed. Rulers of Egypt ever since the period of Muhammad Ali had exploited and brutalized the Sudan to attain their economic, political and military objectives. The Sudanese were subjected to heavy taxation, forced labour and conscription by their Turkish and Egyptian overlords. The instability which resulted from the Urabi rebellion in Egypt made difficult the effective control and administration of the Sudan.

There are various interpretations for the revolt. Some would see it as a religious uprising by a group of religious devotees who believed the Mahdi was the expected Messiah and looked up to him for spiritual salvation.

There were political malcontents whose economic survival was threatened by Ismail and Gordon’s efforts to destroy the slave trade. There were also the southern nomads who resisted any effort to bring them under an established central authority. The Mahdi’s injunction to kill all foreigners and stop paying taxes had more than a religious appeal to them.

There are also those who have interpreted the revolt as a nationalist one which sought to unite the various groups in the Sudan through Islam and establish the foundations of a nation state after liberating the country from foreign rule. Holt, however, regards this view as an interpretation of consequences rather than an assessment of motives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of the reasons for the revolt which lack analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which focus more on the revolt as a reaction to Anglo-Egyptian rule.

[14 to 16+ marks] will evaluate critically the motives behind the revolt and assess their relative impact on the course of the revolt. At the top of the band, answers should address “how far” and recognize that in some respects, the dividing line between political and religious motives were not very clearly defined.

3. What factors made it possible for Ethiopia to preserve her independence in the second half of the nineteenth century?

There were various factors which helped preserve Ethiopian independence during the era of European occupation of Africa. For a candidate to obtain marks in the top bands, all these need to be evaluated. These will include the determination, diplomacy and ability of Tewodros II, Johannis and Menelik. Areas to be discussed would include their ability to end the period of division and rivalry, repulse invasions from Egypt, Sudan and Italy, and their determination to modernize their state to enable it to withstand external and internal pressures.

Other factors to be considered will include the rivalries among the European powers which these leaders exploited to obtain the arms needed to ensure their independence and finally, the expensive and disastrous miscalculation of their opponents when they consistently underrated the ability of the Ethiopians to defend their nation.

All three were contributing factors to the preservation of Ethiopian independence in the second half of the nineteenth century.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of events covering the era of the three rulers with implicit reference to the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which explicitly address the demands of the question but lack balance in the evaluation of these factors.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which address the multi-causal factors and which maintain some balance in their approach. Reward candidates whose answers evaluate the relative importance of the forces at work during the period.

4. Assess the impact on the East African mainland of the Omani control of Zanzibar.

Omani impact was felt all over the East African mainland and was both positive and negative. The basic interest of Sayyid Said was economic and this was reflected in the dramatic increase in the volume of trade. Slaves and ivory featured prominently in this trade, and Indian traders invested greatly in this transaction.

In the political sphere, Omani leaders established some degree of control over the coastal areas to ensure complete control over the trade. Missionaries, traders and the British colonial administration recognized the power of the Sultan and worked closely with him.

Omani control also facilitated the spread of Islam and the wide use of Swahili. The slave raids however disrupted social life and agricultural activities and generated much instability in the area. By 1873, the trade was officially brought to an end with a treaty which closed the slave market in Zanzibar.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers which are basically a narrative of how Sayyid Said emerged as ruler of Zanzibar with some implicit reference to the effects of his rule.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which demonstrate an awareness of the economic, social and political impact of their period.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which are analytical, focused and which demonstrate how the changing patterns of trade on the East African coast played a role in the political developments in the area. Top of the bracket answers will show awareness of the relationship between the economic, political and religious forces at work.

5. Analyse the causes and the results of the jihad of Usman dan Fodio.

Candidates will be expected to achieve a fair balance in answering both parts of the question.

The jihad definitely had religious motives. There was the need to purify the practice of Islam which had been adulterated by the Hausa rulers. The period was also characterized by the revival of Islamic fundamentalist groups and Usman dan Fodio was a learned and respected Islamic scholar. There was an expectant mood among Muslims about the appearance of a Mahdi which gave Usman dan Fodio the opportunity to launch his jihad.

There were also other factors. The socially oppressed group (both Hausa and Fulani) looked up to Usman for liberation from high taxation, a corrupt judicial system and an oppressive political system. The cattle Fulani in particular resented the cattle tax and the town Fulani resented a political system which did not give them any political status despite their economic and social attainments. These groups were particularly responsive to Usman dan Fodio's call for a jihad.

The impact of the jihad was profound. It led to the establishment of a Fulani emirate which has survived up to today. The Fulani acquired a new political status at the expense of their Hausa overlords. Peace was maintained in the kingdom and with the end of the inter-state wars, the trade routes were safe and commerce flourished. Kano and Zaria became centres of trade and learning and schools were opened all over the emirate. Islam was purified and Islamic courts were set up to dispense justice according to Islamic law.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the causes and results which lack depth and balance.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which attempt to analyse these factors.

[14 to 16+ marks] for analytical answers which assess both the causes and the results with balance and an awareness that the impact went far beyond Northern Nigeria.

6. **“New opportunities for trade were responsible for the desire for expansion, and good leadership provided the means to achieve this objective.” Examine the validity of this statement with reference to any *two* of the following states: Asante, Dahomey and the Mandika Empire.**

In their answers, candidates are expected to refer to any two of the forest states of West Africa – Asante, Oyo and Dahomey. Trade was a vital factor in the establishment and expansion of all these empires since it was the desire to control the trade and trade routes that prompted attack on neighbours. Furthermore, the control of trade brought the wealth that was used for establishing and maintaining strong armies which were necessary for defence and acquiring slaves. Trade with the Europeans on the coast also provided the firearms which proved a determining factor in the fight for survival. Candidates should also note that for Asante, Oyo and Benin, the trade with the Hausa states to the North was as important as the coastal trade. Good leadership was also important in the rise and establishment of these states. Leaders such as Osei Tutu and Opoku Ware (in Asante) Agaja and Tegbesu (in Dahomey) and Ogiji and Abiodun (in Oyo) were instrumental in converting these small groups of states into powerful empires. Candidates will be expected to discuss their achievements in the administrative, economic and military spheres.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers on the rise of two of these states.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers that are directed to the demands of the question, but lack the necessary details and focus.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers that are analytical and focused and which clearly evaluate the economic and leadership dimensions involved in the rise of two of these states.

If only one state is discussed, mark out of **[12]**.

7. Show how, and explain why, the Mfecane made a major contribution to state-building in southern Africa in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Candidates will be expected to explain the Mfecane and discuss how Shaka’s wars caused widespread panic and the movement of the various groups in southern Africa.

Some candidates will combine the two demands of the question but reward those who clearly identify both the “show how” and “explain why” segments of the question. Good answers will address the ways in which the Mfecane contributed to state formation in Southern Africa and the factors that made this process possible. Areas to be considered could include the introduction of new methods/weapons of war which contributed to the Mfecane, the depopulation and movements of peoples resulting from wars, new settlements in more fertile areas which could be more easily defended, the opening up of the interior and the empty patches of land left by the Mfecane which proved attractive to the land-hungry Boers who exploited the situation and established settlements.

States to be considered could include the Zulu, Sotho Swazi and Ndebele nations. The Orange Free State and the Transvaal also benefited from the depopulation which resulted from the Mfecane.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the causes of the Mfecane, with only implicit reference to the states which emerged as a result of these events.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which also address the role played by the Mfecane in state formation in South Africa, but in a superficial and narrative way.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which establish a direct link between the events of the Mfecane and some of the states that emerged. Answers in the very top of the band would be focused and analytical and will cover both European and African states which arose as a result of the Mfecane. Answers in this band should also address and clearly satisfy both demands of the question.

8. To what extent was the European scramble for Africa the result of economic rivalry among European nations?

The decline and abolition of the slave trade and the introduction of legitimate commerce; the discovery of quinine and subsequent control of malaria; the opening up of the interior of Africa and the increased activities of missionaries and traders were some of the factors that generated greater European interest and presence in Africa.

Events in Europe, such as the change in the balance of power with the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71) and the emergence of Germany and Italy as world powers also diverted some aspects of European rivalry to Africa.

From the policy of “profit without responsibility”, new developments in Egypt (British takeover in 1882), in the Congo (King Leopold’s activities leading to the establishment of the Congo Free State in 1884) and in West Africa (the Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884-1885) brought about a fierce competition among the leading European powers, resulting in a total takeover of the African continent by 1900.

Economic motives featured prominently – the mineral and agricultural wealth of the Congo Basin, the economic and strategic importance of the Suez Canal, the untapped economic potential of West Africa – but other factors were of importance. Colonies were great assets and determined the political prestige of nations. Strategic value and other considerations were also of great importance.

The question requires candidates to consider in what ways and to what extent. It is expected that some will combine both demands in their answers, but top answers should be able to recognize both dimensions of the question.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of the economic factors that led to the European scramble for Africa.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers that attempt an evaluation of these factors.

[14 to 16+ marks] for analytical answers that assess critically the economic forces at work in the scramble, especially after 1880, and top of the range answers will recognize the interplay of these motives in the European scramble for Africa.

9. “Resisters were losers; collaborators were gainers.” How accurately does this view summarise the results of African response to European conquest in East Africa?

Various examples can be put forward to explain the reaction to European efforts to colonise East Africa. Examples of direct military resistance include resistance of the Nandi and Mwanga to the British and the Maji-Maji and Hehe risings against the Germans. Collaboration could include that of Kagwa and the Buganda chiefs and the Masai under Lenana.

Both policies were designed by the various leaders to protect the interest of their states. Collaborators sought protection against hostile neighbours and opportunities for trade. Resisters sought further control and expansion and were determined to protect their empires from European control. Ultimately both collaborators and resisters succumbed to the external forces at work at the time though under different circumstances and with different outcomes.

This is an open ended question and candidates could agree or disagree and yet obtain top marks if they produced convincing arguments. Narrative and generalised accounts of why Africans failed to resist European encroachment on their independence will not score more than *[8 marks]*.

[8 to 10 marks] for accounts of one or more attempts by East African leaders to resist European rule with some implicit reference to question.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with more explicit reference to question which show at least one example each of collaboration and resistance.

[14 to 16+ marks] for coherent, well-argued answers for or against the assumption implied in the question. At the top of the band answers may challenge the statement (but still show) a balance between resisters and collaborators.

10. Compare and contrast the reasons for, and the effects of the Ndebele-Shona rising 1896-1897 and the Chilembwe rising in Malawi (1915)?

Like all compare and contrast questions, a running comparison approach will earn more marks than two sequential accounts which attempt a token comparison at the end of the answer.

The Shona-Ndebele rebellion resulted from a number of factors which left the Africans dissatisfied with their economic and social conditions. The British South African Company's conquest of Shona territory in the 1890s left the area without any strong central kingdom and after the defeat of the Ndebele in 1894, any semblance of that kingdom disappeared. The Shona-Ndebele were left dissatisfied; they had lost their cattle to rhindapest, their land to the Europeans and they were subjected to forced labour to earn a living. In the absence of any organized political structure, religious authority set in and through the use of spirit mediums, organized a mass uprising which killed about 10% of the Europeans in the land. Reprisals were swift and brutal and the uprising was suppressed.

Both were protest movements born out of the despair of a people. Both were brutally repressed with significant African casualties. Defeat greatly discredited African traditional religion and left the people even more vulnerable. But it also made an impact on the colonial administration. Officials of the British South African Company realized the seriousness and acknowledged the widespread nature of these rebellions and the high cost of breaking up the resistance. They accepted the lapses in their administration which precipitated these rebellions and made efforts to reform their systems. The colonial government also realized that total and absolute control over dissatisfied and rebellious Africans was unattainable and future leaders were more sensitive to African needs. The Africans in turn realized that armed rebellions would not drive the Europeans away. The broad based popular resistance movements were to set the pattern followed some fifty years later by the leaders of independence movements.

If only one uprising is discussed, **[8 marks]** cannot be reached.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers which produce narrative sequential accounts of the two uprisings.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which produce implicit comparisons and deal with both the causes and effects.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which adopt a comparative approach. Top of the band will produce a balanced approach which addresses both the causes and the effects.

11. How far were the policies adopted by the leaders of the Zulu kingdom in the second half of the nineteenth century responsible for the collapse of their kingdom?

The leaders covered by this period would include Mpande (1840-1872) and Cetshwayo (1872-1884). Candidates would be expected to examine the policies of these rulers and determine how they were responsible for the eventual loss of the independence of the Zulu nation.

On the other hand candidates would be expected to show awareness that the second half of the nineteenth century was an era of intense colonial rivalry and Cecil Rhodes and his agents had embarked on an aggressive and ambitious expansion of British influence in South Africa. One of the primary targets was the land beyond the Buffalo River. The Zulus were the most powerful nation south of the Limpopo and a confrontation would appear inevitable.

Mpande was able to maintain the independence of the Zulu through the policy of diplomacy and an isolationist foreign policy. European hunters, traders and missionaries paid frequent visits to the kingdom but the ruler had messengers who informed him of what was going on and he kept developments under control. Missionaries were allowed in freely and they acted as scribes while the traders were useful for the supply of firearms. Relationships were cordial, but kept at a distance.

Cetshwayo, to a large extent, continued with this policy and worked for friendly diplomatic relations with Britain. The political climate in South Africa however was changing and isolationism, which had worked for Mpande, was no longer effective. Cetshwayo had co-operated with the British in Natal, but with the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877, the fragile alliance was about to collapse. A violent confrontation occurred when the Zulu leader rejected an ultimatum (which would have signalled the end of Zulu independence) from Sir Bartle Frere, the British administrator. The Zulu victory at Isandhlwana in January 1879 only strengthened the British resolve to crush the Zulu. This happened in July 1879 and Cetshwayo was banished to the coast. Even though he was brought back later, the fabric of the kingdom was to be destroyed by civil war which resulted in the death of Cetshwayo in 1884. His death effectively marked the collapse of the kingdom.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the two rulers.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers that clearly identify the policies pursued by the two leaders.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers that are focused, analytical and clearly link the policies to the collapse of the Zulu kingdom. In the top bracket, candidates should address the issue of “how far” and acknowledge the other forces at work in the 1880s.

12. Assess the impact of the Act of Union on the economic, social and political developments in South Africa up to 1948.

Despite the differences that marred the relationship between the British and the two Boer Republics leading to war between the two sides (1899-1902), the negotiations that characterized the Act of Union 1908-1909 showed total agreement between the two sides in issues regarding the relationship between the black and white races.

The Act of Union reinforced the supremacy of the white race when it gave adult male suffrage to all whites in the Union, while franchise was limited to only qualified Africans and Coloureds in the Cape. This provided the legal framework and pattern for all the legislation which was to follow and which created two separate societies in South Africa. The ANC leader, Albert Luthuli, with much justification, described the Act as “... the big divide, the great segregation Act...” and it was to remain just that until the 1950s when it gave birth to the more formal system of apartheid.

The Act of Union, which was the legal symbol of white supremacy and discrimination against non-whites, gave birth to key discriminatory legislation which included the Natives Land Act (1913), the Native Urban Areas Act (1923) which established the African Reserves (later to be known as the Bantu Homelands), Mines and Works Act (1926) and the Herzog’s Segregation Laws (1936). All these followed from the Union Act which excluded the blacks from any participation in government in South Africa.

[8 to 10 marks] for general answers describing the Act with only implicit reference to its effects on the black people in South Africa.

[11 to 13 marks] for more specific analysis of the Act which considers its future effects.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which establish a link between the Act and the legislation that followed and the specific impact it had on the lives of blacks in South Africa.

13. Why, and with what success, did the British adopt a policy of Indirect Rule in Africa?

The policy of Indirect Rule was the system adopted by the British colonial administration after 1900. Under this, the existing local institutions, especially the chiefs, were used to administer the colonies. This policy was adopted to solve the problem of the rising cost of governing the colonies and the difficulty in obtaining competent colonial officers in sufficient numbers who were willing to come to Africa. The objective was to optimize profits from the colonies and minimize direct involvement in the day-to-day affairs of the colonies. The British also believed it was a way of preparing the Africans for self-government in the “distant” future.

The effects varied from place to place. From the viewpoint of the British objective, Lord Lugard’s policy had a great measure of success especially in areas such as the Sokoto Caliphate of Northern Nigeria where an already established and accepted system existed. Elsewhere, for example, in Oyo, it ran into difficulties because the Alafin was a *primus inter pares* and not an autocratic ruler (as the British believed), who could be used to impose British policies on the people. It created problems in Iboland in Nigeria where the British tried to impose “warrant” chiefs where no chieftaincy system existed and thus led to riots there in the 1920s. The failure of this policy was also evident in the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya in the mid-1950s.

It also failed to take into consideration the dynamics of society and the changes which had been brought by Afro-European interaction. It made no provision for the emerging educated elite and did not take cognizance of the emerging urban literate African who had become distanced from his traditional culture by the new socio-economic order. Ultimately, most of these chiefs found themselves on the wrong side of the fence in the period leading to the agitation for independence.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the British policy of Indirect Rule with implicit reference to the demands of the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit evaluation of the question.

[14 to 16+ marks] It is expected that answers in this band would contain an analytical evaluation of the policy of Indirect Rule and its short and long term impacts. Answers should go beyond British West Africa.

14. What were the strengths and weaknesses of Haile Selassie as emperor of Ethiopia?

Haile Selassie (Ras Tafari) ascended the throne as a minor, but later assumed full control of Ethiopia. He was a dynamic leader who was respected worldwide. In foreign affairs, he achieved a glittering success and was a moving force behind the establishment of the Organization of African Unity. It is not surprising that African leaders agreed to Ethiopia's nomination as the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity. During the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie was the unifying factor who rallied the Ethiopians in their abortive efforts at resisting the invaders.

His modernization efforts achieved mixed success. Schools were built, but only a selected group had access to them. Social facilities were inadequate, the country made slow progress in industrialization and the Ethiopian economy remained underdeveloped. Whatever income was generated was invariably spent on an ambitious foreign policy designed to glorify the personality of the emperor. As resentment to Haile Selassie's rule increased, repression became more pronounced. Opponents were jailed and the secret police monitored perceived opponents of the regime who were arbitrarily arrested and detained. By the end of his rule, the greater portion of his earlier popularity had been eroded. It has been said that Haile Selassie was a great African, but a poor Ethiopian.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives which dwell basically on Haile Selassie's ability to organize Ethiopians to resist the Italian invasion.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which attempt to assess his strengths and weaknesses.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which examine Haile Selassie's capabilities in a balanced way with perceptive comments and judgment.

Mark out of *[12]* if only strengths or weaknesses is discussed.

15. How and why was the process of attaining independence smoother in Tanzania than in Kenya?

This question entails a comparative examination of the independence process in Kenya and Tanzania. There are areas of similarity, but there were situations where the process was entirely different. Some candidates will deal with the why and how aspects together, but exceptional answers will recognize the distinction and should be rewarded accordingly. “How” will deal with the process involved and “why” will cover the reasons for this.

Answers are likely to include areas such as leadership, party organizations’ homogeneity, European presence on the ground and the relationship that existed between the political parties and the colonial administration.

Both Julius Nyerere and Jomo Kenyatta were popular and charismatic leaders, but Nyerere won the trust, respect and confidence of all the ethnic groups in Tanzania while Kenyatta, despite his popular approach, appeared more of a Kikuyu leader. Kenyatta’s party, KANU, had the support of the Kikuyu and the Luo and failed to fully carry along the minorities who, out of fear of being dominated, formed KADU. This division delayed independence in Kenya until 1963. The relationship existing between the political parties and the colonial government also played an important role. The earlier Mau Mau revolt poisoned the relationship between the KANU and the British government leading to the arrest and imprisonment of KANU leaders and a ban imposed on Kenyatta’s participation in politics. Nyerere, on the other hand, cooperated with the British administration and was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1957. Furthermore, Tanganyika’s status as a Trusteeship territory of the UNO was a powerful lever in Nyerere’s hands which he used with great skills to achieve his objectives. TANU was a broad based national non-racial party which in 1960 won 70 out of the 71 seats to the Legislative Council. This was at a time when the large white settler presence in Kenya made the decision on either a multi-racial or a non-racial post-independent Kenya difficult.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts on the independence movement in the two countries. If only one country is covered award less than **[8 marks]**.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which attempt an evaluation of the two processes in a fundamental and a narrative manner, but which recognize the different approaches.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which examine the independence process in the two countries in a comparative manner and bring out the ways and the reasons why they were different.

16. Compare and contrast the circumstances that promoted and those that hindered the independence movement in Ghana and Nigeria.

Ghana attained independence in 1957 and Nigeria in 1960. Both countries were under the British system of Indirect Rule, though it was much more effectively applied in Nigeria (especially in the North) than it was in Ghana.

Nigeria’s road to independence was a much more difficult one. Regional, tribal and religious rivalries made co-operation among the leaders difficult. This was complicated by the different levels of social and political awareness among the regions which fuelled suspicion and delayed concerted efforts. The various regions could not even agree on the type of independence constitution they desired. The Gold Coast, on the other hand, was able to overcome the tribal problems created by the sectional demands of the Asante region for a federal state and present a united front and a common agenda to the British for independence. The “Self Government Now” slogan adopted by the CPP was accepted by the majority and since the Gold Coast was a relatively small country compared to Nigeria, it was easier to carry the message across to all corners of the country.

In the Gold Coast, the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) emerged as a national party with a single agenda and a timetable for independence. Kwame Nkrumah had attained a national stature as the accepted leader. In the British Governor, Sir Arden-Clarke, the nationalist leaders in Ghana had an understanding and a sympathetic colonial administrator. In Nigeria, however, three tribal parties and three ethnic leaders emerged. The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) led by the Nnamdi Azikiwe was dominated by the Ibos, whilst the Action Group (AG) was a predominantly Yoruba party. The Northern People’s Congress, as its name depicts, represented the interests of the North. A compromise was difficult and this ultimately delayed Nigerian independence until 1960.

A comparative approach to this question will definitely score better than an sequential account on the two countries.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers that detail the independence process in both countries.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers that adopt a comparative approach, but fail to assess the key issues at stake.

[14 to 16+ marks] Answers in this band will adopt a comparative approach and examine the independence process, clearly identifying which factors promoted and which delayed the independence process in both countries and come out with valid conclusions and judgments.

17. Why was independence in *either Mozambique or Angola* achieved later than in *either Malawi or Zambia*?

Both Mozambique and Angola were Portuguese colonies, but enjoyed different levels of relationship with their colonial masters, while Malawi and Zambia were British colonies. Britain and Mozambique adopted different policies towards their colonies and this affected their dates of attaining independence.

The relationship between Angola and Portugal dates back to 1655 and between 1951 and 1955, Angola enjoyed a special status as “Portuguese Overseas Territory”. From 1955 to 1975 (when other African countries were fighting for full independence) Angola was considered a province of metropolitan Portugal, with only a little autonomy given her in 1970. Portuguese reluctance to grant her colonies independence led to the organization of guerrilla campaigns in order to secure independence. In Mozambique, it was led by the Frelimo (from 1964), and in Angola by the People’s Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The Angolan situation was further complicated by the outbreak of a civil war which continued from February 1961 until the granting of independence to Angola in November 1975. The Angolan problems were made more complex by the support given to the two factions by external powers. The MPLA was supported by Soviet and Cuban forces and the FNLA by South Africa and the western capitalist powers. The Communist label given to the liberation movements in both Angola and Mozambique brought an array of capitalist interests against them and made the road to independence even more difficult. Furthermore, Portugal was a relatively poor country and needed, for economic reasons, to retain her colonies as long as possible.

In the case of Malawi and Zambia which were both British colonies, the policy of Indirect Rule had laid the process for transferring power to African leaders in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Britain had acknowledged the wind of change blowing over Africa and put in place the legislative process that led to independence in Malawi and Zambia in 1964.

[8 to 10 marks] for vague answers which address the question only in an implicit way.

[11 to 13 marks] for a clear understanding of the question which refers to two of the areas to compare.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers that are focused, analytical and which clearly examine the various factors – internal and external – at work in delaying independence in Angola and Mozambique.

18. How significant were the years 1960 and 1976 in the fight against apartheid in South Africa?

Candidates are expected to identify the major events of those years as the Sharpeville Massacre (1960) and the Soweto Uprising (1976).

Events in 1960

In 1960, the South African Police shot and killed 67 Africans and wounded another 200 who were demonstrating against the apartheid pass law system. The publicity this generated worldwide attracted widespread condemnation of the apartheid system and won sympathy for the blacks. The South African government, afraid the situation would generate into a civil war, banned the ANC and declared a state of emergency. It also led to South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 1961, and the declaration of a republic. For its part, the ANC leadership under pressure from its followers, agreed to the need for an armed struggle and the establishment of its armed wing "Umkhonto we Sizwe". The leadership, from exile, planned a series of activities designed to sabotage the system and make the country ungovernable. Predictably, the South African government reacted with more oppressive laws and a severe crackdown on the ANC leading to the arrest of its leaders and the life imprisonment sentence imposed on Nelson Mandela in 1964.

Events in 1976

In June 1976, a new law was passed which made Afrikaans the official language of instruction in all schools. There were black demonstrations against this new law and this resulted in widespread riots starting from the black township of Soweto. Clashes between police and blacks left over 200 Africans dead and more than 1,000 injured. The riots spread to the Transvaal and other black townships all over South Africa. It was the first massive demonstration which released pent-up African frustration and dissatisfaction over the lack of adequate educational and other social facilities for the blacks in the townships. The government, alarmed at this development, withdrew the proposals. This was a significant "victory" for the Africans and was the prelude to greater agitation in the 1980s. The success of these uprisings brought about the realization by the South African government that they could not win the armed struggle.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of events in the two years with only implicit recognition of their importance.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit recognition of the importance of these developments.

[14 to 16+ marks] for coherent and analytical answers that identify these events as important landmarks in the fight against apartheid and address both "how" and "why".

If events in only one year is discussed, mark out of *[12]*.

19. Explain why the post-independence history of Uganda has been so unstable.

Even though the question lends itself to a narrative approach, some level of analysis would be necessary – in explaining the reasons for the instability in post-independent Uganda – to obtain marks in the higher bands.

The early history of Uganda was dominated by the position of the Kabaka of Buganda who still retained special powers under the independence constitution of 1962. Conflicts between the Kabaka and the Prime Minister, Milton Obote, led to the dismissal of the Kabaka in 1966 and in 1967 Obote declared himself President and abolished the traditional kingdoms, including Buganda.

This brought a period of conflict and clashes between the supporters of Obote and the Kabaka, resulting in the military overthrow of Obote and the establishment of a military government under General Idi Amin Dada. The expulsion of about 50,000 Asians by Idi Amin caused a collapse of the Ugandan economy and the attendant hardships and the brutal and corrupt regime of Amin only served to heighten the existing socio-political tensions in the country.

The outbreak of war between Uganda and Tanzania in 1978 worsened the situation and the restoration of Obote failed to solve the problems of Uganda. In 1985, Obote was overthrown again in a military coup led by General Tito Okello, soon to be replaced by the National Resistance Movement of Yoweri Museveni.

[8 to 10 marks] for accurate narrative accounts of the post-independence history of Uganda.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers that are explicit in discussing events or factors that made Uganda unstable in the period.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers that are analytical, focused and which establish a link with earlier problems. Answers in this band should also evaluate the relative importance of these factors.

20. To what extent would you regard Kaunda of Zambia as a more successful leader of his country than Banda of Malawi?

This question demands an assessment of the two leaders and an evaluation of their tenure of office. Since two leaders are covered, do not expect too much in terms of details, but the key areas such as economic, social and political need to be evaluated. Candidates are expected to do a running comparison and not deal with the two presidents separately with a concluding paragraph which compares their achievements. A useful base for an effective assessment might be the problems that faced their countries at independence.

Both leaders were charismatic and popular leaders who played prominent roles in the fight for independence and became the first post-independence rulers in their respective countries. Both leaders established single party states, though Kaunda's regime was more tolerant than Banda's. Kaunda also tried to diversify the economy and reduce the danger to the economy of over-dependence on copper. He promoted education and tried to introduce reforms in the social sector. Under pressure, he agreed to conduct multi-party elections and in 1991 lost the first such elections to Chiluba.

Banda pursued a capitalist economic policy and established a repressive single-party state. Corruption was rife and a few people shared a substantial portion of the nation's wealth. He established diplomatic and commercial links with South Africa at a time his neighbours were fighting the apartheid system in South Africa by giving support to the liberation movement. Though this gave him some economic advantages, Malawi became more isolated politically.

Both leaders were only partially successful (candidates to determine the extent) and both were rejected later.

Answers which cover only one leader will not attain **[8 marks]**. Answers which deal with the two presidents separately without any comparisons could attain **[10 marks]** if they contain detailed and relevant information.

[11 to 13 marks] for candidates who show understanding of the question and who attempt a comparison of the two leaders.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which make a real effort to compare / evaluate the two leaders with balanced attention.

21. Evaluate the achievements of *either* Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d’Ivoire (1960-1993) *or* Senghor of Senegal (1960-1980).

Clear focus on the chosen leader is desirable. Answer will also be expected to cover their domestic and foreign policies and assess their successes and failures.

Key areas in domestic policies will include economic policies and their impact on their people, the policies designed to forge nation states out of diverse tribal groups and their ability to ensure political stability in the turbulent period of military overthrows in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Specific policies and their impact will need to be examined to attain marks in the higher band.

In their economic policies, both leaders encouraged open market economies which attracted investments to their countries. Their policy towards opposition and dissent was a mixture of tolerance and repression, depending on the perceived challenge the difference in opinion posed. Houphouët-Boigny was, however, less tolerant of opposition and his militia closely monitored political opponents.

While both maintained close economic and political links with France and other francophone African nations, they still played meaningful and distinguished roles in the OAU and ECOWAS.

Candidates will be expected to evaluate the short and long term impact of their policies on their respective countries.

[8 to 10 marks] for basic narration on the rule of the leader which lacks scope and balance.

[11 to 13 marks] for essays which attempt to evaluate the leader and deals with different aspects of his rule.

[14 to 16+ marks] for balanced answers which critically evaluate the leader in a holistic manner, and assesses the short and long term impact of his policies on his people.

22. To what extent had the Organization of African Unity (OAU) achieved the objectives for which it was established by 1995?

The Organization of African Unity was established in 1960 with the following objectives: to liberate African countries still under colonial rule; promote closer ties among African nations with the ultimate aim of political unity; foster economic co-operation among these states, encourage social ties and close interaction among member states and to protect and defend their independence from external aggression and neocolonialism.

To some extent, these objectives have been attained. All African countries are now independent and efforts have been made with varied degrees of success to establish closer ties among the independent states. Regional organizations such as the East African Community (EAC), South African Development co-operation Conference (SADCC) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have at one time or the other promoted co-operation in the sub-regions. But on the whole, not much has been achieved in areas of communication, trade, introduction of a common currency, the African High Command, an African parliament and common language, free movement of people, goods and services among member countries and efforts to bring about political unity.

Various factors account for this, but candidates should only relate these factors to how they hindered the promotion of African unity.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers that only detail the problems that faced the organization of African Unity.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers that focus on the question, but lack depth and analysis.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers that clearly identify the objectives of the OAU and examine the extent to which these have been achieved. Answers in the top band should reflect a clear understanding of the African scene in the post independence era and offer insightful analysis and logical conclusions.

23. How far would you agree with the view that the impact of the Cold War on African states was positive rather than negative? Answers should refer to specific African states.

Compared to Asia (Korea) and Latin America (Cuba), Africa was not an active playing field during the period of Cold War rivalries. However, the ripples of Cold War politics were felt in Africa. Some examples that could be considered include Egypt and the USSR and the factors leading to the construction of the Aswan Dam in the 1960s; Kwame Nkrumah's balancing act (pro-capitalist 1956-1962; pro-communist 1963-1966) which brought investment and aid from the USA and Britain on one hand and from the USSR and China on the other hand; the role of Soviet backed Cuban forces in Angola; the desire of both sides to create spheres of influence in Africa which brought aid and development projects (with strings attached of course). It also rallied USA and USSR support for African nations (in international forums such as the United Nations) during their fight to eliminate colonial rule in Africa.

On the other hand, it brought a new divide across Africa. A Cold War division complicated the existing Anglophone-Francophone-Lusophone and Arabic divide. It also seriously undermined the unity of the Organization of African States in the early 1980s when Muammar al-Quaddafi was elected as its Chairman and the USA pressured African nations receiving aid from the United States to boycott a meeting in Tripoli. Even events such as the Africa Cup of Nations Football Tournament were affected by this boycott.

[8 to 10 marks] for vague narrative essays which dwell more on events of the Cold War than its effects on Africa.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which discuss the Cold War in Africa with implicit evaluation.

[14 to 16+ marks] for analytical and focused answers which evaluate the impact of the Cold War with reference to specific events and nations in Africa.

24. In what ways, and to what extent, has the condition and role of women in Africa changed since independence? Refer to specific examples in your answer.

It is hoped that only candidates who have studied gender issues in post-independent Africa would answer this question since specific examples and probably some relevant statistics will be required for answers to reach top band marks.

Candidates are expected to address both parts of the question: in what ways, and to what extent. Top of the range answers are expected to present a balance in addressing the question, and perceptive responses will include examples from areas where much progress has been made and other places where the situation has not changed much.

“In what ways” would include the introduction of free and universal primary school education which has given more females access to education and an opportunity to make better lives for themselves. Governments have also established departments such as Ministries of Women’s Affairs and Commission on Women and Development to promote the welfare of women. This has resulted in efforts to abolish practices such as discrimination against women and social practices such as widowhood rites and female genital mutilation.

International fora such as the United Nations and the OAU have addressed women’s issues and the establishment of branches of FIDA (Federation of Women Lawyers) in some African countries has heightened awareness of gender imbalances in the society. Women now have more access to educational opportunities and careers in law, politics, medicine and the diplomatic service.

On the other hand, much of this is limited to urban and westernized societies. In much of rural Africa, the situation is much the same as it has been for generations. Gender discrimination, oppressive social and religious norms and practices have virtually reduced women to second-class citizens.

Vague generalizations and unsubstantiated narrations will have difficulty reaching **[8 marks]**.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives which are thin in terms of examples.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which discuss changes in the condition of women after independence with some specific examples.

[14 to 16+ marks] for focused and analytical answers which address the question in a balanced way. At the top of the band will be perceptive answers that draw examples from varied political, social and religious backyards.

Mark as a whole, but reward candidates whose answers distinctly address both parts of the question.

- 25. “Leaders of newly-independent African nations promised too much at independence and subsequently delivered too little.” How far was this failure responsible for military take-overs in Africa in the 1960s? Refer to specific examples.**

In the immediate years before and after independence there was an atmosphere of euphoria and great expectation in many African states. For most of the Africans, especially the poor and deprived urban workers who lived in deplorable conditions, independence meant a new era of wealth, education and opportunities. This message was what actually attracted this group to the independence movements and they were, in most cases, the core frontline support for the leaders. Understandably they became disillusioned and frustrated when independence brought no change in their living conditions. Not surprisingly, the military adventurers who came later found them a very receptive audience when they overthrew the civilian regimes.

Candidates are expected to provide balanced answers that address both sides of the question. Military takeovers were the result of a combination of events. Though the inability of the leaders to fulfill their promises was an important factor, other reasons deserve consideration. These include the attempts of these leaders to make themselves “presidents for life”, poor economic and social conditions, widespread corruption among leaders and politicians, tribal and religious divisions, external pressures, ambitious military officers who exploited the grievances of the army and the failure of the political systems which were legacies of the colonial rulers.

[8 to 10 marks] for essays which detail the post-independence problems of African states.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which address the question fairly effectively but are thin on specific examples.

[14 to 16+ marks] for answers which produce a balanced analysis of both sides of the question, and address the “how far” component of the question. At the top of the band will be responses which provide relevant and varied examples from all over Africa.
