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HISTORY - AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

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1. "The profits derived from the slave trade made it difficult to abolish." Who benefited from the trade and why did it eventually end?

Candidates will be expected to clearly identify the complex interests involved. The transatlantic slave trade was difficult to stop because both the European and African traders derived great economic benefits from it. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, the moral issues involved in the trade were only of secondary importance and economic consideration was paramount. Even though efforts had been made to introduce legitimate trade in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Africans had problems adjusting to the new method of commerce. As long as the demand for slaves was there, and the rewards were attractive, the slave trade continued, and the British navy was unable to enforce the Abolition Act because of the logistics problems involved in patrolling the west coast of Africa.

The trade ultimately ended when the demand for slaves in America, Cuba and Brazil declined. The opening up of Africa by explorers and the discovery of quinine increased the European presence in Africa, and revealed the economic potential of the continent in terms of tropical products needed in the industries in Europe. The Africans ultimately adjusted to the new trade pattern, and increased British naval patrols finally ended the trade in slaves from West Africa.

There are two parts to the question. If only one part is answered, mark out of [12 marks].

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations about the slave trade.

[8 to 10 marks] would be awarded to answers which concentrate on ending the slave trade with only implicit reference to interests involved.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which clearly identify the interests involved and why the trade eventually ended.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, analytical and balanced answers which address both parts of the question.

[17+ marks] for answers which are aware of the complex interests involved.

2. Why did the Mahdist regime in the Sudan collapse at the end of the nineteenth century?

By January 1884, Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abdallah, who was widely regarded as a Mahdi, had firmly established an Islamic government in the Sudan, after defeating the Anglo-Egyptian forces under the command of General Gordon. However, by 1898, the Anglo-Egyptian regime had re-established its control over the Sudan. Various factors accounted for this development. The Mahdi's successor, Abdullahi ibn Muhammad was unable to retain the support of the various groups which supported the Mahdi, either because he lacked his successor's personality, charisma and religious authority, or because he failed to satisfy their desires. His desire to establish a centralized government alienated some of the nomadic groups who resented any attempt at a centralized government. He surrounded himself solely with advisors from his Baggara tribe and this gave rise to pretenders from other groups who were quick to challenge his leadership. His regime coincided with periods of poor harvest, which resulted in increased taxation and all this brought hardships to the people. Internal revolts made him more autocratic and more removed from the common people who originally constituted his support base. Despite these internal problems, the Mahdist state was still intact until it was confronted with an external invasion.

External problems increased the pressure on the Mahdist regime. Border conflicts with Sudan and Egypt and subsequent wars with disastrous results further undermined the survival of the Mahdist regime. New developments in the European scramble for Africa and the British desire to avenge the defeat and death of General Gordon made the Sudan an attractive European target. In September 1898, the Mahdist army was defeated by a combined Anglo-Egyptian army.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations on the Mahdist regime.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the Mahdist regime with implicit reference to reasons for collapse.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with explicit reference to the reasons for the collapse of the regime.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced essays which examine the internal causes of the collapse within the context of the European scramble for Africa.

[17+ marks] for detailed analysis of the reasons for, and timing of, the Anglo-Egyptian invasion of the Sudan.

3. How important were the contributions of Yohannes IV and Menelik II to the reunification and stability of Ethiopia?

Yohannes IV succeeded Tewodros II as Emperor of Ethiopia. He inherited a divided and dispirited country which had just suffered a national defeat at the hands of the British as a result of the failures of Tewodros II's policies. Yohannes pursued a policy of reconciliation and tolerance and reached out to the feudal regions and military groups which had been brutally suppressed by Tewodros II. He was therefore in a position to present a united front which helped him to contain threats from Egypt and the Sudan. He reconciled the various factions to the monarchy and won the recognition which Tewodros II had failed to achieve.

Menelik continued with the policies of Yohannes IV. He was recognized by the various regional rulers as the Emperor and their loyalty was to prove crucial in the confrontation with Italy. Menelik also contributed to building a stable and durable political system and promoting the economic development of Ethiopia.

Both leaders succeeded in winning respect and recognition from their neighbours and even ambitious European powers in an era of the European scramble and partition of Africa. The final triumph of their combined efforts was manifested on the battlefield of Adwa when a united Ethiopian force of over 100 000 made up of contingents from almost every region fought and defeated the Italian army at Adwa.

If only one leader is discussed mark out of [12 marks].

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives with little detail.

[8 to 10 marks] could be scored for narrative accounts of the two rulers.

[11 to 13 marks] for balanced accounts of the rulers with some explicit evaluation.

[14 to 16 marks] would be awarded for balanced and analytical answers which may briefly recognize the contribution of Tewodros II and the other factors involved in the stability of Ethiopia during the period.

[17+ marks] for in-depth understanding of the political, diplomatic and military skills of the two emperors.

4. Assess the impact of the Nguni invasions on Tanzania in the nineteenth century.

The Mfecane and Shaka's wars forced the Nguni out of their homes from the 1820s and the Nguni under Zwangendaba moved into south-western Tanzania.

After the death of Zwangendaba, one group of Nguni raided north through Tanzania, causing considerable destruction and a realignment of the local people. Their influence on the local groups, especially Mirambo and the Nyamwezi and the Hehe of southern Tanzania was profound. They adopted the Nguni military structure based on age regiments. Under the leadership of Munyigumba, the Hehe, for example, perfected the Nguni system of government and military system and united the Hehe chiefdoms into one strong centralized state. The Nguni impact caused changes in the political, economic, social and military systems and it brought a period of nation building and political expansion. Ultimately, the strongest and the centralized states were able to establish control over the divided ones. These military and political structures were perfected by the groups (*e.g.* the Hehe) and this helped them resist further Nguni raids and, later, European encroachment.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague accounts of the invasions.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of the Nguni invasion, with only implicit reference to their impact.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which explicitly assess the impact of the invasions but lack depth.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which evaluate the impact of the Nguni invasion in depth and identify both the short and long term impact.

[17+ marks] for answers which link the Nguni impact to later resistance to German rule.

5. Evaluate the career and importance of Jaja of Opobo.

The introduction of legitimate commerce into West Africa changed the political power base in some of the states. One example of this phenomenon was the Bonny state of the Eastern Delta. The flourishing palm oil trade opened up new opportunities for enterprising traders. One such man was Jubo Jubogha, popularly known as Jaja. He rose from the position of a slave to become the head of the Anna Pepple House and the most famous and the most successful of the "new men" in the Delta area.

Jaja possessed outstanding business acumen, intelligence, organizational ability and diplomatic skills. He absorbed other Houses and expanded his economic and trading base. He also spoke perfect English and sought to maintain cordial relationships with the leaders of the other house and European traders. Though the leaders of the other Houses were jealous of him and attempted to remove him, he was able to outsmart them. He moved from Bonny to his new settlement, Opobo, from where he cut off much of Bonny's trade in oil and attracted the leading traders to his new base.

Though he was a traditional priest who opposed Christianity, he was ready to exploit the opportunities the new order offered. He built European-style houses, sent his sons to be educated in Europe, opened western-type schools in Opobo and even chartered European ships for direct trade with Europe.

Mark as a whole, but reward those who attempt to evaluate both Jaja's career and his importance. He was an outstanding example of the "new man" who emerged as a result of the new patterns of trade and who, to a large extent, undermined the power and authority of the chiefs who represented the old order.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge of Jaja.

[8 to 10 marks] will be achieved by narratives on Jaja of Opobo.

[11 to 13 marks] for essays with explicit evaluation of his career and importance.

[14 to 16 marks] for analytical essays with an evaluation of his outstanding qualities and the new opportunities offered by the new economic order.

[17+ *marks*] for candidates, who in addition, are able to identify the qualities in Jaja which made it possible for him to succeed.

6. Why did Samori Toure succeed in establishing the Mandinka Empire, but fail to prevent French conquest?

Samori Toure is regarded as one of the most distinguished African military leaders of his time for his resistance to French expansion in West Africa.

Success: He built a large empire through conquest and had a well trained and a well-equipped army. At the peak of his power in 1882, he had a professional army of over 30 000 armed with rifles and muskets. Apart from imported weapons, he had established his own arms factory which ensured a regular supply. His army was very loyal and Islam served as a uniting force. Samori was also a good tactician who avoided open confrontation and successfully adopted guerrilla techniques which frustrated the French. In addition, Samori also controlled and organized trade in the empire and was himself a very successful trader. Trade generated wealth for his administrative and military pursuits and ensured his army had food during long periods of war. With loyalty and support from his people coupled with an outstanding personality, an effective system of government and a professional and a well-equipped army, Samori Toure was able to build a large and powerful Mandinka empire.

Reasons for collapse: Samori failed to forge an alliance with neighbouring tribes against the French whilst they were able to undermine him by allying themselves with his enemies and rivals and supplying them with arms in their conflict with Samori. His attempt to capture Sikasso failed and he was unable to win British support against the French. After 10 years of resistance, Samori's administrative and military structure was weakened and the Mandinka Empire succumbed to the superior weapons and the ruthless and sustained French warfare.

[0 to 7 marks] for generalized answers on Samori with little focus on the question.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the rise or fall of the Mandinka Empire with only implicit reference to the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit comparison of reasons for success and failures of Samori.

[14 to 16 marks] for analytical answers which assess the reasons for Samori's changing fortunes in a comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for well-focused answers with depth of insight.

7. Analyse the reasons for, and the results of, the British-Asante confrontations in the nineteenth century.

This is a two-part question requiring an answer which covers both the causes and the results of the Anglo-Asante wars.

The nineteenth century witnessed a number of wars and near wars between the Asante and the British. The major confrontations occurred in 1824, 1826, 1869–70, 1873–74, 1896. These wars resulted primarily from a conflict of interests. The Asante were determined to consolidate their control over the conquered states to the south and establish a direct trade link with the coast. This was necessary for their economic and military survival. They therefore resented the British attempt to "interfere" in their rule over these territories. The wars of 1824, 1826, 1869–70 and 1873–74 were to maintain their control over Wassa, Denkyira and Elmina. The British on the other hand tried to prevent the emergence of one powerful state on the Gold Coast who would control and dictate the terms of trade. They considered the Asante barbaric and uncivilized and tried to protect the more westernized coastal people from Asante conflicts of the nineteenth century. The scramble and partition of Africa in the later part of the nineteenth century was responsible for the wars of 1873–74 and 1896, when the British finally invaded Asante, sacked the capital and sent the ruler into exile.

Results: The most obvious result was the collapse of the Asante empire by the end of the century and the extension of British rule in the Gold Coast. The British became more involved in the affairs of the Gold Coast and a close alliance developed between them and the "liberated" coastal states especially the Fante. With Asante resistance broken, there was no effective opposition to the British.

If only one part is answered, mark out of [12 marks].

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge of the confrontations.

[8 to 10 marks] for vague narratives on the Asante empire with only implicit reference to reasons for conflict.

[11 to 13 marks] will be awarded to answers which cover both parts of the question but are basically narrative with some explicit analysis of reasons and results.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, analytical answers which examine both sides of the question.

[17+ *marks*] At the top band would be answers which clearly analyse the reasons for, and the results of, the confrontation.

8. To what extent was the Boer Trek the result of British policies in the Cape?

"To what extent" implies that responses to this question would go beyond Boer discontent with British rule. The British takeover of the Cape was resented by the Dutch farmers who feared, sometimes with genuine concerns, that a British way of life would be imposed on them. The traditional Boer system of farming was greatly disrupted by the abolition of the slave trade and the compensation paid was grossly inadequate. Ordinance 50, which was passed in 1828, abolished the Hottentot Codes and deprived the Boers of cheap Khoikhoi labour.

The Boer population was increasing, but the corresponding land space needed was not available. In 1820, the British encouraged 1 000 families to migrate from Britain into the Grahamstown area. Land hunger was responsible for a number of frontier wars, since the Bantu were also moving south in search of fertile farm and grazing land.

The Boers were outraged by the activities of the missionaries in the Cape Colony, especially Dr van der Kemp and Dr John Philips who both championed the cause of black equality and fought for the Africans in the courts.

In the Sixth Frontier War against the Xhosa (1834–35), the Boers won some land at the cost of over 100 lives. When the British governor D'Urban handed the land back to the Xhosa, the Dutch felt they had had enough and they moved their ox wagons across the Vaal and Orange rivers.

"To what extent" should also consider the contributions of the Mfecane to the Boer Trek. The empty spaces left behind as a result of Shaka's wars proved very attractive to the land hungry Boer farmers. There, they would be outside the orbit of British control, and be able to do whatever they wanted, including obtaining cheap African labour on their farms. The growing demand of land for the ever increasing Dutch population also contributed to the decision to move.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the Boer Trek with only implicit reference to the demands of the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which cover both the British policies, the land hunger factor and the possible effects of the Mfecane.

[14 to 16 marks] Answers in this band should be analytical, address "to what extent" with balance and reach a logical conclusion.

[17+ *marks*] for insight into the importance of other factors in prompting or facilitating the Great Trek.

9. With reference to specific examples, analyse the reasons why most African states failed to resist European conquest.

The exact details will depend on the examples used, but the general approach will include the political weakness and technological backwardness of the African peoples and the ability of the European powers to effectively adopt the divide and rule approach.

The Europeans had the most up to date weapons of the time such as repeater rifles, maxim guns, machine guns and artillery. They were able to put in the field professional and skilled soldiers who were tactically disciplined and stood firm in the heat of battle. Few African nations, on the other hand, had standing armies and lacked professional training. Lord Lugard's relatively small army, for example, was able to defeat a large Sokoto army in Northern Nigeria.

The Europeans also exploited existing rivalries and the ill feelings created earlier by slave raids and inter-tribal wars to play one side against the other. Very often, it was only the officer group which was European and Africans which constituted the bulk of the army. The Africans failed to co-operate, even in the face of external aggression.

The exploration and opening up of the interior of Africa by explorers and missionaries supplied the European invaders with all the intelligence reports they needed on their opponents. They used steamers and trains to move their armies into the interior part of Africa and bombarded the coastal towns from their ships which were anchored off the coast of Africa. As Adu Boahen observed, "In view of all these imperial advantages, the surprise is not that Africans failed to defend their independence but that they put up such long and determined resistance." It should, however, be remembered that Ethiopia triumphed over Italy at Adwa (1896) and the Zulu army defeated the British at Isandhlwana (1879).

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations about the partition of Africa.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on European conquest with implicit reference to the question.

[10 to 13 marks] for answers with explicit analysis of reasons for African failure.

[14 to 16 marks] will be awarded for answers that are well focused and analytical with specific examples to support assertions made.

[17+ *marks*] will be awarded to responses which also recognize the successful resistance of the Zulus and the Ethiopians.

10. "An uprising born out of despair and desperation, futile in its objectives and disastrous in its results." To what extent do you agree with this judgment on the Maji Maji uprising?

This question expects answers which will set out the causes of the uprising, its objectives and its results.

A head tax levied on all adults in German East Africa in 1898, provoked unrest and the Germans employed widespread violence and intimidation to enforce its collection. This tense situation continued until July 1905 when an open rebellion broke out in the southern part of the country to protest against government attempts to force people into growing cotton for export. The revolt spread and the target of the protesters were all foreigners including missionaries, administrators and even the Arab and Swahili clerks. It was spontaneous and unplanned, but the response was overwhelming.

The aim was to throw out their foreign masters and regain their independence. They were aware of the power of the European machine gun, so they turned to the spirit world for protection – they smeared their bodies with magic water known as "maji-maji" which would turn bullets into water. The Germans were initially overwhelmed by the numbers and the fanaticism of the Africans. Reinforcements were bought in and after four weeks, the revolt was crushed.

German reprisals were brutal. Scorched-earth policies wiped out villages. Official African casualties were put at 26 000 killed in the fighting, but over 50 000 Tanzanians died in the aftermath of the war. However, the African reaction made the Germans review their policies in East Africa. The use of force and repression was reduced to a minimum and schools and health facilities were opened for the Africans. The sacrifice therefore had some beneficial long term effects and was to inspire a later generation of nationalists.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for the narratives of the uprising.

[11 to 13 marks] for essays which explicitly address the issues raised in the quotation.

[14 to 16 marks] for a well-supported analysis of the objectives, motives and results of the uprising.

[17+ marks] for answers which successfully challenge some of the assertions in the quotation.

11. For what reasons, and with what results, did Lewanika of the Lozi collaborate with the British?

This is a two-part question and both must be addressed with reasonable balance for marks in the higher bands.

Reasons: After a period of dynastic disputes and palace revolutions, Lubosi gained control of the Lozi by 1885 and assumed the title Lewanika, meaning "conqueror". He sought the protection of the British because he felt insecure internally and feared raids from the Ndebele. He was probably encouraged by the example of the Tswana people. The British had offered the Tswana protection from Boer aggression by declaring the area the Bechuanaland Protectorate without direct interference in their internal affairs at that time. He also believed a British resident in his court would discourage rival claimants to the throne. In 1890, Lochner, Rhodes's agent, promised him British aid in setting up schools to teach his people literacy and technical skills in addition to a payment of £2,000 a year if Lewanika granted mineral concessions to his company. He was also influenced by the missionary Coillard into granting these concessions in 1890 and this helped to establish British rule in his kingdom which was renamed Barotseland.

Results: Lewanika had all along believed he was negotiating with the representatives of Queen Victoria, and not an agent of the British South Africa Company. Lewanika and the Lozi eventually came under British rule, much to his disappointment. More still, it was not until 1897 that the BSA Company paid any money to Lewanika and the promised industrial school never materialised.

Nevertheless, Lewanika appeared to have gained something. After the British defeat of the Ndebele, the latter never attacked the Lozi again, neither were the Lozi threatened by the Dutch and other European powers. Barotseland (Lozi) was one of the few areas in South-Central Africa to which colonization came peaceably and the Lozi lost very little land to the white settlers.

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives on the reign of Lewanika.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers with implicit reference to reasons and results.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of reasons and results.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced and analytical answers which clearly evaluate Lewanika's motives and the results of his actions.

[17+ marks] for perceptive evaluation of Lewanika's collaboration in the context of African reactions to European encroachment.

12. Compare and contrast the response of the Herero and Zulu to European expansion in South Africa.

The Herero were pastoralists who had suffered heavy loss of cattle as a result of the rinderpest epidemic of 1896–7. The white settlers moved in and appropriated valuable African grazing land which was temporarily not in use. In their desperation, some of the impoverished Africans sold their remaining cattle cheaply to obtain the basic necessities of life and became destitute. Others lost their cattle to German traders in return for food and clothing under the 1903 Credit Ordinance.

In desperation, the Herero rose in revolt and killed about 100 German traders and soldiers and reoccupied much of their former land. An appeal to the Nama to join in the revolt was not heeded. Alone, the Herero faced the might and the anger of the German reinforcement at Waterberg and were massacred. The German general, von Trotha, waged a war of extermination on the Herero. He declared, "... every tribesman, armed or unarmed, with or without cattle, will be shot ... they will be driven back to their people or fired on."

The Zulu were the most powerful African nation south of the Limpopo. They were able to maintain their independence through a mixture of isolationism and diplomacy adopted by their leaders. After the death of Mpande, Dingiswayo continued with his policies, but the British annexation of the Transvaal alarmed him. The Zulu felt threatened and the relationship deteriorated. In January 1979, the Zulu defeated the British army at the battle of Isandhlwana. The British retaliated in July, and occupied the Zulu capital and banished Cetshwayo to Capetown. The kingdom was broken into thirteen minor chiefdoms and the Zulu empire never recovered.

The question requires an answer which deals with the two peoples on a comparative level.

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives which deal with only one people.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with only a concluding paragraph of comparison.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which deal with the two resistances with explicit comparison.

[14 to 16 marks] for analytical answers with a clear comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for answers with perceptive insight into the different contexts of Herero and Zulu resistance.

13. How successful were Africans in opposing the policies of Smuts and Hertzog in South Africa?

The policies of the two leaders were designed to enforce policies of racial separation. Opposition was from the working class people, organizations, the peasant farmers and the independent churches. One of the most hated laws was the Pass Law which restricted the black people's ability to move about freely and subjected them to police harassment at any time. Many anti-pass demonstrations (*e.g.* Johannesburg in 1919) were held over the years and an attempt to introduce passes for women resulted in a highly effective women's protest in Bloemfontein. Other methods of protest included defiance of registration laws, boycotts of European goods and attacks on chiefs and other prominent black personalities regarded as agents of the apartheid government.

The African National Congress was founded in 1912 as a vehicle for national protest and when the government introduced a tax of $\pounds 3$ on all Indians, the ANC teamed up with the South African Indian Congress and other "coloured" people to protest against all legislation regarded as discriminatory. The Independent Churches were also active in opposing some of these policies and drew support from the working class organizations.

These methods had varying degrees of success. Anti-pass demonstrations attracted wide support, but were generally met with repressive methods and were not very successful though they increased political awareness among the working class Africans. The same brutality was visited on the strikes organized by the Indian community led by Gandhi. The African workers formed their first trade union, the Industrial and Commercial Union (ICU) in 1919 and organized a strike among dock workers in Cape Town. It recorded some success, but the union collapsed in 1930.

If only one leader is covered, mark out of [12 marks].

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge of policies and opposition.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive or narrative answers with only implicit reference to the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers which explicitly discuss both parts of the question.

[14 to 16 marks] answers in this band would be in-depth analysis and use relevant examples to answer "how successful".

[17+ marks] for insight into the many obstacles to successful opposition.

14. With reference to specific examples, compare and contrast the British system of indirect rule and the French system of association.

The system of Indirect Rule was adopted in almost all the British colonies in Africa after Lord Lugard had applied it successfully in Northern Nigeria. It was a convenient policy for the British who were faced with the problem of manpower and finance to administer their new protectorates/colonies in Africa. Under this arrangement, the emirs/chiefs and their officials maintained order and collected taxes on behalf of the British government under the supervision of the Residents. This policy was, however, feasible only in societies which were centralized with an established hierarchy of authority. In Eastern Nigeria, for example, the attempt to introduce warrant chiefs was unsuccessful.

The policy of assimilation applied only to the four communes of Senegal. Elsewhere, the policy was association/paternalism. While assimilation granted French citizenship to those who lived in the communes and attempted to absorb them into French culture, association implied replacing traditional cultures with French ones. Educated Africans were used as administrators where French officials were unavailable.

Both systems were imposed and alien to the Africans. Both were oppressive and involved forced labour and taxation, and the use of African chiefs and educated Africans as agents of these systems alienated the groups from their people. While the British used the African rulers and institutions as far as was possible in their colonial administration, the French used them only when European options were unavailable. The British deliberately excluded the educated elite from their government, but the French used them in preference to the chiefs. It should be noted that in parts of Northern Africa and Chad, the French system was not much different from the indirect rule of the British.

The most effective way to answer a compare and contrast question is a running, point-by-point approach and not sequential accounts of the two systems.

[0 to 7 marks] if only one of the systems is addressed.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative sequential accounts.

[11 to 13 marks] for relevant answers with an analytical approach.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers based on "specific examples", and with a comparative structure which are focused and perceptive.

[17+ marks] for answers with insight into the reasons for similarities and differences.

15. Analyse the reasons for the rise of Sudanese nationalism and the methods adopted by the nationalist leaders between 1900 and 1956.

The period covers the era of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in the Sudan and the nationalist activities in the Sudan. Answers would be expected to examine both the nature of protest and the activities of the nationalists to obtain marks in the top bands.

Sudanese nationalist activities in the early part of the twentieth century centred on a group of young educated products of the Gordon Memorial College and the Khartoum Military College. Though they were ideologically and culturally linked with Egypt, their grievances and protests had a distinct Sudanese identity. They channelled local grievances into the political framework of opposition to alien rule which went beyond the narrow confines of religion and dwelt on political and economic grievances.

Initially, their method was dissemination of protest literature and propaganda, but by 1923, they had embarked on a more revolutionary approach to political agitation. In November 1924, they organised a military revolt which ended in an exchange of fire with British soldiers and resulted in casualties. Though the revolt was a failure, nationalist activities continued using other methods.

Meanwhile, the concept of Mahdism had been revived and Sayyid Abd-al-Rahman, son of the Mahdi, had emerged as the new religious leader. He avoided open confrontation with the British and embarked on extensive commercial and agricultural enterprises. In the 1930s, he allied with the educated class and by 1935, neo-Mahdism had become an important anti-colonial force. It was this union of traditionalists, religious leaders and the educated elite that formed the Independence Front and paved the way for independence in 1956.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives of the period.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the period with little focus on the demands of the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the nature and methods of the independence movement in the Sudan.

[14 to 16 marks] will be awarded for answers that clearly explain the nature of Sudanese nationalism and identify the different methods used by nationalists to attain independence in 1956.

[17+ marks] for depth of knowledge and insight.

16. Assess the contribution of Jomo Kenyatta to the achievement of independence in Kenya.

By the end of the Second World War, political consciousness in Kenya had increased greatly and Kenyans began to challenge the principle of white supremacy. As early as 1946, Jomo Kenyatta, on his return from Britain, was recognized as the leader of the Kenyan African Union. Political progress towards independence was slow and the Africans became frustrated and angry with the loss of fertile land to the Europeans. This led to the Mau Mau resistance movement which, between 1952 and 1959, championed the fight to remove the British from Kenya. There is little evidence to show that Kenyatta was either closely involved with, or controlled the Mau Mau.

There were also other groups involved in the struggle for independence. These include the Kikuyu Central Association, Kenya African Church and the Diniya Jesu Kristo. The fight therefore assumed political and religious dimensions. There was a series of revolts and widespread violence and the British declared a state of emergency and many of the political leaders, including Kenyatta, were jailed. Even in jail, he was regarded as the country's *de facto* leader.

The revolts brought out clearly the need for reform. Lyttleton's constitution gave Kenyans direct participation in Legislative and Executive Councils. In 1960, after the Lancaster House Conference, the different parties merged to form the Kenya Africa Democratic Union (KADU) and the Kenya Africa National Union (KANU). These two contested and KANU won. Kenyatta was released from prison to form a government and in 1963, Kenya was independent.

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives of Kenyan history.

[8 to 10 marks] for essays on the process of Kenya's independence with implicit reference to Kenyatta's role.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers that discuss the Kenyan independence process with explicit reference to the role of Kenyatta.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused and analytical answers that assess Kenyatta's role in relation to other factors that helped the independence movement.

[17+ marks] for well-developed analysis of a complex variety of factors which contributed to the achievement of independence.

17. Analyse the methods by which *one* nation in French West Africa attained independence.

After the Second World War, Senghor (Senegal) and Houphouët-Boigny (Côte d'Ivoire) were the two leading statesmen in French West Africa. Both had been members of the French Constituent Assembly, which drew up the constitution under which each of the colonies had its own assembly and the colonies were granted more freedom.

In 1946, Houphouët-Boigny founded a political party, the Rassemblement Democratique African (RDA). The aims included freedom from colonial rule. This party came under pressure from the French government and Houphouët-Boigny adopted a more cooperative attitude to French rule. He supported the Loi Cadre which allowed each colony to set up its own executive council. Though this pleased Houphouët-Boigny, Senghor opposed it because it weakened the strong traditional links each country had with France. Senghor remained outside the RDA and opposed the Loi Cadre. This brought a rift between the two francophone leaders, because Senghor had hoped to emerge as the leader of a federation of French West Africa colonies.

Sekou Toure became vice president of Guinea under the Loi Cadre and he was to change the course of the independence movement in French West Africa. All the three states had agreed to demand some level of freedom, but still within the French community. In 1958 de Gaulle, who had become the President of France, held a referendum which gave states a choice between independence within the French community and complete independence. Sekou Toure was the only one who opted for complete independence even under the threat of losing any further link with France. His bold step left the other two with no choice except to follow Sekou Toure's example and their countries attained independence in 1960.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on independence movements with only implicit reference to the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit identification of the methods by which independence was achieved.

[14 to 16 marks] for in-depth analysis and a recognition of factors that influenced the process.

[17+ marks] for well-developed analysis of a variety of methods contributing to the attainment of independence.

18. Account for the establishment of the Central African Federation in 1953 and its collapse ten years later.

The Central African Federation has been described in many ways: an instrument by which the strong oppressed the weak; an avenue for the rich to exploit the poor; a deliberate attempt to suppress the growing African nationalism. It was, in effect, an attempt to bring together, in a federation, three British territories: Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi). It was aimed at building an economically and politically strong federation dominated by the whites. The 1957 constitution allowed only 12 African members into a federal assembly or 59. Out of these 12, 8 were selected by the Europeans and 4 elected. Initially, the Federation registered some success. There was a large and subservient African labour force available and Southern Rhodesia especially benefited from the post-war economic boom.

From 1956, there was a series of protests by Africans which resulted in the arrest and detention of their leaders. They claimed the federation represented an unequal partnership which served only the interest of the white settlers. This new wave of political agitation was brutally suppressed. Strikes, boycotts and demonstrations continued until Harold Macmillan, who was prepared to recognise the African concerns, became the Prime Minister of Britain. The nationalist leaders who were in prison were released and new rounds of talks began. One after the other, Nyasaland (1962) and Northern Rhodesia (1963) seceded from the federation. By 1964, just 10 years after its establishment, the Central Africa Federation was over.

If only one part of the question is answered, mark out of [12 marks].

[0 to 7 marks] for vague, unfocused narrative.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on the Federation with only implicit reference to establishment and collapse.

[10 to 13 marks] for essays which show some understanding of the reasons for the establishment of the Federation and why it collapsed.

[14 to 16 marks] for answers which analyse in depth the motives behind the establishment of the Federation and attempts to put its collapse within the historical context of Macmillan's concept of "the wind of change blowing over Africa" at the time.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight into the interaction between changing colonial policy and the interests of white settlers and African nationalists.

19. Why did the nature of resistance to the apartheid regime in South Africa change between 1952 and 1962?

Up to 1961, resistance to the apartheid policy in South Africa was characterised by demonstrations, strikes and boycotts which involved only low-keyed violence. But after 1961, this changed and the protests became more radical and less passive. This was because the South African government had introduced harsher laws to deal with the protest movements. The emergence of a new generation of young, educated and dynamic Africans such as Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela had sent the activities of the ANC to a different level. The Defiance Campaign (1952), the adoption of the Freedom Charter (1955) and the formation of the Pan African Congress (1958–9) sent signals to the South African government which they could not ignore. The response was swift. The Sharpeville Massacre (1960) was followed by the banning of the ANC and PAC and the arrest of all those leaders who were unable to escape into exile.

The ANC was pushed underground and it accepted the need for armed resistance. It formed a military wing "Umkhonto we Sizwe", (the Spear of the Nation) and embarked on a period of sabotage and terror. Widespread strikes and demonstrations were organised by the workers and the government was forced to grant limited concessions to trade unions.

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives on South Africa over the period.

[8 to 10 marks] will be awarded to essays which show implicit understanding of the nature of, and resistance to, apartheid during the period.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit responses which identify the different phases and relevant events.

[14 to 16 marks] for essays which clearly identify the changing modes of African protest against apartheid and the response of the South African government.

[17+ marks] for well-structured, in-depth analysis of the changing nature of African resistance to apartheid during the decade.

20. "Despite efforts by some African historians to glorify the regime of Nyerere in Tanzania, it was basically a failure." To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Nyerere has been hailed by some as one of the outstanding African leaders of the immediate post independence era. Some of his achievements include:

- Efforts to eliminate poverty, disease and ignorance in Tanzania. Established schools and built hospitals; for example, in 1966 there were 300 000 Tanzanian children in primary schools. In 1983, the figure was 3.5 million and the literacy rate was 85%. The blueprint of his government, the "Arusha Declaration", set out a programme which organized villages into communes and attempted to promote equality and self-sufficiency in the "ujamaa".
- Tried to promote national self-sufficiency. Avoided foreign loans as much as possible and encouraged Tanzanians to be self-reliant. He set an example with a simple lifestyle. He aimed at creating a genuine African socialist system as an alternative to the Western capitalist system. Was highly respected in Africa and worldwide and raised the image of Tanzania at international fora.

Failures:

- Despite Nyerere's initial success, his policies did not achieve the overall objectives. Investment in agriculture, the mainstay of the national economy, was very low and this affected national output. Production of sisal, for example, declined from 220 000 tonnes in 1970 to 47 000 tonnes in 1984.
- By declaring Tanzania a single party state, he eliminated all political opposition and concentrated power in a few hands, and despite his personal integrity, Nyerere presided over a regime of corrupt officials.
- Rising oil prices, a fall in world prices of coffee and tea and a disastrous war with Uganda put a great strain on the Tanzanian economy and caused widespread suffering. At an international press interview, Nyerere himself accepted his policies had failed and he stepped down in 1985.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations or inadequate knowledge of Nyerere's rule.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on Nyerere with only implicit judgment.

[11 to 13 marks] for some explicit judgment on Nyerere's policies.

[14 to 16 marks] Answers in this band would evaluate Nyerere's policies, identify successes and failures and make informed judgments based on evidence produced.

[17+ marks] for well-supported challenges and rebuttals of the statement.

21. "The post independence problems faced by newly independent African states were mainly the result of the colonial legacy." To what extent do you agree with this statement, with reference to *either* Zimbabwe *or* Zaire?

Candidates will be required to identify the main problems of one of these states: political, economic and social and determine how far these were the result of the colonial policies of their colonial masters. Obviously, the more appropriate answers to this question would include a fair balance of the problems arising from the colonial legacy and post independence interference of the colonial masters on one hand, and the failure of leaders of the two states to take pragmatic steps to solve the problems facing their countries on the other.

Answers will be expected to examine the political systems created by the colonial masters which proved unworkable; economic problems such as the absence of industries and developed economic systems, economies which were structured on the needs of the colonizers and social problems such as the absence of good and relevant educational institutions, affordable and accessible health facilities and others. The other factors would include the failures of leaders of these countries in areas such as combating corruption and ethnic divisions, lack of vision, intolerance and oppressive rule.

Specific reference to Zaire: the failure of Belgium to prepare the country adequately for independence, interference in the post independence crisis leading to the breakaway of the rich Katanga province, the deep rooted tribal divisions and the failure of the leaders to put the national interest first as well as widespread corruption.

Zimbabwe: the deep-rooted division between black and white at independence, the special privileges granted the white population in the independence constitution, the age-old dispute over the land tenure system, the ethnically divisive policies of the Mugabe government and accusations of corruption and incompetence.

[0 to 7 marks] for general, vague and unsubstantiated condemnation of the colonial system.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on either Congo or Zaire after independence with implicit reference to causes of problems.

[11 to 13 marks] for essays with explicit references to problems.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced answers which are analytical, consider both sides of the argument with incisive comments and supported with relevant examples.

[17+ marks] for answers which successfully challenge the quotations or show in-depth understanding of the changing situation in either country since independence with clear identification and explanation of problems.

22. What were the reasons for the frequent military intervention in politics in *either* Ghana *or* Nigeria between 1966 and 1990?

Both Ghana and Nigeria experienced a number of military takeovers between 1966 and 1990. Though some of the causes were similar, there were also marked differences in the other causes of these military coups.

Nigeria: 15 January 1966 – Uprising led by Igbo officers who claimed they wanted to get rid of corrupt and tribal politicians and introduced the slogan of "One Nigeria." The coup on 29 July 1966 was motivated by the desire to revenge against Igbos for the northern officers and politicians killed in the first coup. The 30 July 1975 military uprising was led by Murtala Muhammed, who said the government of Yakubu Gowon was overthrown because "despite the resources available to the country, the aspirations of the people were not being met." The military handed over to a civilian government in October 1979, only to return in December 1981, after accusing the Shehu Shagari government of incompetence and corruption.

Ghana: In 1966, the government of Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown by a police-military junta called the National Liberation Council. Reasons for this overthrow were given as the alleged corrupt administration of Nkrumah, his oppressive government, personal ambition and lack of concern for the people of Ghana. In 1971, the National Redemption Council overthrew the Busia government on charges of corruption, tribalism and poor governance. The military period continued until 1979 when Rawlings handed power to President Limann only to overthrow him again in 1981 in another coup. He accused him of a capitalist orientated and corrupt government which had no concern for the common man on the street.

Expect a balanced essay – which stresses the view that military overthrows were the result of the failure of the existing governments and activities of greedy ambitious soldiers who were following examples from countries all over Africa at the time.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague, unsubstantiated generalizations.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with implicit reference to reasons for military overthrows in either Ghana or Nigeria.

[11 to 13 marks] for answers with explicit reference to causes of military coups in one of the countries.

[14 to 16 marks] for in-depth analysis of reasons for military overthrows in the two countries.

[17+ marks] for comprehensive analysis of the specific reasons for different coups throughout the period.

23. With reference to *two* countries, how successful were the peacekeeping efforts of the United Nations Organization in Africa?

The United Nations Organization was involved in the Congo soon after the country's independence when the government was threatened by a rebellion and civil war. The UN response was swift and the effort commendable. The then Secretary General was even killed in an air crash over the Congo. But Cold War rivalries and political divisions, even among the African nations involved in the peacekeeping, frustrated the work of the UN. The organization was unable to prevent the murder of the deposed Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba.

Between 1945 and 1990, the United Nations was active in the affairs of Namibia. The Security Council, General Assembly, Trusteeship Council and the International Court of Justice were all at one time or the other involved in efforts to remove South Africa from Namibia. The UN ultimately succeeded in securing and monitoring South Africa's withdrawal and organized elections which introduced majority rule in Namibia.

In other countries the political will to ensure success for the UN was not there and the UN lacked the commitment and the financial resources needed to carry the operation through. In Angola, the UN did not have the manpower or the financial resources to effectively monitor the elections and the UNITA rejected the results and continued with the civil war. In Somalia, one of the feudal warlords attacked American UN peacekeepers leading to the withdrawal of the US troops and the collapse of the operation.

Though the UN was unable to prevent or stop the disaster of genocide in Rwanda, it has helped with post-war recovery, as it has also done in Mozambique after a decade of civil war.

If only one country is covered, mark out of [12 marks].

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives which do not mention the role of the UN.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative accounts of the UN in any two African countries or which make implicit reference to the work of the UN.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit evaluation.

[14 to 16 marks] answers in this group would be expected to analyse the work of the UNO, assess its successes and failures and the reasons for this.

[17+ marks] for in-depth understanding of the factors which hinder or facilitate the UN's peacekeeping efforts.

24. To what extent did *one* regional organization in Africa achieve its objectives?

The objective of the Organization of African Unity or the African Union in encouraging regional organizations was attaining closer regional co-operation as the first step to continental integration.

Answers to the question should determine how far these regional organizations have achieved this objective.

1. East African Community

The EAC was set up in 1967, with clear objectives. It was to foster closer co-operation between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in the areas of trade and banking, post and telecommunication, transport and education. Though it made some progress, it failed to promote any real integration in the sub-region. It collapsed in the late 1970s as a result of political tension, rivalry, ideological and personal differences among the leaders and the resentment felt by Tanzania and Uganda at perceived Kenyan dominance.

2. Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS)

ECOWAS was established in 1975 by 16 West Africa states. Its objective was to increase regional economic co-operation and integrating the sub-region through transport and telecommunication. A joint cement factory project between Ghana, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire has collapsed and projects like a common currency for ECOWAS and the West African highway are still on the drawing board.

3. South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)

It was founded in 1980. It brought together the independent states of Southern Africa in a determination to gradually break their economic dependence on South Africa. Weak economies and the absence of a strong capital base have hindered the progress of most of this organization.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague, inadequate descriptions of the work of a regional organization.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives on a regional organization with only implicit reference to objectives and achievements.

[11 to 13 marks] for a focused and balanced essay which assesses the work of one regional organization explicitly.

[14 to 16 marks] essays in this band would evaluate the objectives of the organization and determine the level of success.

[17+ marks] for in-depth analysis of the obstacles to effective regional co-operation in the context of the chosen organization.

25. Which factors (a) helped and (b) hindered national unity in post-independence Africa?

There is a wide range of issues to choose from, but to score well, each must be supported with examples drawn from different countries on the continent.

Negative factors will include tribal divisions which have resulted in civil wars in countries like Nigeria, Rwanda, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Religious and other divisions have also created tension in Somalia and Sudan. Problems of economic development and the inability to adopt a workable political system have led to military coups which have further hindered the evolution of nation states in Africa. Corrupt and inefficient political leaders who have exploited tribal and other sentiments to remain in power have also hindered the cause of national unity in Africa. Moreover, the African states were fashioned out by the colonial powers and most of them were not homogeneous.

On the positive side, factors will include some of the charismatic African leaders, who despite the problems faced, were able to contribute to national unity in their countries through their policies. Some of these are Leopold Senghor, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and Nelson Mandela. In some countries like Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, the absence of tribal divisions has promoted unity and the use of Swahili as a common language in parts of East Africa has contributed towards national integration.

Do not expect a strict balance, but both parts must be attempted for top marks.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalizations about post-independence Africa.

[8 to 10 marks] for generally unsubstantiated essays on Africa's problems with only implicit reference to the question.

[11 to 13 marks] for a fairly sound presentation of factors that hindered and those that promoted national unity with examples.

[14 to 16 marks] for analytical in-depth essays, with examples to support conclusions reached, on factors that either hindered or promoted national unity in post-independence Africa.

[17+ marks] for balanced answers with depth of understanding of the complexity of factors in different countries in Africa.