

MARKSCHEME

November 2002

HISTORY - AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

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Notes on Individual Questions

These notes should be read and used in conjunction with the current Mark Bands and General Criteria set out in the Instructions above.

- 1. Account for the growth and importance of any *one* African state, excluding those in Southern Africa, in the pre-colonial period.**

The choice here is wide, even with the Southern African region excluded. Good examples to choose would include: the Sokoto Caliphate; the Tukolor Empire; the Mandinka Empire; Dahomey; Buganda. Answers which explain fully the growth of any of these states and also give adequate attention to the presence of the word “importance” in the question will deserve a mark in one of the two top mark bands. Failure to make any attempt to identify importance will restrict the maximum mark to **[14]**.

- 2. Analyse the strengths and weaknesses of Muhammad Ali’s policies and assess their importance for Egypt.**

Muhammad Ali is seen by historians as the ruler who began, and made the biggest contribution to, the modernisation of Egypt. Those of his policies which promoted modernisation were carried out with the help of Western advisers and experts, particularly from France which had close links with Egypt since the Napoleonic invasion. Of prime importance amongst his Westernising reforms were the introduction of Western education and the creation of a large, well trained and well equipped army. The army played a key part in his policies, including an ambitious foreign policy the aim of which was to defend Egypt against Ottoman designs but also to use Egypt as a base for extending his influence around the eastern Mediterranean and eventually to make himself the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. These ambitious plans had two weaknesses: they aroused the fears of the Western Powers who intervened to limit his military successes; and they entailed harsh taxation which alienated the bulk of the Egyptian population.

In general his modernising domestic policies which, in addition to his military and educational reforms, included agricultural reforms (introduction of new cotton crops, irrigation schemes) and industrial reforms (textile factories, shipbuilding, iron and steel works) must be seen as strengths though they did little to raise the standard of life of the masses.

To score more than **[15 marks]** answers should include an attempt to “assess the importance” of his policies for Egypt. They began the process of modernising Egypt but this carried with it the danger of increasing Western control and influence. Under his successor, Abbas, they triggered off a fundamentalist. He dismissed European advisers and closed secular schools. This was shortlived and the westernising and modernising process was restored with disastrous consequences under Muhammad Said and Ismail. Unwittingly his policies also laid the foundations of Egyptian nationalism. His administrative reforms and his conquest of the Sudan gave Egypt an identity of its own as a nation state and not merely as a province of the Turkish Empire. He started a reforming, modernising, westernising policy which was continued by most of his successors and led finally to Egypt falling under British control.

For a mark in the top two bands expect a good knowledge of MA’s domestic and foreign policies with comments on strengths and weaknesses and an assessment of their importance for Egypt. If this last element is missing, the maximum mark should be **[15 marks]**. Consult general criteria for appropriate mark for weaker answers.

3. What can be learnt from the career of Mzilikazi about state building in Southern Africa in the pre-colonial period.

The following points could be included:

- the impact of the Mfecane which led, in Mzilikazi's case, to his leaving the Zulu kingdom to found a new state for fear of retaliation by Shaka for his "treachery";
- further defeats by the Boers and Mosheshwe forced him to move north of the Limpopo;
- possession, by Mzilikazi, of the military, political and social reforms initiated and passed on by Shaka which gave him a powerful "machine" for state building and enabled him to defeat opponents and take over their land and manpower (*e.g.* the Kololo, Shona);
- Mzilikazi adopted a caste structure (*Zansi, Enlha etc.*) to build a centralised state with himself as a powerful despot at its head;
- he used marriage alliances (some 400) to impose unity on the state and used "indunas" to undertake civil as well as military duties.

This list is not exhaustive, but answers which contain a similar selection, with brief references to state building elsewhere in Southern Africa, will deserve a mark in one of the two top bands.

4. Explain the reasons for, and the results of, the emergence of the House System in the States of the Niger Delta.

Basically the House System developed in the area of the Delta because it could easily be adapted to meet the changing conditions and needs of the early nineteenth century *i.e.* the period of transition from the Slave Trade to Legitimate Trade. Traditional chiefs were not always skilled in commercial matters. "Houses" were companies whose main function was trade and heads of houses, in the new circumstances, often made the best leaders. Frequently they rose from humble origins, even from being ex-slaves, and often broke away from their original "states" to form new states. Outstanding examples of such "new men" were JaJa who, as head of the Anna Pepple House in Bonny in succession to Alali, another ex-slave, broke away to form the new state of Opobo; and Olomu and his son Nana in Itsekiriland. These men organised their own fleets of war canoes and were highly successful in the competitive world of trade in palm oil, the main commodity exported from the area. JaJa attracted most of the other heads of Houses in Bonny to join him in Opobo. The House System changed the political and commercial life of the Delta and heads of houses at times became involved in wars with the traditional rulers. A measure of the success of these men was the need felt by Britain to overthrow some of them because they had become dangerous threat to Britain's interests. They were also instrumental, therefore, in bringing about the colonisation of the whole area by Britain.

The two parts of the answer – causes and results – should be reasonably balanced and the focus throughout should be on trade. For a mark in the two top bands a few appropriate examples must be given.

5. The results of the Mfecane were both destructive and constructive and affected areas far from its origins in South East Africa. To what extent do you support this view?

The word “Mfecane” in the Nguni language means “forced migration”. Such migrations were the result of wars fought by Shaka, the Zulu king. He revolutionised warfare, created a standing army based on age regiments, and introduced new weapons and tactics. His military reforms had political and social consequences. Shaka’s wars sent tribes from SE Africa in motion all over Southern, and much of Central and East Africa as far north as Lake Victoria. Ngoni, Sotho and Tswana peoples were all involved.

The most basic result of the Mfecane was the spread of the new Zulu military system, with its political and social appendages, all over this vast area. Other results were partly negative, partly positive.

Destructive results: widespread wars entailing large scale loss of life, destruction of property, disruption of agriculture, an increase in slave trade (the Ngoni and Ndebele took prisoners who became slaves and many defeated tribes/states became an easy prey to slave traders from the east coast). Trade and trade routes were interrupted (*e.g.* Swahili caravans from the coast to L Malawi and L Tanganyika). Further south parts of the High Veld were depopulated and the deserted areas were soon occupied by Boer Trekkers (the Great Trek). Some large states like the Rozwi empire in Zimbabwe, the Lozi kingdom in Zambia and the Undi empire in Malawi were destroyed.

Constructive results: New states were created: an enlarged Zulu nation; the Ndebele state in Zimbabwe, new Ngoni kingdoms in Zambia, Malawi and Tanzania. Defensive states were built by Mosheshwe (Basutoland) and Sobhuza (Swaziland). Some new and a few old states became larger and more centralised under strong kings. Some of these were inter-ethnic but the newly recruited members wished to be integrated into the conquering tribe. This promoted social unity.

If adequate details are given to illustrate the migrations the second part of the question will be answered automatically. In addition good/very good answers will show that there was a fairly even mix of positive and negative results. Answers which do not make this clear will struggle to reach **[10 or 11 marks]**.

6. For what reasons, and with what success, did the Boers undertake the Great Trek?

The basic reason was the desire of the Boers to escape from British control and interference with their way of life, but the Trek also met the Boers' need for more grazing land for their cattle. The Boers resented British attitudes towards Africans and coloured people and any reforms which threatened the master-servant relationship which they practised. They disapproved of the teachings and activities of British missionaries like Dr John Philip and the series of measures designed to extend and protect the rights of Africans: *e.g.* the Circuit Courts; the Fiftieth Ordinance *etc.* They also resented Anglicising measures like the introduction of English as an official language, the introduction of British coinage and of the English legal system. The Abolition of Slavery and the return of Queen Adelaide territory to the Bantu in 1834 were the last straws for the Boers who embarked on the Great Trek in 1835 as the only way of retaining their old way of life.

The effects of the Mfecane had left much of the High Veld open to Boer settlement; but the Boers came up against Zulu opposition and British annexation of Natal in 1845 and this forced them to trek again. By the Sand River Convention (1852) and the Bloemfontein Convention (1854), however, the British recognised the Orange Free State and the Transvaal as independent Boer Republics and the Boers at last seemed to have escaped British control.

Candidates should not be expected to go beyond 1854 though reference to the first signs of the British attempt to establish a Federation of the four white states might be made as a sign that the Boers had not yet ensured their independence permanently. Candidates who cover with some detail the reasons for the trek and respond briefly to "with what success" should be awarded a mark of **[17+]**. If this is not included the maximum mark should be **[14 marks]**. Absence of details of British measures resented by the Boers would reduce the maximum to the **[8 to 10 mark]** band.

7. In what ways, and for what reasons, did the attitude of the European powers towards the acquisition of African territory change between 1870 and 1890?

The focus on answers here should be on the developments which led to the build up of the “scramble for Africa” which started in the late 1870s with the activities of Leopold II in the Congo Basin, followed by de Brazza’s treaty with Makoko (not ratified till 1882), the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 and reached their climax with the meeting of the Berlin West Africa Conference in 1884–85. The decisions taken at this conference laid down the “rules/guidelines” for the future acquisition of African territory and the years 1885–1890 saw the beginning of the scramble. Good/very good answers should give details to illustrate this. A good introduction might mention the very limited amount of territory under European control in 1870 and the reluctance of the European powers to meet the expense of further annexations. Most were interested in trade with Africa without the expense and responsibility of administration costs, a concept known as “informal empire”. The sequence of events referred to above, sometimes called the “accelerators” of partition, coupled with the growth of “protectionism” and the decline of free trade put an end to the prospects of maintaining informal empire and “profit without responsibility”. The European powers became increasingly aware that the only way of ensuring a profitable trade with any part of Africa was to annex and control it.

The focus of good/very good answers should be the collapse of the concept of informal empire, the impact of the “accelerators” and examples of the beginning of the scramble, 1885–1890. Essays which do no more than recite the basic causes of European interest in Africa like economic, strategic, and humanitarian factors will deserve no more than **[8 marks]** if there is no reference to the importance of the “accelerators”. Material must keep within the stated time frame.

8. Explain, using specific examples, the failure of African attempts in Central and East Africa to resist European conquest and occupation.

The reasons for failure of African attempts to resist European conquest can be divided into two main groups: African political weakness and African military weakness, set against European strength in both of these areas.

African political weaknesses. These included:

- the small size and limited resources of almost all African “states”. In many cases the clan or tribe was the largest political unit.
- frequent wars between African neighbours. These were bad for the conduct of trade and led European merchants to urge their governments to annex and colonise African territory. Local African wars/civil wars were caused by succession disputes; trade and religious rivalry; tribal rivalry.
- African states rarely succeeded in forming alliances to resist European invasions. It was easy for European powers to “divide and conquer” and then “divide and rule”.

Examples of these weaknesses in Central and East Africa were:

- the large number of small weak states resulting from the Ngoni migrations in the mid-nineteenth century; tribal rivalries between the Ndebele and Shona; many Central African people were ready to take the European side against the aggressive Ndebele *e.g.* the Lozi and Tswana. (The list is not exhaustive.) The Ndebele and Shona failed to coordinate their opposition to the British effectively in the Ndebele-Shona Rising as did the many African peoples who took part in the MajiMaji Rising in German East Africa. Mkwawa of the Hehe failed to persuade other Africans to join him against the Germans as did Kabalega in Bunyoro. The spirit mediums who gave some degree of cohesion to the Ndebele-Shona and MajiMaji Risings were also the cause of disastrously heavy losses amongst Africans who were persuaded to believe in “magical” forms of protection against European bullets.

African military weaknesses

Africans were very inferior to Europeans in military matters - weaponry; tactics; training and discipline. This encouraged Europeans to conquer African territory to establish colonies as victory was invariably assured. Traditional weapons were no match for machine guns, rifles and artillery. Even when Africans managed to acquire fire-arms they were usually out of date, it was difficult to obtain spare parts and ammunition, and Africans did not always possess the skills to use them effectively. Their tactics often played into the hands of Europeans. Though the majority of the soldiers in most “European” armies were Africans, European leadership made these armies more effective. Almost every conflict between African and European forces in Central and East Africa can be used to illustrate these general points.

A good selection of these, in two main groups, illustrated with a specific examples from the two regions, should ensure a mark in the top two bands providing there is a reasonable balance between material from the two regions. Refer to the general mark bands to decide an appropriate mark for weaker, less complete answers.

9. Account for the changing relations between the Kabakas of Buganda and the British between 1875 and 1900.

The question involves the relations between Mutesa I and Mwanga and the British. The story is a very complex one and candidates who manage to establish the main pattern of change, with plausible explanations will deserve to be rewarded with a mark of at least **[14]**. The British were invited to send Christian missionaries to Buganda. These arrived as a CMS Mission in 1877 and were followed by the Holy Ghost Fathers, Catholic missionaries from France. The two missions remained in the country and enjoyed great success in making Christian converts. This success worried both Mutesa and later Mwanga at different times and for different reasons. Mutesa had initially invited Christian missionaries because he felt threatened by an Egyptian advance from the north and hoped that missionaries from Britain might provide political, military and economic assistance. He also hoped that they would help him in his struggle against traditional Lubale priests who were threatening his absolute power. Mutesa's interest in the CMS Mission soon declined. The Egyptian threat had receded soon after their arrival. He did not like their disapproval of polygamy which effectively ended the possibility of his conversion to Christianity. By the time of his death in 1884 many conversions had been made amongst the pages at court and the Baganda in the capital. This was a cause of some alarm to Mutesa but much more to his inexperienced young son, Mwanga, who succeeded him. Mwanga was a homosexual and resented the influence the missionaries had gained over the young court pages. 1885 and 1886 were years of Christian martyrdom chiefly amongst the pages. 1888–1892 saw rapidly changing relations involving Mwanga, the Muslims and both groups of Christians, Protestants and Catholics. Mwanga, with justification, feared that they wanted to overthrow him. Briefly, in 1888, the Muslims did so. Mwanga was restored to power by an alliance of convenience made with the Christians, but from 1889 his powers were reduced and he was under the control of a Christian government led by Apolo Kagwa, a protestant, who became Katikiro. The future of Buganda was in the balance until 1892 when Lugard, with a small force of troops of the Imperial British East Africa Company under his command, intervened on the Protestant side in the power struggle between Fransa (Catholics) and Ingleza (Protestants) at the Battle of Mengo and ensured a Protestant victory and the future dominance of the Protestants and the Ingleza party in the government. Mwanga was allowed to keep his position as Kabaka but with greatly reduced powers. The Protestant missionaries and Lugard urged the British government to make Buganda a Protectorate since the bankruptcy of the IBEACo prevented it from controlling the situation any longer. A protectorate was proclaimed in 1894 but in 1897 Mwanga made a last desperate effort to recover his old powers by rebelling. He was defeated, deposed and replaced by Daudi Cwa, a baby who could threaten neither the British nor the leading Protestant members of the government. Mwanga fled to German East Africa but escaped custody and returned to his country. In 1898 he joined Kabalega of Bunyoro, a persistent enemy of Britain in the area. He was captured with Kabalega and exiled to the Seychelles. In 1900 the Buganda Agreement was negotiated by Sir Harry Johnston, Britain's Special Commissioner, and the basis of future British rule was firmly and formally established.

A good answer here clearly requires some narrative inter-laced with some explanation of changing relations between the British (missionaries, IBEACo forces *etc.*). If the narrative and explanations are reasonably accurate this approach should place an answer in the **[14+ marks]** range. Use the mark band descriptions to decide on the most appropriate mark.

10. Outline the aims of any *one* ruler of Asante in the late nineteenth century and explain his failure to achieve them.

The obvious choice of ruler here would be Prempeh I.

At the outset candidates should briefly summarise Prempeh's aims:

- to regain effective control over the areas beyond the "metropolitan" region around Kumasi which had for some time before his reign been gaining their independence from central control by the asantehene;
- to gain direct access to the coast for Asante exports;
- to preserve Asante's independence from British colonial rule.

Why did he fail to achieve his aims?

- Prempeh's aims and ambitions clashed with those of neighbouring African tribes like the Fante who wanted to control Asante's access to the sea and those of Britain who wanted to establish control over Asante.
- Britain, to promote her own interests, sided with the Fante as she had done for some time before Prempeh's reign. It was not difficult for Britain to find a pretext for making war on Prempeh and eventually deposing him and sending him into exile. Some detail should be expected to support these general points. In war Prempeh's defeat was certain because of Britain's overwhelming superiority in arms and the failure of African peoples to unite against European aggression.
- Britain's decision to attack and depose Prempeh and send him into exile was meant to serve as a warning to other Africans who might attempt to resist Britain.

A satisfactory statement of aims followed by an explanation of his failure to achieve them will deserve a mark of [14+]. Some detailed support for the general arguments made will merit a mark of [17+].

N.B. If any other ruler is chosen answers should be marked on the merit of the analysis of aims and the explanation of failure to achieve them.

11. What aspects of African response to European influence and control are illustrated by the career of John Chilembwe?

Chilembwe's career illustrates the type of African response which took the form of Independency – the setting up of Independent African Churches – initially as a protest against the slow rate of progress for African clergy within the European, mission dominated churches, and also as a protest against the grievances of Africans in almost all colonies: *e.g.* land alienation, forced labour, many forms of taxation and general exploitation. Chilembwe, like other Malawians owed much to the radical European, Joseph Booth. When Chilembwe was a student at the Church of Scotland Blantyre Mission, Booth made him his house servant. He became a member of the Zambesi Industrial Mission and in 1897 was taken by Booth to America to be educated at the Virginia Theological College. He returned to Malawi in 1900 as an ordained minister and established a Baptist mission station. Here he practised American self-help schemes, building a church and schools and setting up a farm. All this was typical of an Independent Church leader who had received help and inspiration from American Baptists. Less typical was his insistence on wearing European clothing. In 1909 he was involved in founding the Natives' Industrial Union.

In 1915 he became involved in an armed revolt against aspects of colonial rule of which he disapproved. It was triggered to some extent by deteriorating conditions after the famine of 1913, but the last straw was the Government's policy of recruiting Malawians into the British Army to fight in the First World War. The government's attempt to arrest him sparked off an ill-prepared rising which was soon crushed and Chilembwe was shot trying to escape. He spent some time planning his dream of creating an inter-ethnic state and was ready to accept help from Europeans who would recognise African control. Chilembwe's rebellion came too early as there were too few educated Africans to lead a mass nationalist movement. It was also unusual, probably unique, for an independent church leader to resort to armed revolt.

To gain a mark of **[17+]** candidates must cover the various parts of Chilembwe's career. Candidates should also note which aspects of Chilembwe's career were typical and which were untypical of an Independent African Church leader. The maximum for answers which omit this final requirement should be **[14 marks]**.

12. “Mosheshwe’s relations with Europeans were essentially realistic and diplomatic and based on his own, and his people’s best interests.” How far do you agree?

In answers to this question the Boers in South Africa should be counted as “Europeans”. Mosheshwe’s attitude and response to Europeans was essentially realistic and pragmatic. His desire to have British Protectorate status, which was finally granted in 1868 two years before his death, was based on his belief that, in the long run, his small country was bound to be swallowed up by a European power and he preferred that Britain, rather than Germany or Portugal, should be that power. He recognised the skills and know-how of Europeans and the advantages of having Europeans at his court to give advice on diplomatic and other matters and negotiate on his behalf. Hence he welcomed the Paris Evangelical Mission under Casalis to his country. He used them in his efforts to obtain British protection and, on occasions, to interpret his views to the colonial authorities at the Cape. Though he was tolerant of Christianity and admired much of its teaching, he himself never became a Christian mainly because, as a ruler with over a hundred wives, he could not accept its condemnation of polygamy.

Finally, though he recognised the military superiority of Europeans in any prolonged struggle, he opposed them successfully when, with the help of his mountainous country, it was possible to do so *e.g.* he defeated a British force from the Cape in 1852 and Boer attacks in 1853 and 1866. The Boer threat was his main reason for seeking British protection.

The focus here should be on the mixed nature of Mosheshwe’s response. If candidates identify the “mixture” as above, with appropriate examples, they will deserve a mark in the **[17+]** range. His readiness to cooperate with the “right kind” of Europeans and his pragmatism and tolerance should both be identified for a mark in the top band.

13. Account for the growing tension between the Boers and the British in South Africa between 1854 and 1899.

The establishment of the two independent Boer Republics in 1852 and 1854 seemed to give the Boers what they wanted. Reasons for the continued strained relations included:

- the legacy of mistrust which had built up before and during the Great Trek was too deep-seated to be easily set aside;
- Boer mistrust and suspicions were revived by the British project for a Federation of white states in Southern Africa;
- the British feared that bad relations between the Transvaal and her African neighbours might drag them into a racial war especially since the Transvaal seemed weak and vulnerable;
- Britain's annexation of the Transvaal in 1881 was resented by the Boers under Kruger and this led to the First Boer War;
- from then on Kruger's personal dislike and distrust of the British made it difficult to improve relations;
- the discovery of gold in the Rand changed the balance of power between the Cape and the Transvaal in favour of the latter;
- Kruger's discriminatory measures against the mainly British Uitlanders made relations worse;
- tension grew and a new war became more likely as a result of Rhodes' well known territorial ambitions; the Jameson Raid; the Kaiser's telegram to Kruger and Milner's intransigence which matched that of Kruger. War came in 1899.

This is a question where good answers will need to contain a clear narrative thread. Providing the narrative is accurate and the explanations of changes in relations are built into the narrative this would be the best approach and deserve a mark of **[17+]** if most of the developments/events mentioned above are noted. A narrative with little explanation, however, would struggle to reach **[8 marks]**.

14. With reference to any *one* country analyse, with specific examples, the impact on Africans of the work of Christian missions.

The content of answers here, in terms of detail, will depend on the candidate's choice of countries. However, in more general terms, there is much that is common to all countries and reference to the following types of impact should be expected in all answers: conversions to Christianity; educational; medical; agricultural; cultural; rise of independent churches (not of significant relevance in Buganda); influence in bringing colonisation to the area. The impact overall was revolutionary, whether it was political (especially in Buganda and Malawi), social, economic or cultural. For a mark of **[17+]** there should be something on each of the above aspects (unless excepted in a particular case). Since the question makes it clear that specific examples are required to illustrate the nature of the impact, answers that do not include such examples will not deserve more than **[7 to 8 marks]**.

15. When and why did the British change their system of administration in Africa from a form of assimilation to indirect rule? What were the advantages and disadvantages of the latter system?

The timing of the change in administrative systems was in the closing years of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth century. No **precise** date is required or desirable since there was none in every colonial situation. The **reasons for change** were many and certainly had something to do with racial theories associated with Social Darwinism; but there were also more practical and pragmatic reasons like financial considerations and a shortage of British officials. Lugard, the father of indirect rule, argued that it was the best way of preparing Africans to assume responsibility for self-government and independence. The list is not exhaustive and other reasons should be considered on merit.

Advantages and disadvantages Candidates who make it clear that they are aware that indirect rule was not a rigid, monolithic system, but one that varied from colony to colony and reflected previous local conditions will deserve some credit. Within these variables the following points might be made:

Advantages

- the system was cheap to operate;
- in areas where the right sort of traditional system was in place (ideally one based on traditional chiefs like the Emirs in the Sokoto Caliphate in N Nigeria) the system worked well and led to a stable social and political climate;
- in a situation where there was a shortage of administrators and officials from Britain it was expedient as well as economical to use existing African personnel.

Disadvantages

- it tended to encourage stagnation and discourage progress and reform;
- it alienated the educated elite since this group was given no role in the system;
- it led to serious protest and unrest in areas where there were no traditional chiefs and warrant chiefs were created by the colonial power.

For a mark of **[17+]** the two parts of the answer should be reasonably balanced. The points given above are the main points which should be expected for **[17+]**. Others should be considered on merit.

16. In what different ways did opposition to colonial rule show in British and French colonies in West Africa between 1900 and 1939?

Reference should be made to the Aborigines Rights Protection Society founded in the Gold Coast in 1897 to oppose the seizure of African lands. It continued to exist after the First World War but after several of its members were appointed to the colony's Legislative Council the movement tended to become part of the establishment rather than an opposition movement.

Opposition was far more in evidence in the British than in the French territories because indirect rule provided no role for the educated elite who therefore campaigned to change the system and demand more elected members in the Legislative Councils. In British West Africa one of the main opposition movements was the National Congress of British West Africa, founded soon after the end of the First World War. It was regionally, rather than nationally, based and was exclusively a movement of the educated elite led by Casely Hayford. It clashed with the Governor of the Gold Coast over the method of electing members of the new Legislative Council which it argued favoured the traditional chiefs. Similar clashes occurred in the other British colonies when Legislative Councils were set up in the 1920s. Little was heard of it after the death of Casely Hayford in 1930 when some of its members won seats in Legislative Councils. The Nigerian National Democratic Party, led by Herbert Macaulay, had been founded before the First World War and became a "thorn in the flesh" of the British authorities. It had a wider appeal than other movements. It won all the elected seats on both the Nigerian Legislative Council and the Lagos Municipal Council until, eventually, it also became part of the establishment.

The new development in the 1930s was the rise of nationally based youth movements like the Nigerian Youth Movement (1934); the Gold Coast Youth Conference (1938) and the West African Youth League in Sierra Leone (1938). These came into being partly in protest against older elite politicians who had "deserted" to the government. In some respects they could claim to be the first truly nationalist movements. One of the most consistent and effective forms of opposition was the press which spoke out against colonial exploitation and for African rights.

The African Press, active in British West Africa since the 1890s, was the most consistent organ of opposition and for the expression of nationalist views. It supported African claims to self-government, watched over African interests and reported black political activities both inside and outside West Africa. The most famous journalist was Namdi Azikiwe, later a leading Nigerian politician. In 1937 he launched a group of openly nationalist and propagandist papers, the most famous of which was the West African Pilot.

In French West Africa there were no real political opposition movements. This was partly because, in theory at least, it was possible for French West Africans to be returned as representatives to the French National Assembly. There were also more outlets for the educated elite to play some part in the French system of "Association". The main form of protest against colonial rule was expressed through the "Negritude" movement. This was a form of cultural protest expressed through literature, outside as well as inside Africa. Its supporters were to be found in the French Caribbean territories as well as in Africa. The main African exponent of "Negritude" was Leopold Senghor, later to become the first President of independent Senegal.

Answers will inevitably contain more material on British than on French West Africa; but there must be enough to show and explain the differences between French and British territories before a maximum **[14 marks]** can be reached.

17. Why was the date of independence in *either* Algeria *or* Kenya delayed until after that in neighbouring countries?

The basic answer is that these two countries both had large white settler populations which had acquired a large measure, some would say a virtual monopoly, of political and economic power in these countries. By the end of the Second World War, when the indigenous peoples were beginning to build up strong nationalist movements to campaign for independence it became clear that the white minority was unwilling to surrender its power without being forced to do so by the indigenous people. The struggle was more bloody and prolonged in Algeria than in Kenya and candidates who choose to answer on Algeria will need to explain why this was so. The white settler population was much larger and had been building up its power for much longer. It also had more support in the metropolitan country than was the case in Kenya. In Kenya four years of the Mau Mau emergency was sufficient to bring the settlers to realise that they would have to surrender their special position and accept independence under majority rule. It took longer for the French settlers to accept the same reality.

Whichever choice of country the candidate makes, answers will of necessity have to contain a substantial narrative element interspersed with explanation and with brief comments on why the neighbouring countries in British East Africa and French North Africa won their independence earlier than Kenya and Algeria respectively. Answers structured in this way, with a largely accurate narrative and convincing explanations will deserve a mark of **[17+]**. Use the general mark band descriptions for weaker answers.

18. Compare and contrast the factors which *either* promoted *or* hindered progress to independence in Ghana *and* in Nigeria.

In this “Compare and contrast” question the best approach will be a point-by-point identification of similarities and differences between the factors operating in the two countries. These might best be arranged in two sections:

Factors which promoted progress included:

- the impact of the Second World war on both African opinion and on British policy;
- the emergence soon after the war of new, mass political parties and of able leaders for these parties;
- the relative absence of tribal rivalry in Ghana;
- the presence of a sympathetic Governor gave Ghana, where Sir Arden Clarke struck up a good relationship with Kwame Nkrumah, an advantage over Nigeria.

Factors which hindered progress included:

- the emergence of several political parties representing rival tribal interests. This was a very strong influence in Nigeria but much less so in Ghana;
- the last factor was also important for its influence on British policy. The British government was always reluctant to grant independence in a situation where it might lead to instability and even civil war.

The above list is not exhaustive and other factors suggested by candidates should be assessed on their merits. For a mark of **[17+]** candidates must produce factors on both sides, with a reasonable balance between them.

19. Why was independence in *either Mozambique or Zimbabwe* achieved late and only after an armed struggle?

The explanation of why independence came late to these two countries is similar in that it was due in part to the presence of a significant settler element which was unwilling to surrender its control of power, political and economic, to the African majority. The explanation is different in the attitude and role of the colonial power to the issue of independence. In the case of Zimbabwe, Britain was ready to grant independence in 1965 but not on terms acceptable to the settler controlled S Rhodesian government. The latter then made a unilateral declaration of Independence which placed it in an illegal position vis-a-vis the British government. Guerrilla war then broke out between the illegal white government in Zimbabwe and two nationalist forces. Negotiations were not resumed until this war forced the illegal regime to resume discussions in 1979. Independence came in 1980.

In the case of Mozambique the dictatorial Portuguese government under Dr Salazar sided with the settlers against nationalist forces. This was partly because Portugal regarded her colonies as overseas provinces and argued that independence was not negotiable, but mainly because Portugal saw retention of her colonies as the only way in which she could sustain her very weak economy. Again armed struggle continued until the Portuguese army lost the will to resist and suffer further losses in the armed struggle and overthrew the metropolitan dictatorship, by now under Caetano, in 1974. Independence followed later in the same year.

Candidates who explain satisfactorily why independence came late and only after armed struggle, and also show the contrasting positions of the two colonial powers in the conflict over independence will deserve a mark in one of the two top mark bands. It will not be surprising, however, if candidates fail to sort out accurately the complexities of the situation in the two countries. Where this is the case refer to the general mark band descriptions to arrive at an appropriate mark.

20. When, why and with what success did Africans in South Africa abandon the principle of non-violence in their fight against apartheid?

When and why

This happened in 1961 after the Sharpeville Massacre convinced the younger generation of African leaders like Nelson Mandela that the previous policies of non-violence and passive resistance had failed to bring about any change in the South African government's racial policies. The ANC and the PAC both announced their decision to use violence and set up "The Spear of the Nation" and POQO respectively after their movements had been banned and virtually forced into exile. A short-lived campaign of violence, in the form of acts of sabotage, followed.

With what results

The government's reaction was predictable. They passed tougher laws to deal with the new African strategy. Sabotage was made a capital offence. New General Law Amendment Acts made protest more difficult and arrest and detention easier. The right to hold suspects without trial was extended to 180 days and the system of "house arrest" was added to the existing possibilities for banning certain activities. Nelson Mandela and other African leaders were in prison by 1964. For ten years from 1966 to 1975, it seemed that the new switch to violent protest had been contained. More surprisingly, there were even signs that South Africa's relations with the outside world, and her economy, had improved. In 1975, however, the situation changed dramatically as a result of South Africa's decision to intervene in the Angolan Civil War. The world condemned SA's action. In June 1976 urban disturbances in Soweto and other townships faced the government with its worst law and order problems to date. In the 1980s violent disturbances in the townships became endemic and made the country almost ungovernable. This brought the first signs that the government was prepared to consider serious changes in its policies and negotiate a new constitution on a non-racial basis. Nelson Mandela was released from prison in February 1990 and the ANC suspended the armed struggle and negotiations began. It seemed that violent protest had succeeded where passive resistance had failed.

Candidates who reach this conclusion on the evidence of an outline of developments between 1961 and 1990 will deserve a mark in one of the two highest mark bands. The greater part of most answers will be on the results of the change. The when and why parts of the question can be answered satisfactorily in a short paragraph.

21. Analyse the reasons for the emergence of *either* single party rule *or* military rule in Africa. Answers should refer to *two* examples of the form of rule chosen.

Irrespective of the candidate's choice an appropriate introduction might be to point out that Britain and France, the two main colonial powers bequeathed multi-party, democratic constitutions to their ex-colonies at independence. It was predictable that this system of government was unlikely to work well in Africa.

Single party rule The reasons for the emergence of single party rule included:

- In Europe multi-party, democratic states had evolved over a long period of time. They were unlikely to work well in African conditions. It soon became clear that in most African states political parties tended to replicate the rivalries of tribal groups within the state. This produced conflict and instability.
- the party which had done most to win independence was anxious to retain power as long as possible. There was a great temptation for these parties and their leaders to achieve this by banning rival parties.
- It was argued (*e.g.* by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania) that the main aim of the government of any newly independent African state must be economic development which would raise the low standard of living of the mass of the population and eradicate poverty and ignorance. In this situation political opposition was an irrelevance and an unnecessary expense, and in any case, democracy was still possible within the context of single party rule.

Military rule The reasons for the emergence of military rule include the following:

- military rule often replaced single party rule when this had led to government that had become arbitrary, inefficient, corrupt and guilty of serious economic mismanagement;
- the officer class in the armies of Africa's newly independent states often represented the highest concentration of educated, efficient and disciplined members of the population in the days after independence and they could not tolerate inefficiency and corruption.

These general, basic reasons for the emergence of either single party or military rule should be illustrated with reference to specific situations in **two** countries of the candidate's choice. Likely appropriate choices are, for single party rule, Ghana; Tanzania; Kenya; and, for military rule, Ghana and Nigeria. Candidates who show a clear understanding of the general explanations above will earn a mark of **[14]** with only a little supporting detail from two examples. Fuller detail related to the general arguments used will deserve a mark of **[17+]**.

22. How radical and how successful were the policies of *either* Julius Nyerere *or* Gamal Abdul Nasser?

Nasser - in so far as Nasser came to power as a result of the coup of the Free Officers' Movement in 1952 the manner of his coming to power could be called revolutionary. Once in power, however, it would be possible, to apply the word "radical" to most of his policies. It could be argued that his domestic social reforms like redistribution of land from the country's biggest estates and nationalisation of major industries, banks and insurance companies and his nationalisation of the Suez Canal were radical and based on sound socialist or radical principles, except that these reforms did little to improve the lot of Egypt's masses. In foreign policy his support for countries still under the colonial yoke and his offer of shelter to rebel refugees from countries like South Africa and Algeria were also radical. They were also, in general successful, and recognised as such at home and abroad. The one unsuccessful part of his policies was his disastrous war against Israel in 1967.

Nyerere - he was a genuine and sincere socialist who practised what he preached in terms of following an austere, simple life style. Sadly his socialist principles were breached more often than they were followed by his own officials and many of his ministers. The Arusha Declaration leadership code which prohibited officials and party members from owning properties for rent or having more than one income was certainly radical but it was largely ignored. Corruption was rife throughout society. The "ujamaa" or villageisation policy which aimed at concentrating dispersed populations to encourage rural development was disliked by masses of peasants who resisted attempts to move them to new social village communities. Nyerere was a radical thinker on political and economic matters but he failed to persuade his people to accept and act upon his ideas and policies.

In foreign affairs he was, like Nasser, a supporter of oppressed colonial regimes and their people and offered shelter to refugees. He devoted diplomatic and material resources to support independence struggles and for training freedom fighters and nationalists from Mozambique, Angola, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Nyerere was a socialist and a radical who stuck to his principles. He failed to carry his countrymen with him and his economic policies left Tanzania one of the continent's poorest countries. Yet it remains more united and more stable than most in Africa and the final verdict on his success as a national leader has probably still to be written.

This is an open-ended question and should be marked on the accuracy of its content and the relevance and persuasiveness of its arguments and conclusions. Use the general mark band descriptions to arrive at an appropriate mark.

23. Explain the nature of the problems that have faced the leader of any *one* Central African state since independence.

Candidates are free to answer with reference to any Central African country and its leader. The most likely choices will be Zaire under Joseph Mobutu; Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe; Zambia under Kenneth Kaunda; Malawi under Dr Hastings Banda. Because of the wide choice detailed guidance on content cannot be given. However, in all cases the causes of post independence problems in these states should not be blamed wholly on the colonial legacy. This should be part of the explanation; but, in addition, it should be made clear that the faults and shortcomings in the policies of African leaders and their governments were also responsible for their countries' problems. This type of answer, given the correct balance and accurate detailed knowledge, should be given a mark of **[17+]**. Any answer which attempts to place all the responsibility for the problems on one or other of these general explanations should not get beyond the **[8 to 10 mark]** band.

24. Why has there been greater stability in the ex-French, than in the ex-British, colonial territories of West Africa?

Candidates attempting this question are likely to agree with the assumption made in the title. If they do so they will probably suggest that the main reason lies in the fact that, for many years after independence, the French maintained a more paternalistic and interventionist role in their old colonies. There were, for example, a far larger number of French personnel in the administration and educational sector than was the case in the British territories. Such an argument will need to be supported by some detailed evidence in specific countries to deserve a mark of **[14+]**. The answers of any candidates who argue against the assumption in the title should be judged on their merits and with reference to the general mark band descriptions.

25. Analyse the aims, and assess the success, of any *two* regional organisations of African countries.

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) will not be appropriate as a choice here as it is a continental, not a regional, organisation. Amongst the most important and best known Regional Organisations which would qualify are: the East African Community (EAC); the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Answers which choose two appropriate organisations with list of member states, make a full analysis of their aims and an assessment of success with examples of successes and failures, will deserve a mark in one of the two top mark bands. Answers which omit assessment of success or are based on one organisation only: maximum of **[10 marks]**.
