International Baccalaureate®
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MARKSCHEME

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HISTORY – AFRICA

Higher Level

Paper 3

1.   **Analyse the reasons for the expansion of Islam in East and West Africa in the nineteenth century.**

Islam expanded more significantly in West than in East Africa so balanced coverage is not expected. There should, however, be some discussion of the causes of the expansion of Islam in East Africa. These are linked to the establishment of the Omani sultanate in Zanzibar and the activities of the Arab and Swahili Muslim traders who reached Unyamwezi, Buganda and further east and spread Islam in these areas.

Islam made a much greater impact in West Africa, where its spread was associated with a number of jihads such as those of dan Fodio, which created the Sokoto Caliphate, and that of Al-hajj Umar. These jihads were aspects of a Muslim revival aimed at purifying Islam and strengthening its general influence, political as well as religious, in the area. One of the first and most important jihadists was dan Fodio, a Fulani living in the nominally Muslim state of Gobir. He was an Islamic scholar and believer, associated with the Qadiryya Brotherhood. The sultans of Gobir tried to curb his activities but his followers had the high morale of people who considered themselves to be true believers fighting a holy war. His brother and son also provided effective military leadership. The success of his jihad strengthened Islam and Sharia courts became more important. Al-hajj Umar joined the rival Tijaniyya Brotherhood, but he was inspired by the example of dan Fodio. His attempts to spread Islam by force were not always successful but they did help the spread of Islam, the growth of Islamic education and the expansion of Islamic Brotherhoods. Samori Toure also promoted Islam in the Mandinka Empire.

Vague generalisations should be avoided but it would be valid to argue that Islam may have been helped to spread by the relative simplicity of its teachings, the fact that they could accommodate traditional African customs like polygamy and that the Muslim leaders were themselves African.

N.B. Maximum *[14 marks]* if only West Africa is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations or inadequate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives mainly related to West African jihads with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of reasons for spread in both regions.

[14 to 16 marks] for well supported analysis of reasons for spread in both regions.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight.

2.   **Why was Sudan conquered by the British in 1898 while Ethiopia survived as an independent state?**

The Mahdist State did not collapse because of incompetence on the part of its ruler Abdallahi. It was conquered by Britain with superior military resources, anxious to control a strategic area. Britain had not shown much interest in Sudan after the occupation of Egypt in 1882. The situation changed after Menelik's victory at Adowa. Anglo-Egyptian forces captured the Sudanese province of Dongola to distract the Mahdists from trying to win back Kassala, captured by the Italians in 1894. In 1897 Marchand came from Brazzaville to Fashoda in southern Sudan. Britain then embarked on the full conquest of Sudan to keep rival powers out of the upper Nile valley and forestall French and Ethiopian ambitions in the region. They built a railway across Sudan. The courageous stand of the Mahdists at Atbara in 1898, mostly using antiquated muskets or spears, was no match for the gunboats, cannon, Maxim guns and repeater rifles of Kitchener's expeditionary force. The battle of Omdurman in 1898 marked the end of the Mahdist state though Abdallalli was not killed until 1899.

Menelik II, in contrast, had a large, well equipped standing army with weapons mostly acquired, ironically, from the Italians. He was also helped by the skill of the great general Alula, the geographical features of Ethiopia, which caused problems for the invaders, the mistakes of Italian military leaders in the campaign leading to Adowa and the numerical superiority and spirit of national unity demonstrated at Adowa. Almost every region of Ethiopia sent contingents to the force of 100 000 troops to defeat the Italians. Menelik's diplomacy after Adowa, and restraint in accepting Italian rule in Eritrea, was also crucial in securing the recognition by European powers of the sovereignty and independence of Ethiopia.

N.B. Maximum *[12 marks]* for reference only to Sudan or Ethiopia.

[0 to 7 marks] for narratives of the battle of Adowa and sketchy reference to British conquest of Sudan.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative answers with implicit sense of factors facilitating conquest and survival as an independent state.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of the situation in Sudan and Ethiopia.

[17+ marks] for in-depth analysis of Britain's strategic interests in Sudan and of the factors which contributed to the survival of Ethiopia as an independent state.

3.   Assess the reasons for the growth and importance of Buganda before 1884.

Buganda developed as a small compact state under the control of a strong, centralised government. By 1840 it had reached the limit of its pre-colonial expansion and was the strongest state in the East African interior. Its military might was feared or respected throughout the region. Buganda's strength, stability and supremacy were due to a number of political, military and economic factors.

The Kabaka was chosen by only two men and there were relatively few succession disputes and civil wars. In the nineteenth century, Kabakas Suna and Mutesa provided effective and stable government. They appointed chiefs and gave them land in return for their loyalty and service. The subject provinces controlled their internal affairs to a varying degree but paid regular tribute to the Kabaka's government, which helped give it adequate revenue. Buganda had a standing army and was able to buy large quantities of firearms from Swahili-Arab traders. Mutesa could send well organised plundering expeditions or large fleets of war canoes across Lake Victoria. Buganda's economic strength was based on its agriculture. It had a rich, fertile soil and plentiful rain, and bananas and other food crops could grow easily with minimal labour. Women tended to the crops, leaving the men free for war and road building. Bananas, bark cloth, coffee, ivory and slaves brought enough revenue for the government to organize a strong army. Mutesa I sought to increase the wealth of Buganda through commercial rather than territorial expansion. By the time of his death, however, his sponsorship of Islam and, to gain British diplomatic support in his efforts to counter Egyptian designs on the country, of Christian missionaries provided alternative loyalties for his subjects and caused criticism of his conduct.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives or descriptive answers.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative/descriptive answers, perhaps centred on Kabaka Mutesa, with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis.

[14 to 16 marks] for well focused and supported analysis of the growth and importance of the kingdom.

[17+ marks] for answers with in-depth understanding of the relative importance of political, military and economic factors.

4.   **For what reasons did new leaders emerge in the Eastern Niger Delta and Itsekiriland in the nineteenth century?**

The transition from the Atlantic slave trade to legitimate trade had a great impact in both the Eastern and Western Niger Delta. The transition to the palm oil trade led to political upheavals within the delta states. They extended their trading empires into the interior to palm oil producers' markets. City states such as Brass, Nembe, Calabar and Bonny were divided into houses, each with its own trading and war canoes.

House heads were second in rank to the king. Traditionally, they had been members of the royal family but in the nineteenth century more commoners and even ex-slaves were promoted on the basis of their ability to trade and compete with rival houses.

The competition was so fierce that each house tried to choose the best trade leader it could, whether freeman or ex-slave. The social mobility in the House system led to the rise of new men to challenge the authority of traditional rulers. One such new man was Jaja, who rose from slave to head of Anna Pepple House in Bonny and then established an independent kingdom at Opobo at the mouth of the Imo River. In Itsekiriland in the Western Niger Delta, similar developments occurred. In 1848 slaves took control of the capital and the Olu or traditional ruler was replaced by a wealthy trader, Olumu. He found more defensible headquarters in the well-fortified town of Ebrohimi. His son Nana replaced him on his death in 1883. Both Jaja and Nana later fell victim of British imperial ambitions, as they were too powerful and independent to fit into the new protectorate the British were building.

Maximum *[12 marks]* if only Itsekiriland or the Eastern Delta are discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of the rise to power of new leaders in both areas.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of factors which led to the rise of new leaders in both areas.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of the reasons for the emergence of new leaders.

[17+ marks] for perceptive answers with in-depth knowledge.

5. **Compare and contrast the reasons for the rise of the Asante and Mandinka Empires in the nineteenth century.**

The Mandinka Empire may be better known but the question requires balanced discussion of both empires. The Asante Empire was founded in the eighteenth century with its nucleus around Kumasi. It involved a highly integrated political system whose political and spiritual unity was symbolized by the institution of the Golden Stool. Neighbouring Akan kingdoms were incorporated in the empire. The calibre of the rulers was a factor in the rise of the empire, which achieved the peak of its power in the reign of Osei Bonsu (1801–1824). He reorganised the administration, appointing representatives in the provinces to keep them under control. He appointed civil servants on the basis of ability, and not of family connections, and employed Muslims to keep records in Arabic. He led a vigorous push to the coast to consolidate control of the economy against the resistance of the coastal regions. For a while the empire came to wield tremendous economic and political power over the dependent kingdoms of the north and the Fante chiefdoms on the coast. But the Fante later enjoyed British support, because they had a stronger hand if they dealt with a number of small weak states. The rise of the Mandinka Empire came later and depended largely on the commercial, military and administrative skills of Samori Toure. His experience as a successful Dyula trader enabled him to ensure a regular supply of food and equipment for the army. He built up his own army and through his gift as a military strategist, he won the devotion of his soldiers and founded a small state in Konyan and then an empire with its capital at Bissandugu. His soldiers were loyal, united with him in the Islamic faith and Mandinka nationalism. He was aware of the importance of a flourishing economy. The state controlled markets and trade and organised agriculture. By 1882 he built a powerful, professional, well trained and disciplined army of 30 000 men, mostly foot soldiers but with an elite cavalry corps. They were well armed with muskets and rifles, imported through Freetown through the sale of gold or ivory or manufactured and repaired by his own metalworkers.

He won the support of the Dyula by keeping their trade routes open and opposing the exactions of local chiefs. He won the support of some African chiefs through marriage alliances. Islam increasingly became a unifying ideology for his new empire. It should be noted that the question is on the rise of the empire, not on its later destruction by the French.

N.B. award a maximum of *[7 marks]* if only one empire is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations or sketchy narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential narratives with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more comparative analysis of the reasons for the rise of the two empires.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis in a comparative structure of the reasons for the rise of the two empires.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight.

6.   **Assess the causes of the Mfecane and its impact on Southern Africa before 1850.**

The Mfecane was a time of upheaval in Southern Africa which started off in the first decades of the nineteenth century. There has been much debate about the causes. It is agreed that some of these were population pressure, soil exhaustion and land shortage aggravated by severe famine which led to a struggle for declining resources in the northern Nguni area. Later research stressed the importance in the struggle for supremacy and survival of competition for the new trade in imported goods at Delagoa Bay. These factors led to unrest and violence in most of the northern Nguni states which responded to the changing situation with innovations in military tactics and organisation. The introduction by Dingiswayo of military reforms which were perfected by Shaka made the movement more intense and widespread. The Mfecane triggered off a chain of events which led to the eclipse of existing states like the Mthethwa, Ndwandwe, Ngwane and Hlubi and the rise of new states.

It caused prolonged and widespread warfare and migration of peoples over a large part of south east Africa. The question is on Southern Africa so discussion of its long term impact as far north as Tanzania would be irrelevant. It saw the emergence of aggressive conquest states like the Zulu, Ndebele and Gaza kingdoms and of defensive kingdoms like Lesotho and Swaziland. Within these states it brought out the ingenuity of African political leaders and forced them to improve their military tactics and political skills. The Mfecane led to the temporary depopulation of parts of southern Africa which facilitated the taking over of these areas during the Great Trek.

The Boers thus expanded into the interior of Southern Africa and established themselves in the Transvaal area and the basin of the Orange River at the expense of the Sotho nation.

[0 to 7 marks] for sketchy narratives or vague generalisations about causes and impact.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of causes and impact.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of causes and impact of the Mfecane.

[17+ marks] for perception and depth which might include knowledge of the historiography of the Mfecane.

7.   **"The partition of Africa was the result of rivalry between European powers." To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

The political situation in Europe had been changed by the formation in 1870–1871 of two new large nation-states, Germany and Italy. These states, especially Germany, wished to show that they were entitled to enhance their prestige by imperial exploits in Africa. The French fear of Italian imperial activity in North Africa led to her occupation of Tunis. Strategic considerations led Britain to invade Egypt to protect the Suez Canal, her trade route to India. Britain eventually occupied Sudan, Uganda and Kenya partly to prevent any other European country from making colonies along the Nile banks. Bismarck feared that France might fight a war of revenge against Germany, to compensate for the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian war. So he manipulated Anglo-French rivalry in Africa to drive a wedge between them. King Leopold's activities in the Congo, De Brazza's treaty with Makoko, Gladstone's occupation of Egypt and Bismarck's sudden declaration of German protectorates all contributed to a flare-up of international rivalry which led to the partition of almost all of Africa between the European powers before 1914.

In a "to what extent" question, mention should be made of other factors. There were facilitating factors including the discovery of quinine, steamships, railways and telegraph, the Maxim gun and the pressure of public opinion. Economic interests were very important in the partition but they too involved national rivalry.

During the great depression from 1875 to 1900 European businessmen came to believe that investment in Africa would bring greater profits. They needed government action against trading rivals, *e.g.* in the Niger Delta. France, and later Germany, realised that the way to beat British competition was to establish colonies where the trade of other European rivals could be heavily taxed. There was also competition to acquire raw materials such as gold, diamonds, ivory, rubber, palm oil, groundnuts and cocoa.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations about the causes of the partition.

[8 to 10 marks] for a limited discussion of national rivalry.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of national rivalry linked to the partition.

[14 to 16 marks] for in-depth, balanced assessment of the quotation including some discussion of other factors.

[17+ marks] for answers which may be familiar with the historiography, and may challenge the quotation and show historical understanding of the complexity of the partition.

8.   In what ways and with what results did German rule in East Africa provoke resistance?

There was initial primary resistance to the imposition of German rule at the coast known as Abushiri's rebellion. It was in fact three separate attempts to drive out the Germans. The German East Africa Company was briefly expelled from much of the coast but the German government soon suppressed resistance by exploiting inter-ethnic rivalry and gaining the help of other African allies. Abushiri's rebellion had been prompted by German threat to Swahili-Arab property and economic power.

The Hehe rising was another example of initial primary resistance to German rule. Mkwawa had built up a powerful military state as ruler of the Hehe and had no intention of submitting to German rule. His control of the trade routes from the coast to Unyamwezi was a major cause of conflict. He first found armed resistance necessary when, in 1891, his offer of gifts was misunderstood.

The Maji Maji rising, which began in 1905, was an example of post-pacification primary resistance. It was the result of grievances arising from the imposition of German rule. Among the economic causes were the cotton programme, forced labour and taxation. There were also social and political causes including resentment at attacks on traditional religious practices and the abuse of Ngindo women. Diverse ethnic groups in south-east Tanzania rose under the inspiration of Kinjeketile, a Kolelo spirit medium. Religious belief was a distinctive element of the Maji Maji rising.

Both risings were defeated by superior German military technology but both served as an inspiration to later nationalists. Both showed the importance of unity and inter-ethnic cooperation for the achievement of independence.

The Maji Maji jolted the Germans more than the Hehe rising and led to a number of reforms. The new governor, Rechenberg, encouraged African cash-crop farming. In general German rule improved from fear of another Maji Maji.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit analysis of ways and results.

[11 to 13 marks] for discussion of several risings with more explicit analysis.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis of the reasons for and results of both initial and post pacification primary resistance to German rule.

[17+ marks] for depth of analysis and detail.

9. **"Strike a blow and die." Why did Chilembwe choose to become a martyr in Malawi?**

There was no sign in Chilembwe's early years that he would become Central Africa's first revolutionary. He became a member of the Baptist Church, was taken to America for theological studies and returned as an ordained minister in 1900. He developed his own independent Baptist Mission Station and put into practice contemporary black American ideas of black improvement. He built a church and schools, insisted on strict hygiene and European clothing and banned alcohol. At the same time Chilembwe became more incensed by the abuses of the British administration in Nyasaland such as low wages, child labour and forced labour, compulsory recruitment for the Rand mines and harsh taxation. He regarded these practices as unchristian and was outraged by the lack of action by either government or settlers to alleviate the distress caused by the famine of 1913. The last straw was the recruitment of Africans at the beginning of the First World War. He campaigned against it, seeing no reason why Africans should die in a white man's war.

The rising at his mission station was the first example of secondary resistance led by a member of the western educated elite. But it was disorganised and limited in scope. Only 800 took part in the rising and he did not defend the mission station, spending his time on a hilltop. He does not seem to have expected it to succeed. He is quoted as telling his followers to "strike the blow and then die. I do not say you are going to win the war at all". But he did hope that their willingness to die would lead to change for the better in the future. He did not expect to overthrow the government and ordered his followers not to loot or to molest white women and children. There is evidence that he had been inspired in America by the story of John Brown and his raid on Harper's Ferry. He may well have imagined that it was his duty to emulate Brown and seek a parallel martyrdom in order to free his own people from bondage. He was shot trying to escape. His rising was, in the short run, a futile gesture. But as a martyr he became an inspiration to a later generation of nationalists.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives with implicit analysis of Chilembwe's motives.

[11 to 13 marks] for knowledge of grievances combined with more explicit analysis of why Chilembwe was ready to die for his beliefs.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused analysis of why Chilembwe was ready to die for his beliefs.

[17+ marks] for depth of knowledge.

10. **For what reasons, and with what results up to 1923, did Britain annex Bechuanaland (Botswana)?**

Bechuanaland was recognised as a British sphere of influence at the Berlin West Africa Conference. Khama, ruler of the Bamangwato from 1875 to 1923, and two other Tswana rulers chose to ask for British protection in 1885. They did so in the knowledge that the British were anxious to pre-empt a Boer or a German move to take over the territory and because they felt under threat from both the Boers and the Ndebele. Britain declared a protectorate in 1890. Khama travelled to London to persuade the Colonial Secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than come under the rule of the British South Africa Company. His cooperation with the British went so far as fighting with the BSA Company in 1893 against the Ndebele and he helped to defeat the later Shona-Ndebele rising. Though the British appointed a Resident Commissioner, Khama was effectively allowed to operate as an independent ruler. He used British officials against internal rivals as they approved his policies of promoting Christianity and education and agriculture and trade. By the time of his death in 1923, Western clothing and trade and methods of cultivation and the railway and telegraph had been accepted. Under his rule, the Ngwato came to terms with peaceful and largely beneficial change and with European penetration in Southern Africa without losing their land and identity. His firm leadership produced conflict within his family but preserved his chieftaincy and the land of his people. His grandson Seretse Khama would become the first President of the independent republic of Botswana in 1966.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

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

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

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis of reasons for and results of British annexation.

[17+ marks] for depth of knowledge which may include appreciation of negative as well as positive results.

11. **Analyse the reasons for and the effects of segregation policies in South Africa between 1910 and 1948.**

Answers must take note of the end date. This question covers different ground from question 18 on apartheid. From the beginning of the union of South Africa non-whites were denied political rights and a series of discriminatory laws were passed. Both Smuts and Hertzog were determined to protect the white minority and regarded blacks as racially different from whites, a rural people unsuited to city life and best grouped in tribes and led by chiefs. Later Smuts came to realize that segregation was not working and that the blacks had a case but he did not dare seek a solution for fear of alienating his white supporters. The 1913 Natives Land Act forbade blacks to own land except in native reserves (7 % of the country) or practise share-cropping. The Act turned them into labourers for white farmers. In the short term it led to harsh suffering as black share-croppers were evicted. Other segregationist laws included the Mines and Works Acts of 1911 and 1926 which established an industrial colour bar and the Native Urban Areas Act, which regulated the presence of non-whites in towns and encouraged the building of black townships away from city centres. A new Land Act of 1936 nearly doubled the area of the reserves. At the same time Hertzog abolished black voting rights at the Cape despite "entrenched clauses" meant to protect them. As the economy deteriorated in the 1920s and early 1930s, the "poor whites" were protected by job creation at the expense of the blacks, notably on the railways.

One effect of the segregation laws was to provoke black resistance including parties like SANNC, later renamed the ANC, and trade union movements, and the abandonment of white churches for African Independent Churches. This resistance was, however, largely ineffective before 1948 because blacks in South Africa mostly did not regard themselves as a single people. Few were well educated and most were urban migrants or scattered in rural areas. The whites owned the farms and businesses which provided black jobs and controlled the army and police. They were also united in their intention of "keeping the blacks in their place".

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations about segregation laws.

[8 to 10 marks] for answers with some knowledge of segregation laws and implicit sense of reasons and effects.

[11 to 13 marks] for explicit analysis of the reasons for and effects of the policies.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of reasons for and effects of policies.

[17+ marks] for answers which put the policies in context and show their impact on all sections of society.

12. **Compare and contrast the nature and impact of the British and French colonial systems of administration in Africa.**

The basic similarity is that in both systems Africans worked alongside Europeans and Europeans were in control. The British system of indirect rule, first applied by Lugard in Nigeria, involved maintaining as far as possible the local rule of traditional kings and chiefs. Lugard applied this system in northern Nigeria where he did not have enough men or money to administer the vast new protectorate. The Fulani emirs ruled under the supervision of the British residents answerable to the government. The French initially adopted a policy of assimilation but applied it only to the four communes of Senegal, where French citizenship was granted. But they soon developed a system of association. This involved replacing traditional institutions by new ones imposed by the French. Africans were used as administrators and associated with colonial rule. The British tended to exclude the educated African elite from administration while the French usually did not. Both systems had to be flexible and take account of local circumstances.

In some areas such as in Igboland in eastern Nigeria and most parts of Kenya, no traditional chiefs existed. They were then created and were almost always unacceptable to those they ruled. Both systems were imposed and involved forced labour and taxation and were based on the premise that colonies should at least be financially self-sufficient and not a drain on metropolitan finances. The French system has been criticized for its paternalism and for the exploitation of its subjects. But indirect rule was a poor foundation for future self-government. It excluded a new generation of educated elite who emerged as the leading nationalists and it sought to perpetuate traditional, conservative societies interested in retaining their power.

N.B. award a maximum of *[7 marks]* if only one colonial system is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive answers with some implicit analysis of similarities and differences.

[11 to 13 marks] for a more explicit comparison of the nature and impact of the systems.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of nature and impact in a comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight, for example, into local contexts which helped determine the specific nature of colonial administration.

13. Assess the factors that hindered and helped the achievement of independence in Sudan in 1956.

In 1899 an Anglo-Egyptian condominium was established in Sudan. This implied that Egypt and Britain had joint sovereignty but in practice the British were in control. The Egyptians nevertheless exercised a significant influence which at times helped, and at times hindered, the achievement of independence in Sudan. They influenced their Sudanese colleagues in the lower ranks of the army and civil service. There thus grew up a group of Sudanese nationalists dedicated to achieving union with Egypt as a way of destroying British rule. Egyptian troops were evacuated from Sudan after the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. Meanwhile a Sudanese nationalist movement, the Graduates General Congress, was initiated by Al-Azhari in 1938. In 1943 Al-Azhari formed the first genuine political party in Sudan, the Ashiqqa, which was dedicated to union with Egypt.

The British never confronted the north-south divide. The Arabic-speaking and entirely Muslim north faced a mainly animist south led by a small missionary educated Christian elite. The British differentiated between north and south without separating them politically. There was a major mutiny by southern soldiers in the Sudan Defence Corps in 1955. But the problem of southern Sudan did not significantly delay the achievement of independence though it led to civil war later. A greater obstacle was the division among the northern Sudanese between the Ashiqqa, who supported union with the Egypt, and the Umma party, supported by the Mahdist Ansar sect, who wanted a totally independent Sudan. This division aggravated religious differences, revived dynastic rivalries and hindered the creation of a united Sudanese front which might have achieved independence by the late 1940s.

British attitudes both helped and hindered the achievement of independence in Sudan. They would not accept union with Egypt but were prepared to decolonise as they had already done in India and were preparing to do in Ghana.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalised narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of events leading to independence with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of factors hindering and helping the achievement of independence.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis of different factors.

[17+ marks] for in-depth understanding of the political situation within Sudan and the role played by Britain and Egypt.

14. Why did Tanganyika achieve independence earlier than Uganda?

Makerere College was established in the 1920s and Uganda had many well educated potential leaders by the late 1950s. Uganda had few settlers and a well developed infrastructure. It might therefore have been expected that it would achieve independence no later than Tanganyika and perhaps earlier. But there were negative factors which delayed the achievement of independence in Uganda. These included the special position of Buganda and the intransigence of the Kabaka, compounded by his deportation in 1953 and triumphant return in 1955. During the colonial period the British had treated the kingdom of Buganda like a separate unit. The Buganda royalist Party (Kabaka Yekka) had no programme beyond securing a privileged place for the Buganda kingdom within Uganda. Uganda lacked both charismatic leaders and genuinely nationalist parties. The UPC, led by Obote, was Protestant-dominated and faced strong competition from the more conservative Catholic-dominated Democratic Party. The independence of Uganda was delayed by the emergence of rival political parties with different interests and Britain's fear of the outbreak of violence related to ethnic and religious rivalry.

Tanganyika, in contrast, benefited from the emergence of a single, dominant nationalist party, TANU, and the peaceful, non-confrontational leadership of the charismatic Nyerere, respectfully known as Mwalimu, "the teacher". He helped build TANU into a party that won the trust of all ethnic and racial groups and had such mass appeal that it won the most overwhelming victory of any African political party before independence. He was helped by the relative absence of ethnic rivalry and the unifying influence of Kiswahili, the impact of UN trusteeship status on the territory and the good working relationship he established with Governor Turnbull from 1958. Neither Tanganyika nor Uganda, unlike Kenya, had their independence delayed by a large settler population.

N.B. Maximum *[12 marks]* if only one country is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narrative.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the different political situation in each country.

[14 to 16 marks] for a focused and balanced analysis, perhaps in a comparative structure, of the factors which enabled Tanganyika to achieve independence first.

[17+ marks] for perceptive answers which clearly contrast the political situation in the two countries before independence.

15. Compare and contrast the contributions to the achievement of independence in Ghana and Guinea of Nkrumah and Sekou Toure.

The role of Nkrumah is much better known, but the question requires a balanced treatment of both. Sekou Toure came to prominence in Guinea as a trade union leader, and then became leader of the PDG, a party affiliated to the RDA, a party launched in 1946, which was a federation of territorial parties in French West and Equatorial Africa. In 1952 Toure led a successful strike to demand an increase in the minimum wage. The PDG under his leadership became a powerful and unified electoral organization and swept the elections to the territorial assembly in 1956. In 1958, French President De Gaulle came to power and asked all the colonies to vote in a referendum on whether they wished to join a French community or opt for complete independence. Sekou Toure alone of the French West African leaders took a courageous and defiant stand with the full support of the workers and the students and forcefully and successfully demanded independence. In Guinea alone did voters say "no" to De Gaulle, by 4 to 1, and Guinea proclaimed its independence in October 1958.

Nkrumah moved from the moderate UGCC to found the CPP, a well organised modern party with national appeal. He was a very able leader, charismatic, a brilliant speaker, tireless campaigner and party organiser with a radical agenda demanding freedom now and justice and equality for all. After winning the 1951 election, he left prison to become leader of government business and in 1952 prime minister. Further elections in 1954 and 1956 confirmed his party's position. He governed the country in cooperation with the British and developed a good relationship with the governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, who continued to support Nkrumah in his determination to achieve independence as a unitary state when the Asante in the north would have preferred a federal system. The question focuses on the role of Toure and Nkrumah and does not require discussion of other factors which facilitated the achievement of independence in their countries, though this would not be irrelevant in putting the contribution of the two leaders in context.

N.B. award a maximum of *[7 marks]* if only one leader or country is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate narrative or vague generalisations.

[8 to 10 marks] for sequential accounts with implicit comparison.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit comparison of the contribution of the two leaders.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of both contributions in a comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight into the very different contexts of the two countries.

16. **Compare and contrast the reasons for the collapse of the Central African Federation and the East African Community.**

This question covers different topics and time periods.

The East African Community was created and collapsed after the three member states achieved independence while the collapse of the Central African Federation preceded the independence of its three member states. The question is on reasons for the collapse, so discussion of why the two institutions were created or the effects of the collapse would be irrelevant. From the start, the movement for the amalgamation of the three territories of southern and northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was opposed by the vast majority of Africans who saw it as white domination in the region. Developments in the next few years confirmed their fears and the African nationalist leaders, Kaunda and Banda, stepped up their campaign to end the federation as they saw the very slow progress towards political and social equality for Africans. As demands for independence gathered momentum, Harold Macmillan's government in Britain responded to the winds of change, and saw it would be futile to continue supporting white minority rule in a Central African Federation. After three years of constitutional negotiation with African nationalist leaders in the two northern protectorates, the federation broke up at the end of 1963 and Zambia and Malawi became independent in 1964. Events had proved African opposition to be genuine and justified and white promises about partnership to be hollow.

The East African Community was an organisation created by the independent states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania in 1967. It grew out of the EACSO (1961) and was established to promote cooperation between the three states in education, transport and communications, trade and economic development. Progress was made for some years but after Amin's coup in Uganda in 1971, Tanzania refused to recognise the new regime and the East African Authority consisting of the heads of state did not meet again. There was a growing feeling in Tanzania and Uganda that Kenya benefited most from the organisation and its activities, and rivalry developed between the countries. The East African Community was dead by 1977, having lasted only ten years. The common factor in the collapse of the two institutions was the fear of a dominant partner, that is Southern Rhodesia and Kenya. Both involved differences between heads of government and economic rivalry. Ideological differences played a part in the community after the Arusha Declaration, but the collapse of the two institutions took place in two quite unrelated historical contexts.

N.B. award a maximum of *[7 marks]* if only one organization is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations about the collapse of both institutions.

[8 to 10 marks] for description or narrative with implicit sense of reasons for collapse.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit comparison of the reasons for the collapse of the two organizations.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis in a comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for very well supported analysis related to the historical context of the two institutions.

17. Why was independence in Mozambique and Zimbabwe achieved through wars of liberation?

The reasons are rather different in the two cases though there are points of comparison. Both countries had a large settler population which dominated the economy and was unwilling to surrender its privileged position. In Mozambique the Portuguese government was unwilling to grant independence to what they regarded as a permanent overseas province of Portugal. Portugal, one of the poorest countries in Europe, was also unwilling to grant independence because it believed that the possession of its overseas territories was essential to the health of its economy. Portugal had encouraged settlers to go to Mozambique to alleviate her own unemployment problems. Portugal was a dictatorship under Salazar and Caetano and could ignore the pressure of public opinion, whether domestic or international through the United Nations. Mozambique was regarded by South Africa and some Western countries who had invested in South Africa as essential to the defence of the "white south". These countries offered military aid to Portugal. A liberation war was, therefore, necessary to force the Portuguese government and settlers to grant independence. This was only achieved when the Portuguese army lost the will to resist and to suffer further losses and overthrew the dictatorship in a coup in 1974. The new government negotiated with Frelimo and Machel became the first President of Mozambique in 1975.

In Zimbabwe the position was different. After the collapse of the Central African Federation in 1963, Britain was ready to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia on conditions which would guarantee Africans their basic rights. The white minority were unwilling to accept these conditions and made a unilateral declaration of independence in 1965. Ian Smith, leader of the Rhodesian Front Party, had rightly concluded that Britain would not use military force against its own "kith and kin". A new constitution in 1970 dashed hopes of a return to legality. ZANU and ZAPU waged guerrilla war from bases in Zambia and Mozambique.

The question does not require narrative of the different phases of the liberation war and how Mugabe became the first Prime Minister under majority rule of independent Zimbabwe in April 1980.

N.B. Maximum *[12 marks]* if only one country is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate relevant knowledge of the history of the two countries.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with implicit sense of the reasons for armed struggle.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the reasons for the liberation wars.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of the reasons for liberation wars in both countries.

[17+ marks] for depth and insight.

18. **Assess the nature of apartheid legislation and its impact on the African majority in South Africa before 1961.**

Though some reference to African nationalist movements and resistance to apartheid would be relevant, the question is about the precise nature of apartheid legislation and its impact up to 1961. Reference to events thereafter is irrelevant. The main features of South Africa's racial policy were already present but after the victory of the National Party in 1948 there were fundamental changes. The word apartheid was used to describe a system which was presented as a positive ideology which would guarantee permanent white domination in South Africa. Blacks, about 70 % of the population, would become "foreigners" in the 86 % of South Africa which was officially designated "white". They were to be restricted to the poverty-stricken, overcrowded reserves, later designated "Bantustans" or "homelands" unless they were in the direct employ of whites. Apartheid formalised racial discrimination and backed it with massive new legislation designed to destroy African nationalism. The Mixed Marriages Act (1949) made it illegal for members of different races to marry. The Population Registration and Group Areas Act of 1950 formed the cornerstone of the apartheid system. It classified people into whites and non-whites and sub-divided the Bantu or majority black population into various ethnic groups on the principle of divide and rule. A wide range of other laws affected every aspect of South African social life. The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) could be used against any African nationalist group. Other laws in 1952 controlled the movement of blacks in and out of cities and forced them to carry pass-books. The Separate Amenities Acts segregated public places, such as post offices, trains, buses, parks, and beaches. The Bantu Education Act (1953) forced blacks in government schools to study syllabuses designed to emphasise ethnic differences and prepare them for life in the homelands or as unskilled workers for the whites. Verwoerd as Prime Minister from 1958 took apartheid policy a stage further with the Promotion of Bantu Self-government Act of 1959. He created eight Bantustans along ethnic lines, unviable, geographically fragmented states without any popular support. No other nation recognized them.

The impact of these laws need not be treated separately. Much might be said of the millions who struggled to survive, the male-only mine compounds, conditions in the rural areas and the townships terrorized by the "tsotsis", where slums, overcrowding, unemployment, poverty and despair all helped to create violence and crime.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations about discrimination.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of the nature and impact of apartheid.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, in-depth analysis of apartheid policies and their impact.

[17+ marks] for very comprehensive analysis including the impact of Verwoerd's policies.

19. What problems faced Museveni in the reconstruction of Uganda and how far had he overcome them by 1995?

Museveni's troops took over Kampala in January 1986 and he formed a broad-based government with ministries being filled by members of all the main political factions. His government faced immense political and economic challenges after years of military rule under Amin and civil war. The country's appalling record made him wary of a return to a multi-party political system. He preferred non-party democracy or the "movement" system. He was criticised for avoiding democratic elections but a more representative Constituent Assembly was set up in 1994 and much power was decentralised to the districts. He won support from the Baganda by allowing the Kabaka to return and be crowned in 1993 but his role was to be purely cultural and ceremonial. One of the biggest problems facing Museveni had certainly not been overcome by 1995. This was the rebel insurgency in the north by the Lord's Resistance Army. Attempting to crush this took up a fifth of government expenditure and LRA activity closed two national parks, put areas off limits for tourists and made life a misery for people in the affected areas. The Asian community expelled by Amin in 1972 was encouraged to return and their property was returned. Some returned to take up the retail trade and revive sugar production. Museveni was initially uncertain about economic policy but after a while committed the government to an IMF–supported market oriented strategy involving privatisation and massive donor funding. Exports grew by 4 % a year, inflation was in single digits, agriculture kept pace with population growth and industry expanded by over 10 % a year. Tourism began to recover. Foreign aid assisted the government's efforts to rehabilitate its infrastructure and the health and education sectors.

Museveni was criticised for his interventions in Rwanda and the Congo and his support for the SPLA in retaliation for the Sudan government's support for the LRA, but these interventions can be portrayed more positively. His army was also accused of torture and human rights abuse in the north.

The state of Uganda from 1971 to 1986 adversely affected rates of literacy, infant mortality and life expectancy. Museveni's years in office coincided with the Aids pandemic but his government won international approval for its successful campaign to reduce infection rates. The end date is 1995 and some controversial events since would be irrelevant. A balanced assessment of how far Museveni's government had overcome problems by 1995 would be expected to be favourable, however much unfinished business remained for the government to attend to.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate specific knowledge.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of problems and policies.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused assessment of the success or failure of Museveni's policies linked to specific problems.

[17+ marks] for an appreciation of the complexity of the social, political and economic situation in Uganda in the period.

20. **"Kaunda was the most successful first president of an independent state in Central Africa." To what extent do you agree with this statement?**

Most candidates are likely to agree with this judgement but in a "to what extent" question they are expected to assess the achievements of the other first presidents, Banda in Malawi, Mobutu in Zaire and Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Kaunda became the first president of Zambia in 1964 and remained president until his defeat by Chiluba in multi-party elections in 1991. He provided Zambia with stability. Like many other African rulers, he introduced a one-party state but eventually gave in to external pressure and agreed to a multi-party system. His one-party rule was less dictatorial than that of Banda and Mobutu. There was widespread corruption but not on the scale of Mobutu's regime in Zaire, where Mobutu was eventually driven from the country by civil war. His government improved social welfare and there was lavish spending on free education and health and a whole range of prestige urban projects. He was arguably less successful than Banda in his economic policies. Banda expanded the manufacturing industry but Kaunda did little to diversify the economy which depended heavily on copper mining. There was no effective investment in peasant food cultivation. Kaunda was a more committed African nationalist than Banda, who established links with the apartheid regime in South Africa. Kaunda supported the nationalist movement in Zimbabwe and allowed it to have bases in Zambia, which suffered from the effect of economic sanctions imposed on its former close trading partners. The civil service boomed and the rapid expansion of non-technical education fuelled rural-urban migration. While the majority of the rural population was relatively poor and urban unemployment continued to rise, government ministers and other members of the minority educated elite were becoming increasingly wealthy. But that was true of other Central African countries. Candidates may take a very favourable view of Kaunda's achievements. The paper does not expect reference to events after 1995 and some candidates could assess positively Mugabe's rule from 1980 to 1995. He was unexpectedly moderate in this period though he ruthlessly suppressed Ndebele protests. He maintained the previous economic system and his economic plan attracted international support.

N.B. Maximum *[12 marks]* if only Kaunda is discussed.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague, unsupported assertions.

[8 to 10 marks] for descriptive or narrative discussion of several rulers with implicit analysis.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit focus on success.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, in-depth assessment of Kaunda and other rulers, perhaps in a comparative structure.

[17+ marks] for perceptive assessment of Kaunda and other presidents which may challenge the statement.

21.   Assess the successes and failures of Nkrumah as ruler of Ghana to 1966.

Nkrumah advocated African socialism, but soon after independence he began to support projects and to adopt a lifestyle that seemed out of touch with socialism in an African country. He spent lavishly on prestige projects and he and his leading followers lived ostentatiously and extravagantly. His CPP tried to stamp out opposition, much of it regional from Asante and the northern territories. Corruption, lavish spending and dictatorial intolerance of criticism eventually led to his overthrow in a military coup in 1966. He also alienated the army with proposed cuts in defence spending, pay and political interference in army affairs.

Candidates may take a positive view of Nkrumah's foreign policy. Though it failed in the short run, his vision of pan-African unity has recently been revived. But his dream of bringing about a "United States of Africa" never materialised. When the OAU was finally established in 1963 in Addis Ababa it was on the basis of an association of sovereign African states. His concept of unity was rejected by most other African leaders. At an earlier conference, a Nigerian delegate had criticised him for posing as "a messiah who has a mission to lead Africa". Ghanaians came to feel that he was seeking to be an international statesman but ignoring his country's worsening economic situation and its dependence on falling cocoa prices.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

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

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of success and failure.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused assessment of success and failure in domestic and foreign policy.

[17 + marks] for depth and insight.

22. **Why was there so much military intervention in Nigeria before 1993?**

The political instability in Nigeria was related to the ethnic and regional tensions between the Muslim north, the Yoruba West and mainly Igbo South East, and the parties that represented these interests, the NPC, Action Group and NCNC. For numerical reasons the NPC dominated federal policies after independence. Fears of a change in the balance of power led to corruption and violence at elections.

The widespread belief that the elections of 1964–1965 had been rigged finally destroyed the credibility of the civilian government. The coup leaders said they had come to eradicate the "VIPS of waste". But the coup led by General Ironsi in January 1966 raised suspicions that the Igbo were plotting to seize power. The main victims of the coup came from the West and North. This led to a counter-coup in July 1996 led by General Gowon. This was preceded by the massacre of Igbos in the north. There was further violence between Hausa and Igbos, who began to talk of secession. General Gowon proposed a looser federation but the Igbos led by Colonel Ojukwu rejected the proposal and proclaimed an independent Biafra. The civil war which followed ended with the defeat of the Igbos in 1970.

The federation was saved but the old suspicions and tensions persisted. Gowon was ousted when attending an OAU meeting in Kampala in 1975. His successor Brigadier Mohammed was assassinated in 1978 in an abortive coup, but General Obasanjo who took over fulfilled Mohammed's promise to hold elections and restore civilian rule. Shagari survived as a civilian president for only four years but in 1983, he was overthrown by General Buhari, alleging electoral fraud. Buhari was in turn ousted in 1995 by General Babangida.

Candidates may not cover every military intervention but they should explain them in terms of ethnic tension, specific military grievances, corruption, personal ambition and rivalries within the army or, as in the case of Obasanjo, a willingness to restore civilian rule.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations or a sketchy list of military rulers.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with implicit sense of reasons for military intervention.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of reasons for military interventions.

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, in-depth analysis of reasons for interventions.

[17+ marks] for comprehensive analysis of military interventions throughout the period set in the context of Nigerian political history.

23.   Why was United Nations intervention more effective in Mozambique than in Angola?

The UN has always performed best in the resolution of conflict within states when these preconditions are met: the parties are genuinely willing to cooperate, a clear mandate has been given by the Security Council and adequate financial, manpower and equipment resources have been provided for the UN operation.

In Angola, the resources and the mandate were inadequate. Only a few hundred unarmed observers were provided to monitor but not organise the first ever elections in a huge country which had been devastated by war since independence in 1975. The UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi would not accept defeat in the election and the UN could not prevent him returning to the bush and resuming civil war. Savimbi benefited from Angola having been the focus of Cold War confrontation.

South Africa supplied weapons to UNITA, which was also backed by American business interests.

In Mozambique, in contrast, the UN took on a much greater role and Renamo proved far more cooperative. The UN was created to deal with conflicts between states and discovered that far more was expected of it in situations of civil war like Mozambique and Angola than in the management of inter-state conflict. Peacekeeping became no longer a question of a thin blue line of unarmed observers or lightly armed forces deployed along an established ceasefire line. The UN operation in Mozambique involved disarming and cantonment of militias, organising elections, resettling returning refugees, de-mining, rebuilding shattered infrastructures, retraining police forces and much more, activities which were a heavy drain on UN resources.

The pre-conditions for success were present in Mozambique but not in Angola where Savimbi would only have accepted electoral victory.

[0 to 7 marks] for inadequate knowledge.

[8 to 10 marks] for narrative with implicit sense of differences in the two countries.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit assessment of relative effectiveness.

[14 to 16 marks] for clear balanced analysis of how and why the UN was more effective in Mozambique than in Angola.

[17+ marks] for insight into the factors that help or hinder UN effectiveness in conflict resolution.

24. **"African novelists have portrayed the social and economic problems faced by African societies since independence." With reference to** *two* **African writers from different regions of Africa, examine the validity of this statement.**

There is a large number of novelists to choose from but candidates should refer to novelists rather than dramatists or biographers and should not confine themselves to examples only from East or West or Southern Africa. Achebe and Ngugi would be most suitable choices. Answers must focus on post-independence social and economic problems. Chinua Achebe has examined the impact of corruption and the trend towards dictatorship. Mariama Ba has explored the position of women in the society, Nagib Mahfouz and Meja Mwangi the impact of urbanization. Sembene Ousmane and Ayi Kwei Armah's novels reflect the clash between socialism and capitalism.

There has been a flowering of written literature in Africa since independence but it has not all focused exclusively on current problems.

The works of Elechi Amadi and Camara Laye, for example, betray a deep nostalgia for the past, including the pre-colonial past. Many novelists have examined aspects of the colonial experience. Others have written to entertain as much as to instruct. This is a history question and discussion of literary techniques would be irrelevant. The focus is on the exploration of social and economic problems and perhaps on how far the colonial legacy may have been responsible for them. But these problems must be related to specific novels. It would be inappropriate, for example, to discuss the impact of the Aids epidemic without referring to a novel exploring the issue. The writers who have attracted international attention have mostly written in the colonial languages, English, French and Portuguese though Ngugi has written novels first in Gikuyu and then translated them into English. Literature in vernacular languages or in Arab and Kiswahili is not excluded from consideration.

N.B. Maximum *[12 marks]* if only one novelist is chosen or if both novelists are from the same region.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations or plot summaries.

[8 to 10 marks] for discussion of two novelists with implicit sense of social and economic problems.

[11 to 13 marks] for more explicit analysis of how novelists have portrayed post-independence social and economic problems.

[14 to 16 marks] for balanced, focused analysis of economic and social problems as portrayed by two novelists, each from a different region.

[17+ marks] for perception and depth of knowledge of African literary history in the context of the question, which may challenge the validity of the statement.

25. **"Ethnic conflict has been the curse of Africa since independence." With reference to ethnic conflicts in *two* African states, *one* chosen from West Africa and *one* from East Africa, to what extent do you agree with this statement?**

There are plenty of examples to choose from but they should not include examples from Central or Southern Africa, that is conflict in Mozambique, Angola or the Congo. For East Africa, Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and Rwanda would be appropriate examples, and for West Africa, civil wars in Nigeria and Sierra Leone. There must be a clear explanation of the ethnic aspect of the conflict. Some conflicts have been due to other factors, *e.g.* Museveni's guerrilla war, though power-hungry leaders like Charles Taylor in Liberia and Milton Obote in Uganda exploited ethnic differences for their own personal gain. In Somalia, those fighting were all Somali and shared a common language and religion but were influenced by clan rivalry. The secession of Biafra and subsequent civil war in Nigeria involved ethnic factors. So did the Ethiopian war which culminated in the overthrow of Mengistu. The rebels were led by Tigrayans and Eritreans reacting to Amhara dominance. The Sudanese civil war was the result of the deep division between Arab north and black African south and had ethnic aspects as well as the religious aspect of a revolt against forced Islamicization.

Each ethnic conflict is related to the history of the particular country, and the specific causes of conflict in that country should be explored in depth. No generalisation could cover them all. Though there are some similarities, the precise circumstances which led to the attempted secession of Biafra in 1967 are quite different from those that led to civil war in Burundi and genocidal conflict in Rwanda in 1994 between Hutu and Tutsi.

No generalisation could cover the impact of each ethnic conflict apart from the obvious point that conflicts cause death and injury, disruption of civil life, damage to infrastructure and displacement of peoples. Insurgencies in Rwanda and Ethiopia led to the overthrow of established governments but the secession of Biafra was crushed. Some ethnic conflicts attracted foreign interventions and UN involvement. Some were ended by regional mediation while others are continuing.

N.B. Maximum *[12 marks]* if only one conflict is dealt with or both are chosen from only West or only East Africa.

[0 to 7 marks] for vague generalisations or inadequate narratives.

[8 to 10 marks] for narratives of two appropriate conflicts with implicit analysis.

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

[14 to 16 marks] for focused, balanced analysis of reasons for and impact of ethnic conflicts in West and Eastern Africa.

[17+ marks] for depth of historical understanding of the specific circumstances of the two conflicts.