



MARKSCHEME

MAY 2012

HISTORY

Route 2

Higher Level

**Paper 3 – Aspects of the history
of Africa**

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*Paper 3 markbands: The following bands provide a précis of the full markbands for paper 3 published in the History guide (2008) on pages 77–81. They are intended to assist marking, but must be used in conjunction with the full markbands found in the guide. **For the attention of all examiners: if you are uncertain about the content/accuracy of a candidate’s work please contact your team leader.***

0:	Answers not meeting the requirements of descriptors should be awarded no marks.
1–2:	Answers do not meet the demands of the question and show little or no evidence of appropriate structure. There is little more than unsupported generalization.
3–4:	There is little understanding of the question. Historical knowledge is present but the detail is insufficient. Historical context or processes are barely understood and there are little more than poorly substantiated assertions.
5–6:	Answers indicate some understanding of the question, but historical knowledge is limited in quality and quantity. Understanding of historical processes may be present but underdeveloped. The question is only partially addressed.
7–8:	The demands of the question are generally understood. Relevant, historical knowledge is present but is unevenly applied. Knowledge is narrative or descriptive in nature. There may be limited argument that requires further substantiation. Critical commentary may be present. An attempt to place events in historical context and show an understanding of historical processes. An attempt at a structured approach, either chronological or thematic has been made.
9–11:	Answers indicate that the question is understood, but not all implications considered. Knowledge is largely accurate. Critical commentary may be present. Events are generally placed in context, and historical processes, such as comparison and contrast, are understood. There is a clear attempt at a structured approach. Focus on AO1, AO2 and AO4. Responses that simply summarize the views of historians cannot reach the top of this markband.
12–14:	Answers are clearly focused on the demands of the question. Relevant in-depth knowledge is applied as evidence, and analysis or critical commentary is used to indicate some in-depth understanding, but is not consistent throughout. Events are placed in context and there is sound understanding of historical processes and comparison and contrast. Evaluation of different approaches may be used to substantiate arguments presented. Synthesis is present, but not always consistently integrated. Focus on AO3 and AO4.
15–17:	Answers are clearly structured and focused, have full awareness of the demands of the question, and if appropriate may challenge it. Accurate and detailed historical knowledge is used convincingly to support critical commentary. Historical processes such as comparison and contrast, placing events in context and evaluating different interpretations are used appropriately and effectively. Answers are well-structured and balanced and synthesis is well-developed and supported with knowledge and critical commentary.
18–20:	Answers are clearly focused with a high degree of the awareness of the question and may challenge it successfully. Knowledge is extensive, accurately applied and there may be a high level of conceptual ability. Evaluation of different approaches may be present as may be understanding of historical processes as well as comparison and contrast where relevant. Evaluation is integrated into the answer. The answer is well-structured and well-focused. Synthesis is highly developed.

Pre-colonial African states (Eastern and Central Africa) 1840–1900

1. Analyse the reasons for the rise of the Buganda Kingdom under Kabaka Suuna and Kabaka Mutesa.

Buganda developed as a small compact state under the intensive control of a centralized government. By 1840 it had reached the limit of its pre-colonial expansion and was the strongest state in the Eastern African interior. Buganda's strength, stability and supremacy were due to a number of political, military and economic factors.

The Kabaka was only chosen by two men and there were relatively few succession disputes and civil wars. In the nineteenth century, Kabaka Suuna and Kabaka Mutesa provided stable and effective 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. Buganda had a standing army, a flourishing import trade in iron spears, war canoes in Lake Victoria, and before 1884 was able to buy large quantities of firearms from Swahili–Arab traders. 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 and with minimum labour. Bananas, bark cloth, coffee, ivory and slaves brought enough revenue for the government to organise a strong army. Mutesa (1856–1884) did not attempt to expand Buganda territorially but to increase the wealth of Uganda through the expansion of trade. He encouraged Christian missionaries to gain British diplomatic support in his efforts to counter Egyptian designs in the country.

Both rulers are likely to be treated together with the main emphasis on Mutesa and need not be analysed separately.

2. Assess the contribution of Lewanika to the rise of the Lozi Kingdom.

The old Lozi Kingdom in Buluzi in the upper Zambezi valley was created by King Mulambwa who ruled to about 1830. After his death there was a Kololo invasion but the Kololo were ousted in 1864 and a new Lozi Kingdom was set up. However the Lozi court suffered dynastic disputes and palace revolutions. It was not until 1885 that one contestant, Lubozi, emerged in final control of the kingdom. He assumed the title Lewanika, meaning “conqueror” or “unifier”. He centralized the government and ended the Indunas’ power over the army and put all the soldiers under his control. He revived the old concept of Lozi divine kingship and the ancient cult of the royal graves.

Lewanika greatly expanded the kingdom eastwards, at the expense of the Ila and Tonga people, from whom he obtained ivory, cattle, food crops and slaves as tribute. However, although he expanded trade, especially the ivory trade with Angola, Lewanika did not participate in the slave trade. He increased slavery in Buluzi by enslaving many conquered peoples, but he did not sell them outside the kingdom. The expansion of the kingdom kept potentially dangerous factions busy with the spoils of war.

Finally, Lewanika welcomed to Buluzi European traders and missionaries, such as Coillard of the Paris Evangelical Society who set up a mission station in 1885. Ultimately Lewanika was to prove himself to be a skilful diplomat in adapting himself to the European partition of Africa.

In 1889 Lewanika sought a British protectorate for his kingdom known to the British as Barotseland, but was deceived by Cecil Rhodes’ agent Lochner and the British South African company, who failed to keep their promises in return for a concession to exploit the minerals in the kingdom. The schools he expected were never built, but Barotseland was one of the few parts of south-central Africa to which colonialism came peaceably, and very little land was lost to white settlement.

Pre-colonial African states (Southern and West Africa) 1800–1900

3. What political and economic methods were used by Shaka Zulu to organize the Zulu Kingdom?

Shaka Zulu's use of regiments was closely linked to political control. He developed a centralized form of government in which the king had absolute authority. In newly-conquered regions hereditary chiefs were replaced by royal officials (*indunas*), directly responsible to the king. Any who did not submit were destroyed. At times whole villages, men, women and children, were literally wiped out. Sometimes the *indunas* were the former hereditary chiefs themselves, if they had been quick to show a very willing submission. But even where this happened, chiefs lost a major source of independent power. They lost the right to summon their own regiments. The young men and women of newly conquered chiefdoms were now incorporated into the regiments of the king.

A vital factor in the rapid expansion of the Zulu Kingdom at this time was the important military changes introduced by Shaka. These were not entirely his own innovation but were based on developments which had taken place within the armies of Ndwandwe and Mthethwa over the previous decade. Shaka Zulu refined them and made them more efficient. The Zulu regiments were closely drilled and highly disciplined. Their principal weapon was a short stabbing-spear which replaced the former less efficient, long throwing-spear. However success ultimately stemmed from the use of speed and surprise, combined with a ruthless determination to destroy the enemy. It was regiments drilled in this style of warfare which Ngoni and Ndebele carried northwards into central Africa with such effect in the 1830s and 1840s.

Besides performing military duties, male and female regiments were also involved in production for the state. The men herded the king's cattle and hunted for ivory while the women cultivated the king's fields. Regimental towns, based on the pattern of a central cattle enclosure were placed at strategic positions around the kingdom. It was only after a number of years in the king's service that regiments were disbanded and their members allowed to marry and set up their own homesteads. Even then they remained liable to military call-up. In this way the regimental system served to break down regional identities and foster loyalty to the king. Before the end of Shaka's brief reign all the people of the kingdom had begun to view themselves as "Zulu".

4. Compare and contrast the contribution of Osei Tutu to the rise of the Asante Empire and the contribution of Mosheshwe to the rise of the Sotho Kingdom.

Good answers should have balanced coverage of the two rulers and preferably a comparative structure rather than a sequential account of their policies. Osei Tutu's military and political genius and the outstanding army he and his successors created contributed to the growth of the Asante state. Mosheshwe in contrast was not an innovator in the political field. His federal state had no united or unified administration, no standing army and not even uniformity of language. Osei Tutu formed a strong alliance among the states which later became metropolitan Asante. The central area was united by a clan system. Osei Tutu built up the unity of the new state by establishing new political symbols, the most important of which was the Golden Stool, the symbol of the Asante people. At a time of aggressive nation building in South Africa Mosheshwe stands out as a leader who built a new state for defence. Using traditional Sotho political techniques he gathered the very different communities of Lesotho into one nation. He resorted to war only in self defense or under severe provocation. From 1822 to 1836, during the Difaqane he gathered a band of refugees on the mountain fortress of Thaba Bosiu and created the southern kingdom of Lesotho. Its mountainous character helped him maintain and consolidate his kingdom. His qualities of courage, diplomacy, generosity, accessibility and common sense contributed to his success. A point of comparison might be the extent to which their enemies helped to create their kingdoms. The Asante were united by their hostility to Denkyira while the Difaqane drove people to take shelter with Mosheshwe and made it impossible for them to leave him. Then came the Great Trek and the Boers acquired much of the land round the Sotho, and this made it difficult for his subordinate chiefs to migrate and break away from him.

Osei Tutu used the Odwira festival as a ritual means of building up unity. It was held every year and all the chiefs attended. Mosheshwe and Osei Tutu used polygamy to unite the nation. Mosheshwe probably had more than a hundred wives, carefully chosen to represent all communities and locations. But he was a social reformer. He encouraged Christian missionaries, allowed Christian Sotho to be buried by Christian rites and stopped for a time the initiation schools for youths and forbade the killing of witches or the use of the death penalty except in rare cases.

The Sotho Kingdom survived the death of Mosheshwe because to protect his kingdom from the Boers he offered it to the British as a protectorate in 1868 and thus preserved the identity of his nation but not its independence. When Osei Tutu died, there was a civil war in Asante. Some of the defeated states rebelled but they were reconquered and national unity was restored by ritual means, by establishing the Great Oath of loyalty to the Asantehene.

If only one ruler is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

European imperialism and annexation of Africa 1850–1900

5. “The explorers were major agents of European imperialism in Africa.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

As this is a “to what extent” question, there should be some discussion of other agents including businessmen, military men such as the French Bugeaud and de Brazza or British soldiers such as Wolseley, Kitchener and Lugard and of missionaries. However, the main focus should be on the role of the so-called explorers. They opened up the interior to other Europeans in a purely geographical sense but also stimulated imperialism. Most of the explorers favoured colonialism. Livingstone, as early as 1856, proposed a British colony in the heart of Central Africa. Many of the explorers became colonial officials after the partition, notably Stanley, Johnston, Peters and Wissman. The colonialist views of the explorers were widely expounded in books, journals and newspapers and at public meetings. Stanley’s book *In Darkest Africa*, with its openly pro-imperialist message, sold 150 000 copies in the British edition alone. The explorers influenced public opinion in European countries and the extension of the vote meant that governments had to pay more attention to their electorates than before. Voters generally had little knowledge of colonial matters but were strongly in favour of their country acquiring colonies. Public opinion was not decisive in every case but certainly contributed to the French Assembly’s ratification of the de Brazza treaty with Makoko in 1882, to the establishment by Bismarck of German protectorates in South West Africa, Togo, Cameroon and Tanganyika in 1884 and to the establishment of a British protectorate in Uganda in 1894.

It could be mentioned that some of the earlier explorers like James Bruce, Mungo Park and the Lander Brothers may have been motivated by a spirit of disinterested inquiry. However, the main objects of European exploration in the 1850s, 1860s and 1870s were the course of the major rivers of Africa apart from the Niger River which had already been mapped. This great interest in the Congo, the Zambezi and the upper Nile was not fired by detached scientific curiosity. The rivers of Africa were viewed by Europeans as the primary trading arteries to and from the heart of the continent. They were the “highways” through which Europeans could “open up” the continent to European trade and exploitation of natural resources. Stanley was perhaps the explorer who acted most directly as an agent of European imperialism. In 1874–1877 he crossed the continent from Zanzibar and sailed down the Congo. King Leopold of Belgium sent him back to construct a roadway linking Boma with Malebo. It was in effect a colonizing expedition. Leopold’s initiative added impetus to the already gathering pace of European competition for control of the natural wealth and trade of Africa. From now on the European “explorers” were generally direct agents of colonial expansion.

6. “European rivalry was the main cause of the partition of Africa.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

The political situation in Europe had been changed by the formation in 1870–1871 of the 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. Italy therefore, attempted to establish colonies in North-East Africa and strategic considerations led Britain to invade Egypt to protect the Suez Canal, her trade route to India. She feared that the Russian fleet might enter the Mediterranean from the Black Sea and challenge Britain’s position. It has been argued that Britain eventually occupied Sudan, Uganda and Kenya to prevent any other European country from making colonies along the Nile banks.

Britain’s occupation of Egypt in 1882 and Leopold II’s earlier thinly disguised attempts to monopolize the control of trade in the Congo basin alarmed other powers with economic interests in Africa. Bismarck, fearing that France would fight a war of revenge against Germany, manipulated Anglo–French rivalry in Africa to drive a wedge between the two countries, before finally joining the race for colonies in Africa himself in 1884–1885. Once the seeds of European rivalry and suspicion had been sown by these developments only direct control of the territory would protect European interests.

No one cause can explain a phenomenon as complex as the partition of Africa. Good answers will focus on the ways in which the rivalry between Britain, France and Germany contributed to the partition but a “to what extent” answer should include some discussion of other factors including African political and military weakness, facilitating factors such as steamships and maxim guns and the discovery of quinine, humanitarian and economic factors. The latter, however, can be linked to issues of rivalry as can strategic factors such as Britain’s decision in 1882 to occupy the Suez Canal as the shortest route to India. Colonies could offer assured markets which could be monopolized by the colonial power through the imposition of tariffs. European businessmen exerted pressure on their governments to acquire colonies because at a time of economic depression they were failing to make adequate profits and they needed European government action against their rivals. British traders in the later 1870s began to favour custom duties to keep out German and French traders.

This is likely to be a popular question but some answers will be general unfocused discussions of causes of partition. If this is the case, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

Response to European imperialism (Eastern and Central Africa) 1880–1915**7. Compare and contrast the nature and impact of Ethiopian and Nandi resistance to European imperialism by 1906.**

Good answers should have balanced coverage of the two resistances even though many candidates may be more familiar with Ethiopia especially under Menelik II than with the Nandi.

Ethiopian resistance involved both Emperor Yohannis IV and his more famous successor Menelik II. Yohannis maintained a higher degree of national unity by reaching an accommodation with his rivals, especially Menelik of Shoa. The Nandi put up the strongest and longest resistance to the establishment of British rule of all the people in Kenya. Nandi resistance began in the early 1890s and continued until their leader Koitalel arap Samoei was treacherously murdered by British commanders at a meeting in 1905.

The role of the orkoiyot was crucial to Nandi resistance as was that of the emperor to Ethiopian resistance. The Nandi had organized themselves into territorial units defended by warriors from each of the units. They came together under the leadership of the orkoiyot, a ritual expert who acted as the religious leader and a political and military prophet. He decided when the army would go on a raid. There was a link to the orkoiyot from the territorial councils known as maotiks. Before he became emperor in 1889, Menelik was busy consolidating Ethiopian independence. He had a large store of arms given by Italians and others purchased from other European powers. Italy had signed the treaty of Ucciali with Menelik but its interpretation was to cause the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. At the battle of Adowa in 1896 Menelik soundly defeated the Italians by getting the support of nearly all the Ethiopian princes who together raised a combined force of over 100 000 men. Menelik then preserved the independence of his country by not pursuing the Italians into Eritrea and by obtaining the diplomatic recognition of Ethiopian sovereignty by European powers. The Nandi failed to maintain their independence. Their resistance to the British did not depend on conventional but on guerilla warfare. Their country was mountainous with steep heavily wooded valleys and little open country which made it ideal for guerilla warfare and not the Maxim gun. The mobility of invading forces was restricted by the large number of porters carrying food and supplies. The death of Koitalel demoralized them but they still offered strong resistance to the invasion that followed. Several hundred Nandi were killed while they managed to inflict only ninety casualties on the invaders. They were defeated because the British and African soldiers and police who helped them were exceptionally well armed and had considerable manpower. This contrasted with Adowa where the Ethiopians outnumbered the Italians five to one and had about four times as many rifles. Nandi land became part of Kenya and they offered merely passive resistance for the rest of the colonial period.

If only one resistance is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

8. What were the reasons for, and the results of, John Chilembwe’s rising in Malawi (1915)?

Do not expect a totally equal weighting between reasons and results. There was no sign in Chilembwe’s early years that he would become Africa’s first revolutionary. After studies in America, he developed his own independent Baptist mission station and put into practice contemporary ideas of black improvement. He built a church and schools, insisted on strict European clothing and banned alcohol. Chilembwe’s resistance against the Nyasaland administration in 1915 was the first example in black Africa of secondary resistance led by the Western-educated elite. He was increasingly aware of major abuses involved in the colonial economic system such as plantations, land alienation, low wages, child labour, lack of night shelter, compulsory recruitment for the Rand mines and harsh taxation. The last straw was the recruitment of Africans into the British army. He campaigned against it seeing no reason why Africans should die in a white man’s war. The government tried to arrest him and his followers as the mission station rose in response.

Chilembwe’s rising was an early form of modern nationalism aiming not at self-government but at reforms in the colonial system, giving greater racial equality. The aim was to build an inter-ethnic society with the help of Europeans prepared to accept African leadership. Chilembwe’s rising attracted little support. He resolved to “strike a blow and die” and he was shot while attempting to escape. His rising came too early to attract mass educated support but the blow he struck was symbolic and an inspiration to a later generation of nationalists.

His rising was futile in the short run, but his main importance perhaps was that he was a man born before his time. He became a martyr who inspired the mass nationalist movements in post-Second World War Africa.

If only reasons or results are discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

Response to European imperialism (Southern and West Africa) 1870–1920**9. Compare and contrast the relations of Cetshwayo and Khama with the British.**

Cetshwayo succeeded his father Mpande in 1873 when Zulu military strength was at its height. This was to prove a disadvantage. He favoured an anti-Boer alliance with the British but they did not want a strong Zulu nation on their Natal border. They also wanted to persuade the Boer authorities in Transvaal to join them in a confederation. The new British High Commissioner at the Cape, Bartle Frere, decided that the Zulu posed a continuing threat to British interests and must be crushed. He sent an ultimatum to Cetshwayo, who accepted all but the disbandment of the Zulu army. The British invaded Zululand and after an initial defeat conquered and destroyed the Zulu kingdom. Cetshwayo was captured and exiled. Zululand was destroyed as a united state when the British divided it into 13 small provinces. Cetshwayo was recalled from exile in 1883 but forced to flee during the civil war and died in 1884. Zululand lost its separate identity.

Khama, ruler of the Bamangwato from 1875 to 1923, survived as the ruler of his people long after the partition of Africa because he and two other Tswana rulers chose to ask for British protection in 1885, after their territory had been declared a British sphere of influence at the Berlin West Africa Conference. This wise choice was taken in the knowledge that the British were anxious to pre-empt a Boer or a German move to take over the territory. Britain declared a protectorate in 1890. Khama travelled to London in 1895 to persuade the Colonial Secretary to confirm the protectorate rather than come under the British South Africa Company. His diplomatic skills impressed all those who met him on his visit. Though the British appointed a Resident Commissioner, Khama was allowed to operate as an independent ruler. This was because British administrators approved his policies of promoting Christianity and education and developing agriculture and trade. He preserved his kingdom and people at a time of considerable external threat and managed to increase the power of the Ngwato monarchy in the community by using British officials against internal rivals.

Many answers may be sequential accounts but better answers should have a balanced comparative structure. There is clearly more contrast than comparison. Khama successfully collaborated with the British. Cetshwayo resisted them and his kingdom was destroyed. However, that was not his wish. Like Khama he wanted good relations with the British but they rejected his overtures.

If only one ruler is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

10. Analyse the changing relations between the British and the Asante before 1901.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the British, the Danes, and the Dutch had forts on the coast. The Dutch had a tradition of alliance with the Asante, and the British with the Fante. The British supported the Fante because they had a stronger hand if they dealt with a number of small weak states. If the Asante conquered the coastal area, a single powerful African state would have control of trade.

In 1824 the Asante won a crushing victory over the British. In 1826 combined British and Fante forces invaded Asante, and defeated it at the battle of Dodowa. Asante's power began to decline. The British government decided to withdraw from the Gold Coast. The British merchants there protested, and they were allowed to administer the forts once more. George Maclean took up the position of governor in 1830, and held it to 1843. He succeeded in maintaining peaceful relations with the Asante. The treaty of 1831 established that trade should be free. The Asante deposited gold and hostages with the British as a sign of good faith.

In 1863 Kwaku Dua I, who was Asantehene from 1834 to 1867, invaded the Fante. There were further invasions of the south in 1868–1870, and 1873. In 1874 the British invaded the Asante and destroyed Kumasi, and extracted a huge indemnity in gold. In 1888 Prempeh became Asantehene, after a long period of civil war. He began to rebuild Asante power. The British feared that the French would gain control over the area. They asked Prempeh to accept a protectorate but he refused. In 1896 the British invaded Kumasi. Learning from their experiences in the past, the Asante did not resist. But in 1900 when the British governor demanded the Golden Stool, the sacred symbol of the Asante nation, the Asante resisted fiercely, and were only defeated after a long and bitter war.

Developments in South Africa 1880–1994

11. What were the political and economic consequences of the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa in the nineteenth century?

The discovery of large quantities of diamonds in 1871 began a transformation of the South African economy with profound consequences. By the late 1870s the diamond mines needed expensive machinery and individual claimholders gave way to companies which could raise the necessary capital. By 1889 the De Beers Company owned by Cecil Rhodes had a complete monopoly of diamond mining in Kimberley.

The mines lacked communication with the coast and soon there was a massive expansion of railways and improvements in roads, bridges, telephone, telegram and ocean communications as well as improved banking facilities. The sudden rise of a city of 50 000 created a large market for food which stimulated the development of cash crop farming.

The discovery of gold in the 1880s accelerated these trends and led to the change in South Africa from a people struggling for survival to a thriving industrial economy. The mines created a great demand for migrant labour. Over 100 000 Africans were employed in the mines. There was also a large influx of foreign white workers. Their presence created tension with the Boers in the Transvaal. There was greater competition for agricultural land and many Africans lost their land. Their subsistence economy began to fall apart and many Africans began to work on white farms. The competition for land led to the rise of a class of landless “poor whites”. That in turn led to racially discriminatory employment laws reserving certain jobs for whites to protect them from competing with African labour. There was also competition for African labour between mine owners and white farmers. This led to the 1913 Land Act which denied most Africans access to farm land and thus maintained a cheap labour economy.

The discovery of diamonds and gold also set the stage for the bitter and violent struggle between the Boers and the British. Transvaal’s economy was transformed by Rand gold mining. The British feared a new wave of Afrikaaner expansion. The white mining population in Transvaal, mainly the British *uitlanders*, was denied political rights. The Jameson Raid, backed by Rhodes, was an utter failure but it left the British determined to avenge the failure. Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, and Milner, the High Commissioner to the Cape, were determined to establish a British confederation, by force if necessary. The mineral revolution was thus a long-term cause of the South African War and also of the destruction of the Zulu kingdom.

If only political or economic consequences are discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

12. In what ways, and with what results, did Verwoerd develop the apartheid policies of Malan?

Malan became prime minister of South Africa after the victory of the National party in 1948. The main features of racial policy were already present but Malan developed apartheid as a positive ideology which would guarantee white dominance.

Blacks 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 formalized 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 emphasize ethnic differences and prepare them for life in the homelands or as unskilled workers for whites.

Verwoerd as prime minister from 1958 took apartheid policy a stage further with the promotion of the 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, male-only mine compounds, conditions in the rural areas and the townships terrorized by “tsotsis”, where slums, overcrowding, unemployment, poverty and despair all helped to create violence and crime.

Africa under colonialism 1890–1980

13. Compare and contrast the nature and impact of Portuguese rule in Mozambique and French rule in Senegal.

Good answers should have balanced comparative analysis of colonial rule in Mozambique and Senegal though the French policy of assimilation and association may be better known. Portugal came to regard Mozambique and its other African colonies as overseas provinces of Portugal. Portugal, one of the poorest countries in Europe, believed that territories like Mozambique were essential to the health of its economy. Portugal encouraged a large settler population to go to Mozambique to alleviate its own unemployment problems and the settlers dominated the economy. Unlike most other colonial powers, Portugal was a dictatorship under Salazar and Caetano and ignored the pressure of international opinion to encourage greater African participation in the government and economy of Mozambique.

There are more contrasts than comparisons with French rule in Senegal. But it was still a highly centralized despotic administration by the French government and local administration. They could punish African subjects though not the few Senegalese who became French citizens, without a trial, and forced labour was used as in other colonies.

In only four communes of Senegal, St Louis, Dakar, Goree and Rufisque, the French practised some assimilation, where citizenship was granted to all Africans on the principle that Africans could be partners in government. The French did not apply it in the Senegalese hinterland. After 1900 the French showed much less enthusiasm even in the four communes. Association, or paternalism, was the dominant French colonial philosophy and practice. Another major feature of French colonial administration in Dakar was federalism. This was possible because French conquests in West Africa were linked in a continuous block of land. The desire to subordinate Senegal and other colonies closely to a metropolitan government made federation desirable. French West Africa became one administrative unit.

Senegalese representatives had the right to sit in the French National Assembly in Paris, an indication of their political equality but not of their right to self-government. There was no parity of representation and Blaise Diagne of Senegal came to serve French rather than African interests.

French rule in Senegal certainly had a less negative impact than Portuguese rule in Mozambique. Independence was achieved peacefully in 1960 with Senghor as first president. In Mozambique a liberation war was fought until a military regime conceded the independence of Mozambique in 1975.

If only one country is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

14. Analyse the economic developments in Kenya in the colonial period to 1963.

From an early period the British viewed their East African protectorate, renamed Kenya in 1920, as a potential colony for white settlement. The building of the railway was the beginning of economic development in the area and made it easier for European settler farmers to reach the highlands which offered a favourable climate and fertile soils. African farmers were still encouraged in the early years and they successfully grew and exported simsim, groundnuts and maize and until the First World War, African production was worth more than European.

Some settlers went bankrupt but others successfully grew maize, potatoes, wheat and sisal. Coffee growing increased in popularity as world prices rose in 1910 and by 1920 it was Kenya's most important crop. Stock rearing was developed especially by Lord Delamere. The establishment of a bacon factory encouraged pig rearing. After the First World War international trade collapsed and Kenya was severely affected by a dramatic drop in prices for her exports like coffee and sisal. From 1922 to 1929 there was a gradual recovery in world trade but in 1929 world prices collapsed. In the 1920s the colonial government encouraged maize growing by settlers but discouraged African farming and directed some workers to settler farms. By 1928 the percentage of African produce fell to 20% of the total exports. European immigration continued and the government protected stock and wheat farmers and by 1929 there were over 2000 settler families farming in Kenya. The railway was extended to reach the farming areas of Eldoret and Kitale. Mombasa port was developed.

The Depression hurt the farmers and the colonial government changed its policy towards African farmers and cotton growing was encouraged in Nyanza province. Maize production increased and in 1937 the ban on African coffee-growing was lifted. Pyrethrum growing developed in the 1930s to produce insecticides and by 1939 Kenya faced land deterioration. During the war, Africans for the first time were actively encouraged to produce cash crops.

Overseas demand for Kenya's major products increased considerably after the war. The value of exports rose and private investors put money into Kenya. Communications were improved though few roads were tarmacked. East African Airways developed rapidly, started services to Britain in 1956 and other parts of Europe and to Asia before 1963. Industrialization was however more limited. There was soda-mining in Kenya and tourism expanded with the building of hotels and lodges and the improvement of game parks. But the main support for the Kenyan economy was still agriculture and notably coffee which by independence provided 30% of Kenya's export earnings. Aspects of Kenya's economy were linked to those of Uganda and Tanganyika when the East African High Commission was established in 1948 followed in 1949 by the East African Railways and Harbours Corporation. Economic growth was promoted but hopes that this would lead to an East African Federation were to be dashed.

Some candidates may stress the extent of land alienation especially among the Kikuyus' and its negative impact on them. It's possible to take a more negative view of economic developments in Kenya than has been presented here.

Social and economic developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries 1800–1960**15. What factors helped, and what factors hindered, the abolition of the slave trade in *either* West or Eastern Africa?**

In 1807 the British parliament resolved to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. Britain and other European countries became increasingly opposed to the slave trade for humanitarian reasons. The campaign was spearheaded by Britain after parliamentary debates led by Wilberforce. Its success depended on economic factors. The slave trade was less important for the industrial economy of nineteenth century Britain which now became more interested in the raw materials available in West Africa. West Africans also came to realise that their economic future lay in the production of legitimate crops and their products. States with a suitable geographical location within or near the palm oil belt, with the availability of easy transport facilities by water and effective leadership such as that of Nana and Jaja in the Niger Delta were well placed to facilitate the transition. The demand for other products such as groundnuts in Senegal, gold and cocoa in Ghana, timber in Sierra Leone and coffee and rubber in Liberia facilitated the transition from the slave trade to legitimate trade.

Britain began a naval blockade that was not very effective because of the length and the nature of the West African coastline. It took time to get other nations to make laws prohibiting the slave trade and to sign bilateral treaties so that the navies of each country had the right to search and seize merchant ships of other nations if they were caught in the slave trade. France did not agree to stop the trade until the 1830s and the USA only in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1845 that Britain signed a treaty with Portugal and Brazil, giving them a right to stop the Brazilian slave-ships. Thus the Atlantic slave trade began to decline. Even then it required the American abolition of slavery during the civil war (1861–1865) and action by the Spanish rulers of Cuba to end slave imports in 1866, to bring the Atlantic slave trade largely to an end. International pressure was increased by the banning of the trade by the Berlin Conference. Some West African people involved in the slave trade were more reluctant due to lack of an alternative export. More slaves were exported from West Africa in the 1820s and 1830s than in any other decade except the 1780s. There was also the growth of an internal slave trade especially in Northern Nigeria as the Atlantic trade declined.

Most answers will deal with West Africa as candidates are generally much less familiar with the trade in East Africa. Britain signed agreements with Sultan Seyyid Said in 1822 and 1845 limiting the slave trade but it flourished throughout his reign. Passing laws and signing treaties did not automatically lead to a decline in the trade. The Zanzibar-based slave trade only declined after threats of naval blockade by the British in the 1870s.

If only helping or hindering factors are discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

16. For what reasons did Christianity spread rapidly in the colonial period in *either* West or Eastern Africa?

Christianity spread mainly as a result of missionary activity. The mission churches in Africa were staffed by members of missionary societies such as the Catholic White Fathers and the Church Missionary Society linked to the Anglican Church. Decisions taken by African rulers often played a big part in the spread of Christianity. Mutesa I of Buganda invited Christian missionaries into the country in the 1870s when faced by the threat of Muslim invasion from Sudan. As a result Buganda became one of the big success stories for the conversion of Africans to Christianity. This was largely due to the influence of pages at the royal court and the younger, educated African converts setting up reading rooms and churches around the country. The rulers of Bonny welcomed missionaries because they accepted the gospel message and led Christian revolutions in their own states. Other rulers accepted missionaries for political reasons as part of a policy of diplomatic alignment with European military and political power but were not themselves converted. Others did so in the hope of economic gain. Christianity was linked with the progress which came with western education and western medicine through missionary provision of schools and hospitals.

The converts in pre-colonial times were generally “marginal people” in society. They were often slaves or freed slaves or refugees. Among the Igbo the early Christians were drawn from the poor and the rejected such as lepers and the mothers of twins. In Malawi, converts were often from vulnerable communities who looked to the missionaries to protect them from their enemies. Large scale conversions took place in parts of West Africa *e.g.* in Yorubaland and in the Niger Delta due to the work of African-controlled missions and the emergence of Independent African Christian Churches.

It could be mentioned that though there was a significant spread of Christianity in some parts of West and East Africa, Islam was widespread in West and East Africa and that in the nineteenth century the vast majority of Africans still adhered to their traditional religions.

The question calls for coverage of West or East Africa so vague generalisations about the whole of Africa should be avoided. For East Africa, the reason for the spread of Christianity in Buganda by 1900 could be covered in depth. For West Africa, the reasons for the spread of Christianity in southern Nigeria among the Igbo and Yoruba could also be covered in depth.

Nationalist and independence movements (Eastern and Central Africa)

17. Why was the Liberation War in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe more prolonged than the Mau Mau rising in Kenya?

Good answers should have balanced, focused analysis of relevant events in Zimbabwe and Kenya.

The Liberation War in Rhodesia began after Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. African nationalist movements launched guerilla warfare against the Smith government. The UN applied sanctions but these were not well supported and were evaded with the help of South Africa and Portuguese-ruled Mozambique. It was difficult for Britain to negotiate with African leaders until legality was restored. A new constitution in 1970 dealt a blow to prospects of this, and the British government broke off all diplomatic relations with Rhodesia. The situation was also complicated by the existence of rival nationalist movements under different leaders.

Portuguese decolonization and the independence of Mozambique in 1975 transformed the situation. ZANU and ZAPU united in the Patriotic Front in 1976 and could now operate from bases in Zambia and Mozambique, though they remained under separate command. Smith came under increasing pressure from South Africa and the USA to reach an accommodation with the African nationalist leaders and move towards majority rule.

When even the Thatcher government began to insist on all-party elections, Smith gave in. Britain organized a conference at Lancaster House and sent a governor to Rhodesia. A ceasefire was signed, and elections held in February 1980 and monitored by the Commonwealth led to a decisive victory for ZANU PF. Mugabe became the first prime minister of independent Zimbabwe.

The Mau Mau Rising in Kenya was in part a squatters' revolt mostly in rural areas of Kikuyuland in Kenya. In 1952 the Mau Mau made their base in the Mt Kenya and Aberdares forests. They spread their network over the highlands, parts of the Rift Valley and into Nairobi. The Mau Mau struggle was an anti-colonial movement to regain "stolen lands" from the British. However, it attracted little support outside Kikuyuland and even within Kikuyuland, thousands of Kikuyus continued to work with the colonial government. In a sense, Mau Mau was a Kikuyu civil war. The colonial government launched a massive counter-insurgency campaign, began detaining Mau Mau suspects without trial and transferred thousands of Kikuyus to emergency villages early for their own protection and partly to stop them contacting the freedom fighters. The Mau Mau rising divided clans and families into loyalists and rebel groups. General China, a major leader, was captured in 1954. By the end of 1955 most of the fighting was over and quarrels between rival groups were breaking up the movement, though Dedan Kimathi, another major leader, continued his activities in the Aberdares until October 1956. Kenya did not become independent until 1963 but the rising persuaded the British Colonial Office that Kenya settlers were unable to control the internal situation and that Kenyans would only accept majority rule.

If only one conflict is addressed, mark out of a maximum of [7 marks].

18. “The Tanganyika African National Union was the most successful nationalist political party in Eastern Africa up until 1963.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

It would be very difficult indeed to disagree with the statement but to prove or disapprove it reference should be made to political parties in Kenya and Uganda as well as Tanganyika. In assessing success, answers should show the contribution to the achievement of independence made by a party’s organization, leadership, and political programme and by the degree of support it was able to command among different interest groups.

The main parties in Kenya were KANU and KADU. They were banned during the Mau Mau rising. KANU was not really effective until Kenyatta’s release from detention in 1961. He tried to bring conflicting political interests together. He failed to do so and his party was dominated by the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru and Luo. Whereas TANU was a highly organised active mass party, KANU was only active at election time and its victory in 1963 was due to the appeal of its leaders and the fact that the ethnic groups which supported it and voted on strictly ethnic lines outnumbered those who supported KADU. KADU was an alliance of smaller ethnic groups such as the Kalenjin, the Luhya, the coastal people and the Maasai, who feared Kikuyu-Luo domination.

In Uganda the UPC came to be led by Milton Obote who tried to unite nationalist forces. But it was Protestant-dominated and faced strong competition from the more conservative Catholic-dominated Democratic Party. The Kabaka Yekka party had no ideology or programme beyond securing a privileged place for the Buganda Kingdom within Uganda. In order to win power, the UPC entered into a marriage of convenience with the KY, and Uganda became independent in 1962 with an uneasy coalition of a nationalist party and a royalist Buganda party.

Nyerere built up TANU into a party that won the trust of all ethnic and racial groups and had such a mass appeal that it won the most overwhelming victory of any African political party before independence. Nyerere was a charismatic leader respectfully known as Mwalimu, the teacher. TANU was a mass party whose organization into boundaries down to the village level made a major contribution to its dramatic electoral success. The absence of serious tribal rivalry and of a large settler population and the unifying influence of the widely spoken Swahili language all helped TANU to emerge as the single, dominant nationalist party in Tanganyika. It pursued a peaceful, non-confrontational campaign for independence in cooperation with the British government and the UN Trusteeship Council. Tanganyika was the first East African country to achieve independence in 1961 and Tanganyika, later Tanzania, has been ruled ever since by TANU, later renamed CCM. Various favourable conditions helped to ensure its success, but that success is beyond doubt.

If only TANU is discussed, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

Nationalist and independence movements (Southern and West Africa)

19. Why did the Gold Coast achieve independence before Nigeria?

In 1946 a new constitution in the Gold Coast gave Africans a majority in the Legislative Council. In 1949 the Gold Coast developed Africa's first nationalist party with mass appeal, the Convention People's Party (CPP), to campaign for "self government now" and "justice and equality for all". It was ably led by the charismatic Kwame Nkrumah who also established a good working relationship with an understanding governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke.

Nigeria's path to independence was much less smooth. It was complicated by regional, ethnic and religious differences which made cooperation between its leaders, and an agreement on an acceptable constitution, more difficult. Three tribally based parties and three ethnic leaders emerged. The National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) in the south east, led by Namdi Azikiwe, was mainly dominated by Christian Ibos; the Action Group (AG) in the south west was dominated by Yoruba, also mainly Christian; and the Northern People's Congress (NPC), which was largely Muslim. A compromise had to be found and this delayed Nigeria's independence until 1960.

In the Gold Coast, a much smaller country, similar regional/ethnic problems emerged in the late stages of independence struggle when opponents of the dominant CPP tried to play on the ethnic fears of the Asante and Ewe. These were nothing like so serious as those in Nigeria, and Ghana moved smoothly to independence in 1957. Agreement was finally reached in Nigeria three years later on a federal constitution which gave significant powers to the prime ministers of the three regions and reserved only limited powers to the federal government.

A comparative approach to this question would probably work better than separate accounts for each country.

20. Why did Angola *or* Namibia achieve independence much later and less peacefully than British or French colonies in West Africa?

Candidates are not expected to cover all the countries in West Africa that achieved independence *e.g.* Ghana in 1957, Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, Cote D'Ivoire and Burkina Faso in 1960. Ghana may be selected as representative of many African countries where the colonial power agreed to a gradual process of decolonization which involved increasing African involvement in local government, in legislative councils and finally ministerial commissions, a process that culminated in an Independence Day, on which the colonial flag was lowered and the new national flag raised in the presence of the new African leaders and representatives of the departing colonial powers. Mention could also be made of the role of de Gaulle in the process of decolonization after he abandoned the idea of a French Union. In an attempt to ensure continuing French economic ties with Africa, de Gaulle agreed to the independence of seven West African territories in 1960.

Angola was, however, under the rule of Portugal and in 1951 the Salazar government decreed that it was an “overseas province” of Portugal. His dictatorship and that of his successor Caetano was indifferent to international opinion and responded ruthlessly to the first serious uprising in 1961. After Salazar's death in 1970 his successor continued his policies for a few more years until the economic cost and the drain on Portugal's resources became intolerable. Independence for Angola came only after the Portuguese dictatorship was overthrown in a coup in 1974. The new military regime granted independence to “the people of Angola as a whole” in 1975. Both Angola and Namibia had, unlike the other West African colonies, a substantial presence of European settlers opposed to majority rule. Namibia had been the German colony of South West Africa but was ruled by South Africa from 1919 as a mandated territory of the League of Nations and then a trusteeship of the United Nations. The International Court of Justice, the General Assembly and the Security Council made judgments and passed resolutions which South Africa ignored. South Africa was determined to rule Namibia indefinitely partly because neighbouring Angola had a government supported by Russia and Cuban troops. By the mid 1980s, South Africa was prepared to give up Namibia but only on condition that Cuban troops were withdrawn from Angola. The end of the Cold War transformed the situation. The UN verified the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and in 1989 established the UN transition group in Namibia, UNTAG, to organize and supervise elections and to monitor South African withdrawal. The operation was remarkably quick and peaceful and led to the SWAPO leader Nujoma becoming the president of independent Namibia in March 1990.

Post-independence politics to 2000

21. For what reasons, and with what results, were one-party states established in any *two* African countries from independence until 2000?

Most of Africa's ruling politicians quickly rejected the multi-party parliamentary system as unworkable. They pleaded the particular circumstances of their country's crying need for national unity in order to achieve rapid social and economic development. Within a few years of independence most African states had established some form of a "one-party state". By the late 1980s only Botswana, with its lower population of one million people, had maintained an unbroken record of multi-party parliamentary democracy since independence. The argument in favour of a one-party system was that parliamentary opposition based upon regional interests was destructive rather than constructive opposition. Democratic choice, it was argued, could just as easily be exercised within a one-party system.

In some one-party states, such as Tanzania and Zambia, elections showed that unpopular government ministers could indeed be voted out of office. But an awful lot depended on the political integrity of the party leader and his ability to control the enthusiasm of local party members. More commonly the one-party system led to abuse of state power. In countries such as Nkrumah's Ghana, Banda's Malawi or most of the French colonies, the one-party system was used to give the ruling party dictatorial powers in suppressing any criticism of the government. Many worthy critics of one-party governments found themselves imprisoned without trial or forced into exile for fear of their lives. Regional rebellions or military *coups d'état* were often seen as the only means of overthrowing an incompetent or an unpopular government. A number of the broadly based, one-party states under widely-respected leaders survived without political intervention. Notable among them were Senegal under Senghor, Cote D'Ivoire under Houphouet-Boigny, Kenya under Kenyatta, Tanzania under Nyerere and Zambia under Kaunda. Senghor went on to introduce a modified form of multi-party rule in Senegal in 1975 while Kenya and Tanzania witnessed peaceful transition to new civilian presidents on the death of Kenyatta in 1978 and the retirement of Nyerere in 1986.

Answers should avoid vague generalizations and explore the situation in two countries in depth.

If only one country is discussed or only reasons or results, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

22. In what ways, and with what results, have any *two* African countries attempted to solve the problems of economic development from independence until 2000?

African economies had been directed towards exporting cheap agricultural raw materials and minerals to Europe and importing relatively expensive manufactured goods. Subsistence cultivation of Africa's basic food was often neglected. Transport and telecommunications were inadequate.

Soon after independence there was a drive to industrialize but governments had to import all the expertise, technology, machinery and building materials. They soon ran into debt and had to export ever more cash crops and minerals to finance the debts and the adverse terms of trade, controlled from Europe and America, got worse. Nkrumah used the term "neocolonialism" to describe Europe's continuing economic control over politically-independent Africa. Governments spent lavishly on expensive industrial and prestige projects.

Governments neglected rural areas and failed to invest surplus government funds or expensive foreign loans in that sector of the population which had ensured some economic self-sufficiency. Small-scale farmers received small rewards for their products. From the mid 1960s there was a dramatic fall in world commodity prices. Countries had to cut back on vital imports. Inflation rose rapidly and there was a shortage of goods in the shops. The rise in world oil prices had a negative impact.

These generalizations can be supported by examples drawn from many African countries but there were exceptions. After the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere took Tanzanian development in an entirely new direction. Governments which had achieved independence through guerilla struggle often based their subsequent development on adoption of socialist principles.

By the 1980s and 1990s many African economies had been crippled by drought and debt and had to run for emergency loans to the IMF which demanded as preconditions what were known as structural adjustment programmes involving balanced budgets, devaluation of currency and a liberalization of capital controls. These measures were meant to encourage foreign investment but did not solve the problem of the lack of indigenous capital. Answers should avoid vague generalizations and focus in depth on assessing the economic policies of two countries.

If only one country is discussed or only ways or results, mark out of a maximum of [12 marks].

Africa, international organizations and the international community

23. “Mozambique was the greatest success and Rwanda was the greatest failure for UN peacekeeping operations in Africa.” To what extent do you agree with this statement?

It is difficult to see how this quotation could be seriously challenged though the UN had relative success eventually in Namibia and more debatably in the Congo and failures in Somalia and Angola. However, the scale of the success seems greater in Mozambique and the scale of the failure greater in Rwanda than elsewhere in Africa. UNTAG helped a peaceful transition to independence in Namibia in 1990 and the UN more controversially ended the secession of Katanga from the Congo in the early 1960s. In Angola independence was followed by a prolonged and vicious civil war but the UN mandate and resources were inadequate. Only a few hundred unarmed observers were provided to monitor but not organize the first ever election in a huge country devastated by war. The loser in the elections, the UNITA leader Savimbi, resumed fighting and only his death brought some chance of peace in Angola.

The UN was set up in October 1945 with peacekeeping as one of the main aims. This was seen at the time as preventing or bringing to a peaceful end conflict between two states. The problem in later years was that much conflict especially in Africa was within states. Such conflicts have been very difficult for the UN to deal with. The main victims have been innocent civilians and the pressure of international public opinion can force the UN to get involved. The UN, however, can only be successful if three prior conditions are met: the parties to a conflict must be genuinely willing to cooperate; the Security Council must give a clear mandate; and adequate financial, manpower and equipment resources have to be provided for the UN operation. These conditions have been present in some conflicts but not in others. They were present in the reconstruction of Mozambique after a decade of vicious civil war. The UN's role in Mozambique was a great success, but it was also a heavy drain on the resources of the UN and far more was expected of the UN than in the management of conflicts between states. The UN operation in Mozambique involved disarming militias, demining, resettling returned refugees, organizing elections, rebuilding shattered infrastructure, running ministries and retraining police forces.

The UN failed almost totally in Rwanda. UNAMIR had an utterly inadequate mandate. The leading powers had no major interest in Rwanda and America was embarrassed by the failure of its role not long before in Somalia. As a result perhaps eight hundred thousand Rwandese Tutsi and Hutu who associated with them were needlessly slaughtered by being burnt alive in churches where they had taken refuge or killed by machetes.

24. How successful have the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the African Union (AU) been in achieving their objectives?

The main objectives of the OAU/AU since its formation in 1963 were to promote economic and political cooperation among member states, to help speed the decolonization of the rest of Africa, to mediate in conflicts between member states and to prevent interference from outside the continent. The OAU found it generally hard to achieve these objectives. One major weakness was that it had no legal sanctions to enforce its resolutions. It was often criticized as a “talking-shop”. It did not prevent conflicts breaking out within and between member states such as disputes between Ethiopia and its neighbours Eritrea, Somalia and Kenya and civil wars in Liberia, Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Congo, Angola, Mozambique and Sierra Leone. It played a part in the resolution of some disputes *e.g.* between Morocco and Algeria, and encouraged regional peacekeeping *e.g.* by ECOMOG.

African general poverty prevented any significant progress in social and economic cooperation. The African Development Bank, which grew out of the OAU, helped mobilize finance for African development projects. However, African development was hampered by corruption and poor leadership, the burden of debt, adverse terms of trade and lack of intra-African trade and investment.

During the Cold War, rival power blocs carried their rivalry into the continent in a number of areas *e.g.* Angola and Zaire. On the positive side, the regular meetings of ministers and heads of state helped to create awareness of other countries’ problems and the OAU survived without any permanent split. The OAU’s greatest success was its contribution to freeing the continent of colonial rule. There was general agreement on bringing pressure on colonial powers and giving support and shelter to nationalist organizations in exile, notably by Egypt and Tanzania.

AU was set with the same objectives as the OAU. They have sent soldiers to intervene in Somalia. There was some discussion regarding a common currency but, to date, this has not come to fruition.
