

UGANDA ADVANCED CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION

P210/1 HISTORY

**MODERN AFRICAN
NATIONALISM**

MADE EASY

SELECTED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Volume 1 2013

“Out of Africa always something new”

“Embrace education for a better future for Uganda and Africa”

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Thanks to all who rendered any form of assistance to produce this work. This is the first of my publications and therefore there may be some few typing errors and mistakes. Positive criticism and corrections are highly welcome – at aemusoit@gmail.com or aemusoit@fema.mak.ac.ug or mobile +256788968310/+256751968310/+256703643706

This piece of work is dedicated to;

- * My mother M Adeke, dad R. Emusoit and family.
- * Mr. Oter Denis H/T and administrators of Teso Integrated SS, (TISS)Ngora.
- * Mr. Oyuruka Charles Director TISS.
- * All members of Staff TISS.
- * Students and Old students of TISS.

Score board

- 00-04 Hopeless answer, almost irrelevant and un understandable.
- 05-06 Slightly similar with the above, mixed up, poor language, shallow facts.
- 07-08 Mere outline of facts, irrespective of number of points raised; 'O Level type of answering.
- 09-10 Average essay, some fair explanation.
- 11-12 Satisfactory, tries to give examples but unable to link up all the points to the question and lacks analysis and chronology.
- 13-14 Fairly good, points linked to the question, no analysis and maturity exhibited.
- 15-16 Good essay, analysis, good language, and necessary examples seen.
- 17-18 Very good essays, chronologically presented, knowledgeable material and some degree of originality exhibited.
- 19-25 Excellent essay, has gone beyond the marking scheme, new knowledge has been given. Maximum originality and excellent chronological analysis exhibited in the essay.

Important:

- ❖ An excellent essay should be presented with a high level of chronology and analysis.
- ❖ Should cover $\frac{3}{4}$ of the required points.
- ❖ An excellent essay is one in which a candidate presents more information accuracy than required in the interpretation of questions.
- ❖ Clear and illustrative examples are required.
- ❖ A keen attention is taken to verify whether the candidate knows where to use a stand point.
- ❖ High level of logical thinking is required to show maturity in the essay.
- ❖ A candidate should not merely write English compositions, but rather present knowledge in History.
- ❖ Draw relevant examples from the region specified in the question.
- ❖ Handwriting must be as neat and readable as possible since bad handwritings have been the major cause of poor performance in this subject.
- ❖ Though have been used here, abbreviations like etc., e.g., devt., govt., MUST not be used. Others like UNO, OAU may be used after writing them in full in the introduction or earlier points.
- ❖ This booklet is not a substitute but rather a companion to class notes

1. Assess the contribution of Ghana's independence to the rise and growth of African nationalism.

Preamble/approach/what is required.

- Give the introduction to Ghana and the definition of African nationalism.
- Stand point (to a lesser or to a greater extent).
- Identify its contribution to the growth of African nationalism.
- Contribution of other factors.

African nationalism refers to the strong hatred that Africans have against colonial rule in all its forms and manifestations. It may also refer to the strong love and pride that Africans have for their continent and general desire for self government.

Ghana attained her independence on 6 March 1957, under the charismatic leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah and his political party, the Convention People's Party (CPP) as the first country in Black Africa (Sub Saharan Africa) to achieve independence. Its contribution to the rise and growth of African nationalism was to a greater extent.

- The independence of Ghana acted as an inspiration to other African nationalists in Uganda, Kenya, Zambia, Mozambique, Nigeria, Belgian Congo, etc.
- It influenced African nationalists to form mass political parties along the lines of the CPP e.g. Convention Party by Tom Mboya in Kenya.
- Ghana was instrumental in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on 25 May 1963 which united Africans and did a lot to dismantle apartheid in South Africa and help Portuguese Africa to attain independence.
- The independent Ghana extended financial assistance to African nationalists e.g. Guinea-Conakry under Sekou Toure that was facing threats of collapse after abrupt withdraw of the French.
- Ghana's use of positive action or '*Gandhiism or Ghandiism*' was copied by other African nationalists such as Kamusu Banda of Malawi, Patrice Lumumba of Belgian Congo (1959 riots) etc
- Ghana became a training base for African nationalists or guerrilla fighters e.g. ANC guerrillas from South Africa, MPLA from Angola, FRELIMO from Mozambique etc.
- Ghana strengthened Pan-Africanism in Africa e.g. organised and hosted the two Accra Pan-African Conferences in 1958, attended by many nationalists.
- Ghana provided proper moral guidance to the African countries still under colonialism.
- Nkrumah of Ghana condemned colonialism in the Commonwealth conferences e.g. 1957 Conference in London.
- Ghana's mass media was used to spread anti-colonial propaganda e.g. the "*Ghanaian Times*", "*Accra Evening News*" newspaper and "*Radio Accra*".
- Ghana advocated for greater African unity through the formation of the '**United States of Africa**'-USA, Nkrumah started it by forming the Ghana-Guinea Union with Sekou Toure in 1958 and later joined by Mali under Modibo Keita.

- Ghana influenced other countries at the UNO to speed up the decolonization of Africa e.g. condemned the brutal French rule in Algeria at the 1960 UN summit.
- Ghana embraced the non-aligned ideology towards cold war that was copied by other African countries.
- Ghana condemned secessions in Africa for instance supported the unitary government of Patrice Lumumba against the Katanga secessionists led by Moise Tshombe between 1960 and 1964 in the Belgian Congo.
- Ghana's independence acted as a lesson to African nationalists to endure the harsh treatment of European colonial rule in their struggle for independence.

Other factors to consider

1. The role of western education.
2. The formation of mass political parties e.g. National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, UPC in Uganda, African National Congress in S. Africa, KANU, TANU.
3. The influence of missionary activities in Africa.
4. Role of mass media.
5. Oppressive and exploitative colonial policies e.g. heavy taxation, land grabbing etc.
6. The influence of the existing independent states in Africa that is Liberia and Ethiopia.
7. The role of the independent churches e.g. Dini ya Musambwa in Kenya, Lumpa church in Zambia, the Black Methodist church of Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa.
8. The early independence of Japan 1860.
9. Pan-African Movement since 1900.
10. Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia 1935-41.
11. Atlantic Charter 1941.
12. The impact of World War II 1939-45.
13. Emergence/ Rise of new world powers i.e. USA and Russia (USSR or Soviet Union).
14. Influence of the Brazzaville Conference 1944.
15. The victory of the Labour Party in Britain 1945.
16. The influence of the 5th Pan-African Congress in Manchester (Manchester Conference) 1945.
17. The influence of Asian nationalism after 1947.
18. Independence of Indonesia 1947.
19. Influence of the Vietnamese War of independence 1947-54.
20. The growth of Afrikaner Nationalism (Introduction of Apartheid) in South Africa 1948.
21. Communist victory under Mao Tse Tung in China 1949.
22. Egyptian Revolution 1952.
23. The Mau Mau uprising in Kenya 1952-55.
24. Algerian war of independence 1954-62.
25. The Non-Aligned Movement since 1955.
26. Rise of Charles de Gaulle in France 1958.
27. Independence of the French Guinea 1958.

28. Harold Macmillan 'wind of change speech' January 1960 at Cape Town, South Africa.
29. The formation and role of the OAU 1963.
30. Lisbon coup 1974.

Conclude your essay

2. Account for the Mau-Mau uprising in Kenya 1952-1956.

Preamble

- The question is strictly one sided.
- Introduce the Mau-Mau uprising, identify and explain its causes.
- Give a logical conclusion.

Mau-Mau was an underground political movement that aimed at liberating Kenya from the British colonial rule. It is a Kiswahili abbreviation which stands for 'Mzungu Arudi Ulaya, Mwafrika Apate Uhuru', meaning 'Let the white man go back to Europe and the Africans regain independence'. The uprising was originally dominated by the Kikuyu and later joined by other tribes such as the Maasai, Nandi, etc. Its leaders included Bildad Kaggia, Waruhiu Itote or 'General China', Jomo Kenyatta etc.

Causes

- Unemployment especially of the ex-servicemen who had earlier been promised jobs after the war (World War II).
- Domination of the economy by the white settlers and the Asians.
- Racial segregation or discrimination in Kenya.
- It was a reaction against the oppressive 'Kipande' system.
- The Africans wanted to regain their land especially the Kikuyu who had been displaced from the fertile Kenya Highlands or the White Highlands.
- Return of Jomo Kenyatta to Kenya in 1950s.
- Heavy taxes and harsh tax collection policies.
- Kikuyu's secret desire to control Kenya's politics after independence.
- The general desire for independence.
- The desire by the Kikuyu to protect their (African) culture.
- Unfavourable living conditions in the reserves.
- The influence of the ex-servicemen e.g. they formed 'Anake wa Forty' (forty group).
- Forced labour policies of the British.
- The need to end the squatter status.
- Unpopular agricultural programmes that were enforced on the Kenyans e.g. destocking, terracing etc.
- The influence of the Egyptian Revolution 1952.
- The desire by the Kikuyu to please their ancestors.
- Unfair representation of the Africans in the colonial parliament (Legislative Council).
- The poor social services rendered to Africans e.g. education, medical care etc.

- Restricted growing of cash crops such as cotton.
- The declaration of the state of emergency on 20 October 1952 contributed to the uprising.
- Impacts of World War II 1939-45.
- The impact of the Manchester Conference 1945.

Generally, the Mau-Mau uprising was a manifestation of Kikuyu sub-nationalism sparked off by the unfair colonial policies all wrapped up in the desire to end the British colonial rule in Kenya.

3. “The 1959-60 Rwandan Revolution was inevitable.” Discuss.

Preamble

- You are required to give a brief background to the 1959-60 Revolution in Rwanda.
- Identify and explain the factors which made the revolution inevitable (causes).
- Logical conclusion is required.

Rwanda was colonised by Germany up to 1918 when Germany was defeated in World War I and became a mandate territory of the League of Nations. It was later placed under the Belgians by the UN after World War II up to 1962 when she gained independence. However, shortly before independence, the majority Hutu organised and carried out a revolution against the Tutsi aristocracy and the Belgian colonial rule. The revolution was inevitable by various factors.

- The colonial policy of divide and rule that is it favoured the Tutsis against the Hutu.
- The minority rule of the Tutsi under the Tutsi King, ‘Mwami’ was hated by the majority Hutu.
- The rejection of the Bahutu Manifesto written by the Hutu elites (Gregoire Kayibanda) demanding for reforms in Rwanda.
- The introduction of the forced labour policy by the Belgians imposed on only the Hutu.
- Heavy taxes imposed on the Hutus e.g. Regular tributes to ‘Mwami’ and harsh methods of collecting taxes like flogging and imprisonment of the defaulters.
- The attempts by the Belgians to appease the Hutu by changing sides were rejected by Tutsis thus causing the revolution.
- Unfair land distribution that favoured Tutsis.
- Social and cultural arrogance of the Tutsis.
- Discrimination of the Hutu in education.
- The death of Mwami Matara III.
- Influence of other successful revolutions in Africa such as 1952 Egypt revolution
- The historical ethnic enmity between the Hutu and the Tutsi.
- The occurrence of violence Rwanda in November 1959.
- Lack of conflict resolution mechanism by the Belgian colonialists.
- Influence of the January 1959 riots in Congo-Kinshasa (Belgian Congo).

- Influence of the World War II.
- Influence of the Nyabingi cult and resistance
- Outbreak of famine in Rwanda caused by limited land for agriculture to the Hutu, grazing of Tutsi cattle on the Hutu plantations.
- Formation of political parties which caused more confusion and rivalry especially among the Hutu e.g. Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation- Hutu (Parme Hutu).

4. Account for the 1971 coup in Uganda.

Preamble

➤ Give brief background to the coup and identify and clearly explain the causes of the 1971 coup in Uganda

Background information

1.The 1971 coup in Uganda was carried out by the national army led by General Idi Amin Dada on 25 January against president Apollo Milton Obote who was attending a Commonwealth Heads of State meeting in Singapore. His government was overthrown due to due to various reasons.

2.Economic crisis of 1969.

3.Divisions in the army e.g. the General Service Unit and the Intelligence Unit were favoured at the expense of the national army commanded by Amin.

4.Tribalism in Obote's govt i.e. it favoured the Langi and the Acholi and disfavoured other tribes especially the Baganda.

5.Obote's dictatorship.

6.The need by Amin to prove his physical courage after a public display of cowardice after the December 1969 assassination attempt on President Obote.

7.Implication of Amin in the murder of the army deputy commander, Brigadier Pierino Yere Okoya.

8.The involvement of the army in Obote's confrontation with the Kabaka of Buganda, Muteesa II especially between 1964 and 1966.

9.Foreign intrigue i.e. the involvement of Britain and Israel contributed to the coup e.g. Colonel Bar Lev; head of Israeli army in Uganda helped Amin recruit ex-Anyanya rebels.

10. The accusations of embezzlement made against Amin and defence minister Felix Onama partly contributed to the coup.

11. Attempts by Obote to arrest Amin in January 1971 made Amin overthrow the govt to escape arrest.

12. Declaration of the Common Man's Charter in 1969 by which Uganda adopted socialist principles (African socialism) made Western Capitalist powers to sponsor the coup.

13. Disagreements between Obote and his army commander Idi Amin Dada.

14. Corruption in Obote's govt could not leave his govt safe.

15. Grievances in the defence council for instance it had not met since 1969 and was since then never consulted by Obote before making decisions concerning the army.

16. The political insecurity in Buganda e.g. the state of emergency, army attack on Kabaka's palace in 1966, etc.

17. Influence of other coups in Africa e.g. 1952 coup in Egypt, 1963 coup in Togo, 1965 coup in Congo, 1969 coup in Libya among others.

5. Explain the causes of persistent famine in Horn of Africa.

Preamble

➤ Define famine.

➤ Identify and explain the uses of famine in the Horn of Africa, giving relevant and illustrative examples from the region.

Famine refers to the state of lack of food for a relatively longer period of time. It may refer to the inability to get what to eat. The Horn of Africa which is constituted by countries such as Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Northern Kenya and part of the Sudan has faced cycles of severe famine due to the following reasons.

- Political instability e.g. in Somalia, Sudan.
- High population growth rates averaging 3.2 per cent in the region.
- Long periods of drought.
- The poorly developed infrastructures in Africa which discourage food production.
- Inaccessibility to land by peasant farmers.
- High poverty levels in the region which makes it hard purchase food items.
- Interference into African economies interference by Western countries and Multi-National agricultural companies which out compete African food producers.
- Low level of knowledge and technology e.g. use of rudimentary tools which leads to low agricultural output.
- Negative impact of the policies of Structural Adjustment imposed by IMF e.g. Somalia used to be self sufficient in terms of food production until 1980s when IMF forced her to liberalize her economy.
- Occurrence of natural hazards such as floods in Kenya, Ethiopia.
- Limited access to credit facilities by peasant farmers in the region.
- Absence of stable governments e.g. Somalia has not had any stable government since the overthrow of General Muhammad Siad (also spelt as Siyad) Barre in 1991
- Limited meteorological services thus making it very difficult to determine weather patterns.
- Over reliance on natural factors such as rain.

- The low prices of agricultural products due to the attempts by the govts to keep these prices low for urban populations especially in Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti.
- Weaknesses of the African Union.
- Etc

6. Examine the achievements of Ujamaa policy in Tanzania up to 1985.

Preamble

- The question is two-sided and a stand point is a MUST.
- Candidates are expected to identify and clearly analyze the successes and then the failures of the Ujamaa.

Ujamaa is a Kiswahili word Julius Nyerere defined in English as ‘brotherhood’ or ‘family hood’. It was a form of African socialism introduced in Tanzania officially on 7 February 1967 as a set of party (TANU) principles known as the Arusha Declaration. It was based on self help and self reliance of each independent ujamaa village in Tanzania. It had the following objectives;

- To attain self reliance.
- To fight poverty.
- To enhance national defence.
- Agricultural development.
- Nationalization of productive resources.
- Provision of social services.
- Promotion of unity.
- To prevent growth of a privileged elite class.
- Etc.

The ujamaa policy was to a greater extent a failure;

- Failed to check neo-colonialism.
- There was forced movement into the ujamaa villages.
- Led to the outbreak of famine in Tanzania.
- Led to the decline of Tanzania’s economy and an economic depression in 1980s.
- There was loss of land especially where these villages were established.
- Paved way for Nyerere’s one party dictatorship.
- Resulted into increased poverty levels.
- Failed to make Tanzania self reliant e.g. continued to depend on foreign resources such as loans.
- Led to environmental degradation.
- It resulted into ineffective service delivery i.e. education, health, were not effectively delivered to the villages.
- Inequality remained i.e. ministers, civil servants and TANU officials earned higher wages.
- Shortage of commodities such as soap, sugar, cooking oil, and other commodities.

- Partly contributed to the collapse of the East African Community (EAC) in 1977 i.e. it caused conflicts with capitalist Kenya.
- Increasing labour productivity was less achieved

However, the Ujamaa policy had some successes as analyzed below.

- Resulted into land redistribution.
- Tried to check against neo-colonial and foreign influence in Tanzania.
- Nationalization of all the major production plants was achieved.
- Created employment opportunities e.g. through encouragement of the self help projects and the recruitment into the reserve army in the ujamaa villages.
- Reduction of corruption and embezzlement of the government funds since the leaders were directly accountable to their villages.
- It made Tanzania very famous in the world. A number of researchers, academics, authors flocked into Tanzania to assess its successes and limitations.
- Tried to balance urban and rural development.
- National defence and security was enhanced e.g. through the use of the reserve forces in the villages to boost the national army.
- National unity was attained and maintained.
- Creation of a fairly classless society.
- Improved provision of social services.
- It managed to bring in massive financial assistance from abroad especially from the Western capitalists for instance by 1982, for instance by 1982, Tanzania received \$600 million annually from the Western capitalist countries.
- Facilitated the growth or development of the small scale industries producing commodities that were needed in the ujamaa villages such as fertilizers, pesticides, etc.
- Increased literacy levels in Tanzania that is school enrolment increased to 95 per cent from 25 per cent and adult literacy from 10 per cent to 75 per cent.
- Food production increased and helped to check famine.
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In a nutshell, the ujamaa policy had numerous weaknesses basically to a greater and some achievements. Therefore, Nyerere's achievements were related not to the success of his ujamaa policy but to his ability to convince foreign donors that his objectives were sincere.

7. Assess the contribution of Nelson Mandela to the liberation of South Africa up to 1995.

Preamble

- ❖ Brief background of Nelson Mandela's political career.
- ❖ Take a stand point (to a greater extent).
- ❖ Give his contribution to the liberation struggle.
- ❖ Transitional or however paragraph.
- ❖ Contribution of other factors.

Nelson Mandela was born in 1918 in Umtata village, in Thembuland with connections to the Thembu royal family. He attained education at Fort Hare College graduating with a Bachelor of Arts Degree and studied law as a part time student at the University of Witwatersrand. He later started a law firm with Oliver Tambo in Johannesburg.

Mandela's contribution

- Mandela formed the African National Congress Youth League and became its secretary general.
- He made contacts with people of different races e.g. participated in the Multi-racial Congress of 1955.
- Played a leading role in the in organising the 1952 Defiance Campaign.
- He demanded radical action against the racist regime e.g. use of boycotts, strikes, etc.
- Mandela identified himself with the Africanist wing of Black politics with anti-apartheid slogans e.g. *"Hurl the white man into the sea"*, *"Africa for Africans"* etc.
- Imprisonment of Mandela and other nationalists in 1964 led to strong opposition to apartheid.
- Abandoned his legal practice to join the liberation struggle in 1956.
- He decided to form armed groups to prepare warfare after other means had failed. This was the *'Umkhonto We Sizwe'* - "spear of the nation" or "MK" in 1961 and became its leader.
- Mandela became the ANC president in 1960 after the then president, Albert Luthuli was put under house arrest.
- Demanded for reforms from the apartheid regime e.g. wrote a letter to apartheid president and parliament for reforms.
- He attended the Pan-African Congress in Ethiopia in 1962 and called on the participants to support the liberation struggle of South Africa.
- Wrote books, manuscripts, and letters condemning apartheid while in prison for instance the *"Long Walk to Freedom"*.
- Mandela worked very closely with FW de Clerk in the process to end apartheid e.g. peace talks with de Clerk which led to constitutional reforms.
- Worked hard to reconcile the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party led by Chief Buthelezi through negotiations.
- Mandela advocated for reconciliation not upon his release from prison. He committed himself to non-racial democracy which increased opposition to apartheid from even whites.
- Mobilised assistance for the liberation struggle from the Soviet Union, China, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, etc.
- Established military bases for ANC guerrillas in the neighbouring countries e.g. Mozambique, Botswana and Swaziland.
- Mandela led the ANC to a landslide victory in the April 1994 multi-racial elections that marked the end of apartheid in South Africa.

- Worked together with other African nationalists such as Oliver Tambo, Antoine Lambede, Albert Luthuli
- Mandela became the first Black president of the multi-racial South Africa.
- As president, he appointed Arch Bishop Desmond Tutu to head the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission which furthered forgiveness, and dismantled apartheid in S. Africa.
- He was president for only 4 years thus stepped down in 1998 thus establishing a strong democracy in S. Africa. His deputy Thabo Mbeki took over from him. Mandela has remained as a permanent figure in the whole world for his tireless efforts to rid S. Africa of racism.

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Other factors

1. The influence of the Atlantic charter 1941
2. The role of the ANC – Issued the “*Freedom Charter*” in 1955, composed anti-apartheid songs and slogans, set up newspapers that criticized apartheid e.g. ‘Abantu Batho’, adopted positive action and military means, participated and won the 1994 multi-racial elections among others.
3. Role of the front line states e.g. Botswana, Angola, Zambia, Mozambique etc.
4. Influence of non-violence e.g. drama, dance, music, boycotts etc.
5. Death of Steve Biko in September 1977 at the hands of the racist regime.
6. Influence of mass media e.g. televisions, radios, newspapers etc.
7. Role of women such as Winnie Mandela, Albertina Sisulu.
8. Collapse of the cold war in 1989/90.
9. Independence of the neighbouring countries such as Angola and Mozambique in 1975, Zimbabwe 1980, Namibia 1990.
10. Role of the Commonwealth.
11. Influence of western education.
12. Change of govt in Britain i.e. the downfall of Margret Thatcher of the Conservative Party in 1987.
13. Wind of change blowing across the African continent.
14. Role of the OAU formed in 1963 e.g. for instance formed the Liberation Committee in 1974 which rendered assistance to South African nationalists.
15. The role of the UNO.
16. Influence of the Non-Aligned Movement.
17. Liberal character of FW de Clerk.
18. Influence of Asian nationalism/independence.
19. Lisbon coup 1974.
20. Sharpeville massacres of 1960 in which 69 black demonstrators were killed and 186 wounded.
21. The Soweto (South West Townships) uprising 1976.
22. Collapse of the triumvirate alliance.

In conclusion, the contribution of Mandela was to a greater extent and together with other factors, the opposition to apartheid especially after 1960 intensified and by 1994 it was no more in South Africa.

8. Discuss the causes and consequences of the Sudanese war of secession up to 2005.

Preamble

- ❖ Identify and explain causes and consequences.
- ❖ Clear introduction is required.
- ❖ Conclusion

Sudan was colonised by Britain and Egypt from 1886 up to 1956 when she regained independence. Shortly before and decades after independence, the new state of Sudan experienced two civil wars; the first starting from 1955 up to 1972 between Anyanya separatists and the Sudan government and the second phase from 1983 up to 2005 between Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army separatists and the Sudan government. The Southerners demanded for a separate govt therefore constituting a war of secession.

Causes

1. Effects of the August 1955 army mutiny were a long standing cause of the war.
2. The divide and rule policy of the British. They favoured Northern Arabs in their appointments e.g. colonial agents in the south which created hatred.
3. Slave trade legacy, the Arabs used to raid Southern tribes for slaves in the 19th century.
4. The dictatorship of General Ibrahim Abboud between 1958 and 1964.
5. The unfair handover of power to the Northern Arabs by the British.
6. The failure by the British to grant a federal govt to the South before independence.
7. The forced Islamisation policy on the Southern Christians and traditionalists.
8. The forced Arabization policies in Sudan e.g. change of Christian and African names to Arabic ones, declaration of Arabic as the official language.
9. The negative influence of the neighbouring countries e.g. Libya under Gaddafi, Uganda under Obote and later Yoweri Museveni, Ethiopia who supported the secession of South Sudan.
10. Religious differences i.e. Northern Arabs are Muslims and Southerners are Christians and animists.
11. Formation of liberation/rebel movements e.g. the Anyanya guerrillas, SPLM/A etc.
12. The negative effect of cold war politics on Sudan up to 1989.
13. The racial differences between the Northerners who were Arabs and black Southerners.
14. The greed for power i.e. once independent, people like Joseph Lagu, Dr. John Garang de Mabior hoped to gain power.

15. The determination of the Anyanya to fight for Southern Sudanese independence.
16. The mal-administration of the Northerners on the Southerners.
17. Historical conflict over land between the Arab pastoralists and settled black African agriculturalists especially in Western Sudan region of Darfur.
18. The unequal economic development between North and South in the Sudan i.e. better roads, hospitals, industries, administrative centres, oil refineries were in all the North.

Effects

- Massive loss of lives and destruction property. About 2 million Sudanese lost their lives hence depopulating Sudan.
- Led to severe economic hardships e.g. unemployment, inflation, scarcity of commodities etc.
- The war turned Sudan into a home international terrorists and criminals e.g. Carlos the Jackal, Osama Bin Laden etc.
- The war spoilt the relationship between Sudan and her neighbours especially Uganda, Ethiopia and Libya.
- Culminated into refugee crisis in the region and its associated problems. Many fled to Uganda, Central African Republic, Kenya, Chad etc.
- It brought about neo-colonialism in the Sudan i.e. enabled USA, France and Britain to interfere with Sudan's politics and economy.
- It led to the imposition of sanctions on the Sudan (Khartoum) govt.
- Outbreak of famine due to political instability and the scorched earth war strategy.
- Weakened Afro-Arab solidarity because Arab countries like Iran, Yemen, Iraq and others supported the Sudan govt that was committing severe atrocities against her own population especially Black Africans in the South.
- Exposed the double standards of the UNO e.g. the United Nations Commission for Human Rights condemned the war but took no serious initiatives to end it.
- Worsened the hatred and disunity between the Northerners and the Southerners especially due to atrocities committed against the Southerners during the war.
- Exposed the weakness of OAU e.g. its peace keeping force in Sudan i.e. in Darfur was poorly equipped, trained, poorly financed to handle the task of peace keeping.
- Sudan became the battleground for cold war e.g. USA supported the Sudan govt while the socialist facilitated Libya and Ethiopia supported the Southern rebels.
- Led to several attempts to end it e.g. in 1972 Addis Ababa conference, January 2002 peace talks in Switzerland, the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).
- Resulted into the eventual independence of South Sudan on 9 July 2011 with the name South Sudan and Salva Kiir as president.
- It has resulted into interstate conflict between South Sudan and Sudan especially due to failure to reach an agreement over sharing oil wealth in the Sudan.

In conclusion, the stark fact about Sudan is that it spent more than 30 years in war. This war has led to numerous effects and the most outstanding being the independence of the South in July 2011.

9. What are the manifestations of neo-colonialism in Africa today?

Preamble

A student is expected to identify the ways in which colonial rule is still existing in Africa despite the continent being independent.

❖ Introduction.

❖ Identify and explain the manifestations of neo-colonialism, with relevant examples from African states.

❖ Conclude.

Neo-colonialism is the indirect way in which big powers that is former colonial masters and non- colonial powers have continued to perpetually control Africa interms of economic, social and political decision making. These powers include Britain, Portugal, France, Israel, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain, USA, China, Denmark etc.

Neo-colonialism has been manifested in the following ways.

1. The existence of multi-party political system in Africa, which is a Western ideology and political system thus foreign to Africa.
2. Use of expatriates from France, Britain, Russia etc such as those sent by IMF and World Bank to help African economies in economic development planning.
3. The multi-national companies such as Barclays Bank, Standard Chartered, British American Tobacco, Coca cola, etc.
4. Foreign aid to African countries.
5. Unequal and unfair exchange rates, foreign currencies such US dollar, British pound Sterling, Euros are more valued than domestic African currencies like Ugandan, Kenyan, Tanzanian Shillings, Ghanaian Cedi, Nigerian Naira, S. African Rand etc.
6. Use of foreign languages like French in former French colonies like Senegal, Cameroon, Togo, and English in Uganda, Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, etc.
7. The Structural Adjustment Programmes imposed by IMF and World Bank from 1980s up to date e.g. Senegal that was the first its package of SAPs in early 1980s.
8. The unfair trade terms i.e. Africa's raw materials such as cotton, coffee, sisal, etc are paid low prices compared to imports from Europe, Middle East and USA.
9. Technological dependence on foreign continents especially Europe and Asia.
10. The presence of Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) in Africa e.g. United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Save the Children, Action Aid, Red Cross, Medecins Sans Frontiers, Right to Play, Oxfam etc.
11. Western form or type of education.

12. Interference into economic integrations in Africa e.g. EAC collapsed in 1977 partly due foreign sabotage.
13. Western type political parties such as DP, UPC, Conservative Party (CP) in Uganda.
14. Continued presence of white settlers in Uganda, S. Africa, etc.
15. The membership of African countries in organisations of former colonial powers e.g. Commonwealth for all former British colonies such as Nigeria, Uganda, etc; Francophone for former French such as Senegal, Guinea-Conakry, Madagascar, Mauritania, Cameroon, Chad, Togo etc and Husophone for former Portuguese colonies.
16. The creation of international courts which have a bias on Africa e.g. International Criminal Court (ICC) indicted Omar el Bashir , the sitting president and not the military dictators elsewhere like those in Myanmar (Burma), Bashar al Assad of Syria.
17. Presence of secret foreign spy networks in Africa e.g. MI6, Scotland Yard of Great Britain, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of USA, MOSSAD (Israeli Central Institute for Intelligence and Security) of Israel, KGB of Russia.
18. Western Christian religions in Africa.
19. Sponsoring of coup de tats by foreign powers in Africa e.g. the 1966 and 1971coups in Ghana and Uganda respectively.
20. Direct military intervention of strong powers in the independent African states e.g. France in Rwanda in1994, Cote d'Ivoire, Chad, Central African Republic; USA, Britain, France, Turkey (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation – NATO) in Libya and overthrew Mu'amar Gaddafi in 2011.
21. Signing of military agreements/treaties with African states e.g. NATO signed with Congo and Kenya and established bases there.
22. Monopoly of trade by Western powers.
23. Foreign literature and leisure e.g. movies, films, magazines etc.
24. Blackmailing of Africa by international broadcasting channels e.g. Voice of America (VOA), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) at times depict everything African as being sub-standard and everything bad as originating from Africa.
25. Adoption of western cultures like monogamy, dressing, dancing.
26. High interest rates on loans given to African countries by Western powers and IMF.
27. African states always want to and seek redress (solutions) from foreign countries.
28. Foreign support to the rebel movements e.g. USA supported the UNITA under Jonas Savimbi fighting the Angolan MPLA govt 1975-2002.
29. The traces of neo-colonialism exist in national constitutions of the independent African states e.g. Uganda's constitution.
30. The institutions of govt of African states are derived from the former colonial powers e.g. parliament, executive and the judiciary.
31. The dominance of foreign powers over African states in international bodies for instance the IMF president is always from the United States while that of the World Bank is British,

only Britain, USA, France, China, and Russia have veto powers in the UN, with not a single African state!!.

Conclude your essay

10. "The collapse of the East African Community in 1977 was inevitable". Discuss.

Preamble

- ✓ Give a brief background to the EAC.
- ✓ Give and explain the factors that led to the collapse of the EAC by 1977.
- ✓ Conclude your essay.

The EAC was formed on 6 June 1967 after the Philip Stokes report, which recommended the formation of the East African Federation (EAF). It followed the signing of the treaty of co-operation at Arusha by the heads of state of East Africa that is Milton Obote of Uganda, Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. It was aimed at enhancing economic development, proper resource utilization, promoting trade, socio economic and political co-operation in the region. However, due to a combination of factors, the EAC became weak and its collapse by 1977 was inevitable.

Points to consider

- The 1971 coup in Uganda against Obote and brought Idi Amin to power. Breakdown in the system of meetings among the heads of state.
- Desire by Tanzania to join the Central African Federation.
- Language differences i.e. Uganda used English while Tanzania and Kenya had adopted Kiswahili as the official language.
- The failure of member countries to pay subscription to the EAC.
- Ideological differences i.e. Tanzania had adopted African socialism while Kenya under Kenyatta was capitalist. Uganda under Amin was at first capitalist but soon turned to Marxism or socialism.
- The differences in the level of economic development among the member states i.e. Kenya was ahead of both Uganda and Kenya.
- The effects of the economic depression in the 1970s which hampered production.
- The 1972 Economic War in Uganda had disastrous effects that undermined the EAC.
- Personal differences among EA heads of state especially between Amin and Nyerere.
- Corruption and embezzlement of the funds crippled the EAC.
- Sabotage by foreign powers especially communist and capitalist powers.
- Increasing economic nationalism and protectionism.
- The question of Zanzibar i.e. other states never wanted her to belong to the EAC yet Tanzania under Nyerere supported.
- Difference in currencies.
- Unequal gains or benefits from the EAC by member states.

- Failure of OAU to intervene in the conflicts among EA leaders.
- Failure by member states to include neighbouring states i.e. Rwanda and Burundi despite their willingness to join.

Conclude.

11. Examine the causes and consequences of the 1972 declaration of the 'economic war' in Uganda.

Preamble

- ✓ Concise introduction to the 1972 economic war.
- ✓ The question is in two parts, give and explain the causes, then consequences of the economic war with illustrative examples.
- ✓ Conclude.

In August 1972, President Idi Amin of Uganda declared the expulsion of almost 80 000 Asians and seizing of their property. These pronouncement made by Amin in Tororo, Eastern Uganda is what is termed as the declaration of the 'economic war' in Uganda. It was caused by the following.

1. Exploitative nature of Asians e.g. paid lower prices to Ugandan farmers.
2. Inspiration to Amin from other African leaders such as Nasser of Egypt, Gaddafi of Libya and Sekou Toure of Guinea-Conakry (French Guinea).
3. Harshness of the Asians to Africans in Uganda.
4. Fulfillment of the 1969 Common Man's Charter.
5. The need by Amin to increase his popularity made him declare the economic war.
6. The dominance and monopoly of trade by Asians i.e. import, export, retail and wholesale trade.
7. Amin's dream in Tororo in Eastern Uganda.
8. Increasing Asian population.
9. Desire by Amin to revenge against Britain that had rejected to assist Amin's govt financially and militarily.
10. Asians had dual citizenship which was unacceptable to Amin.
11. Amin's desire to reward his supporters and consolidate himself to power after the 1971 coup in Uganda.
12. Denial of Sex to Amin by an Indian widow or woman annoyed him and led to the declaration of the economic war.
13. Practicing of racism by the Asians i.e. they lived a separate life from Ugandans whom they regarded an inferior race.

The declaration of the economic war had some positive and several disastrous consequences on the Ugandan economy, Amin's regime, Africa and the world at large.

- Uganda lost her skilled manpower e.g. doctors, professors etc.
- Led to reduction in capital inflow to Uganda.
- There was decline in the production sectors as factories collapsed e.g. the cement factories at Fort Portal and Tororo.
- Resulted into scarcity of essential commodities like sugar, cooking oil, salt, soap etc.
- Destroyed relations between and the governments of Britain, India etc.
- Led to imposition of economic sanctions on Uganda's exports i.e. cotton, coffee.
- There was decline in govt revenue by nearly 40 per cent.
- Led to smuggling between Uganda and Kenya. This was commonly known as 'magendoism'.
- Resulted into Africanisation of all sector in Uganda.
- Increased Amin's popularity in Uganda and some other African nation with unpopular Asian communities.
- Led to emergence of a new class of rich business people commonly known as the 'mafuta mingi' who replaced Asian traders and also became notoriously exploitative.

Conclude your essay

12. Discuss the role of Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA) in the decolonization of French West Africa.

Preamble

- Give brief introduction of the RDA.
- The question is one sided.
- Give and explain its role in decolonization of French West Africa.

The RDA was an inter territorial alliance of radical parties such as Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI) or Democratic Party of Ivory Coast, Block Democratique Senegalaise of Senegal under Leopold Senghor and the Parti Democratique de Guine under Sekou Toure. It was formed in 1946 in Mali under the leadership of Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire.

1. RDA won the 1956 elections and emerged as the largest African party in the national assembly and was thus able to push for reforms.
2. RDA preferred economic development which led to economic prosperity and increased funds to finance political activities.
3. Managed to persuade the French govt to organise the referendum in the French Guinea in 1958 which led her to independence.
4. RDA advocated for increased African representation e.g. the African deputies increased to 33 in 1956 and in 1957, four Africans became ministers.
5. RDA criticized the dual system of voting and other forms of discrimination of Africans.
6. RDA organised a highly successful campaign of non-violent resistance to French colonial rule e.g. boycotts on French farms, strikes by railway workers.

7. Secured financial benefits from the French govt e.g. the French govt provided subsidies for export crops in West Africa.
8. Opened the BDS in 1948 as its branch in Senegal which led Senegal to independence.
9. RDA recruited the youths, women, and strong men into the anti-colonial struggle in French West Africa.
10. Formed the PDCI in 1947 as its branch in Guinea which led Guinea to independence.
11. RDA was a multi-racial party since it was a pan-regional party, it thus united various ethnic groups e.g. in Cote d'Ivoire and French Guinea.
12. The party trained nationalistic leader such as Felix Boigny in Cote d'Ivoire, Senghor in Senegal.
13. Sensitized the masses on the need for independence.

Conclude your essay

13. To what extent did the new emerging superpowers of USA and Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (U.S.S.R.) contribute to the growth of Africans nationalism?

Preamble

- ✍ Definition of African nationalism and introduction to the new superpowers.
- ✍ Stand point (to a greater/bigger/larger or lesser/smaller extent) is required.
- ✍ Contribution of USA and USSR.
- ✍ Give other factors that contributed to the growth of African nationalism.

African nationalism refers to the love and pride that Africans both in Diaspora and in Africa have for their continent/countries characterised by the desire for socio economic, cultural, and political independence from foreign rule. After World War II, USA and USSR emerged as new superpowers in the world politics replacing Britain and France that had incurred huge costs and had become militarily and economically weak. Their role was to a larger extent.

- USA influenced Britain to sign the Atlantic charter in 1941 which supported Africa's independence.
- USA and USSR had developed anti-colonial traditions since they had also suffered from it and thus condemned it.
- USSR and USA gave technical, financial and military African liberation movements e.g. USSR gave Front de Liberation Nationale / National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria, FRELIMO, ZANLA, MPLA while USA supported FNLA and UNITA of Angola.
- USA and USSR greatly influence the formation of the UNO in 1945.
- USA's president advised some conservative African leaders to support nationalists e.g. Sultan Sidi Muhammad V of Morocco in 1943 and he later started supporting nationalists such as those in the Istiqlal Party.
- The two superpowers gave support to Pan Africanists for instance USSR financed the 5th Pan African Conference in Manchester.
- Interaction of the democratic American soldiers with African soldiers during the Second World War especially in North Africa (Maghreb region) e.g. Bildad Kaggia of Kenya.

- Offered scholarships to African students e.g. Sam Nujoma of Namibia in USSR and Nkrumah of Ghana in USA etc.
- USA's Marshall Aid Plan conditioned the colonial powers to decolonize before getting loans.
- USSR circulated Marxist/ Socialist literature which attacked colonialism.
- USSR's rapid economic development that was a result of political independence inspired Africans.
- USA exposed African students to democratic principles, ideas and governance e.g. the West African Students.
- The USSR policy of globalising communism/socialism forced the USA to drop her isolationist policy and start supporting African nationalists.
- USSR and the USA exerted considerable pressure on colonial powers especially Britain and France to decolonize.
- They threatened sanctions against colonial powers if they did not decolonize.
- USA influenced the UNO to form the Trusteeship Council.
-

Other factors

1. The role of western education.
2. Accidental colonial developments and urbanisation in Africa.
3. The formation of mass political parties e.g. National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, UPC in Uganda, African National Congress in S. Africa, KANU, TANU.
4. The influence of missionary activities in Africa.
5. Role of mass media.
6. Oppressive and exploitative colonial policies e.g. heavy taxation, land grabbing etc.
7. The influence of the existing independent states in Africa that is Liberia and Ethiopia.
8. The role of the independent churches e.g. Dini ya Musambwa in Kenya, Lumpa church in Zambia, the Black Methodist church of Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa.
9. The early independence of Japan 1860.
10. Communist victory Pan-African Movement since 1900.
11. Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia 1935-41.
12. The impact of World War II 1939-45.
13. Influence of the Brazzaville Conference 1944.
14. The victory of the Labour Party in Britain 1945.
15. The influence of the 5th Pan-African Congress in Manchester (Manchester Conference) 1945.
16. The influence of Asian nationalism after 1947.
17. Influence of the Vietnamese war of independence 1947-54.
18. The growth of Afrikaner Nationalism (Introduction of Apartheid) in South Africa 1948.
19. under Mao Tse Tung in China 1949.
20. Egyptian Revolution 1952.
21. The Mau Mau uprising in Kenya 1952-55.
22. Impact of the Suez Canal crisis 1956.
23. Independence of Ghana 1957.

24. Algerian war of independence 1954-62.
25. The Non-Aligned Movement since 1955.
26. Rise of Charles de Gaulle in France 1958.
27. The Accra Pan African Conferences i.e. April and December 1958.
28. Independence of the French Guinea 1958.
29. Harold Macmillan 'wind of change speech' January 1960 at Cape Town, South Africa.
30. The formation and role of the OAU 1963.
31. Lisbon coup 1974.
32. Independence of Indonesia.

Conclusion

14. Assess the achievements of Colonel Gamal Abdul Nasser in Egypt up to 1970.

Preamble

- ❖ Brief background of Nasser.
- ❖ Give achievements of Col. Nasser.
- ❖ Weaknesses.
- ❖ A stand point is required to evaluate the achievements.

Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser rose to power in Egypt shortly after the successful military coup against the Egyptian monarchy of under King Farouk. General Mohammed Neguib took over leadership in 1952, with real power in the hands of Nasser, but by the end of 1954, an internal struggle in the army worsened which Nasser exploited to oust Neguib to become president. His achievements up to 1970 when he died were to a greater extent.

- Organised and executed the 1952 coup that brought the weak Egyptian monarchy to an end.
- Nasser completed the Aswan High Dam.
- Nasser initiated a land reform programme i.e. land redistribution which benefitted Egyptian peasants or the 'Fellahin'.
- Reduced corruption in Egypt.
- Nasser tried to bring moderate democracy in Egypt e.g. allowed political parties to operate.
- Nasser removed social inequalities in Egypt.
- Embarked on industrialisation of Egypt e.g. set up manufacturing, processing and assembling industries which created jobs and boosted the economy.
- Uplifted the status of women in Egypt e.g. he appointed the first woman minister in 1962.
- Diversified the economy of Egypt by investing in various sectors such as agriculture, infrastructure, tourism etc.
- Nationalised all the major means of production e.g. the Suez Canal Company controlling the Suez canal in July 1956 and other 15 000 businesses.
- Nasser created a strong standing army capable of dealing with any unrest or aggression.
- Nasser created the National Assembly or parliament to provide checks and balances to his govt and the first NA was convened in 1964, half the seats were reserved for the workers.
- Greatly improved the health sector e.g. by 1960, there were about 10 000 doctors up from 5000 in 1952, better hospitals constructed with medicine and medical equipment.

- Improved workers' conditions by allowing trade unions to be formed and reserving half the seats in the National Assembly for the workers (peasant farmer)
- Co-operative societies were formed through which loans, fertilizers, and pesticides, advisory services were extended to the farmers.
- Improved education, more schools were built, free education provided for children of 5-12 years, new University of Asyut was opened in 1957, the University of Al-Azhar transformed in 1961 by opening of the faculties of engineering, medicine and science.
- Supported the African liberation movements e.g. FLN of Algeria, Mau Mau fighters in Kenya.
- Checked neo-colonial influence in Egypt.
- Modernise agriculture which improved output, incomes and welfare of the farmers.
- Nasser made Egypt the leader of the Arab countries and championed their liberation from colonial rule for instance Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria.
- Improved infrastructures in Egypt e.g. railways, roads etc.
- Became a great Pan Africanist and Pan Arabist and leading founder of the OAU in May 1963.

- Weaknesses/failures

- He was dictatorial in his regime.
- Put in place a constitution in 1956 that gave him all powers.
- Nasser involved Egypt into wasteful wars e.g. the 1956 Suez Canal war against Britain, Israel and France, 1967 Six Day War against Israel in which Egypt was defeated.
- His nationalisation/socialist policy scared away foreign investor thus reducing capital inflow.
- Failed to increase agricultural production due to limited funding and poor implementation of agricultural programmes.
- Nasser failed to achieve equality of men and women, women therefore continued to play a subordinate role to men in Egypt.
- Over spent funds on his massive expenditure on the military.
- Nasser's over ambitious economic development plans led to severe economic difficulties like heavy foreign debt, soaring unemployment, inflation etc.
- Engaged himself in power struggle with Neguib.
- Failed to control population growth rate.
- Overstayed in power i.e. 1954-1970 and thus created some form of a 'monarchy' that continued with Anwar Sadat and later Hosni Mubarak until it was destroyed by the 2011 revolution. (Lasting close to 60 years)
- Persecuted political opponents and banned all the old political parties.
- Failed to fulfil the Non Aligned Movement principles of neutrality to cold war by siding with USSR/Russia.
- Failed to eliminate corruption.

15. Examine the causes of the crisis in the post independent Belgian Congo.

Preamble

- ❖ Give brief background to Congo crisis
- ❖ Point out the causes or origins of the crisis and clearly explain, with clear examples.
- ❖ Conclude your essay.

Belgian Congo was colonized by Belgium and attained independence on 30 July 1960 with Joseph Kasavubu as president and Patrice Lumumba as prime minister. The new independent state of Congo had little prospect of stability and therefore as it embarked on post independence era with several problems that constitute the 'Congo crisis'.

Points to consider

1. The abrupt transition of Congo to independence in 1960, without any clear preparations.
2. Weakness of the Central govt caused by struggles and conflicts between Kasavubu and Lumumba.
3. Belgian colonial policy of divide and rule i.e. favoured the Luba in Katanga.
4. Effects of the army mutiny of 5 July 1960.
5. Shelling of Port Matadi 11 July 1960.
6. Attempted secession of Katanga led by Moise Tshombe was a major cause of the Congo crisis.
7. Continued presence of the Belgians in Congo and their desire to create a Belgian-controlled puppet state especially in Katanga province (Later Shaba).
8. Absence of Pan-African ideas of national unity in Congo.
9. The secession attempts of Kasai Province under Albert Kalonji.
10. The double standards of the UNO.
11. Weaknesses of the 1960 Brussels Constitution.
12. Negative influence of cold war politics.
13. Inferior education provided to Africans in the Congo, limited their ability to be good leaders.
14. Weakness of OAU.
15. Greed for power among some Congolese nationalists such as Moise Tshombe, Desire Mobutu Seseseko, Albert Kalonji, etc thus struggle for power that led to crisis.
16. Belgian policy of paternalism.
17. Tribalism, e.g. political parties were formed along tribal or ethnic lines like CONAKAT for Luba, ABAKO for Bakongo, etc.
18. Existence of Tutsi refugees from Rwanda after the 1959 Hutu uprising/revolution.
19. Ideological differences among Congolese nationalists i.e. some like Lumumba were unitarists, others like Tshombe were federalists, others socialists, capitalists.
20. The 1965 coup by Mobutu.
21. The murder of Lumumba on 17 January 1961 caused more confusion and made the central government even weaker.
22. Neo colonialism.

16. Examine the steps that have been undertaken to revive African culture in any one independent African state.

Preamble

- ❖ Give a brief introduction to African culture, identify and explain the steps that have been undertaken to revive African culture in any one African state of **your choice** selected. It may be Uganda, Zimbabwe, Gambia, Mali, Djibouti, Egypt, Tanzania, Senegal or any other.
- ❖ Examples should be given from selected country.
- ❖ Conclude your essay.

Culture refers to the total way of life shared by members of a given society. In that respect therefore, African culture refers to the established way of life Africans are accustomed to and includes shared elements like language, norms, values, technology, beliefs, morals, art, music, etc. In Uganda, the following steps have been undertaken to revive African culture.

- Encouragement of African way of dressing e.g. president Amin abolished wearing of mini-skirts by girls and women in Uganda.
- Promotion of African languages e.g. Kiswahili, Luganda that are taught in Ugandan schools and Universities.
- Promotion of African art and design e.g. pottery, basket and mat making.
- Research into African culture has been undertaken for instance in the Institute for Social Research at Makerere University.
- Promotion of local musicians such as Afrigo band, late Paulo Kafeero and Philly Bongo Lutaaya, Johnson Otinga etc.
- Promotion of traditional medicine and research.
- Reinstatement of traditional leaders such as 'Emorimor' in Teso, 'Kyabazinga' in Busoga, 'Kabaka' in Buganda.
- Initiation of indigenous African religions and churches.
- Music festivals in schools and tertiary institutions such as cultural gala in Ugandan universities like Makerere where students from different tribes showcase their respective cultures.
- Promotion of local writers.
- Encouragement of African newspapers in local languages for instance 'Etop', 'Rupiny', 'Bukedde' among others.
- Africanization of the civil service.
- Promotion of cultural associations such as Iteso Cultural Union (ICU).
- Promotion of traditional marriages for instance polygamy, payment of bride price.
- Broadcasting of African plays, drama, on NTV-Uganda, WBS and radio stations like Bukedde, Voice of Teso, etc.
- Encouragement of African music and dance e.g. 'Kadodi' in Bugisu, 'Ajosi', 'Ekiriakiria' in Teso.
- Culture programmes on radio stations and television stations like Uganda Broadcasting Corporation (UBC), Central Broadcasting Service (CBS), Kyoga Veritas, and Simba etc.
- Participation of Uganda in African games and sports e.g. All Africa Games, Confederation of African Football Cup (Africa Cup of Nations), Nile Basin Tournament etc.

17. Account for the survival of the military regime in Uganda between 1971 and 1979.

Preamble

- Give introduction
- Identify and explain the reasons for the survival of military regime in Uganda.
- Conclude.

The military regime in Uganda between 1971 and 1979 was led by General Idi Amin Dada and was brought to power by the 1971 military coup against Obote's govt. Amin ruled

Uganda as a military dictator and it is his regime that is referred to as the military regime in Uganda 1971-1979. It survived because of the following factors.

1. Amin appointed a strong cabinet consisting of highly educated civilians as Benedicto Kiwanuka as Chief Justice, Henry Kyemba as Cabinet secretary, Andrew Wakhweya as finance minister.
2. The regime declared the economic war in 1972 which increased its popularity in Uganda.
3. He returned the remains of late Kabaka Muteesa II of Buganda to Uganda in 1972.
4. The regime created a strong standing army capable of dealing with any unrest.
5. The regime had strong support from Buganda that hated Obote's govt and supported the 1971 coup.
6. The regime maintained friendly relations with other African states like DRC/Zaire under Mobutu and Arab states like Libya under Gaddafi, Kuwait etc.
7. Reduced corruption tendencies.
8. The regime dealt ruthlessly with its opponents and critics which scared them.
9. The regime received assistance from the Communist Soviet Union and East Germany e.g. military and financial assistance.
10. The regime's good treatment to Islam turned to be a blessing in disguise for it.
11. The military regime established strict spy network such as the State Research Bureau and Public Safety Unit which detected all the enemies of the regime.
12. Censorship of the press which ensured that the regime was not criticized.
13. It tried to forge good diplomatic relations with the Western capitalist countries i.e. USA, Britain and Israel in its initial years in power.
14. The regime promoted games and sports in Uganda which increased its support.
15. Amin abrogated the 1967 constitution and this made him the only source of laws and power i.e. centralised administration.
16. The regime relied on West Nile tribes like Nubians, Kakwa, Lugbara and ex-Anyanya guerrillas.

Conclusion

18. Account for the persistent economic under development in the independent African states.

Economic under development refers to the situation in which a country's productive resources are under utilised characterised by low standards of living, low income levels, low productivity, high population growth rates, low per capita, etc. Most African states such as DR Congo, Uganda, Kenya, Angola, Sudan, Niger etc have been persistently underdeveloped due to the following reasons.

- High population growth rates e.g. 3.4 per cent for Niger, 3.2 per cent for Uganda.
- Poorly developed social infrastructure especially roads, power supply lines, bridges railways etc such as in Somalia.
- Persistent political instability e.g. rebel activities, interstate wars, civil wars in Sudan, Angola, Uganda, etc.
- Limited entrepreneurial skills i.e. most people are reluctant to undertake new things.
- Inadequate expert labour force to exploit the available resources e.g. in DRC.

- Frequent occurrence of natural hazards like long drought, floods, mudslides, and earthquakes.
- Persistent corruption, embezzlement and economic mismanagement e.g. in Uganda.
- Price instabilities/inflation e.g. the inflation in Zimbabwe in 2009 and in Uganda 2011.
- Brain drain which reduces the available skilled man power.
- Income/profit repatriation by multinational companies.
- Colonial exploitation of African states during European colonial era that deprived the continent of vast resources.
- Unfavourable investment climate characterised by high taxes and limited or no subsidization.
- Poor political leadership e.g. Somalia that has not had any stable govt since 1991.
- Heavy debt burden due to over reliance on foreign resources like loans.
- Over reliance on subsistence production
- Negative impacts of Structural Adjustment Programmes imposed by International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.
- Poor terms of trade which is the ratio of price index of exports to price index of imports.
- Income disparities in Africa e.g. Nigeria that once had the widest income disparity in the world.
- High marginal propensity to consume and marginal propensity to import.
- Negative effects of shocks in the world economy e.g. sharp increase in petroleum product prices.
- Limited economic development planning leading to investment in unprofitable ventures, poor implementation of programmes etc.
- Slave trade legacy, Africa lost much labour force to America, Europe and Asia.
- Limited strategic raw materials and resources such as minerals in states like Namibia, Somalia.
- Limited industrialisation.
- Inadequate capital for investment.

19. To what extent did Jawaharlal Nehru contribute to the decolonization of Africa?

Preamble

- ❖ Brief introduction.
- ❖ Stand point.
- ❖ Nehru's contribution.
- ❖ Other factors.
- ❖ Conclude your essay.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the first prime minister of India whose reign started in 1947 up to 1964 and his contribution to the decolonization was to a lesser extent.

1. Provided military assistance to African liberation movements.
2. Provided inspiration to African nationalists like Milton Obote of Uganda.
3. Provided political guidance to African guidance and advice to nationalists such as Mbiyu Koinange of Kenya, Obote of Uganda, Simon Kapwewe of Zambia/Northern Rhodesia.
4. Applied diplomatic pressure to Great Britain to decolonize through the Commonwealth.
5. Provided scholarships to African students such as Kintu Musoke, Jaberu Bidandi Ssali, and Kirunda Kivejinja all from Uganda and Simon Kapwewe of Zambia.

6. Provided financial and moral support to African nationalists and national movements e.g. Mau Mau fighters in Kenya.
7. Advocated for Africa's independence at the UN summit meetings.
8. Banned the staging of films that depicted Africans as an 'inferior' race, such as 'The African', 'Untamed' in India.
9. Instructed the Indian High Commissioner to East Africa in Nairobi to render assistance to the nationalists in EA.
10. Promoted the NAM principles in Africa e.g. he was one of the key organisers of the 1955 Bandung Conference in which NAM ideology was born and was attended by some African nationalists and also the 1961 Belgrade Conference.

Other factors as for question 1, 13 and also question 23

20. Discuss the causes of the 1966 coups in Nigeria.

Preamble

- ✓ Give brief background to the 1966 coups.
- ✓ Give and explain the causes of these coups.
- ✓ Conclude.

Nigeria experienced two military coups in 1966 that is the first was in January 1966 in which Abubaker Tafawa Balewa was overthrown by the army bringing in Major General John Aguiyi Ironsi and a counter coup by Northern soldiers in July 1966 against Maj. Gen. Ironsi that brought in Lieutenant Colonel (Lt. Col) Yakubu Gowon.

Causes to consider

1. Religious conflict between the Christian East and Muslim North.
2. Ethnic conflict in Nigeria i.e. the struggle among different tribes such as Hausa-Fulani in the North, Igbo/Ibo in the East, Yoruba in Western Nigeria.
3. Formation of divisive political parties i.e. Northern People's Party (NPP) for the Northern Hausa-Fulani, Action Group for Yoruba, NCNC for Igbo.
4. Rigging of the 1964 elections in Nigeria.
5. The passing of the Decree No. 34 of 24 May 1966 which abolished the federation and declared reunion of regional civil services.
6. Emergence of aggressive and ambitious young army officers e.g. Ironsi, Gowon.
7. Rampant corruption in Nigeria's govts.
8. Mismanagement of the 1962 population census.
9. Influence of earlier coups in Africa e.g. 1963 coup in Togo, 1965 coup in Congo, February 1966 coup in Ghana.
10. Strong desire by Northerners to revenge killings in the January coup caused the July counter coup.
11. Regional imbalance between the North, East and West in terms of economic development and revenue allocation (sharing of the 'national cake').
12. Struggle for jobs in Nigeria e.g. in education sector especially Universities.
13. Foreign interference by cold war countries.

21. Explain the causes and effects of the 1956 Suez Canal War.

Preamble

- The question is in two parts.
- Brief background to the war.
- Identify and explain the causes of the war, then its effects.
- Conclude.

The Suez Canal War of 1956 was a war in which Egypt under Nasser fought Israel, and her allies of Britain and France. It began on 28 October 1956 after Israel invaded the Sinai peninsula which provoked Egypt to declare war against Israel that was allied with Britain and France.

It had the following causes.

- The nationalization of the Suez Canal Company that was controlled by the British and French on 26 July 1956.
- Nasser's pro-Soviet Union policy which frustrated the capitalist France, Israel and Britain.
- Aggressive and over ambitious character of Nasser of Egypt.
- Failure of the British to respect the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian agreement by which they were supposed to withdraw all their troops from Egypt by 1956.
- Egypt's desire for genuine independence.
- Egypt's support to the Mau Mau fighters in Kenya annoyed Britain.
- Israel's occupation of the Sinai Peninsula sparked off the war.
- Nasser's rejection of the Free Users Agreement for the Suez Canal with Britain and France.
- Closing of the Gulf of Aquaba by Egypt.
- Egypt's support to the liberation movements fighting against the French e.g. the National Liberation Front of Algeria.
- Nasser's support to the '*fedeyeen*' commandos i.e. the Palestinian guerrillas fighting against Israel's occupation of Palestine.
- Military confidence of Egypt.
- Egypt's opposition to the 1955 Baghdad Pact reached between Britain, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan.
- Rejection of the British and French ultimatum by Nasser to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula.
- Nasser's interference into the British interests in the Middle East especially in Jordan.

Effects

1. Nasser of Egypt was diplomatically victorious in the war after the UN Security Council forced the '*triple aggressors*' to withdraw from Egypt.
2. Led to the full nationalization of the Suez Canal Company and all foreign owned firms.
3. The war made Nasser a hero in the Arab world for withstanding, defeating the aggression of the three powers.
4. Nasser embarked on the completion of the Aswan High Dam project after the war.
5. Israel benefitted economically and politically from the war e.g. gained land in the Sinai and Sham.
6. Resulted into the later formation of the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria in 1958, that was also joined by Yemen.
7. Inspired the growth African nationalism in Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, Kenya, S. Africa, Zimbabwe i.e. they could also defeat the colonialists like Nasser.
8. Egypt lifted the ban on the Gulf of Aquaba.
9. Egypt attained true independence after the withdraw of all foreign armies.

10. Strengthened the relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union because the latter rendered financial and military assistance to the former (Egypt) during the war.
11. Led to the intervention of the UN Security Council to end the war.
12. Escalated enmity between Israel and Arab countries e.g. fought the Six Day War in 1967.
13. Loss of lives and the destruction of property.
14. Led to change of government in France i.e. the rise of Charles de Gaulle in 1958 replacing Guy Mollet's govt that had become very unpopular. Similarly there was change of govt in Britain.
15. Egypt was militarily defeated e.g. lost about 5 600 troops in the Sinai.
16. Weakened the relations between Britain and France and USA because the latter did not assist the three powers.

22. How far did South Africa undermine the independence struggle of Southern Rhodesia?

Preamble

- ✓ Brief introduction.
- ✓ Stand point.
- ✓ Give S. Africa's contribution.
- ✓ Contribution of other factors.
- ✓ Conclude with your Stand point.

Southern Rhodesia was under white minority govt up to 1980 when she attained majority rule or independence as Zimbabwe. The majority rule and had declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), in 1965 which continued surviving up to 1980. South Africa's role in the delayed independence was to a larger extent.

- South Africa's apartheid regime formed an alliance with the UDI of Southern Rhodesia and Portugal that is the triumvirate alliance.
- Provided direct military assistance to the S. Rhodesian minority govt in crushing the nationalist movements like Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA), etc.
- Crushed nationalist movements in her territory like in Namibia thus denying Zimbabwean nationalists external military bases there.
- S.A continued trading with S. Rhodesia which rendered the sanctions imposed on the UDI largely ineffective.
- Successful apartheid regime in South Africa inspired the white settlers in S. Rhodesia to strengthen their minority power.
- S. Africa's economic interests in the Southern African region especially S. Rhodesia.
- Restricted movement of African nationalists within her territories.

Other factors

1. Brutality of the white minority govt scared African nationalists.
2. Economic strength of the UDI govt which rendered the sanctions ineffective and enabled it to set up a strong army and govt.
3. Military supremacy of the minority govt compared to the militarily weak national movements.

4. Unseriousness of the British govt e.g. it condemned the UDI but did not monitor the sanctions on UDI, did not send an army to crush the rebellious white settlers.
 5. Weakness of OAU.
 6. Collaboration and of some African chiefs and nationalists with the minority govt e.g. Chief Jeremiah Chirau; Bishop Abel Muzorewa also cooperated with the UDI regime.
 7. Formation of the Central African Federation 1953-1963, in which no political progress was achieved towards majority African rule.
 8. Double standards of the UNO for instance did not stop her key member states such as USA and Britain from trading with UDI govt that is did not fully monitor its sanctions.
 9. Negative influence of cold war politics i.e. the capitalist states of Britain and USA supported the minority govt in S. Rhodesia.
 10. Divisions among African nationalist such as those in ZANU and ZAPU.
 11. Absence of serious and charismatic leaders especially after the imprisonment of the Robert Mugabe and other nationalists.
 12. Delayed independence of Zimbabwe's neighbours such as Mozambique and Angola 1975, South Africa late in 1994.
 13. Use of peaceful and constitutional methods for a long time until 1970s.
 14. Outbreaks of natural disasters such as famine, diseases that weakened the nationalists.
 15. Limited right to vote granted to the African population to the African population e.g. in 1950s, only 560 out of 52 000 voters were Africans which left Africans '*political virgins*' up to 1980.
 16. Ineffective sanctions imposed on the minority govt.
 17. Division among the nationalists e.g. along tribal lines, ZANU was for Shona or Xhona and ZANU for the Herero and also ideological differences.
- Draw a suitable conclusion.

23. To what extent were external factors responsible for the growth of African nationalism?

Preamble

Question is in two parts. You will be required to show which factors are external and internal.

- ❖ Define African nationalism
- ❖ Stand point. (to a greater extent)
- ❖ Give and explain the responsibility of external factors.
- ❖ Other internal factors.
- ❖ Conclude your essay.

External factors

1. The Emergence of Western education leading to rise of an elite generation of African nationalists such as Nelson Mandela, Nkrumah.
2. Accidental colonial developments and urbanisation in Africa.
3. Role of missionary activities in Africa.
4. Role of press and mass media e.g. Voice Of America (VOA), BBC.
5. The early independence of Japan 1860.
6. Role of the Pan-African Movement since 1900.
7. Influence of World War I 1914-18.
8. Impact of the Communist Russian Revolution 1917
9. Italian invasion and occupation of Ethiopia 1935-41.

10. Influence of the Atlantic Charter 1941.
11. The impact of World War II 1939-45.
12. The victory of the Labour Party over the Conservative Party in Britain 1945.
13. The influence of the Manchester Conference 1945.
14. Rise of new super powers of USA and USSR 1945.
15. The influence of India's independence 1947.
16. Independence of Indonesia 1947.
17. Influence of the Vietnamese War of Independence 1947-54
18. Victory of communists in the Chinese war under Mao Tse Tung in 1949.
19. Influence Non-Aligned Movement since 1955.
20. Rise of Charles de Gaulle in France in 1958.
21. Lisbon coup 1974.
22. Role of the Commonwealth.
23. Influence of Africans in the Diaspora.

Internal factors

24. The formation of mass political parties e.g. National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, UPC in Uganda, African National Congress in S. Africa, KANU, TANU.
25. Oppressive and exploitative colonial policies e.g. heavy taxation, land grabbing etc.
26. The influence of the existing independent states in Africa that is Liberia and Ethiopia.
27. The role of the independent churches e.g. Dini ya Musambwa in Kenya, Lumpa church in Zambia, the Methodist church of Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa.
28. Influence of the Brazzaville Conference 1944.
29. The growth of Afrikaner Nationalism (Introduction of Apartheid) in South Africa 1948.
30. Egyptian Revolution 1952.
31. The Mau Mau uprising in Kenya 1952-55.
32. Algerian war of independence 1954-62.
33. Independence of the French Guinea 1958.
34. Harold Macmillan 'wind of change speech' January 1960 at Cape Town, South Africa.
35. The formation and role of the OAU 1963.

24. Why did the secession of Katanga 1960-64 fail?

Approach

- ✓ Give a brief background to the Katanga secession 1960-65.
- ✓ Give reasons for the failure of the secession attempt.
- ✓ Logical conclusion.

Congo attained independence from Belgium on 30 July 1960, with Joseph Kasavubu as president and Lumumba as the prime minister. However, sub-nationalism that characterised the Belgian Congo immediately aroused the secessionist movement in the province of Katanga led by Moise Tshombe. This attempt to secede was failed by 1964 due to various factors.

1. Popular opposition to secession from parliamentarians, ministers and educated elites such as Antoine Gizenga, Pierre Mulele, etc.
2. The murder of Patrice Lumumba on 17 January 1961 by Tshombe and Belgian soldiers.
3. Death of Dag Hammarskjold, the UN Secretary General made UN forces to crush the secessionists of Katanga.
4. Lack of support to the secession in Katanga itself e.g. from minority tribes.
5. Reorganization of the Congolese army under Colonel Mobutu helped to crush the secession.
6. Withdraw of Belgian soldiers from Katanga weakened Tshombe militarily and technically.
7. Strong determination by Lumumba's central govt to preserve national unity in Congo. (Unitarism).
8. Support to the central govt from the Soviet Union.
9. Opposition from the Catholic Church especially because the secessionists murdered some priests and innocent civilians.
10. The role of the UNO.
11. Flight of Tshombe to the USA in January 1963 demoralised the secessionists.
12. The role of the Casablanca group of Mali, Ghana, Guinea, and Tunisia e.g. condemned the UN double standards.
13. Efforts of Cyrille Adoula i.e. he organised the talks with Moise Tshombe and appointed 3 Katangese to ministerial posts.
14. Promulgation of the new constitution in April 1964 which created 12 more provinces to dilute Katanga's sub-nationalism.
15. Military weakness of Katanga.
16. Formation of the govt of national unity in 1961 with Kasavubu remaining president, Adoula as prime minister. Later on Tshombe became premier in July 1964.
17. The vast and vital economic resources in Katanga turned to be a curse to the secession since the govt could not let the most economically vital province to breakaway.

25. Assess the impact of the 1958 Accra Pan African Conferences on the growth of Pan Africanism.

Preamble

- Give a brief background to the 1958 Accra Conferences and Pan Africanism.
- State and explain their impacts with relevant examples.
- The other factors that had an impact on Pan Africanism.
- Stand Point is required.
- Conclude.

The two Pan African conferences in Accra of 1958 were organised by Nkrumah together with George Padmore, a West Indian Pan Africanist. They started with the April 1958 conference for only the independent states of Africa such as Egypt, Morocco, Ethiopia, Liberia, Tunisia, Guinea-Conackry, Libya, and the All African People's Conference in December 1958 attended by over 300 nationalists from the whole of Africa.

- Pan Africanism became more African as it came to be controlled and embraced by Africans in Africa e.g. Houphouet Boigny, Leopold Senghor, Tom Mboya became strong Pan Africanists.

- Reactivated the Pan African Movement that had been dormant since the Manchester Conference in 1945.
- Brought African leaders face to face to discuss the matters of African concern such as Pan Africanism and independence of African states.
- Participants in the conferences condemned evils of colonialism i.e. oppression and exploitation of Africans.
- Laid a foundation for the formation of OAU in 1963 after the 1962 Pan African Congress in Ethiopia followed by Conference of African leaders.
- Participants adopted NAM ideology and principles.
- The conferences inspired the formation of mass political parties to unite Africans against colonial rule e.g. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe formed the Pan African (ist) Congress PAC in 1959 in S. Africa.
- They condemned the policy of racial segregation South Africa, Namibia and Southern Rhodesia (current Zimbabwe).
- It made Pan Africanism a non-racial ideology or movement since it was attended by Arabs from North Africa, Blacks from Sub Saharan Africa and the whites from Southern Africa.
- The independent states of Africa such as Ghana, Egypt, Ethiopia, etc were in position to guide those states that were still under colonial rule and acted as an inspiration as well.
- Influenced the organising of other Pan African Congresses/Conferences in Africa such as the 1962 Congress in Ethiopia, the Casablanca Conference.
- Transformed Pan Africanism from being a collection of ideas into a movement of real politics and programme of action.
- Stimulated strong anti-colonial feeling across the African continent.
-

Other factors that had an impact on the growth of Pan Africanism

1. Influence of the Manchester Conference 1945.
2. The numerous Pan African congresses held between 1919 and 1927 in Paris, London, Brussels, Lisbon and New York.
3. Oppressive and exploitative colonial policies.
4. Italo-Ethiopian Crisis 1935-1941
5. Role of Africans in the Diaspora i.e. they developed the ideology of Pan Africans.
6. Apartheid policy in South Africa 1948.
7. Impact of Western education leading to emergence of elites such as Casely Hayford, Jomo Kenyatta, Nkrumah, Oginga Odinga, Steve Biko, etc.
8. Role of political parties e.g. PAC of S. Africa.
9. Formation Of the OAU 25 May 1963.
10. Need to revive African culture.
11. Influence of the Atlantic Charter 1941.
12. Impact of the press or mass media.
13. Influence of the UNO after 1945.
14. 1900 Pan African Conference in London.

26. Account for the delayed independence of Portuguese colonies in Africa up to 1975.

Preamble

- Give a clear introduction, stating which territories Portugal colonised in Africa.

➤ Identify and explain reasons for the delayed independence of Portuguese colonies in Africa with relevant examples from these colonies.

Portugal colonised Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde Islands up to 1975 when all of them attained independence after long wars of liberation. Therefore, Portugal was the First European country to acquire a colony in Africa and was also the last to leave; only by the *force of arms*.

Factors to consider

1. Poor or impoverished Portuguese economy which made it dependent on her colonies.
2. Formation of the triumvirate alliance among Portugal, Hendrick Verwoerd's apartheid regime, and Ian Smith's UDI of S. Rhodesia.
3. The dictatorial Portuguese colonial government i.e. the govts of Don Salazar (1928-68), Marcello Caetano (1968-74) enabled suppression of African nationalism.
4. Lack of exposure of African nationalists in Portuguese Africa due to restricted movement.
5. Strong Portuguese spy network i.e. PIDE.
6. Military supremacy of the Portuguese over the African liberation movements.
7. Absence of strong and charismatic leadership for a long time due to poor education and limited political involvement of the Africans in govt.
8. Brutal Portuguese rule created fear among the nationalists e.g. killing, imprisonment, flogging of nationalists, use of poison gas e.g. 600 demonstrators were killed in Laurencio Marques in Mozambique.
9. Liberation movements lacked internal military bases e.g. the MPLA operated from Congo Brazzaville, later Zambia, and FRELIMO of Mozambique from Tanzania.
10. Economic weakness of African national movements to finance the liberation struggle.
11. Strategic location Portuguese colonies which for example enabled Portugal to obtain assistance from other countries.
12. Double standards of the UNO.
13. Intervention of the Apartheid regime in Portuguese colonies especially Angola.
14. Illiteracy among the majority African population.
15. Tribalism among nationalists e.g. in Angola UNITA for Ovimbundu, FNLA was for the Bakongo.
16. Occurrence of civil wars in the pre-independence period e.g. MPLA against UNITA in Angola.

Conclude

27. Examine the role of the Convention People's Party (CPP) towards early attainment of independence of the Gold Coast in 1957.

Preamble

Give brief introduction.

- ✍ Stand point.
- ✍ Role of the CPP.
- ✍ Other factors.
- ✍ Conclusions.

The CPP was formed by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1949 after he disagreed with other nationalist on methods used by the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). The CPP became

a political machine and its contribution towards the independence of the Gold Coast from Britain in 1957 was to a greater extent.

1. CPP pressurised the colonial govt to release Dr. Nkrumah and other nationalists/leaders
2. CPP ran newspapers that criticised and condemned colonialism e.g. '*Accra Evening News*' and also ran *Radio Cairo*.
3. CPP adopted 'positive action' or 'Gandhiism'/Ghandiism, such as boycotts, agitation, strikes, propaganda etc.
4. Adopted revolutionary/independence slogans such as '*Self Government Now*', '*Forward Ever, Backwards Never*'.
5. It won the 1951 elections to the Legislative Council (Legico) with about 90 per cent of the vote; winning 34 out of 38 seats.
6. CPP won the July 1956 independence elections which convinced the British to grant independence the following year.
7. CPP under Nkrumah carried out socio economic reforms after winning the 1951 elections.
8. Created strong govt structures for the post independent Gold Coast/Ghana.
9. Tried to cooperate with other parties such as UGCC.
10. Recruited Ghanaians into the party and nationalistic activities such as the ex-servicemen, traders, teachers, *verandah* boys.
11. CPP identified itself with the grievances of the people especially the poor cocoa farmers and the unemployed ex-servicemen.
12. Groomed young nationalists into future leaders.

Other factors

13. Role of UGCC.
14. Charismatic leadership of Nkrumah.
15. The emergence of a large educated elite class e.g. lawyers, doctors, teachers, and clerks, such as Dr. Joseph Danquah, William Atta Ofori, Akuffor Addo, Ako Adjei, and Nkrumah.
16. Historical hatred for colonialism by the people of the Gold Coast especially the Asante that had fiercely fought the British during the Scramble for and Partition of Africa.
17. 1941 Atlantic Charter.
18. Role of the Manchester Conference 1945; attended by Nkrumah.
19. Role of British governors Burns and Sir Charles Arden Clarke.
20. Economic exploitation by colonialists aroused nationalism in the Gold Coast.
21. The role of the press e.g. '*Accra Evening News*', '*Cape Coast Daily Mail*' newspapers and '*Radio Accra*'.
22. Strong and well developed economy of the Gold Coast.
23. Ethnic unity.
24. Small size and population of the Gold Coast which e.g. made mobilisation easier.
25. Impact of World War II 1939-1945
26. Victory of the Labour Party in Britain 1945.
27. 1946 and 1948 riots in the Gold Coast.
28. Inspiration by the independent and uncolonised states in Africa i.e. Liberia. Ethiopia.
29. Italian invasion of Ethiopia 1935-1945.
30. Role of the UNO.

Conclude

28. Discuss the strength and weaknesses of the multiparty political system in Africa.Preamble

- ❖ Required to give an introduction.
- ❖ Identify and explain the strengths, then weaknesses of multiparty system giving examples from various states in Africa.
- ❖ Note that the question is in **two parts** but does not require a stand point.
- ❖ Conclude.

Multiparty political system is one in which two or more political parties have a constitutional recognition to operate and contest for political power in one state/country. It is usually characterised by general elections usually after four or five years. African states such as Uganda, Kenya, Senegal, Botswana, etc adopted multiparty system mainly due to its strengths.

Strengths

1. Promotes peaceful transfer of power e.g. in Kenya where Presidents; Daniel Arap Moi and now Mwai Kibaki accepted to step down.
2. Encourages constructive or developmental criticism from the opposition political parties.
3. The system is internationally recognised.
4. Ensures democratic good governance and the rule of law.
5. Attracts foreign aid from Western democratic countries like USA, Britain and France.
6. Provides a system of checks and balances to the ruling party.
7. Promotes nationalism, patriotism and unity especially where various parties have a national outlook such as the ANC of S. Africa, FDC and NRM in Uganda.
8. Promotes political maturity among the politicians and parties.
9. It cares and caters for all interests of various groups of people such as minority groups like women.
10. There is freedom of choice of party, and association.
11. Grooms political leaders e.g. most political parties have the youth wings/structures.
12. Relatively cheap system since it works in an automatic e.g. parties can finance their activities such as party primary elections.
13. Promotes peace and stability since citizens tend to be satisfied with the freedom and the system.
14. Supported by civilians compared to military rule.
15. Promotes economic devt and social transformation due to competition and desire to retain power.

Weaknesses

16. It is very expensive to e.g. a lot of money is needed to hold general elections, hold party delegates conferences, set up electoral commissions etc.
17. Promotes sectarianism or ethnicism or tribalism e.g. Northern People's Congress for the Hausa-Fulani, Action Group for the Yoruba, NCNC for the Ibo/Igbo in Nigeria, also tribal politics is commonplace in Kenya.
18. Delays in decision making and policy implementation.
19. There is a tendency to make unprincipled coalitions e.g. UPC-Kabaka Yekka, Inter Party Coalition (IPC) in Uganda; NPC-NCNC.

20. Leads to unfair distribution of national cake and development based on political support in the previous election.
21. Associated with the rigging of elections e.g. 2007 general elections in Kenya, 2008 in Zimbabwe.
22. Multiparty system leads to single party system in the long run e.g. through use of money by political party in power to win over opposition politicians.
23. Promotes overstay in power e.g. in Angola, Eduardo dos Santos has been in 1979 and has just won elections in 2012 for another 5year term, ZANU-PF under Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe from 1980.
24. Creates political instability such as civil wars, coups due to struggle for political power e.g. in the current Democratic Republic of Congo, political crisis in Egypt.
25. Election violence is encouraged e.g. in Kenya after the general election of 2007 in which over 1000 Kenyans were killed.
26. Encourages emergence of opportunistic politicians who keep shifting from party to party.
27. Promotes foreign influence and neo-colonialism.

29. Examine the causes and consequences of the 1964 Zanzibar.

Preamble

- ✓ Give a brief introduction.
- ✓ Identify the causes of the revolution and **then** its consequences.
- ✓ Conclusion.

Zanzibar was colonised by Britain in 1890 in collaboration with Arabs and became independent on 10 December 1963 with the Arab minority retaining power. This dissatisfied Black Africans on the island who under the leadership of John Okello organised and carried out a successful revolution on 11th and 12th January 1964 against the Arab dominance.

Possible Causes

- Dismissal of Africans from the police force.
- Unfair land distribution in Zanzibar between the Arabs and Africans.
- Desire for genuine independence by Africans.
- Failures by Africans to gain power constitutionally e.g. the Zanzibar Nationalist Party/Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZNP/ZPPP) coalition rigged the elections of July 1963.
- Unabated exploitation of Zanzibar's resources by Arabs and Asians.
- Economic crisis of 1960 s i.e. high unemployment, inflation etc worsened the situation.
- Harsh Arab rule and arbitrary laws.
- Forced recruitment of Africans into the ZNP, an Arab party.
- Racial conflict between the Arabs and Africans.
- Slave trade legacy was a long term cause.
- Severe poverty amongst African population.
- Heavy taxation.
- Forced establishment of a constitutional monarchy and an Arab state in Zanzibar.
- Extravagance of the Arabs.
- Plans by the Arabs to eliminate Africans from Zanzibar.
- The British favours of the Arabs annoyed Africans.
- Influence of the Socialist ideas.

- Role of John Okello greatly contributed to the Revolution.

-

Consequences

1. Land reforms were put in place.
2. Revolutionary Council was established as an interim govt.
3. It ended the Arab monarchy in Zanzibar.
4. Led to the political union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 26 April 1964 leading to the formation of Tanzania.
5. Evacuation of foreign nationals i.e. Americans, British etc from Zanzibar.
6. Led to the rise of socialism in Zanzibar.
7. Africanisation of the Civil service, employment for Africans.
8. Swahili/Kiswahili became the official language.
9. There was nationalisation of Asian and Arab property and resources.
10. Peace and freedom were attained by Africans.
11. The revolutionary govt embarked on devt programmes.
12. Housing scheme was set up which benefitted the hitherto homeless Africans.
13. Led to the Loss of lives and destruction of property.
14. It led to economic hardships.
15. Led to deterioration in health sector in Zanzibar.
16. Paved way for new dictatorship in Zanzibar.
17. John Okello was disowned and declared a prohibited immigrant.
18. Zanzibar became a one party state after banning all parties except the Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) up to 1992.
19. Led to army mutinies in East Africa.

All in all, the Zanzibar revolution spearheaded by John Okello was an expression of African discontent with the Arab rule and had both positive and negative as pointed out above.

30. Why did it take long to end apartheid in South Africa?

Preamble

- Give brief background to apartheid.
- Give reasons for its continued existence up to 1994.

Apartheid is an Afrikaner word meaning ‘*Apartness*’ and was therefore a name given to a system of separate devt and racial segregation in residence, employment, education, public sector, politics in South Africa. It was a system of racial segregation in South Africa with the favour of white race. It was introduced by the Nationalist Party under Dr. Malan in 1948.

Points to consider

1. Creation of the Bantustans or the ‘black homelands’ e.g. Kwazulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, Gazankulu, Transkei etc.
2. Provision of poor education to Africans.
3. Tribalism.
4. Death of Steve Biko on 12 September 1977.
5. Brutality of the apartheid regime e.g. firing at unarmed demonstrators at Sharpeville in 1960.
6. Negative influence of the Dutch Reformed Church.
7. Lack of internal military bases for ANC and PAC guerrillas.

8. Weakness of UNO.
 9. Economic strength of the South African apartheid regime.
 10. Military strength of the apartheid regime over the African guerrillas.
 11. Collaboration of the apartheid regime and UDI and the Portuguese govts. (triumvirate alliance)
 12. The use of Gandhi's policy of non violence and civil disobedience e.g. Defiance of Unjust laws of 1952.
 13. Imprisonment of African nationalists such as Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe.
 14. Banning of political parties.
 15. Negative impact of Cold War politics.
 16. Harsh apartheid laws which restricted movement of Africans.
 17. Ideological differences among African nationalists.
 18. Delayed independence of S. Africa's neighbours i.e. Mozambique 1975, S. Rhodesia 1980, and Namibia (South West Africa) 1990.
 19. Discriminative education system in indigenous languages and introduction of Afrikaans.
 20. The adoption of violence by African nationalists.
- Logical conclusion required

31. Discuss the causes and effects of the civil war in Mozambique.

Preamble

- ✍ Give brief introduction.
- ✍ Identify and explain the causes then effects of the war.

Mozambique attained independence in 1975 from Portugal under FRELIMO govt under Samora Chivambo Machel. However, as they embarked independence, FRELIMO got involved in a civil war against the RENAMO which was a rebel group established to help the S. Rhodesian govt against nationalists and was led by Alfonso Dhlakama. It started in October 1977 up to October 1992.

Causes

1. Dictatorship of the Marxist FRELIMO regime of Samora Chivambo Machel.
2. South Africa's involvement or intervention in Mozambique's affairs.
3. Influence of cold war politics.
4. Marxist/Socialist principles adopted by FRELIMO.
5. Power ambitions of Alfonso Dhlakama.
6. Abrupt transition of Mozambique to independence without thorough preparation.
7. Corruption in the FRELIMO govt.
8. Ethnic differences and tensions.
9. Continued presence of Cuban troops in Mozambique even after independence.
10. Outbreak of famine.
11. Grinding poverty in Mozambique and the worsening economic situation.
12. Weakness of OAU.
13. Double standards of the UNO.

Effects

- Hampered the economy.
- Refugee crisis worsened i.e. 5million out of 18million were refugees.

- Heavy loss of lives and destruction of property e.g. 1million lives were lost.
- Delayed independence of South Africa.
- Famine and mass starvation.
- Exposed weakness of the OAU.
- Intensified ethnic conflict/hatred.
- Led to the democratic elections in January 1994 won by FRELIMO under Joachim Chissano, 50 per cent of the vote.
- Intensified cold war politics.
- Paved way for neo-colonial or foreign influence on Mozambique.
- It increased poverty levels in the country e.g. 90 per cent lived below the Poverty line.
- It showed seriousness of the UNO e.g. monitored 1994 presidential elections, demobilisation and disarmament of RENAMO fighters, and resettlement of refugees and ex-rebels.

32. Assess the contribution of political parties towards the return of independence to Uganda by 1962.

Preamble

- ✓ Give a brief introduction.
- ✓ Stand point.
- ✓ Contribution of political parties.
- ✓ Other factors.

Uganda was colonised by Britain up to 1962 when she attained self rule. Various political parties contributed to the struggle for independence of Uganda to varying degrees e.g. Uganda National Congress formed in 1952, Democratic Party 1954, Uganda National Movement, Kabaka Yekka Uganda People's Congress 1960, etc. Their contribution was to a greater extent.

- Trained leaders e.g. Abubaker (commonly referred to as Abu) Mayanja, Musaazi in UNC; Matayo Mugwanya, Benedicto Kiwanuka of DP.
- Sensitised and educated Ugandans on the need (benefits) for independence.
- Organised peaceful demonstrations.
- Adopted slogans and songs which attracted people to join them e.g. 'Self Govt Now' adopted by UNC.
- Mobilised funds to finance political activities.
- Organised violent actions e.g. 1949 riots by the Bataka Party, the 1959-1960 boycott by UNM (Uganda National Movement).
- Recruited the youth in active party politics.
- Participated in the pre-independence elections
- Etc

Other factors

- The Emergence of Western education leading to rise of an elite generation of African nationalists such as Bidandi Ssali, Benedicto Kiwanuka, Mayanja Nkangi, Cuthbert Obwangor .

- Accidental colonial developments and urbanisation such as better roads, railway network; devt of towns such as Jinja, Kampala.
- Plans by the British to form the East African Federation.
- Role of missionary activities in Uganda.
- Role of press and mass media e.g. Newspapers like 'Munno', 'Uganda Eyogera'.
- Oppressive and exploitative colonial policies e.g. forced labour, forced growing of cash crops, land grabbing, unfair political representation etc.
- The influence of the existing independent states in Africa that is Liberia and Ethiopia.
- Kabaka Crisis 1953-55.
- The emergence of the independent churches e.g. Chimulelwe Bamaloki.
- Influence of World War I 1914-18.
- Unitarist policies of Sir Andrew Cohen.
- Influence of the Atlantic Charter 1941.
- The impact of World War II 1939-45.
- The victory of the Labour Party over the Conservative Party in Britain 1945.
- The influence of the Manchester Conference 1945.
- The influence of Asian nationalism after 1947.
- Independence of India 1947.
- Introduction of Apartheid in South Africa 1948.
- Impact of the Egyptian Revolution 1952.
- The Mau Mau uprising in Kenya 1952-55.
- Ghana's independence 1957.
- Influence Non-Aligned Movement since 1955.
- The Accra Pan African Conferences i.e. April and December 1958.
- Impact of the Harold Macmillan 'wind of change speech' January 1960 at Cape Town, S. Africa.

33. Account for the refugee problem in most independent African states.

Refugees are persons who have been forced to leave their own country to escape persecution, fear of being killed, and poor socio economic and political conditions. They also include asylum seekers, internally displaced persons.

1. Interstate conflicts e.g. between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Sudan and South Sudan.
2. Occurrence of natural calamities such as floods in Mozambique in 2001.
3. Religious persecution for instance the religious attacks by Muslim extremists against the Christians such as in Nigeria, Egypt.
4. Deteriorating economic situation/condition e.g. high inflation, unemployment.
5. Military coup d'états.
6. Oppressive colonial rule especially apartheid in S. Africa up to 1994 forced many nationalists into the neighbouring states.

7. Civil wars such as in Angola 1975-2002, Sudan 1955-72, 1983 up to 2005, and Congo instability.
8. Political persecution e.g. General Kayumba Nyamwasa now in S. Africa persecuted by the Rwanda govt.
9. Wars of liberation.
10. Unpopular social and cultural practices such Female Genital Mutilation in Kenya and Eastern Uganda.
11. Expulsion from the country such as the 1972 expulsion of Asians from Uganda
12. Fear of being killed.
13. Etc

34. “The downfall of Idi Amin’s military regime was inevitable” Discuss.

Preamble

- Brief background to Amin’s military govt.
- Point out and explain the factors for his/regime’s downfall
- Conclude.

General Idi Amin Dada captured power through the 25 January 1971 coup d’état against the government of Apollo Milton Obote in Uganda. He thereafter set up a military govt thus ruled as a military dictator up to 1979 when his govt was overthrown by an army of Ugandan exiles with support from Tanzania.

His overthrow was inevitable because of the following factors.

1. The regime was murderous i.e. many were killed by govt security operatives e.g. Benedicto Kiwanuka, the Chief Justice and the Archbishop Janan Luwum
2. The expulsion of Asians in August 1972.
3. Tribalism in Amin’s govt he favoured the Kakwa tribesmen.
4. Disastrous economic management policies such as excessive spending on the military, printing of more money.
5. Misunderstanding between Amin and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.
6. Amin’s interference with constitutional governance e.g. abrogated the 1967 constitution, limited the freedom of speech, etc.
7. Religious intolerance by the military govt.
8. Breakdown of social services like health, education.
9. Overreliance of Amin’s govt on ex-Anyanya rebels who were bitterly hated in Uganda.
10. Isolation of Amin’s military regime from the international community.
11. Amin’s support to the Palestinian Liberation Organisation made Israel support his overthrow.
12. Expansionist policies of the military regime into Kenya i.e. Amin’s claims over Western Kenya.

13. The role of Ugandan exiles especially in Tanzania who formed the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA).

14. Dictatorship of Amin Dada e.g. declared himself president for life, and persecuted, murdered opponents.

15. Weaknesses of Amin's own army.

Conclude

35. Why was Ethiopia defeated by Italy in the 1935-1941 Italo-Ethiopian War?

Preamble

- ✓ Brief origins of the Italo-Ethiopian war/crisis
- ✓ Give reasons for the defeat of Ethiopia by 1935
- ✓ Give a logical conclusion

The Italo-Ethiopian war was a war between Italy under Benito Mussolini and Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie. It started in 1935 as an attempt by Italy to colonise Ethiopia and ended up in the defeat and occupation of Ethiopia in 1935 up to 1941 when Italy was forced out by British and African forces.

Reasons /factors for the defeat

- Inadequate weapons and ammunition.
- The flight of Emperor Haile Selassie to England in May 1936 demoralised his army.
- Military supremacy/strength of Italy i.e. well equipped experienced, large and organized army.
- Arms embargo imposed on Ethiopia by Britain and France weakened her further.
- Limited assistance from African states i.e. most were still under colonial rule except Egypt and Liberia.
- Disunity among the Ethiopians.
- Haile Selassie's dictatorial tendencies.
- Economic weakness of Ethiopia.
- Careful planning by Italy compared to Ethiopia.
- Support to Italy from Somalia and Eritrea.
- The death of many Ethiopian commanders or Rases such as Ras Mulugeta, Ras Makonnen, etc.
- Overwhelming support to Mussolini's war against Ethiopia from the Italian masses.
- Italian war strategy of divide and conquer weakened Ethiopia.
- The weaknesses of the League of Nations i.e. appeased Italy, had no standby army to check any aggression, lacked clear principles.

Therefore, a combination of the above factors served to weaken Ethiopia to the benefit of the already strong military power, Italy. Consequently, Italy occupied Ethiopia up to 1941, when she was forced out by a combined force of African servicemen and the British army.

36. Account for the formation of the Central African Federation.Approach

- An introduction to CAF
- Reasons/factors for its formation
- Conclusion

The CAF was a federation of Nyasaland and Rhodesia established by the British govt in 1953. It was a minority white govt, under Sir Godfrey Huggins 1953-1956 and Sir Roy Welensky as prime minister up to 1963.

Points to consider

1. The increasing white population which required more land.
2. The plan of the British labour party govt e.g. organized the 1950 London Conference which laid the foundation for federation.
3. The role of Godfrey Huggins i.e. favoured federalism.
4. Desire by white settlers to benefit from the cheap labour in Central Africa i.e. Nyasaland and Rhodesia.
5. Strong influence Sir Andrew Cohen.
6. The desire by the British to achieve economic progress in the region.
7. The growing threat of African nationalism by 1950s.
8. The victory of the Conservative Party in the election in Britain in 1951.
9. The need by the settlers in southern Rhodesia to benefit from the production of hydro electricity from the Zambezi River.
10. Role of Governor Roy Welensky.
11. The growth of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa i.e. threatened the white settlers in Rhodesia.
12. The limited franchise for the majority Africans enabled the white settlers to vote infavour of federation especially in S.Rhodesia.
13. The desire by Britain to consolidate its colonial rule and administration in Central Africa.

All in all, the reasons above justify the eventual formation of CAF in 1953 and it existed for up to 10 years thus collapsed in 1963 leading to the independence of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland the following year.

37. Assess the impacts of the 1952 Egyptian revolution on the growth of African nationalism up to 1970.Approach

- ❖ Brief background to Egyptian revolution and define African nationalism (introduce)

- ❖ Stand point
- ❖ Impacts of 1952 Egyptian revolution on African nationalism
- ❖ Transitional/however paragraph
- ❖ Other factors that had an impact on African nationalism.
- ❖ Conclude

The Egyptian revolution started with the July 1952 military coup against the monarchy of King Farouk in Egypt. It was organized and executed by the free officers movement led by Colonel Abdel Nasser, Mohammed Neguib, and Anwar Sadat and brought dramatic changes in Egypt and Africa as a whole.

Its contribution to the growth of African nationalism especially up to 1970 was to a greater extent.

- Victory of Egypt against Britain, France and Israel in the Suez Canal war/crisis promoted the growth of militant African nationalism.
- Egypt became the propaganda base for the African nationalists e.g. through Radio Cairo which broadcast in English, French, Kiswahili and Arabic.
- Egypt played a leading role in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity, OAU in 1963.
- The revolutionary Egypt supported the independence of Sudan in 1956.
- Supported the Algerian nationalists i.e. the FLN in the Algerian War of liberation from the French rule 1954-62.
- Egypt extended scholarships to African students and nationalists at Al Azhar and Asyut Universities and also military academies.
- Egypt under Nasser adopted Non Alignment principles that were copied by a number of countries in their struggle for independence.
- Allowed the African nationalists to establish or open bases of offices in Egypt e.g. IK Musaaazi set up UNC offices, Ben Bella set up the base of FLN in Cairo.
- Colonel Nasser of Egypt supported the independence struggle of Tunisia that was accomplished in 1956.
- It became a safe home/haven for African nationalists.
- Egypt provided military science, training and skills to African nationalists such as the ANC and FLN guerillas.
- Egyptian revolution acted as an inspiration to African nationalists.
- Egypt de-campaigned and condemned colonialism at the UNO.
- Inspired Colonel Muammar Gaddafi to carry out a similar revolution in Libya in September 2, 1969 and thereafter supported independence of African continent.

Other factors as in question 23, other factors in question 1

38. Examine the achievements of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia up to 1974.

Preamble

- ✍ Introduce Emperor Haile Selassie
- ✍ Take a stand point
- ✍ His achievements/successes
- ✍ Weaknesses
- ✍ Conclude

Emperor Haile Selassie whose name was originally Tafari Dejumatch was crowned emperor of Ethiopia in 1930 taking the name Haile Selassie, meaning “*The Mighty Trinity*”. He was leader in Ethiopia up to 1974 when he was overthrown by junior army officers.

His regime was successful to a greater extent as discussed below.

- Improved education e.g. constructed many primary and secondary schools, established University College of Addis Ababa in 1951 later (Haile Selassie University).
- Developed infrastructures in Ethiopia e.g. airbases, roads, schools.
- Improved and modernized the health sector e.g. constructed modern hospitals and purchased equipment, drugs, encouraged immunization programmes funded by the govt.
- Established workable/good diplomatic relations with foreign countries such as USA which boosted development.
- Established the Ethiopian Airlines and also a civil aviation school which trained pilots and aeronautic engineers.
- Instituted constitutional reforms which brought democracy in Ethiopia e.g. the 1931 and 1955 constitutions which gave the people power through senators or representatives.
- Eliminated slavery and slave trade in Ethiopia by outlawing it.
- Modernized the Ethiopian army and the police.
- Improved the civil service by increased training of civil servants and effective monitoring.
- Selassie was a great nationalist and Pan Africanist e.g. played a leading role in uniting the Monrovia and Casablanca groups leading to the formation of the OAU in 1963, condemned colonialism in Africa.
- Promoted games and sports.
- United the Ethiopian people.
- Secured Ethiopia international recognition by becoming one of the founder member states of the UNO in 1945.
- Tried to pursue economic development programmes e.g. through the 5year development plan of 1957 and other projects.
- Revived African culture e.g. encouraged African languages to be used such as Amharic was declared official language in Ethiopia.
- Defended Ethiopia's independence especially after the occupation by Italy in 1935, he called for assistance from Italy.

Weaknesses (*Causes of the 1974 military coup against Selassie*)

Haile Selassie was overthrown in 1974 after ruling for 44 years which was a result of his increasing weaknesses and inability to govern.

1. Increasing levels of unemployment which his govt failed to find solutions to.
2. Dictatorship of Haile Selassie e.g. limited people's freedoms of speech, expression, association, and banned political parties.
3. Practiced open tribalism by favouring his fellow Amhara tribesmen in the army, govt appointments etc.
4. Continued existence of feudalism in Ethiopia by 1974 i.e. concentration of vast land in the hands of a few rich favoured landlords and the elite.
5. Economic crisis which his regime failed to deal with e.g. inflation, scarcity of vital commodities etc annoyed the elite middle class and the army officers.
6. Violent reaction to student demonstrations by his govt especially between 1970 and 1971.
7. Promoted religious intolerance by declaring Christianity the official state religion thus ignoring Islam and other religions.
8. His regime was marred by corruption in the civil service and by ministers and extravagance.
9. Passed two largely unfair constitutions i.e. 1931 and 1955 constitutions which gave him too much unlimited powers while they limited the freedoms of his subjects.
10. Selassie mishandled the Ogaden Question i.e. declared war on the people of Ogaden who wanted to secede and join Somalia instead of peaceful negotiation.
11. Increased foreign influence and neocolonialism due to over reliance on USA, USSR and Israel for assistance.
12. Over stayed in power which caused discontent among the Ethiopians i.e. for 44 years from 1930 to 1974.
13. Failed to find a peaceful end to the Eritrean war of secession.
14. Failed to create a disciplined, national, professional and modern army i.e. they were poorly trained, poorly paid, equipped, housed amidst favouritism by Haile Selassie of the Amhara.

In conclusion, Haile Selassie's 44 year old regime saw an era of mixed success and failures though his successes were to a greater extent more outstanding. Nevertheless, by 1974, he had accumulated many weaknesses which brought down his regime as analyzed above.

39. Explain the causes and effects of the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956.

Preamble

- ✓ Introduce/ give a brief background to the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

- ✓ Identify and explain the causes/reasons for the nationalization.
- ✓ Effects
- ✓ Conclude your essay

The Suez Canal Company was nationalized by Colonel Nasser of Egypt on 26, July 1956. The Suez Canal Company owned jointly by Britain, France had been controlling the canal since its completion in 1866.

The nationalization was a result of an inter play of many reasons:

1. Nasser's over ambitious and aggressive character i.e. he wanted to challenge any foreign power that interfered with Egypt's affairs.
2. Desire by Nasser of Egypt to implement his Non Alignment ideology and principles of neutrality towards the cold war.
3. Refusal by USA and Britain to fund the Aswan High Dam Project in Egypt.
4. Desire to attain economic independence by Nasser after the 1952 revolution, by getting rid of all French and British control of the economy.
5. The influence of the 1888 Constantinople Convention which had given all the powers over the Canal to Egypt.
6. Need to accomplish the nationalization programme i.e. Nasser had already nationalized transport, banks and other 1500 businesses.
7. Military confidence of Nasser, i.e. he could implement his decision by force of arms incase of any resistance.
8. The need to weaken the Israeli economy by Nasser.
9. Opposition of Nasser to the 1955 Baghdad pact.
- 10.

Effects

- Employment opportunities were created in the canal for Egyptians.
- Increased Nasser's popularity in Egypt, Africa and more especially in the Arab world.
- Increased Egypt's revenue from the Canal from £100 million to £1,097 million per year.
- Caused the Suez Canal War with the former controllers of the Canal i.e. Britain, France and the new state of Israel.
- Nationalization was accomplished with then full nationalization of the Canal.
- The nationalization programme was copied by other African leaders e.g. Gaddafi in Libya, Sekou Toure of Guinea, Julius Nyerere etc.
- Aswan High Dam was completed with the funds from the Canal and Russia (USSR).
- Helped Nasser consolidate himself onto power.
- Negatively affected British, French and Israeli economies.
- Egypt became the leader of the Arab world since she had defeated Western imperialism.

Conclude your essay

40. Assess the causes and consequences of the Rwandan civil war in 1990-1994.**Preamble**

- ✍ An introduction to the civil war
- ✍ Give causes
- ✍ Point out and explain the consequences
- ✍ Logical conclusion

The Rwandan civil war started in October 1990 after groups of Tutsi and Hutu moderates in exile in Uganda invaded Rwanda seeking to overthrow the govt of Juvenal Habyarimana. The civil war went on and in 1994 after Habyarimana died in a plane crash; the govt became too weak allowing the exiles under RPF led by Paul Kagame to takeover.

Causes to consider

1. Longstanding ethnic hatred between the Hutu and the Tutsi.
2. The desire by the Tutsi to revenge against the Hutu for killings of Tutsi in 1959 revolution and 1963-64 after the failure of 'cockroach' or 'inyezi' attacks.
3. The rise of charismatic, able and strong Tutsi leaders e.g. General Fred Rwigyema, Major Paul Kagame, Kayumba Nyamwasa, Beigana etc.
4. Socio-economic hardship faced by Tutsi abroad forced them to return in 1990 e.g. famine, poverty, death in camps.
5. Cultural arrogance of the Tutsi e.g. believed they were the chosen rulers of Rwanda.
6. The denial of the return of the Tutsi to Rwanda by the Hutu govt under Habyarimana, that, Rwanda was too small to absorb the Tutsi exiles.
7. Success and influence of the NRN/NRA revolution in Uganda.
8. Assistance i.e. financial, military from the NRM govt in Uganda to the RPF e.g. the headquarters of RPF were in Kampala.
9. Habyarimana's dictatorship e.g. censored the press, arbitrarily arrested and imprisoned political opponents and critics especially Tutsi.
10. The worsening discrimination of the Tutsi by the Hutu govt e.g. Tutsi were restricted to a 9 per cent quota in schools, universities, civil service police and the army.
11. The influence from the USA and its assistance to the RPF.
12. The formation of the Rwanda Patriotic Front in Uganda in 1987.

Consequences of the civil war




- RPF captured power in Rwanda i.e. on 4 July 1994, the RPF took over Kigali.
- Refugees crisis; the genocidaires i.e. those who masterminded the genocide and Hutu fearing revenge by the Tutsi fled to Democratic Republic of Congo/Zaire, Kenya, Tanzania, Europe etc.
- Led to the 1994 genocide in Rwanda in which 800,000-1,000,000 people were killed in just 100 days.

- Showed double standards of UNO e.g. sent only 500 troops instead of 4,500 proposed by the mission's commander to try end violence and the conflict in Rwanda.
- Led to attempts for social reconciliation under the new RPF govt for instance Pasteur Bizimungu, a Hutu was made the president after RPF captured power.
- Revealed the weakness of the OAU
- Evacuation of foreign nationals from Rwanda i.e. Americans, French, British.
- There was massive destruction of property i.e. hospitals, bridges, roads, schools were in ruin especially by Hutu gangs- "*Interahamwe*".
- Fuelled foreign influence in Rwanda, that is neo colonialism.
- Spoilt diplomatic relations between Uganda and Kenya since the president Daniel arap Moi of Kenya accused Museveni for causing instability in Rwanda and the entire region.
- Strained relations between Rwanda and Kenya, after Kenya refused handover former Hutu govt officials to Rwanda.
- Led to fall of other govts in the Greatlakes region e.g. in Burundi, after the plane crash in which Habyarimana and Ntalyamira of Burundi perished. Also, Hutu exiles contributed a lot to downfall Mobutu's govt in Zaire in 1997.
- Led to human suffering and misery in Rwanda due to starvation, diseases, poor sanitation, death etc.
- The civil war weakened Rwanda's economy and became one of the poorest nations.
- Contributed to ethnic conflicts and political instability in Zaire which attracted many nations such as Rwanda, Uganda Angola into the Congo.
- Led to international concern on Rwanda's situation.

All in all, the Rwandan civil war was largely a result of many factors and yielded many consequences.

41. Account for the overthrow of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya.

Preamble

-  Brief background to Colonel Muammar Gaddafi
-  Bring out and explain the various factors that led to his overthrow
-  Conclude

Colonel Muammar Gaddafi rose to power through the September 1969 military coup revolution which overthrew King Idris. He had been inspired a lot by Egyptian revolution and thus put in place tremendous reforms that improved the socio economic life in Libya.

However, his govt had several weaknesses which together with other factors brought his govt to an end in October 2011 after 42 years.

1. Dictatorship of Muammar Gaddafi; he replaced King Idris' dictatorship with socialist Islamic dictatorship which was personalized and limited the freedom of expression.

2. Support rendered to international terrorists by Libya under Gaddafi such as the Palestinian fighters, rebels in Ireland, Libya was implicated in several bombings e.g. the Lockerbie bombings and the September 2001 in the Pentagon.
3. Religious intolerance; undermined other religions except the state religion-Islam.
4. The impact of the “Arab spring” or “people power revolutions” on Libya that had started in Tunisia and Egypt.
5. The intervention by Northern Atlantic Treaty Organisation, NATO, led by Britain, USA, France and Turkey.
6. The contribution of the UN eg its UN Security Council authorized a no-fly zone over Libya and later permitted the NATO to intervene to implement the no-fly zone.
7. Limited the freedoms and abused the human rights of the Libyan people.
8. Violent reaction to the anti-govt protests and demonstrations e.g. in early 2011 especially in Benghazi.
9. Isolation from many African leaders, especially those opposed to the formation of the “*United States of Africa*” whom he tried to overthrow by assassination attempts or supporting various rebel movements e.g. in Sudan and Chad, Gaddafi never had respect for other African Heads of state and government as he called himself “King of Kings”.
10. The effects of the global financial crisis that started in 2008 up to 2011 leading to massive unemployment and soaring inflation.
11. The regime was murderous, many people were executed in various prisons especially critics.
12. Desertion by many of his army officers, diplomats and ministers e.g. Mustafa Abdel Jalil who later became the head of the revolutionary National Transitional Council, NTC, army generals Masoud Halasa, Oun Ali Oun, his foreign minister Abdel Rahman Shelgam .
13. Corruption, abuse of power, nepotism and mismanagement of Libyan public resources and funds by his family members.
14. Overstayed in power i.e. he made himself the leader for life and thus the Libyans were tired of his nearly 42year old rule.
15. Gaddafi collaborated with dictatorial regimes in Africa e.g. Muhammad Siad Barre’s regime in Somalia 1960-1991, Idi Amin’s military dictatorship in Uganda; In 2001, he suggested that *revolutionary leaders never leave power*.
16. Over ambitious foreign policy e.g. wanted to accomplish the formation of the bigger ‘USA’.

A logical conclusion is required

42. Account for the introduction of apartheid in South Africa by 1948.

Preamble

- ❖ Give an introduction to apartheid and S. Africa
- ❖ Identify and explain the factors that led to its introduction

❖ Conclude your essay.

Apartheid came to refer to a system of racial segregation and separate development among races in South Africa. It was introduced by the Nationalist Party (National Party), an Afrikaner party after winning the 1948 general elections.


Its introduction was a result of the following factors:


1. The growth of Afrikaner nationalism; resulting mainly from the extreme suffering faced by Boers during the Anglo-Boer wars in the 19th Century.
2. The threat of emerging African nationalism such as formation of African nationalist parties by educated African elites.
3. The rise to power of the National Party and its racist leaders such as Hans Strijdom, Hendrik Verwoerd, John Vorster, Pieter W. Botha etc.
4. Desire by the Boers to control and exploit South Africa's vast resources e.g. gold in the Witwatersrand (the Rand), diamonds at Kimberly.
5. Need by Afrikaners to acquire cheap African labour to work in the mining sector and white plantations.
6. Fear of the growing Afro-Asian solidarity which threatened the white superiority.
7. Misinterpretation of the Biblical facts by Boers; i.e. that whites were the descendants of Shem, then the nonwhite majority for Ham, who had been cursed by their father-Noah.
8. The disguise that it was introduced to help the blacks and other non white races to develop much faster separately.
9. Influence of the Dutch Reformed Church e.g. it preached that Boers were God's chosen people, that South Africa was Canaan and that the Boers were God's chosen leaders.
10. The fear of communism (adopted by African nationalists) among the mainly rich capitalist white minority especially Boers, since it advocated for nationalization of all resources and govt control of the economy.
11. Influence of ideologies of Fascism and Nazism developed from the Darwin's Theory of Evolution i.e. the superior white race should conquer and colonise other races.
12. Desire by the Boers to check the British liberalism which could easily strengthen the non-white majority e.g. the British had granted relatively better education to non-whites.

Logical conclusion is required.

43. Examine the challenges faced by the Organisation of African Unity up to 2002.

Approach

 Introduce OAU (must include aims and objectives)

 Point out and explain the various challenges/problems it faced. (*They are partly weaknesses of OAU*)

Conclusion

OAU was an organization of independent African states that was formed on 26 May 1963 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia by thirty two (32) founding member states. The key personalities who founded it included Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Abdul Nasser of Egypt, Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, and Haile Selassie of Ethiopia etc.

It was formed with the following objectives (*Article II of the OAU Charter*)

- a) To promote unity and solidarity of African states.
- b) To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve better life for the peoples of Africa.
- c) To defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all member states.
- d) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa
- e) To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.
- f) To promote political, economic, diplomatic cooperation to maintain peace and security in the continent.

However, due to a number of challenges, the OAU was not in position to fulfill all these objectives and thus it was transformed into the African Union in 2002.

Challenges

1. Absence of a uniform language e.g. the former French colonies such as Senegal, Mali, Algeria used French while former Portuguese colonies preferred Portuguese.
2. Political instabilities e.g. frequent occurrences of civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola, Mozambique, Burundi; coup de tats e.g. 1966 against Nkrumah, 1971 against Obote in Uganda, 1974 against Haile Selassie in Ethiopia etc.
3. Economic rivalry among the member states i.e. they competed for markets to supply primary agricultural and mineral products.
4. Prolonged colonialism and apartheid regime in Southern Africa weakened the OAU.
5. Ideological differences among different African leaders e.g. Nasser, Nyerere, Sekou Toure adopted African socialism which was bitterly against capitalism adopted by Mobutu, Jomo Kenyatta.
6. Negative influence of cold war political which divided African leaders further, rendered the principle of neutrality to cold war hard to achieve.
7. Boundary problems which contributed to inter-state disputes/wars e.g. between Eritrea and Ethiopia, Uganda and Kenya, Tanzania 1970s etc.
8. Failure by the member states to remit/pay their annual subscription weakened OAU financially.
9. Lack of a strong standing army/ military high command to enforce its resolutions.
10. Large size of Africa and its heterogeneous nature.

11. The weakness of the OAU charter and principles; such as non interference into the internal affairs of member states and peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, allowed the bad governance and inability of OAU to stop political instabilities.

12. Personality differences between African leaders made some start boycotting summit meetings e.g. between Amin and Nyerere, made Nyerere to boycott the 1975 summit meeting in Kampala.

13. Neocolonial influence e.g. from associations of former colonial masters to which member states were members e.g. Commonwealth, Lusophone, Francophone.

14. The death of its founder members such as Nasser in 1975, Selassie in August 1975 etc.

In logical analysis, the founder members of the OAU had swift objectives that they hoped to achieve but a combination of the above factors made it rather difficult for it to fulfill and thus OAU was dissolved in 2002 after the heads of govt meeting at Durban, South Africa leading to formation of African Union-AU.

44. To what extent has the Non Alignment Movement fulfilled the aims of its founder members?

Preamble

- ✓ Give a brief introduction clearly bringing out its aims
- ✓ Clear stand point (to a greater or smaller extent)
- ✓ Achievements
- ✓ Transitional paragraph
- ✓ Logical conclusion

Non Alignment Movement was an ideology of positive neutrality to the cold war developed by the 3rd world nations of Africa, Asia, Middle East, Latin America and even Europe empowering themselves to make their own independent decisions in socio economic, political and diplomatic discussion. It was first discussed in the 1955 Bandung Conference and later fully adopted at the 1961 Belgrade Conference in Yugoslavia attended by Josip B Tito of Yugoslavia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, and Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt among others.

It had the following aims and objectives.

- i. To ensure neutrality to the cold war by the member states.
- ii. To enhance economic development
- iii. To fight colonialism, imperialism and racism in the world
- iv. To promote international cooperation and diplomacy.
- v. To stop the signing of military pacts/agreements with the powerful nations.
- vi. To preserve world peace, security and justice

The NAM tried to fulfill its objectives to a greater extent:

- NAM states achieved total liberation of Africa, Latin America and Asia from colonial rule.

- It has had a long history of existence i.e. over 55 years by continuously holding summit meetings/conferences e.g. 1961 at Belgrade, Cairo in 1964, Abuja 1996, and Tehran, Iran in 2013.
- NAM member states like India, China, Cuba, Iran etc extended scholarships to students from member states.
- Tried to fight neo colonialism by encouraging member states to acquire multi-lateral loans rather than bilateral loans, and to remain neutral to cold war.
- Created unity between Francophone, Lusophone and Anglophone countries.
- Facilitated the reduction in armament /arms race and militarization in the world e.g. contributed much to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks/Treaties 1 and 2 (SALT 1 & 2) between the super powers against manufacture and use of nuclear weapons of mass destruction.
- Increased the representation of the 3rd world nations in the international affairs e.g. at the UNO.
- Extended economic/financial assistance to the poorer member states.
- Increased membership from originally 29 to now over 109 member states; it is the second biggest assembly after the UN General Assembly.
- Increased commercial/economic and diplomatic cooperation among the member states and other states in the world.
- Stimulated the growth of African nationalism and strengthened Pan Africanism.
- Helped to bring the cold war to an end.

However, the NAM had some weaknesses:

- Failed to balance economic development among the member states e.g. China, Iran, India are more economically advanced and even dump commodities in the poorly developed economies of other member states.
- Dictatorial govts in the member states e.g. Uganda 1971-79, Sudan since 1956.
- Persistent low standards of living and poverty in most of her member states.
- The NAM has failed to end racial discrimination and racial abuse in the world.
- Failed to create an economic development ideology/strategy i.e. member states except few like China have a dependence syndrome, expensive importing and export of mainly cheap exports.
- It failed to fully defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all member states e.g. invasion of Iraq in 2003, intervention of NATO in Libya in 2011.
- Neocolonialism is still existent in member countries.
- It has remained weaker than other international organizations like UNO, NATO and continental bodies like the Arab League, African Union which has reduced its role in world/global/international affairs.
- Ideological inclination of member states to capitalism and communism/Marxism/socialism e.g. Sekou Toure, Mariam Mengistu of Ethiopia, Nasser were pro Eastern communist bloc

while Houphouet Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire, Kamas Banda of Zambia, were pro Western capitalist bloc.

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Conclude your essay


Note: Conferences of NAM

1. *First Conference - Belgrade, Yugoslavia September 1-6, 1961*
2. *Second Conference - Cairo, Egypt October 5-10, 1964*
3. *Third Conference - Lusaka, Lusaka September 8-10, 1970*
4. *Fourth Conference - Algiers, Algeria September 5-9, 1973*
5. *Fifth Conference - Colombo, Sri Lanka August 16-19, 1976*
6. *Sixth Conference - Havana, Cuba September 3-9, 1979*
7. *Seventh Conference - New Delhi, India march 7-12, 1983*
8. *Eighth Conference - Harare, Zimbabwe September 1-6, 1986*
9. *Ninth Conference - Belgrade, Yugoslavia September 4-7, 1989*
10. *Tenth Conference - Jakarta, Indonesia September 1-7, 1992*
11. *Eleventh Conference - Cartagena de Indias, October 18-20, 1995*
12. *Etc*

45. Account for the eventual independence of South West Africa (Namibia) in 1990.

Approach

 Introduction

 Give reasons for/factors that favoured the attainment of independence

 Logically conclude your essay

Namibia was colonized by Germany from 1884 up to World War I in which Germany was defeated and she became the mandate territory to the League of Nations under South Africa. It was occupied by S. Africa up to 1990 despite the termination of her mandate by the UNO. This illegal occupation led to an armed struggle by various nationalist groups and finally attained her independence in March 22, 1990.

Factors that favoured the attainment of independence

1. Formation and the role of political parties e.g. South West African National Union (SWANU) formed in 1955, Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO) in 1957, South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in 1960.
2. Influence of the famous Harold Macmillan "*Wind of Change*" Speech January 1960.
3. The common hatred against colonialism/foreign rule e.g. the Nama Herero had between 1904 and 1907 fought the German colonialists and though they were defeated the nationalist spirit never died out and resurfaced from the 1950s.
4. The collapse of cold war politics in 1989/90.
5. Collapse of the alliance between the racist South African regime, Portugal and Southern Rhodesia after the 1974 Lisbon coup.
6. The assistance to nationalists from the communist countries such as military and financial support from China, Czechoslovakia, USSR, Cuba etc.
7. Emergence of strong, able and charismatic nationalist leaders e.g. Sam Nujoma.
8. The simultaneous wars of liberation from the South African racist rule weakened the racist govt army i.e. the anti-apartheid struggle in S.Africa and the SWAPO liberation war in Namibia.
9. The independence of Namibia's neighbours i.e. Zambia 1964, Botswana 1966, Angola 1975, and Zimbabwe in 1980.
10. The role of the OAU Liberation Committee set up in early 1970s, with headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.
11. The adoption of guerilla war tactics/ strategies of hit and run by the nationalists.
12. The formation of a joint liberation movement, SWAPO, after the merging of OPO and SWANU.
13. The role played by the UNO e.g. terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia, condemned apartheid regime in South Africa and imposed sanctions that weakened the regime.
14. The brutality of South African army and police towards the nationalists e.g. police fired at peaceful demonstrators at Windhoek killing 13 and wounding several others which increased the nationalist determination and the recruits for the SWAPO.
15. The reforms in the liberated zones.

Conclude your essay

46. Assess the causes and consequences of persistent unemployment in any one independent African state.

Approach

- Correct definition of unemployment and identify any one independent African state of your choice you are considering.
- Causes of unemployment in that country.
- ✍ *Remember:* All the examples and illustrations must be from the specified state only.

➤ Conclusion

Unemployment refers to a situation in which labour force that is able and willing to work and has made effort to find jobs remain without jobs.

It may be involuntary unemployment where labour force is willing and able to work but cannot get jobs or voluntary unemployment where labour force is unwilling to take on the available jobs. Uganda faces the unemployment problem with various causes and consequences.

Causes

1. Poor education system in Uganda i.e. it is mainly theoretical thus prepares many job seekers and not job creators, yet available jobs are limited, that is why graduate unemployment in Uganda is so high at about 85 per cent.
2. Rapid population growth for instance Uganda has a population growth rate of about 3.3 per cent yet job creation rate is below 2 per cent.
3. Political instabilities which destroy productive infrastructures and discourage investment, job creation in the country e.g. LRA insurgency in Northern Uganda.
4. The negative attitudes that some Ugandans have towards work especially graduates who despise employment in the agricultural sector.
5. Absence of information about the existing jobs.
6. Increased rural-urban migration to towns like Jinja, Gulu, Soroti, and Kampala leading to worsening open urban unemployment.
7. Employment of expatriates (labour/workers from abroad) e.g. Chinese construction and engineering companies employ Chinese labour.
8. Limited labour skills due to limited access to education.
9. Low wages and poor conditions of work in the existing jobs.
10. Limited investment levels in Uganda i.e. both private and public investment are low.
11. The mental and physical incapacitation.
12. Poor man power planning in Uganda which always leads to excess labour supply and unemployment in some occupations and sectors leading to unemployment.
13. Inflation which increases the production costs reduces production and employment e.g. it reached 30 per cent in at the end 2012.
14. Discrimination in the labour market based on gender, tribe, and political affiliation e.g. 83 per cent of women in Uganda unemployed.
15. Retrenchment arising from the IMF and World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes from 1980s and 1990s e.g. reduction in size of the army, civil service.
16. Limited geographical and occupational mobility of labour force.
17. Preference and use of labour-saving (capital-intensive) techniques of production.
18. Corruption and bribery.

Effects of unemployment in Uganda

- Contributes largely to brain drain i.e. skilled labour going to other countries to seek for better paying jobs.
- Reduced revenue to the govt since the unemployed have low or no incomes to be taxed.
- Increases crime rates such as theft, robbery, prostitution e.g. 'Iron bar men' that kill people in towns using iron bars for their survival.
- Leads to political unrest/instability in e.g. the 2011 'walk to work' demonstrations in Kampala.
- Perpetuates/worsens income and regional inequality e.g. between the unemployed and the employed.
- Led to decline in aggregate demand for goods and services due to low income thus low purchasing power.
- It has contributed to high corruption and mismanagement of public resources.
- Worsened welfare and living standards of people.
- Increased dependence of the unemployed on the few employed people.
- High poverty levels.
- Increased frustration and psychological problems e.g. committing suicide by the desperate unemployed.
- It has led to Uganda's continued under developed due to unemployed resources e.g. labour, land etc.
- Awakened govt to undertake several policies to curb down the problem e.g. the National Employment Policy, the Youth Capital Venture Fund, minimum wage bill, promoting political stability, etc.
- Encourages investment since wages are low, meaning low production costs and high products.
- Promoted hard work to look for jobs and survival.

Generally, unemployment has been a contentious issue and key in public and policy debates. Thus, there is a serious need to address its numerous causes and subsequent consequences/effects as have been discussed above.

47. Assess the achievements of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana up to 1966.

Preamble

- ✍ Brief background to Kwame Nkrumah
- ✍ Take a stand point to evaluate his achievements
- ✍ Successes/achievements
- ✍ However paragraph
- ✍ Weaknesses of Nkrumah
- ✍ Conclude your essay

Achievements

- Championed the independence struggle of Ghana e.g. formed the CPP in 1949.
- Developed socio economic infrastructures.
- Developed agricultural sector.
- Industrialized Ghana.
- Improved the education system e.g. primary school enrolment increased from 500,000 at independence to 1,400,000 in 1965, secondary school enrolment from 800 to 83,000 by 1965.
- Improved the health sector with construction of more hospitals and training of medical personnel, immunization was carried out etc.
- Promoted and emphasized the need to respect the African culture.
- Promoted the national unity by reducing tribal tendencies that characterized most post independent African states.
- Supported African unity e.g. formed the Ghana-Guinea Union in 1958 that was later joined by Mali in 1960, he was instrumental in formation of OAU in 1963 and advocated for the formation of USA in his book "Africa Must Unite" and in 1964 Cairo OAU Conference.
- Africanized the civil service in Ghana by training and employing more civil servants to replace the departing white colonialists.
- Fought against neocolonialism in Ghana.
- He was a strong Pan Africanist especially after attending the 5th Pan African Conference in Manchester; organised the April and December 1958 Accra Pan African Conferences.
- Introduced the local govt system i.e. 30 districts, 250 local and urban councils; 2/3 of the council members were to be elected directly by the people.
- Supported the decolonization of Africa.
- Extended piped water and electricity to the major towns like Kumasi, Takoradi, and Accra.
- Proposed constitutional reforms leading to the promulgation of a new constitution.

Weaknesses

- Enacted a new constitution in 1960 which increased his powers, enabled him to rule by decree, and dismiss anyone at his will.
- Strict press censorship e.g. the "Daily Graphic" was closely monitored by govt.
- Rigging of the 1964 referendum in which Ghanaians were to decide whether to adopt a one party state system or not, 2,773,000 voted 'yes' and only 2,452 'no' votes.
- Dismissal of the police officers after the assassination attempt in January 1964 i.e. police commissioner Harlley, and his deputy AK Deku.
- Political persecution and harassment of his critics through the Preventive Detention Act of 1958 that allowed arrest without trial e.g. Joseph Danquah died in prison.
- Corruption in his government.
- Failure to manage the economy e.g. the external debt stood at £349 million in 1964, inflation, unemployment, scarcity of vital commodities were commonplace.

- Interference into the judicial system by Nkrumah e.g. rejected the court rulings on Tawia Adamafio, Kofi Crabbe, and Ako Adjei accused of the August 1962 assassination attempt, appointed new judges who re-tried and found them guilty.
- The over ambitious devt programmes e.g. established over 50 state enterprises, Volta river project, a state airline, 27 state factories that the economy could not sustain.
- Mismanagement of the 1965 general elections, in which he simply announced the names of the MPs he had chosen on radio.
- Extravagance of Nkrumah and govt, e.g. spent £1 million annually on his birthday, £10 million for the OAU summit meeting preparation, built a new palace, and in total, over £430 million had been spent on useless ventures by 1964.
- Weakened parliamentary democracy by bribery and persecution of the MPs.
- Interference into the army's interests e.g. force Major General Otu and his deputy General Ankrah to retire in 1965, used the army in the Congo 1961-65, sent spies in the army and divided the army amidst poor conditions for the soldiers etc.
- Change in the character i.e. became arrogant, self-centered and intolerant leader.
- Supported rebel groups in the neighbouring countries e.g. tried to assassinate presidents; Sylvio Olympio of Togo and Hamani Diori of Niger.
- Excessively ambitious foreign policy i.e. wanted to be an international peace broker e.g. in the Vietnamese war, which diverted his attention from Ghana's affairs.

Conclude

48. Discuss the causes and effects of the Katanga secession up to 1964.

Preamble

- ✓ Introduction
- ✓ Causes of the secession attempt
- ✓ Effects
- ✓ Conclusion

A secession refers to an attempt by a region within a country to break away to form an independent state due to perceived marginalization in the existing state. Thus, the Katanga secession was an attempt by the Congolese province of Katanga to break away from the Belgian Congo under the leadership of Moise Tshombe.

Causes

1. The abrupt transition of Congo to independence e.g. it lacked strong party structures, had no experience of managing national issues.
2. Economic strength of Katanga for instance it had gold, zinc, uranium, copper.
3. The news of the secession of Katanga under Albert Kalonji.
4. Presence of the Belgians in Katanga i.e. they supported the secession.

5. The long term effects of the Belgian divide and rule policy in the Congo.
6. The effects of the July 5, 1960 army mutiny mainly by African soldiers.
7. The shelling of port Matadi by the Belgian soldiers in the Force Publique caused more tension and confusion.
8. The absence of Pan African ideas of unity and nationalism due to restricted movement of Africans.
9. The double standards of some African states i.e. Tunisia, Sudan supported the secession of Katanga.
10. The unfair parliamentary and cabinet representation of Katanga since it was the richest province with the largest number of elites.
11. Weakness of the Brussels constitutional conference i.e. it failed to decide on the type of govt that Congo was to adopt after independence but rather left it for the independent govt of the Belgian Congo.
12. The double standards of the UNO.
13. Influence of cold war politics at the time for instance the capitalist USA supported the secession.
14. The weakness of the central govt due to infighting between the president, Joseph Kasavubu and prime minister, Patrice Lumumba.
15. Demobilization of the Belgian soldiers who supported the secession.
16. Greed for power by Moise Tshombe.

Effects

- Loss of lives including UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold, ministers Maurice Mpolo, Joseph Okitto and the Prime Minister Lumumba, civilians, secessionists and the soldiers.
- Led to the breakdown of the central govt i.e. Kasavubu tried to dismiss Lumumba on September 5, 1960 and in turn, Lumumba dismissed the president.
- Gave the military/army chance to rule Congo i.e. Mobutu seized power in September 13, 1960 then carried out a complete coup in November 1965 and ruled up to 1997.
- Led to refugee crisis and related problems in Congo Brazzaville, Uganda etc.
- Resulted into the promulgation of a new constitution in April 1964 which provided for 21 provinces to reduce Katanga's size.
- Created divisions than before after the death of Lumumba.
- Revealed the double standards of the UNO e.g. its force was only mandated to restore law and order without using military means.
- Led to economic decline as agriculture and mining came to a standstill, infrastructure destroyed, airports closed.
- Fuelled the cold war.
- Katanga was militarily defeated, Tshombe fled to exile in 1963.
- Promoted neocolonialism.
- Weakened pan Africanism.

- Contributed the post-independence Congo crisis.

Conclusion

49. Account for the success of the 1964 Zanzibar revolution.

Preamble

 Introduction

 Reasons for of factors that led to the success

 Conclusion

Zanzibar was British colony since 1890; the British administered in collaboration with Arabs and became independent on 10 December 1963 with the Arab minority retaining power. This dissatisfied Black Africans on the island who under the leadership of John Okello organised and carried out a successful revolution on 11th and 12th January 1964 against the Arab hegemony/dominance.

Factors/reasons for the success of the revolution

1. The character and personality of John Okello.
2. Poor intelligence network of the Arabs.
3. This assistance to the revolutionaries from the retrenched African police men.
4. The numerical strength of the Africans i.e. there were 250,000 Africans including the peasants against the 50,000 Arabs.
5. The capture of Ziواني armoury enabled the revolutionaries to obtain fire arms and ammunition.
6. Good timing of the revolution i.e. January 11 when the Arabs were having a special Ramadhan festival in Zanzibar city and could not easily crush the revolutionaries.
7. Racial solidarity among the Afro-Shirazi for instance they even accepted the revolutionary leadership of John Okello from Uganda though he was more foreign than the Arabs.
8. Strong determination among the Africans to get rid of the harsh Arab rule.
9. The good transport network that favoured mobilization by revolutionaries.
10. The flight of Sultan Jamshid and his ministers like Ali Muhsin.
11. Careful and secret planning by the revolutionaries.
12. Capture of Mtoni police post by revolutionaries.
13. Small size of the island.
14. Failure by Britain to assist the Arab monarchy.

Conclusion

50. Examine the factors that favoured the eventual liberation of Portuguese Africa by 1975.

Approach

- Introduction
- Factors that led to eventual independence of Portuguese Africa
- Conclude

Portuguese Africa refers to nations/countries/territories that had come under Portuguese colonial rule i.e. Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. These countries were the first in Africa to come under colonial rule and took long to attain independence much later in 1975 after wars of liberation against the Portuguese.

1. Assistance from the communist countries i.e. Russia, China, etc.
2. Establishment of liberated zones e.g. Tete province in Mozambique by FRELIMO.
3. Formation of liberation movements e.g. FRELIMO, UNITA.
4. Collaboration and cooperation among the liberation movements FRELIMO, UNITA, MPLA, PAIGC and these formed an alliance known as CONCIP.
5. Independence of the neighbouring countries e.g. Zambia 1964.
6. The impact of 1974 Lisbon Coup.
7. Assistance from USA e.g. to FNLA and UNITA.
8. Existence of ethnic unity especially in Guinea Bissau where the Fula and Balante fought against the colonialists together.
9. The collapse of the triumvirate alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.
10. Brutality of Portuguese colonial rule created strong determination to end it.
11. The role of the OAU through its Liberation Committee.
12. Emergence of strong nationalist leaders such as Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Samora Machel, Eduardo Mondlane, of Mozambique, Agostinho Neto, Jonas Savimbi of Angola.
13. Adoption of hit and run guerilla war tactics.
14. Simultaneous wars of liberation in all the three Portuguese colonies weakened the colonialists economically and militarily.
15. Geographical terrain in these countries favoured the nationalists.
16. Forced recruitment into the Portuguese army helped the nationalists e.g. they acted as spies in the Portuguese army and could desert with weapons and ammunition for the nationalists.

Conclude

51. Account for the outbreak of the Guinea Bissau War of liberation in 1963.

Approach

- ✓ Introduction
- ✓ Give and explain the factors/causes of the war
- ✓ Conclusion to your essay.

Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde was one of the Portuguese colonies in Africa located in West Africa that got engaged in an armed struggle to attain independence in 1963. This armed struggle was spearheaded by the African Independence Party of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (Partido da Independencia da Guinea e Cabo Verde) - PAIGC under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral and finally attained independence in September 1974. Guinea Bissau under Louis Cabral and Cape Verde under Aristides Pereira.

Causes of the liberation war (*the same with liberation wars in Angola and Mozambique*)

1. Declaration of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde as Portuguese overseas province of Portugal in 1951 by Don Salazar.
 2. The brutal and oppressive rule e.g. Portuguese police burnt villages, killed peaceful demonstrations, e.g. 1959 workers' strike.
 3. Over taxation of Africans.
 4. Desire for independence by the people of Guinea Bissau.
 5. The formation of PAIGC in 1954.
 6. Assistance from then communist countries.
 7. Influence of Harold Macmillan "*Wind of Change Speech*" in 1960.
 8. The unabated colonial exploitation of Guinea Bissau's resources.
 9. Influence of liberal Portuguese e.g. General Antonio de Spínola, Henrique Galvão; Spínola's book, '*Portugal and the Future*' published in February 1974 criticized colonialism and inspired the nationalists.
 10. Emergence of strong, determined and charismatic nationalist leaders e.g. Amilcar Cabral, Louis Cabral, Aristides Pereira.
 11. Success of other armed wars of liberation e.g. the Algerian War of liberation 1954-1962.
 12. Motivation/inspiration from the liberation struggles in Mozambique and Angola.
 13. Influence of anti-colonial propaganda i.e. from Radio Conakry.
 14. Racial segregation or discrimination by the colonial govt.
 15. Influence of the independence of neighbouring states e.g. The Gambia 1965, Guinea Conakry/French Guinea 1958, and other West African states.
 16. Forced assimilation of the Portuguese.
 17. Forced labour contract policy of African workers to South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia, São Tomé and Príncipe was hated by Africans.
 18. Forced labour.
 19. Influence of World War II.
 20. Etc
- Conclude your essay

52. Explain the causes and consequences of the civil war in Angola.

Preamble

✍ Introduction to the civil war in Angola

✍ Give the causes

✍ The consequences/effects/impacts of the civil war

Angola was colonized by Portugal up to November 11, 1975 when she attained independence after a war of liberation with Agostinho Neto as president under the Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola/ Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). However, the transition to independence in Angola turned into a major disaster after a civil war broke out between the MPLA govt and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola/Uniao para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) under Jonas Savimbi and National Front for the Liberation of Angola / Frente Nationale de Libertacao Angola (FNLA) under Roberto Holden up to 2002.

Causes of the civil war in Angola

1. The inadequate preparation of Angola for independence i.e. no national independence elections were carried out.
2. Ideological difference among the Angolan nationalists that is MPLA under Neto was socialist while UNITA under Savimbi and FNLA under Holden were capitalist.
3. South African apartheid regime's interference into the Angolan politics i.e. it supported UNITA and FNLA rebels against the MPLA govt.
4. Negative influence of cold war politics on Angola i.e. USA financed and militarily equipped the UNITA and FNLA rebels to advance USA's capitalist ideology and interests.
5. Competition for power among the nationalist movements i.e. at independence three different govts were declared; MPLA with Luanda as the capital, UNITA in Huambo and FNLA at Ambriz.
6. Breakdown of the transitional govt formed by the three liberation movements at the end of January 1975.
7. Growth of sub-ethnic and ethnic (tribal) nationalism i.e. the UNITA for the Ovimbundu, FNLA for the Bakongo, and the multi-tribal and multi-racial MPLA.
8. Greed for power by Angolan leaders especially Savimbi and Holden.
9. The failure of the Lusaka Protocol i.e. no ceasefire was reached.
10. Militarization of Angola during the liberation struggle.
11. Corrupt nature of Angolan MPLA govt under Neto and even worse later under Eduardo dos Santos.
12. Dictatorial govt of Neto and later Eduardo Dos Santos i.e. one party ruthless dictatorship, censored the press, persecuted critics etc.
13. Presence of Cuban forces in Angola was opposed by some nationalists especially UNITA.
14. Mobutu's selfish interests in Angola i.e. he supplied military and financial assistance from USA to the UNITA and FNLA rebels while exploiting mineral resources in the rebel controlled areas.

15. Weakness of the OAU for instance failed to send a peace keeping force to Angola; her member states like Zaire supported the rebels against the principle of non-interference into the affairs of Angola.

16. The double standards of the UNO e.g. in 1992, it assigned only 800 election observers to monitor 5820 polling stations and only 350 military observers, elections had serious irregularities but UNO did consider them generally free and fair; failed to stop USA's support to rebels.

17. The claims by UNITA that the 1992 elections were rigged by MPLA; Dos Santos got 49.57 per cent, Savimbi got 40.07 per cent. *"If Unita does not win the elections, they have to be rigged"* -Savimbi remarked before the elections.

Consequences/effects

- Loss of lives e.g. 300,000 died in the battle of Luanda in 1975; by 2000, over 1 million had died, Jonas Savimbi was also killed in February 2002.
- Refugee crisis in the neighbouring countries i.e. Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, educated man power fled to Europe and other countries.
- Angola became a battle ground for the ideological war (cold war) between the capitalist and the communist countries/blocs.
- Led to starvation and famine due to decline in agriculture and food production.
- Created instability and insecurity in Central and Southern Africa.
- Promoted neocolonialism.
- Resulted into the destruction of property, socio economic infrastructure like roads, schools and cities like Lobito, Luanda and Benguella.
- The war was a disaster for the South Africa's foreign policy as South Africa was defeated by the MPLA govt and lost support of Zambia, France and Mauritius, increased opposition to apartheid.
- It made Angola to start supporting the SWAPO of Namibia to counter S. Africa's support to UNITA and FNLA.
- Exposed the double standards of the UNO.
- Corruption increased steadily during the war.
- Led to worst service delivery e.g. half of Luanda's 4 million did not have access to clean water by 2002.
- The war partly delayed the independence of Namibia and South Africa.
- Increased poverty levels in Angola due to breakdown in the economy, reduced mining and agriculture.
- Made the MPLA govt popular world wide as a nationalist party.
- The war caused tensions between Angola and Zaire since the latter (Zaire) was supporting rebels.
- Expose the weaknesses of OAU.

Conclusion

53. To what extent did Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) contribute to the liberation struggle of Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)?

Approach

- Introduction of ZANU and the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe
- Stand point
- Contribution of ZANU
- Transitional paragraph
- Other factors that contributed to the liberation struggle/independence
- Conclude your essay

Southern Rhodesia attained her independence in April 18, 1980, with Robert Mugabe as her first black president and the independence name Zimbabwe. This independence was achieved after a long armed struggle for liberation/independence against the white minority govt i.e. Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) govt.


ZANU was a political party formed in 1963 by Sithole Ndabaningi and colleagues mainly to strengthen the struggle for independence.

Its contribution was to a greater extent:

- Mobilized Zimbabweans to join the struggle against minority govt i.e. educated and uneducated, peasants, the small middle class.
- Provided nationalistic leadership in the liberation struggle e.g. Robert Mugabe, Sithole Ndabaningi etc.
- Initiated reforms in the liberated zones such as democracy, free education, medical care, which increased the support to the independence struggle.
- Propagandized the masses on the wrongs and unfairness of the minority govt.
- Worked closely with other liberation movements such as FRELIMO, SWAPO, and MPLA.
- United the people from different backgrounds especially the Shona and Ndebele after formation of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF)
- Established training camps/bases both internal (within Zimbabwe) and external e.g. in Tete province in Mozambique.
- Solicited for financial, technical, logistical and military support from other countries e.g. communist countries due to its socialist ideology.
- Established a strong military wing i.e. Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA).
- Participated and won the 1980 independence elections.
- Cooperated with the Zimbabwe African People's Union and their military wing Zimbabwe African People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA).

Other factors

1. The independence of Zimbabwe's neighbours; Zambia 1964, Mozambique 1974.
2. The release of Zimbabwean nationalists from prison in December 1974 such as Joshua Nkomo, Mugabe and other nationalists.
3. Personality of Robert Mugabe e.g. united Zimbabweans, led the struggle.
4. The role of ZAPU and ZIPRA.
5. The Lisbon coup 1974 that led to the collapse of the alliance between Portugal, apartheid regime and Southern Rhodesia weakened UDI gov.
6. The role of OAU through the Liberation Committee.
7. Change in leadership in USA and Britain i.e. rise to power of Jimmy Carter and Margaret Thatcher respectively that reduced support to the minority UDI gov.
8. Support from communist countries like Cuba, China, Yugoslavia, USSR, and Czechoslovakia.
9. The role of traditional chiefs who encouraged their subjects and youths to join the struggle.
10. The role of the Commonwealth organisation.
11. Inspiration by the Harold Macmillan speech in 1960.
12. The collapse of the Central African Federation in 1963.
13. Role of UNO.
14. Etc

54. Discuss the origins of the 1965 and 1972 Hutu risings in Burundi.Preamble Introduction Causes of the risings Conclude

Burundi was colonized by Germany alongside Rwanda up to 1918. It was then placed under Belgium until 1962 when she was granted independence. The Hutu constituted majority of the population i.e. 85 per cent, the minority Tutsi only 15 per cent and 1 per cent for the insignificant Twa. These tribes shared language and customs but a combination of factors served to create differences between the Hutu and the ruling Tutsi aristocracy leading to the Hutu risings in 1965 and 1972.

Origins/causes of the risings

1. The Hutu hatred for the Tutsi aristocracy with Mwami (e.g. Mwami Mwambutsa) at the top and the harsh Tutsi chiefs at the bottom of administration.
2. Tutsi control of largest land annoyed the Tutsi.
3. The profound effect of colonial rule on Burundi; the colonialists relied heavily on the minority Tutsi which helped to strengthen their control even after independence.
4. The imposition of forced labour on the Hutu in Burundi e.g. on public roads, and Tutsi projects and plantations.

5. The influence of the Hutu rising in Rwanda in 1959 in which the Hutu had overcome the Tutsi aristocracy through force and violence.
6. Assassination of Prince Louis Rwagasore in October 13, 1961; he was a son to Mwami Mwambutsa and had tried to unite the two ethnic groups through the Union for National Progress (UPRONA), thus after his death, the Tutsi intensified the persecution of the Hutu.
7. Unfair taxation system that is the Hutu were over taxed compared to the Tutsi.
8. The unfair education system that favoured the Tutsi.
9. Killing of the Hutu leaders by the Tutsi govt under Captain Michel Micombero (gained power in 1966) i.e. the killing of any Tutsi with any kind of education led to a violent reaction in 1972.
10. Introduction of an identification system that specified the ethnic belonging by the Belgians increased division between the two tribes.
11. Refusal by Mwami Mwambutsa to appoint a Hutu prime minister after the 1964 elections that were won by majority Hutu.
12. The maladministration and corruption in the Tutsi dominated govt in Burundi.

Conclusion

55. “Western Sahara war of liberation was inevitable”. Discuss.

Approach

- ✍ Brief background to the war
- ✍ Causes of the war (what made the war unavoidable/inevitable)
- ✍ Conclude
- ✍ *Note that the question is single/one sided*

Western Sahara or Rio de Oro was colonised by Spain from 1884 up to 1958 when Spain withdrew following the death of the Spanish ruler/dictator General Franco. Consequently, the departing Spanish divided W. Sahara and shared by Morocco and Mauritania against the interest of the Saharawi. Therefore, the Saharawi formed a liberation movement called the Peoples' Front for the Liberation of Saquiat al Hamra and Rio de Oro (POLISARIO) in 1973 and started a war of liberation in 1976 to defend their new Sahara Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

The war was inevitable because of the following reasons/factors/causes.

- The desire for complete independence for the SADR.
- The rise of nationalism i.e. desire to protect Western Sahara from foreign occupation, exploitation i.e. by Morocco and Mauritania.
- Support from Algeria, Libya and other socialist nations to POLISARIO.
- The success of the Algerian war of independence i.e. her neighbor and other liberation struggles in Africa.
- Formation of the POLISARIO.
- Partitioning of Western Sahara between Morocco and Mauritania in 1958 by the Spanish was unacceptable to the Saharawi.

- Imperial ambitions of King Hassan II of Morocco i.e. he wanted to revive the great Moroccan empire of the medieval time to win honour, glory and prestige.
- The unabated exploitation of Sahara's mineral resources by Morocco and Mauritania especially Phosphates at Bou Craa.
- Refusal by Spain, Morocco and Mauritania to recognize the SADR.
- The Madrid Agreement of November 14, 1975 that handed over the administration of W. Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania.
- Failure of the UN sponsored peace plan e.g. in 1993 referendum failed.
- Refusal by Morocco and Mauritania to withdraw their armies from the SADR.
- Plan by Morocco to encircle W. Sahara with an electric wall.
- The influence of cold war politics.

Conclusion

56. Assess the achievements of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Preamble

- Introduction to ECOWAS clearly stating its objectives
- Stand point
- Achievements
- Transitional paragraph
- Failures
- Conclusion

ECOWAS was formed in May 28, 1975 following the resolution of the May 1975 Lagos Conference. However, the actual treaty was signed in November 1976, at Lome in Togo by Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, The Gambia, Senegal, Mauritania, Togo, Liberia, Mali, Burkina Faso (Upper Volta), Nigeria, Guinea, Nigeria, Guinea Bissau, and later Cape Verde in 1977. Its key structures include the Authority of Heads of Government, Council of Ministers, and Secretariat and was formed with the following objectives.

The aims of the Community are to promote cooperation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent.

Achievements of ECOWAS

- It has promoted transport and communication in West Africa e.g. improving roads, railways, telecommunication installations.
- It has made West Africa recognized internationally at African Union, UN, IMF and World Bank.

- Intervened in war situations e.g. the interventions of the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in Liberia (1990) and Sierra Leone (1997), and the ECOWAS Missions in Liberia (ECOMIL) in 2003 and Côte d'Ivoire (ECOMICI) in 2002 were classic military operations designed to stop wars or monitor cease fires, thus creating space for peace negotiations and humanitarian operations.
- Promoted trade and commerce among the member states e.g. by the adoption of a common external tariff and, a common trade policy *vis-à-vis* third countries (third countries are those that do not belong to the integration).
- Encouraged investment into agriculture and agro-based industries e.g. financed the joint research into fertilizers, better seed varieties, animal breeds, markets for agricultural products etc.
- ECOWAS has promoted education in West Africa e.g. through student exchange programme, helping in construction of schools etc.
- It has promoted industrialization of West Africa e.g. its West African Power Pool project led to the construction of Diama dam in Senegal and Manatali in Mali.
- Instrumental in fighting climate change and environmental degradation and their related effects e.g. through the 10 year afforestation project in the Sahel agreed at the 1982 ECOWAS Heads of Government meeting harmonization and coordination of policies for the protection of the environment.
- ECOWAS has condemned coup de tats against democratically elected governments e.g. helped president Ahmed Kabbah regain power in 1997 in Sierra Leone by overthrowing the military govt, condemned the recent coups in Guinea Conakry, Guinea Bissau and Mali.
- Promoted joint exploration and exploitation and minerals among member states e.g. Togo and Benin had a joint phosphates extraction, Togo, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire in oil and cement production.
- Promoted free movement of people among member states by removal of obstacles to the free movement of persons, to the right of residence and establishment agreed at the 1980 HOG meeting in Dakar Senegal.
- Tried to attain self reliance in terms of economic development and food production e.g. through '*Operation Feed yourself*' which has reduced famine.
- Its long survival i.e. over 37 years since 1975.
- Promoted democratic and good governance, the rule of law and respect of human rights.
- Promoted unity, economic and diplomatic cooperation among the member states.
- Ensured non-aggression by member states and their sovereignty by for example intervening instead of individual member states.
- Promoted of balanced development of the region, by paying attention to the special problems of each member state particularly those of land-locked and small island member states.
- It has encouraged adoption of measures for the integration of the private sectors, particularly the creation of an enabling environment to promote small and medium scale enterprises.

Failures

- Failed to achieve political stability in all member states e.g. in Nigeria and Mali.
- Persistent balance of payment problems faced by her member states due to continued exportation of lowly priced primary and importation of expensive imports.
- Failed to check ideological differences between or among the member states which continued to cause misunderstanding.
- Language differences among member states i.e. it has failed to adopt a uniform language.
- It has not fully managed to eradicate neocolonial influence in the region especially from France.
- It has not managed to secure full annual subscription from all her members.
- Failed to secure a common single common currency for the region e.g. some member states still use CFA francs and inconvertible local currencies.
- Failed to diversify the economies of member states i.e. they grow similar cash crops such as cocoa, palm oil leading to competition for foreign markets rather than cooperation.
- It has failed to check smuggling e.g. between Nigeria and Benin, Niger.
- Failed to balance economic devt among member states e.g. Nigeria, cote d'Ivoire, Ghana are much more developed compared to Niger, Liberia, the Gambia and Sierra Leone.
- Infrastructure is still poor in West Africa.
- Heavy debt burden by most if not all members.
- Health and education have not been fully developed.
- ECOWAS has failed to ensure democracy and good governance e.g. in Nigeria under Sani Abacha.
- Dependence on other organisations such as the UN for military and financial assistance, major intervention decisions etc.

57. Account for the “Kabaka Crisis” in Uganda between 1953 and 1955.

Approach

- Brief introduction
- Causes/reasons for the crisis
- Conclusion

The Kabaka crisis was a confrontation between the Kabaka of Buganda, Muteesa II and the colonial governor Sir Andrew Cohen. This followed the introduction of the idea of the East African Federation (EAF), which was opposed by Kabaka Muteesa II and thus mobilized the people of Buganda to demand for independence of Buganda alone. This trend of events led to his deportation into Britain in November 30, 1953 and it this chaos which constitute what is known as the “Kabaka Crisis” in Uganda.




Causes

1. The plans to form the EAF, i.e. the British planned to form a federation for Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika.
2. Muteesa II's failure to cooperate with the colonial administrators as specified in the 1900 Buganda Agreement.
3. Weakness of the colonial constitution e.g. allowed Buganda have its own autonomy, parliament- the Lukiiko etc.
4. The demands by Buganda for greater control of the economy.
5. Unitary policies of Sir Andrew Cohen i.e. after becoming governor in 1952, he introduced radical changes based on a centralized administration and a representative parliament.
6. The brief enjoyment of dominance by Buganda during the early colonial period, yet Cohen was reversing this status.
7. Deportation of Kabaka Muteesa II in November 30, 1953.
8. Religious conflicts in Buganda increased tension.
9. Rejection of Cohen's legislative reforms by the Kabaka and Buganda's representatives, Cohen had increased the number of representatives to the legislative council to 28, 14 had to be Africans and nomination of Buganda's representatives to the Legislative council.
10. Desire for greater representation by Buganda i.e. appointment of more representatives from Buganda into the Legislative council which demands led to the assassination of Martin Nsibirwa, the prime minister of Buganda.
11. Personality and ideological differences between the governor and Kabaka Muteesa II i.e. the Kabaka was conservative monarch and federalist, while Cohen was a modern, radical and unitary person.
12. Muteesa II's desire to adjust or change the terms of the 1900 Buganda Agreement which required him to be loyal to the colonial govt, the governor, and limited his powers.
13. The inspiration of Muteesa II of Kabaka Mwanga's resistance against the British between 1894 and 1897.
14. Etc.

Conclude your essay

58. Assess the causes of the Algerian War of Independence.

Preamble

-  Introduction
-  Give and explain the causes
-  Logical conclusion is required

Algeria was a French colony from 1914 up to 1962 when she attained independence. This independence was achieved through a bloody and long war of liberation between the Front Liberation Nationale (FLN) under nationalist leaders like Ahmed Ben Bella, Ferhat Abbas, Houari Boumedienne, Ahmed Bouteflika, Belkacem Krim and French colonial govt. Thus, after a period of 8 years the FLN managed to overcome the exploitative, brutal French colonial rule in 1962.

Causes/factors

1. Desire for independence i.e. they had been colonized from 1914 up to 1954 when the war started.
2. Forced labour
3. The defeat of the French army at Dien Bien Phu in the Vietnamese war in 1954.
4. Land grabbing by the increasing white/French settlers.
5. Emergence of strong and charismatic nationalist leaders e.g. Messali Hadj, Belkacem Krim, Ben Bella and Ferhat Abbas.
6. Heavy taxation of the Algerian people by the French colonial govt.
7. Influence of World War II i.e. weakened France, led to emergence of ex-servicemen like Krim and Ben Bella.
8. Influence of writers like Victor Hugo, Michelet and Jean Jaures who emphasized the respect of human rights, social equality, and fairness and criticized colonialism.
9. Influence of the double independence of Morocco and Tunisia in 1956.
10. Interference into African/Algerian culture by the French.
11. Religious differences.
12. The influence of the 1952 Egyptian revolution and the 1956 Suez Canal War.
13. The failure to attain independence through constitutional means e.g. political parties, elections, peaceful demonstrations were not allowed.
14. Racial segregation by the French colonial govt.
15. The plans by France to turn Algeria into a French territory.
16. The maladministration of the French e.g. restricted movements, oppressive, corrupt and employed harsh tax collection methods.
17. Emergence of Arab nationalism.
18. Influence of Frantz Fanon's e.g. the "*Les Damnés de la Terre*" 1961, which means "The Wretched of the Earth" – which became a 'bible' to the revolutionaries and the "*Pieds Noirs Trysques Blancs*" – "Black Skins, White Masks".
19. The influence of western education.
20. Influence of the 1941 Atlantic Charter.
21. Unveiling of the Algerian women by the French security operatives and army.
22. The indiscriminate massacre of the Algerians by the French army in 1945 e.g. at Sétif, Kabyla, and Constantine.
23. The domination of the economy by the French settlers.
24. Historical hatred against colonialism inspired nationalists i.e. in 1820's and 1830's, nationalists like Abdel Kader organised a resistance and fought the French colonialists.

Conclusion

59. Account for the attempt and failure by Buganda's secession up to 1966.Preamble

✓ Clear introduction

- ✓ Point out the reasons for the attempt to secede by Buganda/factors
- ✓ Factors which made it fail
- ✓ Conclusion

During the 1940s, and 1950s, the people of Buganda took the lead in the African nationalist politics in Uganda with future political and economic motives. Therefore, from early 1950 to 1966 after independence, the Kabaka of Buganda Muteesa II demanded for independence from Uganda.

Though it was a failed attempt to secede, it was a result of various factors.

- The general fear of the formation of the East African Federation, i.e. the federation of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika which would increase white settler influence and land grabbing as in Kenya.
- The question of the lost counties of Buyaga and Bugangaizi i.e. president Obote held a referendum in which occupants voted to rejoin Bunyoro kingdom yet the Kabaka opposed it.
- The effects of the 1959 Wild Committee and its report, whose work was opposed by Buganda.
- Desire by Buganda to protect her culture.
- The need by Buganda to protect her traditional independence since it had an organised system of administration and stronger than other kingdoms like Bunyoro.
- Opposition against Governor Sir Andrew Cohen's unitary form/system of govt.
- The weakness of the colonial constitution of Uganda.
- Deportation of Kabaka Muteesa II in November 30, 1953 by the colonial governor, Cohen.
- Introduction of democracy in Uganda e.g. democratic national parliament and election of representatives from all regions was opposed by Buganda
- Economic strength of Buganda i.e. benefitted from the colonial developments such as good schools, hospitals, endowed with vital economic and natural resources.
- Emergence of an educated class of Buganda made her confident of managing her own affairs.
- Long term effects of the weaknesses of the 1900 Buganda Agreement e.g. gave Buganda a privileged position which strengthened Buganda's sub-nationalism.
- Buganda wanted to protect its land.
- Failure by the British to protect Buganda e.g. British had used force against Buganda between 1945 and 1949, also in 1954 riots and also deported the Kabaka of Buganda.
- Obote's dictatorship for instance declared Uganda a one-party state, arrested and imprisoned ministers, who questioned his policies especially the Baganda, abrogated the independence constitution.

Despite the desire to secede, Buganda did not succeed and this was due to the interplay of the following factors/reasons.

1. Lack of full support from educated Buganda elites such as Benedicto Kiwanuka, Abubaker Mayanya, etc.

2. Strong, unitarist character of Dr. Apollo Milton Obote.
3. Buganda's central position with major colonial developments e.g. the capital of Uganda that is Kampala.
4. The 1955 Buganda agreement between the British and the Kabaka of Buganda, Muteesa II.
5. Unitary policies of the British colonial governors in Uganda i.e. Cohen and Fredrick Crowford.
6. Lack of a strong army for Buganda kingdom.
7. The formation of the anti-Buganda parties e.g. the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC).
8. The 1954 Namirembe Agreement after the Namirembe Conference organised by the British and attended by Buganda nationalists; it approved unitary govt and the return of the Kabaka.
9. The deportation of the Kabaka weakened the secession attempts of Buganda.
10. Division within Buganda's parliament i.e. the 'Lukiiko'.
11. The 1961 Munster Commission which recommended a unitary form of govt.
12. The decision to have Buganda's independence demands solved by the post-independent govt of Uganda.
13. The influence of Pan African ideas of unity.

Conclude your essay.

60. Discuss the factors that led to the outbreak of the Eritrean war of independence and its consequences up to 1995.

Approach

- ❖ Brief introduction
- ❖ Identify and explain the factors that led to the war
- ❖ The consequences
- ❖ Conclusions

Eritrea was colonized by Italy from 1896 until 1941 when Italy was dislodged/pushed out by the combined force of the British army and the African soldiers in the course of World War II. From 1941 to 1952, Eritrea became a mandated territory of the UNO under the British and then under Ethiopia up to 1962 when she was annexed fully by Ethiopia sparking off a war of independence/secession.

Factors to consider

1. The desire for independence by the Eritreans.
2. The religious differences between the Ethiopians who were mainly Orthodox Christians and Eritreans who were mainly Muslims.
3. Emergence of determined nationalists who led the struggle e.g. Isaias Afwerki.
4. Colonial heritage i.e. the British had introduced democracy in Eritrea which made the Ethiopia's dictatorship unacceptable to Eritreans.

5. The maladministration of Eritrea by Ethiopians for instance they were very corrupt, harsh and yet they dominated the civil service.
6. Harsh and brutal reaction of the Ethiopian govt the Eritrean nationalism e.g. arbitrary arrest, flogging and imprisonment of civilians suspected to be rebels, burning villages etc.
7. Extension of the unfair Ethiopian law code to Eritrea in 1959.
8. Economic grievances among the Eritreans e.g. wanted to regain control of Port Massawa and Assab, control exploitation of asbestos.
9. Tribalism exercised by Haile Selassie e.g. made his tribe's language, that is Amharic the official language for use in schools, public offices.
10. Dictatorship of Haile Selassie from 1930 up to 1974 and later Colonel Haile Mariam Mengistu from 1974 to 1991.
11. The failure by Ethiopia to stop the 1972-1974 famine which claimed the lives of more than 200, 000 Eritreans, annoyed the Eritreans.
12. Feudalism in Ethiopia and Eritrea i.e. control of the largest land by a few privileged landlords, chiefs, royal family members at the expense of the majority peasant population.
13. Influence of cold war politics i.e. Eritrea received financial, logistical and military support from the USSR between 1961 and 1974 then from the USA after 1974.
14. Failure by the Ethiopian govt to drive away the Italians out of Eritrea after the Battle of Adowa of 1896 which showed the Ethiopia's lack of concern of Eritrean freedom.
15. Formation of liberation movements that is the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) in 1961 and the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) in 1972.
16. The weakness of the UNO for instance mandated Eritrea to Britain in 1941 up to 1952 and then allowed Eritrea to be annexed to Ethiopia.
17. Influence of the support to Eritrea from Arab states such as Syria, Libya, Egypt, and Sudan.
18. The inspiration by other secessions and secession attempts e.g. secession of Pakistan from India after independence in 1947, the Katanga secession in the Belgian Congo 1961-64.
19. The weakness of OAU.
20. Etc

Consequences

- Led to massive influx of Eritrean refugees into the neighbouring countries of Sudan, Djibouti etc.
- The war showed the weakness of OAU ire the member states did not condemn continued occupation of Eritrea by Ethiopia.
- It depopulated Ethiopia and Eritrea due to high death of many people during the war i.e. over 100,000 people.
- Led to famine in Eritrea and Ethiopia i.e. the 1972-74 in which a million people died and another in 1991-1994.

- The war led to the destruction of property especially Eritrea's infrastructure like schools, roads, crop fields, agricultural output declined drastically and the economy was close to collapse.
- Strained relations between Ethiopia and her neighbours e.g. Ethiopia and Somalia because the Somali govt supported the Eritrean secessionists from 1977-78 and with Sudan govt that also supported the Eritrean secessionists.
- Led to serious economic crisis in Ethiopia due to decline in production and excessive military spending during the war.
- Intensified cold war.
- Resulted into increased in the role of the military in Ethiopian politics and the Horn of Africa e.g. Ethiopian military coups of 1974 against Selassie and 1991 against Mengistu; since 1993, Eritrea has been under the military strongman, - Isaias Afwerki.
- Led to the independence/successful secession of Eritrea in 1993 under Afwerki.
- Increased neocolonial influence in Eritrea and Ethiopia.
- Influenced other secession attempts for instance the Biafra secession, Southern Sudan war of secession that succeeded in 2011.
- Etc

Conclusion

61. Examine the factors contributed to the growth of African nationalism in the Belgian Congo.

Preamble

- ✍ Introduction, with definition of African nationalism
- ✍ State and explain the factors that favoured the growth of Congolese nationalism.
- ✍ Conclude the essay

African nationalism refers to the strong hatred Africans had towards colonial rule/foreign domination in all its forms and manifestations.

Belgian Congo was a colony of Belgium. King Leopold II of Belgium had named it the Congo Free State after acquiring the territory formally in 1885. In 1908, following international pressure, the Belgian parliament took over the Free State from Leopold and placed it under the Belgian government up to June 30, 1960 when the Congo attained independence with Patrice Lumumba of Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) as the Prime Minister and Joseph Kasavubu, of the ABAKO (Alliance des Bakongo) was elected President.

Factors to consider

1. The oppressive Belgian colonial rule and policies e.g. restricted movements, limited right to vote, and to form political parties.
2. Formation of political parties such as MNC, ABAKO, CONAKAT, BALUBAKAT.
3. The rise to power of Charles de Gaulle in France 1958 i.e. granted independence to Guinea Conakry/French Guinea and also started preparing Congo Brazzaville for the same.
4. The impact of the wind of change that was blowing across the African continent i.e. decolonization e.g. Ghana 1957.
5. The Harold Macmillan Wind of Change Speech in January 1960.
6. Rise of an educated class of Congolese e.g. Patrice Lumumba, Pierre Mulele, Gaston Diori, Joseph Kasavubu among others.
7. Effects of the economic depression of 1955-56 i.e. prices of copper, Congo's main export fell which weakened the colonial govt.
8. Impact of the 1958 World Trade Fair in Brussels, Belgium attended by some Congolese elites and nationalists e.g. allowed them interact with nationalists from Africa.
9. Change in Belgian colonial policies on Congo from 1957 for instance carried out constitutional reforms which granted Africans the right to vote and to be voted in local and municipal elections e.g. Lumumba won in Leopoldville, Kasavubu in Stanleyville.
10. Strong influence of the December 1958 All African People's Pan African Conference in Accra attended by Gaston Diori, Lumumba, Joseph Ngalula from the Congo and adopted positive action.
11. The forced agricultural programmes such as forced growing of cotton, compulsory labour on cotton farms, roads; after 1945, the mandated number of days for forced labour were doubled to 120.
12. The role of King Boudouin of Belgium i.e. emphasized tolerance and cooperation between the Belgians and Africans which seemed to signal his support to African nationalism.
13. Influence of Professor Van. A Bilsen's ideas; of Antwerp University in Belgium who published a 30 year plan for the emancipation of the Belgian Congo in 1956, which condemned oppressive colonial rule.
14. Support to African nationalist struggle from the Catholic Church.
15. Role of the new colonial governors i.e. Maurice Van Hemelrijk and Auguste de Schryver who speeded up the independence process.
16. The unabatted exploitation of Congo's resources e.g. gold and diamonds by foreign companies such as Union Miniere, American Congo Company, which repatriated profits.
17. The 1959 Port Matadi riots led by Lumumba made the Belgians to quicken the decolonization process.
18. Influence of World War II after 1945.

Conclude

62. “To what extent was World War II responsible for the growth of African nationalism?”

Approach

- ✍ Introduce World War II and (define African nationalism)
- ✍ Stand point (To a greater extent)
- ✍ Contribution of World War II
- ✍ Transitional paragraph
- ✍ Other factors
- ✍ Conclude your essay

World War was a global war fought between the allied powers of Britain, France, Russia, USA and the axis powers of Germany, Italy, Japan and their respective allies between 1939 and 1945. Many Africans about 2million were recruited to fight in this modern war in North Africa, Asia and Europe and it brought tremendous changes to the whole world. Its impact on the growth of African nationalism was to a greater extent and has been regarded as a *turning point* in the growth of African nationalism.

- Expanded military of the whites i.e. before the war, Africans used to think that the whites could not die, unchallengeable and invincible.
- Led to the emergence of new superpowers i.e. USA, USSR replacing Britain and France.
- Weakened the economies of Britain and France that were the major colonial powers i.e. incurred heavy costs in building large armies, aircraft, warships, weaponry, thus allowed Africans to control their economies, accepted pressure to decolonize to get financial assistance.
- The war resulted into the emergence of militant nationalism in egg ‘Anake wa Forty’ in Kenya formed by former World War II servicemen to fight for independence.
- The war led to the formation of the UNO to replace the defunct League of Nations in 1945, which condemned colonialism and advocated the political rights of all colonized people to self govt.
- The unfulfilled promises to the African servicemen e.g. promotion in the army, employment, democratic constitutions, etc after the war made them more nationalistic.
- Led to the drawing up and signing of the Atlantic charter in 1941 by the US president Franklin Donovan Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill which supported and respected the right of all the colonized people to self-govt and self-determination.
- Increased the influx of white settlers into Africa leading to increased land grabbing, forced labour, racial segregation.
- Exposed Africans to democratic governance e.g. Bildad Kaggia in Britain.
- Contributed to rapid urbanization in Africa e.g. growth of towns like Accra, Mombasa etc that attracted and united large populations amidst poor living conditions and unemployment.

- Led to the rise to power of the Labour Party in Britain in 1945.
- Liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 by joint force of the British and African servicemen.
- African servicemen obtain military skills and experience which they exposed to modern weapons and tactics of warfare and they used to fight the colonialism.
- Exposed Africans press and mass media which criticized colonialism.
- The African servicemen in Burma, India, learnt how nationalist movements had forced Britain to grant independence and later used similar methods on return.
- Enabled Africans to witness the disunity amongst the European powers e.g. the French were divided into Pro-Vichy and Free French, allied powers against axis powers.
- Led to economic development in Africa e.g. increased the demand for Africa's agricultural and mineral output thus obtained money to finance political activities.
- Led to the calling of the Brazzaville Conference 1944.

Other factors: as for question 23, then conclude.

63. Discuss the impacts of the Italo-Ethiopian War.

Approach

- Brief background to the 1935 war between Italy and Ethiopia.
- Present the impacts of the this war on Ethiopia then impacts on African nationalism other countries, separately
- Conclude

Italo-Ethiopian war was a military confrontation between Italy under Benito Mussolini and Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie. It started in 1935 after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia with imperial and colonial interests up to 1941 when Italy was pushed out by a combined force of the British army and the African servicemen. The war had the following impacts on Ethiopia, Africa and world at large.

Impacts on Ethiopia

1. Ethiopia was defeated militarily i.e. the Italians captured Addis Ababa and briefly occupied her for 6 years.
2. Loss of lives e.g. 10,000 to 30,000 were killed by Italians in the 1937 Graziani massacre, in 1938, Bishop Petros was publicly executed by the Italians for refusing to broadcast against the Ethiopian patriots.
3. It resulted into destruction of property e.g. homes, crop fields etc.
4. The Italians introduced their brutal, exploitative and oppressive policies, forced labour and the restriction of peoples freedoms based on fascist ideology.
5. Led to refugee problem in the region.
6. Resulted into the flight of Emperor Haile Selassie into exile in London.
7. Led to the formation of the Black Lions Movement in Ethiopia to challenge Italian occupation.

8. The Ethiopian church became a leader of Ethiopian nationalism i.e. condemned Ethiopian occupation by Italy especially after the execution of 350 monks at ancient monastery of Debra Libanos after the Italians found a stock of guns there.
9. It altered Ethiopia's territorial integrity for instance Italy created 4 new provinces i.e. Amhara, Galla-Sidamo, Harar and Shoa along tribal lines.
10. The war gained Ethiopia international recognition that is, after regaining independence, she was invited to be one of the founder members of the UNO in 1945.
11. Ethiopian nationalism was extended to Italy i.e. a young Ethiopian nationalist, Zeraï Deress, murdered five fascist officials after being overwhelmed by patriotism (love for Ethiopia) on the commemoration of the first anniversary of the occupation of Ethiopia.
12. Resulted into the looting of Ethiopian treasures such as beautiful pieces of art, like royal swords, the statute of the Lion of Judah etc.
13. It made Haile Selassie very popular in the Black World because he was able to preserve the glory of the ancient Ethiopian monarchy and Christian faith of Ethiopia.
- 14.

Impacts on Africa, and the world

15. The war partly contributed to the outbreak of World War II i.e. since Mussolini had been appeased by Britain and France, Hitler, the German dictator invaded the Rhineland and Poland which had been declared neutral zones (demilitarised).
16. The war marked the end of the League of Nations, partly for its failure to stop the Italy's aggression against Ethiopia and thus replaced by the UNO 1945.
17. Italy was diplomatically defeated by Ethiopia after the allied powers forced her out in 1941.
18. The attack shaped Nkrumah's and Kenyatta's nationalism for instance they condemned the aggression e.g. Kenyatta wrote an article; "*Hands off Abyssinia*" which stimulated African nationalistic feelings both within Africa and the Diaspora.
19. Influenced Wallace Johnson and Nnamdi Azikiwe in Sierra Leone to write a joint article, "*Has the African a God*" which criticized colonial rule.
20. Created more racial awareness among Africans especially in the Diaspora and West Africa which strengthened the Pan African ideology e.g. there were demonstrations by some 20,000 Negroes in New York, USA.
21. Strengthened the West African Students' Union (WASU) for instance demonstrated in the streets of London in 1936 and called for an end to colonial rule.
22. Created a strong bond of unity and racial solidarity among the Black race within Africa and in the Diaspora to oppose the aggression of Ethiopia by Mussolini's Italy.
23. Nigerian nationalists formed the Abyssinian Association and later the Abyssinian Defence Fund to mobilize assistance and called on Britain to dislodge Italy from Ethiopia.
24. Led to the growth of militant nationalism in Africa i.e. use of force of arms against the colonial powers as had been in Ethiopia like the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya 1952-55.
25. Contributed to formation of the Rastafarian movement or Rastafarianism in Jamaica which was a religion that worshipped Haile Selassie as '*Jah*' or '*God*'.

26.

Conclude your essay

64. Account for persistent political instabilities in the Horn of Africa.

Preamble

- ✓ Brief introduction
- ✓ Reasons/factors/causes of political instabilities in the Horn of Africa
- ✓ Conclude your essay

The Horn of Africa is comprised of independent African states of Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Northern Kenya and part of the South Sudan and Sudan. This region has seen a series of political problems such as coup de tats, interstate disputes, clan and tribal conflict and the like due to the following factors:

1. Careless partition of the Horn of Africa in the 19th Century e.g. the Somali was divided up among the 5 territories i.e. French Somaliland, the British occupied Northern Somalia while others now belonged to Ethiopia, Italy and Kenya; leading to attempts for greater unity.
2. The frequent occurrence of long periods of drought and famine in the region e.g. 1972-1974, 1991-1994, recently in 2009-2011 leading to clashes over food, pasture and water sources such as in areas controlled by the Al-shabaab militants.
3. The Italian war against Ethiopia in 1935 and its effects on the region.
4. Ethnic and clan rivalries in the region for instance among Somalia's five tribes i.e. the Darod, Hawiye, Isaq, the Dir and Digil-Mirifleh.
5. Absence of a stable government in Somalia i.e. since the overthrow of Siad Barre, Somalia is simply run by clan war lords and Al-shabaab militants.
6. The religious diversity in the region e.g. majority Ethiopians are Christians while Somalis, Eritreans are mainly Muslims.
7. The negative influence of cold war in the region up to 1990.
8. Foreign intervention into the region e.g. by USA in 1992-93 under the United Nation's 'operation restore Hope' in Somalia.
9. Persistent dictatorship in the region since independence for instance General Muhammad Siad Barre in Somalia 1960-1991, Mariam Mengistu 1974-1991, and Isaias Afwerki in Eritrea 1993 to date whose repressive regimes causing many political problems. Barre remarked, *"When I leave Somalia, I will leave behind buildings but no people"*- Meredith (2005, pg 496).
10. The wars of secession e.g. Eritrean and Djibouti wars of liberation from Ethiopian rule.
11. The strategic location of the region i.e. it has the ports of Djibouti, Massawa, Assab, that control the world's biggest oil traffic from the Middle East which has since World War II attracted the interest of world powers for economic and military purposes.
12. Long standing effects of World War II on the region.
13. Extension of the Arab-Israeli conflict to the region especially to the Ethiopia and Eritrea.

14. Impact of the activities of refugees in the region e.g. armed robbery, theft and cattle raiding from the local people and also their attempts to overthrow govts e.g. the Somali refugees in Ogaden who even formed the Somali National Movement.

15. Weaknesses of the UNO e.g. allowed USA to intervene in Somalia on its behalf in 1992.

16. The weakness of the OAU.

17. Persistent poverty in the region.

Logical conclusion

65. “European colonialism sowed the seeds for its destruction in Africa”. Discuss.

Preamble

❖ Brief introduction

❖ Stand point

❖ Contribution of colonialism (and its policies) to its own destruction–independence of Africa or growth of African nationalism

❖ However paragraph

❖ Other factors that led to destruction/end of colonialism in Africa

❖ Conclude your essay

At the time of imposition of colonial rule in Africa, i.e. partition of Africa, many African rulers tried to resist it e.g. Abdel Kader of Algeria, Kabalega of Bunyoro in Uganda while others welcomed it. And thus, by 1914, all Africa had come effectively under European colonialism, characterized by mainly oppressive and exploitative policies and a few good policies that worked to fuel African nationalism later leading to its destruction.

Contribution of European colonialism

1. Loss of Africa's independence to European colonialism e.g. the kings and chiefs in kingdoms like Dahomey, Mandinka, Bunyoro, Buganda, Asante, the Emirs of Sokoto Caliphate, lost their autonomy/independence and power over the people.

2. Grabbing of African land by the colonialists e.g. the Kenya or White Highlands in Kenya.

3. The careless partition of Africa by the decisions of the 1884-1885 Berlin Conference e.g. the Bakongo were partitioned between the French Congo, Belgian Congo and the Portuguese Angola which led to growth of Bakongo nationalism.

4. Unfair representation of the Africans in the colonial parliaments (legislative councils) and the executive councils e.g. before 1944, no Kenyan was to sit in the legislative council, until 1945 in Uganda and Tanganyika, 1948 for Northern Rhodesia and 1949 for Nyasaland.

5. The unfair taxation policies i.e. many and high taxes were imposed on the Africans like the hut tax, gun tax, property tax and also dog tax for hunting societies in South West Africa.

6. Harsh and brutal methods of tax collection e.g. flogging, imprisonment, of defaulters.

7. Forced growing of cash crops e.g. cotton in Uganda and sisal, cotton in Tanganyika at the expense of food crops which led to famine and discontent.

8. The restricted growing of profitable cash crops e.g. pyrethrum and cotton in Kenya.





9. Forced labour policies e.g. in Kenya, Algeria, Rwanda, Burundi, South Africa etc.

10. Replacement of African culture and religions by foreign cultures; whites despised African culture as being barbaric, backward.
 11. The racial segregation by colonial govts and white settlers e.g. in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Kenya.
 12. Creation of reserve areas where Africans lived under miserable conditions.
 13. Exploitation of Africa's mineral and other resources e.g. oil, copper, diamonds etc.
 14. The European divide and rule policy e.g. the British favoured the Baganda in Uganda which united the other tribes against the British and Baganda to demand for independence.
 15. The introduction of Western education leading to rise of an elite generation of African nationalists such as Amilcar Cabral, Mayanja Nkangi, Nelson Mandela, Nkrumah.
 16. Accidental colonial developments and urbanisation in Africa.
 17. Role of missionary activities in Africa.
- Other factors: referred to other factors in question 1 and also question 23.

Logical conclusion

66. Assess the causes and the consequences of the 1972 military coup in Ghana.

Preamble

-  Brief introduction
-  Give the causes of the military coup
-  Give the consequences
-  Conclude

The 1972 military coup was the second coup in Ghana after the 1966 coup against Nkrumah. It was a bloodless coup by the Ghanaian army led by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong the commander of first Infantry Brigade at Accra against Dr. Kofi Busia's govt. the coup plotters set the National Redemption Council of the army officers that was to rule Ghana.

Causes of the military

1. Corruption in Dr. Busia's govt i.e. Busia and his ministers and civil servants embezzled govt public resources and accumulated real estates, big expensive cars, businesses.
2. Dictatorship of Busia for instance persecuted his critic and opponents, arrests without trial.
3. Strict censorship of the press; newspapers, radio stations were strictly monitored to detect and eliminate all information that criticized the govt e.g. he dismissed an editor of a government owned newspaper for being critical of the govt.
4. Confrontation with the trade unions i.e. Busia tried to influence the Trade Union Congress to vote his Progressive Party officials.
5. Intensification of ethnicism and regionalism in Ghana's politics during the regime e.g. he favoured the Asante and Northerners in his appointments.
6. Grievances in the army e.g. Busia abolished army officers' vehicle allowances, cut down the army budget by 10 per cent, engaged the army in anti-cholera campaigns, food relief programmes amidst poor pay, accommodation etc.

7. Busia's policy of dialogue with the racist regime in South Africa was hated by many Ghanaians and the army.
8. Demonstration effect of earlier 1966 coup in Ghana against Nkrumah and others in Africa such as the 1963 coup in Togo, 1966 in Burundi, 1969 in Libya, 1971 in Uganda etc.
9. The expulsion of African nationalists from other African states such as South Africa made Busia's govt so unpopular.
10. Weak and disastrous economic management policies in e.g. in 1971, prime minister Busia was advised by economists and experts to have the Ghanaian Cedi (currency) by only 20-25 per cent but he instead decided to devalue it by 44 percent.
11. Economic crisis caused by a fall in the prices of cocoa in the global/world markets in 1971 which led to reduced foreign exchange, increased foreign debt, scarcity of vital commodities, high unemployment, rendered govt unable to adequately provide basic services.
12. Poor administrative skills of Busia i.e. always took long to take serious and urgently required economic and political decisions.
13. Greed for power by some army officers e.g. Acheampong.
14. Foreign intrigue.

Consequences of the 1972 military coup

- The army officers formed the National Redemption Council that headed govt and was led by Acheampong.
- The political prisoners were freed.
- Some improvement was made in the military.
- Tried to improve social service delivery e.g. education, health etc.
- Ushered in the military into govt once again.
- Dictatorship continued.
- The govt was short lived that is it was ended by another coup in July 15, 1978.
- Led to increased press censorship, imprisonment of critics and abuse of human rights.

Conclusion

Note:

- ☺ *February 24, 1966 coup against Nkrumah led by Major Afrifa Akwasi, JWK Harlley, Colonel Kotoka, AK Deku.*
- ☺ *January 13, 1972 coup against Dr. Busia led by Col. Acheampong.*
- ☺ *July 15, 1978 coup against Acheampong led by Lieutenant General Fredrick Akuffo.*
- ☺ *May 15, 1979, coup against Gen. Akuffo led by Lieutenant General Hadimu and Flight Jerry Rawlings.*

67. Examine causes and consequences of the 1969 Libyan revolution.

Approach

- ✓ The question does not require a stand point
- ✓ Brief introduction to the revolution in 1969 Libya

- ✓ Give and explain the causes of the revolution
- ✓ Identify the positive consequences (achievements)
- ✓ The negative consequences (weaknesses/failures)
- ✓ Conclude your essay

The 1969 Libyan revolution started with the September 2, 1969 military coup organised by a group of army officers i.e. the free unionist officers. They overthrew the ancient Libyan monarchy of King Idris. This coup brought to power its leader, the 29 year old army officer Colonel Muammar al Gaddafi. The coup led to dramatic socio economic, cultural and political changes in Libya thus referred to as Libyan revolution.

Causes of the revolution

1. Influence of Nasser and the Egyptian revolution of 1952.
2. Need for complete independence by army officers in Libya i.e. complete sending away of all American, British and other NATO personnel.
3. Dictatorship of the monarchy under King Idris e.g. banned all opposition political parties, such as the Progressive National Congress in 1952, which had won elections.
4. Discontent in the army i.e. the lower ranked officers were under paid, and lived in very miserable conditions, King Idris failed to modernize and professionalize the army leading to the defeat of Libyan army by Israel in the 1967 war.
5. Exploitation of Libya's oil resources by foreign companies that repatriated profits.
6. Rampant corruption, inefficiency and mismanagement of public funds by a small clique of officials in the monarchy.
7. Tribalism and nepotism by King Idris' monarchy e.g. relied heavily on the Shalhi family for major appointments in his govt and army.
8. Need to purify Islam and check Christianity.
9. Desire for greater unity of Libya and the Arab world i.e. Libya was to be the leader of the Arab world/nations.
10. The influence of cold war politics i.e. the socialist army officers had support from the USSR.
11. The need to end regionalism in Libya i.e. unite Tripolitania, Cyrenaica and Fezzan provinces.
12. Need to check and end neocolonialism in Libya by prudently using the available oil resources and reduce over dependence on the Western world for assistance.
13. Overwhelming power ambitions and personality of Col Muammar Gaddafi.
14. Influence of Marxist ideology i.e. Gaddafi wanted to introduce an Islamized version of socialism based on the teachings of the Quran/Koran.
15. Desire to modernize Libya.
- 16.

Consequences of the Libyan revolution

Positive effects

- Libya achieved true independence for instance all foreign armies were expelled and revolutionary govt took over American airbase at Wheelus and the British military base at Al Adem.
- Nationalization of all property owned by foreigners for instance oil and exploration exploitation put under govt, airbase at Wheelus and many other businesses
- Gaddafi introduced the “Third Universal Theory”/Islamic socialism i.e. a new form of political ideology based on the Quran contained in his “Green Book”.
- The revolutionaries formed the Revolutionary Command Council along the lines of Egypt’s RCC headed by Gaddafi which adopted a radical anti-Western stand.
- There was cultural revival after the revolution, foreign lifestyles, drinking alcohol, foreign languages were abolished and Arabic language and culture introduced.
- Reduced neocolonial influence in Libya.
- Led to transformation of Libya through the rapid industrialization and economic dev tie prudently used oil resources, agriculture, oil refineries, industries, Libya became one o f the leading oil producers in the world.
- Improvement in education e.g. free and compulsory primary education introduced, secondary and technical schools constructed which increased literacy levels.
- Employment was created for the Libyans e.g. through investment in refineries, agriculture, infrastructure, service sectors using oil resources, nationalized businesses etc.
- The agricultural sector was fully developed e.g. allocated the largest portion of the National Budget in the National Development Plan of 1976-81, irrigation of a large scale which reclaimed the Tafari plain for cultivation, cooperative associations for farmers.
- The health sector was improved; many hospitals were constructed, supplied with equipment and drugs, free medical care provided, more doctors and medical personnel were trained etc which reduced mortality rates.
- The revolutionaries heavily invested in socio economic infrastructure e.g. construction of industries, bridges, roads, housing estates, hydro electricity power plants, air ports, irrigation schemes, railways, piped water systems, telecommunication lines, schools, etc.
- Popular and participating democracy was introduced where people voted for local popular committees in what Gaddafi called the state of the masses- “*Jamahiriya*”.
- The revolutionaries strongly condemned colonialism in Africa and supported decolonization movements e.g. helped the POLISARIO front in Western Sahara, ANC guerillas, condemned Portuguese rule and apartheid regime in S. Africa.
- There was training of manpower i.e. teachers, medical personnel, lawyers, engineers.
- The revolutionaries a strong, well paid, organised, equipped and trained army.
- Revolutionary Libya was a key founder of the African Union in 2002 and other organizations like Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
- Unity was created which ended regionalism.
- Women emanicipation was realized after the revolution i.e. in the Green Book, equality between men and women was recognized e.g. Gaddafi’s presidential guard was dominated by women.

- Environmental conservation through the Green Revolution which transformed Libya from a desert country to a green country.
- Heightened Gaddafi's personal esteem, due to the great socio economic achievements.
- Etc

Negative consequences (weaknesses/failures) of the revolution

- Established a one party Islamic dictatorship.
- Revolutionaries collaborated with dictatorial regimes in Africa e.g. Amin 1971-79, Barre in Somalia 1960-1991.
- Gaddafi made himself the leader of the revolution for life.
- Attempted to form a political union with other Arab states e.g. with Syria, Egypt which collapsed in 1972, with other African countries like Chad etc.
- Human rights abuses worsened in Libya after the revolution e.g. arrest without trial, execution of prisoners in jails.
- Corruption, financial mismanagement of public resources and extravagance by Gaddafi's family members.
- Supported international terrorism e.g. Irish rebels in Northern Ireland, implicated in the Lockerbie bombings, and also the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in the USA; supported and offered sanctuary to world terrorists.
- Gaddafi, the leader of the revolution tried to force other leaders in Africa to adopt the idea of forming the "United States of Africa" and worked hard to overthrow those who opposed e.g. was accused of assassinating President Anwar Sadat of Egypt.
- Supported various rebel and dissent groups in Africa e.g. the FROLINAT and Volcan forces in Chad.
- Violent crushing of peaceful demonstrations by Gaddafi's govt especially between 1995 and 2011.
- Etc

Give a logical conclusion

68. What were the causes and effects of the 1947 Malagasy rising?

Approach

- Give a brief introduction
- Give and explain its causes
- Effects
- Conclusion

The Malagasy rising was an armed rising by the Malagasy people in 1947 against the French colonial rule. It was thus a reaction to the negative policies of the French colonial govt together with other factors.

Causes

1. Economic exploitation by the French settlers e.g. colonial companies paid low wages, repatriated profits.
2. Land grabbing by the white settlers especially after 1945.
3. The rumours that the French colonial govt was colluding with the white settlers in South Africa for an invasion of Malagasy by the latter (white settlers in South Africa).
4. The influence of World War II i.e. the allied powers battled with the axis powers for control of Malagasy for strategic reasons and Malagasy people were recruited to fight for France.
5. French govt interference into the post War (WW II) elections to the French Chambers in Madagascar/Malagasy i.e. it sponsored the Disinherited Madagascans against the nationalist party Mouvement Democratique de la Revolution Malagache (MDRM).
6. Emergence of strong nationalist figures e.g. writer Jacques Rabemanjara and others who were instrumental in organizing the rising.
7. Harsh French reaction to the peasant uprising i.e. the Malagasy peasants had used stones, spears to attack and kill the French settlers and administrators and the fellow natives who collaborated with the colonial govt which made the French army to react with extreme brutality; killing and imprisoning a number of suspected opponents which worsened the situation.
8. Desire for independence i.e. though it was a rural peasant rising/uprising, it was a gesture of the growing discontent with colonial rule and the desire to regain independence by the native Madagascans.
9. Racial segregation i.e. the govt limited interaction between the white settlers and the native Africans and Indians, superior health and education facilities were reserved for the whites etc.
10. Religious differences i.e. the colonialists and white settlers were Christians while the majority Madagascans had adopted Islam and this divide was worsened efforts by French to undermine the religions of the natives.
11. Heavy taxation of the Malagasy people who were very poor, yet the tax revenue was embezzled by the colonial tax collectors, harsh methods of tax collection etc.
12. The influence of the Indo-China War/Vietnamese war 1946-1954 in which the people of Vietnam demanded for their independence and thus motivated the Malagasy people to do the same.
13. Imposition of forced labour on the Madagascans in the large French clove and coffee plantations, this was amidst low or no pay, poor working conditions, long working hours.
14. Influence of the 1941 Atlantic charter.
15. Etc

Effects

- The war led to massive loss of lives i.e. administrators, settlers killed by the Malagasy peasants and the Malagasy people killed by the French army; the French admitted killing 11,000 people yet the MDRM claimed the figure was high at 80,000 Madagascans.
- Led to destruction of property e.g. the white farms, homes, etc.
- Led to arrest and imprisonment of nationalists by the colonial govt e.g. Jacques Rabemanjara and many other nationalists were imprisoned for alleged leadership role in the revolt.

- The peasant rising/revolt was crushed by the French army since it was uncoordinated , unpinned, disorganized, without proper leadership and set objectives; they were poorly equipped with sticks, spears, stones and thus crushed by the strong French army.
- The Malagasy rising influenced more armed struggles in the post-war Africa e.g. the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya, Algerian war of liberation among others.
- Some reforms were initiated by the colonial govt e.g. African representation in colonial parliament was granted, working conditions on the plantations improved with reduced working hours.
- Intensified the conflict between the settlers and the native Malagasy people due to the extreme brutality with which it was crushed.
- It became a forerunner to the independence of Madagascar/Malagasy as the French started preparing her for independence.
- Give more

Conclude

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