**JINJA JOINT EXAMINATIONS BOARD**

**MOCK EXAMINATIONS 2019**

**241/4: HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA**

**MARKING GUIDE**

1. **(a) Describe the movement and settlement of the Hottentots in South Africa before 1800**.

* They were also known as “khoi khoi”, “Herders” and “men of men”
* The khoi khoi were the second inhabitants of South Africa
* They had a common origin with the san
* They were short people who were yellowish or brownish skinned
* They had a language characterized by the use of licking sound
* Though there origin and settlement in South Africa is not clear to historians
* They migrated from the east and central Africa moving southwards
* Evidence of their migration is seen on the similar rock paintings found in east and central Africa
* They settled around buffalo and Atlantic coast
* On reaching south Africa they separated into four groups i.e Nama, Gona, Cochoqua, and Korana
* The Nama (western khoi khoi) moved coastward along river orange and reached the coast
* The Nama settled in areas of Namibia
* The (Eastern khoi khoi) moved east wards into fish river valley
* The Cochoqua settled in areas of the cape
* Later the Korana separated from the rest and went to Griqualand west
* The Portuguese found them living along saldhana bay and mossel bay
* By the 17th century, they were living around orange river in natal cape and Namibia
* They were pushed into deserts like Namibia and Kalahari by the stronger Bantu
* They also settled around mountainous areas like Drankensburg, Winterburg Lesotho highlands
* Today the khoi khoi are living in the countries of Namibia, Angola among others
* Draw a sketch map of South Africa shoeing this migration

**(b) How were they organized during this period?**

They lived a social, economic and a political life

**Economic life**

* Khoi khoi were pastoralists who reared animals like sheep cattle
* Highly valued cattle and rarely slaughtered them
* Cows were for milk and food
* Cows could also be used as shield in times of war
* Cow`s milk was for men and ewes milk was taken by women and children
* They kept fat tailed sheep goats and cattle
* They were also hunters and gatherers
* Used arrows and bowls during their hunting expeditions dressed animals skins for warmth
* Carried out fishing from rivers like kagera and kei to supplement on their diet
* They traded with their neighbors
* Land was communally owned
* They divided labor along sex lines e.g. men hunted while women gathered

**Political life**

* Powers and authority of leaders was based on customs and traditions
* Camps or groups were loose and could break up very easily especially once faced with hard challenges
* Diffences between members of different clans were settled by chiefs of the same camp
* This was because different clans gathered together and lived in one camp
* Difference within one clan were always solved by the clan leaders
* They had a centralized system of administration headed by a chief
* Chiefs were assisted by council of elders
* Council of elders was made up of only adults
* Women had no say in the political affairs of the society
* Khoi khoi never had a standing arm. Youth provided security

**Social Life**

* They were polygamous and matrilineal
* They had cultural ceremonies to remember clan founders
* Married couple stayed with parents until they produced a first kid
* When married couple was moving to their homes, they carried many presents from parents
* They practiced some ancestor worship
* They worshipped Twisgoab the rain giver Twisgoab was presented by a praying mantis which was a symbol of wealth and fortune
* They had a clicking sound in their language
* They dance at the sight of full moon and half moon
* They were taller than the san but still short in size
* They had a brown yellow skin with a click sound in their language
* They also adopted farming after their inter marriages with the Bantu
* They lived in larger groups of between 600-2000 people.
* They sacrificed for rain when celebrating death, marriage and other important ceremonies.
* Khoi khoi boys were circumcised as part of the initiation ceremonies.

**2 (a) Why was the Dutch East Indian Company established at the cape in 1652?**

* The Dutch were the first Europeans to make a permanent settlement in South Africa
* They were Europeans from the Netherlands or Holland.
* Their first settlement was in 1652 under the leadership of Reibeck this was after the accident of their ship Haarlem in 1647
* The reasons why Deico was established were political social and economic and strategic
* The Dutch were attracted by the Portuguese success in the Far East trade a need to establish a calling station
* The wreck range of their ship Haarlem near table bay
* Need to establish a workshop for repairing and refueling the ships
* Availability of fresh food water and meat
* The need to replace St Hellena which was no longer supplying fresh meat and fruits
* To attack the supremacy of Spain and Portugal in the Indian Ocean trade
* To take over control of the spice trade from the Portuguese
* To overcome fierce competitions from the English
* Amalgamation of several Dutch trading companies to form a united Dutch east Indian company
* Wanted to setup a medical center to treat the sick sailors
* Strategic location of the cape vis a vis the eastern trade
* Good harbors at the cape
* Role of Jan Van who led the first settlers
* Need to establish a commercial empire
* Plenty of un occupied land hospitality of the inhabitants
* Mediterranean climate
* Wanted to carry out trade with the khoi khoi
* Establish a defensive/military post
* Cape was midway between Europe and Asia
* Fertile soils at the cape
* Favorable reports from sailors

**(b) Explain the challenges that were faced by the early Dutch settlers at the cape**

* They faced several challenges social, political and economic
* The cape was empty and the settlers had to start from nothing.
* Yet none of them had ample knowledge about the cape /geographical barriers
* Even Jan van Reibeck had to overwork himself as an engineer a farmer a carpenter at the beginning of the settlement.
* They did not know the type of crops to grow where and when to grow them
* As a result their crops always failed leading to poor harvests
* Their stable food crop wheat and barley were too costly to grow
* Yet they had no money to buy food/poverty
* The distance from Holland/ Nether
* lands to the cape was too far
* The directors who were giving orders were based in Amsterdam
* Even the company governors had little knowledge about administration
* Some were even corrupt selfish and harsh e.g. Willem van Der Stel
* The early settlers were also few in numbers
* Language barrier since they could not speak African language seven some of the Dutch officials in the team were already sick weak and incapable of doing any meaningful work
* Settlers suffered from home sickness since they were far away from their homeland
* The wars in Europe also caused them phychological torture//French wars
* They were also feared and isolated by the local people who looked at them as devils
* Coming of the British also posed a challenge to the Dutch settlers
* The Khoi san refused to trade with them I cattle and sheep
* There was a problem of poor transport network no telephones no telegraphs yet the distance was from home
* The settlers even lacked education facilities for their children
* Attacks from wild animals like lions and leopards
* At first they lacked enough land for farming and settlement
* Most of the early settlers former soldiers who had no experience in agriculture
* Settlers lacked proper medical facilities no hospitals
* They suffered diseases like dysentery scurvy and malaria
* Suffered from poor housing or accommodation facilities their houses/tents were old and leaked
* Presence of natural calamities worsened the social living conditions of the settlers
* Heavy rainfall caused floods leading to discomfort and general poor health
* Prolonged drought season brought about acute suffering unserious lack of food/famine and starvation/poor feeding
* Settlers also suffered from the cold winters making them sick, impatient and cold
* Settlers were forced to move with surviving herds away to better grazing areas
* There were rigid company politics that limited free trade and farming/prices
* The company fixed the prices of all commodities produced by the settlers
* Also charged high interest on those living on company land/over taxation
* The settlers also lacked market were to sell their products directly
* The drop in prices for their agricultural produce following the arrival of the French agreement
* The company even prevented them from selling to other European companies
* The farmers lacked enough capital in terms of machinery
* There was poor land tenure system which did not favor the settlers
* They lacked enough white women to many leading to homosexuality
* In conclusion the settlers faced many problems that were social economic and political

**3(a) Why did the Boers migrate into the interior of South Africa between 1830 and 1840.**

* This was the famous great trek or Boer migration or Boer exodus
* It started off in the areas around Graaf Reint/Cape.
* Trekkers moved at different periods, under groups and leaders.
* Key leaders included Louis Trig dart, Hendrick Portigitier, Van Rensburg and others.
* Trekkers used ox-wagons to carry their movable property.
* They moved avoiding coastal crowded areas and mainly moved northwards.
* This trek was general negative reaction against the British reforms at the cape.
* The causes were long term and immediate.
* The need for territorial expansion by the Boers.
* The Boer’s desire for independence.
* The rebellious nature of the Boers.
* The love for adventure among the Boers.
* They were searching for favorable climate.
* The role of scouts who have already scouted the interior of South Africa.
* The nomadic nature of the Boers.
* Cape soils had become infertile and dry
* As pastoralists, they were looking for water and pasture.
* Constant attacks from Africans/raids.
* The cape population had increased greatly.
* The British occupation of the cape annoyed the Boers.
* The Boers resented the Anglicizing of the coast.
* The Boers hated the use of English as the official language at the coast.
* Boers hated English laws which replaced Dutch laws at the cape.
* They were unhappy with the Hottentots code of 1809.
* Boers hated the introduction of the Black circuit courts in 1812.
* Hated the 50th ordinance in 1828.
* Hated reforms in the press introduced by the British.
* Hated British liberal economic policies.
* Annoyed by the loss of cheap labour.
* Mapping and fencing of land annoyed them.
* Hated the surveying of land.
* Hated the documentation of land.
* Boers hated Missionary lobbying for the return of African land.

N.B: All British reforms at the cape caused this trek.

* This made them to sign agreements with the Boers e.g. Sand River Agreement of 1852 and Bloom fountain in 1854.
* Provided earlier independence to the Boers of Transvaal
* Provided earlier independence to the Boers of orange free state
* There was introduction of modern or commercialized farming in the interior
* Also live stock farming introduced to the veld
* Later Boer occupation of the central plateau and the coast prevented other European powers like Portugal, France, German from accessing South Africa
* There was increased enmity between the Boers and the British
* There was increased British imperialism and influence
* Led to increased Boer nationalism
* These stiff rivalries/enmity led to Aglo Boer wars eg first aglo Boer war 1880-1881
* There was a rigid colour bar which later developed as apartheid
* The British began following up the Boers and attempted to control them
* British liberal policies were extended to the interior
* The European scramble for south Africa remained between the British and the Boers
* Led to the discovery of minerals like diamond 1867 and gold 1884 by the whites
* A permanent slave master relationship in south Africa
* The bantu replaced the khoi khoi as the main labor force of the Boers and white miners
* It made the separation of the bantu tribe from the white forever impossible
* Boers lost lives eg Retief
* Boers lost property in wars with the Africans

**The effects of this migration on the Africans includes the following**

* The effects were both positive and negative
* Many wars were fought between Africans and whites eg blood river
* Africans were defeated
* Africans lost independence eg Zulu
* Africans lost lives eg dingane
* They were depopulated
* Weakened African societies
* Africans lost land
* Africans were displaced
* They were pushed to reserves
* Agriculture declined
* Trade also declined
* Poverty among Africans
* Africans were detribalized
* Loss of property among Africans
* Africans lost cattle eg dingane was fined was 17000 herds of cattle
* Boers interfered with African politics
* Africans were detribalised

In conclusion, the effects of this trek were both positive and negative on the people of south Africa as seen above.

**4(a) Explain the factors that led to the growth of the Swazi nation during the 19th century**

* The Swazi nation was one of the defensive states that rised during mfecane period
* The factors that led to its growth were social political and economic as seen below
* Conquered people were treated kindly which created unity
* The regiments defended the nations independence ably
* Wide spread peace and unity gave more strength leading to its growth
* Earlier leaders emphasized diplomacy over war eg sobhuza and later mswati
* Marriage alliances kept the nation together listening fighting and wars
* Sobhuza married zwide`s daughters stopping ndwandwe raids on them to maintain peace
* The trick of giving gifts to powerful leaders weakened them
* All well behaved refugees were welcomed and helped to settle down
* Residing in mountains gave them a security edge over enemies strategic location
* Settling refugees on the margin lessened rebellion and attacks
* Most neighbors were weak which made them easily conquered
* The nation had fertile soils that boasted agriculture to provide enough food
* Mswati good relationship with the Europeans especially Boers
* The good succession system/ hereditary minimized civil wars
* The outbreak of mfecane which provided a big number of refugees increased population in the nation leading to its growth
* Sobhuza avoided unnecessary wars and used diplomacy which maintained peace in the kingdom

**Why was this nation annexed by the British in 1902?**

* The reason for the British annexation of this nation were social poltical and economic as seen below
* It was a period of scramble and partition at the time
* The strategic location of Swaziland
* The desire by the British to have as many colonies as possible
* For international prestige
* The effects of the Franco Prussian war of 1870-1871
* The role of Berlin conference 1884-85
* The effects of the industrial revolution in Europe
* The acute demand for raw materials in African countries
* The need for market in African countries
* The need to invest British surplus capital
* To promote commerce and trade
* To spread western civilization
* To spread Christianity in the area
* To protect missionaries in the area
* They were attracted by the presence of fertile soils in the area
* The presence of favorable climate
* The rise of British imperialists and millionaire to Cecil Rhodes
* Presence of German in the nearby Namibia scared away the British to annexed the area
* To fix possible Boer- Portuguese allowance
* The growth of European nationalism/balance of powers among the European countries

**5(a) what were the causes of the conflicts between the Zulu and the British in 1906**

* .These conflicts were referred to as the Bambatha rebellion.
* .This was the war that took place in Zulu land in Zondi reserve.
* .The war was between the British and the Zulu of Zondi reserve.
* .It happened during the time when Din Zulu the son of Cetewayo was the king of the Zulu.
* .The British were led by Sir Bartle Frere and ChalloDancan.
* .Africans were led by chief Bambatha.
* .Happened in 1906.
* .The dismissal of Bambathaent by the British wasn’t welcomed by the Zulu which created circumstance for war.
* .The division of the Zulu kingdom into 13 political units annoyed the Zulu
* .The long held mistrust ,suspicion and enmity between the two led to the war
* .The Zulu wanted to regain their lost independence which was taken by the British in 1879.
* .The Zulu were not happy with the tax of 1 pound per head(over taxation)because many Zulu could not afford to pay.
* .The rise of British imperialism and desire by the British to annex the whole of south Africa.
* .The wide spread killing of Zulu leaders who failed to pay tax to the British also led to the war.
* .The disrespect of African leaders which characterized by public flogging annoyed the Zulu and hence the war.
* .Pushing the Zulu into infertile areas i.e. reserves and poor living conditions.
* .There was increase in land rent and turning of Zulu into tenants on their own land.
* .The turning of Dinzulu into a mere headman instead of a king annoyed the Zulu hence war.
* .The burial and harsh methods of tax collection employed by the British towards the Africans.
* .Grabbing of Zulu land and cattle by the British.
* .The British practiced racial segregation by treating the Zulu as second citizens .
* .Of which famine created a need for war in order to loot food from the British.
* .Missionary influence in area also led the war.
* .The outbreak of diseases like Rinderpest which was attached to the coming of the British into land forced the Zulu to fight them.
* .The killing of all infected cattle and animals which led to great loss of cattle also led a war.
* .The Zulu were further inspired to fight because of their earlier success against the Isandlwana battle of 1879.
* .The rise of African nationalism and desire to protect independence at all costs led to the Bambatha rebellion.
* .The outbreak of Anglo Boer wars where the British were defeated made the Zulu believe that they could fight and defeat them.

# b) How did these conflicts affect the people of the region?

* .The effects of the Bambatha rebellion were positive and negative as seen below;
* .There was great loss of lives of both Africans and whites.
* .There was great depopulation in Zulu land due to the massive killing of people.
* .A lot of property was destroyed in the course of fighting like crops, houses, cattle
* There was poverty among Africans since there farms and cattle were destroyed
* Africans were severely defeated by the British leading to the loss of independence
* Famine broke up into Zululand since farms were destroyed and cattle killed
* Agriculture declined because people were not carrying out farming and farmlands had been destroyed
* Racial segregation against the blacks in Zulu land increased or worsened
* Africans further lost land and were pushed into reserves
* There was misery and suffering especially in the reserves as people suffered starvation and congestion
* It led to death of African chiefs like Bambatha who was murdered in the course of the war
* Dinzulu and other political leaders were arrested for having supported the rebellion
* Africans lost trust in traditional beliefs and many became Christians
* The British changed methods of administration and in 1908, a bill was passed allowing Africans into the LEGCO/ legislative council
* It gave rise to African nationalism giving way for formation political parties eg ANC African national congress in 1912.

6(a) **Describe the developments that took place in South Africa between 1867 and 1910**

* This was the period of the mineral revolution in South Africa
* Before the discoveries, the economy was weak with low standards of living
* It was agro based and less developed
* Orange free state depended on crop and sheep rearing
* The cape depended on wine and pastoralism while Transvaal on sheep and cattle
* The economy was mainly depended on wool from merino sheep
* The economy was mainly controlled by Europeans
* In 1867, diamond was discovered at Kimberly
* In 1884, gold was discovered at Witwatersrand
* Other discoveries were manganese,coal,copper etc
* Economy changed from Agriculutural to an industrial one
* International trade was boosted
* Level of exports increased ie.diamond exports increased and fetched for million pounds a year
* Local markets were enlarged
* Agricultural changed from subsistence to commercial
* There was large scale cash crop growing on the country sides around the mines
* Improvement in communication and transport network
* Roads, railway lines were constructed e.g Natal-Transvaal,Transvaal-Delequa,Pretoria-Delequa
* Telephone lines, roads bridges were improved
* Boer states came from poverty to richness
* Transvaal prospered by heavy taxation on gold mining company such as the De-beers company of Cecil Rhodes
* Agricultural processing industries came up
* Manufacturing industries sprung up around mines
* Many towns developed e.g Johannesberg and Pretoria
* Increase in the white population in the interior
* Natal made a lot of money from custom duties and sugar Industries
* There was rural urban migration as Africans looked for cashcrops
* The was development of migrant labour system
* There was improvement in the banking sector e.g Orient bank
* Increase in land around mine areas
* There was improvement in insurance companies
* It led to introduction of modern ships and steamers
* Ports were enlarged
* Job opportunities created / employment
* Improvement in transport e.g roads, bridges, railways

**(b) How did these developments affect Africans?**

* It affected Africans both positively and negatively as seen below
* Some Africans gained jobs in the mines
* Farmers acquired market for their products
* It led to rural urban migration as Africans were looking for cash crops
* There was social disintergration as husbands were separated from their wives for long
* Africans lost land were the minerals were discovered e.g Griqualand.
* Displacement of Africans
* Africans were forced into reserves where life was very miserable
* Africans were discriminated in employment as they were given low paying jobs/denied white jobs
* Africans got low paying but heavy work
* Africans were forced to work on contracts
* There was breakdown of African culture and traditions
* Africans adapted to western civilization
* African rulers became powerless
* Africans adapted prostitution and alcoholism
* They lost lives in mine accidents
* Africans lived in dirtytowns/slums
* There were poor standards of living among Africans
* There were high crime rates in slums were Africans lived
* African societies were defeated and lost independence e.g Swazi , Basuto e.t.c
* Agriculture declined
* Conflicts between Africans and whites

7**(a) What were the terms of the 1910 Act of Union**

* The act of union was the constitution for the four pronvices of south Africa
* A white union government was to be in place
* A unitary form of government was to be adopted
* Louis Botha was to become the first prime minister of the union
* The union government was to receive instructions from the king/queen of England
* The union government was to be headed by the governor general
* The governor general was to helped by an elected prime minister
* There was to be a union parliament with authority over four pronvinces
* The parliament was to have two house chambers , the upper house and lower house
* The upper house was to approve and pass laws in the parliament
* The lower house (Assembly) was to stay for 5 years and then re-elected
* This house was to discuss laws in the parliament
* Africans were not to sit in the union Parliament/restricted to only whites
* The cape was to be the parliamentary town for the union
* Africans were not to vote
* African interests and rights were to be ignored in the new south Africa
* The british were to withdraw their support for aficans /non whites
* Africans were to attain first class citizenship
* The Africans were to be second class citizens
* The whites were to attain first class citizenship
* Only male adult Europeans(whites) aged 18 were to vote in South Africa
* Only rich and well educated Africans living in british-Natal and cape colonies were to vote
* Pretoria (Transvaal) was to be the executive /presidential/capital city
* Orange river colony was to become /Orange free state
* The four former colonies of south Africa were to become pronvices of south Africa
* The long term enemity between the two whites was to end
* At last/genuine peace among whites was to reignin south Africa
* Both boers and the british were to be friends, brithers, and sisters for the first time
* There was to be equality among the white races
* And both English and dutch language were to be equal staus /official language
* Every pronvince was to be under the control of the union administration appointed by the union government/high commission territories
* Each pronvince was to be under the control of the union administration appointed by the union government / high commission territories
* He was to be assisted by a committee of four elected commissioners
* A white missionary was to be nominated to represent the Africans
* The british were to remain responsible in the Basuto land,Swaziland and Botswana
* There was to be a supreme court with pronvicial and district courts

**(b) Explain the effects of this union on the Africans in South Africa?**

* The effects of this union on Africans include
* Africans became second rate citizens
* They had to operate under racist laws/apartheid
* African labour was restricted to dirty jobs by the 1911 labour act
* Africans lived in reserves
* Africans were forbidden from venturing outside their reserves
* Africans lost land by the land act
* Hence pass laws were made and Africans freedom of movement quashed
* They were nolonger to be protected by British
* Loss of independence was confirmed
* Africans lived in the dirtiest towns like Soweto/slums
* They became poor /poverty
* They became backward and under developed/ poor standards
* African resources were exploited
* African labourers were cheaply employed
* Even tiny neighbouring countries like Lesotho and Swaziland suffered
* E.g they were economically brocaded by souyh Africa
* They were killed and depopulated
* Massive protests e.g Sharpsville occurred
* Led to rise of African nationalism
* Formation of African political parties
* Africans were enslaved
* Africans were defranchised
* Africans reacted independent African churches

**8(a) Explain the contribution of the south west African peoples organization (SWAPO) towards the attainment of independence in South West Africa (Namibia)**

* SWAPO was one of the strongest parties in Namibia
* It started as the Ovambo land people’s organization
* The party was formed by Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kabenge or Kuhanga in 1999
* It was later transformed into South Western African peple’s organization and represented to densely populated Northern areas areas of Namibia
* In 1960,the organization started an armed struggle against south Africa
* It fought against continued land grabbing by the apartheid regime
* SWAPO led to strikes against job discrimination in Namibia
* SWAPO cooperated with the other parties like SWANO to struggle against the whites
* Sam Najoma mobilized people mainly in the northern region against apartheid regime
* It trained people for guerilla wars in the states like Angola,Tanzania,Zambia,Egypt,and Algeria
* Party leaders like sam najoma risked and sacrificed their lives for freedom
* They published articled through the press, magazines, radios and journals condemning apartheid
* They organized armies to fight for independence and made Namibia ungovernable to the whites using violent means
* They looked for support in terms of material and financial for the national struggle
* They appealed for national unity as opposed to secritarianism and tribalistic tendancies
* They educated and sensitized their members on the importance of freedom and their rights
* Members constantly recruited and trained youths to be incorporated into the national struggle
* They conviced the organization of African unity to join the liberal struggle
* They appealed for united nations support for both material and financial
* They campaigned against all evils of apartheid ,passbook,Bantustans and contract labour system
* They appealed for communists support especially for USSR cuba and china
* They also appealed for support from other freedom movements like MPLA and FRELIMO
* Sam Nojuma and the colleagues convinced the international community to help in the struggle bfor freedom
* United Nations started imposing economic and diplomatic sanctions on south Africa
* They further convinced neighbouring countries like Zambia and Botswana to allow them open up training bases in their countries
* Party leaders like Sam Nujoma campaigned for justice, liberty and human dignity, they recruited people from ovambo land and made it an ethinc base in north
* They mobilized the youths and women to join the national struggle fro examplw in December 1969 launched a congress at Tanga in Tanzania fro women and youth leagues
* They also mobilized disgruntled workers to join the struggle for instance
* They incorporated some political parties into the national struggle like SWANO
* They linked with people’s liberation army of Angola (PLAN) to end south African rule
* It also opposed the Turnhalle proposals which never supported a fully independent Namibia
* Party leaders refused to participate in elections organized on the Turnhalle proposal of power sharing
* The organization fought and weakened Botha’s government of south Africa
* The organizations led Namibia to independence in 1990
* They also negotiated with apartheid regime to relax some of its laws and even release political prisoners
* They came up with a slogan “Aluta continuation” which fired up the youths into action

**(b) Why did Namibia fail to attain Independence in 1990?**

* They lacked financial support to carry out their activities
* TThey suffered from divisions e.g SWAPO against SWANU , ovambo against herero
* The south African regime had a very strng presence in Namibia
* Many nationalists were arrested and killed by the whites
* They lacked very strong leaders Kutako and Nujoma came very late
* Strong grass roots leaders who would mobilize commoners were very late
* Some nationalists championed tribal conflicts e.g SWAPO was originally for Ovambo
* SWAPO lacked strong military support
* The whites put up many restrictions which made it hard for the nationalists to operate
* Later the south African regime annexed Namibia as the fifth prnvince of the union
* The apartheid politics were extended into Namibia drailed national movements
* The whites were stubborn and refused to bow down to the UN and OAU pressure
* The whites from south Africa usually raided SWAPO camps in A ngola especially from 1978
* The divide and rule policy which went with the Bantustans divided up people
* African governments were not united in their condemnation against whites e.g Malawi and Zaire
* Initially OAU did not strongly support national struggles in Namibia
* Double standards of UNO also paralised the struggle
* Ideological differences e.g capitalists against communist believers
* Military weakness of Africans
* Role of USA which frustrated
* Role of Britain and france also polarized
* Increasing number of white settlers in Namibia
* Delayed independence of neighbouring staes
* Poor transport and communication
* [Power clashes due to greed for power
* Bumming of political parties by the apartheid government.