
RAJUVELU GOVENDER

Rajuvelu Govender

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Supervisor: Professor Peter Kallaway

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Abstract

This thesis is an appraisal of curriculum development at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and the Dakawa Development Centre established by the ANC in exile, in Tanzania in 1978 and 1982 respectively. In 1960 the ANC went into exile when it was banned under the Unlawful Organisations Act in the wake of the Sharpeville crisis. The ANC’s record in the educational arena from 1912 to 1960 was characterized by reactive responses to state policy as it did not have a structured educational programme that it could offer as an alternative to education for blacks. In the post-1960 period it was faced with a new set of priorities, that is, the huge and complex task of re-organising itself both within South Africa and in exile. In 1978 the ANC established its educational institution, the SOMAFCO High School, in Mazimbu, Tanzania, in the wake of the 1976 uprisings in Soweto and elsewhere in South Africa.

In 1980 the project was extended by the establishment of the SOMAFCO Primary School, followed by the Dakawa Development Centre in 1982. Three broad emphases came to the fore when the ANC Education Policy was being formulated in the late 1970s: emphasis on Academic Education; emphasis on Political Education and an emphasis on Polytechnic Education. The ANC Education Department claimed to have formulated a clear and concise education policy in 1978 but sharp debates over the appropriate curriculum for ANC education in exile persisted up to 1992, when the institutions were closed and repatriation to South Africa began.

The main problem being investigated is why there were such divergent views on the appropriate curriculum for ANC education-in-exile from within the ANC, and in the light of this contestation, what happened in reality to curriculum practice at the institutions. The arguments for Academic, Political and
Polytechnic Education are contextualized in the curriculum debates of the times, that is, the 20th century international policy discourse, the African curriculum debates and Apartheid Education in South Africa.

This study examines how Academic Education, despite the sharp debates, was institutionalised at the SOMAFCO High School. It also analyses the arguments for and various notions of Political and Polytechnic Education as well as what happened to these in practice at the school.

The SOMAFCO Primary School went through three phases of curriculum development. The school opened in 1980 under a ‘caretaker’ staff and without a structured curriculum. During the second phase 1980-1982 a progressive curriculum was developed by Barbara and Terry Bell. After the Bells resigned in 1982, a conventional academic curriculum was implemented by Dennis September, the new principal.

There is debate over why the Dakawa Development Centre was initially opened in 1982. Its objectives were identified at the First Dakawa Seminar in 1982. This study examines curriculum development within its structures: the Vocational Training Centre, the Ruth First Education Orientation Centre and the Raymond Mahlaba Rehabilitation Centre. This study analyses whether the Vocational Training Centre was intended to train students in skills required for the construction of Dakawa or whether it would provide Vocational Education which would lead to the attainment of recognized certification for future employment. It examines whether the Ruth First Education Orientation Centre was an educational facility or a security centre. It also examines the nature of rehabilitation at the Raymond Mahlaba Rehabilitation Centre. The other structures like the farm, small industries and other social facilities are also
examined. The study finally traces the relocation of the Dakawa Development Centre to Grahamstown in South Africa.
Declaration

I declare that ‘The Contestation, Ambiguities and Dilemmas of Curriculum Development at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, 1978-1992’ is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Rajuvelu Govender

May 2011

Signed: _______________________
Acknowledgements

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I would not have been able to complete my study without the support of the staffs at the ANC Archives at UFH, African Studies Library, Manuscripts and Archives at UCT, and the Robben Island – Mayibuye Archives at UWC.

I developed close bonds with Mosoabuli Maamoe, the archivist and Yolisa Kambule Soul, the chief librarian at UFH. Their pleasant company, warmth and accommodating nature are highly appreciated.
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<td>AAC</td>
<td>All African Convention</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABB</td>
<td>Algemene Besturenbond</td>
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<tr>
<td>AME</td>
<td>African Methodist Episcopal Church</td>
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<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<td>ANCYL</td>
<td>ANC Youth League</td>
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<td>ANGEC</td>
<td>Angola Education Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>APHEDA</td>
<td>Australian People for Health, Education and Development Abroad</td>
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<td>AZAPO</td>
<td>Azanian Peoples Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCM</td>
<td>Black Consciousness Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSA</td>
<td>British South Africa Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>CATA</td>
<td>Cape African Teachers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCM</td>
<td>Consultative Committee Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDP</td>
<td>Curriculum Development and Planning Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIES</td>
<td>Centre for Information and Education for Development (Italy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COD</td>
<td>Congress of Democrats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCP</td>
<td>Conference of the Nationalist Organisations of the Portuguese Colonies</td>
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<tr>
<td>COSAS</td>
<td>Congress of South African Students</td>
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<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPSA</td>
<td>Communist Party of South Africa</td>
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<td>CUSO</td>
<td>Canadian University Services Overseas</td>
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<tr>
<td>DANIDA</td>
<td>Danish International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>Disciplinary Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>DCA</td>
<td>Danchurchaid</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDC</td>
<td>Dakawa Development Centre</td>
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<td>DESEC</td>
<td>Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee</td>
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<td>EOC</td>
<td>Ruth First Education Orientation Centre</td>
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<td>ESR</td>
<td>Education for Self-Reliance</td>
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<td>EWP</td>
<td>Education with Production</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food and Agricultural Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>FEP</td>
<td>Foundation for Education with Production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FES</td>
<td>Frederick Ebert Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>FINNIDA</td>
<td>Finnish International Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRELIMO</td>
<td>Front for the Liberation of Mozambique</td>
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<tr>
<td>GCE</td>
<td>General Certificate in Education</td>
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<td>GDR</td>
<td>German Democratic Republic</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICU</td>
<td>Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union</td>
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<td>IDAF</td>
<td>International Defence Aid Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISF</td>
<td>International Solidarity Foundation (Finland)</td>
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<td>IYN</td>
<td><em>Imbumbo Yama Nyama</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>LEC</td>
<td>London Education Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>LESEC</td>
<td>Lesotho Education Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>LUSEC</td>
<td>Lusaka Education Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAPEC</td>
<td>Maputo Education Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>MCMT</td>
<td>Mazimbu Construction Management Team</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDM</td>
<td>Mass Democratic Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>MK</td>
<td><em>Umkhonto we Sizwe</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>MPLA</td>
<td><em>Frente de Libertacao de Angola</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NBE</td>
<td>National Board of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEA</td>
<td>Native Educational Association</td>
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<td>NEC</td>
<td>National Executive Committee</td>
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<td>NEDUC</td>
<td>National Education Council</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NYC</td>
<td>National Youth Committee</td>
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<td>NYEC</td>
<td>New York Education Committee</td>
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<td>NLMS</td>
<td>National Liberation Movements</td>
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<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Organisation for International Co-operation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>National Party</td>
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<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Scholarship Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>NVTD</td>
<td>National Vocational Division of Tanzania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBF</td>
<td>Otto Benecke Foundation (GFR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSB</td>
<td>Australian Overseas Service Bureau</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Pan Africanist Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAFMECSA</td>
<td>Pan African Freedom Movement for East, Central and Southern Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Political Commissar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMD</td>
<td>Project Management Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td><em>Praktisk Solidaritet</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTA</td>
<td>Parent Teacher Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Revolutionary Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>RPC</td>
<td>Regional Political Commissar</td>
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<td>RWC</td>
<td>Regional Women's Committee</td>
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<td>RYC</td>
<td>Regional Youth Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACHED</td>
<td>South African Committee for Higher Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADF</td>
<td>South African Defence Force</td>
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<tr>
<td>SACP</td>
<td>South African Communist Party</td>
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<td>SACPO</td>
<td>South African Coloured Peoples’ Organisation</td>
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<td>SACTU</td>
<td>South African Congress of Trade Unions</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAIC</td>
<td>South African Indian Congress</td>
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<tr>
<td>SANC</td>
<td>South African Native Convention</td>
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</table>
SANNC   South African Native National Congress
SASM    South African Students Movement
SASO    South African Students’ Organisation
SAUF    South African United Front
SIDA    Swedish International Development Agency
SOC     Social Order Committee
SOMAFCO Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College
SOMEC   SOMAFCO Education Committee
SWEC    Swaziland Education Committee
TANU    Tanzanian African National Union
TATA    Transvaal African Teachers Association
TDF     Tanzanian Defence Force
TLSA    Teachers’ League of South Africa
UCT     University of Cape Town
UDF     United Democratic Front
UFH     University of Fort Hare
UN (O)  United Nations (Organisation)
UNDP    United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF  United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund
UNHCR   United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USSR    Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
UWC     University of the Western Cape
VTC     Vocational Training Centre
WHO     World Health Organisation
WS      Women’s Section
ZANU-PF Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAPU    Zimbabwe African People’s Union
ZIMEC   Zimbabwe Education Committee
ZIMFEP  Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production
ZPC     Zonal Political Committee
ZYC     Zonal Youth Committee
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Introduction

On 9 July 1992 the African National Congress (ANC) handed over its education institutions in Tanzania to the Tanzanian Government. The ANC had been unbanned and was going home to South Africa. Fourteen years of a unique South African education experience came to an end with the handing over ceremony officiated over by Oliver Tambo, the President of the ANC, and Hassan Mwinyi, President of Tanzania.

The exiled ANC’s sojourn abroad began in 1960 and ended in 1992. After the ANC was banned in South Africa in 1960, members who went into exile were given political asylum in countries like Nigeria, East Germany, the USSR, Britain, Cuba, Egypt and Tanzania. They settled in these countries as ordinary citizens. These exiles and their children were educated at the state schools of the host countries where they settled. The ANC therefore did not deem it necessary to establish its own education institution in exile in the 1960s.

In the period 1960 to 1963 the ANC established its foreign mission in Morogoro, Tanzania and focused on winning the support of foreign powers and international organisations. This period was also marked by growing dissatisfaction within the ANC regarding its non-violent strategy to achieve its goals. In 1961 Nelson Mandela introduced a proposal for the inclusion of the armed struggle as part of ANC strategy and tactics. The proposal was accepted by the ANC and led to the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) in 1961.

The growth and development of the ANC education projects in exile were shaped by circumstances confronting the organisation in the post-1976 period. These
circumstances were created by the uprisings in Soweto and elsewhere, the intensification of the liberation struggle within South Africa in the 1980s, the incursions of the South African Defence Force (SADF) into the Frontline States, also in the 1980s, and the signing of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique in 1984.6

It was the unexpected influx of South African exiles into the Frontline States in the wake of the 1976 uprisings that spurred the ANC into establishing its own education institution (see Ch. 3). Large numbers of students from high schools and tertiary institutions escaped the terror, detention and imprisonment of the apartheid state by fleeing into neighbouring African states. This appears to have caught the liberation movements by surprise and they were rapidly required to formulate strategies to deal with an entirely new situation with which they were confronted. A key element of this situation was the formulation of strategies to provide adequate schooling for the youth in exile. The post-1976 period was marked by the accession to power of FRELIMO and MPLA and a result of this was that in 1976 the process of establishing MK camps in Angola began.7

As the largest of the exiled liberation movements, the ANC faced the great challenge of providing for the needs of most of the exiled youth. These were mostly black, in their early teens and adolescence, predominantly male and from urban backgrounds.8 Although there were class and gender differences among them they tended to be unified in opposition to the South African regime by the common experience of racial oppression and repression.

The ANC found it difficult to send the large number of secondary level youth to study in other countries as there was reluctance on the part of participating
governments to take on such large numbers of revolutionary youth. Yet, since the schooling of most of these young exiles had been disrupted, the ANC needed to establish an institution to remedy the situation. The ANC’s first education institution was established in Mazimbu, Tanzania in 1978. The Tanzanian government granted 100-hectares of land for this purpose to the ANC as an act of solidarity. The Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) was sympathetic to the ANC having also fought for independence from colonial rule. Being a signatory of the Lusaka Manifesto and a member of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) it had taken a firm stand against the apartheid South African regime.

The project in exile was referred to as Mazimbu as it was situated in the Mazimbu settlement, an abandoned sisal estate. Mazimbu is located two hundred kilometers south-west of Dar-es-Salaam and ten kilometers from the Tanzanian provincial centre of Morogoro (see Appendix 1). In 1979 the school was named the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in honour of Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) (see Ch. 2) who was executed by the South African regime on 6 April 1979 (see Appendix 2).

From the outset a vexing problem was the development of the curriculum for the high school, that is, its broad aims and objectives. It soon became clear that there were differing views on what constituted appropriate education at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 3). Three broad emphases came to the fore: the first was an emphasis on Academic Education; the second on Political Education; and the third on Polytechnic Education (see Ch. 5).
The ANC was still grappling with debates over the appropriate curriculum for the high school when the Mazimbu authorities became aware that there were children of primary school-going age in need of education. The SOMAFCO Primary School was as a result, established in 1980 (see Ch. 6) and a curriculum was then required for this school also. A progressive curriculum was formulated by Barbara and Terry Bell and adopted at the 3rd NEDUC held in Mazimbu in August 1980. When the Bells resigned in 1982, Dennis (Babu) September became principal and introduced a conventional academic curriculum.

Meanwhile, the intensification of the liberation struggle inside South Africa from the early 1980s, the SADF incursions into the Frontline States (1980s) and the signing of the Nkomati Accord (1984) were forcing ANC cadres to move away from states bordering South Africa to the relative safety of Tanzania. By 1981 Mazimbu could not cope with the new influx of exiles and this necessitated the speeding up of the establishment in 1982 of a second project in Tanzania, which was named Dakawa after its location (see Ch. 6).

Dakawa is situated approximately fifty kilometers from Mazimbu and the land was once again a grant from the Tanzanian government. Dakawa was established to re-settle the umgwunya, establish a vocational training centre, and orientation centre and a rehabilitation centre. It was also anticipated that Dakawa would become a self-sufficient settlement with small villages focusing on agriculture and small industries. Curricula would be required for the education sectors of Dakawa.
By 1990 the ANC project in Tanzania was made up of the SOMAFCO crèche, nursery school, primary school, high school, the farm and small support services and the Dakawa Development Centre (DDC).¹⁹

The struggle for political freedom is inextricably linked to the struggle for and around formal education. The nature of any formal curriculum has been the subject of much debate the world over, and the debate has been an aspect of the history of educational experience in the twentieth century, and it reflects many of the general concerns of broader general debates within the context of the post-WW2 world and the era of liberation from colonialism in Africa and elsewhere.²⁰ ANC debates on the appropriate curriculum for its educational projects in exile took place in the context of 20th century international curriculum debates, African curriculum debates and Apartheid Education.

International curriculum debates greatly influenced ANC curriculum development for SOMAFCO (see Chs 5 and 6). These debates centred on the notions of Traditional-Liberal, Progressive, Polytechnic and Freirean ‘liberatory’ perspectives of education (see Ch. 1). In the ANC debates, elements of Traditional-Liberal and Progressive Education appear to have influenced advocates of Academic Education, while advocates of Polytechnic and Political Education appear to have been influenced by Polytechnic Education in the USSR, China, GDR and Freirean perspectives of liberatory education (see Ch. 1). The Soviet educationist, Anton Makarenko, had much influence on the development of the SOMAFCO Primary School curriculum under the Bells 1980 to 1982 (see Ch. 6).
Since the advent of Missionary Education in Africa in the mid-nineteenth century, there had been much debate around the vexing question of what the appropriate curriculum for Africans ought to be. In the period between the World Wars, contestation over the appropriate curriculum for Africans centred on the notion of ‘adapted’ education.21

According to Paterson (1992) there were two categories of mission schools in South Africa, the premier mission institutions like Lovedale, Healdtown, Tigerkloof, on the one hand, and, on the other, the ‘Kraal or Outstation’ (‘Bush’) schools (see Ch. 1).22 The premier mission schools were well financed by the home churches, well staffed and had extensive teaching and hostel facilities, whereas the ‘Kraal’ schools were inadequately financed, poorly staffed and had inadequate facilities. The premier institutions had a varied curriculum while the ‘Kraal’ school curriculum was basically an introduction to the ‘3 Rs’.23

The debates on the nature of Colonial Education for the majority of Africans revolved around two policy tendencies. The first emphasised conventional, Western Education as the goal of Missionary and Colonial Education while the second emphasised ‘adapted’ education (see Ch. 1). There was support for both positions from within the ANC and, at the time we are referring to, the tension between these positions is a major marker of the debates outlined below. (see Chs 5 and 6).

Another factor effecting arguments was the post-colonial emphasis on higher education for the development of ‘high-level manpower’, the term used at that time, which was seen as the new tool to tackle the challenges of independent African states and the role of education in development (see Ch. 1).24
Particularly during the 1960s, the World Bank emphasized higher education for ‘high level manpower’ development in Tanzania (see Ch. 1). The ‘high-level manpower’ debates appear to have influenced the ANC advocates of Academic Education (see Ch. 5).

Besides the emphasis on the development of ‘high-level manpower’, there were also attempts at implementing innovative education models in some of the independent African states. These models included Education with Production (EWP) in Botswana (1965), Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) in Tanzania (1967) and Education for Socialism in Mozambique (1975) (see Ch. 1). Advocates of models of Polytechnic or Political Education in the ANC appear to have been influenced by these models (see Chs 3, 5 and 6).

The ANC was first and foremost responding to the general experience of blacks under Bantu Education in South Africa (see Ch. 3). The National Party government introduced the Bantu Education Act in 1953 on the basis of the Eiselen Commission’s recommendations (see Ch. 1). The act introduced state-controlled mass education for blacks, organised as a bridge across the divide between the indigenous cultures of black groups and the westernised culture of the market place. The act was to serve as the springboard for education policies designed to reproduce black labour in a stable form.

It appears that from 1912 to 1960 the ANC’s programmes focused on political rather than education campaigns. From 1912, for example, the ANC was involved in matters such as opposition to the Land Act of 1913; the adoption of the concept of a ‘Two-Stage’ Revolution in 1928, in line with the policy adopted by the CPSA at the behest of the Comintern; the formation of the All African
Convention in 1935; opposition to the Hertzog Bills in 1936; addressing the question of black participation in World War 2 in 1939; the formation of alliances with the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses in 1947; the Programme of Action in 1949; the Defiance Campaign in 1952; and the formulation of the Freedom Charter in 1955 (see Ch. 2). Its involvement in education matters during this period was largely focused on condemning the racist and restrictive nature of Black Education and did not manifest the same focus and commitment as was evident in its political campaigns (see Ch. 2).

The ANC’s ‘21 Objects’ (1912) did not pay much attention to education (see Ch. 3). The Party was not involved in the Night School Campaign in the 1920s while the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) and other radical and liberal organisations were actively involved (see Ch. 2). The ANC’s attempts to put into practice an ‘alternative education’ can be traced back to its participation in the Resist Apartheid Campaign of 1954, a reactive strategy against the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (see Ch. 3). According to Lodge (1990) the ANC’s participation was indecisive, disorganized, and had little substance to it especially when it came to the nature of any alternative education.

In 1955 the ANC played a key role in the formulation of the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter’s pronouncements on education were general and vague: ‘the doors of learning and culture shall be opened’. From 1955 onwards the ANC’s strategy and policy on education (or the lack of it) was guided by the general demands of the Freedom Charter and statements condemning the racist and restrictive character of Bantu Education. This situation prevailed when the ANC went into exile in 1960 (see Ch. 3).
In the early stages of exile some ANC members who were given political asylum in countries like Nigeria, East Germany, the USSR, Britain, Cuba, Egypt and Tanzania were educated at state schools of the host countries. This was possible because of the small numbers involved at this stage and the ANC did not find it necessary to establish its own educational institution for this purpose.

Meanwhile, the ANC was establishing its military training camps in the Frontline States from 1960 onwards (see Ch. 2). By 1965 it had established its main military camp at Kongwa in Tanzania. But the flood of South African youth into the camps in Angola following the 1976 uprising necessitated a larger-scale and more systematic training of cadres, particularly as many of the youth were imbued with the politics of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and had to be brought under the wing of the ANC.

Jack Simons, an ANC and South African Communist Party leader was asked by the camp commanders to design a course in Political Education for the Angolan military camps. He produced a set of fourteen lectures (see Appendix 18). MK trainees followed a six month basic training course consisting of Military as well as Political Education. Not much is known about the nature of the education and training that took place in these camps as most of the documents from the military camps have been embargoed by the ANC. Simons’s diary gives us some idea, but this is a little researched area and not much is known about it. This area should be studied to add to the store of knowledge and understanding of education in exile.

The ANC only formally addressed education again in the wake of the rebellion by school children in South Africa in 1976 and once Education Committees of
the ANC were established in countries where exiles had settled (see Ch. 3). As mentioned above, such committees did their work in the context of the intensification of the Liberation Struggle (1980s), incursions by the South African Defence Force (SADF) into the Frontline States (1980s) and the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984, designed to prevent Mozambique from continuing as a base for the ANC and an infiltration route into the apartheid state.37

The youth that fled across the borders into neighbouring states after 1976 posed, for the largest of the exiled liberation movements, the ANC, the huge challenge of providing for their needs, winning them over to the Party, and at the same time ensuring that they remained loyal. As mentioned, in the light of the reluctance of friendly countries to become responsible for such large numbers of militant youth, the ANC founded SOMAFCO in Mazimbu, Tanzania in 1978 (see Ch. 3).38

The ANC was consequently faced with the challenge of devising and providing an organisational framework for the efficient operation of its Mazimbu project. Two key aspects of this framework were governance and funding (see Ch. 4): a system of governance should incorporate all sectors of Mazimbu; sufficient funds should be procured for the smooth running of the complex.

A further demand was, as mentioned, the devising of a curriculum for the school that is a statement of the broad aims and objectives. To this end the ANC Education Department was established at a meeting held in Mazimbu in October 1978 (see Ch. 3).39 The ANC Education Departments task was to consider in a direct and systematic way questions about the role, content and structure of ANC
education policy in the Struggle. It could not draw on its educational experiences in South Africa as there had been little in the way of a plan to formulate an alternative to Apartheid Education at that stage. Furthermore, the establishment of SOMAFCO would seem to indicate the realisation by the ANC that it was no longer sufficient to simply express opposition to Bantu Education.

During the formulation of the ANC education policy it became clear that there were differing views on the aims and objectives for education at SOMAFCO. Three broad views or emphases came to the fore: Academic Education; Political Education; and education located within the model of Polytechnic Education.

The advocates of Academic Education argued in favour of an education that would make up for the deficiencies of Bantu Education (see Ch. 5). A key element of this argument was that an education such as this would prepare students for entry into educational institutions of higher learning throughout the world. It was also argued that this education was essential to undertake the huge socio-economic development in a post-liberation South Africa. In other words it focused on what would be the requirements of the ANC needs in the post-liberation phase. In essence it meant, in the agency developmental jargon of the time, the fostering of ‘high-level manpower’ (see Ch. 5).

A key element of the arguments of those advocating Political Education was that the seizure of political power must take priority (see Ch. 5). The focus of ANC needs was, in this case, to be based on the pre-liberation phase of the Struggle (see Ch. 5). It was argued that, since education was not and could not be neutral, SOMAFCO should primarily be a school for the training of political cadres. Such training would provide the opportunities to get students to imbibe
a socialist/communist ideology regarding the goals of the struggle (see Ch. 5). The advocates of Political Education argued for the promotion of collective interests as opposed to individual interests, while some appeared to be advocating ‘Education for the Armed Struggle’ (see Ch. 5).

Arguments for Polytechnic Education centred on educational principles aimed at the elimination of the ‘artificial barrier’ between mental and manual work (see Ch. 5). The intention was to remove the distinction between working and learning and between school and work. From a polytechnic point of view, which is a socialist perspective, production is not simply a question of engaging in manual work but must be an extension of the learning process. The principle of education combining both the mental and manual aspects is not only a Marxist educational principle but a principle that engaged John Dewey and many other Progressive Educationalists. It was, too, a key theme in 20th Century debates on education (see Ch. 1). Although there was broad acceptance of the principle of bridging the gap between mental and manual work in the ANC, there were many differences when it came to why and how such policies should be implemented.

SOMAFCO had attained a mystical aura in South Africa by the 1980s, a period of ongoing revolt in South African education institutions. Since ANC literature was not openly available in South Africa following the movement’s banning in 1960, not much was known about SOMAFCO. But tales of this ‘revolutionary school’ where the day started with the hoisting of the ANC flag and the singing of the anthem, ‘Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika’, were listened to with envy within activist circles during this turbulent period. SOMAFCO was rumoured to be everything that a revolutionary school should be and more. However little was known about exactly what revolutionary education meant in the context of SOMAFCO.
Manwhile research was being conducted on South African education by exiled South Africans in England, in the 1980s. Research in Education for South Africa (RESA) was located in the Department of Sociology at the University of Essex. This project investigated the politics and economics of South African education during the 1980s. A noteworthy event organized by RESA in March 1989 was a conference entitled ‘Economic Change, Social Conflict and Education in Apartheid South Africa’.

This conference considered the current state of education in the country as well as possible policies for the present and future. The key issue addressed was, ‘how to understand education as part of the process of social transformation and establish appropriate relationships between politics and education during that process of transformation’. One evaluation described the conference as, ‘the most important South African education conference of the last five years’.

One of the key figures at RESA was Harold Wolpe, who was also a leading figure in the London Education Committee (see Chs 3 and 5). He was a central figure involved in the curriculum debates over the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO. Also present at the conference were Thozamile Botha (ANC), Pallo Jordan (ANC), Norman Levy (London Education Committee and SACP), Lindelwe Mabandla (ANC), Reggie Mpongo (ANC), Blade Nzimande (SACP) and Aziz Pahad (ANC). Twenty-five papers were presented (see Appendix 3) but there were none on the kind of education that the ANC was offering at SOMAFCO/Dakawa nor was there any discussion on ANC education-in-exile, this despite the nature of the conference.
In 1996 I was convinced by Professor Peter Kallaway that it would be worthwhile investigating whether the rhetoric surrounding the ‘revolutionary’ curriculum at SOMAFCO measured up to the reality. I completed this study in March 1997 as a mini-thesis towards a M. Phil degree at the University of the Western Cape. As I stated in this initial study, I came to the conclusion that the ANC’s rhetoric of providing revolutionary education at SOMAFCO had not evolved into reality; instead, SOMAFCO had to a large extent operated as a formal school with a conventional academic emphasis. This came about because SOMAFCO was intent on providing an education of the kind that Bantu Education was said to inhibit. It aimed at its students experiencing an education similar to that of whites in South Africa. My study also exposed the divergent views or emphases that existed within the ANC on what the aims and objectives of ANC education should be and how these were dealt with in practice.

By 1996 there was a paucity of research conducted on SOMAFCO and the little research that there was (including my own) either merely alluded to the sharp debates over the curriculum or ignored them. What was intriguing about the contestation within the ANC over the appropriate curriculum was that during its long existence dating back to 1912, the ANC appeared not to have clearly formulated, concrete, educational aims and objectives. The only book written on the history of SOMAFCO also did not deal in any detail with the debates, though it alluded to them. I therefore decided with Professor Peter Kallaway to undertake research towards a Ph.D that would enable me to make sense of the contestation, ambiguities and dilemmas of curriculum development at SOMAFCO. The main task I confronted was how to explain the divergent views within the ANC on the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO, and then, given this contestation, to discover the reality of curriculum practice at SOMAFCO.
A question I posed was, could the problem be explained in the context of the debate over the nature of education for the majority of Africans which revolved around the two policy tendencies of conventional Western Education and ‘adapted’ education (see Ch. 1). A partial explanation was that the ANC had wanted an education of the same quality as that being offered to whites, something that had been reflected in curriculum debates elsewhere in Africa in the 1920s (see Ch. 1).

According to Kallaway (2002) the colonial legacy especially in British colonial Africa, where there had been a significant emphasis on rural education and ‘adaptation’ since the 1920s, had an impact on African education in South Africa. There had been many attempts to reform African education in keeping with the Phelps Stokes Commissions (1922-1924) recommendations for ‘adaptation’ that was based on notions of ‘adaptated’ education that had been introduced in the Southern USA from the end of the nineteenth century. While there had been many attempts to reform African education in keeping with the notions of ‘adaptation’, the Cape Colony, since the 1920s, offered the same curriculum and education of the same quality as schools for colonists. The beneficiaries of education in the Cape Colony were not only eligible for citizenship of the Colony but were also able to enter the labour market with the same formal educational qualification as the colonists (see Ch. 4).

How do we then explain the emphasis on Political and Polytechnic Education? Could it be explained by ideological differences within the ANC? The ANC is, after all, not a homogenous organisation but a conglomeration of nationalists, Africanists, socialists, communists and others. Could the mixture of liberal-capitalist and socialist-communist ideology offer an explanation? Would it be
true to argue that all liberals-capitalists would argue for the same education models? Similarly would all socialists-communists make the same choices of education models or is there a relative autonomy to education debates which highlight other features of the policy regime?

Considering these questions led to further queries: Did individuals or groups representing different tendencies from within and outside the ANC influence curriculum development at SOMAFCO? Who were these individuals and what influence did they have on curriculum development at SOMAFCO? Furthermore, did donor-countries and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that supported the educational programme of the ANC (see Ch. 4) have any influence on the development of the aims and objectives of ANC education?

These questions, all related to the hiatus in our understanding of curriculum development at SOMAFCO, if addressed and some answers attempted, might facilitate our understanding of ANC education in exile.

Both primary and secondary sources have been used in this research: however, given the scarcity of secondary sources the major part of my research on SOMAFCO was based on primary sources. These are in written, oral and film formats.

Primary written documents have been generated by the ANC NEC, the ANC Education Department, the Secretariat, the ANC Education Committees, teachers, administrators and students of SOMAFCO, the Dakawa Development Centre (DDC), other ANC structures and individuals and also by ANC donors and supporters. These documents are housed mainly in three archives in South
Africa: the ANC Archive located at the University of Fort Hare (UFH) in Alice in the Eastern Cape; the African Studies Library, Manuscripts and Archives located at the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the UWC Robben Island - Mayibuye Archive.

The ANC archive at the UFH came into being following the signing of an agreement between President Mandela and Professor Sibusiso Bengu in October 1992, that the UFH would be the repository of the ANC archives. The ANC then began the task of identifying and retrieving all its official and non-official archives which were scattered across the globe. During its exile the ANC directed its activities from its headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia. It also exercised control through a network of subsidiary missions located in most continents. After its unbanning in 1990, a number of regional and branch offices were opened throughout South Africa.

Retrieval included the transfer of documents from mission offices, regional offices, departmental offices and national and international institutions. The process of retrieval is a continuing one. These archives are the single most complete record of the ANC’s activities, especially in the period after its banning in 1960 (see Bibliography).

According to the archivist of the ANC archive at UFH Mosoabuli Maamoe, over the past few years a large part of the ANC documents have been moved from the Robben Island-Mayibuye archive to the ANC archive at UFH in an attempt to create a central ANC archive. In the process some documents appear to have gone missing.
The African Studies Library, Manuscripts and Archives is located at UCT. The archive has extensive collections of which two are relevant to my study. They are the Jack Simons and the Harold Wolpe Collections (see Bibliography).

The UWC Robben Island-Mayibuye archives were established as the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture at the University of the Western Cape in 1992. They contain material about all aspects of apartheid, resistance, social life and culture in South Africa. The centre was incorporated into the new Robben Island Museum in April 2000. In these archives, multi-media collections comprise a documentary resource of more than 50000 photographs, a film section with over 1000 productions, oral history material and an art collection. It also houses the personal papers of more than 300 individuals and organisations (see Bibliography).

Written primary documents may also be accessed via private collections like the Barbara and Terry Bell Collection (see Ch. 6). This collection which is freely available to researchers is housed at the Bell’s residence in Muizenberg, Cape Town. The documents comprise a record of the SOMAFCO Primary School from 1980 to 1982. The collection contains some papers that are not in the UFH, UCT or UWC archives: these include the correspondence between the Bells and ANC officials and the correspondence between some volunteer teachers and the Bells. There is, for example, the letter of resignation of Karen Olling, a Danish volunteer teacher at the primary school (see Ch. 6) (see Appendix 27).

MW Njobe, who was the first principal of SOMAFCO, also has a private collection of SOMAFCO/Dakawa papers. He was not prepared to make the
papers available until he had sorted them out but I was able to interview him in East London in 2007.

Primary oral sources take the form of interviews conducted with individuals who were directly involved with the ANC, SOMAFCO and the DDC. The interviews with exiles are housed at the Robben Island-Mayibuye Archive. I also referred to some of the selected interviews in Hilda Bernstein’s book, *The Rift* 63, while the nineteen volumes of transcripts of all the interviews conducted by Bernstein are also available at the UWC Robben Island - Mayibuye Archive. Although the interviews were about the experience of exile in a general sense, many of those interviewed were involved with SOMAFCO/Dakawa.

Interviews conducted by a number of other organizations with South Africans in exile are also available at the UWC Robben Island - Mayibuye Archive in the form of transcripts and audio tapes. I have also conducted interviews with a cross-section of selected individuals, who include include students, teachers, principals, members of the Education Committee, a Director, a Secretary for Education, a psychologist and an advisor to SOMAFCO (refer Bibliography).

Two documentaries have been produced on SOMAFCO. They are: *Amandla Maatla* and *Mazimbu – Behind the lines of a Liberation Movement*. *Amandla Maatla* was filmed in 1984 and directed by Magnus Berger. It has a running time of 60 minutes. *Mazimbu* was produced by Channel 4 TV in 1986 and directed by Toni Strasburg, with a running time of 52 minutes. Both documentaries were made on location and give an idea of what life was like at SOMAFCO, since students, teachers, administrators and volunteers workers were interviewed about different aspects of their existence at Mazimbu and Dakawa. Students also spoke
about their plans for the future. The documentaries appear to lean more towards a promotional rather than an objective look at SOMAFCO; they also bear the marks of being the type of material that could be used for the procurement of funding.

Secondary sources on SOMAFCO are scarce. They include books, papers, theses and websites. To date only two books have been written on SOMAFCO. The first book by Richard Jurgens is, *The Many Houses of Exile* (2000) but it does not deal solely with SOMAFCO. Jurgens gives an account of two phases of his life. The first half dealing with his experiences as a white university student in South Africa and his experiences in the South African Defence Force (SADF). Jurgens describes his experiences with student struggle politics at university and with the army, during compulsory military training. The second half of the book recounts his recruitment and experiences on joining the ANC in the mid-1980s. He describes the life that he and wife experienced at SOMAFCO.

The second book on SOMAFCO, *Education in Exile. SOMAFCO, the ANC school in Tanzania, 1978 – 1992* (2004) was written by Sean Morrow, Brown Maaba and Loyiso Pulumani. This book traces the history of the school from its original concept as a secondary school to its expansion to include the nursery, primary and adult education sections, various sections of social services and the DDC. There is a sound overall history of the school, covering the curriculum, methods, and philosophies of teaching that were prevalent at SOMAFCO. The authors also discuss the relationships between the school and the Tanzanian authorities as well as, the school and the surrounding populace. Added to these are the group and individual dynamics of students, teachers and administrators, as well as donors and workers from different parts of the world. Although the
book touches on the curriculum in practice it does not engage in an in-depth analysis of the curriculum debates at SOMAFCO or draw out the history, context and dynamics of the three views or emphases on what the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO ought to be.

Several papers have also been produced on SOMAFCO. The majority of papers produced by members of the ANC alliance are published in either Sechaba, the mouthpiece of the ANC or the African Communist, the mouthpiece of the SACP. Debates over the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO are evident in some of these papers. A difficulty encountered in the papers in Sechaba and the African Communist lies in identifying their authors. Writers wrote using their ‘ANC names’ to maintain anonymity for security reasons. Despite attempts to discover who wrote as “Eric Stilton”, for example, these have been unsuccessful (see Ch. 5). Some papers appear as Chapters in books while others appear in journals of education. There are also papers that have been read at educational conferences. Papers on the ANC in general and the ANC camps in particular have been published by Searchlight South Africa edited by Barusch Hirson and Paul Trewhela. Searchlight South Africa, ‘an independent socialist journal focused on Southern Africa’ saw itself as anti-Stalinist (Searchlight, No. 1). It acted as a watchdog on ANC activities and those of the allied South West African (Namibian) Peoples’ Organisation (SWAPO).

Papers that have been published on SOMAFCO and the DDC include Stilton (1983),\textsuperscript{65} McFadden (1990),\textsuperscript{66} Serote (1992),\textsuperscript{67} Morrow (1998),\textsuperscript{68} Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2002),\textsuperscript{69} Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2002)\textsuperscript{70} and Govender (2009).\textsuperscript{71}

A number of websites have also been useful in researching SOMAFCO (see Bibliography). These include websites of the ANC archives, the African Studies Library, Manuscripts and Archives and the Robben Island-Mayibuye Archives, the Department of Justice, the ANC, Searchlight South Africa and the One World Organisation (see Bibliography).

I have used the historical research method in writing this study. This research was dependent, as I have indicated, to a large extent on documentary sources accessed from the archives discussed above. The data collected has been explained and interpreted in relation to the problems being investigated. The data collected by means of oral interviews entailed recording the personal recollections of target interviewees on audio tapes. The interviewees were approached telephonically and were notified in advance of the conditions and topics of the interviews.
Open-ended questions were used to elicit reflective answers. Since most interviewees willingly shared their experiences with an ‘outsider’, the interviews helped me gain an understanding of the political and pedagogical challenges they experienced. As mentioned, I also used oral interviews already conducted by others. Questionnaires were also used for further clarity where necessary. The evidence collected was triangulated in order to ensure reliability.

This thesis argues that the ANC did not formulate a concrete education policy prior to going into exile and that its attempts at challenging Bantu Education as established in the 1953 legislation were hesitant and indecisive (see Ch. 3). During the early years of exile education was not high on the list of ANC priorities and the ANC NEC left educational matters to be dealt with by the ANC Education Department while the NEC dealt with political matters (refer Chs 2 and 3). The contestation, ambiguities and dilemmas of curriculum development played themselves out amongst individuals and groups in the ANC Education Department, the Education Committees and SOMAFCO while the ANC NEC retained the right to make the final decisions on educational matters. This is that story which is told in six inter-related chapters.

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the nature of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century curriculum debates. ANC curriculum development took place within the contexts of such international curriculum debates, as well as the African curriculum debates and Apartheid Education in South Africa. The international curriculum debates centred on Traditional-Liberal, Progressive, Polytechnic and Freirean ‘liberatory’ perspectives on Education. In Africa the debates centred on the tensions between Missionary Education, ‘adapted’ education, higher education for ‘high-level manpower’ development and specific notions of Polytechnic Education. In
South Africa the debates centred on the tensions between Missionary Education and the racist and restrictive nature of Apartheid Education. This chapter which provides a background examines how these debates may have influenced ANC debates and curriculum development at SOMAFCO.

Chapter 2 deals with the background to the growth of the ANC and its role in the political struggles in South Africa from 1912 to 1992. The chapter traces how the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) evolved in 1912 from localised political organisations. It then examines why the ANC was established, who established it and what its programmes of action were. The radicalizing influence of the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU), the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), and the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) on the ANC programme are analysed. The chapter also examines the nature of ANC engagement with the ‘21 Objects’ (1912), the Native Land Act 1913, ANC organizational strategies, the ‘Two-Stage’ Revolution (1928), the Congress Alliance in the 1950s, Sharpeville (1960), strategies as an underground organization in South Africa, and its establishing of itself as an external mission. In exile it had to contend with strategising for MK and the armed struggle (1961), and revolts in the Angolan camps (late 1970s to 1980s) and it would adopt the Four Pillars of the Struggle as the ANC’s Strategy and Tactics (1978). In the 1980s the ANC had to give serious attention to the need to re-establish itself as the premier liberation organization in South Africa and to avoiding being eclipsed by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). Given the urgent realities of political and military issues in exile education was neglected by default.
Chapter 3 examines ANC involvement in the educational arena in South Africa from 1912 till 1978 when the ANC Education Policy was formulated. It traces the nature of ANC involvement in its ‘21 Objects’ in 1912, the Night School Movement (1925), the Bantu Education Act (1953) and the Freedom Charter (1955). In exile the ANC’s strategy and policy on education was guided by the general demands of the Freedom Charter until 1970s when ANC Education Committees were set up in host countries. The growing complexity of its involvement in education after Soweto 1976 led to the establishment of the ANC Education Department in 1978 and the formulation of the ANC Education Policy. Sharp debates arose, as has been noted, over the question of the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO. The chapter shows that the extent of ANC focus on education matters was not as great as its focus on political matters.

Chapter 4 addresses governance and funding. By 1980 the ANC had established a governance framework for the efficient functioning of the Mazimbu project. The main structure consisted of the NEC, the Secretary for Education, the Director, the Political Commissar and the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’. The teachers formed the backbone of the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’. Extensive funding was crucial for the smooth functioning of Mazimbu and funding took the forms not only of cash but also of material resources, personnel and scholarships. Such funding was procured from the UN and countries in both the West and the Communist Bloc. NGOs were also involved. This chapter is connected to Chapters 2, 3, 5 and 6. It identifies and connects the infra-structure needed with the funding needed for the various projects discussed in these Chapters.

The two main chapters on education follow. Chapter 5 examines how the divergent ANC views on the relevant curriculum for SOMAFCO may be
explained. The chapter then proceeds to examine curriculum development at the SOMAFCO High School, locating the three broad emphases on curriculum that emerged from this school, which, as already identified where Academic Education, Political Education and Polytechnic Education. The chapter also identifies the main advocates for each path and contextualises their arguments in terms of current international and African debates on curriculum reform and development.

Chapter 6 focuses on curriculum development at the SOMAFCO Primary School and the DDC, the two institutions that were not part of the initial Mazimbu education project. The primary school went through three phases of curriculum development. The first was the unstructured-initial phase in 1980 when the school was opened. The second phase, running from 1980 to 1982 was the structured-radical phase of the curriculum developed by the Bells. The third phase was the structured-conventional phase in the period after 1982, when the curriculum was developed by Dennis (Babu) September.

Chapter 6 includes discussion of the DDC, which was established in 1982. There is debate over why the DDC was established. Its objectives were identified at the First Dakawa Seminar in 1982. This chapter discusses curriculum development at the Vocational Training Centre (VTC), the Ruth First Education Orientation Centre (EOC), and the Raymond Mahlaba Rehabilitation Centre (RMRC). Also discussed are other structures such as the farm, small industries, and other social facilities. The chapter finally traces the relocation of the DDC to Grahamstown in South Africa in 1992.
While this research is intended to add to the meagre store of information we have on education in exile in the South African context, it should also provide insight into the highly contested field of curriculum development not only in the pre-1992 period but in the post-1994 period. The study briefly examines whether SOMAFCO/Dakawa had any influence on education in South Africa post-1994. It is also hoped that this research will also inspire further research into education in exile, both in other ANC camps in Angola and in the camps of other South African liberatory organizations like the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM).
NOTES

2 Ibid p37
4 Ibid p233
8 Serote, P. (1992) p36
10 The Lusaka Manifesto was issued by 14 East and Central African States in 1969. They committed themselves to the liberation of South Africa.
13 Solomon Mahlangu fled South Africa in 1976 and joined Umkhonto we Sizwe. He returned in 1977 as an ANC soldier to operate within South Africa. He was intercepted by the South African Police in Joannesburg and in the ensuing clash two white policemen were killed. Despite an international campaign calling for recognition of freedom fighters as prisoners of war, he was executed on 6 April 1979.
14 Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was the military wing of the ANC.
17 Literally means ‘old crocodiles’ – refers to MK soldiers that have been in exile since the 1960s.
21 See King (1971)
23 Ibid p83
25 Ibid p8-15
29 Lodge (1990) p121
30 Meli (1989) p212
31 Serote (1992) p37
33 Ibid p7
34 Ibid p7
35 Steve Davis , an American student, who is researching MK has had enormous difficulties accessing documents on the military camps. The UCT, UWC and Fort Hare archives have few documents from the military camps.
36 Jack Simons kept a record of his daily experiences while at the Novo Catengue camp in Angola. He kept two diaries but only the second has been traced. The first diary covered the period from about 3 September 1977 – 8 March 1978, the six month stint when he set up classes and wrote his lectures. The second diary began in December 1978 when he returned to Novo Catengue at the request of O.R. Tambo. The second diary is included as Chapter 5 of the book, Comrade Jack. The political lectures and diary of Jack Simons, Novo Catengue.
38 Manghezi (2009) p42
40 Ibid p56
41 Ibid p3
44 Ibid p1
48 Ibid p1
50 Ibid Appendix : Conference Participants, p29.
51 The mini-thesis is entitled, ‘The Rhetoric and Reality of Curriculum Development at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College 1978 – 1984’ and was supervised by Professor Peter Kallaway.
55 Ibid p15
56 Meli (1989) p61
58 This was first mentioned by Andre Mohammed, co-ordinator of the UWC-Robben Island Mayibuye archives in October 2010. Was confirmed by Moseabuli Maamoe during my visit to the UFH archives 10 January 2011.
59 The UWC-Robben Island Mayibuye Archives Brochure, p1.
60 Ibid p1.
61 Ibid p1
67 Serote (1992)
Chapter 1

A General Overview of the Nature of the 20th-Century Curriculum Debates

The term ‘curriculum’ is a problematic and highly contested one. As a term in the discourse of formal education it refers to a set of courses and their content in use in a school or tertiary institution. As an idea, or notion, it is derived from the Latin word *currere*\(^1\). *Currere* means ‘to run’ and its related term, curriculum, refers to a race course, pointing to its understanding as referring to the course of deeds and experiences through which children grow to become mature adults. Curriculum is, by definition, prescriptive.

Over time the definition of curriculum has developed in a manner which provided elements and mechanisms for directing and controlling the activities entailed in schooling\(^2\) with the views on the desirability of particular curriculums based on educational philosophies that range from the conservative to the radical. There appears to be widespread agreement amongst curriculum thinkers, however, that it is salutary to reflect on the intentions of a specific curriculum.\(^3\) Goodson (1988) argued that the major benefit for doing so is the consequent discipline, clarity of thought and thematic unity that curriculum planners develop.\(^4\) The curriculum sets standards and defines statements of intent, as well as providing clear rules of the game for educators and practitioners.\(^5\)

Curriculum development at SOMAFCO was influenced to a large extent by the major curriculum debates of the 20th-century, African curriculum debates and the
response to Apartheid Education in South Africa. The debates, when narrowed somewhat to more specific trends, emerged in the context of curriculum development at SOMAFCO. They were influenced by Traditional-Liberal, Progressive, Polytechnic and Paulo Freire’s ‘liberatory’ perspectives on education. These debates will be more fully discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. The main debates regarding the aims and objectives of education at SOMAFCO centred on the tensions between Academic Education along Traditional-Liberal and Progressive lines on the one hand and Political, Polytechnic and Freirean ‘liberatory’ perspectives on education on the other hand. Meanwhile, debates centred on African education focused, firstly, on the Mission School Education of earlier times and whether a Western Education or an ‘adapted education’ would be appropriate for Africans. Secondly, such debates revolved around the World Bank recommendations of higher education for ‘high-level manpower’ development (a term that was favoured in the post-colonial period of the 1960s in Africa and other developing countries) for African countries. Lastly, there was a focus on an African reinterpretation of Polytechnic Education. When Apartheid Education featured in debates it was to focus on matters of the racism and the inferior education associated with Bantu Education.

Traditional-Liberal Education is the oldest and most conservative Western educational philosophy. In its traditional form it views knowledge as absolute and unchanging. At elementary school level the 3Rs, as well as moral and religious training are emphasised. At secondary level the traditional mission school curriculum although reformed over time, still retained a strong commitment to the teaching of disciplinary knowledge.
Traditional-Liberal Education emphasizes individual development. The goal of education is to develop the rational person. This is to be accomplished by training the intellect, that is, by reading and discussing the ‘Great Books’ of the Western world because they are considered to be the foundations of Western thought and its scientific and cultural knowledge following on the Age of Enlightenment or Age of Reason, in the 18th century Europe. Teacher-centered perennialists contend that by studying the great ideas of the past one can better cope with the future. The moral and spiritual growth which is to be attained by character training is also considered to be important.

Traditional-Liberal Education considers a broad Liberal Education to have more practical value than vocational or specialized training for future employment. Knowledge is subject-centred. Subjects identified for all students are based on the traditional disciplines: Language, Literature, Fine Arts, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, History and Geography. This reproduction of content or subject matter is a key aspect of Traditional-Liberal Education. The emphasis from this point of view would be on the mastery of facts, concepts and generalizations of a particular subject or group of subjects. That implies that this form of education always prioritises memorization and rote learning whereas in its modern forms it lays emphasis on mastery of the conceptual basis of formal knowledge. The structure of the knowledge being conveyed and the teacher’s role as ‘an authority’ in the field are usually seen as unquestionable. Elements of Traditional-Liberal Education appear to have had some influence on the arguments favouring Academic Education at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).

Progressivism developed from pragmatism as a protest against perennialist thinking in liberal education. Progressivism placed emphasis on education for
democratic citizenship. John Dewey, one of the most influential advocates of Progressive Education, claimed (1927) that democracy and education went hand in hand as, ‘democratic society and democratic education are participatory and emergent, not preparatory and absolute’.\textsuperscript{10} He viewed the school as a miniature democratic society in which students could learn and practice the skills and develop tools necessary for democratic living. This was seen as a typically American reaction to European elitism in education.

Progressive thinkers view the curriculum as interdisciplinary in nature in contrast to the subject-centred approach of the perennialists. Books and subject matter are regarded as part of the learning process rather than sources of ultimate knowledge. Progressive Education opposed the imposition of ‘right’ views to be accepted and acted upon without questioning.\textsuperscript{11} Instead, there is heavy emphasis on ‘how to think’ and not ‘what to think’. They move the liberation of the child away from the traditional emphasis on rote learning, lesson recitations and textbook authority. Emphasis is on the teacher as a facilitator of personal growth and the curriculum is the process of experiencing the sense of meaning and direction that ensues from the teacher and student dialogues.\textsuperscript{12} The teacher acts as a guide to help students locate, analyse, interpret and evaluate data so that they can formulate their own conclusions. Experiences are created as learners reflect on the processes in which they engage.

Progressive Education is synonymous with child-centred education. Through the slogan, ‘we teach children, not subjects’ child-centred educationists have drawn attention to the dangers of valuing academic disciplines for their own sakes. Progressive Education sets out to adapt to the individual needs of children rather than to impose on them the accepted education patterns or knowledge of the
time.\textsuperscript{13} It recognizes the essential individuality of the child with her own particular history, talents and limitations. This is said to be essential for self-activity or ‘learning by doing’. Progressive Education aims to help the learner achieve self-direction by weighing up differing opinions and making up her own mind.

A fundamental assumption of Progressive Education is that learning should have meaning for the child, that is, that a child should develop personal knowledge.\textsuperscript{14} According to Progressive Educationalists this is essential for three reasons: firstly the child must know how to do something with her knowledge be it practical or theoretical; secondly the skills learnt should not be particular to the situation in which they are learnt but should be transferable to novel situations and thirdly the education should be related to her own experiences, weaknesses and strengths.

Progressive Education includes creative activities of all kinds in the school’s curriculum. Creative activities are seen as an essential means of educational self-expression and motivation. Much emphasis is placed on art, music and crafts. Vocational and recreational activities for the benefit of the school and the community, both indoors and outdoors, are seen as an integral part of school life.\textsuperscript{15} It is a key component of individual development of ‘hand and eye’.

Progressive Education changed the focus of education from subject-centred to child-centred. It was however, often criticized for being too ‘psychological’ and child-centred and that it merely served the individual child and the middle class instead of taking into consideration the needs of society and all classes.\textsuperscript{16} Progressive Education placed a strong emphasis on individual development and was often criticized for being too comfortable within the capitalist system and
lacking a critical political dimension. Elements of Progressive Education appear to have influenced arguments in favour of Academic Education at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).

Polytechnic Education is a stream of Progressive Education which emphasized technical education as a part of general education and is a widely accepted concept and practice. Polytechnic Education has taken many forms in specific contexts. It was an important part of Mission School Education and has taken specific forms in socialist/communist countries. Polytechnic Education in the context in which the term is used here, is an essential component of a revolutionary and socialist pedagogy. Castles and Wustenberg (1979) give a good overview of Polytechnic Education.17

Socialists/Communists regard education as the planned and systematic shaping of consciousness, that is, education is an instrument for social transformation. Karl Marx hinted at a theory of education for transformation which he regarded as both a necessary product of modern industry and a vital precondition for further human progress.18 He formulated his ideas at the time of the Industrial Revolution when most children of the working classes received no schooling. Large-scale industry brought about the exploitation and impoverishment of the working class. Yet Marx saw the potential for human liberation implicit in the large-scale industry and modern technology, and he believed that this could be accomplished by making productive work a part of education.

Linking education with productive work is a basic element of Polytechnic Education as it evolved in the USSR, GDR, China, Cuba and other socialist/communist countries. However, it did not include the essential
democratic aspect advanced by progressive educationalist such as Dewey and the Russian, Anton Makarenko. Nevertheless, it was also a basic element of progressivism. Polytechnic Education emphasized the belief that the division between manual and mental education must be eliminated and that this involved the removal of the distinction between working and learning. It proposed that every child should take part in productive work from an early age and that every child should have the chance to go on learning both at work and elsewhere. In its more mechanical form, Polytechnic Education proposed that everyone should have a broadly-based Vocational Education so as to be able to fit into different types of employment. It attempted to avoid narrow specialization and aimed to equip learners with skills and knowledge that would make them versatile and flexible in the world of work. Where it retained its democratic character, it also aimed at equipping everyone to participate in planning and decision-making.

Polytechnic Education should combine productive work, mental, physical and technological education. From a socialist/communist perspective on such education, production is not simply a question of engaging in manual work but must be an extension of the learning process. It should enable the learner to master the aims, technology and methods of the production process and understand their relationship with society in general. It could be argued that there is an overlap between Dewey’s Progressive Education or Education for Democratic Citizenship, on the one hand, and Education for Socialism or Polytechnic Education, on the other. Above all Polytechnic Education must be education for social transformation to a democratic, socialist society. Polytechnic Education aimed to produce ‘fully-developed human beings’ in a socialist state.
Polytechnic Education was adopted and put into practice in various forms in the Eastern Bloc and some African states. After the October Revolution (1917) Lenin and Krupskaya attempted to adapt Polytechnic Education to the conditions of an underdeveloped Soviet Union.

Russia was severely underdeveloped at the time of the October 1917 revolution, in that the methods of production and the structure of society were still semi-feudal. The Soviet Government was faced with the choice between two basic educational priorities: the provision of a high level of general, Technological and Political Education for all workers or the rapid training of large numbers of economic and technical experts in order to rapidly develop the means of production which threatened the survival of the Revolution. In other words it was a choice between mass general education and training, and training a craft and technical elite. Lenin, Krupskaya and Lunacharsky (Commissar of Education) chose the first option. By the end of 1920 they had achieved limited success in their educational plans because of the devastation caused by the Revolution, World War 1 and the Civil War of 1917 to 1923. Stalin chose the second option after 1931, that is, the rapid training of economic and technical experts.

Aspects of the educational philosophy of Anton Makarenko (1888-1939) appear to have had considerable influence on the formulation of the SOMAFCO Primary School curriculum from 1980 to 1982 (see Ch. 6).

Makarenko was put in charge of Maxim Gorky, a colony of delinquents near Kharkov in 1920 and reforming these difficult children and making worthy citizens of them became Makarenko’s life work. In the process of his work he
evolved his own education philosophy which was based on a collective approach, self-discipline, and the shaping of ‘the New Soviet Man’. 22

The term ‘educational collective’ is directly associated with Makarenko and has gained wide recognition in Progressive Education. In the life of the educational collective Makarenko included all relations and types of activities that were typical of a democratic society. His ideas regarding the development of the educational functions of the collective and the transformation of the collective from being an object of the activities of educators into becoming an actively operating agent organizing its own life, has raised great interest worldwide.

According to Filonov (1994), Makarenko did not regard the collective as merely an instrument of mass action; however, the unity of education through collective and individual action was a distinctive feature of his educational system. 23 Makarenko maintained that the external links of the collective with a wider society provided the main source of those influences that were necessary for the full development of each individual. Associations and relations within the collective represented a distinctive ‘mechanism’ that helped each individual to react selectively to the influences of the outside world and form both typical and individual personality traits.

Makarenko assigned a special place to labour in the collective and argued that labour becomes an effective means of Communist Education only when it forms a part of the General Education process. He argued that all children and adolescents should be involved in types of socially useful work suited to their age. He also argued that there should be compulsory participation for children in self-help and productive labour organized on the most modern technical basis
possible. Work should include both selectively performed creative technical work and unpaid work for the common good. According to Makarenko, only when all types of work are combined in the educational process do children and adolescents acquire the whole range of attitudes that permit a balanced, genuinely free development of the personality.

Makarenko used *ad hoc* groups of pupils to perform specific items of socially useful work. The leaders of these groups were, as a rule chosen from among those who were not considered to be active pupils. This made it possible to involve everyone in the running of the collective and in leadership and at the same time prevented elitism. The organization of the collective assumed a genuinely democratic and human character.

According to Makarenko, discipline was the cornerstone of education but he advocated self-discipline and put children in charge of their own discipline encouraging the formation of democratically elected student disciplinary committees. Although children were given as much freedom and responsibility as possible, they had to understand that there were boundaries that they were not allowed to cross. If children contravened the rules which were democratically formulated, they had to appear before the student disciplinary committee and face the consequences of their actions. He advocated that a student who continued to contravene the rules should be removed from that institution.

The Makarenko model of education was built upon the educationally effective organization of the entire life of the pupils. Filonov (1994) argued that Makarenko did not passively follow the ‘nature of the child’ like Komenski, Pestalozzi, Rousseau and Diesterweg but aimed for the maximum development
of each individual so as to produce a strong and creative personality prepared for life in every way. He promoted the all round social, emotional, physical and intellectual growth of children, introducing the idea of the holistic assessment of the child. All aspects of children, the social, emotional, physical and academic aspects should be assessed. Makarenko’s democratic and collective approach to holistic teaching and learning with a strong emphasis on self-discipline featured prominently at the SOMAFCO Primary School under the Bells from 1980 to 1982 (see Ch. 6).

From 1949 the People’s Republic of China experienced a series of educational reforms aligned to the programmes of its successive leaders. The first period from 1949 to 1976, took place was under Mao Zedong, the second from 1977 to 1997, under Deng Xiaoping and the third from 1997 on, was under Jiang Zemin.

Educational reforms under Mao may further be divided into three phases: 1949-1957; 1958-1965 and 1966-1976. In the first phase China began the vast experiment with a centrally-planned economy. The state took control of all education institutions, establishing a school system consisting of full-time schools, part-time schools and cadre schools, and it opened all schools to workers and farmers. The aims were to train working-class cadres, adjust higher educational institutions to fit the needs of constructing a socialist country and establish a unified secondary school and university entrance examinations within this vast country. The Soviet education model including the teaching syllabus, and textbooks, were followed.

In the second phase from 1958-1965, Mao abandoned the Russian model of education for a more Chinese one. This period emphasized education which
served proletarian politics and integrated with productive labour. Where the Soviet model had singled out gifted learners, Mao’s model was one of mass progress. Political and ideological education was emphasized in all educational institutions. Productive labour classes were added as formal courses in all educational institutions. The number of higher educational institutions and secondary vocational schools increased greatly.

The third phase from 1966 to 1976 saw the period of the Cultural Revolution. The basic principles of education during the Cultural Revolution in China (1966) also often drew upon the Marxist theory of Polytechnic Education and were adapted to suit the Chinese situation. Combining education with productive labour was the key focus of Mao Zedong’s ideas on education. Mao’s Polytechnic Education embodied three aspects, that is, the economic, the moral-political and the intellectual-epistemological. Mao believed that by working the student helps to pay for her studies and through her work she comes to understand how her fellow beings think and feel. It was argued that this would contribute to narrowing the class and manual-mental gap.

Mao also emphasised that it was only by ‘doing’ that we really know. This was also a common theme in Progressive Education. He viewed vocational and recreational activities as key components of social and individual development and argued that vocational and recreational activities must benefit the school and the community.

Mao’s revolutionary model of education reduced the central importance of the school. He argued that the whole society educates. According to Mao learning takes place on the farm, in the factory, in school and there should be no
demarcation between formal and informal education.\textsuperscript{30} For Mao participation in political campaigns and waging the class struggle was of greater value than classroom study. He argued that engaging in labour and production educates more directly and more effectively than formal schooling.

During the Cultural Revolution, General Education for the majority was given priority over the training of highly qualified specialists.\textsuperscript{31} According to Mao it was necessary to extend and improve education and to re-educate the intelligentsia to serve people instead of seeking privileges for themselves.\textsuperscript{32} Education was orientated more towards a development strategy that relied on smaller and technically less-sophisticated industry. Mao wanted to gear the new schooling in the Sciences and Mathematics almost exclusively towards such low-level technical know-how. By means of this type of programme he also attempted to prevent the rise of a technocratic new bourgeoisie, something for which he has been heavily criticized in later years.

Under Deng Xiaoping’s leadership (1977-1997) China’s education entered a new reform period. He introduced the ‘three orientations’ for education in China: the need for modernization, the world and the future.\textsuperscript{33} Major changes to the educational system included turning over the administration of basic education to local governments, gradually implementing a nine-year compulsory education requirement, encouraging local governments to develop Vocational Education, decentralizing higher education’s administrative powers partially to universities and colleges, and changing education institutions enrolment and graduate placement system.\textsuperscript{34} The reforms were intended to lay the foundation for an educational system suitable for the country’s economic and social development.
The third period from 1977 under Jiang Zemin’s leadership is not discussed here as it falls outside the period of this thesis.

The complex history of Polytechnic Education is spelt out here in some detail as in 1984 Henry Makgothi, the ANC Secretary for Education, proposed that the form of Polytechnic Education practiced in the German Democratic Republic’s (GDR) be introduced at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).

When the GDR was established in 1949 its education policy was characterized by a pedagogy that emulated the Stalinist model in the construction of a socialist state. All power over education was in the hands of the Socialist Party leadership and intermediary bodies were created to draft policies for education. However, all such bodies were subject to Party control. The system of education implemented was characterized by rigid teaching methods, hierarchical structures and abstract content. Stalinisation in education implied teachers who lectured at passive students.

Polytechnic Education was introduced in the GDR in 1958 only after the death of Stalin (1953), as an education reform aimed at re-establishing the link between General Education, Vocational Training and productive work. A ten-year general Polytechnic High School Education was made the basic form for all children from grade one to grade ten. Polytechnic Education was introduced to raise the skill-level of workers to meet the targets of the 1959 Seven Year Plan.

Polytechnic Education meant relating educational goals to the problems of production and social organization. Subjects like History and Geography were used to show development of the forces of production and the way in which
society is organized in different areas. The teaching of Mathematics and Sciences was not simply a matter of teaching abstract laws but of showing their practical application in the production process. All teaching took place according to highly systematic, compulsory curricula.

The special subjects devoted to Polytechnic Education were Handicrafts for grades one to six and ‘Introduction to Socialist Production’ for grades seven to ten. Handicraft classes did not focus simply on woodwork and metal work but were meant to teach technical principles through working with various materials, using technical kits and building electrical models. The courses devised for ‘Introduction to Socialist Production’ aimed to teach pupils the technical, technological, economic and social foundations of the production process. By learning about the methods of production children were expected to learn about the problems of economic organization and political structures.

The ‘School Day in Production’ as another aspect of Polytechnic Education was aimed at showing students the social and organizational structure of a socialist factory. Students were instructed by special polytechnic teachers as well as workers who received instructions in teaching methods. It was regarded as essential that students spend a part of their ‘School Day in Production’ doing real productive work, in order to form correct attitudes to work.

Polytechnic Education in the GDR was a very specific form of Polytechnic Education. It was rigid and undemocratic. School authorities issued binding teaching instructions and textbooks for all subjects. All teaching was to be done according to highly systematic compulsory curricula.
Paulo Freire, the revolutionary Brazilian educationalist, made a powerful impact on international education thinking in the 1970s and 1980s and he also had a significant impact on discourse about popular education in South Africa. Freirean ideas were introduced to the University Christian Movement, founded in 1967, and through this movement by a Catholic priest, the Reverend Colin Collins, during the 1970s.  

As one of the more radical educationalists in the 1960s Freire argued that his pedagogy was universal, applicable to both First and Third Worlds. Freire was explicit that the concept of the Third World was ideological, not geographic. He maintained that, ‘the so-called ‘First World’ had within it and against it its own ‘Third World’ and the Third world has its First World, represented by the ideology of domination and the power of the ruling classes. The Third World is in the last analysis the world of silence, of oppression, of dependence, of exploitation, of the violence exercised by the ruling classes on the oppressed.  

Freire used the Marxist concept of praxis to formulate his theory of liberatory perspectives in education. His ideas coincided with a number of significant international developments namely the growth of Catholic radicalism in the period around the Second Vatican Council (1965), the rise of the New Left in Europe and North America in the 1960s, the growth of movements for blacks, women and students and the revitalization of the Marxist intellectual tradition.  

Freire’s view is that education is not and cannot be neutral. He holds that there are two opposed forms of education, that is, dialogical and anti-dialogical. Anti-dialogical forms of education, according to Freire, are practised by sectarian oppressors as an instrument of cultural, political and an ultimately
economic oppression. It serves the interest of the ruling classes and its primary purpose, even in providing a degree of knowledge and a grasp of certain skills, is to fit people into a system of cultural and economic oppression. Freire maintained that anti-dialogical education operates as a form of social conditioning in which people are made to accept the situation of oppression without even being properly aware that they are oppressed. The more completely they accepted the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them.48

Freire also believed that education could, on the other hand, be a weapon for social change. His ideas were based on ‘reconceptualism’, that is that the human condition and the institutions of society can be changed for the better through education.49 Education can become the means by which people can perceive, interpret, criticize and finally transform the world around them. He regarded ‘dialogical education’ as a form of revolutionary praxis.50 The basic focus of this form of education was on the theory of oppression and the practice of liberation from such oppression. Through his emphasis on the essentially Marxist concept of praxis, Freire aimed to ensure that if his method were followed there would be unity between theory and practice; without such unity the end would be either ‘empty thinking’ or ‘mindless activism’.51 The theory of dialogical education could extend over the full range of knowledge and understanding but the point of acquiring knowledge, according to Freire, was to bring about the liberation of the oppressed classes. Once liberation is achieved, dialogical education should continue as a driving force.

The fundamental difference between Freire’s ideas and others of his period was his insistence on the link between personal and social liberation or
conscientisation. He believed that human beings have the ability to reflect consciously on their activities. It is this human consciousness and self-conscious existence that makes it possible for people to change their situation. Dialogical education, according to Freire, should help the learner to objectify the world, to understand it critically and to act to change it.

Although the South African Government banned Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which was translated and published in English in 1970, it made the rounds of the resistance activists in South Africa and was studied in particular by activists of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). The South African Students Organisation (SASO) and others conducted literacy and other ‘conscientisation’ projects in the townships until the BCM was banned in 1977. Since most of SOMAFCO’s students were influenced by the politics of the BCM it seems fair to assume that Freirean ideas had some influence on the curriculum debates at the school.

The history of modern education in Africa was also subject to much contestation and debate. The 18th century saw the beginning of Missionary Education in Southern Africa and from the turn of the century more mission schools were set up particularly on the fringes of settlements. According to Paterson (1992) there were two categories of mission schools during the 19th century. The premier mission institutions like Lovedale, Healdtown and Tigerkloof, amongst others, are well-known as much has been written about them but not much has been written on the ‘Kraal or Outstation’ (Bush) schools.

By the late 19th century the premier mission schools were well financed by the home churches, well staffed and had extensive teaching and hostel facilities.
However it was only a minority of blacks who were able to attend the mission schools. This represented approximately 6% of the black population most of whom were in primary schools. The ‘Kraal’ schools were inadequately financed, poorly staffed and had inadequate facilities. According to Paterson (1992) premier institutions had a varied curriculum planned over six days per week, on weekdays from 6h45 to 19h30 with an additional three hours on Saturday morning. The ‘Kraal’ school curriculum was basically an introduction to the ‘3 Rs’.

By the twentieth century the debate over the nature of education for the majority of Africans revolved around two policy tendencies. The first emphasised conventional, Western Education as the goal of Missionary and Colonial Education whilst the second emphasised ‘adapted’ education. Mission Education however, had a strong religious character.

According to Kallaway (2005) the discourse on education policy development in British Colonial Africa at the beginning of the 20th century was shaped largely by the British Colonial Office in association with a number of American philanthropic foundations like the Carnegie, Rockerfeller and Phelps-Stokes Foundations. Debate over the nature of the education and the curriculum to be provided centred on whether education should be for citizenship and work in a modern society and economy, or whether it should support traditional rural African life in a colonial context. There were also debates about what should constitute the relevant curriculum for the majority of Africans. Should the conventional Western Education be continued or reformed or should modern education be linked to the notions of vocationalism or indigenous knowledge?
Kallaway (2002) argued that the dominant tradition of mission schools in the Cape Colony in the 19th and 20th Centuries emphasized the ‘same’ curriculum and quality of education for Africans as schools for the colonists. The beneficiaries of this education could become citizens of the Colony and could enter the labour arena with the same qualifications as the colonists. This educational model had strong support from the emerging African elite. The ANC leadership which was by and large a product of these premier mission schools in the 20th century supported this model for education in exile at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).

The curriculum in Western Education was essentially Academic Education with an emphasis on English and modern cultural acquisition. It was based on the principle that everyone regardless of their backgrounds had the right to the same education. The Western educational tradition was regarded as the appropriate one for modern living and ‘civilisation’. This education was linked to the equality of the individual in religion and the labour market. The appeal of conventional, Western Academic Education was its social and economic value in the colonial and modern context.

The ‘adaptation’ model which was derived from the Tuskegee, Hampton and other similar institutions in the American South proposed that Africans receive an education that was different in some way from the colonists. The chief advocate of the ‘adaptation’ model in South Africa was CT Loram. According to Kallaway (2002) the adaptation model could serve any of four purposes. The first was that Africans would be educated in their own languages and cultural traditions so as to prevent alienation from their own language and culture. The second was education for the countryside as peasant farmers. The third was the
provision of a rudimentary ‘adapted’ education appropriate to a perceived position in the labour market in colonial life. The fourth was to provide modest industrial skills to work at the lower end of a modern economy and health, hygiene and family life.

What Kallaway (2002) argued was that ‘adapted’ education had a ‘logic’ in terms of the ideals of Progressive Education in that it was related to ‘community and culture’: it was ‘adapted to the needs’ of rural society which was fundamentally different from the modern world. ‘Adapted’ education was to be conducted by Africans for Africans in their indigenous languages, and so it was adapted to the so-called ‘needs’ of the children. However, the virtues of this education were contested by critics who argued that it fed into racist stereotypes and prevented the social development and social mobility of Africans. It fitted too easily into the role that whites wanted Africans to hold in colonial society. The African elite and many liberals therefore rejected the radical/progressive proposals associated with this.

‘Adapted’ education as the appropriate education for the majority of Africans was promoted largely by the American philanthropic Phelps-Stokes Foundation (1922-1924).63 This foundation had the ear of influential missionaries and colonial officials and promoted ‘adapted’ education as the solution to African poverty and social fragmentation.64 Advocates of ‘adapted’ education argued that the conventional Western academic form of education had little relevance to the daily lives of African children living in rural contexts. King (1971) argued that advocates of ‘adapted’ education tended to emphasize the close link between notions of ‘adapted’ education and community consciousness.65 They contended that through training in agriculture, animal husbandry, Christian morality, health
and hygiene and the promotion of a ‘healthy’ family and community life, rural communities and traditional customs could be preserved and the ‘breakdown’ of African society could be prevented.66

But adding to the debate on the appropriate curriculum for Africans was the post-colonial emphasis on higher education for the development of ‘high level manpower’ which was seen as the new tool to tackle the challenges of independent African states. The roots of most of modern higher education institutions in Africa can be traced to the colonial period and to external support after World War Two.67 Higher education institutions were generally satellites of European universities which were responsible for the curriculum, examinations, degrees and staff appointments.68 The main purposes were to train the higher civil service and control and shape social change in the new African states of the post-war era.69

The 1950s and 1960s provided a new context for higher education in Africa. With the independence of many African states the staffing of the new civil service and the promotion of economic growth resulted in greater allocations to higher education. The newly independent African states were faced with enormous administrative problems as European colonial administrators and technical experts returned to Europe, leaving a huge shortage of educated Africans to take over the complex administration and economic development of the independent states.

According to UNESCO at the time of independence there were only 90 African university graduates in Ghana (1957), 72 in Sierra Leone (1961) and 29 in Malawi (1963).70 In Botswana (1966) 96% of the higher-level posts in the
country were filled by expatriates. After independence Tanzania relied heavily on expatriate staff and advisers for development planning.

Higher education institutions were expected to contribute to the national development effort. According to Samoff and Carrol (2003), the notion of the ‘developmental university’ in Africa with a curriculum organized around learning that could be immediately and productively applied, emerged in the 1960s and this notion of higher education had widespread international support especially from the World Bank. For the independent African states support by the World Bank for higher education projects was very important as it also implied funding by the Bank. Samoff and Carrol (2003) argued that the World Bank had multiple voices when it came to education policies for developing countries, ‘….Amidst the clamour for priority to basic education, there were periodic reports on the importance and utility of higher education and on the long term negative consequences of ignoring it or permitting it to decline’. The World Bank was established after World War II with the initial aim of the reconstruction of post-war Europe: African education was not on the World Bank’s agenda at that time and it began to give focus to education only with its adoption of the human capital theory which viewed education as essential for economic growth throughout the Third World.

In the 1960s and 1970s the World Bank policy on education in decolonized Africa emphasized the development of human resource, which it regarded as essential for stimulating production. The Bank would finance a part of the capital for, ‘priority education projects designed to produce …trained manpower of the kinds and numbers needed to forward economic development…’ Thus in
Tanzania, during the period 1961 to 1964, the World Bank identified the development of ‘high level manpower’ as the priority. This focus was integrated into the Tanzanian national education policy. According to the first Tanzanian minister of education five major contributions were expected from its university: to provide higher education for an adequate number of people to fit the ‘high level manpower’ requirements of the country; to prepare graduates for entry to specific professional careers; to provide institutional arrangements which are necessary to keep the ‘high level manpower’ force up to date; to assist in the development of the content of education courses so that people who are highly educated are also well-suited to undertake the tasks which are most important in development and to carry out research activities related to ‘high level manpower’.76

In the World Bank’s first Educational Sector Policy Paper of 1971, it recommended that the education policy in decolonized Africa focus on human resource needs.77 This involved the replacement of colonial civil servants, society’s needs over the long term, mass education, and skills development in education. It also recommended the production of trained manpower by concentrating on Vocational and Technical Education and General Secondary Education.78 By the mid 1970s, when the SOMAFCO project was being initiated, Africa had been experiencing a period of political unrest, civil wars and economic decline. Economic spending on higher education declined; many African governments saw higher education institutions as sites of struggle and became hostile towards these institutions. Weakened by the economic crises governments tended to see institutions of higher learning as threats to stability.79
In the 1974 World Bank Education Sector Working Paper, manpower planning and the rate of return analysis continued to be the primary tools for improving management and planning in education. Skills development was emphasized in education but at the same time accessibility to education was to be broadened. Although higher education received little attention it was pointed out that higher education had required a disproportionate share of the education resources. The 1974 paper indicated the beginning of the shift to an emphasis on basic education.

The World Bank 1980 Education Sector Working Paper focused on the mismatch between education and labour. Higher education received limited attention and the Bank favoured an emphasis on basic education. Towards the end of the 1980s, however, the World Bank report on ‘Education in Africa’ once again emphasized the paramount importance of higher education for Africa’s future. The aims of education would be to prepare high-level skills and to create new knowledge for the changing world of technology. However higher education in Africa at that stage was criticized as follows, ‘graduates were too numerous and too poorly prepared; higher education institutions generated little new knowledge; costs were too high and financing was socially inequitable and economically inefficient’. Despite these criticisms the World Bank recommended an emphasis on higher education but emphasizing that the quality could be improved through private funding and getting students to pay more for their education. By the mid-1990s the emphasis on higher education had become more focused and assertive.

Besides the move towards ‘high-level manpower’ development by some African states there were also attempts at implementing innovative education policies in
some African states. These innovations included the Brigades in Botswana, Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) in Tanzania and Education for Socialism in Mozambique.

The Chinese revolutionary model of education that was implemented during the Cultural Revolution had a great impact on the education of some African states like Tanzania, Botswana and Mozambique. Like China these African states in the post-colonial period had little industry and little capital to invest in industry. They emulated China by focusing on rural development and inexpensive technologies.

Patrick van Rensburg, an anti-apartheid activist, took the initiative in introducing the Brigades Movement which later became known as Education with Production (EWP), to Botswana in the post-independence, mid-1960s. The first Brigade centre in Botswana was established at Serowe in 1965. Van Rensburg intended that the Brigades would provide an alternative education for the numbers of primary school leavers who could not be absorbed into Botswana’s secondary school system. The Brigades aimed at rural development: this would be done by increasing rural employment. This would be done by providing a combination of skills development/skills for rural development at post-primary school level.

Van Rensburg’s original idea was that each Brigade centre would have a dual function namely skills training coupled with on-the-job production. The main form of this education would be training in skills such as carpentry, building, weaving, horticulture and mechanics amongst others. The combination of mental and manual education through practical work and experience was structured to
make learning meaningful. This has connections to the Maoist and Deweyan idea that it is only by doing that we really learn.\(^{84}\) The Brigades were also based on a cost recovery principle, that is, costs were to be recovered by the sale of produce or by using acquired skills on local contract work. This was a model that had been extensively used by mission schools in the colonial context.

The use of easily replicable levels of technology made the expansion of the Brigades easy, and there is a connection here with the Maoist idea of concentrating on small-scale technology rather than modern, expensive technology.\(^{85}\) Brigades graduates were encouraged to form cooperatives and establish new production units once they had graduated so as to maximize rural employment. These ideas of co-operatives and work brigades were influenced by the Chinese experience during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)\(^{86}\) and the Cuban experience\(^{87}\) but they were implemented in Botswana in a non-socialist context. This would lead to a variety of problems related to the role of the schools in Botswana’s society and to contestation over the curriculum.

Van Rensburg aimed at the Brigades being more than an alternative education institution within the narrow field of Vocational Training. He aimed at social transformation through transforming human relations within the Brigades and through encouraging the capacity to counter the impoverishment of rural communities within the Botswana’s social structure.\(^{88}\) Democratisation through shared production, positive internalization of the work ethic and the breakdown of the mental-manual divide became his main goals. When SOMAFCO was established in 1978, Van Rensburg was invited by the ANC to become an advisor on EWP.
Despite their potential for promoting rural development the Brigades operated under a fundamental structural constraint. Brigades trainees often tended to regard the Brigades as an inferior substitute for formal secondary education as a means of obtaining well-paid jobs. This perception prevailed because of the high degree of inequality between payment for rural and urban employment. Van Rensburg argued that the elitism of the formal sector functioned to alienate the trainees and leadership of the Brigades from the needs of the deprived rural areas.89

The conservatism of the big cattle owner class who were interlinked with the bureaucracy and ownership of trade weakened the Brigades.90 The Botswanan government was willing to support the Brigades financially but only as a dual system of education. The government also wanted the ratio between practice and theory 80:20 to be changed to a new ratio of 50:50.91 The rationale of the Ministry of Education was that the Brigades trainees should be able to pursue further training after graduating from the Brigades. The incorporation of a higher proportion of theoretical work meant that Brigades courses would equip trainees with sufficient theoretical background to continue studying in more formal educational contexts.

This also meant that these Brigades graduates were less likely to remain in the rural areas and more likely to seek higher education and higher remuneration in keeping with their qualifications in the formal sectors of the economy. Such a prospect went against the original conception of education in the Brigades. This led to the resignation of Patrick van Rensburg who subsequently became involved in the establishment of the Foundation for Education with Production (FEP) in Botswana. Elements of Brigades Education such as skills training with
on-the-job production and the cost-recovery principle influenced the curriculum debates at SOMAFCO (see Chs 5 and 6).

When Tanzania became independent in 1961 Nyerere argued that it had inherited a colonialist and capitalist education system. According to the new president of independent Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, the inherited education system encouraged individualistic attitudes instead of cooperative endeavour. He argued that this led to the possession of individual material wealth being the major criterion for social merit and worth. This was the view that was propogated by Tanzanian African Union (TANU), the ruling party formed in 1964. But colonial Tanganyika had had an extremely flexible education regime which had experimented with many of the ideas referred to above in relation to Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) ideas in the 1930s.

In 1967 Tanzania under Julius Nyerere adopted ESR so as to contribute to the aims of African socialism. Nyerere based his party’s education strategy on four key elements: commitment to manpower planning to ensure rapid movement towards self-sufficiency; recasting of values generally inculcated by higher education so as to generate commitment to national goals rather than narrow self-interest; re-orientation of primary schooling to life in rural areas and emphasis on Political Education designed to raise the level of consciousness of governmental and political leadership and the general population.

In an attempt to meet the manpower needs of the country, this education system emphasized the expansion of post-primary education. This favoured the few who were lucky enough to enter secondary school. The Tanzanian leadership was disturbed when those in the upper reaches of the educational pyramid came to
regard the huge expenditure on their education and subsequent state employment as their right. Nyerere argued in 1964 that it took the annual per capita income of 50 people to maintain a single student at college.\textsuperscript{96} As indicated above, in China during the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1969, general education for the majority was given priority over the training of highly qualified specialists.\textsuperscript{97} According to Mao it was necessary to extend and improve education and to re-educate the intelligentsia to serve people instead of seeking privileges for themselves.\textsuperscript{98} For Nyerere it made more sense to focus on Mass General Education.

The Tanzanian Government adopted the Arusha Declaration on 29\textsuperscript{th} January 1967 and the public policy directives called, ‘socialism and rural development’ and ‘Education for Self-Reliance’ on 9\textsuperscript{th} March in the same year in an attempt to counter what they argued was the existing neo-colonial education system.\textsuperscript{99} Nyerere proposed that the curriculum be revised to contribute to the aims of African socialism. This was to be part of the policy of \textit{Ujamaa} as the basis for establishing African socialism. This shift could be regarded as the Tanzanian Cultural Revolution. According to Nyerere, \textit{Ujamaa} was a return to traditional values of familyhood or togetherness. African socialism, according to him, was a rejection of capitalism and ‘doctrinate socialism’.\textsuperscript{100} He believed that African socialism was ‘an attitude of mind’ and that it was rooted in traditional African society.\textsuperscript{101}

The public policy directives stressed the overwhelming rural base of Tanzania’s economy and the need to base future development on this. The existing elitist education that served the interests of a few had to, in the interest of \textit{Ujamaa} priorities, be transformed to one that served the community as a whole and rural
development in particular. This appears to be similar to the ‘Sixteen Points’ adopted by the Maoists in 1966 during the Cultural Revolution calling on transformation of the education system so that it served ‘proletarian politics’ with particular attention to rural development. Tanzania like China had little industry and little capital to invest in industry; what they did have in common was land and people. TANU decided to use these resources as the basis for development. This would inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, that is, co-operative endeavour and not individual advancement. In Maoist terms this would be the creation of a ‘worker with both socialist consciousness and culture’.

According to the education strategy of TANU, primary schooling for the majority of the rural population was to be an end in itself and not a means to higher education. The emphasis therefore, was placed on a ‘relevant’ or ‘adapted’ curriculum for rural development. Schools had to be geared to ‘the needs of the community’. This was to be done by integrating practical and academic subjects and establishing farms or workshops in every school. This was in keeping with the ideal of Polytechnic Education devoted to closing of the mental-manual gap. Students at all levels of schooling would be obliged to do tasks such as washing and cleaning and school maintenance. Schools were to become self-sufficient communities. Teachers, workers and pupils were to operate as a social unit and had to be become economic, as well as social and educational communities. Here there is connection with Mao’s view that ‘the whole society educates’.

Issa Shivji and others began to develop a critique of Ujamaa and ESR regarding the gap between the rhetoric of African socialism and the realities of the policy. It is within this political situation that the ANC and SOMAFCO had to negotiate
in the mid-1970s. According to Shivji (1976) the plans to promote African socialism in Tanzania have been inseparably tied to the contradiction between the economic bureaucracy and the revolutionary leadership. He argued that the class which controlled the economy, in the final analysis, would be the decisive factor in the struggle for socialism in Tanzania. He identified three components of the economic bureaucracy, namely, the administrative bureaucracy, the petite bourgeoisie, and the sub-capitalists (mostly Asians). The population was composed largely of peasants with a small working class. For Shivji education in Tanzania though well-intentioned, continued to reproduce this class-based society despite the rhetoric to the contrary.

In 1975 John S. Saul, also working from a Marxist base, pointed out that Tanzanian ‘education for self-reliance’ had resulted in educated people being regarded as a scarce commodity and that educational attainment had become geared directly to widely differentially monetary rewards. The masses in Tanzania were therefore faced with the fact that urban workers were better off because they earned a steady income, were not dependent on the extremities of the weather for an annual harvest and earned more per month. Peasants did not enjoy the same social facilities, such as water, electricity and hospitals. TANU and government functionaries, who told peasants not to expect higher education for their children, were at the same time enjoying social facilities to which peasants did not have access. Those who could afford it could take advantage of the expansion of private education and allow their children to escape ESR.

It appears that despite TANU’s commitment to the propagation of African socialism and ‘education for self-reliance’, the practices of education were still class-based. Access to post-primary levels of education clearly favoured the
economic bureaucrats. Less than half of the children in public secondary schools were children of peasants despite the fact that 90% of the population was peasants.\textsuperscript{108} The economic bureaucrats had the advantage of being able to afford private tutoring or to attend better urban and private schools. The result was that those with unequal access to these means had an unequal access to higher education and better employment. In this regard Mbilinyi (1979) argued that to change the opportunities available for the masses required more than changes of the school curriculum.\textsuperscript{109}

Elements of \textit{Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique} (FRELIMO) education policy in Mozambique, such as Education for Socialism, schools as democratic communities, and the elimination of the mental-manual gap, appear to have influenced arguments favouring Polytechnic Education at SOMAFCO (see Chs 5 and 6). FRELIMO was critical of both traditional and colonial (capitalist) education in Mozambique. It argued that they both perpetuated oppressive systems of class division by teaching ‘passive subservience, stifling initiative and fostering superstition’.\textsuperscript{110} This echoes the Chinese rejection of Capitalist and Confucian Education and its introduction of Education for Socialism in the liberated Yenan Province during its war for liberation.\textsuperscript{111} At independence in 1975 Mozambique had an illiteracy rate of 93% - one of the highest in the world.\textsuperscript{112}

During the war for liberation, 1964 to 1974, FRELIMO initiated its own brand of education, Education for Socialism.\textsuperscript{113} This kind of education was put into practice (1965 – 1973) in Tanzania and in large liberated areas to the north of Mozambique. Its first school was established in Bagamoyo in Tanzania and later the school moved to the liberated areas in northern Mozambique.\textsuperscript{114} By 1972 one
hundred and sixty primary schools catering for about twenty thousand children operated with soldiers and young students as teachers.\textsuperscript{115}

Upon independence in 1975, FRELIMO could draw on the educational policies, programmes and practices of the liberated areas. However, it now faced conditions that differed greatly from those during the war. A decidedly more difficult phase of social reconstruction and economic development began. The dilemma faced by FRELIMO was the economic reality of providing students with training in technical skills to meet production needs. At the same time FRELIMO had to take into account the need to alter educational experience qualitatively so as to enable students to acquire leadership skills and knowledge necessary for their participation in the new society.\textsuperscript{116}

Education had to be redesigned for Mass Education, development of the socialist ‘New Man’ and socialist development envisaging ultimate economic independence.\textsuperscript{117} An important part of the curriculum was the symbiotic relationship between mental and manual work. FRELIMO’s view was that education must always combat isolationist academic elitism and always emphasize that study without practical application is worthless, ‘when everyone participates in productive manual work on the basis of complete equality, each learns from the other, and the barriers between the intellectual and illiterate, between teacher and pupil, are removed by the hoe and shovel.’\textsuperscript{118}

Frelimo also viewed the symbiotic relationship between mental and manual work as the practical and effective manifestation of the spirit of self-reliance. Its emphasis on ‘education with production’ is similar to Mao Zedong’s idea that the key focus of education should be to incorporate productive labour and that
education should embody three aspects: the economic, the moral-political and the intellectual-epistemological.\textsuperscript{119}

FRELIMO viewed schools as democratic communities incorporating pupils, teachers and workers in running the schools together. Teachers and pupils were also to be in permanent contact with the local population. Long vacations were considered to be opportunities for working in organized groups, either on school improvement or on productive activities in the community. Technical students were expected to work with the Municipal Electricity Authority. Commercial students were expected to work at the Central Registry Office. Primary pupils were expected to tend their gardens or mend their furniture; university students worked on rural development projects. All were expected to put their knowledge to practical use.\textsuperscript{120} This is similar to Mao’s and Dewey’s idea that it is only by doing that we really learn.\textsuperscript{121}

In order to guarantee nondiscriminatory and equal access opportunities to education for all Mozambicans, the government nationalized education and abolished all private and mission schools in 1975.\textsuperscript{122} The vast majority of teachers who were Portuguese citizens left. An acute shortage of teachers resulted, a problem further exacerbated by the new demand to expand schooling opportunities on a large scale. This shortage of teachers posed one of the greatest problems facing education in Mozambique. In 1980 there were approximately 19 000 teachers for a school population of almost 1.5 million resulting in a student-teacher ratio of 75:1.\textsuperscript{123} The problem was not only one of numbers. It included a lack of adequate preparation in subject areas, in teaching techniques and in overall political and cultural development. Unqualified teachers created their own problems.
FRELIMO had decided that major efforts had to be directed to the rural areas where the majority of the people lived. However, the large influx of people from the rural to urban areas would increase the demands for education in the urban areas and the government was not able to address this problem satisfactorily. All of the lower primary schools in the major urban centres have operated on a three shifts system.²⁴

FRELIMO, like the Maoists, recognized the reality that education on a mass scale is a prerequisite for popular participation in the development process and the way for people to be agents for social transformation. FRELIMO has also recognized that active participation in all aspects of daily living at work, at school and in the community is instrumental in the formation of a socialist perspective. However the mass influx of students to urban areas, untrained teachers and lack of resources have been major obstacles to the attainment of the educational goals.

Besides being influenced by education in the Southern African context, the ANC was also influenced by its historical experiences with Missionary and Apartheid Education in South Africa. Before 1948 besides the education for most blacks provided by missionaries, there were also community schools: these were built from funds supplied by local communities and matching government grants.²⁵ Schools that registered with provincial education departments qualified for financial assistance and had to conform to the curriculum laid down by the relevant education department.²⁶ Schools that did not receive a government grant determined their own curriculum and trained their own teachers. The education system before 1948 was seriously underfinanced as expenditure depended on the levels of revenues from black taxation.²⁷
When the National Party won the elections of 1948 it was faced with a period of social crisis. This was a period of rapid urbanization and industrialization that would transform South African society and give rise to new social and political challenges for the new government. The missionary system of education was unable to provide adequate schooling to meet the growing demand for the education of black South Africans and it was also unable to meet the needs for the reproduction of a stable labour force required by the expanding industry. It was also argued by many that the lack of urban schooling facilities also meant ineffective social control over the urban black youth.

When the National Party came into power in 1948 it did not have a clear plan of action. It had not worked out, amongst other political issues, how to deal with the ‘native problem’ of which Black Education was an integral part. Post-war conditions, industrialization and urbanization had put much pressure on the education system and the Nationalist government accepted that there was a need for intervention. Many blacks had been in favour of the state take over of Black Education prior to 1953. They wanted a secular state system not controlled by missionaries but when they got it, it was in a form they did not like. Although, as Kros (2002) demonstrates, that at that time in the 1950s, it was not nearly so clear to most people that Bantu Education was a bad thing. However the motive for this intervention by the state was not so much for meeting the educational needs of Blacks but rather attempting to control the social consequences of educational expansion.

In 1949 the National Party government set up the Eiselen Commission to make recommendations on how to address Black Education. The Eiselen Commission published its report in 1951. It recommended that Black Education
should be an integral part of a carefully planned policy of segregated socio-economic development of the black people.\textsuperscript{133} It also emphasised that the schooling system for blacks should be an important element in the overall development of South Africa and in ensuring its labour needs.\textsuperscript{134} Native Education would be transferred from Provincial Education Departments to the Department of Native Affairs.

The National Party government passed the Bantu Education Act in 1953 on the basis of the Eiselen Commission recommendations. It was an attempt to restructure the education system because of the urban crisis and emphasized educational restructuring of the urban areas.\textsuperscript{135} The Bantu Education Act (1953) introduced state-controlled mass education for blacks. According to Kallaway, (2002), provincial and mission control of education gave way to the centralization of Bantu Education under the Department of Native Affairs and the Department of Bantu Education.\textsuperscript{136}

All schools had to be registered. Bantu education also set out to establish an efficient and modernized structure of management and administration. The National Party wanted schooling to be organized to bridge the divide between the culture of the home and the westernized culture of the market place. In other words it was a form of ‘adapted’ education. Christie and Collins (in Kallaway 1990) argued that the Bantu Education Act was to be the springboard for educational policies to contribute to the reproduction of black labour in a stable form.\textsuperscript{137} This analysis has been challenged by Fleisch.\textsuperscript{138} Fleisch presents a new interpretation of the Eiselen Commission Report.\textsuperscript{139} He moves the focus away from the functional relationship between the new education policy and the reproduction of ‘cheap labour’ and the organic crisis of the 1940s.\textsuperscript{140} According
to Kallaway (2002), Fleisch explores the discourse of social planning, efficiency and expert control in the formative text of Apartheid Education.

At the outset it was difficult to find fault with the Bantu Education Act: it set out to provide mass education for blacks; the state would be directly involved in providing schools and teachers for all children; it would promote black cultures; parents and the community would be involved in their children’s education and it would prepare children for the westernised workplace.¹⁴¹

The government established some social control over a large portion of the urban black youth by drawing them into schools. The needs for labour were met by the emphasis on primary schooling. State policy involved an attempt to create a new hegemony in which black political aspirations would be directed towards the homelands.¹⁴² This could be achieved via the educational system by encouraging community participation in the school boards and committees. This, however, did not succeed because of popular resistance and the racism of the state educational bureaucracy.¹⁴³

It was only in the course of the 1950s that the implications of the Bantu Education Act became clear. The closure of the mission schools, the pegging of the budget for Black Education at its pre-1948 level led to growing opposition against the Bantu Education Act 1953.¹⁴⁴ The NP government was able to implement Bantu Education in the early 1960-1970s because of the silencing of mass opposition and the economic boom.¹⁴⁵ Hyslop (1990) argued that urban high school education was systematically strangled in order to drive people into the rural areas. Racism in education led to growing opposition to it and prevented the creation of a new hegemony in education.¹⁴⁶
The period late 1960s-early 1970s saw growing dissension within government itself. The sections within government willing to make limited adaptations of the apartheid policy prevailed and urban education was expanded. However, the rapid expansion of a poorly resourced secondary school system coupled with the politicisation of the urban youth and national and international political changes culminated in growing rebellion amongst students which culminated in the Soweto Revolt 1976. The immediate cause of the Soweto uprisings in 1976 was related to the issue of curriculum reform. It involved the enforcement of the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in arithmetic and social studies in black schools. This highlights the centrality of education and curriculum to the political issues contested within South Africa from the 1970s. This study takes up these issues with regard to ANC education in exile and responses to Apartheid Education.

Large numbers of students from high schools and tertiary institutions escaped the terror, detention and imprisonment by the South African security forces and police by fleeing into neighbouring states. The ANC, as the largest of the liberatory movements, decided to provide for the material and educational needs of the exiled youth by establishing SOMAFCO in Mazimbu, Tanzania in 1978 (see Ch. 3).

In the post-Soweto period the Reformed NP government engaged in education reforms in keeping with the needs of a modern, industrial economy aimed at international competitiveness in the context of labour reform. In 1981 the government established the De Lange Commission to make recommendations on educational reforms with a vocational/technical focus, in an attempt to diffuse the education crisis. The continued opposition to reforms in the mid 1980s would
see the emergence of the concept of People’s Education from among community based groupings in South Africa. The concept of People’s Education was an ambiguous one. There was also contestation as to whether a new curriculum should be produced for all subjects. The key principles on which People’s Education was based were non-racialism, democracy and participation by students, and parents.\textsuperscript{149} Limited emphasis was placed on curriculum development particularly in the areas of Science, Maths, Languages and Technical Education.

In the same period 1977 - 1980s the ANC was engaged in formulating an appropriate curriculum for its education in exile in Tanzania.

Curriculum development at SOMAFCO was influenced, directly or indirectly, by the major curriculum debates of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, the African curriculum debates and Apartheid Education. The major curriculum debates of the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century which which centred on Traditional-Liberal, Progressive, Polytechnic and Freirean ‘liberation’ perspective on education featured prominently in the debates on the appropriate curriculum for ANC education in exile (see Chapters 5 and 6). The ANC NEC and the ANC Department of Education in particular, favoured an Academic Education along the lines of Traditional-Liberal and Progressive Education to enable students to sit for the London University GCE ‘O’ Level examinations. The aim was to make it possible for SOMAFCO students to gain entry to tertiary institutions. It was argued that higher education was needed for ‘high-level manpower’ development for the huge socio-economic development that would be needed in a future liberated South Africa (see Chs 3, 5 and 6). The Academic Education favoured was the education which most of the ANC NEC had received at elite mission schools like Lovedale, Healdtown and Tigergloof
and was also similar to the education received by white South Africans during apartheid.

Polytechnic Education also featured prominently in the debates on the appropriate curriculum for ANC education in exile (see Chs 5 and 6). The support however, was for specific forms or aspects of Polytechnic Education. Some supported the idea of the elimination of the ‘artificial barrier’ between mental and manual work, others favoured the mission school focus on Academic Education combined with low-level manual skills while others were drawn to the cost-recovery/self-sufficiency aspects of it. Initially some interest was shown by ANC Department of Education in the Brigades model but this soon dwindled. The Makarenko brand of Polytechnic Education featured prominently at the SOMAFCO Primary School from 1980 to 1982 while the GDR form of Polytechnic Education was favoured by Henry Makgothi when he became ANC Secretary of Education from 1984 to 1987.

The main political influence in black schools in South Africa in the 1970s was the BCM. It would therefore, be fair to assume that the students who came to Mazimbu were generally influenced by the political philosophies of the BCM. The debates within ANC education on the appropriate curriculum would therefore also centre on how to ‘neutralise’ the BCM politics and promote ANC politics (see Ch. 5).
29 Ibid p29
31 Castles and Wustenberg (1979) p112
32 Ibid p112
34 Wang, X. p11
36 Ibid p25
37 Ibid p23
39 Castles and Wustenberg (1979) p89
41 Ibid p89
42 Moore-Rinvolucri, M.J. (1973) *Education in East Germany (The Germany Democratic Republic).* Connecticut: Archon Books p46
43 Castles and Wustenberg (1979) p89
46 Alexander (1988) p6
49 Ornstein and Hunkins (1993) p54
50 Crittenden (1980) p2
53 Ibid p343
54 Ibid p83
57 Ibid p6
59 Kallaway (2005) p337-p356
60 Ibid p337-p356
61 Ibid p337-356
63 See Kallaway (ed) (2002); see King (1971).
64 Kallaway (2002) p7
65 King (1971) p97
66 Kallaway (2005) p337-p356


Samoff and Carrol (October 2003) p3


Paterson and Rouhani (1989) p38


Van Rensburg, P. (no date) p1-2

Paterson and Rouhani (1989) p41


Paterson and Rouhani (1989) p96


Nyerere (1968) p1

Nyerere (1968) p96

Castles and Wustenberg (1979) p115

Castles and Wustenberg (1979) p112


109 Ibid p222
111 Husen and Postelthwaite (eds) (1994) p3955
117 Ibid. p331
118 Ibid. p334
121 Price (1979) p279
123 Barnes (1982) p411
124 Ibid p411
126 Ibid p114
127 Ibid p115
129 Ibid p74
130 Kallaway (2002) p13
132 Lodge (1990) p115
134 Ibid p171
135 Hyslop (1990) P76
136 Kallaway (2002) p11-12
139 Kallaway (2002) p39
140 Ibid p39
141 Ibid p171
142 Hyslop (1990) P76
143 Ibid p76
144 Kallaway (2002) p12
145 Hyslop (1990) p77
146 Ibid p77
Ibid p78


Chapter 2

The ANC and its Role in Political Struggles in South Africa and in Exile from 1912 to 1992.

A background to the ANC and its struggles in the political arena prior to the establishment of SOMAFCO in 1978 is a prerequisite for an understanding of curriculum development at SOMAFCO 1978-1992. This chapter addresses such a background. It examines the ANC’s role in political struggles from its inception in 1912 to 1992, when it returned to South Africa after thirty two years in exile.

The Act of Union in 1910 gave impetus to the establishment of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912 out of localized political activity in the Cape Colony, Natal and the former Republics. From conservative and reformist beginnings the ANC became radicalized by the formation of the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU) (1919), Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) (1921), the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) (1943) and it was actively involved in the fight for black political rights.1

Resistance within ‘one society’ under the conditions of a modern society took on different forms from the early 20th century as older forms of anti-colonialist struggle came to an end with the Bambata Rebellion of 1906.2 New forms of political engagement were spearheaded by mission-school educated blacks who advocated that the white man had to be challenged at his own game. In other words a new kind of politics was needed:
Your cattle (or rights) are gone, my countrymen!
Go rescue them! Go rescue them!
Leave the breechloader (gun) alone
And turn to the pen.
Take paper and ink,
For that is your shield…(and) fire with your pen.³

As elsewhere in the colonial world, black political activity in South Africa from the 1880s took the form of writing to newspapers, petitioning parliament and mobilizing organizations to fight for African rights. The new political strategies included deputations, mass meetings, petitions and protests. In other words education became a key aspect of resistance to political, economic and social inequities.

Throughout Africa, education or schooling was not only about ‘resistance’, it was also about acculturation to the new colonial society.⁴ According to Ranger (1965), education was a valuable tool in state-building and the consolidation of status in African society.⁵ In his study of Barotseland, Ranger argued that the invitation to the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in 1900 to set up schools in Barotseland was not motivated by religion but by the desire for Western schooling. With the collapse of the AME schools by 1906, the Lozi elite supported the Barotse National School which was established by King Lewanika and the British South Africa Company (BSA). Ranger (1965) argued that the movement away from the AME schools was a move away from church influence and the acceptance of the Barotse National School completed a process of secularization. In Barotseland the tussle for control over education and modernization was in the interest of the Lozi elite and not the ‘nation’ as claimed
by the king. In later years the Lozi commoners established independent churches to gain access to the education that was denied to them by the Lozi elite.

According to Parsons (1973) the Tswana elite also regarded education as an important factor in maintaining privilege and political power. He argued that the stratification of Tswana society was upheld through education by making it the preserve of the elite. When elementary education was extended to the commoners, the Tswana elite sought the acquisition of higher primary education to maintain their status. What becomes clear from the studies of Ranger (1965) and Parsons (1973) is that education could be the tool of resistance, acculturation and oppression within a given society.

Political activities amongst blacks up to the early 1900s were far from being in any way national in character. The foundations for a national movement for blacks were laid in the Eastern Cape in the 1880s. The first modern black political association, the Native Educational Association (NEA) was established in 1879 in the Eastern Cape. The NEA addressed the issues of education and social welfare. Its form of action included resolutions, deputations and petitions to the authorities. According to Odendaal (1984), the membership of the NEA included churchmen, teachers, tradesmen, businessmen, interpreters, wagon-makers and labour agents.

The NEA was a moderate organization and was overshadowed by the Imbumba Yama Nyama (IYN) which was established in 1882. The IYN was an explicitly political organization. Its aim was to unite blacks in political matters. However the IYN did not last long and was a spent force by 1884. Three other organizations that were established in the Cape in this period were the South
African Native Association, the Thembu Association and the Gcuwa Mutual Improvement Society. The two influential black political newspapers in the Cape were the *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Native Opinion) and its opposition, *Izwi Labantu*. By the end of the 1800s the Cape Colony had a sizeable number of politically conscious blacks. For blacks the Cape franchise was based on educational qualifications. Political mobilization by organizations in the Cape was, however, confined to the Colony.

In Natal mission educated blacks known as ‘kolwa’ (believers) articulated the political feelings of the peasant farmers, ministers, teachers, traders, labour agents and urban workers. Odendaal (1984) argued that the political awakening of this class manifested itself in the formation of modern political organizations and the establishment of independent African churches. Political mobilization revolved around the subjugation of Zululand and the colour bar.

The first modern political organization to be established in 1888 was the Funamalungelo Society. The main aims of the Funamalungelo Society were to provide the means for Africans to get to know and understand one another and to improve themselves so as to ‘attain the highest state of civilization’. Although attempts were made to make the Funamalungelo Society more representative it remained a local Natal-based organization.

The restrictive political, economic and social policies of the two Boer Republics meant that only a small number of educated blacks emerged in the Republics. Black political organizations like those in the Cape and Natal emerged only after the demise of the Boer Republics in the second South African War 1899-1902. The Native Vigilance Association and the Becoana Mutual Improvement
Association were established in Orange River Colony and the independent Ethiopian Church Movement emerged in the Transvaal. The independent church movement had broad political implications. It complimented the political organizations by propagating African assertiveness and articulating dissatisfaction with the inequalities of white rule.

Walshe (1987) argued that although black political organizations had been established in all four provinces, political organization and activity of the African masses in the early 1900s was characterized by apathy, indifference and tribal sentiment. There was hope among some members of the new African elite that the defeat of the Boer Republics in the Second South African War (1899-1902) would mean the extension of the non-racial Cape franchise to the defeated Republics. The British Government, however, made it clear that its priority was white unity in South Africa. The Act of Union would not even guarantee existing African political rights.

The draft Union constitution stirred black delegates representing black political organizations in all four provinces to meet at the Waaiboek Township in Bloemfontein in March 1909 where the South African Native Convention (SANC) was formed. The SANC sent a delegation to London to protest against the colour bar clauses of the South African Act (1909). The delegation failed in their quest to get the British government to veto the colour bar clauses.

With Union an established fact there was a need for a national structure coordinating and expressing African opinion. The first two years of Union provided African leaders with sufficient cause for alarm to support a conference to launch a National Congress. On the labour front job reservation was
introduced by the Mines and Works Act 1911 and the breaking of labour contracts was made a criminal offense by the Native Labour Regulation Act (1911). The Native’s Land Bill (1911) prohibited rural land ownership by Africans or occupation outside the reserves effectively dispossessing many landowners and making leasing or tenant-farming illegal outside of the Cape.

The main initiative to transform the SANC into a national body more representative of black people in all parts of the country may be attributed to Pixley kaIsaka Seme. Seme emphasized the urgency of African unity and argued that, ‘it is conclusively urgent that this Congress should meet this year, because a matter which is so vitally important to our progress and welfare should not be unnecessarily postponed by reason of personal differences and selfishness of our leaders.’ The meeting was attended by Africans from all four provinces and Bechuanaland.

The SANNC was established on 8 January 1912 at Bloemfontein. The conference decided that the SANNC would be made up of two houses. Seven paramount chiefs who were appointed as Honorary Presidents made up the Upper House. The National Executive Committee made up the Lower House. The SANNC was firstly intended to function as a national forum to discuss issues which affected Africans and secondly to act as an organized pressure group. It was an attempt to create an organization that would transcend tribal, religious and class barriers that prevailed in African politics of the time. The main aims of the SANNC were the achievement of political and civil rights for Africans and the removal of racism.
The methods used by the SANNC, in pursuit of its goals, were ‘mass’ meetings, deputations, protests, passive resistance and demonstrations. This is perhaps reflective of the nature of African politics of the times. This was clearly reflected in the five basic aims of the SANNC as contained in its draft constitution: the promotion of unity and mutual co-operation between the government and the black people of South Africa; the maintenance of a central channel between the government and the black people; the promotion of educational, social, economic and political upliftment of the black people; the promotion of mutual understanding between the various chiefs and the encouragement to be loyal to the British Crown and to all lawfully constituted authorities and to bring about better understanding between white and black South Africans and to seek and to obtain redress for any just grievances of the black people.

From its establishment in 1912 the SANNC was involved in addressing the political issues of the times. The crucial issue for the SANNC was the Native Land Act 1913. In 1913 the SANNC decided to send a delegation to the Union government to present African objections to the Act. This was followed by an approach by its president, JL Dube, to Lord Gladstone, the British Governor-General. Gladstone did not grant Dube an audience. The SANNC also decided to approach the British Government and inform the British public of what the disastrous consequences of the Land Act 1913 would be. It also became involved in the pass campaign of black women in the Orange Free State, Jagersfontein and Winburg.

Besides the political issues outlined above the SANNC leadership was also caught up with organizational issues. According to Meli (1989), ‘there was a need for comprehensive machinery by which to manage and direct national
affairs, for the management of officers in the discharge of their duties, control of the collection and expenditure of funds, for regulations setting out the conduct of the organization, co-ordination between branches, provincial congresses and the mother body.30

Until the early 1920s the SANNC operated as a conservative, reformist organization representing the interests of the small professional middle class which was largely responsible for convening the Bloemfontein Conference.31 The SANNC was renamed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1923.32 In the 1920s two organizations, the ICU and the CPSA appeared on the South African political scene and added a radical element to how the ANC operated as an organization.

The ICU was founded in 1919 out of attempts to organize dockworkers in the Cape. Led by Clements Kadalie it spread to the other provinces and the countryside and became transformed into a mass movement.33 Although the ICU was a trade union it operated as a mass-based political organization competing with the ANC for members. Its popularity lay in its charismatic leaders and the popular ‘bread and butter’ grievances of the people which they voiced. According to Lodge (1984) the ICU brought into the political arena, ‘a fierce anger and apocalyptic imagery’. In 1926 Kadalie noted, ‘we are dealing with rascals, the Europeans are rascals……There is no native problem, but a European problem of weakness, greed and robbery.34

There was overlapping membership between the ICU and the ANC. Masabalala, Secretary-General and and Treasurer-General of the Cape ANC and later a member of the NEC, for example, also became a prominent member of the ICU
in the 1920s. Charlotte Maxeke, one of the founders of the ANC Women’s League was also involved in the ICU. According to Meli (1989) Kadalie attended the 1924 ANC conference in Bloemfontein as an ICU delegate where he made suggestions and proposals, some of which were accepted and adopted by the ANC. However the major difference between the two organizations was the form of struggle. Whereas the ICU used mass mobilization and strikes the ANC leadership was opposed to such strategies in the early 1920s. ANC member were, however, influenced by the strategies of the ICU.

A further radical element was added to the ANC by the CPSA. The CPSA was founded on 29 July 1921. Its origins lay in the International Socialist League and the anti-World War 1 breakaway from the South African Labour Party. The CPSA consisted of a conglomeration of Marxists, Fabians, syndicalists, anarchists and others. The CPSA was not a large body but it was well-organised and structured on a Leninist model. According to Lodge (1984) the CPSA was not a syndicalist organization but a political party prepared to work within and take advantage of existing political institutions.

The CPSA tended, in its early phase, to regard white labour as the vanguard of the South African proletariat. It assumed that white working class consciousness, as it developed, would ultimately transcend racialism. The CPSA was prepared to work with white labour on certain issues, that is, the 1922 Rand mineworkers’ strike and the Nationalist/Labour alliance 1924.

According to Roux (1978), the racist overtones of both the mineworker’s strikes and the National/Labour alliance campaigns, the harsh suppression of the 1922 strikes by government and the emergence of the ICU as a mass-based black trade
union, led to a change in focus in CPSA thinking. A militant wing within the SACP argued that the main focus of the Party ought to be the African proletariat'. Under the influence of Sidney Bunting, Ivon Jones and others, the CPSA shifted its focus to the African working class emphasizing that, ‘our main revolutionary task is among the natives’ and the 1924 CPSA conference adopted this slogan. Africans were recruited into the Party and black communists established ICU branches and were elected into the executive of the ICU. The first generation of African communist leaders such as Albert Nzulu, Johannes Nkosi, Moses Kotane and JB Marks emerged.

In 1928, under pressure from its African and coloured members and the Communist International influenced by Josef Stalin, the CPSA adopted the slogan which laid the foundation for an alliance with the ANC:

an independent native republic as a stage towards a workers’ and peasants’ republic.

This meant that socialism would be accomplished through two stages. The first stage would be the nationalist democratic revolution which would make it possible to co-operate with the ANC. The socialist revolution would be the second stage. The CPSA accepted that the path to a socialist revolution lay through a nationalist struggle and would devote its energy to influencing the course of the ANC.

The ‘native republic’ strategy came at an opportune time when the ANC president, Josiah Gumede (elected 1927), had attended the communist-sponsored Conference of Oppressed Nationalities and had visited the USSR. However, he
lost the elections in 1930 to Pixley kaIsaka Seme. Under the presidency of Pixley kaIsaka Seme the ANC went through a period of ultra conservatism. According to Lodge (1990) Seme’s main goal was to maintain the allegiance of the chiefs. The ANC experienced a period of dwindling membership and stagnation. Even the passing of the Hertzog Bills in 1936 did not evoke any significant response from the ANC.

The ANC underwent a process of further radicalization in the 1940s. This was a period of rejuvenation and revival for the ANC. The leaderships of J. Calata, ZR Mahabane (1939) and AB Xuma (1940) did much to move the ANC in the direction of a mass-based organization. Besides addressing the organizational issues the ANC under Xuma also boosted its image by establishing a committee to discuss the Atlantic Charter from an ‘African’s point of view’. While the ANC leadership 1939-1940 was involved in reviving the organization, criticism arose within the ANC over the methods and pace of its campaign for political and civil rights.

In the 1940s there was growing dissatisfaction with the strategies and pace of ANC programmes to gain political and social rights for Africans. The critics of the ANC strategies were mainly mission educated youth from institutions like St. Peters in Johannesburg, Lovedale, Healdtown, Adams College amongst others. A notable exception was Walter Sisulu who was a worker. With the approval of the 1942 ANC conference, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) was founded in 1943. Anton Lembede became its first president and Nelson Mandela its first secretary. According to the ANCYL the main goal of the ANC should be the attainment of national self-determination by Africans themselves.
ANCYL’s emphasis on Africanism was a departure from the liberal thinking of the ANC at that time.

The ANCYL believed that Africans were oppressed as a nation and not as a class. This view was the opposite of the socialist/communist view that oppression in South Africa was fundamentally class-based. The ANCYL became a radical pressure group advocating mass boycotts and civil disobedience campaigns. It believed that this form of action would create the basis for mass support from the majority of Africans. Influenced by the ANCYL, the ANC would become involved in broader political struggle that culminated in the Programme of Action (1949) and the Defiance Campaign (1952).

The mid 1950s saw the ANC involved in the Congress Alliance ie. the ANC, South African Indian Congress (SAIC), South African Coloured People’s Organisation (SACPO), the Congress of Democrats (COD) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). Facing banning under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, the CPSA decided to dissolve the party on the 20 June 1950. It reconstituted itself as the SACP in 1953 and operated through other organizations especially the ANC. SACP members took on major leadership positions in the ANC. This would lead to many ideological differences within the ANC.

At a conference of the Cape ANC in 1953 Professor ZK Matthews introduced the idea of drawing up a charter of peoples’ rights, that is, the Freedom Charter. A meeting of the ANC, SAIC, SACPO, SACTU and COD in March 1954 decided that countrywide meetings be held to hear peoples’ grievances and demands which would be collected and forwarded to the organizers.
On the 26 June 1955 the Congress Alliance\textsuperscript{55} adopted the Freedom Charter at Kliptown.\textsuperscript{56} The Freedom Charter is an ambiguous document which lends itself to different political interpretations with some people wanting to give it a liberal-capitalist interpretation and others a socialist interpretation.\textsuperscript{57} For some Africanists within the ANC the adoption of the Freedom Charter was the last straw and they broke away to form the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959. The PAC rejected the ‘multi-nationalism’ which advocated cooperation between Africans and other sections of the South African population in terms of, ‘South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.’

Both the ANC and PAC had planned demonstrations against the pass laws. The ANC had scheduled its demonstrations for the 31 March 1960.\textsuperscript{58} The PAC went ahead with its campaign on the 21 March 1960 with disastrous consequences. The ANC and PAC were banned in the wake of the 1960 Sharpeville massacres.

When the ANC was banned it decided to continue the Struggle both inside South Africa as an underground organization and in exile. When it went into exile in 1960 the ANC represented a curiously ambiguous ideological mix of liberal-capitalist objectives and socialist/communist goals. This unresolved contradiction was taken into exile in 1960 when the ANC set up its headquarters firstly in Morogoro, Tanzania and then in Lusaka, Zambia.\textsuperscript{59} This ideological mix of liberal-capitalist objectives and socialist/communist goals would add to sharp debates over the aims and objectives of ANC education at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).

The post-1960 period was marked by political re-organisation to the new conditions that the ANC found itself in, both within South Africa and while in
exile. In South Africa it involved adjusting to the new conditions as a banned organization whilst in exile it involved adjusting to new conditions on foreign soil.

In South Africa the ANC had to re-strategise to function as an underground organization, re-examine its non-violent strategy, face up to the consequences of Rivonia and re-assert itself as the premier liberation organisation. In exile the ANC had to set up the external mission, take over the overall leadership after Rivonia (1963), re-organise and escalate the armed struggle, deal with discontent within the ANC, cater for the educational and material needs of the exiled youth from South Africa in the wake of the Soweto Revolts 1976 and implement the ‘four pillars of the struggle’.

In South Africa many of the ANC leaders were imprisoned under the state of emergency that was declared in the aftermath of the Sharpeville revolts. ANC leaders who were outside prison formed the Emergency Committee of the ANC which resolved that the ANC would not dissolve. The ANC’s priority was its re-establishment as an underground organization. It had to devise ways to meet as a banned organisation and to set up its underground structures. It had to tighten up on security and ensure that its branches functioned efficiently as it was also in competition for membership with the newly formed Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The ‘M ‘plan was implemented to ensure the survival and efficiency of the ANC. While contending with organizational problems as a banned organization, the ANC also involved itself with the campaign for a national constitutional convention as part of the All-in-Conference.
On the 28 March 1960 the ANC NEC in anticipation of its banning sent Oliver Tambo out of the country to set up the ANC external mission.\(^{64}\) In London he teamed up with Tennyson Makiwane (ANC), Yusuf Dadoo (SACP and SAIC), Nana Mahomo (PAC) and Peter ‘Molotsi (PAC) to establish the South African United Front (SAUF).\(^{65}\) The SAUF, however, had a short existence of eighteen months because of PAC opposition to working with the ANC. The ANC would thereafter operate with its alliance partners the SACP and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

According to Lodge (1990) the re-organisation of the ANC in exile may be divided into four phases: phase one (1960 – 1963); phase two (1963 – 1969); phase three (1970 – 1976) and phase four (post 1976 period).\(^{66}\)

The first phase (1960 – 1963) involved the establishment of a foreign mission. This phase involved intense diplomacy to win the support of foreign powers and international organizations. This support was crucial to the continued survival of the ANC. It would, however, place the ANC in an invidious position in the context of the Cold War and also in the context of the internal politics of host nations. This phase also involved fundraising, obtaining other forms of material resources and the establishment of a military training programme.

In South Africa there were growing criticisms of the ANC strategy of non-violence as the appropriate strategy for achieving its desired goals. In June 1961 Mandela introduced a proposal for the use of violent tactics to force the government to meet ANC demands.\(^{67}\) *Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)* was formed in 1961 to wage an armed struggle against the South African government.\(^{68}\) In 1962 and the first half of 1963 the armed struggle took the form of acts of
sabotage in South Africa. Strategies also had to be devised for the recruitment and sending of MK recruits abroad for military training.

In 1963 the external leadership was bolstered up by the arrival in London of Moses Kotane (SACP) and Duma Nokwe (ANC Secretary-General). These leaders were also joined by Robert Resha (ANC), JB Marks (SACP), Alfred Nzo (succeeded Nokwe as Secretary-General of the ANC in 1969) and Thomas Nkobi (became Treasurer-General in 1973). The ANC received assistance for their military training programme via the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA) and the Soviet Bloc.

With the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963, the functions of PAFMECSA were taken over by the Liberation Committee of the OAU which was headed by Oscar Kambona, the Tanzanian foreign minister. Tanzania became the most important supporter of South African liberation organizations. The ANC headquarters were established at Morogoro and guerilla training camps were established at Kongwa, Mbeya, Bagamoya and Morogoro. The ANC was also involved in forging links with Conferencia das Organizacoes Nacionalistas das Coloniaes Portuguesas (CONCP). The links with CONCP would become very significant with Frente de Libertacao de Mocambique (FRELIMO) and Movimento Popular de Libertacao de ANGOLA (MPLA) victories in 1974 and 1975.

In 1963 the police raided Liliesleaf farm where eight of the ANC/SACP leaders were arrested. Together with Mandela they were tried at the Rivonia Trial in 1963 and all except Rusty Bernstein were sentenced to life imprisonment. This meant that the internal organization of the ANC had been all but annihilated.
The same happened to the SACP after it was infiltrated by a police agent shortly after the Rivonia trials. Most accounts of the history of the ANC only give a sketchy picture of activities within South Africa after Rivonia. The Rivonia Trial created a political vacuum into which the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) emerged and made its presence felt.

The second phase began in the mid-1963 after Rivonia with the internal leadership being imprisoned or silenced. The external leadership now had to assume overall leadership of the organization. It also involved the forging of an alliance between MK and the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU). By 1967 MK soldiers who received training in China and the USSR returned to the camps in Tanzania to await infiltration into South Africa. The ANC leadership, however, was still grappling with the logistics and mechanics of MK infiltration into South Africa. This meant that MK soldiers who were anxious to engage with the enemy in South Africa had to idle away their time in the camps in Tanzania.

According to Karis and Gerhart (1997), ‘the boredom of spirited men soon sprouted a series of grievances at the [Kongwa] camp. The leadership of the camp left much to be desired…..As always in such situations the solidarity of the men began to crumble and groupings began to form based on places of origin, tribe, and ideology. But at the root of the problem was the perceived delay in any plan to get back home to fight apartheid with the new weapons they had been trained to use’. 74

The ANC leadership had to not only contend with restless MK soldiers anxious to enter South Africa to fight but also the demands of the Liberation Committee of the OAU for action and the Tanzanian and Zambian Governments wanting to
know when the ANC was going to engage in real fighting.\textsuperscript{75} It appeared to be largely because of these pressures that the ANC leadership decided to infiltrate South Africa via Zimbabwe. Lodge (1990) also suggests that the ANC involvement in the Zimbabwean incursions may have been intended to remedy the sagging morale of soldiers in the camps.\textsuperscript{76} To this end the ANC forged an alliance with the ZAPU in 1967 and was involved in joint operations against the Rhodesian forces and South African police.\textsuperscript{77} This became known as the Wankie/Sipolilo campaign.\textsuperscript{78}

The joint operation with ZAPU had two purposes. The first unit of MK had to infiltrate South Africa avoiding contact with Rhodesian troops and the second unit of MK had to assist ZAPU in establishing a base in Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{79} The Wankie/Sipolilo campaign was not an unqualified success as by mid-September 1967 the ANC/ZAPU forces were either killed or captured by Rhodesian forces or imprisoned by the Botswana authorities.\textsuperscript{80}

The second phase was also marked by intense dissatisfaction in MK camps over the Zimbabwean campaigns. In 1968 defectors from ANC camps in Tanzania sought asylum in Kenya alleging that the Wankie/Sipolilo campaign was a suicide mission aimed at eliminating ANC dissenters, that the leadership of the ANC lived extravagant lives, that there was ethnic favouritism in the ANC and that no challenge to a pro-Soviet position was allowed.\textsuperscript{81} The ANC leadership in recognition of discontent amongst ANC members decided to convene the Morogoro Conference in 1969. This consultative conference had to deal with discontent amongst members, important organizational reforms, the relationship between the political and military aspects of the struggle and the position of Whites, coloureds and Indians in the ANC.
The third phase (1970-1979) saw the collapse of ANC/ZAPU alliance. It also
marked the accession to power of FRELIMO and MPLA. An offshoot of this
was that in 1976 the process of establishing MK training camps in Angola
began. The following camps were established by the ANC/SACP: Gabela
Training Camp (1976) which merged with Benguela Camp in 1977; Engineering
Luanda Transit Camp (1976) which closed in 1977; Nova Catengu Training
Camp (1976) which was destroyed in 1979 by South African aerial
bombardment; Funda Training Camp (1976) which was closed in 1988; Quibaxe
Training Camp (1977) which was closed in 1989; Benguela Transit Camp (1977)
which closed in 1982; Fazenda Military Camp (1978) which was closed when it
merged with Quibaxe in 1981; Viana Transit Camp (Camp 001) (1979) which
was closed 1989; Caxito Training Camp (1979) which was closed in 1984; Hoji
Ya Henda (Calamundi) (1980) which was closed when it merged with Caculama
(Malanje) in 1981; Caculama (Malanje) (1981) which was closed in 1989; Pango
Camp (1979) which was closed 1989.

This period also saw the unexpected exodus of thousands of young people from
South Africa in the wake of the Soweto uprisings (1976). The ANC as the
premier liberation organization would have to cater materially and educationally
for these exiles (see Ch. 5). There are differing interpretations on the main
causes of the 1976 Soweto Revolts. Kane-Berman (1978) and Meli (1989) agree
on the main causes of the revolts while Brooks and Brickhill, Hirson and Justice
Cillie each have a different explanation of the central cause.

Kane-Berman argued that the single most important factor in causing the revolt
was the influence of the BCM ideology. According to Brickhill and Brooks,
the main factor was the changes in the education system. Hirson argued that
that African working class militancy was the central cause of the revolts and rejected the influence of the BCM on students.\textsuperscript{86} According to Meli (1989), the South African Students’ Movement (SASM) played a central role in the politicization of black high schools in the 1970s.\textsuperscript{87} The South African government’s Commissioner of Inquiry, Justice Cillie, claimed that the two central causes were the lack of official awareness of the extent of dissatisfaction over the Afrikaans issue and the deficiencies in police intelligence which prevented them from foreseeing the revolts.\textsuperscript{88} It appears from available evidence that the external wing of the ANC was unaware of the conflict that was brewing over black educational issues in 1976.

The politicization of black students against a backdrop of economic recession, labour unrest and the intensification of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa 1974-1975 with the independence of Mozambique and Angola, were contributing factors to Soweto 1976.\textsuperscript{89} The immediate cause of the Soweto uprising was the instruction by the Minister of Bantu Education that half the subjects in black schools at Standard five and six be taught in Afrikaans.\textsuperscript{90} Police over-reaction to protesting students led to the protests escalating into the Soweto uprisings which spread to the rest of South Africa.

In the wake of the Soweto uprisings large numbers of students mostly from high schools and tertiary institutions fled the country into the neighbouring states to escape the terror, detention and imprisonment. The ANC as the largest of the liberation organisations, took on the enormous task of providing for the material and educational needs of the exiled youth (see Ch. 5).
The third phase also saw the adoption of the ‘four pillars of struggle’ as the ‘strategy and tactics’ of the ANC. In October 1978 the ANC NEC delegation visited the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and out of this visit emerged the ‘Green Book’ which was the report of the Poltico-Military Strategy Commission. In considering the report, the NEC and the Revolutionary Council (RC) came to the conclusion that the Vietnam experience was relevant to the ANC’s ‘strategy and tactics’ in the Struggle. Drawing on the Vietnam experience the ANC decided that the struggle for liberation would be characterized by the ‘four pillars of struggle’. The four pillars of the struggle involved: pillar 1 (mass mobilization and action); pillar 2 (building a sustainable political underground); pillar 3 (building MK and developing the armed struggle) and pillar 4 (building international action to isolate apartheid South Africa).

The fourth phase (the post 1979 period) involved attempts by the ANC to reconstitute itself as the major liberation organisation in South Africa. The ANC had to face the reality that the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) was beginning to overshadow it and had to act decisively to regain its status as the premier South African liberation organization. In South Africa the 1980s were marked by mass struggles led by the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) which consisted of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The UDF was a loosely structured organization made up of approximately six hundred organizations that spanned the political-ideological spectrum but were united by their aim of toppling the apartheid regime. UDF affiliates were made up of trade unions, religious bodies, civic organizations, sport bodies and political organizations amongst others. While some of these organizations were aligned to the ANC or SACP, others were not.
The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) were forerunners of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). In the 1950s NP labour policies became increasingly repressive and led to the politicisation of trade unionism. A new co-ordinating body, SACTU, was launched in 1955 with the declared aim of keeping alive the concept of non-racial trade unionism. SACTU recognized that it would have a role in the political as well as economic struggle. It identified with the ANC and became a member of the Congress Alliance in 1955. The ANC was banned in 1960 and many of the high-ranking members of SACTU were drawn to Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). Between 1960 and 1966, one hundred and sixty SACTU members were convicted on charges of sabotage any the mid 1960s SACTU had been paralysed.

The 1970s was a period of militant unionism. The Wiehahn Commission Report resulted in new legislation that for the first time in South Africa allowed for the legal registration of black trade unions but under strict controls. FOSATU was launched in 1979 with a non-racial character. The 1980s was a period of the growth of militant civic, youth and student struggles in which workers became increasingly involved. Pressure from within FOSATU to shift organizing strategies to mass mobilization led to ideas of a Worker’s Party which led to criticisms from the ANC and SACP.

COSATU was launched in December 1985 after four years of unity talks between unions opposed to apartheid and committed to a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa. The unions also recognised community support as being indispensable and located worker struggles in the context of wider conflicts. They also accepted that unions which relied on community support
could not afford to be politically non-aligned. COSATU had its own constituency with the most powerful affiliate being the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). The popularity of the MDM lay in its direct involvement with the grass root campaigns of the people. O’ Malley (2007) argued that the MDM won the support of the masses and that the ANC had to come up with strategies if it wanted to remain the premier liberation organization in South Africa.

From 1912 the ANC was involved in a multitude of political matters like the opposition to the Land Act 1913, the adoption of the two-stage revolution 1928; the formation of the All African Convention (1935), the opposition to the Hertzog Bills (1936); addressing the question of black participation in World War 11 (1939), the formation of alliances with the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses (1947), the Programme of Action (1949), the Defiance Campaign (1952) and the formulation of the Freedom Charter (1955).

In exile the ANC set up the external mission, took over the overall leadership (internal and external) after Rivonia (1963), re-organised and escalated the armed struggle from 1961, dealt with discontent within the ANC, catered for the educational and material needs of the exiled youth from South Africa in the wake of the Soweto Revolts 1976 and implemented the ‘four pillars of the struggle’.
NOTES


2 Meli (1989) p39


5 Ranger (1965) p57-58.

6 Parsons, Q.N. (1973)


9 Ibid p10

10 Literally means ‘demand civic rights’.

11 Odendaal (1984)p18

12 Ibid p22 - 23


15 Ibid p2


17 Liebenberg and Spies (eds) (1994) p75

18 Walshe (1987) p31


20 Meli (1989) p37

21 Ibid p36

22 They included Dalindyebo of the Thembus, Montsioa of the Barolong, Lewanika of Barotseland, Letsie 11 of Basutoland, Khama of Bechuanaland, Marclane of Pondoland, Moepi of the Bakgatla, Dinizulu, the Zulu chief who was deposed and exiled to the Transvaal by the British was later also included.

23 The NEC consisted of the Reverend John Dube, President-General, Solomon T. Plaatje, Secretary-General, Pixley kaIsaka Seme, Treasurer-General, Thomas Mapikela, Speaker, Montsioa, Recording Secretary, the Reverend Mqoboli of the Wesleyan Church was Chaplain-in-Chief with the Reverend HR Ngcayiya as his assistant, the Reverend Walter Rubusana, Meshack Pelem, Sam Makgatho and Alfred Mangena were elected vice-presidents.

24 Lodge (1990) p3

25 UWC/RIMA/ B17 FMCH88/ ANC (No date) ANC Information Pack, p2
26 Liebenberg and Spies (eds) (1994) p76
28 The delegation was made up of JL Dube, Dr WB Rubusana, Mangena, Rev L Dlepu, WZ Fenyang, S Msane, LT Mvahaza, D Letanka (Sol Plaatje was appointed to the commission but could not proceed to Cape Town). The delegation had four meetings with members of Parliament but every effort failed.
29 Meli (1989) p50-52
30 Ibid p52
31 Lodge (1990) p3
33 Lodge (1984) p5
34 Ibid p6
35 Meli (1989) p67
37 Meli (1989) p61
38 Ibid p61
39 Lodge (1990) p7
40 Callimicos (1986) p8
41 Lodge (1990) p7
42 Meli (1989) p73
43 According to Alison Drew’s new biography on Sidney Bunting, he undertook ‘political education’ in the Transkei in the 1920s.
44 Lodge (1984) p7
45 Ibid p9
46 Meli (1989) p74
47 The Hertzog Bills removed Africans from the common voters roll, created a new set of segregated political institutions, including white ‘Native representatives’ in parliament and an elected advisory ‘Native Representative Council’, as well as entrenching the unequal distribution of land.
48 Meli (1989) p89
49 The Atlantic Charter was signed by Churchill and Roosevelt in 1942. It was a eight point settlement plan for the post-war world. Of particular interest to the ANC was Clause 3, ‘the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they may wish to live…sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.’
50 Meli (1989) p95; Lodge (1990) p23
51 In 1942 for example, a number of strikes were organized by African and coloured mine workers on their own for a 40 shilling weekly minimum wage. These mineworkers acting on their own to change their living and working conditions formed the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) in 1941.
53 Lodge (1990) p69
54 Meli (1989) p123
55 The Congress Alliance was made up of the ANC, SAIC, CPO, COD and SACTU
57 Callimicos (1986) p7
59 Callimicos (1986) p5
61 Ibid p86
62 The ‘M’ plan was a plan devised by Mandela to re-organise ANC branches into cells based on a single street and headed by a cell steward. Seven cells would make up a zone. A prime steward would form a branch secretariat that would administer the ANC within a township.
63 The idea of a campaign started with a call by the Inter-Denominational African Minister’s Federation for African Leaders to meet at Orlando in December 1961. The ANC, PAC and the Liberal and Progresive parties were initially
all involved. The All-in-Conference was held in Pietermaritzburg in March 1962 and dominated by the ANC (the PAC had withdrawn). It was decided that the campaign would start with a three day strike ending on republic day (31 May) when an ultimatum would be handed to the government to summon a national convention. The ultimatum warned the government that failure to summon a national convention would lead to a campaign of mass non-cooperation. The government ignored the ultimatum and instead acted with increased repression.

64 Meli (1989) p200
65 Lodge (1990) p297
66 Ibid p 297
67 Ibid p231
68 Meli (1989) p148
69 Karis and Gerhart (1997) p36
70 Lodge (1990) p298
71 Ibid p298
72 CONCP was an alliance of three Portuguese African groups ie. FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC
73 Lodge (1990) p297
74 Karis and Gerhart (1997) p28
75 Ibid p28
76 Lodge (1990) p299
77 Meli (1989) p162
79 Lodge (1990) p 299
80 Ibid p299
81 Ibid p300
84 Ibid p2
88 Meli (1989) p186
89 The Cillie Commission report in Lodge (1990) p332
90 See Lodge (1990); Meli (1989); Hirson (1979); Kane-Berman (1978); Brooks and Brickhill (1980)
91 Karis and Gerhart (1997) p720
94 Ibid p263
95 Meli (1989) p193
96 Lodge (1990) p188
98 Lodge (1990) p197
99 Ibid 346-350
101 Lodge (1990) p346-250
103 Lodge (1990) p348
104 Meli (1989) p223-224
Chapter 3

The ANC and its Role in Education Struggles from 1912 to 1978

From its inception in 1912 the ANC was actively involved in the political arena in South Africa (see Ch. 2). Its involvement in the educational arena, however, did not appear to show the same degree of commitment and focus. ANC involvement in the educational arena from 1912 to 1953 was minimal. Its pronouncement on education in its ‘21 Objects’ in 1912 and its ‘participation’ in the Night School Movement (1925) marked the sum total of ANC challenges to segregated education till 1953. The ANC’s first major challenge to government policy on education was its resistance to the Bantu Education Act 1953. It was a major role player in the formulation of the Freedom Charter (1955), an all-embracing document with ambiguous pronouncements on education.

When it went into exile in 1960, the ANC’s strategy and policy on education was guided by the general demands of the Freedom Charter and statements condemning the racist and restrictive character of Bantu Education. This strategy continued till the 1970s when ANC Education Committees were set up in host countries. The growing challenges of its involvement in education after Soweto 1976 led to the establishment of the ANC Education Department in 1978 and the formulation of the ANC Education Policy. Sharp debates arose over the question of the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO.

In 1912 the ANC formulated its 21 Objects (see Appendix 4). Its strategy on education was, ‘to agitate and advocate by just means for the removal of the
colour bar. In other words the ANC rejected the colour bar in education and favoured the same education received by white South Africans. The Night School Movement was started in 1925 by the CPSA. Available evidence shows that while the CP, other radical groups and individuals like the ICU, TATA, Max Gordon and liberal groups like the Liberal Party and the Senior Boys of King Edward V11 were actively involved in the night school campaigns to address literacy, numeracy and Political Education for black adults, the ANC involvement was minimal.3

Before 1953 mission schools provided most of the schooling available to blacks. According to Paterson (1992) much focus has been placed on the premier mission schools such as Lovedale, Healdtown and Tigerkloof but these institutions were not representative of mission education in general.4 He argued that only a small minority of blacks attended these elite institutions. The majority attended the ordinary ‘Outstation’ or ‘Kraal’ Mission Schools (see Ch. 1).

The elite mission schools were financially stable, well-staffed, had extensive facilities. The curriculum was varied and planned over six days per week. In many schools the school day was from 6h45 – 19h30 with an additional three hours on Saturday morning.5

The ‘Kraal’ schools were inadequately equipped in both facilities and staff. The school day was planned for a five hour day but seldom operated for this statutory period. The curriculum was, ‘seldom geared to more than a meager introduction to the ‘3r’s’. Basic materials such as chalk, ink, pens blotting paper and textbooks were in short supply. According to Paterson (1992) the pedagogical
approach was, ‘powerfully authoritarian’. The method of teaching approved by inspectors was based on repetition, rote learning and recitation. ‘Good discipline’ was emphasized with a focus on ‘marshalling into line’, ‘order in the classroom and punctuality’. Students also spent a significant amount of time on activities other than school work. This included cleaning and preparing the buildings for its devotional role and performing tasks like carrying water and working in the teacher’s garden.

Industrial Education became important at mission schools in regard to the question of what kind of education was appropriate for Africans. Manual skills appropriate to the rural agricultural context became an important component of African Mission Education. This was an ‘adapted’ education intended to improve the work capacity of Africans and not intended to teach them technical skills (see Ch. 1). Although Mission Education emphasized ‘the moral values’ of work and the ‘intellectual rewards’ of labour many Africans were opposed to it and preferred Academic Education (see Ch. 5).

There was also an African demand for higher education. For those with elementary education, higher education implied some form of post-elementary education for a trade or teaching. For others from the elite institutions it meant matriculation or university education.

By the 1930s the mission school system was in crisis. The crisis experienced by the mission schools was firstly economic. The De Villiers Commission identified ‘financial starvation’ as one of the chief causes of the deficiencies of African education. Brookes argued that financially, the mission schools, ‘had to live from hand to mouth’. Only schools that registered with the provincial
education department could qualify for state finance. Registration, however, meant conforming to syllabi laid down by the provincial education department. Although teachers were paid by the province, all other expenses including food, medical attention and maintenance of the buildings had to be met by student fees. To add to the problems enrolment had increased by 50% by 1953.

Besides a few prestigious mission schools, most were poor ‘Kraal or Outstation schools’. The financial problems of the mission schools led to deteriorating material conditions which in turn contributed to growing student discontent which led to a crisis of hegemony. The break up of the strong cohesive mission school way of life coupled with the rise of militant African nationalism and politicization of students contributed to student revolts at mission schools.

From the 1930s there was a demand for more education for blacks from the emergent industrial sector. Blacks were to provide the core of an industrial workforce to ensure economic productivity. There was a call by blacks for access to more and better quality education. Mission schools were not only too poor and too small to cope with the increasing demand for education they were often rocked by divisions between mission authorities, staff, students and black communities over curriculum priorities.

The problem was that government (UP or NP) was committed to the protection of white privilege and to a privileged position in regards to education and the job colour bar. This meant that access to Black Education and skills had to be restricted. The only way to do that was to evoke further refinements to the policy of separate racial education and development. The contradiction was that the
education was not essentially for a rural identity and economy. Without educated blacks the ‘white’ economy could not work.

In response to the emergent policy debates on education and training the Nationalist Party set up the Eiselein Commission in 1949 to produce a blueprint for ‘Education for Natives as a Separate Race’. In 1951 it published its report in which its guiding principles included: the reconstruction and adaptation to modern requirements of ‘Bantu Culture’; the centralization of control, the harmony of schools and ‘Bantu social institutions’; increased use of African languages and personnel,......an increased expenditure on Mass Education.

The Commission recommended central planning of syllabi so as to ensure the production of skills appropriate to the subordinate role in the economy assigned to Africans under apartheid:

A beginning [at the end of Standard 11] should be made with the teaching of at least one official language on a purely utilitarian basis, i.e. as a medium of oral expression of thought to be used in contacts with the European sector of the population. Manipulative skills should be developed and where possible an interest in the soil and in the observation of natural phenomena stimulated.

The Bantu Education Act which followed in 1953 transferred direct control of education from the provinces to the Native Affairs Department. In due course it imposed a uniform curriculum which stressed separate ‘Bantu Culture’ and
prepared students for semi-skilled work. Although superficially Bantu Education may have appeared attractive, it had many disadvantages for blacks. The insistence on primary school children learning both official languages meant that it was would make it more difficult to acquire proficiency in English which was a minimum requirement for most white-collar jobs, the rural basis of the proposed syllabi would have been objectionable to parents in long-established urban communities, working mothers would be negatively affected by the shortening of school hours and the financial obligations on black parents would be increased.

This act was opposed by various public forums and political organisations. According to Hyslop (1990) opposition to the Bantu Education Act may be divided into two categories, that is, popular opposition and symbolic opposition. Popular opposition involved the teachers, parent forums and political organizations. The South African Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR) and some churches engaged in symbolic opposition to the Bantu Education Act. Symbolic opposition involved coordinating a campaign of publicity criticizing the Bantu Education Act. The Liberal Party also opposed the Act.

The first popular resistance to Bantu Education came from teachers affiliated to the Cape Teacher’s Association (CATA) and the Transvaal Teacher’s Association (TATA). CATA affiliated to a radical All African Convention (AAC) in 1948. Affiliation to the AAC involved incorporation of the Unity Movement’s political strategy. CATA therefore linked education demands to the wider question of political power. The annual conference of CATA in 1952 condemned the Eiselen Report and called on its members to ‘organise the people
and explain to them the recommendations of the report’. CATA teachers also met at Langa in Cape Town and Queenstown to discuss ways to resist Bantu Education. In 1954 the annual conference of CATA called on teachers and parents to do everything in their power to oppose Bantu Education. However CATA did not spell out exactly what could or should be done. The government withdrew recognition of CATA.

In 1951 young radicals like Zeph Mothopeng (president), Es’kia Mphahlele (Secretary) and Isaac Matlhare (editor of the Good Shepherd) were elected to the leadership of the Transvaal African Teachers Association (TATA). TATA addressed the Eiselen Report and mounted a campaign against the Commission’s recommendations. It organized conferences in the Johannesburg and East Rand areas against Bantu Education. It also attempted to set up Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) to lend weight to the protests.

TATA’s opposition to Bantu Education predated ANC campaigns against it. Mphahlele commented that, ‘the African National Congress was caught with its pants down’ as far as the introduction of Bantu Education was concerned and that ‘it took the ANC a long time to digest the message of our campaign in 1951 and 1952.’ There were some links between TATA and the ANCYL. GM Pitje of the ANCYL not only addressed a Rand District Conference of TATA, he also became editor of its mouthpiece, the Good Shepherd in 1954. According to Hyslop (1990) the Secretary of TATA had approached the ANC at national level about the implications of Bantu Education in 1952 but the ANC did not show much interest. The Teacher’s League of South Africa (TLSA) also held meetings to oppose Bantu Education in the same period as CATA and TATA.
The ANC was initially slow to respond to the Eiselen report and the passage of the Bantu Education Act (see discussion above). The ANC/SACP in alliance with the SAIC, SACPO and the Congress of Democrats took a decision to oppose the Bantu Education Act as part of the ‘Resist Apartheid Campaign’ in May 1954. However, the ANC’s approach to the issue was to be characterized by uncertainty and disagreements amongst different sections of the leadership and between leaders and rank and file.33

At the ANC’s annual conference held in Durban in December 1954 the NEC recommended that children be withdrawn from schools for one week as a token of protest to the new act. The conference opposed the NEC recommendation. The conference resolved to begin an indefinite boycott on 1 April 1955 when the transfer of educational administration would take place.34 In March 1955 the NEC decided to postpone the boycott and concentrate instead on a boycott of school boards and school committees. Pressure from the Transvaal membership for the school boycott to go ahead resulted in a new conference being called in Port Elizabeth on 9-10 April 1955 where the principle of an indefinite boycott was supported.35

On 12 April 1955 school boycotts began on the East Rand and spread to other townships in Johannesburg. By 23 April 1955 it had spread to the Eastern Cape but did not spread significantly beyond these regions. A National Education Council was established to make provision for a network of ‘cultural clubs’ providing informal education.36 In April 1955 a committee was set up under Father Trevor Huddlestone to provide alternative education to boycotting children.37 This committee was later transformed into the African Education Movement (AEM).38 The aims of the AEM were the establishment of private
schools, the assistance of cultural clubs for those boycotters whose parents could not afford private school fees and a home education programme.\footnote{39}

The ANC also opened ‘independent’ schools in some of the centres but these were closed by the police for being illegal.\footnote{40} The ANC did manage to open a formal school in Germiston in 1958 with 380 children taught by qualified teachers.\footnote{41} The ANC applied for registration of the school but this was rejected because the school was perceived to be a ‘protest school’.

The ANC made promises to its followers to provide ‘alternative education’ but was hamstrung by poor resources. A Brakpan school committee parent informed the press that, ‘When the boycott started we called on the ANC members to tell us what the position was. We asked them what alternative plans there were for the children. They said there were none and they had no instructions from Head Office about that yet. In the meantime nothing would be done’.\footnote{42}

There was tension in some areas between the boycotters’ parents and the ANC. This grew out of questions over the quality of alternative education offered by the ANC and resulted in parent organizations establishing their own schools independently of the ANC. This was the first time that the ANC had attempted to put into practice an alternative to Bantu Education.

According to Lodge (1990) children at the ‘cultural clubs’ were taught the rudiments of Mathematics, Geography, History and General Knowledge through a programme of songs, stories and games but exactly what was meant by ‘alternative education’ is unclear.\footnote{43} The overall assessment of the ANC ‘cultural clubs’ is best summed up by Lodge (1990): ‘what Congress did try and provide
was some kind of alternative to Bantu Education and its efforts in this direction
deserve consideration if only for their persistence.44

It appears that ANC reactions to the Bantu Education Act was often indecisive,
disorganized and had little substance to it especially when it came to the nature of
the alternative education it undertook to provide. While on the one hand the
ANC rejected Bantu Education it did not appear, on the other hand, to have a
clear, concrete alternative. The curriculum debates at SOMAFCO reflected
general vagueness (see Ch. 5).

In 1955 the Congress of the People, which was made up of the ANC, SAIC,
SACPO, COD and SACTU amongst others, adopted the Freedom Charter (see
Appendix 5).45 The ANC ratified the Charter in March 1956. The educational
pronouncements of the Charter appear under the header, ‘The doors of learning
and of culture shall be opened.’46 The crux of the pronouncement on education
is, ‘Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.’47
This statement would seem to imply that the ANC leadership would accept a
single education system based on the model for white South Africans. The
extension of Bantu Education to secondary schools (1959) and the Extension of
Universities Education Act (1959) evoked little response from the ANC. There
was no call on students to boycott secondary schools, colleges or universities.48
Existing literature does not offer any explanation for this.

From 1955 onwards the ANC’s strategy and policy on education was guided by
the general demands of the Freedom Charter and statements condemning the
racist and restrictive character of Bantu education. This situation prevailed when
the ANC went into exile in 1960.
After the ANC was banned in South Africa in 1960, ANC members who went into exile were given political asylum in countries like Nigeria, East Germany, USSR, Britain, Cuba, Egypt and Tanzania. They settled in these countries as ordinary citizens. These exiles and their children were educated at the educational institutions of the host countries where they settled and as such the ANC did not deem it necessary to establish its own educational institution at that stage.

The question of ANC education only came up for sustained consideration when in the mid 1970s formalized Education Committees of the ANC were established in host countries. The Education Committees, which were the brainchild of Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, were attached to ANC missions abroad. Education Committees were initially established in London, New York, Dar-es-Salaam and Lusaka and were, at first, relatively informal and consisted of ANC volunteers. By 1978 the Education Committees were formalized and made up of ANC members who were involved in work relating to the Struggle in host countries. By the 1990s Education Committees had also been established in Maputo, Lesotho, Mazimbu, Zimbabwe and Angola.

The Education Committees addressed educational matters of ANC members in their regions and forwarded suggestions to the ANC executive and subsequently to the ANC Education Department after it was established in 1978. In the post-1976 period the Education Committees were mobilized to help with the new situation that the ANC was faced with, that is, the influx of large numbers of South African students into the Frontline States in the aftermath of the Soweto Revolts. The Education Committees thus became directly linked to the establishment and planning of SOMAFCO. They would assist with the
development of an educational policy for SOMAFCO and also with developing syllabi and teaching materials and the curriculum.

Secondary sources have revealed little about education policy and practice in exile and this study fills that gap. During the period under consideration, the fragmentary evidence available indicates that the London, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka, Maputo, SOMAFCO and Swaziland Education Committees were active while those based in Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Angola and New York were relatively inactive. The London Education Committee was the main centre for curriculum development, organization of resources, policy discussion and material dissemination. Members of Education Committees changed over time and these individuals were mentioned at various times as having been members of particular committees.

The London Education Committee (LEC) was the most established and influential of the committees. Most of its members were SACP members who went into exile after the banning of the CPSA under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950 and the declaration of the State of Emergency in 1960. Two of the most influential members of the LEC were Harold Wolpe and Alf Bransky. In 1981 other members of the LEC were L. Finkelstein, V. Finkelstein, Gairu Hussey, D. Joseph, Freda Katz, Norman Levy, Laura Miller, M. Motlhathudi, Jean Middleton, Hilary Mutch, F. Ngakane, N. Perez, J. Singh, Mohammed Tikly, Ben Turok, Bobby Vassen and T. Vassen. The LEC was involved in sharp debates with the ANC Education Department on the issue of the ANC Education Policy and the SOMAFCO curriculum (refer Ch 5).
The Department of Education was set up by the Working Committee of the NEC in 1978 and was based in Lusaka.\textsuperscript{56} It was under the office of the Secretary-General of the ANC and was ultimately responsible to the NEC through the Secretary-General (see Ch. 4).\textsuperscript{57}

Although the Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee (DESEC) was relatively small in 1979 it made its presence felt on the issue of the ANC Education Policy and the SOMAFCO curriculum (refer Ch. 5). It consisted of the then husband and wife team of Dan O’ Meara and Linzi Manicom, Willie Kgositsile and Mendy Msimang.\textsuperscript{58} The debate between the DESEC and the ANC Education Department over the ANC Education Policy illustrates the tension within the ANC over the question of the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO (refer Ch. 5).\textsuperscript{59}

The Maputo Education Committee (MAPEC) (1983) which was an active committee consisted of A. Johnston, Zola Xaba (ANC name), S. Naidoo, Gazelle (ANC name), M. Chiliza, Dan O’ Meara, D. Tsekane, G. Ncube, R. Madlokovu and Hintsa Tshume.\textsuperscript{60} The SOMAFCO Education Committee (SOMEC) (1985) which was an active committee of people at SOMAFCO consisted of Marius Schoon, Tweedie Mathe, Farida Mussajee, Henry Makgothi, M. Motan and Babu September.\textsuperscript{61} The Lusaka Education Committee (LUSEC) (1979) which was an active committee was made up of Sindiso Mfenyana, Jack Simons, S. Sangweni, Duma V. Nokwe, Makho Njobe, S. Subrien, Ben Turok, Billy Modise, Humphrey Langa, Wintshi Njobe, B. Strachan, Seretsi Chaobi, Hintsa Tshume, Sophie de Bruyn, Henry Makgothi, V. Nokwe and K. Maphepha. The Swaziland Education Committee (SWEC) which, although small, was active. It was made up of G. Mohlathe and L. Sibande.\textsuperscript{62}
The Lesotho Education Committee (LESEC) (1983), which according to available evidence was inactive, was made up of M. Gwentshe, Phyllis Naidoo, Ngoako, Thozamile Botha, M. Mgijima (Mrs), J. Gozongo, W. Mabandla and Michael Lapsley.\textsuperscript{63} The New York Education Committee (NYEC) (1988) which, based on available evidence, was a committee in name only was made up of M. Xulu, M. Mzizi, J. Mothobi and M. Dube.\textsuperscript{64} The Zimbabwe Education Committee (ZIMEC) was also a committee in name only and in 1986 consisted of Humphrey Langa, Jaya Appalrajju, Michael Lapsley, R. Mazimba, S. Nhlapo and Phyllis Naidoo.\textsuperscript{65} The Angola Education Committee (ANGEC) (1986) which, according to existing evidence, also existed in name only was made up of L. Sibande, D. Sethuntoa, M. Mkhosana, L. Mashilane and I. Fors.\textsuperscript{66}

The membership of the Education Committees fluctuated over time and the membership lists indicated above are simply a rough list compiled from available sources.

In 1977 the first group of exiles who fled South Africa arrived in Mazimbu.\textsuperscript{67} Although these students received some informal education, Mazimbu was more a refuge than a school at that stage.\textsuperscript{68} Construction of the school under Oswald Dennis began in 1977. In 1978 formal teaching began under the first principal, WM Njobe (see Appendix 6). This marked the beginning of SOMAFCO.

To deal with new complexities in education that the ANC was facing, the NEC established the ANC Department of Education in 1978 (see Ch. 4). The ANC Education Department operated through an office headed by the Secretary for Education and a full-time staff based in Lusaka. The first Secretary for Education, Sindiso Mfenyana, was appointed by the NEC.
From 1978 educational issues were discussed annually at the National Education Council (NEDUC) (see Ch. 4). The Educational Committees and the National Education Council were responsible for the planning and implementation of the education policy for SOMAFCO. Decisions taken by the Education Department had to be ratified by the NEC (see Ch. 4).

A vexing issue confronting the ANC Education Department was the formulation of an education policy for SOMAFCO. According to the ANC Secretary for Education, Sindiso Mfenyana, several meetings were held to find a basis for the formulation of the ANC Education Policy. At the meetings various documents on an ANC Education Policy were presented by the Education Committees.

In March 1978 the DESEC had issued its recommendations for the ANC Education Policy via its document, ‘The Burning Issue of Education in our Struggle’. In its document the DESEC appears to have taken a broad socialist/communist stance in its arguments for Political Education. It defined the South African Revolution as aimed at, ‘the most fundamental transformation and transfer of power from one class to another’.73

The document cited Samora Machel, president of a liberated Mozambique and FRELIMO, who held the view that:

To us, education does not mean teaching how to read and write, creating an elite group of graduates with no direct relation to our objectives. In other words, just as one can wage an armed struggle without carrying out a revolution, one can also learn without educating oneself in a
Arguing in the Freirean tradition (see Ch. 1) the DESEC maintained that education could never be a neutral process. It argued that in all societies, education was always political and that the South African government had used education as an instrument of oppression and that the Liberation Movement had failed to realize that education could and must be used as an instrument of liberation. The DESEC argued that the ANC did not have a coherent and consistent education policy and that this was apparent in the ad hoc way in which it dealt with educational issues. It also argued that the ANC did not grasp the importance of education in the struggle and that as a consequence it had failed to formulate a revolutionary education policy.

The DESEC argued that the only existing ANC Education Policy was based on the general statements of the ‘Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Opened’ section of the Freedom Charter and that this did not constitute the comprehensive, revolutionary education policy demanded by conditions a quarter of a century later. It recommended that ANC education must combat individualism, careerism and elitism of Capitalist Education. It must reflect and serve the genuine interests of the working masses of South Africa.

Although the DESEC did not specifically refer to the Chinese model, there appears to be similarities between the DESEC model and the Maoist concept of Polytechnic Education (see Ch. 1). Mao Zedong also argued for the propagation
of collective interests as opposed to individualism.\textsuperscript{75} He believed that capitalist, Academic Education led to students being motivated by selfish ambitions to seek knowledge for personal benefit, for fame, position and status. Education became the centre-piece of the Cultural Revolution where its purpose was to displace what the Party regarded as pre-revolutionary feudal-capitalist values and norms and to replace them with proletarian values and norms.\textsuperscript{76}

However, Mao’s ‘worker with both socialist consciousness and culture’ was not Marx’s ‘fully-developed individual’. Marx’s Polytechnic Education was part of the process whereby workers would be able to take control of production and society and shape them in their own interests. Mao wanted to indocrinate workers with moral values designed to make them willing and competent, eager to use all their abilities to achieve economic and political aims set not by themselves but by an all powerful Party.\textsuperscript{77} Mao’s ideas were not true to the ideals of Polytechnic Education. One of the key aspects of Polytechnic Education was that it must equip everyone to participate in planning and decision-making. A society with Polytechnic Education must, therefore, be a democratic one. According to Mao, Chinese society had to accept the leadership of the Communist Party.

The DESEC recognized that there were debates within the ANC as to whether the emphasis should be on high-level manpower production (see Chs 1 and 5) or Mass Education. The Soviet Government (post 1917) was also faced with the choice between two basic priorities: the provision of a high level of General, Technological and Political Education for all workers with the aim of promoting them to become the masters of production and society or the rapid training of large numbers of economic and technical experts in order to rapidly develop the
means of production which threatened the survival of the Revolution (see Ch. 1). In other words it was a choice between ‘Mass Education’ and training and high-level manpower production. Lenin, Krupskaya and Lunacharsky chose to go the route of ‘Mass Education and Training’ (see Ch. 1). The concept ‘Mass Education’ is a term usually associated with capitalist/democratic formations but is used here to denote the majority. The major tendency in the ANC opted for high-level manpower development (see Ch. 5).

The DESEC argued that the emphasis should be on ‘Mass Education’. It did, however, recognize that the ANC had to produce its own high-level manpower but argued that these cadres must be thoroughly imbued with a political and collectivist view of their roles. All people who received ANC education and training must be responsible to and serve the working masses, rather than their own individual interests or careers. This reflects not only a broad socialist/communist view of education but also aspects of Dewey’s view of Progressive Education (see Ch. 1).

Revolutionary Education, according to the DESEC, demanded the rejection and combating of the view that education only happens to children and in formal institutions. Education must be a permanent process of learning and development and should be available to every individual at every stage of her life. It should become a constituent element of social life. The DESEC argued that socialists/communists argued that the transition to socialism was not just a matter of changing economic and political structures but that it involved changing the way people thought about work, social relationships and society in general (see Ch. 1). Many regarded education as the planned and systematic
shaping of consciousness, that is, education was an instrument for social transformation.

In the ‘Burning Issue of Education in Our Struggle’ the DESEC argued that ANC education must be guided by revolutionary democracy and that since it served the masses the control of knowledge by one class must be engaged with. The contents of education would be determined by the material, social and cultural needs of the people. New teaching methods must be developed so that the authoritarian teacher-student relationship could be replaced by one of cooperative collaboration based on mutual respect. This reflects the Freirean concept of dialogical education (see Ch. 1). Teachers and students must jointly and actively be involved in the learning process and the administration of educational projects. The DESEC argued that education must combat the oppression of women in every sphere of life and must strive to create conditions for the full emancipation of women.

In 1978 Mfenyana circulated a Draft Document (see Appendix 7) on the ANC Education Policy to the Education Committees for the purpose of, ‘improving on the specific points or making additional ones.’\(^\text{82}\) He claimed that the Draft Document had been formulated on the basis of the various views expressed. The Secretary for Education indicated that discussions would be held at a meeting in October 1978 to facilitate the adoption of the Draft Document on ANC Education Policy which was intended to clarify the direction the NEC wanted the ANC Education Department to follow.

The preamble of the Draft Education Policy Document argued that South Africa had pursued and practiced educational systems with capitalist objectives. It
argued further that blacks were trained to be ordinary artisans and domestic servants. Coloureds were schooled to be agricultural labourers and shepherds. Whites were given the best and most advanced education which would enable them to be the employers of labour and masters in trade, agriculture and industry.

The Document claimed that the ANC had formulated a clear policy for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter. According to the Draft Policy, the entire educational programme would be under the direction, guidance, and control of the NEC of the ANC. The Education Policy would be geared towards two aims: to prepare cadres to serve the National Liberation Struggle of the people of South Africa in the phase of struggle for seizure of political power and the post-liberation phase; to produce such cadres as will be able to serve the society in all spheres, that is, political, economic, socio-cultural, educational and scientific. Priorities would be dictated by the needs of the liberatory struggle in the pre- and post liberation period.

It appears that there was some tension between the ANC Education Department and the London, Dar-es-Salaam, Maputo and Lusaka Education Committees over the Draft Document in the run up to the First NEDUC meeting in 1978. This tension over the Draft Document on ANC Education Policy becomes apparent in the correspondence between the DESEC, the LEC and the ANC Secretary for Education, Mfenyana.83

The DESEC challenged the Draft Document on three counts.84 Firstly it felt that the document was vague and contradictory and could not serve as a guide for the formulation of the education policy. Secondly it felt that the document did not say anything about the political and ideological framework which they wanted to
promote and the reactionary ideologies and attitudes they were trying to combat. Thirdly it felt that although the document referred to ‘Political Education’ the principle of Political Education was not made sufficiently clear. The DESEC argued that the Draft Document on ANC Policy as well as its own document, ‘The Burning Issue of Education in our Struggle’, should both be tabled for consideration at the October 1978 meeting.

In its proposals (Sept. 1978) for the agenda of the joint meeting between the NEC and Education Committees scheduled for October 1978, the LEC was also critical of the Draft Document. It claimed that the document was neither clear nor coherent and that the formulation of an education policy required an explicit statement of a set of general principles which was missing from the document.85 It also argued that an essential element in arriving at educational policies was the analysis of the ‘conjuncture at that time’ and that the ANC had not paid sufficient attention to the educational sector in South Africa. It argued that the ANC had often merely expressed blanket opposition to Bantu Education without any analysis of the specific features of the concrete situation. The LEC argued that education must not be regarded as a technical operation. Education, according to the LEC, was a political process relating to the political struggle and that 'Basic' Education and 'Technical' Education were part of that political process.

The LEC emphasized that while it agreed that a set of principles was an essential element for policy formulation (see DESEC discussion above) it was not sufficient on its own. It argued that, ‘concrete programmes cannot be derived from general principles and general principles have to be given a concrete content in concrete situations’. In other words another essential element in formulating educational policies was, ‘the analysis of the present conjuncture’.86
The LEC, in essence, argued for the SOMAFCO curriculum to be based on the needs of the ANC in the pre-liberatory period and at ‘that point of time’ (see Ch. 5).

The LEC argued that there was little if any analysis of how the education system in South Africa related to the developing economy and the changing divisions of labour, the effect of Mass Primary Education for blacks, the significance of the expansion of Technical Education for blacks and political movements and ideologies developing in black schools and universities. It emphasized that it was not sufficient merely to condemn Black Education as being a weapon for domination under apartheid. The ANC had to also recognize that black educational institutions were being used by people and that they were rife with contradictions which had to be analyzed so that appropriate oppositional strategies could be devised.

According to the LEC the ANC had failed to recognize the political nature of its own educational activities. The ANC had drawn a sharp line between Political Education and Basic Education which it regarded as the function of professional teachers. The LEC argued that although professional teachers had an important function, the education they provided must not be regarded as a technical operation but as a political process relating to the political struggle. Basic Education and Technical Education were both part of the political process.

The LEC, like the DESEC was not opposed to academic excellence but saw the fields in which it should be achieved and the manner of achieving academic excellence as being determined by the needs of the struggle in the pre-liberatory period. The LEC argued that the crucial question to be answered, that is, ‘what is
to be taught’ was a political question. This question could only be answered by an analysis of the present or immediate and projected needs of the Struggle.

The LEC argued that their analysis of the present and past needs of the revolutionary struggle and the likely developments over the next few years had led it to conclude that, ‘the burning issue is to turn young militants into political cadres who are literate, politically conscious and skilled to perform the tasks required by the Movement. Thus, education must be structured to meet the specific political and organizational tasks of the Movement. This, therefore, returns us to the need for concrete political analysis which links the political struggle to the ‘educational’ tasks’.

The LEC collated the principles of ANC education as recommended by the LEC, DESEC, MEC and LUSEC as follows:

Education is related to the society as a whole through the system of production and the ideological and cultural structure; the education system in the new society must be used to develop the ‘new man and woman’-progressive, internationalist, committed to building the new society and equipped to do so in accordance with the society’s and the people’s needs from time to time in the revolutionary struggle; education must serve to produce cadres to take their place in the struggle.
On the basis of its views on education and its criticisms of the Draft Education Policy, the LEC drew up its objectives for ANC education in concrete terms and a suggested programme of topics and activities for children ranging from seven to sixteen years.89

The LEC recommended that the agenda for the First Council Meeting (1978) should include a discussion of the developments internally in the education system in South Africa and how those affected external educational work, an analysis of the requirements of the Movement in terms of educational priorities, a discussion of the general principles of ANC education and 'The Burning Issue' document of the DESEC.

The reaction of Mfenyana, the Secretary for ANC Education, appeared to indicate that he had already decided that the Draft Document on ANC Policy would be the only document to be discussed and would be adopted regardless of any dissenting voices. In his reply to the DESEC he emphasized the following: the Draft Document had been formulated by a higher organ and could not be questioned – ‘whilst in the ANC there is freedom for consultation and exchange of views, when a decision has been taken by a higher organ, it is to be implemented’90; as Secretary of Education, he had decided on which documents were relevant; he would not tolerate Party politics – ‘But I must warn that I….will not be party to exploitation of an ANC meeting to discuss politics ….for which there are other platforms in the South African liberatory movement…’91

In his closing remarks he rebuked the DESEC for its criticism of the Draft Document, ‘‘… if we are not ourselves organized and serious we shall fall prey to all sorts of pseudo-revolutionary, arm-chair, political claptrap’.92 It appears that Mfenyana’s reaction to the DESEC’s criticism of the Draft Document
supports Njube’s claim that he (Mfenyana) was appointed by Tambo as Secretary for Education to ensure that Academic Education was implemented at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).93

The DESEC responded to Mfenyana by questioning how the Draft Document that was circulated for discussion and comment could simultaneously be a NEC ratified document. It appears that what the DESEC was questioning in a diplomatic manner was why Mfenyana had engaged in façade of democratic participation in the formulation of the ANC Education Policy when the policy had already been finalized by the NEC.

The ANC Education Department which was established in 1978 called the First NEDUC meeting at Mazimbu from 1st to 3rd October 1978. The main purpose of the meeting was to adopt the Draft ANC Education Policy. The chairperson Mfenyana, introduced the discussion on the policy on education by referring to the various efforts that had been made in the formulation of the education policy. He commended the Education Committees for their contributions and informed the meeting that all the various views had been discussed with the Working Committee of the NEC (see Ch. 4).94 He emphasized that the Working Committee of the NEC had found it advisable to produce a concise statement on the education policy.95 On the basis that the Working Committee had drawn up the Draft Education Policy and that it was brief, clear and did not contradict ANC policy, Mfenyana recommended that the Draft Policy be adopted.96

The Draft Policy was adopted without any amendments, changes or addendums. The preamble stated that the ANC had formulated a clear educational policy for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa. It stated further that by so doing
the ANC had assumed responsibility for ‘manpower-planning’ and development to serve the requirements of a ‘complex, agro-industrial South Africa’. It argued that because of this responsibility the fields of study as well as the content of education had to be under the direction of the ANC and the guidelines for education must be interpreted within the context of the General Policy of the ANC.

It appears that the ANC Education Policy that was adopted tried, in theory at least, to marry the various views that emerged (see Appendix 8). The ANC Education Policy was, however, ambiguous in that it tried to bridge all the gaps between Traditional-Liberal Education, Progressive Education, Polytechnic Education and Freirean perspectives of ‘liberatory’ Education (see Ch. 1). Point 1 of the policy seems to be caught up in the rhetoric of Freirean perspectives of ‘liberatory’ Education. Point 2 reflects aspects of Progressive Education. Point 3 smacks of Traditional-Liberal Education while Point 4 appears to be based on Polytechnic Education. Point 5 could be based on Traditional-Liberal Education as well as Progressive Education. Point 6 could be based on any of the educational models. The ANC Education Policy like the Freedom Charter was an ambiguous document open to many interpretations as would be seen in the debates that emerged over it (see Ch. 5).

It appears that the requests by both the LEC and DESEC for the inclusion of points raised with Mfenyana in the agenda of the First Council Meeting were ignored. Although the minutes of the First NEDUC Meeting noted that the London and Manzini (Swaziland) delegations had submitted documents no mention was made of the recommendations made by the DESEC.
The views of the London and Dar-es-Salaam Education Committees were ignored thus setting the stage for the sharp debates over the ANC Education Policy that were to follow and would endure until the closure of SOMAFCO in 1992 (refer Ch. 5).

ANC involvement in the educational arena in South Africa till 1960 was not a proud one. The largest campaign it was involved in was its resistance against the Bantu Education Act 1953. The ANC was actively involved in the formulation of the Freedom Charter in 1955. The Charter, however, was an all-embracing document with ambiguous pronouncements on education. When the ANC went into exile in 1960 its strategy involved condemning the racist and restrictive nature of Bantu education. The ANC had not formulated a clear, concrete alternative to Bantu Education. The ANC set up Educational Committees in the 1970s and the growing complexity of its involvement in education in the post-1976 period led to the establishment of the ANC Education Department (1978), the establishment of SOMAFCO (1978) and the formulation of the ANC Education Policy (1978). The critiques of the London and Dar-es-Salaam Education Committees on the Education Policy were ignored by the ANC Education Department thus setting the stage for the sharp debates that were to continue until the closure of SOMAFCO in 1992 (refer Ch. 5). It appears from the outset that the ANC Education department had decided that it would implement an Academic Education at SOMAFCO though the precise nature of that policy proved to be ambiguous and contested in the practical every-day life of the institution over the following fourteen years.
NOTES

1 Host countries refer to countries that were sympathetic to the ANC and accommodated ANC exiles after 1960.
5 Ibid p83
8 Hyslop, J. (1990) *Social Conflicts Over African Education in South Africa From The 1940s TO 1976.* A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, p95;
9 Quoted in Hyslop (1990) p96
10 Hyslop (1990) p95-96; Lodge (1990) p114-115
11 Lodge (1990) p114-115
12 Paterson (1992) p61
13 Hyslop (1990) p98
14 See Hyslop (1990); see Paterson (1990)
17 Ibid p116
18 Worden (1994) p96
20 Ibid (1990) p114
21 Hyslop (1990) p275
24 Lodge (1984) p118

UWC/RIMA = University of the Western Cape / Robben Island Mayibuye Archives
UCT/ASL/M+A = University of Cape Town / African Studies Library / Manuscripts + Archives
UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives = University of Fort Hare / National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre / ANC Archives
TBB/PC/ = Terry and Barbara Bell / Private Collection
The AAC was founded as a response to the Hertzog Bills. Communists in its leadership attempted to build a peasant following in the Transkei and Ciskei and also drew in teachers in the mission schools. CATA became involved in both political and educational struggles.

Hyslop (1990) p173
Lodge (1990) p118
Hyslop (1990) p162
Quoted in Hyslop (1990) p162
Lodge (1990) p120
Ibid p170
Lodge (1990) p121
Ibid p243
Lodge (1990) p125
Hyslop (1990) p243
Lodge (1990) p129
UCT/ASL/M+/A/ BC1081 F18.13/ ANC Education Department (1982) Background Information to Developing a Curriculum for the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, p19
Lodge (1990) p279
Ibid p125
Hirson (1979) p49
Lodge (1990) p279
Meli (1989) p124
Ibid p212
Ibid p212
Lodge (1984) p279
UCT/ASL/M+/A/ BC1081 F18.1/ ANC London Education Committee (October 1979) An Assessment of the Organisation, Work and Political Direction of the ANC Education Department, p2
Ibid p3
Ibid p16
Interview with Norman Levy by R. Govender on 26 February 2007 at Sea Point, Cape Town
UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B24 F123/ ANC Department of Education (1983) Report of the Secretary for Education to the 5th NEDUC meeting, p2
Ibid p2
UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B75 F2/ Progress Report from the Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee (1979), p1-3; UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B75 F2/ Letter to the Chairperson of the LEC, p1.
Ibid p1
UCT/ASL/M+/A/BC1081 F18.3.2/ SOMAFCO Educaton Committee (1985) Minutes of a meeting held on 2.8.85
63 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B75 F3/ Lesotho Education Committee (1983) Report to the 5th Session of the ANC Educational Council held at Mazimbu, p1
64 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B25 F124/ ANC Education Department (1983) Letter to Mohammed Tikly re: 5th National Education Council Meeting, p1
65 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B11 F69/ ANC Education Department (1985) Minutes of meeting of the Education Secretariat held on 9.11.85, p1-2
66 Ibid p1
68 Interview with WM Njobe by R. Govender on 21 January 2007 at East London
69 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ The Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee (March 1978) The Burning Issue Of Education In Our Struggle, p1
70 Ibid p1
73 Ibid p138
74 The concept ‘mass education’ is a term usually associated with capitalist/democratic formations. It is used here to refer to the majority.
75 Ibid p74
76 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ The Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee (March 1978) The Burning Issue Of Education In Our Struggle, p9
77 Castles and Wustenberg (1979) p1
78 Ibid p1
80 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ The Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee (March 1978) The Burning Issue Of Education In Our Struggle, p4-13
81 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ African National Congress (SA) London Education Committee (18 Sept 1978) Proposals for the Agenda for the joint meeting of the NEC and Education Committees of the ANC (SA) to take place at Morogoro, September 30th to October 3rd 1978, p1
82 Ibid p1
83 Although there were differences in the recommendations of the Committees there was a large measure of agreement.
84 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ African National Congress (SA) London Education Committee (18 September 1978) Proposals for the Agenda for the joint meeting of the NEC and Education Committees of the ANC (SA) to take place at Morogoro, September 30th to October 3rd 1978, p1
85 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ African National Congress of South Africa Education Committee (London) (1978) A Suggested Programme of Topics and Activities for Children Ranging from Seven Years to Sixteen Years, p1
90 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B78 F9/ Letter by Sindiso Mfenyana to the Dar-es-Salaam Committee (25 September 1978), p1
91 Ibid p2
92 Ibid p2
93 Interview with WM Njobe by R. Govender on 21 January 2007 at East London
94 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ The Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee (March 1978) The Burning Issue Of Education In Our Struggle, p4
95 Ibid p4
96 Ibid p4
97 Ibid Annexure "A"
98 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ Minutes of the Council Meeting, Department of Education and Culture held at Mazimbu, Morogoro, Tanzania from 1st to 3rd October 1978, p21
Chapter 4

Governance and Funding

The ANC began to develop a functioning, record-keeping bureaucracy in the late 1970s. On the educational front it had established Education Committees in the 1970s (see Ch. 3). Soweto 1976 and its aftermath led to the ANC establishing its Education Department (1978), its educational institution, SOMAFCO (1978) and an Education Policy (1978) (see Ch. 3). With the growing complexity of its involvement in education the ANC had to also set up an organizational framework for the efficient operation of its Mazimbu project. Two key aspects of the organizational framework were governance and funding. Governance and funding provided the context for the development of the curriculum policy and the debates that resulted.

The Mazimbu project began in 1978 and by 1980 its education governance framework was set out with the aim of providing for the broad involvement and close co-ordination of all the sectors linked with the development of ANC education in exile. Although the education governance framework changed over time, its main structures included the The National Executive Committee (NEC), the Secretary for Education, the Director, the Political Commissar (PC) and the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’. The NEC and the Secretary for Education were based in Lusaka, Zambia. The Director, the Political Commissar and the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’ were based in Mazimbu, Tanzania.

The NEC which headed the governance framework included O.R. Tambo, the president, A. Nzo, the Secretary-General and T. Nkobi, the Treasurer-General.
It was the highest decision-making body on education. All decisions taken by the ANC Education Department had to be ratified by the NEC. This would have major implications for the formulation of the ANC Education Policy and curriculum for SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).

Working in tandem with the NEC was the National Board of Education (NBE) and the Consultative Committee Meeting (CCM) which was based in Lusaka. The NBE was made up of O.R. Tambo as patron, A. Nzo as chairperson, S. Mfenyana, Secretary for Education as secretary and other NEC members. It functioned on behalf of the NEC to consider education matters. The Consultative Committee Meeting (CCM) which was made up of the NEC Working Committee and the NEDUC also worked on behalf of the NEC on educational matters (see Ch. 3). The Secretary of Education was also the chairperson of NEDUC which worked closely with him on policy matters and advised on all aspects of education.

Below the NEC was the ANC Department of Education which was set up by the Working Committee of the NEC in 1978 and was based in Lusaka. It was under the office of the Secretary-General of the ANC and was ultimately responsible to the NEC through the Secretary – General. The Secretariat was the day to day executive and implementing organ of the Education Department. It consisted of five officials including the Secretary for Education at its head. Except for the Secretary for Education, the other members of the Secretariat were not full-time workers in the Education Department. The constitution of the Secretariat took into account the realities of the manpower situation in the ANC and provided that they need not be full-time workers.
By a decision of the NEC, the Secretary for Education had to be a member of the NEC. The Secretary of Education, who was based in Lusaka, was the direct link between the NEC, the Education Committees and education institutions of the ANC. The first Secretary of Education in 1978 was Sindiso Mfenyana. He was appointed by the NEC. He was also chairperson of the National Education Council (NEDUC) (see Ch. 3) which worked closely with him on policy matters and advised on all aspects of education.

Below the Secretary of Education was the Director who headed the Directorate. In 1980 the principal of SOMAFCO recommended to the ANC Education Department that a Director be appointed to co-ordinate all the activities at the Mazimbu complex, that is, the education facilities, construction and support services amongst others. The CCM endorsed the principle of a Directorate at SOMAFCO. The Director would be the convenor and co-ordinator of all internal and external activities at the Mazimbu complex including education. He/she would also act as the Public Relations Officer (PRO) for SOMAFCO. He/she had to be of high standing within the ANC and was responsible to the Secretary of Education. In 1981 the Directorate was constituted with Henry Makgothi as acting Director until a suitable candidate could be found. Mohammed Tikly took over in 1982.

The appointment of a Political Commissar (PC) at SOMAFCO arose out of a report by the secretary of the Regional Political Committee (RPC) on politically disruptive incidents amongst students at Mazimbu. The incidents involved various actions of indiscipline such as staying out all night from the campus, smoking marijuana, etc. The RPC argued that there was an urgent and crucial need for a strong political presence at Mazimbu. This according to the RPC, necessitated the residence at Mazimbu of a senior, highly experienced PC. The PC was expected to give guidance on political thinking
and to be involved in all discipline matters. It appears that the PC was more involved in matters involving discipline and maintaining order than in educational matters. The ANC Education Department did not resolve the ongoing debate on whether the PC or the Director was the more senior in relation to decision-making powers.

The ‘Directorate’ was set up in 1980 by the Mazimbu community. The ‘Directorate’ consisted of: the principal; the PC who was the chairperson; heads of the primary, nursery, crèche, adult education, women’s section and health; representatives of the construction team, the Students’ Council, the projects manager, staff and representatives of those involved in catering, transport, production, sport and culture and hostel administration.

The principal was in charge of the secondary school and all other educational departments at SOMAFCO ie the nursery school, primary school, high school, adult education and others. The vice-principal’s duties were related only to the secondary school. The heads of the other institutions served as assistants to the principal in relation to their respective institutions.

Students were also represented on the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’ through the Student Council. Each form was divided into small groups of five students headed by an elected group leader. A Form Commander was elected by all members of a form by secret ballot. Form Commanders made up the Students Union Executive Council (Student Council). This body elected its own chairperson. All Form Commanders together with three staff members elected by the staff formed the Disciplinary Council (DC) of the college. The DC handled the more serious breaches of discipline not handled at group, form or student executive levels. The recommendations of the DC were made to the college administration.
The ANC education governance framework included the NEC, the Secretary for Education, the Director, the PC and the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’. The NEC was the highest decision-making body in this governance framework.

The establishment of SOMAFCO in 1978 presented the ANC with the great challenge of recruiting a core of suitably qualified and committed teachers to ensure the success of its educational project in exile. The ANC Education Department recognised the crucial role that teachers would play. It regarded teachers as, ‘the very pillar upon which the realization of our aims depends’. Yet by 1990 the ANC Education Department had been largely unsuccessful in recruiting a suitable core of committed and qualified teachers. In recruiting teachers the ANC Education Department took into consideration three issues which it perceived to be crucial to the organization: suitable candidates; qualifications and remuneration.

A core of stable, committed and qualified teachers is crucial to the success of any school. A school’s aims, ethos, mission and vision, discipline and culture of teaching and learning cannot be successfully achieved without committed and qualified teachers. When the new school was established in exile and with radically new aims and visions, the recruitment of ‘appropriate’ teachers became an even more crucial element. The backgrounds of teachers, the development of an ANC recruitment policy, the qualifications of teachers, teaching experience, turnover of teachers, remuneration of teacher and volunteer teachers had an influence on the nature of the teaching staff and on learning and teaching at Mazimbu.

Teachers at SOMAFCO included South Africans and non-South Africans. Teachers who responded to the call to teach at SOMAFCO came from varied backgrounds representing many colours, population groups, religious
orientations and political leanings. They came from South Africa, Africa and Europe.

The South African teachers who volunteered to teach at SOMAFCO came largely from one of two educational backgrounds. The older teachers were the products of Mission Education which was destroyed by the NP Government from 1948 (see Ch. 1). They brought a legacy of tradition drawn from Mission Education which was, on the one hand liberal and on the other hand conservative and authoritarian. The younger teachers had been trained under the apartheid programme and were the products of Fundamental Pedagogics, the predominant education tradition in South Africa under apartheid. Liberal Education also existed particularly in the English educational traditions and some key teachers at SOMAFCO came from this liberal background. According to Mohammed Tikly some South African teachers at SOMAFCO were very authoritarian in their pedagogical approach. He argued that these teachers had limited and narrow approaches to teaching.

The NEC insisted that a political approach had to be used in the recruitment of teachers. This meant that academic qualifications of the candidates would not be the only criterion to be taken into account. The acceptability of the candidate to the ANC had to be considered. According to the NEC acceptable candidates were those who appreciated the demands of the Struggle and who would see teaching at the school as part of their contribution to the Struggle.

Communiques were sent out to all ANC missions abroad and to the underground structures within South Africa encouraging people to join the school as teachers (see Appendix 28). Suitable candidates were to be selected by the ANC Education Department from the applications received. Initially only South African teachers were considered for recruitment.
Priority was given to ANC members who were professionally qualified, followed by members who had no professional teaching qualifications. The rationale for this approach was the principle accepted at the Third NEDUC meeting in August 1980 that all recruits to the school should be, ‘committed to the role of the ANC as a liberation movement whose only resources derive from the sacrifices and selfless devotion of the oppressed South African masses themselves…. Services to SOMAFCO therefore must be seen not as a favour to the ANC but as a modest contribution and privilege to serve oneself and one’s own people’. 

South African teachers were preferred as a first choice because of the perception that they would be best suited to bring a width and depth to the students understanding of the historical, political and socio-cultural development of the oppressed peoples of South Africa. South African teachers were also perceived to be best suited to provide a comprehensive understanding of the ANC as a liberatory organization. There was also the perception that South African teachers would be able to bring their personal experiences of aspects of the Struggle, the oppression of the South African regime and the aspirations of the masses into their curriculum.

The First Council Meeting held at Mazimbu 1-3rd October 1978 identified Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) as one of the most suitable sources from which to recruit the teaching staff. MK cadres were preferred because of their perceived knowledge of the ANC and for their perceived high level of discipline. It appears that despite the rhetoric about professional qualifications (see discussion above), educational qualifications were secondary criteria for the selection of teachers at that stage.
Students who were matriculated and awaiting scholarships abroad were to be used in the event of a shortage of teachers arising. As a last resort non-South African sympathisers who had the professional teaching qualifications were to be considered.\textsuperscript{24} Here the ANC wanted to tap into solidarity groups abroad, particularly for science teachers that were a scarce commodity amongst black South Africans given their schooling under Bantu Education (see Ch. 1).

The ANC teacher recruitment strategy was not very successful and SOMAFCO was faced with a shortage of teachers from 1979-1990. By 1979 SOMAFCO only managed to recruit three full-time teachers in the fields of Mathematics, English and History.\textsuperscript{25} A report by the ANC Education Department referred to, ‘our \textit{ad-hoc} teaching staff’ and also to the teaching done by students awaiting placements in tertiary institutions abroad.\textsuperscript{26} The School Report to the Fifth NEDUC noted that 1981-1982 started and ended with a serious shortage of qualified teachers.\textsuperscript{27} Out of a total of twenty-two teachers thirteen were unqualified.\textsuperscript{28} The senior classes in Geography and Biology were without teachers for the greater part of the year. The 1982-1983 school years also started with a shortage of qualified staff. Of the twenty three staff members only ten were qualified.\textsuperscript{29} The 1983-89 school years fared no better.

Unqualified and inexperienced personnel, including students awaiting placements in scholarships, were used to make up the shortfall. In an interview by Hilda Bernstein in 1994, Douglas Ramaphosa a teacher at SOMAFCO, when asked about his qualifications, replied, ‘I had no teaching experience but I approached the principal, …. he was very happy to get another teacher so I was teaching History and Biology.’\textsuperscript{30} In a similar vein Diana Williams, a teacher at SOMAFCO when asked by Hilda Bernstein whether she had any teaching experience stated, ‘No I didn’t … not at all’.\textsuperscript{31}
Diana Williams was not only inexperienced but also unqualified as a teacher. Unqualified staff had to be closely supervised both in terms of methodology and content, further increasing the load of qualified staff.\textsuperscript{32}

There was a high turnover of staff at SOMAFCO. John Pampallis, a teacher at SOMAFCO from 1980-1989, recalled that when he left for England in 1985 there were twenty six teachers at SOMAFCO but only six of these were still there when he returned fifteen months later.\textsuperscript{33} Pampallis’s view on the high turnover of teachers was that, ‘there was so much instability and in fact, the students were probably the stable part of the population. At any other place, the teachers stay and the students go through.’\textsuperscript{34}

The high turnover of teachers robbed the school of the opportunity to accumulate experience and also played havoc with continuity of work and the achievements of pupils.\textsuperscript{35} The 1983 secondary division report clearly stated that the high turnover of teachers remained the major problem.\textsuperscript{36} The staffing problem at SOMAFCO was best summed up by the 1984 Education Department report, ‘Our Movement must see this as a crisis situation and remedy what is wrong if we wish to boast that we are offering our students an alternative to Bantu Education’.\textsuperscript{37}

The Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA) delegation, after a survey of SOMAFCO in 1990, found that at the primary school three classes had to be cancelled in 1989 because of the shortage of teachers. The academic year had started with 26 teachers and only 18 had stayed for the year. The survey also found that there was a lack of specialist teachers in remedial teaching especially in language skill. The school had high absenteeism among teachers with an average attendance rate of approximately 77%. The delegation argued that the quality of education depended largely on the
competence of the teachers and recommended more stability among the teaching staff. In Secondary Education, FINNIDA found that there was also a high-turnover of teachers and a shortage of qualified teachers. In 1989 the teaching staff consisted of 38 teachers, 21 of whom were volunteers from Tanzania, Nigeria, GDR, Sweden, Holland, United Kingdom and USA.

According to Mohammed Tikly the teacher remuneration question was an issue of great debate, tension and conflict within the ANC community. Some teachers argued that they were professionals and should be paid accordingly. This demand by teachers for salaries divided the community because workers in construction and the support services worked for small stipends. Tikly maintained that higher teacher salaries would also undermine the principle of volunteerism as some teachers were antagonistic to the volunteer teachers who were paid higher stipends. Volunteer teachers were teachers from Africa, Europe and the United Kingdom who taught at SOMAFCO (see discussion below).

The Fourth NEDUC meeting held at Mazimbu 18-21 August 1981 recognised that one of the major constraints to recruitment of teachers was poor remuneration. This tension over the remuneration of teachers appears to have reflected ideological differences within the ANC. There was a realization in some quarters within the ANC that good incentives would attract the much needed teachers to SOMAFCO. The LUSEC argued that it was, ‘confident of recruiting qualified teachers if the question of salaries is approved and fixed at reasonable rates’. ‘M Africa Nodumehlezi, an ANC member and teacher at SOMAFCO, expressed a similar opinion that, ‘people who are earning money must be fully committed before they accept to just go and teach for nothing.'
Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004) argued that in the early days of SOMAFCO there was no established funding and that teaching was seen as a commitment to the ANC.\(^{44}\) They do not, however, explain why the ANC did not consider salaries for teachers in the later years when funding was available.\(^{45}\)

The LEC was opposed to the remuneration of teachers at SOMAFCO. It argued that, ‘the payment of a salary to teachers undermines not only the political content of the very act of taking up a teaching appointment, but in addition threatens to raise problems in relation to other ANC activities’\(^{46}\)

Tikly also opposed remuneration for teachers. In his report to the Fifth Education Council Meeting (1983) he argued that the remuneration of teachers undermined the commitment to bridge the gap between mental and manual labour (see Chs 1 and 5).\(^{47}\) He pointed out that the lowest paid teacher would receive 750 Tanzanian shillings (R75) per month while most of the non-teaching staff received 384 Tanzanian shillings per month (R38.40). He argued that the higher pay for teachers would divide the community, create mercenary attitudes and negate the quest for a less stratified society.

The ANC Education Department decided not to consider remuneration for teachers but to offer them a monthly allowance or stipend. The principal, MW Njobe in a letter to potential recruits told his audience, ‘You will understand that as a liberation movement we have in fact no material benefits to offer except an opportunity to derive the satisfaction of having made another great sacrifice of service towards our liberation. You and your dependents, of course, will not starve. The ANC (SA) covers all reasonable food and clothing requirements, including a modest cigarette allowance (‘mia moja’ or 100 shillings). It is therefore a national service with a difference’.\(^{48}\)
The ANC Education Department regarded a figure of 2000 Tanzanian shillings (R200) per month as quite reasonable and adequate for professional staff\textsuperscript{49} but in reality they received 240 Tanzanian shillings (R24) per month.\textsuperscript{50} However, there was differentiation in the remuneration of teachers. Qualified teachers, unqualified teachers, the principals and volunteer teachers were paid according to qualification and posts held. Barbara Bell received 1500 Tanzanian shillings as a qualified teacher, while Terry Bell received 3000 shillings as a principal of the primary school. The Bells claimed that they pooled the money received by the teachers in the primary school and then shared it equally amongst the teachers and post matric student volunteers and that the administration did not take kindly to this.\textsuperscript{51}

In an interview in 2008 John Carneson, who favoured salaries for teachers, threw new light on the debate on teacher salaries.\textsuperscript{52} He challenged the view that the debate over teacher’s salaries was ideological and argued that, ‘what obtained was a view that teachers should be totally voluntary and non-paid. I suspect a lot of the funds that were meant for our salaries were channeled to MK….But they wrapped that up in the ideology that no teacher should be paid (at a professional rate)’.\textsuperscript{53}

Carneson argued that the decision not to pay salaries to teachers had dire consequences for SOMAFCO, ‘the consequence is that we didn’t have teachers. We did not have professional teachers….So if you don’t pay teachers you get…the scrapings of whatever you find lying around…And you then have to use kids to teach other kids….some were good, a lot were crap. So we didn’t have any quality control, the[y] grabbed any South African, lazy, drunkard, you name it we got him because they got ones for free’.\textsuperscript{54}
Some teachers were resentful of the preferential treatment given to volunteer teachers (see discussion below) who did not belong to the Movement. The volunteer teachers were given a better remuneration than their ANC counterparts. This was viewed by some as institutionalized elitism. Others like the Bells (see Ch. 6) argued that ANC teachers had a revolutionary obligation to serve the school whatever the conditions of service of volunteers from outside the ANC.

The remuneration question added to the shortage of qualified teachers at SOMAFCO from 1979-1990. The staff issue would remain a problem until Tanzanian teachers, who were paid full salaries by UNESCO, assumed duty in 1990 two years before SOMAFCO closed its doors.

Volunteer teachers came from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Netherlands, East and West Germany, the United Kingdom and from African states and represented a varied range of political ideologies and pedagogical philosophies. They were recruited through the ANC missions and the anti-Apartheid Movements with the support of friendly governments.

Volunteer teachers played an important role at SOMAFCO and were particularly sought after for the teaching of the Sciences. They normally came on a two year contract and provided some much needed teacher stability. Pampallis argued that volunteer teachers provided more stability than South African teachers, ‘…the volunteer teachers often were there for longer than the ANC teachers’.

Tikly recalled that volunteer teachers from the international community were highly committed and had a strong work ethic whereas some of the teachers who came from South Africa were not as committed. Tikly was convinced
that a great deal more could have been achieved in terms of teaching, graduating more students and getting more out of students, if all South African teachers had been as committed as the volunteer teachers.62

The relationship between the South African teachers and the volunteers were not always cordial. According to Pampallis, some South African teachers resented the activist roles that some volunteer teachers from the anti-Apartheid Movements tried to play at SOMAFCO.63 Generally however the volunteer teachers worked well and contributed greatly to SOMAFCO. It appears that the volunteer group of teachers from the GDR was highly regarded. Pampallis regarded them as by far the best of the volunteers.64 This sentiment was also echoed by Henry Makgothi, ANC Secretary for Education 1984 – 1987, ‘so we were very lucky to get teachers from East Germany……they were very, very good. …they came primarily to try and help us, orientate the kids in the direction of the Sciences’.65 John Carneson rated the teachers from the GDR highly but also argued that the Dutch, British and especially the Swedish teachers were very good.66

Volunteer teachers are a potentially untapped primary source of information on education at SOMAFCO. Research on ANC education in exile has not gone far enough in tapping this potentially rich source. The experiences of volunteer teachers will not only provide a further perspective on education in exile but it will also provide a much needed ‘outsider’ point of view. Karen Olling, a volunteer teacher at the SOMAFCO primary school, for example, joined the school in 1981 because she strongly supported the struggle against apartheid both for ‘political and humanitarian reasons’.67 She claimed in a letter to the principal of the primary school in 1982 that she had resigned because of ‘humanitarian reasons’, ‘I do not believe in violence and brutal force as a means to discipline ...Violence can only lead to oppression of
people….and is far from the beautiful picture of SOMAFCO the leaders are drawing in official papers about Mazimbu’.  

My attempts to contact ex-SOMAFCO teachers in the Scandanavian and other European countries via the ex-anti-Apartheid Movement and other avenues have not been very successful. I have managed to contact Karen Olling a volunteer teacher from Denmark (see discussion above and Ch. 5). She was unable to assist me in locating others volunteer teachers in Denmark or other countries. Pritz Dullay (ex-teacher at SOMAFCO-see Ch. 5) who had been in exile in Denmark 1978-1992 also made attempts through his contacts in the ex-anti Apartheid Movement to trace ex-SOMAFCO teachers in Denmark but was not successful. Attempts to contact ex-SOMAFCO teachers in Germany through Anja Schade, a German Ph.D student, researching the ANC in exile in the GDR, have also not been successful. It appears that to achieve some success in contacting volunteer teachers one has to spend some time in the countries to carry out the study. I have not been able to do this because of a lack of funding.

A key to the success of the ANC in exile was the procurement of extensive funding for its efficient functioning. When the ANC went into exile in 1960 Tambo had to win the support of foreign powers and international organizations to ensure its continued survival. He had to procure funds, material resources, personnel and advisors through the international contacts with sympathetic countries, groups and individuals. The need for funding became even more significant when the Mazimbu project, which included SOMAFCO, was established in 1978 (see Ch. 6). While the Mazimbu project increased the need for more funding and resources, it also presented the ANC with the opportunity of marketing its educational, developmental and humanitarian goals so that it was not only seen to be linked to the armed
struggle. The establishment of the Dakawa Development Centre (DDC) in 1982 (see Ch. 6) meant that the ANC had to procure even more funds to meet new challenges but it also provided further opportunities to enhance the ANC’s image.

According to Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004), the force behind the ANC’s funding drive was Thomas Nkobi, the Treasurer-General, who marketed the Mazimbu and Dakawa projects in a manner that attracted support for the ANC projects in exile. The Mazimbu and Dakawa projects attracted a large donor support base which included cash, other material resources, solidarity personnel and scholarships.

When the ANC went into exile it established its headquarters at Morogoro, Tanzania and guerilla training camps were established at Kongwa, Mbeya, Bagamoya, and Morogoro (see Ch. 2). The Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) was sympathetic to the liberation movements in Southern Africa having also fought for independence from colonial rule. It had played a significant role in realization of independence in Malawi, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. Being a signatory of the Lusaka Manifesto (1969) and a member of the OAU it had taken a firm stand against the apartheid South African regime. TANU granted land to the ANC for its headquarters and military training camps in the post-1961 period.

When students began to flee South Africa into the Frontline States in 1976 the ANC approached the Tanzanian government for a site for its school in exile. The Tanzanian government under Julius Nyerere initially granted 100 hectares of land to the ANC as an act of solidarity. The land was an abandoned sisal estate situated in Mazimbu which is two hundred kilometers south-west of Dar-es-Salaam and ten kilometers from Morogoro. In 1982 the Tanzanian
Government granted a second 2800 hectare plot of land to the ANC for its Dakawa project.\textsuperscript{75} Dakawa is situated approximately 55 kilometers north of Mazimbu.\textsuperscript{76} The Tanzanian Ardhi Institute’s Department of Urban and Rural Planning was responsible for the planning of the infrastructure of the DDC.\textsuperscript{77}

The Mazimbu and Dakawa projects were made possible by the assistance of governments, non-governmental solidarity organizations, and individuals from all over the world.\textsuperscript{78} The physical infrastructure was made possible by assistance from the United Nations (UN), the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Norwegian ngo, (NORPLAN), the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA) and the Centre for Information and Education for Development (CIES) amongst others.\textsuperscript{79} Solidarity workers came from Europe, the Eastern Bloc, Africa, Australia, the UK, Scandanavia, Cuba, and the USA.\textsuperscript{80} Mazimbu and Dakawa were large complexes made up of many facilities and donors were encouraged to become involved in specific sub-projects with which they could identify.

The UN agencies, United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the United Nations Development Agency (UNDP) were major players in funding the ANC in Tanzania whilst the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) were also involved in specific projects.

UN involvement in humanitarian aid to Southern African liberation organizations had its beginning in the late 1960s when, ‘the intransigence of the white minority regimes and the mounting pressure for change by the nationalist movements’, were argued to be threats to world peace.\textsuperscript{81} Regional and global actors had to define their positions concerning the situation in
Southern Africa. The UN proclaimed 1960 ‘Africa Year’ and the General Assembly adopted the ‘Decolonisation Declaration’. In 1960 seventeen African states became members of the UN.

The UN agency concerned with educational assistance to National Liberation Movements (NLMs) was UNESCO which acted as an executing agency with a mandate for and expertise on education. The UNDP was the agency which provided the funds to make UNESCO-backed projects possible. According to the Guidelines for the Approval, Implementation and Monitoring of UNDP assistance to National Liberation Movements, the UNDP aimed to, ‘prepare the members of NLMs for full and responsible participation in the social, cultural, economic and political life of their respective countries of origin when independence is achieved, or conditions are otherwise right in those countries’. Since NLM’s members have as a rule tended to reside in countries of asylum, UNDP assistance had the purpose also of assisting them to develop adequate infrastructure aimed at enabling them to attain a reasonable level and standard of living, productivity, civic responsibility and self-reliance in those countries.’

The UN involvement with the ANC began in 1977 with project ANC/ 77/001, when the idea of a school was still in its infancy. The first groups of exiles from South Africa, in the wake of the Soweto uprisings 1976, were placed in schools in Africa and Cuba. Those requiring high school education were placed at schools in Africa (mainly Nigeria and Sierra Leone) while those requiring tertiary education were placed mainly in Cuban educational institutions. UNESCO undertook to take care for the costs of students placed in both Africa and Cuba. The project ended in 1978 when SOMAFCO was established for South African exiles. No details of these projects or the students involved could be traced at any of the archives.
In 1979 UNESCO in collaboration with the United Nations International
Childrens’ Emergency Fund (UNICEF), FAO, the World Health Organisation
(WHO) and ILO undertook project ANC/79/001. The objectives were to
provide accommodation and education for South African youth fleeing the
country. The project estimated that it would need to provide classrooms and
living facilities for approximately 1000 high school students at Mazimbu.
Accommodation would also be provided for the teaching and support staff. A
nursery school for about 250 children would be established. The necessary
health services for the Mazimbu community would also be provided.

By the end of 1979 UN contributions to the ANC Mazimbu project equalled
$634,185. Project ANC/79/001 brought in a further $250 000 from the
UNDP for the 1980 period. FAO was allocated $102 400 to develop the
Mazimbu farm to assist the ANC towards self-sufficiency. The farm project
was undertaken jointly with Swedish International Development Agency
(SIDA) (see discussion below). UNESCO was allocated $74 000 to cover
student and staff maintenance, travel and school materials.

During the 1982-1986 period, project ANC 82/00 was aimed at manpower
development. The immediate objectives of the project were to provide post-
graduate training for five ANC students, one each in educational planning,
educational administration and curriculum development and two in Adult
Education. Seven high school teachers for SOMAFCO were to be trained,
one each in Biology, Geography, History, Mathematics and Physics and two
in Chemistry. The project would also provide for the first degree studies of
thirty ANC students in Law, Social Science, Geology, Economics and other
fields. Only two candidates were submitted by the ANC for post-graduate
training instead of the five expected. Only two, instead of seven were
submitted for teacher training. Forty seven fellowships instead of the 30
expected were awarded for first degree studies. More funds amounting to 193,538 US Dollars were made available for manpower development. In addition $83,192 was allocated to primary and high school SOMAFCO students.

Funding in this period also covered the general school equipment and maintenance of students and personnel. ‘Educational assistance to SOMAFCO’ provided financial support to teachers and students at both the primary and secondary sections. It supported more than 140 students in six southern African countries where they lived in asylum. Seven students had completed their studies by the end of 1989. The UNDP contribution amounted to $475,000.

In the 1987-1991 period the UNDP identified four priority areas of funding and the extent of funding for each: education and human resources development 45%; health services 20%; development planning, aid coordination and administration 19%; agriculture and food production 4%. UNDP projects in this period included the Ruth First Education Orientation Centre (EOC) at Dakawa, assistance in the production and development of livestock at Dakawa and the upgrading of the repair and maintenance workshops in Dakawa.

The ILO was closely involved in the development of SOMAFCO and Dakawa as the executing agency and through its programmes of technical co-operation. When the ILO undertook to increase its technical assistance to the South African liberation movements in 1981 it was approached by the ANC to assist in organising a training and skills upgrading programme for ANC administrative staff in Lusaka. This was followed by a similar training programme at SOMAFCO. In 1983 three programmes were
undertaken by the ILO for the Mazimbu project. The first was a four month training and upgrading of the accounting staff. The second was a repetition of a four month upgrading of administrative staff in Lusaka. The third was an eighteen month training of a new pool of administrative staff.

The ILO with sponsorship from Norway and Finland was responsible for the development of the Vocational Training Centre (VTC) at Dakawa and plans for the establishment of the VTC were formulated in 1985. The VTC was established to meet the construction needs of the DDC and later the certification needs of the students (see Ch. 6). It was also expected to contribute to the manpower development programme of the ANC (see Ch. 6). The VTC was aimed at inculcating ‘a healthy attitude to manual work’. The ILO and UNDP undertook project ANC/001/A/Expansion of the VTC which involved a further financial support programme of three years from 1989 to 1991 for the VTC.

The UNHCR also assisted in the development of the Dakawa Development Centre (DDC). The project 85/AP/TAN/MA/3/A was aimed at helping the DDC achieve self-sufficiency through animal husbandry and agriculture. The UNHCR also assisted with funds for urgent needs like tents, mosquito nets, blankets and utensils.

Scandinavian countries contributed large amounts of cash and material resources to the Mazimbu and Dakawa projects. Aid came from the Nordic organizations, SIDA, Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA), and FINNIDA or through the infrastructure that they provided for the distribution of aid raised by Scandinavian ngos. Nordic schoolchildren collected funds via Operation Day’s Work by engaging in a day’s voluntary labour. In 1985
and 1988 they raised a million dollars on each occasion and much of it was donated to Mazimbu and Dakawa.\textsuperscript{110}

The largest contributor of the Scandinavian countries to the ANC was Sweden. There was firm support for the ANC on governmental as well as the public level.\textsuperscript{111} In 1986 the Swedish prime-minister, Olaf Palme, recommitted Sweden’s support of the ANC until the apartheid regime was overcome.\textsuperscript{112} Swedish aid was co-ordinated through SIDA which supported many initiatives at Mazimbu and Dakawa (see Appendix 8). Teachers and other personnel were sent to Sweden for training. The Dakawa Arts and Culture Centre was supported by SIDA (see Chapter 6). Swedish private organisations like the Swedish Students Union, the Swedish Save the Children Organisation, Teacher’s Associations the youth wings of political parties and the Africa Groups Recruitment Organisation contributed in a variety of ways.\textsuperscript{113}

One of the most significant projects of Swedish aid to the ANC was the Mazimbu farm (see Appendix 9) which was undertaken jointly with FAO. The bulk of the land allocated for the Mazimbu project was intended for the farm which was to engage in agriculture and animal husbandry.\textsuperscript{114} The importance of the project was that it was aimed at making the Mazimbu project self-sufficient in food production.\textsuperscript{115} By 1980 the farm had a piggery with 600 pigs, a poultry section, maize, sorghum and beans under cultivation and an animal feed mixing plant and grain storage unit was under construction.\textsuperscript{116}

By 1980 the farm was just able to provide the approximately 700 inhabitants with eggs, vegetables, maize, poultry and pork.\textsuperscript{117} It was hoped that even with the growing rate of arrivals of South African refugees the farm would cover the vegetable, fruit and meat needs of the Mazimbu population. However, the
number of young people up to the age of 15 was expected to reach 500 by 1984. In order to support their healthy growth and development it became essential to establish a small dairy farm that would provide each child, mother and expectant mother with at least one third of a litre of milk daily. The plan involved the construction of a dairy specifically comprising livestock accommodation, a dairy and equipment for forage production sufficient to support 30-40 dairy cows.118

SIDA appointed Hans Jurgens to co-ordinate the farm activities and formulate a long-term plan for a modern farm (see Appendix 10).119 Guided by Jurgens a comprehensive plan was formulated and submitted to the UNHCR in 1981. The farm engaged in vegetable and fruit cultivation, stock farming, dairy farming, a piggery and poultry. Storage facilities, workshops for the repair of farm equipment, fuel tanks and pumps were constructed. The budget for the project 1982 to 1984 was $3 849 612.120

The Praktisk Solidaritet (PS) or ‘Solidarity in Practice’ was an umbrella body for Brodet & Fiskarna, Vasteras (Bread and Fishes of Vasteras), Emmaus Bjorka, Emmaus Stockholm and Emmaus Sundsvall. Emmaus Stockholm donated clothes to Mazimbu for several years.121 In 1984 Emmaus Stockholm had a surplus and donated this money (300,000 Swedish crowns) to the ANC to be used for a priority project. The ANC identified the building and equipping of a laundry as the project. The project was jointly undertaken by Emmaus Stockholm and SIDA in 1986 and completed in 1987.122 Emmaus Stockholm, Emmaus Bjorka and Emmaus Sundsvaal also donated clothes, shoes and educational articles to the ANC projects in Tanzania.

The Danchurchaid (DCA) assistance to the Mazimbu and Dakawa projects began in 1980. The DCA procured hardware, electrical and sanitary
equipment for the first buildings at Mazimbu and Dakawa. Funds from the Danish Appropriation for Victims of Apartheid were allocated for this purpose. This fund was not earmarked for any particular building and could be allocated to the purchase of building materials and tools for the erection of buildings anywhere within the building site in Mazimbu and Dakawa. Between 1982 to 1991, the DCA supplied hardware, electric equipment, sanitary equipment, tools, roofing sheets, and kitchen equipment to the projects. From 1986 onwards DCA personnel were sent to the ANC centres in Tanzania. By 1991 there were six DCA personnel in Mazimbu and Dakawa.

The Norwegians contributed significantly to the ANC projects in Tanzania. NORAD with NORPLAN was involved with the planning and infrastructure development at Mazimbu and Dakawa. They were involved with electrification, water reticulation, sewerage and road construction. The Norwegian People’s Aid financed road and sewerage construction and also administered food supplies by the Norwegian Government to the ANC centres in Tanzania. NORPLAN was involved mainly with planning and development of the VTC in Dakawa. The Norwegians not only funded the project to pipe drinking water to the DDC but also funded most of the agricultural machinery needed.

Finland was involved in a number of projects at Mazimbu and Dakawa. Both ngos and the government (after 1987) were involved specifically in the library project (see Appendix 11) at SOMAFCO. The library project was unique for liberation movements in Southern Africa. The ANC expected a protracted struggle and had started its own educational institution and the library was an integral part of an educational institution. The library was to be located temporarily in the dormitory block until the library building was constructed
in 1981.\textsuperscript{130} The support for the library was an integrated approach in personnel, equipment and books with the Finns and Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) both being involved.\textsuperscript{131} Funding was needed for a librarian, the purchase of book shelves and furnishing, books on a variety of subjects especially science and technical subjects and books by African writers.

The International Solidarity Foundation (ISF) of Finland played a major role in the development of the Vuyisile Mini Furniture Factory. The ISF was involved in the building, equipping, needs evaluation, on-the-job training of workers, purchase and installation of new machinery, improving product quality and design.\textsuperscript{132} By 1988 the factory produced about 1000 items per month and employed 39 Tanzanians, one Norwegian and two Finnish experts but only five ANC members. The factory continued to run as a commercial enterprise for a short time after the departure of the ANC.

Other Western governments with the exception of the Scandinavian countries were reluctant to forge ties with the ANC and gave assistance only in the late 1980s when the balance of world power began to shift.\textsuperscript{133} Although Dutch NGOs were involved with the ANC projects in Tanzania from the beginning, the Dutch government only assisted in the late 1980s. Together with the NGOs the Dutch government sent in consultants who assisted in construction and education.\textsuperscript{134}

The NGO, Algemene Besturenbond (ABB) sent Arthur Wiggers, Leonard van der Hout and Maud Kortbeek to assist as teachers at the VTC in 1985-1986.\textsuperscript{135} In 1988 Netherlands Organisation for International Co-operation (NOVIB) undertook to contribute to the SOMAFCO library.\textsuperscript{136} It would provide funds for the purchase of audio-visual materials and for the subscription of
periodicals and newspapers for a period of three years. The Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika (Holland Committee on Southern Africa) undertook in 1988, to supply adhesives, laboratory equipment, raise funds for the creche, raise funds for household equipment, raise funds for the maintenance of houses and set-up a training programme for ANC members in the planning of the maintenance of houses.\(^{137}\) In 1987 the Anti-Apartheids Beweging Netherland donated a container to the ANC in Tanzania.\(^{138}\)

The Italian government also became involved in funding ANC projects in Tanzania in the late 1980s. The Italian ngo, CIES was instrumental in convincing the government to become involved.\(^{139}\) The Italian government financed the construction of a dormitory block and in 1990 and with CIES, undertook to assist the exiles with reintegration into South Africa.\(^{140}\) The Italian (1990) undertaking had the long term objective of upgrading and reforming the education system and the creation of job opportunities.

Assistance in many forms came from many organizations and states. In the late 1980s the Indian government gave much needed equipment. Nigeria and Uganda sent in teachers. In 1989 Oxfam donated audio-equipment and 476 600 Tanzanian shillings for the purchase of fertilizer, tarpaulin and sisal bags.\(^{141}\) The Australian People for Health, Education and Development Abroad (APHEDA) sponsored students for a librarianship course in Dar-es-Salaam in 1986.\(^{142}\) The Overseas Service Bureau (OSB) undertook to provide technical assistance to the ANC projects in 1991.\(^{143}\) It undertook to provide a curriculum development advisor at the DDC to assist the VTC in upgrading and standardizing the existing curriculum. The OSB provided technical assistance in construction activities and training at the DDC for a two year period. It provided an opportunity for two Australians to live and work
alongside black South Africans in exile learning from them something of their current situation as they prepared to return to South Africa. The Dar-es-Salaam branch of the Frederick Ebert Foundation (FES) offered the ANC educational and material assistance for SOMAFCO. According to the ‘School Report to the 5th NEDUC meeting in August 1983’, very little funding was received from the FES.

Funding also took the form of scholarships which involved SOMAFCO students and other ANC members going to study in many host countries. Mazimbu became the centre for the organizing and administering of the scholarships.

Scholarships were not new to the ANC and had been in operation even before SOMAFCO had been established. Mendy Msimang, a member of the ANC Working Committee, administered the scholarships before the establishment of SOMAFCO. The scholarships, at that stage, were conducted in an *ad hoc* manner because of the small numbers involved. In 1979 the ANC Education Department decided to re-organize scholarships in a systematic manner. This was necessitated by the establishment of SOMAFCO with the goal of sending its students for tertiary education in countries abroad (see Ch. 5) and the many ANC members who wanted to study abroad.

After receiving submissions on the role and composition of the proposed Scholarship Committee, the Working Committee in Lusaka approved the 12 member Scholarship Committee in which SOMAFCO was heavily represented. The SOMAFCO staff proposed that the committee be based at SOMAFCO for logistical reasons. The committee would have access to students and student records, attend staff meetings when student’s progress was under discussion and attend disciplinary meetings. In other words by
being based in Mazimbu, the committee would have first hand information on students

In 1982 the Scholarship Committee was dissolved and reconstituted as the National Scholarship Committee (NSC) because of complaints of lack of impartiality. The NSC was responsible for the acquisition, distribution and administration of scholarships. All students who were awarded scholarships had to assemble at SOMAFCO before being sent to their respective destinations to take up their scholarships. The ANC Education Department argued that this procedure would help to facilitate political orientation and commitment, career guidance and travel logistics.

To avoid any bias in the allocating of scholarships the main criteria for the awarding of scholarships were based on political commitment to the Movement and academic competence. Only the NSC was authorized to shortlist candidates. It then had to submit the list to the ANC Department of Education for approval by the Secretary – General.

Ascertaining the correct academic levels of students presented a problem for the ANC. Many students who fled South Africa arrived in exile without any official documentation including school reports and certificates (see Ch. 5). There were three categories of such students. The first was made up of students who were still at high school. The second was made up of students who claimed to have passed high school and finally mature students. Some students in the absence of reports or certificates tended to inflate their academic achievements. Some students had proof of previous academic achievement in South Africa but these results proved to be unreliable indicators of academic levels.
Many students who were sent on scholarships soon discovered that they were not academically prepared and could not cope with tertiary studies.\textsuperscript{151} MW Njobe the first principal of SOMAFCO, confirmed that many students had difficulties in coping with tertiary studies, ‘…countries had some scholarships for us, but each time…the students we sent there we find they are under-qualified’.\textsuperscript{152} Henry Makgothi also pointed out that students frequently clamoured for scholarships but that they did not have the required academic qualifications.\textsuperscript{153}

According to Njobe the academic unpreparedness of some students for scholarships prompted him to establish a post-matric course at SOMAFCO. The bridging course was aimed at upgrading the academic level of students to enable them to successfully cope with tertiary education. The NSC also conducted assessment of students without certificates and mature applicants. It recommended that the assessment of applicants be formalized to ensure that they were academically ready for tertiary education.\textsuperscript{154}

The NSC monitored students on scholarships. This was done through the ANC offices, Education Committees and student unions. Officials were also sent by the NSC to countries with the highest concentration of students. Monitoring served two purposes. Firstly the NSC wanted to be proactive in dealing with dropouts, that is, students that were withdrawn or expelled for academic weakness, misconduct and poor health etc. Secondly it wanted a systematic deployment of students who had completed their studies. In this regard all students had to return to SOMFCO on completion of their studies. The deployment was jointly decided by the NSC and the Department of Manpower Development (see Ch. 5).
The ANC was faced with the debate as to whether it was better to place students in Western or Socialist Countries. Makgothi argued that many applicants wanted to be trained in the countries of their choice and that they tended to favour Western countries rather than Socialist ones. He argued that the Struggle would best be served by scholarships in Socialist Countries.

In 1980 the Otto Benecke Foundation (OBF) offered scholarships to ANC students for vocational and technical training in West Germany. The Foundation agreed to sponsor ANC students placed in any African countries. Since mid-1981 the Otto Benecke Foundation sponsored a hundred and twenty students at SOMAFCO. A three monthly allocation of dm.144,000 was deposited into the ANC external account to cover the costs of the sponsored students.

According to Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004), between 1983-1986, 347 students were sent on scholarships and the majority went to Socialist countries. This situation would change in the late 1980s when the Eastern Bloc was faced with serious political problems. Complete records of students who went on scholarships are difficult to trace.

In the late 1980s there was an influx of scholarship offers from countries that had previously ignored the ANC. As world opinion tilted in favour of the ANC liberation struggle, countries like India, China, France and the USA made offers of scholarships. Western countries and UN agencies were prepared to fund SOMAFCO and Dakawa because they saw a threat in the close ties between the ANC and Cuba, USSR and the GDR. By funding the ANC projects in Africa they were eliminating the obligation of having these students in their own institutions or reducing the numbers of these students in
their own institutions. African countries also offered more scholarship opportunities.

The NSC was faced with the problem of dropouts and defections. Dropouts were those withdrawn or expelled for misconduct, academic weakness and ill-health. Misconduct ranged from non-attendance at classes, disregard for regulations, dissent and desertion. Dropouts were usually sent to the Raymond Mahlaba Rehabilitation Centre (see Ch. 6). Defections were caused, to some extent, by the perception among students that:

- scholarships were awarded to the children of leaders who were not in SOMAFCO, but were rather attending prestigious schools elsewhere.\(^{160}\)

The Bells argued that some of the more lucrative scholarships in the West were taken up by the children of the top ranking officials of the ANC like Oliver Tambo and Mzwandile Piliso.

According to Pulumani (2001), the NSC achieved some success between 1983 and 1986.\(^{161}\) The following table shows the number of students that were sent on scholarships between 1983 and 1986.\(^{162}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SOMAFCO</th>
<th>NON-SOMAFCO</th>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>347</td>
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The majority of the successful students returned with degrees in Medicine, Engineering, Communications, Architecture, Finance, Agriculture and Chemistry (see Appendix 12). The SOMAFCO curriculum had to include subjects that were required for entry into the fields of study mentioned in the previous sentence (see Ch. 5). In other words an academic curriculum was required for entry to tertiary institutions (see Ch. 5).

To ensure efficient functioning in exile, the ANC established its organizational framework which included the NEC, the Department of Education, the Director, the Political Commissar and the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’. The NEC, however, was the highest decision-making body on education and all decisions taken by the ANC Education Department had to be ratified by the NEC. This would have major implications for the formulation of the ANC Education Policy and curriculum for SOMAFCO.

For the ANC to survive and function efficiently in exile, it had to procure extensive funding from the international community. Funding included land, cash, material resources, personnel, advisors and scholarships. A large portion of the funding procured was used to develop the Mazimbu and Dakawa infrastructure, that is, buildings, heavy equipment, tools, the health services, the farms and small industries. The ANC expected to remain in exile for a protracted period and its focus appeared to be on attaining some degree of self-sufficiency. The organizational framework and funding made it possible for the ANC to consolidate the Mazimbu and Dakawa projects. The formulation of the curriculum for SOMAFCO, however, would lead to sharp debates over the aims and objectives of ANC education in exile.
NOTES

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<td>UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives</td>
<td>University of Fort Hare / National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre Archives</td>
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3 UCT/ASL/M+A/BC1081 F18.1/ ANC Education Administration. Administrative and Academic Diagram
4 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B24 F123/ ANC Department of Education. Report of the Secretary for Education to the 5th NEDUC meeting 17-21 August 1983
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Chapter 5

The Struggle for the Curriculum at the SOMAFCO High School 1978 to 1992

From the time that SOMAFCO was established by the ANC in Mazimbu in 1978,¹ a vexing problem confronting the ANC was the development of the curriculum for the school. The ANC Department of Education which was established in 1978 (see Ch. 3) to deal with the growing complexity of the ANC’s involvement in education called the 1st NEDUC meeting at Mazimbu from the 1 – 3 October 1978 to adopt the Draft Education Policy.

The Draft Policy on ANC Education, which had been challenged by the LEC, DESEC, MAPEC and LUSEC, was adopted at that meeting (see Ch. 3). Although the preamble of the ANC Education Policy claimed that the ANC had formulated a clear and concise policy for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa, it became clear from the outset that there were differing views on the aims and objectives of ANC education for SOMAFCO. Three broad views or emphases came to the fore. The one view or emphasis supported Academic Education. The second supported Political Education while the third supported an education which may be located broadly within the notion of Polytechnic Education. The debates on the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO would continue until the school closed its doors in 1992 and the repatriation to South Africa began.
How does one explain the divergent views over the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO within the ANC? This research argues that the divergent views were influenced or shaped by the international curriculum debates of the 20th century, African curriculum debates since the 1920s, and responses to Apartheid Education in South Africa. Not only were the ANC debates on education conducted amidst international and African deliberations and innovations in education, but they were also conducted against the backdrop of the ANC’s priorities in exile (see Ch. 2). This chapter examines curriculum development at the SOMAFCO High School (The parallel debates at the SOMAFCO Primary School and at Dakawa are examined in Ch. 6).

From 1955 onwards the ANC’s strategy and policy on education was guided by the general demands of the Freedom Charter ie. ‘The Doors of Learning and Culture shall be Opened’ and statements condemning the racist and restrictive character of Bantu Education. What the ANC wanted was the same education that was offered to whites, in keeping with educational policy debates in the rest of British Colonial Africa. This situation prevailed when the ANC went into exile in 1960. The question of ANC education was only addressed again in the 1970s with the establishment of formal Education Committees in exile (refer Ch. 3).

The growth and development of ANC educational projects in exile were shaped by circumstances confronting the organization in the post 1976 period (see Ch. 3). Large numbers of students from high schools and tertiary institutions fled into neighbouring states in the wake of the student uprisings in South Africa in 1976. The ANC found itself having to deal with an entirely new situation. A key element of the strategies to deal with new situation was the means to provide
adequate schooling for the exiled youth. The ANC, therefore, established its own high school in Mazimbu, Tanzania in 1978.⁵

A key issue confronting the ANC was the development of a curriculum for the new school, that is, a broad statement of aims and objectives. To this end the ANC Education Department, which drew up the ANC Education Policy was established in Mazimbu in October 1978 (see Ch. 3).⁶

**Academic Education**

According to the major tendency of the ANC an Academic Education was a conventional high school education that prepared students for a matriculation certificate or its equivalent.⁷ Although the high school curriculum for all schools in South Africa was the same in essence the ‘sound secondary education’ which South African white students received, was different in quality to the schooling that black students received under Bantu Education.⁸ The Academic Education that the ANC favoured was intended to make up for the deficiencies of Bantu Education and prepare students for entry to tertiary institutions.

The emphasis on Academic Education was based largely on the perception that the ANC needed to focus on the ‘post-liberation phase’ of the Struggle.⁹ In other words the ANC sought to prioritise what it would need to successfully govern in a future, liberated South Africa. It had to decide on what would be required to undertake the huge socio-economic development in South Africa in the ‘post-liberation period’. In apartheid South Africa whites had a monopoly over the skilled and semi-skilled occupations and professions. Education provided by the
ANC would, therefore, have to be aimed at producing well-educated professional and technical trained people capable of taking on essential responsibilities consistent with their education.\textsuperscript{10}

The notion of higher education’s role in national development had widespread international support from governments, international organizations and major philanthropic foundations. Supporters of Academic Education in the ANC saw the long-term educational goals in terms of high-level manpower strategies consistent with the World Bank recommendations for the newly independent African states since the 1960s (refer Ch. 1).

In keeping with this vision of higher education, the ANC Department of Education therefore registered SOMAFCO students firstly with the East African Examination Board and then with the London University GCE ‘O’ Level examinations. The registration of SOMAFCO students for the London University GCE ‘O’ level examination served two purposes: it ensured a recognized certificate for students to gain entry to tertiary institutions and it also consolidated the implementation of Academic Education at SOMAFCO. As a consequence SOMAFCO would have to adapt its curriculum to the requirements of the London University GCE ‘O’ level examination. What this implied was that SOMAFCO would concentrate on a limited range of subjects required to pass the ‘O’ level examinations.

The emphasis on Academic Education was supported by leading figures in the Movement like OR Tambo, the president of the ANC (1967-1990), Sindiso Mfenyana, the first Secretary for Education (1978-1983), Seretse Choabe, Secretary for Education (1988-1992), Wintshi Njobe, principal of SOMAFCO
(1978-1980) and Andrew Masondo, principal of SOMAFCO (1986-1990) and Head of Manpower Development (1983-1992). These individuals were strategically positioned to ensure that Academic Education was emphasized and implemented at SOMAFCO.

According to M.W. Njobe, the ANC in exile had been engaged in ongoing informal discussions on its future education policy well before the need for a school arose. Prominent ANC members in exile which included Oliver Tambo, Alfred Nzo, Thomas Nkobi, Sindiso Mfenyana and Thabo Mbeki, amongst others, participated in the discussions. It appears that the idea of the emphasis on Academic Education was influenced largely by Oliver Tambo and supported by the other ANC leaders. MW Njobe reported that:

Tambo’s emphasis on Academic Education reflected his educational background. He was a product of Missionary Education having attended the Nkantolo Primary School, the Ludeke Methodist Missionary School, the Anglican Holy Cross Missionary School and the St. Peter’s Anglican Missionary Secondary school in Johannesburg. According to Baai (2006) Tambo always expressed gratitude for the good education he received at St Peter’s Missionary Secondary School. He completed his matriculation examination in 1938 and enrolled at the University of Fort Hare in 1939 for a B.Sc degree. Tambo was a committed Christian and he taught Sunday school at St. Peters. He taught Mathematics and Christian
Education at St Peters from 1943 to 1947.\textsuperscript{15} According to Baai, (2006) Tambo was an efficient teacher of Mathematics and Science who insisted that his students attain good marks in these subjects and the end-of-year exam results were ‘a sound testament to his teaching ability’.\textsuperscript{16}

In addressing the vexing question of what educational model a liberated South Africa should aspire to, OR Tambo’s vision of a future education is encapsulated in his 1986 ‘Open the Doors of Learning’ message to South Africans during the period of escalating uprisings at educational institutions in South Africa:

> What we want is one democratic, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education. The broad principles underlying that alternative system of education are contained in the Freedom Charter.\textsuperscript{17}

It appears that Tambo, in keeping with features of Mission School Education and the Freedom Charter, envisaged an education that was essentially academic, democratic, non-racial, free and compulsory. He alluded to an alternative system of education referred to in the Freedom Charter (see quote above) but did not clearly spell out what it entailed. The Freedom Charter, however, gives a broad, general vision of education and does not use the term ‘alternative education’.

According to John Carneson, who was a teacher at SOMAFCO (1980 – 1987), ‘Tambo wanted schools to have a football team, a choir, a debating society, kids who read and think and the school must have order.’\textsuperscript{18} Tambo’s view of Academic Education reflected Traditional-Liberal Education (see Ch. 1) which
was dominant in the era of Missionary Education and was the widely accepted ‘common sense’ of the time relating to the demands of education.

According to MW Njobe, Sindiso Mfenyana was appointed as the first Secretary for Education by Tambo to ensure that academic education was implemented at SOMAFCO. Mfenyana was the liaison between the presidency, ANC Department of Education and the Education Committees. The available evidence on his role in the adoption of the Draft Education Policy appears to support Njobe’s claim (see Ch. 3).

Mfenyana believed that the key economic and political posts in South Africa were in the hands of Whites and that if this situation prevailed in the post-liberation phase, the Struggle would have been in vain. Mfenyana argued strongly that ANC Education Policy had to be geared towards not only safeguarding the independence of the ANC as a liberation organization but also ensuring that the ANC would have the necessary skills and expertise to govern in a liberated South Africa.

His view was that the key posts in a liberated South Africa had to be filled by suitably qualified ANC members via a programme of high-level manpower development. To achieve this, the ANC had to have at its disposal members capable of filling these posts. This could be achieved by providing a ‘good secondary education’ followed by tertiary education in institutions abroad. SOMAFCO would have to provide the ‘sound secondary education’ denied to black students by Bantu Education and equip them to enter tertiary institutions anywhere in the world. In other words Mfenyana wanted an education that provided access to modern professional life similar to that received by whites in
South Africa and similar to the best Missionary Education that the ANC leadership had had access to. Although he favoured the technically advanced education received by whites, he argued that a revolutionary spirit had to be built into it by eliminating ‘the undesirable from the existing education’. He identified the ‘undesirable’ element as racism.

Mfenyana argued that in practice the imbalance between the natural sciences and social sciences associated with Bantu Education should be corrected by making mathematics a compulsory subject and encouraging students to do natural science subjects (see Appendix 13). The gender bias in subject choices should also be corrected. This has elements of both Progressive and Traditional-Liberal Education (see Ch. 1).

The LEC was critical of Mfenyana’s view that the educational structure would be acceptable if the racism in it was eliminated. The LEC argued that Mfenyana seemed to have little or no problems with hierarchial, anti-democratic organizational structure and narrow, authoritarian modes of instruction. Its view was that revolutionaries cannot be produced by an education that was conventional in content and organization.

Mfenyana was dismissive of the views of opponents of academic education. He countered the claim that higher education led to less commitment and dedication to the Struggle by arguing that many of the personnel in various departments of the ANC were products of tertiary institutions. He also argued that they had become politically committed even
though they had attended schools which embraced a traditional, conservative, Western curriculum.

Mfenyana argued that those opposed to Academic Education at SOMAFCO, as a vehicle to tertiary education, were guilty of trying to deny possibilities for the development of individual capabilities. He was scornful of the proponents of Political Education:

I do not even consider a possibility that a mature, sober adult, can propose that our children (the drop in the ocean we have a chance to afford solid academic training denied so many) should be trained to return to South Africa as political organizers.\(^{30}\)

Mfenyana focused on the needs of the ANC in the post-liberation phase and on the development of high-level manpower.

Seretse Choabe who served as Secretary for Education from 1988 to 1991 supported Academic Education. He matriculated at the Madipane High School. In 1958 he studied politics and philosophy at the University of Fort Hare. His university studies were disrupted by his arrest in 1964 and he was imprisoned on Robben Island from 1964-1967 for ANC activities. He left South Africa in 1968. He studied at Oxford University in the late 1960s. In 1974 he was asked by the ANC to head the Luthuli Foundation in London. In 1988 he was transferred to Lusaka to take up the position of ANC Secretary for Education which he held till 1991.
In 1981 Choabe produced a paper, ‘Priority Study Areas under the ANC Education Programme’, in which he outlined his views on education (see Appendix 14). He produced this paper at a time when there were ongoing debates over the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO, despite the formulation of the ANC Education Policy in 1978 (see Ch. 3). The paper was distributed to the Education Committees for discussion and comment.

Like Mfenyana, Choabe argued that the ANC education should be aimed at goals related to the development of the ANC in post-liberation phase of the Struggle and should therefore be for the development of high-level manpower. According to Choabe, manpower training must be directly related to the envisaged take-over in South Africa. He argued that:

It would be most unfortunate if the ANC were to attain victory in South Africa and be unable to carry out an effective economic takeover of the South African Economy because of (the lack of) suitably trained man-power.31

He argued that ANC education must be geared exclusively to the future manpower needs of a liberated South Africa:32

It must be stated in the clearest terms possible that South Africa is not a Third World country or a developing country. It is imperative, therefore, that those who generously support our cause for liberation
should assist us to prepare our people through training that will enable us to take over and manage the highly complex South African economy.\textsuperscript{33}

According to Choabe, his arguments for academic education as the appropriate education at SOMAFCO was based on the Freedom Charter which spelt out clearly what the priorities in education and training would be.\textsuperscript{34}

The first priority area was a massive training programme for engineers. This would include mining engineers, civil engineers, electrical engineers, computer engineers and all other related engineering skills. According to Choabi the third clause of the provisions of the Freedom Charter recommended the take-over of the mining industries and that this warranted the training of relevant mining engineers;

The second area was a massive training programme for industrialists and economists. This would include analytic and descriptive economists, industry and trade specialists, international trade and development specialists, accounting and finance specialists, industrial relations specialists and other related disciplines connected with the effective running of commerce and industry. Chaobi again referred to the third clause of the provisions of the Freedom Charter as justification for the training of industrialists and economists.

The third area was a massive training programme for agricultural scientists. This would include agricultural scientists, agricultural economists, soil scientists, specialists in Geography, Geology and all areas of land consistent with the effective take-over of land. Choabi again cited the Freedom Charter which stated
that, 'The land shall be shared among all those who work it.' He argued that in a modern context this could not be done without knowledge of land management, production, soil analysis, crop cultivation and that this programme was essential for the nation to be able to feed itself.

The fourth area was a massive training programme for medical personnel. This would include medical doctors, medical technicians, radiographers, medical nurses (at all levels), bio-chemists, chemists, laboratory technicians, physiotherapists, specialists for the mentally ill, brain surgeons, micro-biologists, and all other technicians related to medical science. Choabi cited the Freedom Carter which stated, 'A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state; Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all with special care for mothers and young children' and also that, 'the aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state' as justification for this training.

The LEC was critical of Choabi’s priorities for ANC education with focus on the ‘post-liberation phase’ of the Struggle. It argued that it was incomprehensible how the pressing needs for the seizure of state power at the ‘present time’ could be utterly neglected in considering the direction of ANC education.35

Andrew Masondo who was head of Manpower Development (1983-1992) and also served as principal of SOMAFCO from 1986-1990 supported Chaobi’s viewpoint. He was an ardent advocate of mathematics, Mathematics and science, Science Education a much neglected area in the education of black South Africans. Given his manpower development portfolio he was emphatic that the economy of South Africa was complex and highly developed and that the ANC must, therefore, have within its rank persons qualified to hold the key posts in the economy in a future, liberated South Africa.36
Masondo identified the main manpower needs of a liberated South Africa as the civil service, managers, engineering, engineering technicians, artisans, health services, social and welfare services, legal services, the diplomatic services, educational and cultural services, transport services, economic planning and the police force.\textsuperscript{37}

Like the other ANC advocates of high-level manpower development Masondo argued that students would have to be trained at tertiary institutions in order to be fully qualified to occupy the posts in the fields he had identified. To gain entry to tertiary institutions students required high school qualifications which would have to be provided at SOMAFCO. In other words the main focus at SOMAFCO would have to be academic education.\textsuperscript{Academic Education}

Like Mfenyana and Choabe, Masondo was focused on the post-liberation phase and therefore on high-level manpower development. He too wanted an educational focus that provided access to modern professional life similar to that received by whites in South Africa.
WM Njobe was appointed the first principal of SOMAFCO in 1978. Reflecting back on his career in education in an interview in 2007, he admitted that he favoured Mission School Education as he had experienced it with its emphasis on academic education. According to Njobe he was chosen as the first principal of SOMAFCO by Tambo for two reasons: the first was because of his educational background and experience both in South Africa and in Africa and the second was because he supported Academic Education.

Njobe grew up in the Keiskammahoek area of the Eastern Cape and was a product of Mission School Education having had his primary education at St. Matthews College where he also matriculated in 1946. On the death of his father in 1947 he was not able to go to the University of Fort Hare as planned but had to work in industry in King Williams Town, East London and Port Elizabeth. He became involved in the trade union movement and the ANC. He obtained his teacher’s diploma at the University of Fort Hare in 1956. His major subjects were Physics and Mathematics. When interviewed in 2007 he explained that he went into exile in Ghana in 1957 because of harassment by the security police over his political activism as an ANC member. His travels in exile also took him to Togo, Nigeria, Djibouti and Zambia. He was in contact with Tambo and other ANC members while in exile.

According to Njobe he was appointed principal of SOMAFCO for two reasons. The first was for his education qualifications and experience as an educator (see paragraph above). The second was that Tambo knew that he (Njobe) favoured Academic Education and could be counted on to implement it:

...it was largely myself and …other people who
wanted a school there to be a real school which provides matric and prepares people for university. When he asked me to and be principal, then I knew that, okay, they knew what I was going to work on and that was a proper matric school.39

His selection as principal implied that the nature of the school curriculum was an issue at the outset and that the NEC was agreed that the emphasis at SOMAFCO would be academic education.39

MW Njobe claimed that even before the 1st NEDUC meeting in 1978 where the ANC Education Policy was to be formulated, Tambo was firmly convinced that the education provided at a future ANC school should be an Academic Education. The appointments of Sindiso Mfenyana as Secretary for Education and Wintshi Njobe as the first principal of SOMAFCO appear to lend credence to Njobe’s claim. It appears that these two supporters of Academic Education were well-positioned to ensure that Academic Education would in fact be implemented at SOMAFCO. It would be left to Mfenyana and Njobe to ensure that Academic Education would be implemented at SOMAFCO while Tambo and other leaders attended to political matters (see Ch. 392).

The ANC school in exile opened at Maganu near Dar-es-Salaam in December 1976.40 The first group of students who fled South Africa were put into three groups, that is, Forms 1 and 2, Forms 3 and 4, Forms 5 and post-matrics.41 There were no teachers at this stage and Njobe used the post-matric students as teachers. The student-teachers would be briefed by Njobe on what was to be
taught for the day and would meet with him again after classes in the afternoon to discuss progress and problems.

It appears that from the very outset that education at the ANC school was conventional, for two reasons. Firstly, Njobe, an ardent supporter of Academic Education by his own admission, decided what was to be taught. Secondly, the student-teachers were not qualified teachers and would be comfortable in teaching lessons in the way they had been taught in schools in South Africa under Apartheid Education. Once the school moved to Mazimbu it appears to have followed the pattern established here with regard to curriculum matters.

Whereas the 1st NEDUC meeting 1978 dealt primarily with the formulation of the education policy (refer Ch. 3), the 2nd NEDUC meeting which was held at Mazimbu between 14-16 April 1979 focused on the elaboration of the SomaFCO curriculum. Mfenyana, as Secretary for Education, and Njobe, as principal, played crucial roles in the elaboration of curriculum and the school routine. The meeting decided that priority would be accorded to the following subjects: English, Mathematics, Physical Science, Biology, Geography, History, Development of Societies, Agricultural Science and Physical Education. Subjects like Administration and Practical Skills, Vocational Training, foreign and African languages would also be considered. The meeting also decided on adopting a conventional school day which was elaborated as follows:

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<th>Monday to Friday</th>
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<td>7h30 – 10h10</td>
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As a result the school routine reflected an uncritical adoption of the norms of a mass education and a conventional pedagogy. The school routine was still based on formal schooling similar to that of South African state schools and to most schools in Africa.

A further strengthening of this tendency towards conventional education procedures was evident in the need for mechanisms for the formal recognition of school achievement. Although this was to be a revolutionary school and there might have been many arguments for an alternative curriculum, there was an acknowledgement from the outset that students needed to obtain recognizable high school qualifications if they were to be able to progress to higher education institutions in Africa or elsewhere.

Academic Education at SOMAFCO became further consolidated with the decision by the ANC Education Department to enter SOMAFCO students for the East African Board examinations. This meant that to meet the objectives of tertiary studies abroad SOMAFCO students were initially prepared for a five year programme leading to a qualification for university entrance.44

There were protests from within the ANC against the decision to enter SOMAFCO students for the East African Board qualifications. The main

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<tr>
<td>10h10 – 10h30</td>
<td>Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10h30 – 13h10</td>
<td>4 x 40 minutes</td>
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objection to taking this exam was that it meant a move away from the revolutionary principles of ANC Education Policy (see Ch. 3). In a letter to the principal of SOMAFCO and the Secretary for Education, John Pampallis, head of social sciences at SOMAFCO, lodged his protest that the ANC was moving away from the revolutionary principles of ANC education (refer Ch. 3):

I think that changing History (and other subjects) from the ANC Examination Board does nothing to benefit our students. It merely depoliticizes the curriculum in an attempt, I suspect, to attain some ill-defined respectability. It is ironic that just as people inside South Africa are trying to develop an alternative people’s education, we in the ANC should be reversing one of the small steps we have taken in this direction.

The issue at stake here was whether it was possible to stay within the Academic Education mould and at the same time modify or change the content/objective to ensure that they were more in line with ‘revolutionary consciousness’ that was seen to be appropriate. The dilemma was that there was the question about how this would relate to the writing of external examinations. Entry for the Tanzanian exam meant was that SOMAFCO students had to be prepared for a Tanzanian examination in a Tanzanian syllabus which included compulsory courses in ‘kiSwahili’. The inclusion of ‘kiSwahili’ as a compulsory subject in the Tanzanian syllabus was part of the policy of ‘Swahilization’ by the Tanzanian education authorities in the post-independence promotion of the Swahili language as a national and official language, alongside a greater cultural assimilation policy of Africanization.
According to John Pampallis, the Tanzanian educational authorities were not very flexible over the language requirements and this was problematic to South African students as ‘kiSwahili’ was a foreign language that they had little or no knowledge of. This raises the question of the international format of the curriculum as it had evolved in post-colonial Africa and how the ANC as a revolutionary organization (and not a government) would relate to this policy development process. It was a unique and difficult situation that required unique solutions.

In the light of these difficulties with formal education certification for SOMAFCO students arising out of the Tanzanian educational context, the 3rd NEDUC meeting in August 1980 proposed that registration for the East African Board exams be abandoned. SOMAFCO students were then entered for the London University GCE ‘O’ level examination, which was still widely used in Africa at this time, for two reasons. Firstly there was no language requirement that would disadvantage SOMAFCO students. Secondly the London examination provided an even more satisfactory international benchmark than the Tanzanian qualifications for entry to tertiary institutions abroad.

Mendy Msimang, the Education Liaison Officer and Tim Maseko, the principal of SOMAFCO, had to draw up a new secondary course to meet the requirements of the London University GCE ‘O’ level examinations. One clear implication was that the move led to severe restrictions on what was possible in terms of curricular options. Students would be examined in English Language, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Geography on the basis of a prescribed syllabus over which SOMAFCO would have little control.
meant that the ANC had to a large extent chosen to align itself with a British-centred examination system that had been widely used in post-colonial Africa but was in the process of being abandoned by many countries in the 1980s. The original idea of making SOMAFCO a distinctly South African alternative school with a revolutionary content became a secondary consideration in terms of curriculum policy from this time, given the focus on formal qualifications.

‘Eric Stilton’ contributed to the debates on the education policy for SOMAFCO via his paper, ‘The Function of Education in the Struggle for Liberation’ (see Appendix 15), which was published in the *African Communist*, the mouthpiece of the SACP. He criticised the emphasis on Academic Education at SOMAFCO with its focus on the needs of the ANC in the ‘post-liberation period’. He also criticized the registration of SOMAFCO ‘graduates’ for the London University GCE ‘O’ level certificate and pointed out the consequences of this for education at SOMAFCO.

He was critical of the interpretation and implementation of the ANC educational policy at SOMAFCO. He pointed out that discussions on important issues like the principles and aims of ANC education, which were of vital importance to the whole liberation movement, had been largely confined to the ANC Education Department and to educational ‘experts’ in the movement. ‘Stilton’ claimed that this had resulted in an emphasis on Academic Education at SOMAFCO. The exiled students, their parents and the African urban masses generally expected the ANC to provide an alternative to Bantu Education. Stilton argued that if ANC education was viewed primarily as compensation for Bantu Education ie. a vehicle for gaining entry to tertiary institutions abroad, then Political Education would become subordinated. He maintained that arguments in support of value-free and ideology-free education masked the function of ideology in selecting the
content, mode of teaching and students in the education system. ‘Stilton’s’ view appears to reflect the Freirean tradition (see Ch. 1).

‘Stilton’s’ viewpoint implied that the registration of SOMAFCO students with the London University GCE ‘O’ levels examination board meant that the ANC would have no control over the requirements laid down for such qualifications. The fact that such qualification would be entirely independent of ANC control would have serious implications for the education provided at SOMAFCO. He contended that the criterion for staff recruitment would be technical competence rather than political consciousness and commitment, school structures would be conventional, discipline would be depoliticized. Emphasis would be on individualized learning and achievement and would give rise to competition between individuals especially for scholarships.

The choice of the field of study would be left to the individual student and not the ANC and would give rise to a class of professionals concerned with the advancement of their own careers and social positions rather than the collective interests and needs of all South Africans. ‘Stilton’ questioned whether the students who were to be educated in tertiary institutions abroad would become politically conscious and act in the interests of the South African people as a whole.

The Struggle was viewed as being complex, involving both the armed struggle and a variety of political actions and stages which would need political cadres with the appropriate skills. The focus of the needs should, therefore, be on the ‘present stage’ of the Struggle and not on the ‘post-liberation phase’ as identified by the proponents of Academic Education. The emphasis on Academic
Education went against the revolutionary principles of ANC education and obliged the school to conform to the requirements of an outside institution.

It is interesting to note, however, that a reply to ‘Stilton’s paper’, in the *African Communist*, was made on the assumption that he was Harold Wolpe of the LEC. The reply written by ‘Kwanele’ (see Appendix 16) claimed that the Stilton paper was not original but a reproduction of the ‘Green Paper’ of the LEC (see Discussion below). Kwanele sarcastically referred to the ‘Green Paper’ as the ‘Green Mamba’. He accused ‘Stilton’ of attempting to steamroll the ANC into turning SOMAFCO into a vocational college for producing artisans only and that this was a means of protecting the jobs of thousands of white professionals in South Africa. ‘Kwanele’ argued that, ‘on a broader plane, we who are in the continent are aware and getting tired of the perhaps well-meaning hordes of volunteers from Western Europe and America, who see the solution to Africa’s underdevelopment in small-scale industries like ‘cottage factories’ for ‘weaving’ and ‘canoe construction for fishing’. Why don’t they advise us to use pick-axes for our mines which they continue to own by virtue of their expertise and advanced technology?’ ‘Kwanele’ was the alias used by Sindiso Mfenyana, the ANC Secretary for Education.

The advocates of Academic Education argued that the ANC needed to focus on post-liberation phase of the Struggle. Education provided by the ANC should be aimed at producing well-educated professionals capable of taking on the responsibilities of the huge socio-economic development that would be needed in the post-liberation period in South Africa. The notion of education’s role in development had widespread support from international organisations and was consistent in terms of high-level manpower strategies recommended by the
World Bank for newly independent African states since the 1960s. In essence proponents of Academic Education in the ANC wanted the same education that white in South Africa received.
The rationale of the ANC leadership for an emphasis on academic education was based largely on the perception that the focus of ANC needs should be on the post-liberation phase of the Struggle. In other words the ANC needed to prioritise what it would need to successfully govern in a future, liberated South Africa. It had to also decide on what would be required to undertake the huge socio-economic development in South Africa in the post-liberation period. In apartheid South Africa whites had a monopoly control over the skilled and semi-skilled occupations and professions. Education provided by the ANC would, therefore, have to be aimed at producing well-trained professional people capable of taking on essential responsibilities consistent with their education and training.\(^6\) In other words the education provided by the ANC should be for the production of high-level manpower development.

The notion of higher education’s role in national development had widespread international support, including governments, international
It appears that the ANC was influenced by the high priority accorded to high-level manpower development in the developing world especially Africa in the post-colonial period.

Proponents of academic education, which included the high ranking decision-makers in the ANC, focused on the needs of the ANC in post-liberation period. They, therefore, emphasised the production of high-level manpower so that there would be suitably trained ANC personnel to run the complex socio-economic machinery of a liberated South Africa. They argued that if this were not done the revolution would have been in vain because all the key posts in South Africa would still be in the hands of the functionaries of white domination. They argued for a conventional, formal academic education. This also implied that education would be individualistic and elitist.
The main proponents of Political Education as the appropriate education for SOMAFCO included the DESEC and LEC, the Bells (see Ch. 6), Jack Simons, ‘Eric Stilton’ who expressed the LEC position in his article in the *African Communist* and John Pampallis. They focused on the educational needs of the ANC in the pre-liberation or the ‘present’ phase of the Struggle. They also had the common view that education did not mean teaching academic literacy to create an elite group of graduates with no direct relation to the objectives of the ANC. They argued that, ‘just as one can wage an armed struggle without carrying out a revolution, one can also learn without educating oneself in a revolutionary way’. Although they did have common features in their various views, there were also radical points of departure in some of the conceptions of Political Education.
The advocates of Political Education in relation to SOMAFCO may broadly be divided into two groups: the one group was made up of what I will refer to as ‘the ivory-tower intellectuals’ and the second group was made up of ‘the activist-intellectuals’. In my view the term ‘ivory-tower intellectuals’ refers to those who were based far from the ‘frontlines’ where the school and students were located. These ‘ivory-tower intellectuals’ had radical theoretical notions of Political Education but were not in touch with the realities of the school and the students.62

The DESEC, the LEC and ‘Eric Stilton’ can be seen as representative of the group. The ‘activist-intellectuals’ were who were based in the ‘frontlines’ and were in touch with the realities of the school and the students. The Bells (refer Ch. 6) and John Pampallis who were based at Mazimbu and Jack Simons a key member of LUSEC based in Lusaka (had been in the Angolan camps before Luasaka) were representative of the ‘activist-intellectuals’ in the ‘frontlines’.

The ‘ivory-tower intellectuals’ argued that education provided by a revolutionary movement must stress the political and that the major aim of ANC education must be to develop political cadres with political understanding and commitment.63 Political Education must inculcate in individuals that their personal ambitions were subordinate to the objectives of the Movement. A revolutionary school had to be revolutionary in content, organization, structure, modes of discipline, conceptions of teaching and objectives.64 It had to be geared towards producing the new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole. They argued for a focus on collective interests instead of individual interests.
Although the educational views of the DESEC and LEC were similar, there was a radical point of departure in elements of their views. The most influential members of the DESEC were the then husband and wife team of Dan O’ Meara and Linzi Manicom (see Ch. 3). The DESEC outlined its proposals for the ANC education policy via its paper, ‘The Burning Issue of Education in our Struggle’ (see Ch. 3). The LEC which seems to have been made up largely of SACP members strongly advocated Political Education as the appropriate education for SOMAFCO. Two of its most influential members were Harold Wolpe and Alf Bransky (see Ch. 3). Like the DESEC, the LEC was critical of the ANC Education Policy. It argued that the ANC had too often merely expressed a blanket opposition to Black Education without any analysis of the special features of the ‘concrete’ situation.

It was critical of the focus on the needs of the post-liberation phase and argued instead that the SOMAFCO curriculum should be based on the concrete needs of the ANC in the ‘present phase’ of the Struggle, that is, ‘at that point in time’. While it agreed with the DESEC that a set of principles was an essential element for policy formulation, it felt that this was not sufficient on its own. The LEC argued that concrete programmes could not be derived from general principles of education. It argued that general principles had to be given a ‘concrete content in concrete situations’. In other words another essential element in formulating educational policies was the ‘analysis of the present conjecture’. The terminology used by the LEC, for example, the term, ‘war of position’, would seem to indicate that it was strongly influenced by the work of Antonio Gramsci.
The LEC prepared a discussion document for the curriculum workshop scheduled from the 4 – 12 January 1982 at Mazimbu. Patrick van Rensburg as administrative secretary of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, was involved in the funding and organization of the workshop. The workshop was attended by the Secretary for Education, Sindiso Mfenyana who chaired the meeting, representatives of the Education Committees, representatives of SOMAFCO and Van Rensburg. The LEC document became known as the ‘Green Paper’ (see Appendix 17). In the ‘Green Paper’ the LEC recommended that in concrete terms the education at SOMAFCO should be totally integrated into the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC (see discussion below) in the ‘present phase’ of the Struggle.

According to the LEC the crucial question that had to be answered, that is, ‘what is to be taught’ was a political question and that this question could only be answered by an analysis of ‘the present needs of the revolutionary struggle and the projected needs in terms of an assessment of the likely developments in the struggle over the next few years’. The LEC claimed that it had analyzed the ‘present needs’ of the ANC and had come to the conclusion that, ‘the burning issue is to turn young militants into political cadres who are literate, politically conscious and skilled to perform the tasks required by the Movement. Thus, education must be structured to meet the specific political and organizational tasks of the Movement. This, therefore, returns us to the need for concrete political analysis which links the political struggle to the ‘educational’ tasks’. The Green Paper outlined three aspects of the ‘current phase’ of the Struggle. The first aspect was the enormous expansion and intensification of the struggle, on all fronts, both inside South Africa and the external missions. The Paper argued that it should take the form of the armed struggle, political struggle and
trade union struggle. The second aspect was the serious personnel shortages caused by the intensification of the struggle which implied that SOMAFCO had to produce the personnel needed (third aspect).

SOMAFCO would have to provide a basic five year secondary school education as entrance qualification/certification to proceed to post-school/tertiary education. This seems to be contradictory or ambiguous in that it implied that if SOMAFCO was to produce such ‘graduates’ who would be groomed for higher studies later how could SOMAFCO avoid offering a formal, conventional education? What the arguments of the LEC really indicate is that they did not really grasp the necessity of ‘credentialization’ of students who were to study further. There seemed to be a utopian belief in ‘Political Education’ as if it existed in a knowledge vacuum. That is the very criticism that had been leveled at Freireans over the years.

The second category involved skills training that did not require post-school training. The basic education (five years) would be used to train medical orderlies, agriculturalists, special mathematics for the armed struggle, mechanical skills, electrical skills and other skills. These skills together with academic subjects would be taught at SOMAFCO. These ideas about Vocational Education are often difficult to achieve because such training requires expensive workshops, machinery and skilled, professional teachers. In a context where it was not even possible to get teachers for a conventional school, it is difficult to imagine how this project (the second category explained above) could have been contemplated.
The third category to which SOMAFCO should be orientated involved the training of specialised skills through short term courses for selected students. These would include, amongst others, administrative skills, various types of technical training and management skills. These courses would be designed to produce qualified people within specified time limits at SOMAFCO.

The LEC was basically arguing for Education for the Armed Struggle. It, however, did not provide any concrete proposals as to the mechanics and logistics of how SOMAFCO would achieve all that it recommended. It did not mention the question of resources (both physical and human) to make these programmes possible nor did it raise the question of how students might react to these proposals.

The recommendations of the LEC were widely criticized (see discussion below). In response to the criticisms the LEC presented an amended view on the Liberation Struggle and the role of SOMAFCO. The LEC proposed two types of schools, both of which should be situated at SOMAFCO. The first should be a cadre school for the training of high-level political activists. This school should concentrate on political instruction and organizational skills. The second school would be a ‘community’ type of school which provided ‘General Education’ in a strong political atmosphere.

The cadres trained at SOMAFCO would be infiltrated into South Africa with the express purpose of mobilizing the masses. The LEC’s idea of a cadre school appeared to be supportive of the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC adopted at the Morogoro Conference in 1969. The ANC realized that it could not seize political power in South Africa by military action alone. It also needed to
generate mass resistance. Mass mobilisation in South Africa would only be won by educational and ‘agitational’ work throughout the country accompanied by military activities. The ‘Strategy and Tactics of the ANC’ emphasized that political mobilization had to accompany military activities for the eventual seizure of political power.

The cadre school would serve the ‘conjunctural’ need of training of high-level political activists who would be used to mobilize the South African masses. Readings of Gramsci show that according to him the winning over of civil society and mass organizations was imperative for destroying the ‘existing order’. Gramsci referred to this strategy as a ‘war of position’ and contended that it was the only strategy for the working class to win the battle of hegemony. Such hegemony would be established by a modification of people’s consciousness during the period of ‘passive revolution’ or a ‘war of position’.

The ‘war of position’ involved winning the hearts and minds of the masses through ideological and political battle. The masses would have to be politicized to counter enemy propaganda. In order to meet the complex requirements of this ‘conjuncture’ the ANC would need highly trained cadres who would be equipped to overcome the enemy’s ideological offensive.

What is intriguing is that the LEC emphasized Gramscian strategy and tactics for winning over the masses yet it appeared to have opposed Gramsci’s educational strategy for radical politics. Gramsci emphasized the role of traditional knowledge discipline to supply the revolutionaries with formal knowledge as part of their revolutionary armour.
The LEC argued that the other function of the SOMAFCO would have been a ‘community’ type school which would provide ‘General Education’ in a strong political atmosphere with emphasis on the History, Strategy and Content of the Struggle. Although provision would be made for scholarships they would be awarded according to the needs of the ANC and in a manner that would avoid individualistic competition amongst students. In other words the ANC would determine the field of study and not the individual.

The LEC proposals were criticized particularly by those in touch with the realities of the school and the students. Jack Simons, a member of the LUSEC, was of the opinion that the LEC Discussion Paper reflected the views of Harold Wolpe in particular. As stated above Harold Wolpe was an SACP member and a leading member of the LEC. Simons was critical of the amended view of the LEC regarding the role of SOMAFCO.

Simons was opposed to the LEC’s recommendation that the SOMAFCO curriculum emphasize Education for the Armed Struggle. His contention was that the ANC camps in Angola (see Ch. 2) already served that purpose and there was no need to duplicate this at SOMAFCO.

Similar criticisms were leveled against the LEC recommendations on education by John Pamapallis and John Carneson, both teachers at SOMAFCO. In an interview in September 2008 Pampallis was critical of the LEC for ‘dreaming up’ ideas in London without being in touch with the students in Tanzania who wanted to finish high school and go onto university. Similar criticisms were echoed by John Carneson, ‘Their (London Education Committee) views on
education were shaped by readings of Makarenko, Paulo Freire, and they wanted us now to experiment with this stuff – they saw it as we must produce the new man.....So we must shape a revolutionary kind of person along the lines of Cuba or Makarenko, would be selfless, wouldn’t want money, wouldn’t want to go live in houses in London. I mean we were quite bitter about this view because these ***** telling us this were sitting very nicely there’.  

Jack Simon’s was a strong advocate of Political Education. He was critical of both the ANC Education Policy (1978) and the Academic Education being implemented at SOMAFCO. According to Simons Political Education at SOMAFCO had to include class analysis, the History of the Struggle, and the elementary principles of Political Economy under capitalism and socialism as a means of producing ANC cadres.

Simons was born in 1907 in Riversdale in the Cape. He matriculated in 1924 and was articled to a local firm of attorneys. He joined the civil service in 1926. Simons was stationed in Pretoria as a clerk in the Auditor-General’s office. He graduated with a BA Law degree from the Transvaal University College (Witwatersrand University) in 1929. He also obtained a MA in Political Philosophy from the same college. He obtained a Ph.D from the London School of Economics.

He returned to South Africa in 1937 and became a lecturer at the University of Cape Town. He used class analysis focusing on capital and labour to unpack racial tensions and conflicts. His book, ‘Class and Colour in South Africa’ was co-written with his wife Ray Alexander. He was arrested with the rest of the CPSA Central Committee and charged with sedition n 1946. He was placed
under successive bans from 1952. Simons and his wife Ray Alexander left South Africa to take up a fellowship at Manchester University in 1965. They settled in Lusaka in 1969 where Simons joined the Department of Sociology, University of Zambia, first as Reader, then as Professor and Head of Department (1969-1975). He resigned from the university in 1975. Simon’s was one of the pioneers of Political Education for MK soldiers at the Novo Catengu Military Academy in Angola (1977-1979).98

As a key member of the LUSEC Simons produced a paper in 1982, ‘Education for Revolution. Aims and Principles of ANC Education’, in which he criticized the implementation of Academic Education at SOMAFCO and gave his views on Political Education. He argued that the main issue facing SOMAFCO was whether it should concentrate on producing skilled technicians and skilled production workers or on preparing students for higher degrees in tertiary institutions abroad. He argued that the conventional answer was that it should do both but in the actual situation at SOMAFCO one of the alternatives was bound to take precedence. It was clear to him that SOMAFCO’s main concern was Academic Education.

He argued that the emphasis on Academic Education was in conflict with the ANC Education Policy (see Ch. 3) and should be corrected. He was critical of the overall aims of ANC Education Policy (1978). According to Simons the primary aim was, ‘to prepare cadres to serve both the liberation struggle and society’. The overall objective was to produce ‘a new type of South African dedicated to serve the South African people as a whole’.99 Simons argued that while, on the one hand, the inclusive references to ‘society’ and the ‘South African people as a whole’ reflected the universality of the ANC’s perspective it,
on the other hand, ignored the conflict of class interests. He argued that the class struggle was an important aspect of the Liberation Struggle and should be incorporated into the educational programme.

One of the key words in the ANC Education Policy was ‘cadre’ which described an active revolutionary. Simons argued that a professional education and the acquisition of skills were not enough to produce an ANC cadre. Simons argued that the ideal cadre was a revolutionary who combined a deep understanding of the relation between the National Liberation and the class struggles with a commitment to the life-long task of overthrowing the racist regime and replacing it with a new social order. In other words an ideal cadre combined, ‘specialized skills, political consciousness, dedication and self-discipline in an integrated, balanced personality’.100

According to Simons the ideal cadre could be produced through Political Education which should include the study of the History of the Struggle, the origins and aims of the South African Revolution and the elementary principles of Political Economy under Capitalism and Socialism.101 He argued that the westernized bias of the education system had to be changed to provide students with adequate knowledge of achievements and problems of planned economies in socialist countries.102

According to Simons the high level of political understanding and dedication needed to produce cadres could be achieved by the study of the history of the Movement and its alliance partners, its programme and its strategy and tactics. The demand for cadres was endless and ranged from trained freedom fighters to
many kinds of technicians and qualified professionals. Simon’s ideas on education reflected a broad socialist/communist approach to education.

John Pampallis, a SACP and ANC member, taught at SOMAFCO for eight years. He left South Africa because of his opposition to apartheid. He taught in Botswana for a year and in July 1976 left for Canada the home country of his fiancée, Karin. He obtained a masters degree in education in Winnipeg, Canada where he joined the anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC. He spent four years in Canada. Pampallis responded to the Winnipeg ANC Unit’s communiqué for teachers at SOMAFCO. He moved to SOMAFCO in 1980. He was the head of the Social Sciences Department at SOMAFCO till he left in 1988.

Pampallis believed that the curriculum for SOMAFCO should have a strong political content because the ANC was engaged in a political liberation struggle. In his paper, ‘The Place of Politics in People’s Education: The Case of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (1988)’, Pampallis argued that it was possible to identify at least three areas of Political Education. The first area was political instruction which involved the learning of political skills and skills of political analysis. In the South African context this could include, amongst others, the study of the History of South Africa, resistance to oppression, the theoretical development of the liberation movements, current political developments, the international dimensions of the Struggle, the principles of Political Economy under Capitalism and Socialism and the revolutionary struggles of other peoples.
The second area was the development of personal qualities considered desirable in a revolutionary. These qualities included, amongst others, dedication to the liberation struggle, loyalty to one’s comrades and ideals, perseverance, diligence, a preparedness to make sacrifices, responsibility, respect for the working people, kindness, intolerance of racism or oppression of any kind and an internationalist outlook. The school could play an important role in promoting these qualities. The third area was the development of the ability to organize and function effectively in democratic structures. These skills could be learnt through practical experience in organizing and functioning in democratic structures set up at schools or in the community. This is an element of Progressive Education where the school is viewed as a miniature democratic society in which students could learn and practice the skills and tools necessary for democracy.

In reviewing the experiences of SOMAFCO, Pampallis argued that the primary and secondary schools at SOMAFCO had attempted to establish Political Education programmes covering the three areas he had identified. Pampallis claimed the primary school also attempted to cover the first two areas in Political Education. Political instruction was carried out especially through the History of the Struggle. At the secondary school all three areas were dealt with. In the junior secondary classes (Forms 1-3) political instruction was given through the History of the Struggle, History and to some extent Geography and English. In the senior secondary classes political instruction was given via Development of Societies, History and the once-weekly political discussions.

According to Pampallis, Political Education also took place informally in the evening news sessions. A student’s news committee monitored radio stations around the world and presented the day’s news to the students every evening.
This was followed by questions and discussions. Students had the opportunity to function in democratic structures like the Student Council (see Ch. 4) and other committees in sport, culture, hostels, bulletin board etc.

While Political Education at SOMAFCO sounded impressive, Pampallis argued that its implementation raised problems. The serious problems faced were a high turnover of staff, unqualified staff, insufficient boarding staff, personal problems of students and an insufficient level of organization in the educational and other sections of the ANC. The problems raised do not seem to be specific to Political Education but seem to refer to the SOMAFCO experience in general,

The proponents of Political Education were opposed to the emphasis on a conventional Academic Education which focused on the needs of the post-liberation phase of the Struggle. They argued for a focus on the needs of the ANC in the pre-liberation phase of the Struggle. Arguments for Political Education included, education for the development of political cadres, education for the armed struggle, and education with an emphasis on the class struggle.

**Polytechnic Education**

Polytechnic Education is a stream of Progressive Education which emphasized Technical Education as a part of General Education and is a widely accepted concept and practice (see Ch. 1). Polytechnic Education has taken many forms in specific contexts. The elimination of the ‘artificial barrier’ between between mental and manual work is a long-standing principle of both Progressive and Socialist Education (see Ch. 1).
The notion of Polytechnic Education was introduced to the curriculum debate at SOMAFCO via the contribution of Patrick van Rensburg and the idea of EWP. EWP was a key aspect of the attempt to promote Polytechnic Education at SOMAFCO. Van Rensburg was a South African exile based in Botswana since the 1960s. He had joined the South African Ministry of External Affairs in 1953 and was appointed vice-consul in Leopoldville, Congo in 1956. He resigned his post in 1957 because he disagreed with the race policies of the South African government. On his return to South Africa in 1958, he became the organizing-secretary of the South African Liberal Party. He went into exile in Botswana in 1960 to avoid arrest for supporting sanctions against South Africa. He was instrumental in establishing the Swaneng Hill High School (1963), the Serowe Brigades (1965) and the Foundation for Education with Production (1980) in Botswana.

At the invitation of the ANC Education Department in 1979, Van Rensburg attended the earlier NEDUC meetings where he promoted his ideas on EWP. The ANC officially approached the Botswanan Government for the training of ANC cadres in the theory and practice of EWP at Serowe. In the 1979-1980 period the ANC appeared to embrace EWP. EWP was included in the ANC Education Policy (1978). From 1981 onwards, however, the ANC had decided that the emphasis at SOMAFCO would be on Academic Education (see Ch. 5) and the interest in EWP declined.

In an interview in 2010 Van Rensburg indicated that he had been invited by the ANC Education Department to attend the earlier NEDUC meetings in an advisory capacity on EWP. Van Rensburg recommended that the ANC should create a common system of Polytechnic, Socialist Education. He considered
this to be essential because, ‘there was a large inadequately educated urban working class and an uneducated rural working class in South Africa’. The provision of education in South Africa in the post-liberation period would be hampered by resource constraints. In the event of the seizure of political power the ANC would have to fall back on educational initiatives established in the Struggle period. Van Rensburg argued that EWP in the short term was relevant for SOMAFCO, as the premier ANC educational institution outside South Africa.

In his paper, ‘Education with Production in the context of South Africa’ (no date), Van Rensburg recommended that the five year study programme being followed at SOMAFCO should incorporate Intellectual Education, Physical Education and Productive Work in producing ‘fully-developed human beings’ in the Marxist sense. This meant producing people who should be able to master the aims, technology and concrete methods of production processes and understand their relationship with society in general. He recommended that Cultural Studies and Fundamental Principles of Production should be included in the SOMAFCO curriculum. In addition to this a range of productive activities encompassing the main branches of agriculture and industrial production should be introduced. These could include, amongst others, building and carpentry, metal work, vehicle engineering, various branches of agriculture and animal husbandry, food processing, textiles, electronics and printing. This would enable students to gain an understanding of the fundamentals of production and to gain skills in the field concerned. In regards to the weighting of work and study van Rensburg recommended, ‘a fair measure, each of social, economic and learning outcomes, in a balance’.
Van Rensburg’s influence was evident in the recommendations of the early Seminar on the Educational Policy (29th September – 2nd October 1978) held by the ANC Education Department at Mazimbu. The seminar took up his recommendations that subjects like typing, short-hand, metal-work, technical drawing, brick-laying, carpentry, tailoring, dress-making, home economics, surveying, plumbing and welding should be included in the SOMAFCO curriculum as the EWP component.\textsuperscript{117} The rationale was that the inclusion of these subjects would ensure that those who did not obtain a matriculation could still have an important role to play in the general development of South Africa.\textsuperscript{118}

Acceding to a request by the ANC to the Botswanan Government (see Appendix 19), Van Rensburg also arranged for ANC cadres to be trained in the theory and practice of EWP in Botswana in 1979.\textsuperscript{119} Following the inputs at the early NEDUC meetings by Patrick van Rensburg on EWP, Alfred Nzo, the Secretary-General of the ANC contacted the president of Botswana in regards to the vocational training of ANC cadres at Serowe.\textsuperscript{120}

The letter to the president argued that the ANC needed to cater for increasing numbers of South African exiles and that it had become imperative, therefore, for the ANC to embark on, ‘productive projects of self-help’.\textsuperscript{121} The importance placed by the ANC on self-reliance is illustrated in the letter to the Botswanan president. It stated that, ‘We have learnt from various sources about the spectacular successes of the Botswana Brigades in training Tswana nationals of different ages in various skills within shorter periods than in conventional institutions. What is more, the education process is combined with production, thereby generating funds for increasing the scope and magnitude of the projects undertaken.’\textsuperscript{122}
The Botswana Government acceded to the request by the ANC and fourteen ANC members were sent for the training at Serowe. They were trained at the Serowe Brigades Development Trust in several skills including printing, garage mechanics and textiles. On completion of their training, these trainees were expected by both the ANC and van Rensburg to become trainers in EWP at SOMAFCO. Available evidence does not show whether they did in fact become trainers in EWP at SOMAFCO.

The ANC had not only taken a step in the direction of self-sufficiency but had also taken the step to be associated with the educational and developmental goals of Botswana and Patrick van Rensburg. This meant that the ANC would not merely be seen as a liberation organization engaged in an armed struggle but would also be seen as an organization engaged with education and development and this would ease the way to procuring funding.

Following the advisory visit of Van Rensburg, SOMAFCO students were involved in crop and poultry farming as part of EWP in 1979. A 1979 document claimed that SOMAFCO was a farm but that it was using the farm not to train farmers but to provide an educational experience in productive work and in becoming self-sufficient. SOMAFCO students worked on the construction sites where they were expected to acquire building skills. It was expected that after completion of the construction, the building equipment would form the basis of SOMAFCO’s Technical and Vocational Education which would seek to provide the necessary technical and vocational aspects of General Education, Vocational Education as preparation for an occupational field and Technical and Vocational Education as continuing education. Not much was accomplished in
this regard because students generally adopted a negative attitude towards EWP and were reluctant to co-operate on the building sites (see discussion below).\textsuperscript{127}

To encourage a positive attitude to EWP (see Appendix 21), SOMAFCO students were grouped into brigades based on the Van Rensburg Brigades model.\textsuperscript{128} The brigades were named after ANC heroes and were known as the Tambo Brigade, Luthuli Brigade and Mandela Brigade (see Appendix 20). By August 1979 the principal of SOMAFCO, MW Njobe, had created vegetable production plots to which students were assigned.\textsuperscript{129} They were also expected to work at the construction sites. A brigade would work co-operatively on a farm or the construction site and then move to another site. Students and teachers were expected to work jointly on projects. This was aimed at changing the conventional teacher-student relationship, fostering co-operative endeavours in socially-useful labour. The principal, however, reported at a meeting of Education Committees on 26 August 1979 that students were reluctant to do manual work either on the plots or the construction sites. In October 1979 the principal’s progress report stated that there was ‘no spectacular achievement in this field yet’.\textsuperscript{130}

Students generally adopted a hostile attitude towards EWP. It was reported at the second NEDUC conference (April 1979) that students were reluctant to co-operate either on the farm or the building site.\textsuperscript{131} Student negativity towards manual work stemmed, in the first instance, from the South African experience. Manual work, in the South African context, was regarded as unskilled work reserved for working class blacks. Negativity towards manual work also arose out of the experience of Practical Education or Vocational Education at mission schools. Students were more interested in acquiring academic skills and would
rather spend their time on academic subjects like Science and Mathematics than on manual work and this was supported by many teachers.¹³²

Despite inviting van Rensburg to advise SOMAFCO on EWP in 1978, the 2nd NEDUC meeting (14-18 April 1979) decided that the priority subjects for SOMAFCO would be English, Mathematics, Physical Science, Biology, Geography, History, Development Studies, Agricultural Science, Health Science and Physical Science leading to a qualification for university entrance.¹³³ The meeting decided that at the end of the final year SOMAFCO students would sit for a certificate underwritten by the East African Examination Board (see Ch. 5).

Despite the decisions of the 2nd NEDUC meeting to emphasise Academic Education, Oswald Dennis (chief engineer at Mazimbu) continued to argue for an emphasis on EWP because of the need for ‘self-sufficiency’. The idea of EWP being linked to ‘self-sufficiency’ was not a new one and had been much discussed in the formulation and implementation of education policy in other countries (see Ch. 1). The issue of self-sufficiency or sustainability was seen as being crucial to the ANC in exile in that the Struggle was expected to be a protracted one. The ANC had to also consider the reality that it could not go on depending on economic and other support from donors indefinitely. A further consideration was whether donors would fund education projects that could be seen as ‘leftist’. Dennis, as Head of the Mazimbu Construction Management Team (MCMT) argued that it was imperative that the ANC had to give serious consideration to the issue of self-sufficiency or sustainability. He had been trained as an engineer in the GDR and had experience of GDR Polytechnic Education (see Ch. 1).
The MCMT was responsible for the planning and construction of the Mazimbu complex. Dennis fully supported EWP as an integral part of the curriculum for SOMAFCO. In his report to the Educational Council in 1980 Dennis raised the question of whether the ANC was content to depend entirely on solidarity donations or whether it wanted to become self-sufficient.\(^{134}\)

The MCMT estimated that the annual operating cost of the Mazimbu community would be 30 million Tanzanian shilling (approximately 4 million dollars).\(^{135}\) It argued for production aspects of the curriculum to be time-tabled for two reasons: firstly it would promote self-reliance in agriculture, maintenance and the supplies system, that is, bakery and laundry etc.; secondly, an understanding of the production process would be of educational benefit.

In the report to the Educational Council in 1980 Dennis pointed out that the MCMT had planned the SOMAFCO complex on the understanding that students would form the backbone in ‘a programme of self-reliance, contributing not only in the services needed for the upkeep of the school itself but also towards supporting the entire community.’\(^{136}\) SOMAFCO students, who made up 75% of the population would be expected to contribute to the services needed for the upkeep of the school and community. They would be expected to participate in their own domestic chores, agriculture and the supplies system. Dennis’s team was also in the process of constructing large warehouses. The warehouses would be used for vocational training and production. The MCMT hoped that this strategy would offset costs and make Mazimbu self-sufficient. This emphasis was similar to the Botswana Brigades and the Tanzanian Education for Self-Reliance (see Ch. 1).
The MCMT Report suggested the following list of vocations for inclusion in the time-table: carpentry/joinery; plumbing; masonry/bricklaying; electrical installations; painting; blacksmith/welding; motor mechanics (including agro-farm machinery); fitters and turners; shoemakers/leatherworks; tailors/dressmakers; farm machinery operators/ general farming. It argued that a third of the students could be occupied full time in production on a rotational basis. The MCMT argued that an efficient production process depended on regular production, that is, six to eight hours per day. In other words production had to be part of the time-table. If this were done it would serve production, achieve a level of self-sufficiency and foster duty and responsibility. The MCMT’s recommendation for the balance between study and work was weighted in favour of work while the ANC Education Department wanted the balance weighted in favour of academic study. The MCMT favoured EWP for self-sufficiency largely in terms of the construction goals of the Mazimbu project.

The MCMT recommendation on the balance between work and study was not favourably considered by the ANC Education Department. In 1981 it made clear its emphasis when it came to balancing work and study at SOMAFCO when a key policy document argued that, ‘the school academic work must be given the priority’. The ANC Education Department had already decided in 1981 to enter SOMAFCO students for the London University GCE ‘O’ level exams. This in practice meant that priority would be accorded to the academic requirements of the ‘O’ levels needed by SOMAFCO students. This was in sharp contrast to Van Rensburg’s emphasis regarding a fair balance between work and study and the MCMT’s emphasis on production. The only semblance of EWP that remained after 1981 was perhaps the inclusion of Agricultural Science in an academic curriculum and involving students in manual work.
There was still support in the ANC for the principle of the elimination of the ‘artificial barrier’ between mental and manual work within the ANC. While some supported it for its economic links to self-sufficiency others supported it for its pedagogical, political and social values.

Supporters of EWP for its pedagogical, political and social values viewed the manual component of EWP as participation in socially-useful work which would expose students to all aspects of work. By participating in socially-useful work students would also develop an appreciation of the value of work. Terry and Barbara Bell (see Ch. 6), Mohammed Jhatham, John Pampallis and Henry Makgothi were supporters of EWP for its pedagogical, political and social values.

Mohammed Jhatham and John Pampallis, members of the SOMAFCO teaching staff, also supported the bridging of the gap between mental and manual work. They presented a paper on, ‘The Role of SOMAFCO’ at the SOMAFCO Staff Seminar in July 1983. In their paper they argued that the main aim of EWP should be to ‘further the student’s education’ and should not be for the purpose of achieving self-sufficiency unless it was an economic necessity.

Jhatham and Pampallis argued that EWP was a controversial matter in ANC circles. Views on the aims of EWP ranged from ‘achieving self-sufficiency’ to ‘limited exposure to various vocational skills’. Their view was that while they accepted that there should be some provision for skills training, the focus should be on socially-useful work. Students should be exposed to the planning, organization, execution and evaluation aspects of socially-useful work so that
they develop an appreciation of the value of work and view work as being creative and fulfilling and not demeaning and oppressive.\textsuperscript{143}

They recommended that manual work should take the form of maintenance of school buildings and surroundings and certain types of production such as ‘\textit{shamba}’ work. They also recommended that students should be involved in the school administration as this had educational value. Students would learn administrative and organizational skills. There should be scope for students to run their own affairs like the Student Council, Clubs, Committees and in the manual work programmes.

Besides differing from the MCMT on the issue of self-sufficiency Jhatham and Pampallis also differed from van Rensburg and the MCMT on the balance between mental and manual work. They recommended that, ‘students should get a well rounded education with an academic emphasis’.\textsuperscript{144} The argument for their view on the balance between mental and manual work was that SOMAFCO’s role was that of a general secondary school and as such should have an academic emphasis. EWP, however, should be an important component of education at SOMAFCO.

The only high-placed ANC official to support Polytechnic Education was Henry Makgothi, Secretary for Education 1983 to 1987. Affectionately known as ‘Squire’ by his friends and colleagues he was born on 25 December 1928 in Pimville, Johannesburg.\textsuperscript{145} His father Walter Mokowa was a school teacher. He schooled at Pimville Primary and St. Peters Secondary School in Rosettenville. He obtained a BA degree and a teacher’s diploma from the University of Fort Hare.\textsuperscript{146} Makgothi taught at the Pimville High School until 1959 when he was
dismissed for participating in the Defiance Campaign.\textsuperscript{147} He thereafter worked as a records clerk at Isaacs and Kassel an accounting and auditing company.

He had a long history of political activism. Makgothi joined the ANC Youth League in 1944 while a student at St. Peters Secondary School. In May 1945 Makgothi was elected president of the ANC Youth League in the Transvaal. He was arrested in 1956 on charges of treason which were withdrawn in 1958.\textsuperscript{148} Makgothi joined the SACP and MK shortly after charges against him were withdrawn.\textsuperscript{149} In 1963 he was sentenced to 10 years in prison for leaving the country illegally. He served two years at Leeukop Prison and eight years of the sentence on Robben Island and on his release was banned to the Mabopane area outside Pretoria. Although banned he continued in ANC underground work. Underground activity made life difficult and dangerous and when he felt the security police net closing on him Makgothi escaped to Botswana where he continued with underground work for the ANC.\textsuperscript{150} He then became the commissar for East Africa, based at SOMAFCO, before being asked by the ANC to take on the position of Secretary for Education in 1983. Recurring bouts of malaria forced him to ask the ANC to relieve him of his duties and redeploy him elsewhere in 1987.

When he became Secretary of Education in 1983 Makgothi attempted to implement EWP at SOMAFCO. In 1984 he issued a directive advocating the implementation of Polytechnic Education at SOMAFCO because he felt that the principle of ‘bridging the gap between mental and manual work’ had not been successfully implemented there.\textsuperscript{151} Since 1981 the emphasis on Academic Education had become consolidated with the registration of SOMAFCO students for the London University ‘O’ Level certificate. Makgothi argued that
SOMAFCO provided an ideal environment to not only work out the elements of Polytechnic Education but to translate theory into practice. He was supported by volunteer teachers from the GDR who drew from their experiences of Polytechnic Education in the GDR\textsuperscript{152} (see Ch. 1). These teachers were at SOMAFCO as science teachers and were willing to share their knowledge and experience of GDR Polytechnic Education with Makgothi.

Makgothi recommended the introduction of Agricultural Science, Technical Drawing, Machine Science and Production Technology into the existing SOMAFCO programme.\textsuperscript{153} This idea also appears to be based on the GDR’s idea that these subjects be introduced so that children could learn the technical, technological, economic and social foundations of the production process (see Ch. 1). Makgothi further recommended that students engage in practical work on site eg. carpentry, horticulture, mechanics, building, maintenance and electricity to learn basic technical principles.\textsuperscript{154} This also appears to be based on the GDR’s ‘school day in production’. It was regarded as essential that students spend a part of their ‘school day in production’ doing real productive work, in order to form correct attitudes to work (see Ch. 1).

It appears that Henry Makgothi was determined to implement Polytechnic Education in both theory and practice at SOMAFCO. In 1984 he invited Patrick van Rensburg to assist in implementing Polytechnic Education at SOMAFCO.\textsuperscript{155} Makgothi took this step although the influence of Patrick van Rensburg had dwindled since 1981 when the ANC Education Department had made it clear that when it came to balancing work and study, academic work must be given priority.\textsuperscript{156} Van Rensburg was unable to take up the invitation as he was caught
up in a battle with the Botswanan Government regarding the nature of the Brigades Education (see Ch. 1).¹⁵⁷

When Makgothi asked to be relieved as Secretary for Education in 1987, no further serious attempt was made to implement Polytechnic Education at SOMAFCO.

Besides SOMAFCO, the Mazimbu project also included a support network of small industries which were established by the ANC to produce essential materials needed for construction activities and for the community.¹⁵⁸ The small industries included the Tailoring Unit (1980), the Engineering Workshop (1980), the Vuyisile Carpentry Factory (1981), the Welding Workshop (1981), the Leather Workshop (1983) and the Garment Factory (1983).¹⁵⁹ They had been established with the material assistance of the international community (see Ch. 4).

These small industries presented the SOMAFCO authorities with the ideal opportunities to expose students to basic productive processes. However there was a lack of co-ordination between the school and the various small industries as the school authorities gave little attention to EWP as the emphasis at SOMAFCO was on Academic Education. As a result there was little if any cooperation between the small industries and the school authorities which resulted in the further decline of EWP.

Students who were sent to the engineering department to learn motor mechanics were generally given tasks like washing cars to keep them out of the way because they were regarded as a distraction.¹⁶⁰ Many departments like the carpentry
department, which was focused on the construction schedule, tended to disregard students sent to it as part of the EWP programme. Students, therefore, felt that they were learning nothing and losing valuable time which could be used for academic subjects. With growing negativity towards it, attention to EWP dwindled further. Negativity towards the manual component of EWP was also experienced at mission schools and the Botswana Brigades. Students who had particular interests went on their own initiatives to the relevant departments in their spare time.

To make matters worse the manual component of EWP was usually done after school. School would end at 13h00 and the students would have lunch and were sent to the fields for crop cultivation for the kitchen. The Tanzanian heat was at its worst when the work began and between noon and three in the afternoon temperatures would reach the mid forties. Being in the malaria belt did not help matters either. The negativity towards EWP was further reinforced by giving students manual work, similar to that given in EWP, as punishment.

In its final stages EWP was used for propaganda purposes. When donor delegations visited SOMAFCO students were expected to put on a show of manual work as part of the EWP programme. EWP finally became part of ‘letsema’, that is, communal days on which the Mazimbu complex was cleaned followed by a feast.

In summary the curriculum debates at SOMAFCO centred broadly on three emphases: an emphasis on Academic Education; an emphasis on Political Education and an emphasis on Polytechnic Education. The emphasis on Academic Education focused on the needs of the ANC in the post-liberation
period. Advocates of Academic Education argued that suitably educated ANC personnel would be needed to run the huge socio-economic machinery in a liberated South Africa. The personnel required would need to be educated in tertiary institutions around the world and had to meet the entry requirements of tertiary institutions abroad. The London University GCE ‘O’ level examination was seen by the ANC Education Department as the benchmark for entry to tertiary education. SOMAFCO’s role would be to prepare its students for the ‘O’ level examinations. The ANC Education Department therefore argued for a conventional, formal Academic Education that provided access to modern professional life similar to that received by whites in South Africa and similar to the best Missionary Education that the ANC leadership had had access to.

The advocates of Political Education focused on the needs of the ANC in the ‘present phase’ of the Struggle. There was a diversity of notions of Political Education which ranged from creating the opportunities for SOMAFCO students to imbibe socialist/communist philosophies to Education for the Armed Struggle. Some notions of Political Education required students to go abroad for tertiary education but appear not to have grasped the necessity of ‘credentialization’ of students who were to study further. The argument for an emphasis on Political Education was largely ignored in the formulation of the ANC Education Policy. It was implemented as an addendum to Academic Education. Political Education was taught through Development of Societies, History of the Struggle, History and to some extent in Geography and English. It was also taught through the once-weekly political discussions and informally in evening news sessions.

The notion of EWP was introduced to SOMAFCO by Patrick van Rensburg. It was widely supported within the ANC because of various understanding of what
it meant both in theory and in practice. While some supported EWP for its economic benefits others embraced it for its pedagogical, political and social values. The ANC embraced EWP between 1978 to 1980 but from 1981 onwards when the ANC Education Department registered SOMAFCO students for the London University GCE ‘O’ level examinations, there was little official attention given to it. EWP became part of ‘letsema’ and was also used for propaganda purposes when donors visited SOMAFCO.

In essence SOMAFCO provided a conventional, formal Academic Education with Political and Polytechnic Education as ancillaries.
NOTES

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The Strategy and Tactics of the ANC came out of the Morogoro Conference 1969. It outlined the new strategy and tactics for the seizure of power in SA based on the analysis that victory cannot be won without the active participation of the masses of the people.


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Chapter 6

Curriculum Development at the SOMAFCO Primary School and the Dakawa Development Centre

The growth and development of the ANC educational projects in exile were shaped by circumstances confronting the organization in the post-1976 period. The ANC established its own education institution, the SOMAFCO High School in Mazimbu, Tanzania in 1978 (see Ch. 3). However, in the early 1980s, the need would gradually emerge for a variety of supplementary initiatives which reached far beyond the goals of the original school. As a result the ANC expanded the Mazimbu project to cater for additional contingencies, by way of the SOMAFCO Primary School (1980) and the Dakawa Development Centre (1982).

The SOMAFCO Primary School

The SOMAFCO Primary School was established in 1980 when the Mazimbu community became aware that there were over twenty young children who needed to be at school. The primary school was not part of the initial ANC education plan for Mazimbu as the ANC planned to build only a high school that would cater for the youth exiled as a result of the 1976 revolts in South Africa (see Ch. 3). The children of primary school-going age in the community at
Mazimbu came from a variety of backgrounds. There were the children of exiled ANC cadres in exile since the 1960s who were married to Tanzanian nationals.¹ The ANC cadres from the 1960s were the earliest group who went into exile when the ANC was banned in South Africa in 1960. These cadres and their families lived mainly in Morogoro and the surrounding villages. While some of the children attended local Morogoro primary schools, there were complaints from the old ANC cadres that there were 5-10 years old children who could not find admittance to local schools.³

There were some children between the ages of 7 and 16 who came to Mazimbu as part of the exiled youth from South Africa as well as the children of the SOMAFCO personnel who included teachers, administrators and construction workers, all of whom worked at the Mazimbu complex.⁴ Some of these children attended local Tanzanian primary schools others attended the Morogoro International Primary School,⁵ while some were not in formal schooling.⁶ The Morogoro International Primary School was a conventional European School which was established by expatriates.⁷

Curriculum development at the SOMAFCO Primary School may be divided into three periods: the unstructured-initial period, the radical curriculum development period and the conventional curriculum development phase. The first period saw the opening of the school in April 1980, when it operated without a formal curriculum. The second (1980-1982) saw what I have called the radical curriculum development, initiated by Barbara and Terry Bell. The third period (post-1982) was marked by an emphasis on conventional Academic Education at the school under Dennis (Babu) September after the departure of the Bells in 1982.
When the SOMAFCO Primary School opened on 7 April 1980 there were 9 students in the first grade but by 7 May 1980 the numbers had risen to eighteen.\(^8\) According to Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004) one of the key reasons for the establishment of an ANC primary school was that it would make it possible for the children of South Africans to be accommodated in a South African school, learn about their history, and to grow up with a South African identity.\(^9\)

The ANC Education Department decided that the basic principles contained in the ANC Education Policy decided upon in 1978 (see Ch. 3) would also apply to the primary school.\(^{10}\) The initial staff was given the task of drawing up a basic document giving the overall objectives and tasks facing them.\(^{11}\) At the outset the primary school struggled to find qualified staff let alone those trained in curriculum development.\(^{12}\) Most of the teachers at this initial stage of the primary school were volunteers who were not qualified teachers.

The school operated in an *ad hoc* manner without a structured curriculum until the arrival of the Bells in August 1980, shortly before the third NEDUC meeting held in Mazimbu.\(^{13}\) When they arrived there were twenty-nine pupils ranging in age from five to twelve, the majority of whom spoke only *kiSwahili*. The school’s accommodation consisted of one room of an old sisal plantation house.

It would be left to the Bells, who took charge of the primary school to formulate the curriculum (see Appendix 22). The curriculum they formulated for the SOMAFCO Primary School reflected their progressive, activist backgrounds. Terry Bell who grew up in Germiston attended the Primrose English Medium Primary and Germiston Boys’ High Schools. On completion of his matriculation
year, he joined a local newspaper group and, later, *The Star* before completing the *Argus* journalism training course in Cape Town in 1962.

Barbara Bell grew up in Johannesburg where she attended the Lester Road Primary School and End Street Convent. Upon matriculating she trained as a pre-school teacher at the Nursery School Training College in Hillbrow, Johannesburg (1959-1961).

In 1961 Terry was recruited to the ANC by Joe Gqabi but he could not join at that time as ANC membership was open to black South Africans only. He then joined the Congress of Democrats (COD), a leftist white political organization, a part of the ANC-led Congress Alliance. Non-racial membership of the external ANC was established only after the Morogoro Conference in 1969.14 Barbara became involved in student politics and joined NUSAS while at college because of the influence of leftist lecturers at the Nursery School Training College. Barbara and Terry met at a social occasion in Johannesburg in December 1964.

In 1964 Terry Bell was detained under the 90-day General Laws Amendment Act and left South Africa the following year to avoid further arrest for political activism. In April 1965 he went to Zambia and then to England in August of that year where he was given political asylum.15 In England he was awarded a UN scholarship and studied International Affairs at the University College of London (1965-1967).

Barbara decided to leave South Africa for England in 1965 and was given a one year passport that was not renewed by the South African government.16 She
became involved in the ANCYL and later joined the ANC. The couple met again in ANC circles in London, where they married.

On completing his studies at the University College of London, Terry and Barbara returned to Zambia in October 1968 but the détente between Kaunda and Vorster prohibiting the ANC from using Zambia as a base forced them to leave once again. They decided to go to New Zealand in January 1971 and were asked by O.R. Tambo and Jack Simons to help start the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) there. They spent nine years working in journalism and education in New Zealand and played a key role in the AAM during that time. In 1979 they were asked by OR Tambo to head the SOMAFCO Primary School in Mazimbu.

When Terry and Barbara arrived in Mazimbu, construction at SOMAFCO was in its early stages and teaching began in one of the old sisal estate houses. The house and a tent served as classrooms. Overcrowding was a problem as was the wide variety of languages spoken by the children. Although kiSwahili was widely spoken and the other languages spoken included Xhosa, Sotho, Tswana, Portuguese, Bemba, Nyanja, Afrikaans, Danish and English. English was the medium of instruction which made teaching difficult. Resources were in short supply but a container load of educational materials brought from New Zealand eased the situation.

In retrospect the Bells acknowledged that their theory of education stemmed from a variety of philosophers including Karl Marx, Paulo Freire, AS Neill, Anton Makarenko, John Dewey, Piaget, Froebel and Alice Yardley. They emphasized Makarenko’s specific approach to education in the SOMAFCO context (see Ch. 1).
In an early report on their work, the Bells stated that their approach in formulating the curriculum for the primary school was based on an attempt to respond to Bantu Education. Terry argued that the education to be offered at SOMAFCO should, therefore, not solely concentrate on the academic aspects of education but should seek to foster a complete alternative value system as implied in the ANC Education Policy (1978). Drawing on their experience in education, the Bells argued that it was essential to clarify the educational philosophy before making proposals regarding structure, methodology or teaching practice.

Stating their educational philosophy, the Bells proceeded to set out their vision for the curriculum of the SOMAFCO Primary School. It was based on progressive principles that were widely practiced in Western primary schools in the 1960s and rested on two premises. The first was that children have an inherent curiosity and will to learn. This ability could be encouraged and maximized, or it could be discouraged and retarded by the general education environment which the child experiences. The second premise was that each person is unique and therefore different, but neither better nor worse than any other. Their education philosophy was based on human equality, acknowledging that, since we live in communities, we are inter-dependent and that the fundamental needs of all individuals are roughly equal.

Education at SOMAFCO should firstly promote the all-round social, emotional, physical, and intellectual growth and development of the child. Secondly it should provide as broad a range of learning experiences as possible to facilitate the all round development of the child. Thirdly it should develop within each
child attitudes of co-operation, self-discipline and respect for all socially-necessary labour.\textsuperscript{28}

When reflecting on these issues in Cape Town in 2007 the Bells emphasized that they had regarded self-discipline as the key element of the entire approach to learning.\textsuperscript{29} They attributed their emphasis on discipline to the philosophy of Anton Makarenko, the much-maligned Soviet educationalist (see Ch. 1). Self-discipline was seen as the key to inculcating desirable attitudes.\textsuperscript{30} Every child had to know that she could not step on the freedom of another individual or group.\textsuperscript{31} Any child that transgressed and continued to do so, despite being warned, would be removed from the group for whatever period necessary.\textsuperscript{32} Corporal punishment was regarded as destructive, violent, degrading and insulting and as such had no place in the attainment of self-discipline.\textsuperscript{33}

Students were put in charge of their own discipline. In a particular case a student had taken a stub of a pencil and an old note book home, for writing, without permission.\textsuperscript{34} She was seen by another student, Nonzama Xolisa, who used her right to call a meeting. The meeting decided that the accused was to be suspended indefinitely. Terry Bell could have overridden the decision and shown the democracy accorded to students to be farcical or allow the democratic decision to remain. He managed to convince the students to take a final decision after the school break of approximately a week. After the break the students decided against the suspension and accepted an apology.

In a second case nine pupils announced that they would not be attending school on a particular day.\textsuperscript{35} Terry allowed this as compulsory attendance was not required at the primary school. The students were, however, denied water and
lunch when they returned at the school break as they had to accept the consequences of their decision to absent themselves from schooling. Terry argued that they had infringed on the freedom of those who remained in class. They quickly returned to class of their own accord the following day. This example of discipline is reminiscent of both AS Neill (*Summerhill*) and Makarenko (*The Road to Life Book 1*). Terry argued that these incidents were part of a learning process for teachers and students, and convinced him that for the primary school children, the social curriculum was more important than the academic curriculum.36

A graded system of education in which students were promoted to successive grade on an annual basis was not favoured.37 It was argued that optimum learning would take place if students, on ‘mastering’ a given task, were given the opportunities of tackling successive tasks of increasing complexity. In line with this view students were divided into five ‘family groups’ of mixed ages and abilities.38 The groups were named the Luthuli, Ngoyi, Moshoeshoe, Sikonyela and Kotane families.39 Each student worked according to her ability and was given more advanced tasks as she successfully completed each task.40 This meant that students who performed well did not have to wait until the following year and the next grade in order to do more advanced work. Teachers also called ‘group leaders’ acted as facilitators or guides. The goal was to have the primary school operating as a miniature democratic society in which students could learn and practice the skills and tools necessary for democratic living (see Ch. 1).

The acquisition of the English language and numeracy were regarded as life skills that would be the basis for further learning. Games like Scrabble were used to encourage language acquisition and quizzes were also used in other
learning areas. Children were expected to participate in all learning activities and encouraged to work co-operatively. Teachers, who were called ‘group-leaders’, assisted and supplemented the learning process.

Students and in some cases volunteer helpers from the high school, were given the opportunity to learn to operate two sewing machines with the objective of encouraging the repair and making of clothes for themselves. Male and female students were encouraged to use the machines for the essential task of making and repairing clothes but also as a means of breaking down gender stereotypes based on kinds of labour. This was also aimed at promoting a positive attitude to socially-necessary labour and eliminating the ‘artificial barrier’ between mental and manual education that was also a key issue in Progressive and Socialist Education (see Ch. 1).41

Instead of the conventional system of assessment by tests and examinations, the social, emotional, academic, and physical aspects of each student were assessed.42 What was important was how far the pupils had developed their understanding of the world, of themselves and of those around them.43 Three sets of assessment records were kept: a record maintained by the staff on the overall progress of the primary division; a record maintained by each home group co-ordinator (that is, a teacher) on the social, emotional, academic and physical progress of each student in the home group; self-assessment records maintained by the students, with children being encouraged from the earliest possible age to keep such records.44 Based on the assessments the primary school issued progress reports showing what each child but they were not categorized as having passed or failed.45 In other words the assessments were not conducted for the purpose of pupils moving to the next grade.
This radical organization of the primary school led to much conflict with the Mazimbu authorities. Terry was questioned by Tim Maseko, the principal of the high school, on the number of pupils who had passed and failed each grade since 1980. Terry’s answer that no pupils had passed or failed and that he rejected the examination system of assessment soon led to fraught relations with the Mazimbu authorities.46

Marius Schoon, a member of the SOMAFCO Education Committee, told the Bells that the type of education they promoted just ‘produced very average people’.47 Schoon’s argument was that they needed to show the world that the students SOMAFCO produced were academically as good as any others in any part of the world. He was implying that they should be emphasizing conventional Academic Education and not aspects of educational methodology derived from Progressivist and Polytechnic models of education. Terry and Barbara Bell maintained that academic excellence should not be seen in isolation and that confident, well-adjusted and self-disciplined pupils also stood a better chance of attaining the highest academic standards they were capable of.

On 1st May 1982 the Bells resigned from the school, with the disciplinary flogging of three female pupils being the last straw.48 Their decision to leave was arrived at because they considered, ‘the hypocrisy, petty corruption, use of corporal punishment, and incompetence amongst the school authorities as unacceptable’.49 In his letter of resignation to Oliver Tambo (see Appendix 23), Terry Bell stated that, ‘as things stand, we have a situation of confusion where tyranny is an ever present threat; a hierarchy which verbally expresses revolutionary ideals yet conducts itself in a generally reactionary manner, acting without consultation and reacting from crisis to crisis without planning or
adequate forethought. This frequently leads to arbitrary, insensitive and high handed actions. This system breeds arrogance, patronage, elitism, a whole panoply of selfish and self-centred drives which contribute to the emotional crippling of a people. It is a situation in which ignorance can be lauded, creativity and initiative killed and a social microcosm created which is, from its roots, rotten’.50

A commission of enquiry was set up by the ANC Department of Education in 1982 to investigate the crisis at SOMAFCO. It was headed by Andrew Masondo, the National Political Commissar.51 The problems identified in the Commission Report included staff resignations, staff grievances against the SOMAFCO administration, student grievances against the SOMACFO authorities, students absenteeism and negative attitude to schoolwork, student drinking and dagga smoking (identified as the most serious problem amongst students), young comrades in prison, students returnees to SOMAFCO before completing their studies abroad and problems at Dakawa.

According to the commission’s report, a staff member identified as ‘Comrade Mohamed’ resigned to draw attention to grievances against the SOMAFCO authorities but withdrew his resignation when the Commission was appointed to investigate grievances. The resignation of Pritz and Mala Dullay (teachers at the primary school) was regarded as a matter of ‘good riddance’ by Masondo as he argued that they had no reasons to resign. Masondo viewed the resignation of Terry Bell as, ‘….really the best thing that could have happened to the school. The man was a plotter, a snooper, a provocateur and anarchist who was very influential’.52
Masondo blamed Terry for pupils’ attitudes to ‘authority’. He argued that SOMAFCO students had a wrong concept of equality and were against the ‘exercise of authority’ at SOMAFCO. He identified ‘anarchists like Terry Bell’ as being partly responsible for pupil’s attitudes towards the ‘exercise of authority’ which he argued was necessary. But he, Masondo was accused of inflicting the worst forms of corporal punishment on SOMAFCO students.

When Terry and Barbara resigned it meant the end of their ideas for a school without grades and exams and of their vision of democratic schooling. Dennis (Babu) September took over as principal of the primary school in 1982. September who had been a teacher in the Cape ‘coloured’ school system and the Canadian public school system had been a teacher of Geography at the SOMAFCO High School since 1981. He was trained in both primary and high school teaching (at the University of Manitoba) and was a specialist in diverse fields such as Physical Education, Arts and Crafts, Team Teaching, and Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL).

September reintroduced the traditional academic approach to schooling where teachers in all grades taught a fairly conventional range of school subjects. According to Morrow, S. et al (2004), September viewed conventional organizing of the primary school as essential in order to interact with the high school, which also operated in a conventional manner (see Ch, 5). Students at the primary school were divided into grades according to ages, a reversal of the Bell’s ‘family’ group system which included students of varying ages and abilities in a group.
By October 1984 the primary school had a roll of two hundred and thirty four students, from Grades 1 to Grade 6, according to chronological age levels. Placing students in grades presented daunting problems. In Grade 6 there were students ranging in age from eleven to nineteen but few of them could cope with Grade 6 work. Some had little or no knowledge of English and numeracy. According to the Report there were fifty-eight Grade 6 students at four different levels of academic competence.

In January 1984 the staff at SOMAFCO consisted of eleven teachers including the principal, four trained ANC teachers, two trained Swedish volunteer teachers, three untrained ANC personnel and one Dutch volunteer. During the course of the year four teachers left for various reasons. Due to a high turnover of teachers, staffing persisted as a chronic problem. The Report (1984) concluded by emphasizing that, ‘Very little effective teaching and learning took place in many classes. Our Movement must see this as a crisis situation and remedy what is wrong if we wish to boast that we are offering our students an alternate to Bantu Education’.

The primary school offered a conventional range of primary school subjects which included English, Arts and Crafts, Physical Education, Nature Studies, Hygiene, Science, History and Geography. Subject teaching was often infused with novel content. For instance, the teaching of Geography included political aspects such as the Land Act 1913, the Group Areas Act (1950) while the explanation of the policy of apartheid was included in Grade 7. Sport featured prominently in extra-curricular activities. Group work became a favoured method of teaching and learning with students helping each other. Self-confidence and linguistic competence were promoted through student
presentations and drama. Attempts were made to introduce students to EWP by encouraging them to maintain their own gardens. They were also involved in improving the school environment as well as the cleaning and painting of the school buildings.

Although there were attempts at innovative methodology and content in the teaching of these subjects, the focus in the primary school was on preparing students for entry into the high school, which in turn was geared to prepare them for entry to tertiary institutions abroad. In other words the primary school became a ‘feeder school’ for the high school both emphasizing conventional Academic Education in practice.

To sum up the primary school, which was not part of the initial plan for SOMAFCO, was established because there were children of primary school-going age at Mazimbu who were either in local Tanzanian schools, the Morogoro International Primary School or not in school. The school opened in 1980 in an ad hoc manner without a structured curriculum. A radical, child-centred education curriculum was drawn up by the Bells. It gradually became clear that the SOMAFCO authorities did not favour this radical curriculum. When the Bells resigned in 1982 it meant an end to their innovative educational vision. The new principal, Dennis September, re-organised the primary school in the conventional manner with an emphasis on an academic curriculum in tune with the high school. The primary school would operate as a conventional, academic school till its closure in 1992.
The Dakawa Development Centre (DDC)

The Dakawa Development Centre (DDC) was not part of the initial plan for an ANC education institution in exile, in Tanzania. The initial plan which involved the establishment of the SOMAFCO High School in 1978 was extended in 1980 to include the SOMAFCO Primary School. By 1982 it became clear to the ANC that there were needs that could not be answered at Mazimbu and that there were certain ancillary educational functions that SOMAFCO could not meet. According to Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004), Mazimbu was also beginning to become overcrowded in terms of available facilities and an outlet was needed for the growing population.\(^7^0\)

The Tanzanian government granted the ANC a second 2800-hectare plot of land at Dakawa to the ANC in 1982.\(^7^1\) The ANC’s education project in Tanzania was thus extended to include Dakawa situated approximately fifty-five kilometers north of Mazimbu.\(^7^2\) Dakawa was also intended to play a developmental role and the settlement was named the Dakawa Development Centre (DDC). The developmental dimension was given more urgency with the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984 which curtailed ANC activity in Mozambique and Swaziland. ANC cadres who had to leave Mozambique and Swaziland were relocated to Dakawa. In 1988 the remaining twenty five ANC mutineers from the camps in Angola were also sent to Dakawa.\(^7^3\)

The appraisal of the DDC will include an examination of the reasons for its establishment, its aims and objectives as set out by the First Dakawa Seminar (FDS) (1982), the functioning of the Vocational Training Centre (VTC), the Ruth
First Educational Orientation Centre (EOC), the Raymond Mahlababa Rehabilitation Centre (RMRC), the farm, small industries and social facilities. The discussion of the structures of the DDC are not handled in sequence but arranged in order of importance regarding their educational purposes. This chapter will also examine the relationship between the Dakawa authorities and the Dakawa residents and its eventual relocation to South Africa when the overall SOMAFCO project was closed in 1992.

Two reasons have been offered for the initial establishment of the Dakawa. The first was that it was established as a transit camp for new arrivals from South Africa. The second was that it was established for the relocation of the umgwenya from Mazimbu.

Morrow (1998) says that the primary reason for the establishment of the DDC in the early 1980s was to provide a transit camp for new arrivals from South Africa and the Frontline States. He argued that the intensification of the Struggle inside South Africa and the SADF incursions into the Frontline States in the mid-1980s had resulted in a new influx of exiles into Mazimbu. The new arrivals, especially the youth, presented SOMAFCO with the problem of assessing their academic levels since few arrived with certificates or any other evidence of their academic achievements in South African schools. It was difficult to place newcomers in the correct grades at SOMAFCO and this was further complicated by the arrivals turning up at various stages during the school year. SOMAFCO did not have the capacity to cope with the new influx and it was therefore argued by the SOMAFCO administration that there was a need for the establishment of a new facility at Dakawa for this purpose.
Furthermore the plan was for the new arrivals to receive academic upgrading in subjects like Mathematics and English before proceeding to SOMAFCO. The upgrading in Mathematics was deemed necessary in the light of the poor Mathematics and Science Education received in black schools in South Africa (see Ch. 1). The upgrading in English was seen as necessary because it was the language of instruction at SOMAFCO yet it was not the primary language of most black students. Both Mathematics and English were also key subject requirements for the London University GCE ‘O’ Level examinations (see Ch. 5). Students would also be required to take a course in ‘Political Education’. They would be introduced to the History of the Struggle and the History of the ANC. The primary purpose of Political Education was to re-orientate the newcomers, who had been influenced by the politics of the BCM, to the politics of the ANC (see Ch. 5).

In an interview in 2007, MW Njobe claimed that Dakawa was established initially to relocate ANC cadres, the ‘umgwenya’, some of whom had been in exile since the 1960s. Many had sought comfort from displacement and isolation in alcohol and drug abuse and the Mazimbu authorities saw them as having a negative effect on the youth at Mazimbu. Available evidence does not supply any indication of the numbers involved. Reflecting back on the times, Njobe argued in 2007 that the Mazimbu administration wanted the ‘umgenywa’ to be removed from Mazimbu to some other site, possibly Dakawa.

Njobe’s retrospective view that Dakawa was established initially to relocate the ‘umgwenya’ is supported by evidence from the LUSEC Evaluation Commission Report (1981). This Report identified two settlements on the outskirts of Mazimbu, that is, Tabora and Ilala that housed the ‘umgenywa’. Tabora was
used to house family units transferred from Morogoro when the Tanzanian authorities insisted that all ANC people be located at Mazimbu. These family units included the ‘umgenywa’. Ilala housed the ‘umgwenya’ who came to Mazimbu from the Frontline States. Many of them were married to non-South Africans.

The Mazimbu authorities, production teams, school authorities and students claimed that the ‘umgwenya’ had ‘a baneful influence on the community’ and that the school should not be saddled with the responsibility of dealing with the ‘situation caused by their (umgwenya’s) presence’. Furthermore, the LUSEC Evaluation Commission (1981) was told that the ‘umgwenya’ were part of the Mazimbu political unit and were expected to work on construction and in the production units but instead had, ‘defeatist attitudes, complained and undermined moral standards’. The Commission Report (1981) does not say whether the ‘umgwenya’ were interviewed or whether they had a ‘voice’.

The construction engineer at Mazimbu, Oswald Dennis, also complained to the Commission (1981), saying that the residents of Ilala made little or no contribution to the construction of the school or the production of food, clothing and furniture. The Commission was told that Ilala had become a centre for brewing liquor, smoking dagga and trading in stolen goods and that it was attracting students from SOMAFCO.

The Mazimbu authorities wanted the ANC leadership in Lusaka to transfer the ‘umgwenya’ whom they considered to be unproductive and subversive, to a ‘rehabilitation’ centre, possibly in Dakawa. The first group to arrive at
Dakawa, on 3 March 1982, consisted of the ‘umgwenya’ and the first ANC personnel at Dakawa were also drawn from the ‘umgenywa’. The ‘umgwenya’ who were sent to Dakawa were poorly housed (lived in tents), were badly fed and had to depend on their own resources. The first few months at Dakawa were characterized by poor leadership from among the ‘umgwenya’ and a lack of clarity of purpose. The umgwenya had little idea of why they were there and what they were supposed to do. Many of them smoked dagga and were heavy drinkers of the local brew. The situation rapidly became clear to the Mazimbu and Lusaka leadership, who set up a meeting to discuss the goals of Dakawa.

Four years after the original establishment of SOMAFCO, the first formal meeting to discuss its goals took place at SOMAFCO, Mazimbu from 28 July to
1 August 1982. The First Dakawa Seminar was set up by the ANC leadership in Lusaka and was attended by the Secretary for Education, delegates from the NEC, the Health Department, SOMAFCO, the Women’s Secretariat, Dakawa and East Africa. During this First Dakawa Seminar (FDS) the concrete objectives for Dakawa were outlined. It was to be a self-sufficient settlement engaging in large scale crop farming, animal husbandry and horticulture. Self-sufficiency was a key element of the objectives of EWP at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5) and this was to be practiced on a large scale at Dakawa (see Appendix 24). Crops would include maize, sorghum, sunflower and sweet potatoes amongst others while animal husbandry would include cattle, poultry, pig and rabbit.\(^91\) It was also decided at the FDS that small industry would be linked to agricultural activities, that is, granaries, mills, bottling, curing and food processing. Other viable industries would be soap making, leatherworks, home crafts, cabinet making and glass blowing.\(^92\)

The FDS also decided that Dakawa would be an orientation centre for the youth who continued to flee from South Africa and who wished to continue with their education in exile.\(^93\) It was argued that newcomers to Dakawa needed to be ‘screened’ since there were spies and agents provocateurs from South Africa among them. A Vocational Training Centre (VTC) catering for three hundred students would be established. Dakawa would also play a developmental role in that adults would learn skills that could be put to use in the service of the ANC and in a liberated South Africa.\(^94\)

The FDS also decided that in view of the anticipated population of 5000 at Dakawa, child-care, health, primary, secondary and adult education programmes would be set up.\(^95\) These grand ideas were not based on a realistic assessment of
the resources and personnel available in the short run (see discussion on the structures below). However, funding and resources for the envisaged structures would gradually be procured from governments, the UN and non-governmental solidarity organizations including SIDA, Danchurchaid, Norplan, OSB, Norway and Finland (see Ch. 4).

In concrete terms the 1982 FDS established that the DDC would be made up of the Vocational Training Centre (VTC), the Ruth First Education Orientation Centre (EOC) and the Raymond Mahlaba Rehabilitation Centre (RMRC). In addition, planning was set in motion for a day-care centre, a nursery school, the primary school, the farm, and various small industries like the carpentry workshop, the garment factory, the leather workshop and the welding workshop.\(^96\) Norplan, the Norwegian consultancy, assisted with the planning of the DDC (see Ch. 4). The Mazimbu authorities would administer the DDC.

Vocational training was mooted for the DDC with the focus specifically on the development of the Dakawa complex.\(^97\) The meeting, however, did not elaborate any further on the nature of the VTC. In South Africa the De Lange Committee (1982) presented its proposals for changes in education but available documents of the Mazimbu/Dakawa projects show no reference to the De Lange Committee’s Report\(^98\) and there appears to be little if any link between this report and the nature of the VTC in Dakawa and the De Lange Committee Report.

The FDS (1982) did not clearly outline the nature of the VTC, which would lead to the tension between the needs of the students who were being trained and the needs of Dakawa as an institution.\(^99\) The VTC’s twelve years of operation may be divided into two periods. The first period 1982-1988 was characterized by the
focus on the needs for the development of Dakawa. This aim was similar to that of the Tanzanian ‘Education for Self-Reliance’ and the Botswana Brigades in that it placed emphasis on being relevant and geared to the needs of the community (see Ch. 1). The programme was informal. The second period 1988-1992 was characterized by the focus on both the needs of Dakawa with needs of students for recognized certificates. This programme was structured.

In the first period it was expected that the VTC and the administrative block would be the first buildings to be erected via sponsorship by the ILO (see Ch. 4). The actual work of construction was expected to be done by the VTC students as this was based on the model initiated by the Botswana Brigades (see Ch. 1). However, by 1984 there was little advancement on the establishment of the VTC as the ANC’s Department of Education was still grappling with the question of the nature of the VTC. Whether the centre would be a Vocational Training Centre or a Vocational Educational Centre was debated at the Second Dakawa Seminar (SDS) in November 1984. At this seminar Vocational Training was defined as the acquisition of a skill, with Vocational Education being defined as a broader concept that incorporated general education and aimed to develop a person socio-politically. The choice of either would have implications for the courses offered and criteria for enrolment.

However no decision was taken on whether the centre would be a Vocational Training Centre or Vocational Educational Centre. The SDS, like the FDS, decided that the emphasis in the courses and training provided at the centre would be directed at the development of Dakawa. The technologies taught at the centre would also be especially suited to the development of Dakawa itself. The
emphasis on elementary skills training implied, though, that the VTC would take the form of Vocational Training.

By 1985 a dormitory, an administration block, a classroom block and an ablution block had been constructed for the VTC.103 Thirty-four students were enrolled in late 1985.104 These students began an upgrading course in basic education in Mathematics, English, Physics, Chemistry, Development of Societies, Study Skills and First Aid. It was hoped that this group would begin skills training despite the fact that there were no workshops or curricula. The envisaged skills training did not materialize.105 A Finnish solidarity worker (name unknown) who was on a two-year contract was given the task of preparing the curricula and support material, but available documents on Dakawa do not indicate whether this task was successfully completed.

The VTC was hamstrung by four major problems in 1986. The first was the failure to recruit a suitable principal, other senior administrators and instructors because the situation regarding teacher’s salaries reflected the situation at SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5). The second reason was the negative image of Dakawa as ‘a dumping ground for the ANC’.106 The third was that there was still a lack of staff housing, water, electricity, and workshops. The fourth was that there was also still little clarity on the nature of the VTC.

Why did these problems arise? As a political-military organization the ANC could potentially have deployed the required people to vacant positions at Dakawa but it in fact was unable to do this as it did not have people with the necessary qualifications.107 The lack of resources had little to do with lack of funds. By 1986 there was enough funding to have overcome the resources
problem (see Ch. 4). The ‘dumping ground’ reputation supports my argument that, firstly, Dakawa was not initially intended to be an educational institution and secondly that the VTC was established primarily to develop the other structures at Dakawa. The ANC Department of Education Report to the 6th NEDUC meeting in 1986 very frankly identified the fundamental weakness in the establishment and progress of the VTC as being, ‘a lack of proper advance thought and planning about the VTC.’

In view of the stagnation of the VTC the ANC Department of Education and the Treasurer-General of the ANC decided to approach FINNIDA or another donor to take over the running of the VTC for the next few years. The prospective sponsor was also to see to the staffing and equipping of the VTC. The ANC envisaged a situation similar to the SWAPO Vocational School in Brazzaville where the Norwegians were responsible for the school but the overall policy decisions were made by SWAPO.

In 1987 NORPLAN in conjunction with the ANC took over all work related to the VTC including curriculum development (see Ch. 4). ANC instructors for the VTC would be trained in Finland which would also meet the costs of their training. This led to some improvement as by 1987 the VTC included three building trade workshops for carpentry, plumbing and electricity. The bricklaying operation was located in a temporary shed. The classrooms, office building and the first dormitory building were also completed.

Nevertheless by 1988 only a small part of the Dakawa settlement was developed. Njobe was appointed the first principal of the VTC in 1988. As principal he decided that the VTC would function via a special, practical programme aimed at
providing housing at Dakawa (see Appendix 25). In an interview in 2007 Njobe explained that most inhabitants of Dakawa were living in canvas tents in 1988 and he therefore decided that the entire vocational training should be focused on the construction of houses. In other words the EWP approach was to be used by default. All other elaborate plans for Vocational Training gave way to the same basic strategy, one which often underlay missionary efforts to introduce Vocational Education, that is, to build the school and maintain the buildings. This meant that the education exercise became a means of procuring labour for specific ends.

The vocational training that took place at Dakawa was rudimentary and confined to a focus on the construction of buildings. According to Njobe, students were taught the theory of construction of houses in the mornings. After midday the theory would be applied in the actual construction of houses. Since the informal skills training at the VTC between 1982 to 1988 was focused on the construction of Dakawa, this meant that the attainment of any form of certification was not an objective of the VTC at that time. The singular purpose of the VTC resulted in there being no structured curricula or set entrance criteria for the trade lines such as carpentry, plumbing and electricity up to 1988.

Berg, Svela, and Sturrock (1992) divide the VTC’s second period of operation (1988-1992) into two phases. The ‘start-up and early consolidation period’ ran from October 1988 to mid – 1990. Formal training began at the VTC began on 3rd October 1988 without any curricula. The main aim was to establish and consolidate a centre for instruction in practical skills as explained above. These practical skills were needed to train workers specifically for the development of Dakawa. Students were, therefore, enrolled in the VTC
regardless of their academic levels. This stage was not linked to any form of recognized certification for students.

The second phase, ‘from practical skills to trade education’ second phase ran from mid-1990 to mid-1991,\(^{117}\) and was marked by a serious problem of irregular and poor attendance resulting from the tensions between the competing needs of Dakawa and those of the needs of the students.\(^{118}\) Students were demanding Vocational Education with recognized certification and the possibilities for further training elsewhere. They would need such training and certification for employment in a future liberated South Africa or wherever else they might find themselves. The practical training at Dakawa did not prepare students for the attainment of trade certification. Various reports including that of M.H. Manyanga, the Director of Tanzanian National Vocational Training (TNVT), clearly pointed out that little attention was given to a curriculum for the VTC because of the immediate aim of the construction of the complex.\(^{119}\)

The 1990 Dakawa Report\(^{120}\) argued that not enough attention had been paid to the role of the VTC in the larger context and that it would have been more appropriate to have positioned the VTC as a post-primary or post-junior secondary institution with set entrance requirements. Students would then sit for examinations leading to recognized certificates for further studies in higher levels of vocational training. This would have been similar to Academic Education at SOMAFCO which aimed at equipping students for entry to tertiary institutions abroad (see Ch. 1).

This tension between the demands of developing the Dakawa complex and the demand for certification would be addressed only in 1991. The VTC together
with donors set up a seminar in January 1991 to discuss the curriculum with a focus on addressing the issue of trade certification. It was attended by representatives of ANC headquarters, donors, staff and students. The main recommendation flowing from the seminar was that the VTC should provide a recognized form of Trade Education for its students. The proposal was that the VTC should first adopt the Tanzanian curriculum of the National Vocational Training Division of Tanzania (NVTD) and afterwards upgrade its curriculum to “City & Guilds” (London). The Trade Education provided would meet the demands of practical work which was needed for the on-site construction of Dakawa at the same time as it would also meet the student demand for a recognized certificate. Just as it was accepted that the VTC would be reformed to provide for certification under the NVTD, the repatriation to South Africa began in earnest under the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

In September 1991 twenty-five students sat for the Tanzanian National Grade 111 trade exam but none passed. Although 23 passed the practical part, all failed the theory component. In March 1992 the VTC was finally registered as a school within the NVTD system. In May 1992 sixty-three students sat for the Grade 111 exams and fifty-one passed. The VTC closed on 25 May 1992 after nearly four years of operation. In the previous four years approximately 250 students had attended classes for six months or longer.

As with the VTC the idea of establishing a student orientation centre arose out of the FDS in 1982 (refer discussion above). The Student Orientation Centre (SOC) was established in 1982 and was later renamed the Ruth First Education...
Orientation Centre (EOC).\textsuperscript{124} Funding for the project was obtained through Operation Day’s Work, a funding drive in Nordic countries (see Ch. 4).

The objectives of the EOC (see Appendix 26) may broadly be divided into two categories: the educational objectives and the security objectives. The education objectives included the academic and political orientation of newcomers, teacher training and resource development, and the rehabilitation of ‘problem’ cases. The security objectives, included ‘screening’ for spies and agents provocateurs and later the EOC would serve as a holding facility for mutineers from the Angolan camps; the security role would become the primary role of the EOC.

The role of the EOC as a transit camp for newcomers from South Africa has been discussed in the introduction to the EOC (see discussion above). There is, however, some conflicting evidence as to whether the assessment of new students did indeed take place at the EOC or at SOMAFCO. According to the School Report to the 5\textsuperscript{th} National Education Council 17-21 August 1983 students spent between 3-6 months of orientation at the EOC. Orientation involved political instruction on the history of the ANC and the present phase of political struggle inside South Africa, production activities, upgrading lessons in English and Mathematics and cultural activities.\textsuperscript{125} After orientation students were sent to SOMAFCO. This usually took place at the beginning of the year and second term. At SOMAFCO the new students were given an assessment test in English and Mathematics before being placed in the appropriate grade.\textsuperscript{126} According to the report the academic assessment of new students took place at SOMAFCO and not the EOC.
New arrivals at Dakawa received political orientation. Besides students, exiles not destined for SOMAFCO or the VTC were also sent to the EOC to await transfer to other regions. There they were introduced to the politics of the ANC and were given an understanding of the struggle for a free and democratic South Africa through classes in the History of the Struggle. According to Spencer Hodgson of the ANC Morogoro Technical Committee, an understanding of the History of the Struggle was aimed at better equipping new exiles to tackle their education tasks. The assumption was that students from 1976 to 1980s were to a large extent influenced by the politics of the BCM and knew little about the ANC. The political induction of students at the EOC which centred on the History of the Struggle in reality meant learning about the ANC.

This is evident in the objectives of this course for the primary, junior and senior levels. At the primary level the objectives were to develop the students understanding of the ANC and its history. At the junior level the objectives were to teach students ANC history, politics and policies. At the senior level the objectives were to develop the student’s ability of the students to defend orally and in the written form the ANC in general.

The education component of the EOC faced problems associated with the lack of buildings and the shortage of staff. Mohammed Tikly, the Director of the Mazimbu and Dakawa projects, identified ‘proper staffing’ as a priority for the EOC. From its inception in 1982 to 1986 staffing would remain a problem. The Director’s report of 1986 noted that the upgrading programme was not running satisfactorily because of inexperienced staff and it recommended that experienced teachers be recruited for the programme.
The search for qualified staff to draw up a curriculum for students who required upgrading remained a problem from 1982 to 1988. This is at odds with the claim that the academic assessment and upgrading of newcomers was one of the primary reasons for the establishment of Dakawa. By 1988, six years after its establishment, EOC classes were still being conducted in the open. It was only in 1989 that slabs were laid for the proposed classrooms and dormitory for the EOC.

In terms of its second function, the EOC was base for the Department of Intelligence and Security (NAT). The EOC served as the clearance point where South African newcomers to Tanzania were screened to ensure that no spies and agents provocateurs infiltrated the organization. There is much evidence that over time the paranoia over possible infiltration by spies sent by the South African regime resulted in the security personnel (Mbokodo) assuming control of the EOC. This tipped the balance in the EOC away from education towards its functioning as a security institution. Njobe, the principal of the VTC, was uncomfortable with the extent of control exercised by the security personnel at the EOC. He argued that they represented the real authority at the EOC. Bea Abrahams, a volunteer psychologist at the Raymond Mahlababa Rehabilitation Centre, had a similar perception, and stated that the security detachment at Dakawa was made up of ‘a group of predominantly young men who were a power unto themselves.’

In 1988 the security role of the EOC was further emphasised when ANC mutineers from Angolan camps were transferred to Dakawa. When the Cuban troops and ANC personnel withdrew from Angola in 1988 as part of the New York Accord, the remaining twenty-five mutineers (see Ch. 2) were transferred
from Quadro to Dakawa under the escort of Mbokodo. They were required to sign documents committing them to silence over the conditions and their experiences of imprisonment in Angola. Upon arrival in Dakawa they were interrogated by the Mbokodo in the EOC. These interrogations add to the evidence suggesting that the Mbokodo had a security centre at the EOC and it not only raises the question of what the primary purpose of the EOC was but once again reinforces the image of Dakawa as a detention centre.

Mwezi Twala, a former MK soldier, in his book, ‘Mbokodo’ refers to the EOC as Camp 18 and identifies it as the place where newcomers were screened and if suspected of being enemy agents were often tortured. He also related the experiences of Maki (MK name) who job was cleaning at the EOC. Twala claimed that Maki had told him that when she came in to do the cleaning in the mornings it was not uncommon for her to find blood on the walls or even a body lying on the floor covered with newspaper. The body would be removed later for burial.

The personal experiences of Bea Abrahams at the EOC shed more light on the security apparatus of the EOC. She referred to the EOC after it had been in operation for six years as the Ruth First Centre for Political Re-Orientation. According to Abrahams, the EOC was regarded as a place for people who had to undergo ‘political re-orientation’. Her understanding of those who needed such ‘political reorientation’ included those who did not follow ANC policy, those who were regarded as security risks and those who were suspected of being ‘sell-outs’. When she and her husband Patrick Abrahams returned from Bulgaria after completing their scholarships they were first taken to the EOC for ‘political re-orientation’. Here they were interrogated by the Mbokodo. As part of the
interrogation they had to repeatedly write out their CVs over a period of 2-3 days for different members of the *Mbokodo*. She could not understand the need for their ‘political re-orientation’.

Besides new recruits, those ‘designated as problem cases’ from SOMAFCO were also sent there for ‘re-orientation’. Such cases included students who were temporarily suspended from SOMAFCO for various reasons, for example, disciplinary problems and not coping with studies. Also destined for ‘re-orientation’ were the partners of girls who fell pregnant while at school. The male partners were held at the EOC for periods of up to two years. The archives do not contain records of the ‘problem cases’ sent to the EOC. These files have probably been embargoed. At first, these students were initially sent to the Raymond Mahlaba Rehabilitation Centre (see discussion below) but from 1986 they were sent to the EOC. The 1983 Director’s Report refers to a trend to ‘dump’, ‘social misfits and those suffering from physical and mental disabilities on us’. He wanted this trend to be stopped as it caused considerable strain on the administration and the inadequate staff.

Available evidence does not show any structured rehabilitation programmes for the ‘problem cases’ which would seem to indicate that in reality they were held in detention in the EOC without any rehabilitation. In a paper presented to the 6th Educational Council in 1986, Marius Schoon, the Education Co-ordinator at SOMAFCO and Dakawa, described the EOC as being very depressing and hardly a suitable environment for recovery and rehabilitation. Available evidence does not show any improvements at the EOC by 1992.
There was a long-term debate on the establishment of a teacher training unit at the EOC but there is no evidence that it actually materialized by 1992. The ANC Headquarters at Lusaka added the additional task of in-service teacher training to the objectives of the EOC in 1983. Headquarters argued that the lack of qualified teachers at the Mazimbu and Dakawa projects could be alleviated by introducing in-service training for new and old teachers and upgrading in methodology and techniques of teaching. This would be done at the EOC at Dakawa. The 1984 Seminar on the EOC and VTC, however, showed that there was disagreement not only on the introduction of a teacher training unit but also in relation to the establishment of an education resources unit at the EOC.

There was some tension between the local ANC education administrators and the ANC Headquarters over the procedure that had been followed and the practicality of the establishment of the teacher training unit at the EOC. There was a feeling that the decision to establish the teacher training unit had been taken unilaterally by Headquarters in Lusaka without consultation with the SOMAFCO/Dakawa authorities. Henry Makgothi, ANC Secretary for Education, and Mohammed Tikly, Director for SOMAFCO and Dakawa (1982-1986), expressed concerns at the 1984 Seminar that the additional roles for the EOC had not been thoroughly discussed by the Department of Education and other relevant structures. Spencer Hodgson of the ANC Morogoro Technical Committee drew the attention of the seminar to the practical difficulties of establishing the audio-visual unit at the EOC as there was no electricity at Dakawa at that time. By 1992 the teacher training programme and resources centre had not materialized. It appears that these educational plans may have served the purpose of enhancing the image of EOC for the procurement of funding.
Was the EOC an institution for the academic assessment and upgrading of students or was it a detention centre? Although it appeared to have served both purposes, what was its primary purpose? As an Education Orientation Centre, its primary purpose ought to have been education. It did upgrade new students in English and Mathematics and may have assessed newcomers academically. But the security functions of the EOC, however, were extensive. It was a base for NAT, it screened newcomers to detect spies and agents provocateurs, and it was a centre for the ‘political re-orientation’ of ‘problem cases’ and ‘dissidents’. Furthermore it appears from the accounts of Twala, Njobe and Abrahams that the Mbokodo had become the authority at the EOC.

The third component of the Dakawa complex, the RMRC was made up of two sections. The one section housed those who were considered to need ‘political and social’ rehabilitation while the other housed those considered to be ‘mentally ill’.

Detailed records of people who were sent to the RMRC for ‘rehabilitation’ were not available in the archives. The evidence and accounts presented here have been dependent on reports of Council Meeting, the minutes of the Dakawa Seminars, Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004) and interviews conducted. The 6th NEDUC meeting (1986), however, stated clearly that there was no effective programme for those detained at the RMRC and that they became demoralized as a result of inactivity.

Three categories of students were sent to the centre for rehabilitation. The first category was made up of students who were expelled from or withdrawn from scholarships in host countries (see Ch. 4). This category included students who could not cope academically as well as those deemed to be guilty of misconduct. Students on scholarships found themselves in difficult situations. Many were
products of Bantu Education and had to adapt to and cope with the expected academic standards and language of host countries. Misconduct by students on scholarships included non-attendance at lectures, disregard of regulations, dissent and desertion.\textsuperscript{164} Many of those who failed to cope were fated to be sent to the RMRC for a period of two to three years.\textsuperscript{165} Some students believed that more sympathy and academic support could have been given to these returnees instead of their detention at the RMRC.\textsuperscript{166}

Staff and students who were deemed to have been ‘grossly undisciplined’, students involved in personal ‘misconduct’ of one kind or another and staff members involved in liaisons with students were also sent to the RMRC. From the outset there was little clarity on what ‘grossly undisciplined’ meant. Personal misconduct included ill-discipline, theft, pregnancy and undergoing an abortion. These people were sent to the rehabilitation centre for a period of up to two years.\textsuperscript{167}

A report in the 1982-83 period made the following recommendation on students and staff who were deemed to have been ‘grossly undisciplined’: ‘they must feel they have done the organisation a wrong. Their minimum stay in the rehabilitation centre must be two years, the maximum pending on their conduct….Their programme must be intensive, and they must work.’\textsuperscript{168}

This recommended means of rehabilitation appears to be a punitive measure rather than a rehabilitative one. The limited evidence available would seem to indicate that the type of work that was recommended for them appears to be ‘hard labour’ and had little to do with socially useful work or EWP (refer Ch. 5). It appears that there was little, if any, corrective work done as far as ‘social and
political’ rehabilitation was concerned. Those who fell into the three categories described in the preceding paragraphs spent their term of rehabilitation, from three months to three years in detention with little, if any, actual rehabilitation.\textsuperscript{169}

The RMRC also housed those considered to be ‘mentally ill’. The ANC Department of Health decided to conduct a survey in 1983 on mental health problems in Dakawa in order to determine their extent.\textsuperscript{170} A summary of the survey was presented at the Second Dakawa Seminar and the author/s of the survey does not appear in the minutes of the Seminar. However the two delegates from the Health Department to the seminar were E.N. Maseko and Manto Tshabalala.\textsuperscript{171} The survey categorized two types of ‘mental illnesses’. The first category of ‘mental illness’ was linked to alcohol and cannabis abuse; the second included depression, neuroses and psychoses.

The 1983 survey on mental health problems reported that most students had started using alcohol and cannabis at the age of sixteen. It claimed to have found that the use of alcohol and cannabis coupled with the stresses of exile existence had disastrous consequences for students; there was a definite link between alcohol and drug usage and ‘mental illness’.\textsuperscript{172} At the Second Dakawa Seminar the Treasurer-General of the ANC, Nkobi, recommended on the basis of the 1983 survey that drug users be locked up so that they could not easily access the cannabis that was grown in the region.\textsuperscript{173} The ‘rehabilitation’ of cannabis and alcohol users had little to do with education of any type. There is little evidence of any attempt at Academic, Social or Political Education aimed at reversing drug and alcohol abuse.
The other ‘mental illnesses’ identified by the 1983 Survey were anxiety, depressive states, neurological disorders, psychosis and manic depressive syndromes. As ‘pre-disposing’ factors in mental disorders, the survey identified ‘the earlier precarious life under apartheid’, ‘the duality of exile life’, and ‘hereditary factors’ as reasons for the mental disorders at Dakawa and recommended that ‘the various practices in the up-bringing of each person’ needed to be studied as ‘pre-disposing’ factors in mental disorders.

Those committed to the rehabilitation centre were meant to be rehabilitated through a community-based programme of activity and politicization. The centre did not, however, have the capacity to treat the ‘mentally ill’. There were too few personnel trained in psychiatry or psychology and the staff had little knowledge of the mechanics of community-based care. Of the five staff members only one had done a course in general medical assistance and the other four were helpers. The Department of Health Survey (1983) claimed that one person had been entered for a course on the Rehabilitation of Refugees and War Victims to help with rehabilitation at the Centre. The document did not, however, give any information on where or in which institution the course would be studied. It became clear at the Second Dakawa Seminar that it was not just the DDC but the entire ANC East Africa region that did not have a doctor or social worker by 1984.

It appears that not much had changed for the better at the RMRC by 1988 with regards to rehabilitation. Shortages included qualified staff, provisions and medical supplies amongst others. According to Bea Abrahams, the person in charge at the RMRC when she arrived (Percy) had basic training in first aid only and his assistants were volunteers from amongst the inhabitants of the centre.
The problems of unqualified and insufficient staff were also highlighted in another report, ‘The Report (1986) by the ANC Education Department on the EOC, Day Care Centre and Rehabilitation Centre’ and the ‘2nd Seminar on the DDC’.\textsuperscript{181}

Both Bea Abrahams and the Commission 4 Social Report to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dakawa Seminar argued that mentally ill patients lacked proper care.\textsuperscript{182} According to Abrahams all mentally ill patients at the centre were given the same medication. They were given the drug, \textit{Modecate} (Fluphenazine Decanoate) by injection on a monthly basis. \textit{Modecate} is given to actively psychotic people to make them more manageable. It goes without saying that inhabitants of the mental facility could not all have been psychotic. The observed effects of \textit{Modecate} were the constriction of the throat, thickening of the tongue and stiffening of the joints which made movement difficult, but the drug made monitoring of the inhabitants easier.\textsuperscript{183} The Commission 4 Social Report (1989) to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dakawa Seminar found that the twenty-one ‘psychiatric’ patients of varying ‘mental illnesses’, at the Centre ‘lacked proper care for the mentally ill’ and ‘spent their time sleeping with nothing to do’.\textsuperscript{184}

Abrahams claimed that together with Percy, she started a programme to integrate the inhabitants of the centre with the rest of the Dakawa community as an attempt at community-based rehabilitation. They also encouraged the inhabitants to engage in craft work, managing to get in a local person to teach basket weaving. This aspect of rehabilitation had elements of EWP, socially-useful work and it also attempted to promote self-sufficiency (see Chs 1 and 5). Abrahams also claimed that the inhabitants only had access to a psychologist for the first time only when she volunteered her services as a psychologist in 1988. She had
sessions with the inhabitants to discuss their problems. However, she spent most of the time discussing the side effects of Modecate which caused many to go into states of panic.

In 1989 a Commission 4 on Social Welfare in its report to the Third Dakawa Seminar (April 1989) recommended that a Department of Social Welfare be established and that Health and Social Welfare be regarded as a priority area for Dakawa. The report included socio-psychological problems in social welfare. Such socio-psychological problems were identified as, ‘maladjustments, alcoholism and drug abuse, delinquency and mental problems.’ This applied in particular to those housed at the RMRC. The Commission recommended that care for people with socio-psychological problems should be community-based and should not only involve health workers. This recommendation shows that the community-based care which should have been implemented in 1986 was still not a reality by 1989. The commission also recommended that a counselling service be set up for people with socio-psychological problems.

G.V. (Freddy) Reddy, an ANC member and psychiatrist based in Norway, responded to an ANC call in 1979 for voluntary professional psychiatric help in ANC camps. He thereafter spent a part of each year in these camps helping with psychiatric expertise. He did this for a period of ten years from 1979 to 1989. According to Reddy he trained key persons in the camps to identify and recognize the symptoms of crisis conditions in individuals. He also trained health workers to make preliminary diagnoses and to medicate accordingly. Reddy claimed that he spent much time with camp administrators, teachers, nurses, doctors, commanders and elderly people in raising their level of understanding of mental conditions. The training programme that he
instituted may have been implemented at other camps but the Commission IV Report (1989)\textsuperscript{191} and the experience of Abrahams show little or no evidence of Reddy’s programme having been implemented at the RMRC.

On the basis of the evidence available, the patients at the RMRC seemed to have been doomed to neglect and further degeneration instead of rehabilitation because of the lack of any structured programme or qualified personnel.

The VTC, the EOC and the RMRC were not the only structures at Dakawa. The DDC was also made up of the day-care and nursery school, primary school and the cultural centre, the farm and small industries. Social facilities such as a day-care centre, nursery school, primary school, adult education and a cultural centre were also established along the same lines as those found in Mazimbu.\textsuperscript{192} The first Dakawa Seminar of 1982 recognized the pre-school, primary school and adult education as priorities areas for Dakawa.\textsuperscript{193} The day-care centre was set up in 1985 at the Lilian Ngoyi settlement, where main residents were families.\textsuperscript{194} The day-care centre was a wooden structure built by a team of German solidarity workers. It housed ten children in 1985 and twenty by 1986.\textsuperscript{195} Only one member of the staff at the day-care centre was qualified.

Once children reached nursery school age they were transferred to the nursery school at Mazimbu. By 1989 children of nursery school age from Dakawa were being bussed on a fortnightly bases to SOMAFCO.\textsuperscript{196} This meant that three year olds were separated from their parents for a fortnight. Construction was started only in 1988 on two units – one for the day-care centre and the other for the nursery school.
The first Dakawa Seminar (1982) recognized the construction of a primary school at Dakawa as a priority. Provision had been made in the Dakawa Development Centre Plan for construction of the primary school to begin in 1985 but by 1988 children were still being bussed to the primary school at SOMAFCO. By 1988 the construction engineer, Oswald Dennis, was still awaiting instructions from ANC headquarters to begin construction. ANC headquarters, however, was still debating whether to build a primary school in Dakawa or to extend the existing primary school at SOMAFCO. Finally the permission was granted for the primary school to be constructed at Dakawa and it was scheduled to begin operating in 1990. It became operational by 1991.

The Adult Education division was intended to provide a much needed facility for adults who had received either little or low-quality education in South Africa. The major objective of Adult Education at Dakawa was, ‘the empowerment of people by providing them with communication and literacy skills that they would need in a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The courses offered by the Adult Education stream were Functional Literacy, Basic Education (from standard 5 to Form 3 level), and GCE ‘O’ and ‘A’ level correspondence courses. Adult classes were, however, plagued by erratic and poor attendance. Although the idea of establishing Adult Education was mooted as early as 1982, by 1989 there was no permanent building for the Adult Education Centre and there was still a plea for, ‘establishment of a decent temporary Adult Education Centre leading to the construction of the permanent Adult Education Centre’. 
The ANC Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), based in Lusaka was responsible for all planning and financing of regional, national and international programmes in the areas of ANC Arts, Sport and Culture. The DAC conceived the idea of establishing the Dakawa Cultural Centre (DCC) which would serve the dual purpose of meeting the need for an ANC Cultural Centre and serving as a cultural centre for the Dakawa settlement. The DAC had proposed to move AMANDLA, the ANC cultural ensemble to Dakawa. The project was to be partly funded by SIDA and two Swedish anti-apartheid artists associations (see Ch. 4).

The cultural centre was intended to include a wide range of activities such as film, fine art, graphic art, photography, theatre and music but it was not built by the time preparations began to return to South Africa. The textile-printing workshop which trained artists in textile-printing managed to exhibit some of its work in Scandinavia and the Netherlands.

Self-sufficiency was an important goal for the ANC as an organization in exile. From the beginning attempts were made to develop the farm to not only to provide work but also to promote self-sufficiency in food. A plan for the first year of operation was prepared in November 1982 with funding from Oxfam (see Ch. 4). There were few workers with training in agricultural production yet the farm managed to achieve partial food self-sufficiency for the community. By 1987 250 hectares were under cultivation and by 1990 400 hectares had been cultivated with maize, sorghum, beans and sunflowers. However much of the labour on the farm was done by Tanzanians and not South Africans.
There were three possible reasons for South Africans not wanting to engage in work at the farm. Firstly they did not see the need to work given the ‘umphando’ system which supplied residents with their basic necessities irrespective of whether they worked or not. Secondly those sent to Dakawa as a punitive measure reacted negatively to a regime of voluntary work. Thirdly the ANC authorities had the funds to employ Tanzanian workers (see Ch.4).

The project also introduced small industry. These industries were linked to the promotion of self-sufficiency, skills training and the provision of socially useful work in keeping with policy set out in the FDS (1982) and the SDS (1984). The small industries established at Mazimbu were moved to Dakawa. For example, the garment factory was started in Mazimbu in 1983 but was moved to Dakawa in 1989. It employed twenty-five garment workers who were assisted by three Finnish experts and produced, amongst other items, school uniforms, curtains, nursery uniforms and bed sheets. The leather factory established at Mazimbu in 1983 was also moved to Dakawa, and made shoes, belts, bags, etc.; and was supported by Dutch sympathizers. In 1989 the print and textile workshop was opened in Dakawa.

The small industries were plagued with problems. The leather factory was poorly administered and and there was labour discontent. The lack of proper planning is clearly illustrated by the refusal of the manager of the leather factory to allow staff and students of the VTC to have access to the factory in order to learn about and experience the processes of leather and leather goods production.
The ANC was faced with the dilemma of balancing humanitarian considerations and political imperatives in the development of the DDC.\textsuperscript{220} While there were many grievance and accusations from both the residents and Dakawa authorities, the main point of contention was ‘democratic governance’.

It appears that the discourse at Dakawa changed quite dramatically after the mutineers from the ANC’s Angolan Camps arrived at Dakawa in 1988.\textsuperscript{221} Up to that point human rights excesses by the ANC were talked about in very veiled terms. But the mutineers engaged the inhabitants of Dakawa in discussions on ANC policies and the contradictions between policy and practice at Dakawa in regard to democracy.

The first meeting held at Dakawa after the arrival of the mutineers from the ANC Angolan camps (1988) was called ‘\textit{perestroika}’ in the ANC’.\textsuperscript{222} Reg September, a high-ranking ANC leader, who addressed the meeting believed that Dakawa was faced with the challenge of democratic governance.\textsuperscript{223} The residents accused the Dakawa leadership of creating conditions for mutiny by its authoritarianism favouritism, mismanagement and misuse of transport. It is interesting to note that while the Dakawa leadership rejected the accusations, Njobe, first principal of the VTC, believed that authoritarian structures at Dakawa were the main source of the defiance of authority and non-co-operation.\textsuperscript{224} He stated in a paper presented to an ANC internal conference in Lusaka that there was a need, ‘urgently to re-organise management structures for Dakawa and introduce more democratic procedures in the management of life of people living there’.\textsuperscript{225}

In 1989 the Dakawa Zonal Youth Section (ZYS) presented its report to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Dakawa Seminar. The first part of the report was a review of the DDC in which
problems were listed. Housing was outlined as a major problem. Of the eight hundred houses planned in 1982 (First Dakawa Seminar) only nine had been completed by 1989. Of the ten villages planned in 1982 only one had been completed. According to the Report most residents lived in semi-starvation in tents with no electricity. The roads, water supply, transport system and health system were poor. There was also no community library and no proper sports and cultural facilities. The report also argued that facilities for Academic Education were poor. There were no classrooms for Adult Education and the construction of the VTC had not been completed by 1989. Construction of the primary school had not begun by 1989. Telecommunications for internal and external use were non-existent.  

The ZYS argued that the basic reason for the failure of the DDC was that it had been established on the wrong footing. The DDC was composed of people whom the ANC felt were unsuitable to serve the struggle and people who had ‘done some wrong’. In other words the ZYS saw the DDC as a ‘dumping place’. The ZYS also identified the existence of mismanagement and added that, ‘the source of many problems facing the community in Dakawa are caused by the absence of democratically elected structures…the ANC had got itself used to militarist-type of structures and this in a way stifles democracy.’ The report proposed that the DDC should function in a way similar to a ‘municipal council’.  

Although the Dakawa authorities appeared to take steps to address the grievances of the residents they also simultaneously took steps to neutralize the ‘dissidents’. In September 1989, for example, two of the ANC mutineers, Mwezi Twala and Omry Makgoale were elected as organizing secretary and chairperson of the Regional Political Committee (RPC), a powerful and influential body.
ANC headquarters in Lusaka, however, refused to recognize the elections on ‘constitutional grounds’. In December 1989 Rusty Bernstein, (SACP and Regional Department of Political Education) attended a Youth Committee meeting at Dakawa where one of the ANC mutineers Sipho Phungulwa criticised the ANC for dictating who should be elected onto the RPC. It is claimed that Bernstein said that he was happy to see the spirit of democracy and that in his opinion the meeting was conducted in a spirit of ‘perestroika’ and ‘glasnost’.230

The tensions between the residents and authorities in Dakawa would simmer until its closure in 1992. The democratic governance or the democratic procedures alluded to by September, Njobe and the ZYS would certainly have been a challenge at the DDC which was a multi-faceted centre.

With the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC in 1990 preparations began for the return to South Africa. The Dakawa infrastructure was handed over to the Tanzanian government. The textile printing works was relocated to Grahamstown (South Africa) in 1992 with the help of the SIDA.231 The legacy of Dakawa lives on in Grahamstown (South Africa) in the form of the Dakawa Community Art and Craft Centre.232 It was officially opened by Walter Sisulu, ex-Secretary General of the ANC, on the 17 October 1992.

The question of whether Dakawa would be an extension of SOMAFCO or whether it would be autonomous was never fully resolved. At the outset it was expected that Dakawa would have to cater for approximately 5000 people.233 It did not grow to the proportions envisaged and by 1990 there were approximately 1200 South Africans of whom 704 were construction workers, 221 were in the Education Orientation Centre (EOC), 76 in the Vocational Training Centre
(VTC), 76 in the leather factory and smaller numbers in the other facilities. Not all the projects envisaged were undertaken and some of the facilities served ambiguous purposes.

In summary the DDC was initially established to relocate the ‘umgwenya’. They were the first group to be sent to Dakawa after requests from the Mazimbu authorities to relocate them because of their deleterious effect on the youth at Mazimbu. There is little evidence supporting the second claim that the initial reason was to establish a transit camp for newcomers from South Africa. The idea of the transit camp was mooted at the FDS (1982) after Dakawa had been established.

The VTC was intended to train students in skills required for the construction of Dakawa, so that the educational exercise was a means of procuring labour to this specific end. Students stated that they wanted a Vocational Education which would lead to the attainment of a recognized certification for future employment. This tension was resolved in 1991 when students were entered for the NVTD.

The EOC was intended to serve the roles of transit camp, security clearance, ‘rehabilitation’ centre for ‘problem’ cases, teacher training unit and resources centre. The reality was that there were no structured rehabilitation programmes for the ‘problem’ cases and the teacher training unit and resources centre had not materialized by 1992. Although the EOC served both the functions of a transit camp and a security centre, the security function of the EOC outweighed its other roles. The Mbokodo had become the authority at the EOC.
The RMRC housed those who were considered to need ‘political and social’ rehabilitation and those considered to be ‘mentally ill’. Those considered to need ‘political and social’ rehabilitation spent between three months to three years in the institution with little, if any rehabilitation. There was no evidence of community-based programmes for those considered to be ‘mentally ill’ and they became, ‘demoralized as a result of inactivity’.238

Children who reached nursery and primary school ages were bussed to Mazimbu. Construction for a day care centre and nursery school started in 1988. Available evidence does not show whether these were completed by 1992. The Dakawa Primary School began operations in 1990. Adult Education which had poor facilities was also hampered by erratic and poor attendance up to 1992.

The small industries and DAC which were relocated to Dakawa from Mazimbu and Lusaka respectively not only served as service facilities, but also enhanced the image of the DDC. This would have positively affected the procurement of funding. The farm achieved partial self-sufficiency but with a Tanzanian workforce and did little was done to promote the idea of EWP.
NOTES

3 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F121/ ANC (SA) (1980) Papers for The Third National Education Council Meeting (THCM), p8
4 Morrow et al (2004), p51
5 http://morogorointernationalschool.com/the_school/primary_school.html. The international school was established by expatriates in the 1970s at Sokoine University moving to its present site, off the Dodoma Road near the junction with the main Dar-es-Salaam/Iringa Road, in 1991. The medium of instruction was English and the school adapted the British National Curriculum to suit the international nature of the school and its pupils. Subjects taught were English, Mathematics, Science, Information Technology, Geography, Design Technology, History, Art, Music, Kiswahili, French and Physical Education. British standard assessment tests (SATs) were used to monitor progress.
7 Karen Olling taught at the Morogoro International Primary School when she came to Tanzania in 1980. She was a trained teacher although she had little experience as a teacher. She joined the SOMAFCO Primary School in 1981.
8 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F121/ ANC (SA) (1980) Principal’s Third General Progress Report, p7
10 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F121/ ANC Department of Education and Culture (August 1980) Minutes of Third Council Meeting, p6
11 Ibid p6
12 Ibid
15 Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town.
16 Ibid
17 Ibid
19 Morrow et al (2004), p51
20 Ibid p52
21 Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town.
22 Readings of The Road to Life Books 1-2 confirm that the Bells ideas on discipline, non-grade/age based classes and holistic assessments were influenced by Makarenko.
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24 Ibid p1
25 Ibid p1
26 Ibid p1
28 Morrow et al (2004) p53; TBB/PC/ Terry and Barbara Bell (1981) Primary Division Report. Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, p1; Mala Dullay who taught at the school was able to confirm that sel-discipline, co-operation and respect for socially-necessary labour was emphasized at the school – Response to Questionnaire 22.07.2010.
30 Karen Olling confirmed the emphasis placed on self-discipline by the Bells - Response to questionnaire 22.07.2010; TBB/PC/ Terry and Barbara Bell (1981) Primary Division Report Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, p1; Mala Dullay who taught at the school was able to confirm that sel-discipline, co-operation and respect for socially-necessary labour was emphasized at the school – Response to Questionnaire 22.07.2010.
31 Morrow et al (2004) p53; Mala Dullay confirmed that children were aware that overstepping boundaries meant consequences - Response to questionnaire 22.07.2010; Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town; Morrow et al (2004), p53
32 Morrow et al (2004), p53; Karen Olling confirmed that children were aware that any child that overstepped the boundaries and continued to do so despite warnings, would be removed from the group for whatever period necessary - Response to questionnaire 22.07.2010; Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town.
33 TBB/PC/ Terry Bell (1982) Letter of resignation to O.R. Tambo; Mala Dullay confirmed that corporal punishment was not allowed - Response to questionnaire 22.07.2010; Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town;
34 Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town.
35 TBB/PC/ Terry Bell (1981) Primary Division Report Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, p3; Mala Dullay confirmed that students were assessed holistically and not by the conventional exam system - Response to questionnaire 22.07.2010.
37 Ibid p3
38 Ibid p54
40 Ibid p53
41 It is also similar to both ESR and EWP in that it promoted the idea of self-reliance.
42 TBB/PC/ Terry and Barbara Bell ( 1981 ) Primary Division Report Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, p3; Mala Dullay confirmed that students were assessed holistically and not by the conventional exam system - Response to questionnaire 22.07.2010.
43 Ibid p3
44 Morrow et al (2004), p53
45 Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town.
46 Ibid
49 TBB/PC/ Bell, T (1 May 1982) Letter to Oliver Tambo, p3
50 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B21 F112/ Dilinga, E (1982) No Header. The Report does not give information as to who else made up the commission. It appears though that it could have been a one person commission – the report constantly refers to what ‘I’ did.
52 Interview with Barbara and Terry Bell by R. Govender on 10 February 2009, Muizenberg, Cape Town; Interview with MW Njobe by R. Govender on 21 January 2007, East London; Interview with Sadie Forman by R. Govender on
18 September 2006, UFH; Morrow, S. (2004) p37; Masondo was accused of gross human rights abuses at Quadro in Angola and was removed from the NEC by the ANC at the Morogoro Conference 1969.

53 Morrow et al (2004), p57
55 UWC/RIMA / Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa. Oral History of Exiles Project./ Interview with Dennis (Babu) September.
56 UFW/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B21 F112/ Dilinga, E (1982) No Header Appendix 1, p1
57 Morrow et al (2004), p57
58 Ibid p58
60 Ibid p10
61 Ibid p12
63 Morrow et al (2004), p56
64 September had been a physical education teacher
65 Morrow et al (2004), p58
66 Ibid p59
67 Ibid p143
71 Morrow et al (2004), p145
74 Morrow et al (2004), p143
75 Interview with MW Njobe by R. Govendor on 21 January 2007, East London.
76 The Mazimbu authorities included the Director of the Mazimbu Project, the Costruction Management Team, the Political Commissar and the Principal
78 Production teams were workers that were engaged in agriculture, small industry and construction
79 Ibid p19
80 Ibid p19
81 Ibid p19
83 Ibid p19
84 Ibid p19
85 Ibid p19
89 Morrow (1998), p500
90 Morrow et al (2004), p146
91 UFW/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B15 F27/ Nkobi TT (17 November 1983) The Dakawa Seminar 1983, p1
92 Ibid p1
93 Morrow et al (2004), p144
97 Ibid p1
95 Ibid p1
94 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B15 F27/ Nkobi, TT (July 1982) Paper delivered at a meeting to discuss the development of Dakawa, p3
93 The De Lange Committee (1981) proposals recommended a move away from the conventional, formal education structure to one that included both formal, academic and non-formal, vocational education within the same system. It addressed itself to the labour needs of the country. According to De Lange, vocational education was an ‘essential prerequisite for cultural change and and technological modernization’ in South Africa. He suggested that vocational education together with a practical teaching paradigm was the best educational strategy to assist traditional communities in the transition towards modern technological culture. He argued that differentiated education would need to ensure that 50%-80% of black 14 -15 year olds study in the vocational stream. This would provide them with an understanding of the requirements of modern technological culture. De Lange’s specific concern was that curricula in South Africa should become far more differentiated so as to encourage the ‘modernisation of cultures’ and the development of skills and values appropriate to the technological world. Although De Lange’s views on vocational education were highly racalised characterizations of blacks, they gave impetus to the new and reforming logic of educational change in the 1980s. See Kraak, A Discursive Shifts and Structural Continuities in South African Vocational Education and Training 1981-1999 in Kallaway, P (2002) The History of Education Under Apartheid 1948-1994. Pearson Education: Cape Town; Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (1981a) (1981b) Provision of Education in the RSA: Report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Education. Pretoria: HSRC.
92 Morrow et al (2004), p149
91 Ibid p3
90 UCT/ASL/M+A/BC1081 F18.2/ ANC (SA) Department of Education (1.11.1984) Some basic questions and opinions, p2
89 Ibid p2
88 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B24 F123/ANC (SA) Department of Education Report on the Vocational Training Centre presented to the 6th National Education Council Meeting held at Mazimbu from August 28 – September 3 1986, p2
87 Ibid p2
86 Morrow et al (2004), p146
85 Although the ANC did send small numbers of students to study abroad since the 1960s, there was no centralized tracking of people that qualified in the various fields because scholarships were run on an ad hoc basis (see Chapter 4). It was only after 1979 that scholarships were organized in a systematic manner.
84 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B24 F123/ ANC (SA) Department of Education Report on the Vocational Training Centre presented to the 6th National Education Council Meeting held at Mazimbu from August 28 – September 3 1986, p2
83 Morrow et al (2004), p14
81 Interview with MW Njobe by R. Govender on 21 January 2007, East London.
80 Ibid
79 Lars Jacob Berg worked for the ANC through the Nowergian Council for Southern Africa and the Nowergian Volunteer Service. His expertise was in electrical installation work. Wenche Svela worked for the ANC through the Nowergian Council for Southern Africa and the Nowergian Volunteer Service. She worked as nutrition adviser and catering manager. Darryl Sturrock worked for the ANC through the Australian Volunteers Abroad programme.
The Report by Terttu Aho and Tuija Stenbask was a survey of ANC Education in Mazimbu and Dakawa, conducted on behalf of FINNIDA. The specific task of the survey was to assess the specific needs to develop the Dakawa Vocational Centre focusing especially on curriculum development, teacher training and upgrading, teaching aids and equipment and learning materials.

The Stuart Commission, which was set up by the ANC to investigate problems in the camps in Angola found that the problems arose because of poor conditions in the camps, the total isolation of the camps from the outside world, the frustration of not being deployed against the South African forces, the decreasing attention to the camps by the ANC leadership in Lusaka, the inadequate food and medical supplies and the deaths and injuries to cadres in operations against UNITA. According to the Stuart Commission the abuse of power by camp administrators, an intolerance of criticism by camp administrators, poor management of human resources and human rights violations had a direct bearing on the mutinies. Six MK cadres, for example, were reportedly beaten to death...
in the camps. The criticisms by disgruntled MK soldiers were leveled against Joe Modise, commander of the ANC army, Mzwandile Piliso, chief of security and Andrew Masondo, commander of the notorious Quadro camp. There were three basic demands made by disgruntled MK soldiers: firstly they wanted an end to ANC involvement in the war against UNITA and the transfer of all ANC manpower to the war against South Africa: secondly they demanded the immediate suspension of the ANC security apparatus (Mbokodo) and an investigation of its activities and also the human rights abuses at the Quadro camp: thirdly they wanted O.R. Tambo to come to Angola to address the issues. The smouldering dissension at the Pango camp exploded when instead of addressing their grievances MK soldiers were ordered to go into counter-insurgency operations against UNITA. Disgruntled MK soldiers refused to obey orders. This resulted in armed confrontation between the mutineers and loyalist MK backed by Angolan troops. Eight MK and seven mutineers were killed in the armed confrontation. A military tribunal was convened headed by Sizakhele Sijashe (ANC Intelligence) and sixty-six mutineers appeared before the tribunal. Sixteen received the death sentence. Seven were executed by firing squad. A total of twenty- five mutineers were imprisoned in Camp 32 (Quadro) also known as the Morris Seabelo Rehabilitation Centre.

142 The New York Accord was signed in December 1988. The ANC had to leave Angola together with the Cubans and in return the South Africans had to withdraw from Namibia by July 1991.

143 Trewhele, P., ‘Inside Quatro’ in Searchlight South Africa (July 1990) 5, p27
144 Ibid p27
145 Twala and Bernard (1994) p111
146 Ibid p111
147 Interview with Bea Abrahams by R. Govender on 22 May 2008, Woodstock, Cape Town.
148 Ibid p4
149 Ibid p4
150 Morrow et al (2004), p146
151 Ibid p146
152 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B24 F123/ANC (SA) 6th National Education Council 28 August – 2 September 1986 Director’s Report, p12
156 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B17 F27/ ANC Department of Education (1984) Seminar on Education Orientation Centre and Vocational Training Centre at the ANC Development Centre Dakawa 1-4 November 1984, p3
157 Ibid p3
158 Ibid p3
159 Ibid p4
160 Ibid p4
161 Morrow et al (2004), p146
164 Morrow et al (2004), p172
165 Mary Ngozi, the Administrator of Dakawa is quoted in Morrow, S et al (2004) as referring to ‘sentences’ of two to even three years served by expelled students.
168 Ibid p2

UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B17 F3/ African National Congress (SA) Second Seminar on Dakawa Development Centre 17-19 November 1984, p9

Ibid p1

Ibid p9

Ibid p12

Ibid p9

Ibid p9

Ibid p9


Ibid p7


Ibid p18


Ibid p197

Ibid p197


195 Ibid p6
197 Ibid p22
198 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B27 F78/ Tshume, H (1988) A proposal for expansion of efficient delivery of educational services at primary level in East Africa, p1
199 Ibid p1
201 There is very little information on SOMAFCO/Dakawa in the 1990-1992 period. A possible reason was that the focus in that period was on repatriation to South Africa. Morrow, S, Maaba, B, and Pulumani, L (2004) indicate that the primary school was operational in 1991.
202 Ibid p6
205 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B9 F16/ANC Department of Arts and Culture (1989) Paper presented by the Department of Arts and Culture to the Third Dakawa Seminar 24th – 26th April 1989, p1
206 Ibid p1
207 The ANC cultural ensemble was the ANC performance troupe which organized cultural activities for the exiles. It focused on music, dance and theatre.
208 Morrow et al (2004), p154
209 Ibid p147
211 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B9 F16/ANC Department of Education (1989) Third Dakawa Seminar Final Paper Projects, p5. According to this report there were only 3 workers who were skilled in agricultural production, that were engaged in agricultural production.
212 Morrow et al (2004), p148
213 Ibid p148
215 UWC/RIMA/ ANC (no date) Commemorative Brochure Mazimbu & Dakawa 1977 - 1992
216 Morrow et al (2004), p150
217 UWC/RIMA/ ANC (no date) Commemorative Brochure Mazimbu & Dakawa 1977 - 1992
218 Ibid p150
220 Morrow et al (2004), p150
222 Ibid
223 Morrow et al (2004), p152
224 Ibid p153
225 Ibid p153
226 UFH/NAHECS/ ANC Archives/B9 F16/ Dakawa Zonal Youth Section Report for the 3rd Dakawa Seminar 1989
227 Ibid p3
228 Ibid p8
229 Twala and Bernard (1994), p108
230 Ibid p109
231 http://www.geocities.com/dakawaart/alink/history.htm?200921, p1
233 UWC/RIMA/ANC (no date) Reconstruction for a Democratic South Africa, p5
234 Morrow et al (2004), p143
237 See Twala and Bernard (1994); Interview with M.W. Njobe by R. Govender on 21 January 2007, East London
Conclusion

On 9 July 1992 the ANC handed over its educational institutions in Tanzania to the Tanzanian Government.\(^1\) The Mazimbu and Dakawa projects which were established by the ANC in exile in 1978 and 1982 respectively, closed their doors in 1992 when the ANC decided to return home to South Africa, after it was unbanned. A unique South African educational experience spanning fourteen years came to an end at the handing over ceremony officiated by Oliver Tambo for the ANC and Hassan Mwinyi, president of Tanzania.\(^2\)

The SOMAFCO and Dakawa projects which were established in 1978 and 1982 respectively were not ‘essentially educational partners’.\(^3\) They were separate projects serving different objectives. SOMAFCO was clearly an educational project from the outset and was established with the primary purpose of providing education for the post-1976 exiles from South Africa and continued to do so until it closed in 1992.\(^4\) There were, however, ongoing debates on the nature of the curriculum it offered. Dakawa was initially established as a holding facility for the umgwénya who were regarded as a negative influence on the youth at SOMAFCO.\(^5\) As the needs arose it continued to serve as a variety of functions for a diversity of people.

When it went into exile in 1960 the ANC had not formulated its own education policy and there did not appear to be any pressing need to do so as the ANC leadership favoured a conventional Academic Education. The Education Committees and the ANC Education Department which were established in the 1970s by the NEC gradually became involved with the formulation of the ANC Education Policy. This led to sharp debates over whether Academic, Political or
Polytechnic Education was the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO. The evidence provided above demonstrates that the ANC Education Department ignored the recommendations for Political and Polytechnic Education and implemented Academic Education and consolidated it in 1981 by registering SOMAFCO students for the London GCE ‘O’ level examinations. After an initial period of Progressive Education, the SOMAFCO Primary School also favoured an academic approach to education from 1982.

The Dakawa Development Centre, despite a great deal of rhetoric to the contrary, can be contrasted to SOMAFCO. It was not primarily an education institution but a ‘holding facility’ from its inception in 1982. Its various functions as a ‘holding facility’ were extended as the needs arose and it was reported at various times to have ‘housed’ suspected spies, the ‘mentally ill’, ‘problem cases’, the ‘Nkomati displaced’ and mutineers from the Angolan camps. The Vocational Training Centre (VTC) was initially established for the prime purpose of constructing the Dakawa site and gradually became an educational facility with a recognized trade certificate in 1990 after student pressure to do so. The Dakawa Primary School was only initiated in 1991 just prior to the closure of the facility. Up to that time all children had been bussed to SOMAFCO. The SOMAFCO and Dakawa experience had little, if any influence or impact on education in a liberated South Africa in the post-1994 period.

From its inception in 1912 till repatriation to South Africa began in 1992, the ANC focused on the political arena and did not offer the same degree of commitment and focus to education. During its recent history the ANC was preoccupied with more ‘urgent matters’ of the Struggle and education was regarded as an ancillary to the armed struggle. One of the consequences of this
was that the ANC had not formulated its own education policy by 1978 when the ANC Education Department and the SOMAFCO High School were established. Although the NEC retained the right to ratify all decisions taken on education, it was to create the space for the debates that emerged over the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO. These have provided the substance for the present investigation.

The ANC’s policy and strategy on education in exile was guided by the general demands of the Freedom Charter and statements condemning the racist and restrictive character of Bantu Education. Available evidence shows that the NEC had decided even before the need for a school arose, that the major tendency within the ANC favoured an Academic Education that reflected the standard academic curriculum that had been dominant in South African schools since colonial times. In other words the major tendency in the ANC favoured an education that provided access to modern, professional life similar to that received by whites in South Africa and similar to the best Missionary Education that the ANC leadership had had access to. There was, therefore, little incentive for the ANC leadership to seek alternatives until the SOMAFCO context set the stage for such a debate.

In the 1970s formalized Education Committees were established by the NEC to address educational matters in countries where exiles found themselves. The ANC was not a homogenous organization and the Education Committees reflected the diverse ideological tendencies within the ANC. In the post-1976 period the Education Committees assisted the ANC Education Department with the development of an education policy for SOMAFCO. This marked the beginning of the debates over the curriculum between the ANC Education
Department and the London, Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka and Maputo Education Committees. The debates over the appropriate curriculum for SOMAFCO centred on three broad emphases: Academic Education; Political Education; and Polytechnic Education.

Despite the sharp debates over the curriculum, Academic Education was implemented at the SOMAFCO High School and arguments favouring Political and Polytechnic Education were largely ignored. The academic curriculum was consolidated when the ANC Education Department registered SOMAFCO students for the London University ‘O’ level examinations in 1981. This implied severe restrictions on what was possible in terms of curricular options.

The issue that confronted the ANC Education Department was whether it was possible to stay within the Academic Education mould and at the same time modify or change the content/objectives to ensure that they were more in line with ‘revolutionary consciousness’ that was seen by some of the Education Committees to be appropriate. The political leadership of the ANC saw the long-term educational goals in terms of the independent states of Africa and the need for ‘high-level manpower’ strategies. From 1981 the ANC Education Department focused on ‘credentialisation’ or formal qualifications which were needed for entry into tertiary institutions.

The SOMAFCO Primary School which by August 1980 had implemented a Progressive Curriculum did not operate under the conventional grades system or the examination assessment system characteristic of conventional Academic Education, but had a strong emphasis on the Makarenko model of education that was based on a collective approach, self-discipline, and the shaping of ‘the New
Soviet Man’. This led to tensions between the teachers at the school (Bells) and the SOMAFCO administration from 1981 and was one of the main reasons for their resignation in 1982. This effectively meant an end of a Progressive Education agenda for a school without grades, examinations and the Bell’s version of democratic schooling.

Dennis (Babu) September who took over as principal of the primary school in 1982 introduced the traditional academic approach to schooling where teachers in all grades taught a fairly conventional range of school subjects. The focus was on preparing students for the high school which was geared to prepare students for tertiary institutions abroad. In other words the primary school became a ‘feeder-school’ for the high school – both emphasizing conventional Academic Education in practice and the alternative vision of a revolutionary school influenced by progressive reformers was abandoned.

The consolidation of formal Academic Education at the SOMAFCO High School meant that the arguments for an emphasis on Political Education were largely ignored. Political Education was based on the needs of the ANC in the ‘present phase’ of the struggle and aimed at developing cadres with political understanding and commitment which meant that the school, therefore, had to be revolutionary in content, organization, structure, modes of discipline, conceptions of teaching and objectives. It had to be geared towards producing the new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole.

However, Political Education was only implemented as an addendum to the formal Academic Curriculum. It was taught through the once weekly political
discussions and the evening news sessions. Elements of Political Education were also taught through the existing curriculum categories of the Development of Societies, History of the Struggle, History and to some extent in Geography and English. This was a far cry from arguments that Political Education should be the formal curriculum for SOMAFCO and that it should be focused on the needs of the ‘present phase of the Struggle’ which included education for social transformation, education for the armed struggle and education focused on the class struggle.

There was initially broad support for Polytechnic Education and it was included in the ANC Education Policy which was formulated in 1978. Patrick van Rensburg as a key innovator of contemporary alternative education strategies in Southern Africa, was invited to SOMAFCO as an advisor on Education with Production (EWP) and was very prominent in the planning of the initial stages of SOMAFCO. But he was gradually sidelined from 1981 when the SOMAFCO curriculum policy increasingly focused on formal academic qualifications which were needed for entry into tertiary institutions.

EWP was not successfully implemented at SOMAFCO as the official emphasis was on Academic Education. As in Botswana and Zimbabwe there also seems to have been considerable student resistance to the policy as the academic curriculum was preferred as the path to lucrative ‘white-collar’ jobs. EWP, however, was used for propaganda purposes and when donor delegations visited SOMAFCO, students were expected to put on a show of manual work as part of the EWP programme. EWP finally became part of ‘letsema’, that is, communal days on which the Mazimbu complex was cleaned, followed by a feast.
To ensure efficient functioning in exile, the ANC established its organizational framework which included the NEC, the Department of Education, the Director, the Political Commissar and the SOMAFCO ‘Directorate’. Although this organisational framework was to a large extent democratic, the NEC was the highest decision-making body on education and all decisions taken by the ANC Education Department had to be ratified by the NEC. The NEC used this decision-making power to not only formulate the Draft Education Policy, but to also ensure that it was accepted without any amendments or changes at the 1st NEDUC meeting held in 1978 at Mazimbu.²⁵ By appointing key supporters of Academic Education in the strategic posts of Secretary for Education and principal of SOMAFCO, the NEC was assured that Academic Education would be implemented at SOMAFCO.

The establishment of SOMAFCO presented the ANC with the great challenge of recruiting a core of suitably qualified and committed teachers to ensure the success of its educational project in exile. The ANC teacher recruitment strategy was not very successful and SOMAFCO was faced with a shortage of teachers from 1978 to 1990. Teacher remuneration was the key issue of debate, tension and conflict within the ANC community.²⁶ The staff issue would remain a problem until Tanzanian teachers, who were paid full salaries by UNESCO, assumed duty in 1990, a mere two years before SOMAFCO closed.²⁷

Whereas SOMAFCO was undoubtedly an institution that focused on education, Dakawa was not. Dakawa was an ANC ‘holding facility’ since its establishment in 1982. It was originally intended to relocate the umgwennya but as the needs arose the objectives for Dakawa were extended but with little or no sense of urgency and planning to put into place the appropriate infrastructures needed to
meet its evolving goals Dakawa began to gradually ‘house’ diverse groups that included those regarded as spies and \textit{agents provocateurs}, ‘problem cases’ from SOMAFCO, the ‘mentally ill’, those regarded as needing ‘social, political and other’ rehabilitation, those displaced from the Frontline States and the mutineers from the camps in Angola.\textsuperscript{28}

The VTC was established with the primary purpose of providing rudimentary skills for the construction programme of Dakawa with little attention being given to it educational functions.\textsuperscript{29} It was only in 1991 that a decision was taken, after pressure from students, to provide recognized trade education that students had been asking for since 1982. The VTC was registered as a vocational training school under the National Vocational Training Division of Tanzania (NVTD) only in 1992, a mere two months before it closed.\textsuperscript{30}

The EOC which has been touted primarily as an educational orientation centre was predominantly a security and detention centre and was the headquarters of the Department of Intelligence and Security (NAT) in Dakawa.\textsuperscript{31} The RMRC which housed the ‘mentally ill’ and those regarded as needing ‘social, political and other’ rehabilitation had little to do with rehabilitation or care-giving and was little more than a detention facility.\textsuperscript{32}

The Dakawa farm which was established to boost self-sufficiency was ironically worked by employed Tanzanian labour for much of its existence. The small industries and DAC which were relocated to Dakawa from Mazimbu and Lusaka respectively not only served as service facilities, but also enhanced the image of the DDC. This would have positively affected the procurement of funding.
On the basis of the evidence accumulated during this study it became evident that Dakawa was essentially a ‘holding facility’ and not the educational partner of SOMAFCO as claimed by Morrow, Maaba and Pulumani (2004).33

The ANC education projects in Mazimbu and Dakawa did challenge Bantu Education but they were unique projects and could not be expected to provide the answers for education in the post-1994 period in South Africa. Did the ANC’s exile educational experience have any influence or impact on the new education system for South Africa in the post-1994 period?

The ANC began repatriation to South Africa in 1992 having resolved the debates over the appropriate curriculum for the ANC ‘by default’ and did not have a clear, concrete education model to offer when it returned to South Africa in 1992. Professor Peter Kallaway told of a conversation he had had with Seretse Choabe, the ANC Secretary for Education, over what model of education the ANC envisaged for the future, liberated South Africa. Choabe had candidly told him that the ANC did not have one.

One possible source of such expertise which was available to the ANC was the work conducted by Research in Education in South Africa (RESA). In the 1980s RESA which was based at Sussex University in England and made up of South African exiles, considered the state of education in South Africa during the 1980s and the possible scenarios from present and future policies at its 1989 conference.34 One of the leading figures both at RESA and the London Education Committee (LEC) was Harold Wolpe, a prominent SACP and ANC leader. With the new South Africa being established in 1994, it would have been expected that both Wolpe and the research conducted by RESA would feature s
in the planning of the new education system in view of the research already conducted by them. There is little evidence of this.

Various proposals for SOMAFCO to be transferred to South Africa as a functioning institution did not materialize. Key educational policy documents do not make any reference to SOMAFCO/Dakawa.\textsuperscript{35} The statement made by Jeff Radebe, Minister of Public Works, in 1996 in Tanzania that, ‘the basic elements of our programme at SOMAFCO are now law’ is not supported by any available evidence.\textsuperscript{36} Literature on contemporary South African education since 1994 is largely silent on the SOMAFCO/Dakawa experience.

The only visible legacy of Dakawa in South Africa is the textile printing works which was relocated to Grahamstown (South Africa) in 1992 with the help of the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).\textsuperscript{37} It was officially opened by Walter Sisulu, ex-Secretary General of the ANC, on the 17 October 1992 and operates presently as the Dakawa Community Art and Craft Centre.

There are gaps in this study that need to be researched to add to our understanding of ANC education in exile. The first area is the views and experiences of volunteer teachers who taught at SOMAFCO and Dakawa. This is an untapped, potentially rich source that could give us a fresh, primary ‘outsider’ perspectives on SOMAFCO. The second area is the present location/occupation of the SOMAFCO/Dakawa graduates – how many students graduated from scholarships, where did they study, what did they study, and what are they doing at present? The answers to these questions would help to give us a more complete picture of SOMAFCO/Dakawa.
In general more research needs to be done on the education provided by other South African liberation organizations in exile in order to contextualise the SOMAFCO/Dakawa experience. Organisations like the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the Azanian People’s Organisation (AZAPO) and others should be researched. The research should also include non-South African liberation organizations in Africa like South West African People’s Organisation (SWAPO), Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo), Front for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU). We need to have a broad understanding of education in exile of South African liberation organizations and Southern African liberation organisations as a beginning to understand education in exile in Africa and elsewhere.

The ANC won the first democratic elections in 1994 amidst high expectations regarding state education but the ANC having no clear education policy to offer, opted for the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) education model for the workers ie. Outcomes Based Education (OBE). Educationalists and the public in general have been divided over the appropriateness of OBE for South African schools and education in South Africa has continued to be a highly contested field since.

But whatever can be said for or against OBE, it is quite clear that the policies formulated from the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) to the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) and the ANC policy documents after 1992, too little cognizance has been taken of the experiences gained in the process of education in exile.
NOTES

UWC/RIMA = University of the Western Cape / Robben Island Mayibuye Archives
UCT/ASL/M+A = University of Cape Town / African Studies Library / Manuscripts + Archives
UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives = University of Fort Hare / National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre / ANC Archives
TBB/PC/ = Terry and Barbara Bell / Private Collection

2 Ibid p25
7 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ Mfenyana, S (14.8.78) Letter to the Education Committees, p1
8 UCT/ASL/M+A/BC1081 F18.1/ ANC London Education Committee (October 1979) An Assessment of the Organisation, Work and Political Direction of the ANC Education Department, p2
9 UCT/ASL/M+A/BC1081 F18.16/ Choabi MS (no date) The Role of Education in the Liberation Struggle, p3;
14 Ibid p1; p11; p4
15 Interview with John Carneson by R. Govender on 31 August 2008 at Dooringkloof, Centurion; Interview with John Pampallis by R. Govender on 2 September 2008 Braamfontein, Johannesburg
17 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ The Dar-es-Salaam Education Committee (March 1978) The Burning Issue Of Education In Our Struggle
18 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B23 F119/ African National Congress (SA) London Education Committee (18 Sept 1978) Proposals for the Agenda for the joint meeting of the NEC and Education Committees of the ANC (SA) to take place at Morogoro, September 30th to October 3rd 1978, p1; UCT/ASL/M+A/BC1081 F18.16/ London Education Committee (Jan 1982), p1
21 UFH/NAHECS/ANC Archives/B60 F1/ Mfenyana, S (17 August 1981) Report of Acting-Secretary for Education to the Fourth Council Meeting p3
26 Interview with Mohammed Tikly by R. Govender on 3 September 2008 Groenkloof, Pretoria.
27 Serote, (1992) p32
30 UWC/RIMA/ Berg, LJ, Svela, W and Sturrock, D (1992), p17
35 Ibid p184
36 Quoted in Morrow et al p184
37 http://www.geocities.com/dakawaart/alink/history.htm?200921, p1
Bibliography

The bibliography has been set out under the following headings:

1. Archival Sources

2. Secondary Sources

3. Papers and Chapters in Books

4. Theses

5. Websites

6. Oral Sources

1. Archival Sources

1.1 ANC Archives, University of Fort Hare

The Office of the President collection is divided into the following main series: Correspondence; Discussion Documents; Minutes of Meetings; Reports; Statements; ANC Departments; ANC Mission Offices; ANC Structures; Embassies; Negotiations/Elections; Organisations; Notebooks; Publications; Manuscripts; Memorabilia and Braille material.

Records of Missions eg. Lusaka Mission Records 1983-1996 is made up of eleven series: Department of Arts and Culture; Chief Representative Office; Department of International Affairs; Department of Health; Missions; Newspaper Cuttings; Office of the Treasurer-General; Mittah Seperepere; Subject Files; Women’s Section and Posters.

Personal Papers eg Oliver Tambo Collection 1960-1989 has been arranged in four series: Personal Documents; Office of the President; Special Topics and Press Cuttings.

The SOMAFCO/Dakawa collection is a special and unique collection. When SOMAFCO/Dakawa closed in 1992, the ANC decided to bring the considerable quantity of SOMAFCO/Dakawa material to the ANC archive at UFH. The collection consists of: Correspondence; Minutes; Reports; Curricula; Syllabi; Certificates; Examination Papers and Report Cards. The collection of artifacts includes items produced by students such as Paintings, Drawings and Sculptures. Other artifacts include Banners, Posters, Photographs, Traditional Costumes, School Uniforms and Trophies.
The Simons Collection consists of: Biographical Information 1940s-1990s; Historical Background Information 1940s-1990s; the Freedom Charter 1955-1989; Finance 1967-1990; Correspondence; Circulars 1942-1989; Organisation and Structure 1968-1989; Internal Issues 1963-1990; Strategy and Tactics; Meetings and Minutes 1950-1991; Situation in South Africa: Reports 1960-1990; Conventions, Congresses, Seminars 1928-1990; Conferences 1940-1991; International Relations 1966-1995; Africa-ANC Relations 1966-1985; Commemorative Days; Anniversaries; ANC Departments: Department of Education; Department of Political Education; Economics and Planning Unit; Department of Health and Welfare; Department of Information and Publicity; Organising Department; ANC Manpower Commission; Department of Legal and Constitutional Affairs; Research Unit/Department; Luthuli Memorial Foundation 1967-1975; Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK); ANC Youth League; Articles, Essays and Papers; Publications; Sources on the ANC; ANC Women’s League; Reports; Statements; Liberation Struggle – Women’s Role; Women in Detention; Emancipation and Enfranchisement 1980s; Women’s Day 9 August 1984; Conferences; International Conferences and Initiatives; Seminars and Workshops 1970-1993; In-House 1989–1993; Articles and Talks; Re-building the ANCYL 1990 and Gender Issues and Publications.

After the death of Simons in July 1995, his papers were donated by his family to the African Studies Library, Manuscripts and Archives, UCT. The Simon’s collection has become the Jack and Ray Simons Collection combining the papers of Jack Simons and Ray Alexander Simons.
The Harold Wolpe Collection has much material on the Struggle and Wolpe’s writings but curiously enough the collection has no papers on either SOMAFCO/Dakawa or the London Education Committee (LEC) (see Ch. 3). Wolpe was not only a leading member of the LEC but was deeply involved in the debates on the curriculum for SOMAFCO (see Ch. 5).

1.3 Robben Island - Mayibuye Centre Archives, University of the Western Cape

The archives have the following collections that are relevant to my study: ANC papers 1971-1991; ANC papers 1960-1990; Brian Bunting papers 1930s-1980s; Sonia Bunting papers 1966-1970; Lionel and Sadie Forman personal papers and 11 microfilms; International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) papers, publications, and microfiche 1960s-1990s; Ronnie Kasrils papers 1980s-1990s; Frieda Katz papers 1960s-1980s; Tikly Mohammed papers 1980; Reg September papers 1950s-1990s; Jack and Ray Simons microfilm 1915-1990; Harold Wolpe papers; Wolfie Kodesh papers 1970s-1990s; Mayibuye Cultural Group (ANC/London) papers 1980s; Mac Maharaj papers; Indres Naidoo 1970s; SomaFCO papers and publications 1970s-1980s (1 file); Umkhonto we Sizwe papers and publications (1 file); Amandla publications 1971-1994; Eli Weinberg papers and photographs and the Lars Nordbo papers.

The archives also have a Harold Wolpe collection which, like the collection at UCT, has much material on the Struggle and Wolpe’s writings but has no papers on either SomaFCO/Dakawa or the London Education Committee (LEC) (see Ch. 3).
2. Secondary Sources

Secondary sources have been divided into books and papers and websites.

2.1 Books


Unity Movement History Series (1984-1986) *Education in other countries*.
Gelvandale: New Unity Movement (Eastern Cape).

Johannesburg: Ravan Press.


3. Papers and Chapters in Books


4. Theses


5. Websites

http://www.ufh.ac.za/collection/an
Contains details of SOMAFCO and other ANC papers housed at the UFH archives.

http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/people/mahlangu_s.html
Gives details on Solomon Mahlangu who was executed in 1979.

http://www.mayibuye.org
Contains various SOMAFCO related material.

http://www.revolutionary-istory.co.uk/supplem/Hirson/Quadro.html
Contains allegations of various abuses at ANC bases including Mazimbu and Dakawa.

Contains ANC submissions to the TRC on the question of alleged atrocities at ANC bases including Mazimbu and Dakawa.

This site deals with the children left in Tanzania after the return of their ANC fathers to South Africa.

6. Oral Sources

Interviews
The following interviews were used:

The Hilda Bernstein Interviews 19 volumes of transcripts: Robben Island-Mayibuye Archive, UWC.

Oral History of Exiles Project: Roben Island-Mayibuye Archive, UWC

Interviews were also conducted with the following persons by R. Govender:
John Pampallis (Teacher: SOMAFCO High School) 21/12/1995/University of Natal, Durban

Sadie Forman (LEC) 18/09/2006/ UFH, Alice

Wintshi Njobe (Principal: SOMAFCO + Dakawa,VTC) 21/01/2007/East London

Norman Levy (LEC) 26/02/2007/Sea Point, Cape Town

Bea Abrahams (Psychologist: Dakawa) 22/05/08/Woodstock, Cape Town

John Carneson (Teacher: SOMAFCO High School) 31/08/2008/Dooringkloof, Centurion

Henry Makgothi (Secretary for Education) 02/09/2008/Greenside, Johannesburg

Mohammed Tikly (Director of Education) 03/09/2008/Groenkloof, Pretoria

Moseabuli Maamoe (Student: SOMAFCO) 11/09/2008/UFH, Alice

Barbara and Terry Bell (SOMAFCO Primary School) 10/02/2009/Muizenberg, Cape Town

Andre Mohammed (Student: SOMAFCO) 27/11/2009/UWC, Bellville

Patrick van Rensburg (Advisor on EWP) 18/03/2010/Gaberone, Botswana

Prithiraj Dullay (Teacher: SOMAFCO High School) 21/06/ 2010 Reservoir Hills, Durban

Richard Vaillahu (MK) 18/09/2010 Cape Town International Conference Centre
Appendix 1

**MAP OF TANZANIA**

**DISTANCES:**
- DAR ES SALAAM - MOROGORO 200KM
- MOROGORO - DAKAWA 60KM
- **TOTAL** 260KM
Appendix 2
Appendix 3

Conference Participants

1. Saleem Badat  
   Research and Training Project on Education in South Africa (RATPESA)  
   University of the Western Cape

2. Frederick Barron  
   Research and Training Project on Education in South Africa (RATPESA)  
   University of the Western Cape

3. Thozamile Botha  
   Research on Education in South Africa (RESA)  
   University of Essex

4. Nozipho Disako  
   Somerville College  
   Oxford

5. Thulisile Dumisa  
   Education Projects Unit (EPU)  
   University of Natal, Durban

6. Ivan Evans  
   Department of Sociology  
   University of the Western Cape

7. Professor Jakes Gerwol  
   Rector and Vice Chancellor  
   University of the Western Cape

8. Ketso Gordhan  
   Institute of Development Studies  
   University of Sussex

9. Johann Gronal  
   Department of Sociology  
   University of Stellenbosch

10. John Gutig  
    Department of Education  
    University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

11. Nontsile Hadebe  
    Department of Continuing and Adult Education  
    University of Glasgow

12. Mike Hart  
    Department of Education  
    University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

13. Duncan Hindle  
    Department of Education  
    University of Natal, Durban

14. Naseegh Jaffer  
    Education Resource and Information Project (ERIP)  
    University of the Western Cape

15. David Johnson  
    Department of Education  
    University of Manchester

16. Andile Jonas  
    National Education Crisis Committee (NECC)  
    University of the Western Cape

17. Pallo Jordan  
    Department of Research  
    African National Congress

18. Peter Kallaway  
    School of Education  
    University of Cape Town
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<tr>
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<th>Name</th>
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<td>Said Karodia</td>
<td>School of English</td>
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<td>Vusi Khanyile</td>
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Appendix 4

21 OBJECTS: ANC 1912

To encourage mutual understanding and to bring together into common action as one political people all tribes and clans of various tribes or races and by means of combined effort and united political organisation to defend their freedom, rights and privileges; to educate Parliament and Provincial Councils, municipalities, other bodies and the public generally regarding the requirements and aspirations of the African and to enlist the sympathy and support of Europeans; to educate African people on their rights, duties and obligations to the state and to themselves and to promote mutual help; to record all grievances and wants of the African people and to seek by constitutional means the redress thereof, to agitate and advocate by just means for the removal of the colour bar in political, education and industrial fields and for equitable representation of Africans in Parliament or in those bodies that are vested with legislative matters affecting the coloured races; to be the medium of representative opinion and to formulate a standard policy on Native Affairs for the benefit and guidance of the Union Government and Parliament; to discourage and contend against racialism and tribal feuds or to secure the elimination of racialism and tribal feuds, jealousy and petty quarrels by economic combination, education, goodwill and by other means; to establish or to assist the establishment of National Colleges or Public Institutions free from denominationalism or state control; to encourage inculcation and practices of habits of industry, thrift and cleanliness among the people and to propagate the gospel of the dignity of labour.
The Freedom Charter

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justify claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
- that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
- that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

The people shall govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws.

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country.

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex.

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All national groups shall have equal rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races.

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs.

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride.

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people.

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people.

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

The land shall be shared among those who work it!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger.

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers.

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land.

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose.

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All shall be equal before the law!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial.

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official.

The courts shall be representative of all the people.

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All shall enjoy equal human rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law.

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to
town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.
Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!
All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers.
The state shall recognize the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits.
Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work.
There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers.
Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work.
Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened!
The Government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life.
All cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands.
The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.
Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children.
Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.
Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan.
Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens.
The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

There shall be houses, security and comfort!
All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security.
Unused housing space to be made available to the people.
Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry.

A preventative health scheme shall be run by the state.
Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children.
Shacks shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, croquet and social centres.
The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state.
Rent, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all.
Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

There shall be peace and friendship!
South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations.
South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation - not war.
Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all.
The people of the protectorates - Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland - shall be free to decide for themselves their own future.
The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:
'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty.'

Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown, South Africa, on 26 June 1955.
MW NJOBE CONDUCTING CLASSES IN DINING HALL:
SOMAFCO
Appendix 7

EDUCATION POLICY OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SA)

A. Preamble:

South Africa, being a capitalist society, has pursued and practised educational systems in conformity with its capitalist objectives. As early as 1869, a special report by the then Superintendent-General of Education stated that the "Natives" were to be trained to provide "a fair supply of ordinary artisans and domestic servants". "Coloureds must fulfill the humble tasks of agricultural labourers and shepherds". "Whites on the other hand must be given the best and the most advanced education", so that they can have "directive intelligence" which will enable the white race "to hold its supremacy as future employers of labour... as masters in trade, agriculture and industry".

This long standing policy is manifest in such acts as the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (amended in 1954, 1956, 1959, 1961) the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963, the Indian Education Act of 1964. These Acts provide for a separate, inferior education for Black South Africans. While White Education is privileged, it also suffers from the distortions and racism of Christian-National Education policy.

The African National Congress of South Africa has formulated a clear policy for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa, enshrined in the Freedom Charter. This policy will continuously be enriched through practical experience as our struggle develops.

The development of our struggle demands that the ANC assumes responsibility for manpower planning and development to serve the requirements of a complex, agro-industrial South Africa. Hence, even the fields of study as well as the content of education for our cadres have to be under the direction of the African National Congress.
B. General Aims of the ANC Education Policy:

The entire educational programme, under the direction, guidance and control of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, will be geared towards the following objectives:

1. To prepare cadres to serve the national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa in the phase of struggle for seizure of political power and the post-liberation phase.

2. To produce such cadres as will be able to serve the society in all spheres i.e. political, economic, socio-cultural, educational and scientific. Priorities will be dictated by the needs of the liberatory struggle in the pre- and post-liberation period.

C. Principles of the ANC Education Policy:

1. Revolutionary:

   The Education Policy of the ANC shall be geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole.

2. Mass Accessibility:

   The ANC educational programme, as an on-going process, shall cater for both young and old irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

3. Science and Culture:

   The ANC educational programme shall draw on the most advanced scientific knowledge and progressive cultural activities of the people of South Africa and the world.

4. Integrated Education:

   The ANC educational programme shall combat within education the division between mental and manual training as well as the artificial separation of arts and sciences.
5. **Democratic:**

While observing the priority to impart basic knowledge at each given level in each field, the ANC educational programme shall promote the full creative and democratic participation of students, teachers and the community in all educational activities.

6. **Dynamism:**

The ANC educational programme shall develop in keeping with the demands of the situation in a changing world.

Adopted by the Council Meeting of the ANC Education Department.
1st to 3rd October, 1978 in Morogoro, Tanzania.
Appendix 8

TIM MASEKO PRINCIPAL SOMAFCO HIGH

MOHAMMED TIKLY DIRECTOR OF SOMAFCO
Appendix 9
Appendix 10

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,
AND AGRICULTURAL PROJECT,
MAZIMBU, MOROGORO.
and
SLDA, DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION OFFICER,
DAR ES SALAAM & LUSAKA.

RE: FARM MANAGEMENT CONSULTANCY VISIT TO MAZIMBU FARM.

During my nine days of staying/working at Mazimbu farm, I have been able to visit all the different sections and carry out many fruitful discussions with several Heads of Sections, or other staff concerned.

My major working contact has been the Acting Farm Manager, Cde Tom Zwane, who has kindly devoted several days of his time to discuss managerial routines and the problems and successes of the farm production unit at Mazimbu.

Since I have spent only a relatively short time at the farm, I have mainly concentrated on discussing the problems and shortcomings of the production unit. I hope, that this has not been received too negatively, since there are definitely good reasons for much of the staff to feel proud of their achievements!

There are many positive sides of the Mazimbu farm activities and I have certainly come across lots of successful and well functioning enterprises and practices. I have found a great number of good ideas and practices, that I will "steal" with me for discussions and hopefully introductions with the comrades and friends at the Lusaka farms!

I hope, that I have been able to bring across a number of ideas and practices, that could become useful and beneficial to this project!

I have handed over a printed working material of almost 200 pages, and since there has not been time enough to discuss all of them, I will hereby offer to try to follow up and answer, by correspondence, any questions, that may arise from future use of this material! Do not hesitate to approach me by letter!

Please, find attached: "Recommendations for Mazimbu Farm" and "List of miscellaneous working papers, handed over to the Farm Manager".

I will finally take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks, for all the positive cooperation and assistance, that I have received from everyone I met during my visit to Mazimbu! A very special thanks, however, to the comrades: Director Tim Kaseka and Acting Farm Manager Tom Zwane, who have devoted lots of their time and not spared any efforts to make my visit both a pleasant and a useful experience!


[Signature]

[Name]

Para Management Consultant.
c/o Swedish Embassy/ICD
P.O. Box 307 88
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA.
El alumno(a) 

Por haber aprobado el grado decimoséptimo que lo acredita como graduado de Bachiller en Ciencias y Letras. En el curso escolar 79-80.

DADO EN GÚINES A LOS 2 DIAS DEL MES DE JULIO DE 1980.

CÓDIGO DE EDUCACIÓN DEL PODER EJECUTIVO DE VENEZUELA.

SECTOR GENERAL DE EDUCACIÓ.

INSTITUTO PRESENISSITARIO EN EL CAMPO GUINES.

"REPUBLICA DE VENEZUELA"

Certificado

[Signature]

[Institution's Seal]
СОЮЗ СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК
ДИПЛОМ

ТН № 018790

Председатель государственной экзаменационной комиссии
Директор
Секретарь

343
ČESKOSLOVENSKÁ SOCIALISTICKÁ REPUBLIKA

SKOLA: Střední průmyslová škola starostí Radka, okres Chebu

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VYSVĚDČENÍ O MATURITNÍ ZKOUŠCE

Jméno a příjmení: Salomon Babedji More

Den, měsíc a rok narození: 5. října 1955

Rodiště: Orlando, okres: Johannesburg

Národnost: Tsarabá, státní občanství: Jihoafrická republika

UNIVERSITY WESTERN CAPE

Vykonal: maturitní zkoušku

z českého jazyka a literatury s prospěchem dostatečným

z matematiky s prospěchem dostatečným

z ruského jazyka s prospěchem dobrým

z poezie a literatury starého s prospěchem dostatečným

z biologie

a praktickou maturitní zkoušku

s prospěchem


Culkové hodnocení: prospěl
Appendix 14

PRIORITY STUDY AREAS UNDER THE ANC EDUCATION PROGRAMME - DISCUSSION PAPER

1. Education - A definition

It may seem odd that a discussion on priority areas of study under the ANC Education programme should be pre-empted with a discussion regarding how education is to be defined. Yet there is a very good reason for this method of approach. Before there can be consensus regarding what education is and what it is for, it is well nigh impossible to agree how to prioritise areas of study within the ANC Education Programme.

It is important to point out that there is no general consensus among educationists as to what education is or how education is to be defined. This being so educationists invariably resort to producing their own views regarding what they think education is. It is crucial to understand this as it is essential to avoid regarding the views of any educationists as final. Consistent with what I have said thus far, I shall now attempt my own explanation of what education is.

The first point I want to make is that Education is a process involving imparting and receiving knowledge. There is always the dual relation between the educator or teacher and the taught or the recipient of the education or knowledge. Knowledge being understood as the cultivation of skills, know how or expertise in the different branches of human understanding. It is essential to grasp from the outset that the skill, expertise or know-how that are transmitted by the educator to the student are regarded as desirable and worthwhile because of their usefulness or utility for society. Modern Society does not teach alchemy or witchcraft because they are not thought of as performing any useful purpose to society. This point, which may seem pedantic is of utmost importance. For many generations man has been bedevilled by intellectual cohorts making the claim that there is such a thing as knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Although this myth has been hard to destroy and has survived for far too long it is nevertheless an intellectual fraud that no self-respecting revolutionary movement should allow itself to be hoodwinked by it. The position is fairly simple; education is the cultivation of skills, expertise and know-how among the young in preparation for
their leading useful lives in the life of the community. The type of education chosen by each society is that thought to be useful to the needs of that society. Education is not value-free. Science which has for centuries claimed to be a value-free study has suppressed the crucial truth about it - which is that it is undertaken as a study because it has been found to be useful to man. It has contributed tremendously to improving the quality of life of man on this planet. Man does not just seek to understand natural laws and how they work, but more importantly, how these can be put to the service of man - that is bestowing a value on science. To quote from Keorapetse Kgotsitsile, every piece of knowledge 'finally affirms, proposes or opposes certain values'.

2. Priority study areas under the ANC Education Programme

The recognition of the fact that education is regarded as having value because of its usefulness to society, compels us to examine possible priority study areas under the ANC Education Programme in the context of the ANC basic policy document - The Freedom Charter. The ANC man-power training programme must be seen to relate directly to the envisaged revolutionary government take-over in South Africa. It would be most unfortunate if the ANC were to attain victory in South Africa and be unable to carry out an effective economic takeover of the South African Economy because of lack of suitably trained manpower.

The Freedom Charter makes it quite clear where our priorities in education training should be. These must be perceived as follows:

A. Massive training programme for Engineers: Mining Engineers, civil engineers, electrical engineers, computer engineers and all other related engineering skills.

We cannot hope to effectively take over the mining industries in South Africa as recommended by the Freedom Charter in the third clause of its provisions and avoid the responsibility of training people in the most relevant fields and specialities.
B. Massive training programme for industrialists and economists:
Economists Analytical and descriptive, Mathematical Economists, Monetary Economists, Industry and Trade specialists, International Trade and Development specialists, Accounting and Finance specialists, Government specialists, sociologists, statisticians, computing specialists, international relations experts, industrial relations specialists and other related disciples connected with the effective running of commerce and industry.

This is a duty imposed upon us by the Freedom Charter when it further declares at its third clause that 'the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole.

C. Massive Training programme for Agricultural Scientists.
Agricultural Scientists, Agricultural economists, soil scientists specialists in Geography and geology and all areas of study that would be consistent with the effective take over of the land. As the Freedom Charter says, 'The land shall be shared among those who work it'. How can this part of our programme be implemented if we know nothing about land management, production, soil analysis and crop cultivation. This area deserves serious attention if we are to have a nation capable of feeding itself.

D. Massive Training Programmes for Medical Personnel:
Medical doctors, Medical technicians, radiographers, medical nurses (at all levels), bio-chemists, chemists, laboratory technicians, physiotherapists, specialists for the mentally ill, eye specialists, ear specialists, nose specialists, dentists, brain surgeons, micro-biologists and all other technicians related to medical science.

It is imperative that our students be sponsored for training in these fields if the provision of the Freedom Charter requiring that in an independent South Africa.
"A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state:
Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all.
with special care for mothers and young children'.
and also that
'the aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state'.

....
The four areas for high prioritising as areas of study indicated above do not purport to represent an exhaustive list. Obviously other areas of priority will be identified. All that is my main concern is that the ANC start seriously paying attention to this question. Whilst there is nothing wrong in students choosing to study what they prefer, it is imperative that, as long as their studies are under ANC sponsorship, they exercise their choice within the eventual needs of our liberation effort.

It should be emphasised that this whole issue of educational training should be treated as deserving urgent consideration and decision. At the present time the ANC enjoys generous support throughout the international community whilst we still remain a liberation movement. And it is on this basis that our students receive sponsorship for their studies all over the world. As soon as we receive independence in South Africa all this will no longer be possible to the same degree. As an independent Government we will be required to finance the education of our own students. It is only prudent to act urgently and take advantage of our present favourable circumstances.

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Paper Prepared by M.S. Choabi
Appendix 15

THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

by Eric Stilton

Despite mass opposition and a protracted campaign led by the ANC, the Bantu Education Act became law in South Africa in 1953. The object of the Act was to bring African education totally under state control and regulation with the aim of ensuring, first of all, the ideological enslavement of the African people and, secondly, an adequate supply of African labour with just sufficient education to qualify it to occupy the poorest paid, unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Recognising this, the ANC and the Congress Alliance launched a struggle, once the Act was passed, to prevent its implementation. This struggle was based on a dual strategy — organise the boycott of Bantu Education schools; provide alternative (illegal under the Act) education for African school-goers.

Notwithstanding this opposition, the state was able quite rapidly to entrench and expand the system of Bantu Education. By 1956, three years after the Act was passed, the number of Africans attending schools had increased from 850,000 to 1,100,000 and most of this was in Bantu Education schools since the Act rendered private schools illegal for the
most part and direct police as well as court intervention led to the closure of these private schools. In 1965, there were 1,915,000 African children at Bantu Education schools (of these, 96% were in primary school) and in 1975 there were 3,697,000 African school-goers of whom 91% were in primary classes.

As Bantu Education was consolidated and expanded, the liberation movement's struggle against it became increasingly confined to statements condemning the racist and restrictive character of the education being provided for African youth. This was due, in part, to the changing focus of the liberation struggles, particularly after 1960, including, importantly, the banning of the ANC in that year. Nonetheless, for whatever reason, by the 1960's the liberation movement's policy and strategy in regard to Bantu Education were limited, in practice, to boycott — on the one hand, as already stated, a policy of rejection of Bantu Education, coupled, on the other hand, with an absence of analysis of the contradiction within Bantu Education and hence of a strategy of intervention in the conflicts between African students and the administration.

Although the Bantu Education schools and colleges were the scene of continual confrontation and struggle between students and the authorities throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, it was not until the uprisings of the Soweto students in 1976 that it became clear that it was insufficient for the ANC simply to express its opposition to Bantu Education "from the outside", as it were. Changing conditions made imperative a new approach to the question of education. Firstly, the 1976 and subsequent struggles of the students demonstrated the importance of political action inside Bantu Education. The need to clarify the tactical and strategic demands of this struggle is reinforced by the recent discussions of possible changes in the education system which have arisen within the power structure. Secondly, the flow of African students, by way of protest against Bantu Education, out of South Africa and towards the ANC has imposed upon the ANC the necessity of defining educational principles which are not merely oppositional but which give expression to the revolutionary values of the national liberation movement and which provide the basis for educational policies and practices which will contribute to the revolutionary struggle. This article is concerned with the second of the two issues raised by the Soweto struggles but, as will appear, they are not unrelated.

Outside of South Africa, the ANC responded to the new demands made upon it by establishing an Education Department. In 1978, the Education Council of the Department, at its inaugural meeting, adopted the
2. *Mass Accessibility*

The ANC educational programme as an on-going process shall cater for both young and old irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

3. *Science and Culture*

The educational programme shall draw on the most advanced scientific knowledge and progressive cultural traditions of the people of South Africa and the world.

4. *Integrated Education*

Education shall combat the division between mental and manual training and the artificial separation between arts and sciences.

5. *Democratic*

While observing the priority to impart basic knowledge at each given level in each field, the programme shall promote the full creative and democratic participation of students, teachers and the community in all educational activities.

6. *Dynamism*

The educational programme shall develop in keeping with the demands of the situation in a changing world.

It is one thing to define general aims and principles; it is quite another matter to apply them to concrete situations. In the attempt to do so, three lines of policy which establish different priorities of African National Congress education have been derived from one and the same *Education Policy of the African National Congress*. These divergences arise from different analyses of the current situation which lead to conflicting views of the “needs of the liberatory struggle”. Rather, to be more precise, two of the positions base themselves on the current situation, the third confines itself to the post-liberation period and argues that ANC education policy in the present situation must be determined by the needs of the post-revolutionary phase of the struggle.

**Basic Propositions**

The latter approach starts from the proposition that the fundamental aim of ANC education policy must be to equip Africans, who have the capability, to enter university and other post-matric educational institutions. Education must, therefore, be geared towards providing a sound secondary education which will serve as the means of preparing students for post-school education. Admittedly, this is a highly distilled expression of the argument, nevertheless, it captures its essential point.

The reasons why the basic aim of ANC education must be conceived of in this way are twofold. Firstly, the effect of the operation of the apartheid system is to exclude all but a tiny number of Africans from skilled
Educational Policy of the African National Congress (SA) and further resolved to give effect to the principles contained in this document by setting up an ANC school on a site in Morogoro granted by the Government of Tanzania. In due course the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (Somafo) was established.

Vital Questions

From the beginning different approaches emerged first in the discussion about the principles of ANC educational policy and, later, in the interpretation of these in their concrete application in the current situation, and, in particular, in the development of Somafo. The questions involved are of vital importance to the whole liberation movement, but up to the present, discussions have been largely confined to the Education Department and to educational “experts” in the movement, despite the fact that lip-service is paid to the proposition that education policy is primarily a political question which cannot be left to be determined by educationalists. The issues are by no means resolved; indeed, many of the questions involved still require clarification and it is urgent that the debate should be opened up in order to arrive at correct policies. The purpose of this article is to make an initial contribution and, hopefully, help to stimulate a much needed discussion.

On the face of it, the ANC policy document seems quite unequivocal. The relevant sections of the document read as follows:

The ANC Education Policy . . . provides the guidelines for action in the field of Education and Culture and must be interpreted within the context of the General Policy of the movement.

General Aims of the ANC Education Policy

The entire educational programme, under the direction, guidance and control of the National Executive of the African National Congress of South Africa will be geared towards the following objectives:

- a. To prepare cadres to serve the national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa in the phase of the struggle for seizure of political power and the post-liberation phase.
- b. To produce such cadres as will be able to serve society in all fields, i.e. political, economic, socio-cultural, educational and scientific. Priorities will be dictated by the needs of the liberatory struggle in the pre- and post-liberation periods.

General Principles of the ANC Education Policy

1. Revolutionary

The policy shall be geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole.
occupations, particularly, but not only, professional occupations of all types — medical, legal, engineering, electronic, administrative and so forth. One of the key mechanisms of exclusion of Africans from these occupations is Bantu Education. The limitations of Bantu Education, specifically the diminished place given to maths and science, the poor quality of teaching, particularly in relation to languages, the extreme shortage of resources and the fact that because of poverty, African youth are forced prematurely into the labour market (thus as late as 1980, of 3,532,234 African school pupils, only 555,139 were in secondary schools, the remaining 2,977,095 being in primary schools), combine together to preclude Africans from gaining access to higher and other post-school education. It follows that one crucial element of white domination is manifested in a monopoly of skilled and professional occupations and, furthermore, Bantu Education is the key mechanism of the reproduction of this situation.

Secondly, this obviously has enormous political and technical consequences for the immediate post-liberation period. The command posts of the economy and the political system cannot, after the revolution, be left in the hands of the functionaries of white domination. It will be necessary to displace these functionaries and to fill the positions in the economic and political apparatuses with agents of the liberatory struggle. To do this the liberation movement must have at its disposal men and women capable of taking over these posts and this can only be achieved in the way already indicated — a good secondary education followed by post-school education or training.

It is in relation to this need of the liberation movement in the post-liberation period that the role of Somafo becomes defined as vital — it will provide the basic education for young Africans which is denied them by Bantu Education. Thus Somafo will serve to prepare Africans for the higher education to which they will advance after completing the school course which is denied them by Bantu Education.

Before going on to examine the implications of this position, it will be convenient to consider a rather different approach which starts from an analysis of the current political situation but which comes to conclusions which are virtually identical to those outlined above. In this second view, the argument does not turn explicitly on the issue of the future needs of a liberated South Africa, although that consideration is implicitly, and quite properly, present. Furthermore, while the crippling effects of Bantu Education and the monopoly control of whites over skilled occupations are
both recognised, indeed are crucial to the view of ANC education adopted, nonetheless, the formulation of ANC policy argued for is based, in this view, on an analysis of the current political situation and the political necessities and moral obligation which flow from that situation.

A Political Act
The crucial facts in the sphere of education which must structure any ANC educational policy are as follows. A large proportion of the young Africans who left South Africa in the aftermath of Soweto and in subsequent years turned (and still turn) towards the ANC. Undoubtedly, the act of leaving South Africa to escape Bantu Education must be understood as highly political and the significance of the fact that these youth made their way to the ANC must not be lost sight of. At the same time it is of fundamental importance to understand that the politics of these acts is coupled with an individualistic motivation — they want, understandably, a good education and they believe that the ANC can supply it. Indeed, equally importantly, this expectation does not belong to the exiled students alone, but was and is held most strongly by their parents and the African urban masses generally. There exists, that is, a strong belief that the ANC will provide the young, now, and not merely in the future liberated South Africa, with an alternative education to Bantu Education.

Given this, the ANC is faced with a political necessity to provide the alternative education in order to keep faith with and to consolidate its support among the people in South Africa (as well, of course, as the students themselves). This conclusion is complemented by a moral argument. Given the fact that thousands of young people are exiling themselves from South Africa and that they look to the ANC for education and protection, the ANC cannot simply abandon them even if it has to divert resources from political priorities to cater for them. The ANC is morally obligated to provide these youth with a good, alternative education. Hence, SomaFeco must be structured to meet the educational needs of these young exiles. Here we see, despite other differences, the point of convergence with the first line discussed above, for both make a good secondary education a priority.

Each of these positions gives rise to an immediate question of a similar kind. In relation to the first approach it has to be asked: what are the guarantees that SomaFeco educated students who become professionally qualified or otherwise trained in different countries will be not only technically skilled but also politically equipped and motivated to secure
and develop the gains of the liberation struggle, in the post liberation period, "in the interests... of the South African people as a whole"? In relation to the second approach, the question is the same except that it relates not only to the post-liberation period but also to the period of the struggle for state power.

The answer, in both cases, is that what guarantees the future involvement and commitment of students who have gone through Somafo is the fact that their secondary education will have taken place in no ordinary secondary school, but in the school of the ANC. That fact alone, it is argued, is of fundamental importance but there is much more, for the school will stress to the students its political orientation, involve them in the study of the history of the South African revolutionary movement and the struggles of the people; through study classes, debates and activities, raise their political understanding generally and of the role of the ANC in particular and thus secure their allegiance to the liberation struggle in both phases of that struggle.

Necessary Stages

However, these approaches are open to question on a number of grounds. Firstly, in so far as educational strategy focuses exclusively on the requirements of the post-liberation period, this entails a necessary diversion from the needs of the national liberation struggle, in its different phases, in the pre-liberation period. The South African struggle for state power is extremely complex, involving both the armed struggle and a variety of forms of political action, and, furthermore it will pass through a number of stages each of which will generate demands for political cadres with particular skills appropriate to that stage. It is, thus, clearly insufficient for the education policy of the movement to be geared only to the post-liberation period.

Secondly, insofar as revolutionary education is viewed *primarily* as a means of compensating for Bantu Education and as an instrument for gaining access to post-school and higher education, to that extent the political function of education becomes more or less completely subordinated. The theory of revolutionary education recognises that a "pure" technical education is impossible. All the arguments, rife in capitalist societies, in support of "unbiased", value-free and ideology-free education amount to little more than a masking of the function of ideology in selecting the content, mode of teaching, students and so forth in the educational system. A revolutionary education no less operates in
terms of values, but these values and criteria differ from conventional systems in a number of respects which will be touched on below.

Within an educational system the contradiction between "pure" technical learning and education directed towards revolutionary purposes (the "new type of South Africa", combating "the division between manual and mental labour" etc) is ever present and which side of the contradiction becomes dominant depends on the conditions within and without the teaching institutions. In the current situation an extremely powerful condition external to the educational system of the liberation movement is the set of requirements laid down by the higher educational institutions to which students will go after completing secondary school, and over which the movement has no control. The fact that the school has to be geared towards satisfying the standards of external bodies — examination boards, university admission boards and other similar bodies — has profound consequences.

The demands of external, purely educational institutions, tend to become the determinant of the internal functioning of the school. The effects on a school are likely to be extremely wide-ranging — the main criterion of staff recruitment becomes technical competence rather than level of political consciousness, the structures of the school assume a totally conventional shape since they are predominantly aimed at conventional objectives. This gives rise to conventional modes of discipline (the depoliticization of discipline), an emphasis on individualised learning and achievement, competition between individuals, in particular, in relation to scholarships, and the like.

Thirdly, if the emphasis is on education for the individual exile, then the choice of post-school education is left to the student and tends not to be determined by the movement. This further individualises the education. The depoliticizing effects of this are later reinforced by the fact that higher education takes place, more or less, at a distance from the influence of the national liberation movement and, since the courses which the students take are unrelated to the immediate needs of the movement, they will be obliged to take up employment where they can find it in order to utilize the training they have received.

Where these factors are present the conditions become favourable for the formation, however unwittingly, of a class of professionals whose social position and conditions of existence are such that pre-occupation with the advancement of their own careers and of their families will tend to override their commitment to the "interests and needs of the South African people
as a whole”. The experience of many former colonial countries testifies to the fact that the mere indigenization of the occupants of economic and political command posts by no means guarantees the revolution. The class position of this sector is a powerful, if not the total determinant, of its mode of action and, in order to offset the tendency for those who fill these occupations to act in the narrow interests of their class, it is necessary to fill these posts with tried and tested militant cadres of the movement. It is the link between these cadres and the movement that constitutes one of the guarantees of the revolution.

Political Understanding
It follows from these considerations that in a revolutionary movement, particularly one in exile, education must, above all, stress the political. This means that the major aim of ANC education must be to develop the political understanding and commitment of the students. This is all the more so where the motivation of students to join the school is, as has already been pointed out, a mixture of political opposition and personal ambition. In these circumstances political education must operate so that the personal ambitions of the students become, in their own outlook, subordinated to the objectives of the movement. For this to be achieved, however, it is not sufficient to inject some political education into an otherwise conventional education. Rather, the political educational apparatus has to be powerfully developed. In the absence of that, and despite some political education, individual ambition is likely to be reinforced.

Important as it is, political education is only part of the problem. For to leave all the structures and values of conventional education intact is to assume the separability of education from ideology and politics and is to leave intact, as was pointed out above, the very conditions which tend to subvert the effects of the political education. A school of the national liberation movement is not a conventional school with a layer of politics over it. That is to say, a revolutionary school is not merely the negation of Bantu Education. The negation of Bantu Education is not the education received by white South Africans freed of racism, even though, in the conditions of South Africa that education gives access to higher education etc.

A revolutionary school is revolutionary in content, organization, structure, modes of discipline, conceptions of teaching and objectives. Thus a revolutionary school must question hierarchical organization
("promote the full creative and democratic participation of students, teachers..."), combat the division between mental and manual training, understand the creative role of students in the learning process, and, to repeat, "be geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole."

So far, the discussion has focussed on the question of revolutionary education which attempts to provide both desirable skills and yet conceives of this education as both political and revolutionary. The discussion was premised on the contention that, given the flow of South African exiles, it is right that the national liberation movement provides them with educational facilities.

While it can be accepted that large masses of Africans do hold high expectations that the ANC will, in the present situation and outside South Africa, provide the exiled youth with an alternative to Bantu Education, it must be asked whether that fact should be regarded as the most important determinant of ANC educational policy. This factor has to be weighed against other conditions of the current situation and, in particular, the need for the movement to renew and replenish its ranks of political cadres — a need which arises out of the rapidly expanding influence of the ANC internally and externally and out of the increasing complexity of the struggle. Whether or not a cadre school should be the sole preoccupation of ANC education, it seems clear that mass education of exiles should not be the sole objective of its education policy. That is to say, whatever else may be done, a school which produces active militants, politically and technically equipped, is a fundamental necessity of the movement.

(This article is intended as an introduction to a discussion on the aims and methods of education which should be undertaken under the auspices of the liberation movement. Further contributions from our readers are invited on this subject — Editor.)
Appendix 16

WE WILL FORMULATE OUR OWN EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Dear Editor,

Re: Article by Eric Stilton — The African Communist No. 92. 1983

It is a pity that the Editorial Board is constrained from publishing the names of contributors for understandable reasons. However in the particular case of the article by Eric Stilton — “The Function of Education in the Struggle for Liberation” (First Quarter, 1983), one would appreciate an indicator:

Is the author a member of the South African liberation movement or a supporter?

If the former, then he should be aware that the article to which he lends his name is not really original but a reproduction of what is now referred to in ANC circles as the “Green Paper,” whose discussion is to be at the appropriate platform of the forthcoming ANC Education Council meeting — itself to be preceded by a policy statement of the N.E.C. on the exact objectives of SOMAFCO.

If the author is a supporter, then he has simply allowed his name to be used by the real authors of the “Green Mamba” who, at the first public presentation of that paper, through their spokesman, accused the ANC of “not being revolutionary” and of “pandering to the personal self-centred interests of the students who leave South Africa”, whatever their declared motives.

But over and above that, the author(s) of the paper leave much of what they really aim at unsaid or merely hinted at in the paper. Their spokesman was however open enough to declare that the main objection to the SOMAFCO curriculum is that it will produce university graduates (no matter what field) as opposed to cadres trained in vocational skills like plumbing, crop production, typing etc. This he said despite the information given, that the movement was dealing with these areas separately; that even at SOMAFCO it is part of the programme to introduce all students to vocational skills with the aim of “streaming” students into those who will take up practical skills immediately and those who will proceed to tertiary institutions according to performance, inclination and the needs of the movement.
The fact of the matter is that the author wants to steamroll the movement into turning SOMAFCO into a Vocational College producing only artisans. However, being aware that this idea is unpalatable to the majority, they have to produce a pretentious paper which at first glance appears "objective", concerned about open discussion of the "serious problem" confronting the liberation movement.

It is therefore not surprising that one finds certain startling and unfounded premises making their unsubstantiated appearance inconsistent with the 'analytic' approach of the paper. Thus:

(a) after correctly dealing with the problems and disabilities facing the African student as well as the future South African society under the sub-heading "Basic Propositions" (African Communist No. 92 p. 57);

(b) after again correctly pointing out the ways and means the school hopes to develop the political understanding and commitment of the students to the struggle (last para of the sub-heading "A Political Act"

- p. 60);

the author boldly dismisses all this with an assumption we are supposed to have accepted, that "the educational strategy" of the ANC "focuses exclusively on the requirements of the post-liberation period" (p.60).

This is then followed by valid arguments demonstrating the erroneous position of such an approach.

The question is, on what basis does the author make his assertion on exclusive attention to the post-liberation phase? Certainly not from the ANC policy document or the practice at SOMAFCO.

The second premise on education being "primarily as a means of compensating for Bantu Education" is introduced in the same way, as an accepted fact (last para, page 60).

By the time the author gets to his third premise (3rd para p. 61) he introduces an element of supposition, obviously aware that the reader may start questioning the authority of his premises.

The incisive expectation is delivered obliquely in the final paragraph of the article. The author first tells us that we accept that "large masses of Africans hold high expectations that the ANC will provide the exiled youth with an alternative to Bantu Education". However this alternative is not the one spelt out in the ANC policy document, but the one which the author has propounded in his three premises.

He blithely goes on to tell us that his own selected interpretation of the alternative to Bantu Education constitutes "the most important determinant of the ANC education policy".
I am sure we are all agreed that formulating an Education Policy for a pre- and post independent South Africa is no easy task, but at least a start has been made and not even the author disagrees with it. His main worry is that it may not be implemented correctly.

Since we have had to swallow so many of the author's assertions as being ours, may I be allowed to attribute to the author my own unfounded suspicions.

The movement may not be able to prepare enough black cadres to pose a serious threat to the thousands of white professionals in South Africa, but those white professionals will not remain protected by a policy of relegating all blacks to the 'revolutionary' vocational skills.

On a broader plane, we who are in the continent are aware and getting tired of the perhaps well-meaning hordes of volunteers from Western Europe and America, who see the solution to Africa's underdevelopment in small-scale industries like 'cottage factories for weaving' and 'canoe construction for fishing'. Why don't they advise us to use pick-axes for our mines which they continue to own by virtue of their expertise and advanced technology?

Those who sincerely want to improve and develop our education policy need not be worried. We shall do so despite these armchair revolutionaries who win resounding victories far away from the battlefield.

KWANELE
Appendix 17

In this paper the authors discuss the lines along which ANC Education should develop, with particular reference to the experience of SOMAPCO, and argue that the school should be totally integrated into the strategy and practice of the ANC in the present phase of struggle.

According to the argument, SOMAPCO is just like any conventional school, and lacks the character of a school of a revolutionary movement. The organisational set up of the school, its curriculum structure and current practice have nothing to do with the political objectives of the school outlined in the "General Aims of the ANC Education Policy."

The authors argue that there are two tendencies observable in regard to SOMAPCO:

(i) the school should accommodate all young South Africans, who would be accepted into it on "minimal political vetting";

(ii) the school should be geared to the needs of the struggle as defined by the NEC from time to time. (Presumably, in this latter case, political vetting would play a more pronounced role.)

It seems that the authors favour the second concept.

The authors make a brief political analysis of what they consider the main characteristic of the present phase of struggle and the demands imposed on the movement in the field of education and training. The current phase is characterised as one of the struggle for seizure of state power.

The personnel requirements have yet to be spelt out by the NEC, but the authors identify certain categories of training:

Basic secondary school education for a limited number of pupils who will go on to post-school training.

Basic education for a majority of pupils who will not in the present circumstances be required to go on for post-school training.

The case is also made for political education at all levels.
1. Introduction

The object of this paper is to focus attention on important questions of policy and strategy in relation to the further development of ANC education.

In presenting this paper it is necessary to emphasise two points:

a. Firstly, the position outlined here takes its fundamental starting point as the historic statement of Policy and Principles of ANC Education adopted at the First Council Meeting in 1973.

b. Secondly, the issues which are raised in the paper emerge from the analysis of ANC education policy and practice, in particular at Soweto, over the past three years. That is to say, the strategy outlined below has been made possible only by the achievements of establishing and running Soweto - the appointment of teaching and administrative personnel, the erection of buildings, the teaching of a range of courses despite acute staffing and teaching-material shortages, the establishment of workshops and agricultural activities as an integral part of the teaching programme and so on. These achievements, however, have also brought new problems and, indeed, accentuated some old ones.

The current problems facing the school stem in large measure from our failure to define the strategic political purposes of the school and its relation to the political struggle as a whole. More accurately, it is the fact that the school is generally regarded, what ever may be said, as an adjunct to the ANC's political role, as belonging to the sphere of educational "experts", that has resulted in the objects of the school not being properly discussed and established. That is to say, the school has not been seen as an organisation having its own strategic role which must be totally integrated into the strategy and practice of the struggle in the current phase. This approach has had extremely adverse effects on the school - failure to allocate sufficient experienced cadres, failure to take up and solve crucial questions of discipline, political and democratic organisation and so on.

Above all, it has resulted in the establishment of a school which is organized and run along very traditional lines and barely stamped by the fact that it is the school of a revolutionary movement and this reflects the fact that at present, the school is primarily seen by many as the means to the advancement of the careers of the students and this itself is the outcome of the failure to clearly define the objectives of the school. There is a paradox here, for the Policy and Principles of ANC Education adopted at the 1978 Council
meeting and ratified by the NEC, embodied a revolutionary conception of education. It is worth reminding ourselves of the relevant sections of those general aims and principles:

"B. General Aims of the ANC Education Policy.

The entire education programme, under the direction, guidance and control of the National Executive of the African National Congress of South Africa will be geared towards the following objectives:

1) To prepare cadres to serve the national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa in the phase of struggle for seizure of political power and the post-liberation phase.

2) To produce such cadres as will be able to serve society in all fields i.e. political, economic, socio-cultural, educational and scientific. Priorities will be dictated by the needs of the liberation struggle in the pre- and post-liberation periods.

C. General Principles of the ANC Education Policy.

1. Revolutionary.

The Policy shall be geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole.

4. Integrated Education shall contrit the division between mental and manual training and the artificial separation of the arts and sciences.

5. Democratic.

While observing the priority to impart basic knowledge at each given level in each field, the programme shall promote the full creative and democratic participation of students, teachers and the community in all educational activities.


The educational programme shall develop in keeping with the demands of the situation in a changing world."

The source of the paradox is this: It is clear that these general principles have to be applied to changing situations as the Education Policy itself stresses. That general principles cannot be applied as such, their implementation requires a detailed analysis of the concrete situation and an interpretation of those general principles in the light of the concrete situation. This is undoubtedly what was in mind when the following passage was included in the Education Policy: "Priorities will be dictated by the needs of the liberation struggle in the pre- and post-liberation periods." Yet, the organisational set-up, curriculum structure and current strategic objects of the school were, actually established, with little reference to the policy document and with little, if any, analysis of the school as a political instrument in relation to the requirements of the movement. At no stage, as far as we are aware, has the NEC defined its requirements of the school or set out what it regards the political objectives of the school to be. This gap, both at the level of the Education Council and Department and of the NEC resulted in the traditional establishment to which we have already
drawn attention and to an extremely blurred and yet often conflicting conception of the school.

What is required then, is an analysis of the existing phase of the struggle, the political and, hence personnel requirements to which it gives rise and, consequently, a definition of the strategic objectives and mode of organisation of the school. In what follows we set out the elements of such an approach. It should be stressed that we are concerned with the strategy and not with the detailed requirements of the movement which may be met through the school; the latter is a matter only within the jurisdiction of the ANC.

II. Defining the Objectives of SANPLO in the Current Phase

1. It is possible to define two different purposes which the school might fulfill:

   a. The school could be used to accommodate all young South Africans who leave South Africa (except those who are taken into K1). This might be termed the "refugee" concept of the school for it will operate as a general reception place, applying relatively loose criteria of acceptance and with minimal political vetting. As such the school will operate primarily to provide a basic education in an appropriate political context to as many youth as possible. The emphasis will be on equipping pupils for higher education and winning their general allegiance to the ANC. The political importance of this is that the students will be educated in an ANC environment and this, together with the career opportunities afforded to them, may serve to guarantee their allegiance to the ANC. However, and this is the point of importance, the post-school training of these students, will, by and large, be based not on ANC man/woman power planning but on the students career aspirations.

   Obviously, in these circumstances the links of the school to the liberation struggle are extremely tenuous.

   b. Alternatively, the purpose of the school could be defined, as set out in the Policy and Principles, much more closely and directly in terms of the requirements of the strategy and tactics of the liberation struggle. In this case, the entire organisational set-up of the school, the relation of the school to post-school training and so forth would be geared to the needs of the struggle as defined by the ANC from time to time.

2. The basic question, then, is which conception of the school is correct in the current situation? That is to say, what are the fundamental needs of the movement in the current phase in so far as ANC education is concerned? More concretely, will the political needs of the movement be met by merely establishing an ANC school or by establishing a school which will function to
meet the defined political, organisational and personnel needs of the movement

The answer to this question (leaving quite aside the question of military skills which is within the jurisdiction of the ANC) lies in the following aspects of the current phase:

a. Over the past few years there has been an enormous expansion and intensification of the struggle on all fronts - trade union, armed and political struggle. This expansion has occurred both within the country and also outside in all areas where there are external missions.

b. This expansion and intensification has put enormous strains on the efficient functioning of the organisation due to acute personnel shortages - shortages which the movement is unable to overcome on either a full-time or part-time basis. Whatever the internal requirements, these shortages are extremely pressing in all departments of external work.

c. The training of personnel with the skills and political understanding required by the movement must be the major task of the Education Department and the school at the present time. Obviously, we stress again, that those requirements are must be determined by the leadership on the basis of an analysis of the needs at present and an estimate of the needs in the immediate future, calculated on the basis of the political strategy and plans.

3. What then are the needs of the movement which arise in the situation described above? We stress yet again that the detailed personnel requirements have to be established by the NEC, but it is clearly possible to set out the broad categories to which the school must be orientated:

a. It seems clear that the movement requires numerous highly trained men and women - doctors, dentists, various types of engineers, planners, economists etc.

People who are to undertake training of this type will have to pass through a basic secondary school standard of education.

In one sense the movement's needs for such highly skilled people is almost infinite, at least when the demands of the post-liberation period are in view. Although, of course, such personnel are also required in the immediate phase of the struggle and need is likely to increase as the scale of the struggle expands.

While the post-liberation needs must not be lost sight of, in the present situation it is the struggle for state power which must take priority. Therefore, basic education for those who are to go on to post-school training must be limited to those individuals selected by the ANC to go
forward to specific types of training which the ANC calculates will be required over the next few years. To this we can add a limited number of additional students who may be selected to undertake training for strategic skills which will be needed in the post-liberation period.

In the latter case it must be borne in mind that in any event in the absence of state power or liberated territories the ANC can make only relatively little impact on the enormous task of providing the man and woman power required to run South Africa after liberation.

It is necessary to stress here that the basic education provided must continue the present achievement of breaking down the mental/manual division.

b. Basic education will also be required to train students at the school in skills which do not in the present circumstances require post-school training—e.g., medical ordiaries, agriculturalists, special maths for armed struggle, mechanical, electrical and other skills. In this case, however, these skills are taught together with a proper study of "academic" subjects.

c. Thirdly, the movement will require from time to time people with highly specific skills which can be learned in short term crash programmes. These programmes may apply particularly to groups of people sent to the school for such training.

d. Finally, the school must be a place for the political education of all students who attend, whether on a short or long term basis.

III. Proposed Educational Structure of SQUATTOR

a. It follows from the above that the school should provide:

i. Basic education programme which should run through 5 years (but subject to radical curriculum revision—see curriculum review document) and should be available, subject to the requirements of the movement, to young people allocated to the school at whatever level.

ii. Specialised, short course programmes designed to meet personal needs as these are determined from time to time. These might include administrative skills, typing, various types of technical training, management skills (e.g., transport officer, carpentry etc.)

The basic characteristic of these programmes is that they are planned as crash courses, to begin at specified times and designed to produce qualified people within the time limits of a crash course.

Of course, this will entail considerable flexibility in the school.
organization and must assume that specialist teachers can be brought in for
the length of the course as is necessary.

b. Political Education.

Clearly, for our movement all education is political and all the courses
taught at the school - whether theoretical or practical - must contain
within them or be taught in the context of the political and ideological
outlook of the ANC. But, ever and above this, the school must have as a
central objective the provision of courses through which the students will
learn and discuss and develop a deep understanding of the strategy and
tactics of our movement in the struggle. In this way the political
understanding and creativity of our cadres will be enormously increased.
Hence attendance at a course on the Strategy and Tactics of the movement
must be compulsory for every student who attends the school, whether to
obtain a basic education or to attend a functional course.

This course should run at two levels, ordinary and advanced. The courses
should run for half the school year and should begin and terminate in the
same period as crash courses.

For those attending programmatic courses, we should also consider the
possibility that they attend other courses to be time-tabled in the same
way and depending on the nature of their training etc.

IV. We have not discussed in this document the implication of the above proposal
for staffing personnel, discipline, teaching of South African languages,
curriculum, content, methods of teaching, criteria of selection of students,
monitoring of the school by the NEC etc. It is clear, however, that the
adoption of the proposals put forward here would call for radical
reappraisal in these and other respects also.
Appendix 18

Scientific Socialism for South Africa: Course outline

1. Science and social change
   1.0 Scientific method
   1.1 African technologies
   1.2 Scientific revolution
   1.3 Industrial revolution
   1.4 Industrial revolution (S.A)
2. Dialectics of change
   2.0 African philosophy
   2.1 Religious theory and practice
   2.2 Idealism vs materialism
      Dialectical and social change
3. Historical materialism
   3.0 Labour: the basis of society
   3.1 Forces of production
   3.2 Relations of production
   3.3 Economic structure
   3.4 Superstructure
   3.5 Uneven development
4. The Communist Manifesto
   4.0 A call to revolution
   4.1 Capitalist crisis
   4.2 The working class
   4.3 A revolutionary party
   5. Social formations
   5.0 Classification of social types
   5.1 Historical stages
   5.2 Slavery
   5.3 Serfdom
   5.4 Free workers
   6. African perspectives
   6.0 Crude of humanity and centre of civilization
   6.1 African civilisations
   6.2 Slavery and slave trade
   6.3 Socio-economic formations
   6.4 Colonial rule
7. Proletarian revolutions
   7.0 Our revolutionary epoch
   7.1 Russia's revolution in 1905
   7.2 The Social Democrats; a revolutionary party
   7.3 From capitalism to socialism
   8. National liberation
   8.0 Social and political revolutions
   8.1 Bourgeois revolution
   8.2 Colonial capitalism
   8.3 Political revolution
9. Theory of revolution
   9.0 The art of revolution
   9.1 Bourgeois revolution
   9.2 Permanent revolution
   9.3 Vanguard party
   9.4 Revolutionary theory
   9.5 Objective and subjective conditions
10. Elements of socialist construction
11. Proletarian internationalism
11.0 Proletarian internationalism
11.7 Two streams merge
12. World socialism and national sovereignty
12.0 Science in action
12.1 Conscious, planned organisation
12.2 Self-determination
12.3 Freedom of association
12.4 Lenin's principles
12.5 Civil war & armed intervention
12.6 Proletarian nations
12.7 Socialist internationalism
12.8 Equal development
12.9 World socialism
13. Imperialism and colonialism
13.0 Early colonies
13.1 Capitalist expansion
13.2 Settled colonies and chartered companies
13.3 The rape of Africa
13.4 The imperialist stage
13.5 Multinationals mean war
13.6 Imperialism means war
13.7 Crisis of capitalism
13.8 Neo-colonialism
13.9 Our allies
14. One society: one nation
14.0 Introduction
14.1 Our common society
14.2 A common culture
14.3 One economy
14.4 Building a nation
14.5 Afrikanness: an oppressor nation
14.6 Techniques of domination
14.7 An historical necessity
The African National Congress of South Africa

Department of Political Education: Novo Catengu Training Quarterly Examination Test, August, 1977

To all candidates:
Section one and two deal with the South African politics, from 1652, the year in which Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape, to the formation of “Umkhonto weSizwe”, in 1961.

Candidates will be expected to answer five questions from sections one and two, and five questions from sections three and four. From section one, candidates will be expected to answer two questions not necessarily in writing. And from section two, candidates will be expected to answer three questions, all in writing.

In sections three and four, candidates will be expected to answer all five questions in writing.

Section 1
1. Who was Jan van Riebeeck, and when did he land at the Cape? (5)
2. When Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape, he met some South Africans there.
   (a) Who were they?
   (b) What kind of reception did they give him?
   (c) How did van Riebeeck return their kindness to him? (15)
3. It is said in the school history books that these people, that is, the people who met Van Riebeeck and his crew, stole cattle from Van Riebeeck. What is your comment? (10)
4. Between 1659 and 1660, Van Riebeeck launched a war of dispossession against the Khoi-Khoi. What was the cause of the War? (10)
5. From 1779 to 1879, the Xhosa-speaking South Africans fought bitter wars against the white invaders. What are these wars called, and which of them can you regard as the most important and most significant. Give reason for your answers. (20)
7. The War of the Axe (1846), can be regarded as the forerunner of what came to be known as “The Congress Alliance” in the early 1950s, or the united front of the oppressed people of South Africa, against their common enemy. Why? And why was it called “the War of the Axe”? (10)
8. What role did DDT Jabavu play in the awakening of African nationalism and African political consciousness? (5)
9. What role did the Church play in the awakening of African political consciousness? (5)
10. Who was the first African to enter the Cape Provincial Council? (5)
11. When were the Pass Laws first introduced, and by whom? (5)
12. When did the “Bambata Rebellion” take place and what was its cause? (10)
Section 2
1. When was the African National Congress formed and what led to its formation? (5)
2. What were its aims and objectives? (5)
3. When was the ANC (Youth League) formed, and what role did it play towards revolutionaryising the ANC? (10)
4. The policy of the ANC, had from its foundation till early 1961, been non-violent. Would you say this policy was "negative" or "positive"? (Argue your point) (20)
5. Who said the following words and why? "We are one people...These divisions, the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today...the demon of racism, the aberration of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between Zulus and Tongas between Basothos and every other native, must be buried and forgotten." (10)
6. "The main content of South African National Liberation struggle is the liberation of the African people." Express your views on this in no less than three pages of your own exercise book. (25)
7. The Congress Alliance was formed in 1953. Name the constituent organisations which comprised it. (5)
8. What did the founders of the ANC learn from the early defeats of our ancestors? (5)
9. "We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country, and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." Do you agree with this declaration? Give reasons for your answer. (5)
10. What are the primary tasks of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress? (5)
11. The ANC is the political organisation of the African people. Is MK also a political organisation? What are the relationships between the ANC and MK? Who takes policy decisions, either to launch an armed struggle, or to call off an armed attack? Is it the Revolutionary Council or the National Executive Committee? (20)
12. When was the Communist Party of South Africa formed? (5)
13. Who was its first African General Secretary? (5)
14. Is a trade union organisation or a Communist Party a national organisation or an international organisation? Give reasons for your answers (15)
15. The African National Congress as a national liberation organisation, does not represent any single class, or any one ideology Comment in this statement of fact. (15)
16. The first African trade union was formed by members of the "International Socialist League". What was its name and what was its slogan? (5)

Before answering questions in these two sections, revise lectures 2, 2(b), 2(c), 3, 5 and 6. Particular attention should be paid to section 4.

Section 3
1. Briefly explain what you understand by the following:
   (a) Trade Union
   (b) Bourgeoisie
   (c) Proletariat
   (d) Guild
(c) Combination Act  (f) Self-conscious discipline
(g) Brothering        (h) Journeymen.
2. Give your reasons why the study of trade unions is absolutely necessary.
3. In an attempt to ensure the security and loyalty of its members, the Friendly
Society a secret organisation of the British coal-miners laid down three conditions
aimed at protecting their members against police informers; what were these
conditions?
4. Why were the British coal-miners forced to create secret societies?
    Compare this with the conditions in South Africa.
5. In your opinion, would you say that "The Combination Acts" in Britain are
    similar to the "Suppression of Communism Act", and the "Suppression of
    Terrorism Act"? Give reasons for your answers.
6. Who christened the British working class "The first-born sons of modern
    industry" and why? Is the statement true?
7. Give the name of the organisation which is called the "direct forerunner of "The
    First International", or "The International Workingmen's Association".
8. Who were the two great figures who led it?
9. What are "Guilds", and how many kinds of Guilds are there?
10. Compare the forced labour system with contract labour in South Africa.
11. Compare thepeonage system with the labour tenant system in South Africa.
12. "Strikes are the military schools of the workingmen, in which they prepare
    themselves for the great struggle which cannot be avoided."
(a) What kind of struggle is this, which cannot be avoided?
(b) Do workers learn anything from their conduct of strikes, and if so, what are
    these lessons?
(c) What gives the unions and the strikes arising from them their real importance?
13. What is the difference between "private property" and "personal property"?
14. "People always have been the foolish victims of deceptions and self-deception
    in politics, and they always will be until they have learnt to seek out the interests of
    some class or other behind all morals, religious, political and social phases,
    declarations and promises."
   [VI Lenin]
What do you understand by this quotation? Give your critical comments on it.
15. What do you understand by the phrase "national intelligentsia"?
(a) Can intellectuals constitute a class of their own? That is, do they form a class?
(b) What is your understanding of the word "class", when used politically?
16. What do you understand by "Comprador Bourgeoisie"?
17. What does life involve before everything else?
18. "Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the
    existence of men is their actual life process." (Marx & Engels). What is the first
    premise of all human existence?
19. In any interpretation of history there is a fundamental fact which one has first
    of all to observe. Which is that fundamental fact?
20. Which revolution broke the power of the Roman Catholic Church? And which
    other revolution followed it?
21. What do you understand by “emulation”?
22. Politically, what do you understand by “organisation”, and where does organisation begin?
23. What is the difference between “military discipline” and “self-conscious discipline”?
24. “Communism deprives no man of the power to appropriate the products of society; all that it does is to deprive him of the power to subjugate the labour of others by means of such appropriation.” Discuss critically what you understand by this statement.
25. “One element of success (workers) have number; but numbers weigh only in balance when united by combination and led by knowledge.” (Marx) What does Marx mean by this statement? Give your answer in 35 words.
26. “The Communist organisation of social labour rests on the free and conscious discipline of hunger of the working people themselves who have thrown off the yoke both the landowners and capitalists.” (Lenin)
   (a) What do you understand by “discipline of hunger”? Do you agree with this statement? Explain why you agree.
   (b) How does “Communist organisation of social labour” come about? Is it easy to achieve it?
27. Can you differentiate between “insurrection” and “revolution”? Would you say that the Soweto events of 1976 which are continuing now in 1977, are an “insurrection or a “revolution”? Give a critical political analysis of the events in 100 words.
28. “The question that now confronts a militant political party is: Shall we be able to make use of the correctness of our Social Democratic doctrine, of our bond with the only thoroughly revolutionary class, the proletariat, to put a proletarian imprint on the victory of revolution, to carry the revolution to a real and decisive victory, not in word but in deed, and to paralyse the instability, half-heartedness and treachery of the democratic bourgeoisie?” (Lenin)
   Explain what you understand by this, taking into consideration the events in South Africa today.
29. “Undoubtedly, we still have a great deal to do in educating and organising the working class, but now the gist of the matter is: where should we place the main political emphasis in this work of education and organisation? Both serve to educate and organise the working class. Both are, of course, necessary. But in the present revolution the problem amounts to this; which is to be emphasised in the work of educating and organising the working class, the former or the latter?” (Lenin) Comment.
30. Can a revolution succeed without the working class playing a vanguard role? Give reasons for your answers.
31. The Paris Commune is regarded as “The world’s first proletarian state”, which taught the European proletariat to pose concretely the tasks of the socialist revolution.” Comment.

(Copy of exam paper in possession of Comrade Jack Simons)
Appendix 19

The Permanent Secretary,
Office of the President,
Gabrera,
Republic of Botswana.

Dear Brother,

Re: Vocational Training of NEC cadres in Tavona

In order to cater for the increasing numbers of South Africans in exile, the majority of whom look for guidance, maintenance and protection under the umbrella of the African National Congress, it has become imperative for our organisation to embark on productive projects of self-help.

One such project is a school complex which combines academic tuition, vocational training, health care and farm production. We therefore urgently need trained personnel who can help run our multi-purpose school as well as assist in training other cadres at the site.

We have learnt from various sources about the spectacular success of the Botswana Brigade in training its own nationals of different ages in various skills within shorter periods than in conventional institutions. But is more, the education process is combined with production, thereby generating funds for increasing the scope and magnitude of the projects undertaken.

After preliminary discussions with some of the people involved in the Brigade movement, including Mr. Mothibi and others - a South African who has contributed a lot to the development of the Brigade, we found out that it was possible for a very limited number of our own people to undergo a crash course not exceeding nine months, in such fields as are of basic importance for the setting up of our own multi-purpose complex.

Counting on the sympathy and the assistance which are deservedly enjoyed by the Government and people of Botswana, inspired by His Excellency The President, Dr. Seretse Khama, we appeal to your kind offices to permit and facilitate entrance in Botswana of 6 of our cadres for purposes of undergoing a 9 month crash programme at the above Brigade, beginning mid-January.

Attached herewith is a list of the names of our cadres for this special course as well as their intended fields of study.

With respectful acknowledgment of your invaluable support, we take this opportunity, dear Brother, to express sentiments of our deepest consideration.

Yours Pecuniarily,

[Signature]

[Date: 5.2.79.]

Secretary General.
Appendix 21
SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE (SOMFCO)

PRIMARY SCHOOL

Barbara Bell and her pupils
Barbara was the first primary school teacher at Somafo. She and her husband Terry and their two children Ceiren and Brendon arrived at the site in Mazimbu with a huge crate full of books and equipment collected from schools in New Zealand to set up the primary school at Somafo. This was the first primary school organised on democratic lines for South African children.
Appendix 23

Mazimbu, May 1, 1982.

Dear O.R.,

When this letter will reach you I do not know as I hope to send it on by hand as soon as I am able to contact someone reliable who is heading to Lusaka and who will be seeing you personally. It is a letter I feel I have to send, both because of the importance of events at Mazimbu and because it was through yourself that I and my family came to Somalco.

When we tendered our resignation from the school, giving notice of two terms, it was with great regret; regret that we had been unable to make any impression on the general drift of the project. And it is with a deep sense of sadness that we now prepare to depart, sadness that a project of such vital importance in the history of our people and movement should have been so stunted and distorted in its infancy.

Individually, I also regret that I became counter-productive by remaining here, having been forced - as outlined in my letter of resignation enclosed - of either remaining as a disruptive influence subversive of the prevailing hierarchy or of leaving. I believe our choice was politically correct as the situation here is narrow, closed and fundamentally authoritarian; it is not conducive to dialogue but, rather, to the encouragement of a veneer of blind obedience. This, we believe, is not the fault of any individual or group here, although some, through conscious or unconscious actions, have doubtless contributed to the problem. We feel the malaise is much more fundamental; that it lies with the organisational structure of Mazimbu and, perhaps, other sectors of the movement as well.

Both Barbara and myself consider that the movement possesses quite clearly defined general principles and policies based on these. Yet, what appears to be happening seems symptomatic of a lack - or confusion - of clear direction.

Although I shall confine myself to the situation in Mazimbu, I have made the more general observation in the light of pronouncements made here from time to time by some senior members of our movement who are active in other sectors.

In giving you the background to our decision to quit Mazimbu, I shall not dwell on single incidents observed or experienced here over the nearly two years we have served at the school. The overall impression - for which a plethora of evidence can be produced - is that Mazimbu is a place where hypocrisy has been elevated to institutional rank; where petty corruption and incompetence in high places is rife. This, I must again stress, is not, we feel, because of the individuals involved but rather because the confusion of direction and authority creates conditions in which people cannot grow within their jobs; conditions in which defensive bigotry thrives.

That all this is in clear contradiction to the structures and policies laid down
in 1978 - and ratified by the NEC - goes without saying. But it was on the basis of this policy and the structures outlined in accordance with it that we came to Mazimbu. Yet it was obvious, shortly after our arrival, that there were various machinations underway which had little to do with the advancement of the proclaimed goals for Mazimbu and Sonafeco. This was something of a shock, but there was more of a shock in the gradual realisation that revolutionary dialogue was not only unwanted, it was positively discouraged; something was sorely wrong.

When various actions and manoeuvrings seemed positively detrimental to our aims and principles, I - in particular - reacted, always attempting to follow the correct procedure, using as my guide the decisions of the NEC (I did not know, until fairly recently, that many of these decisions had been controversially overturned in 1979 but, even after I pieced together this history, it made no difference since only the original (1978) proposals had been ratified by the NEC and it was by these, therefore, that I felt bound).

With hindsight, we feel we were, in the initial months, perhaps sorely at fault in assuming that the obviously harmful influences at work stemmed only from the actions of individuals; that the original policy and principles - and the structures based on them - were still the over-riding and generally agreed goals of Sonafeco. But, by the time we arrived, these policies and principles had already been reduced to rhetoric alone, although often with attendant rationalisations. Now - or precisely when - Mazimbu became derailed from its originally expressed purpose is a question which will, perhaps, one day be answered.

The simple fact is that we are derailed, but still plowing on going, by and lar, we know not where. And such a situation creates major problems of its own; problems which often provide the justification for continuing to plough on blindly for fear that my pause will cause everything to come apart at the seams. The mistakes are, therefore, compounded, forcing us further and further from our originally professed goal and road. We are convinced that such a state of affairs is not accidental; that the existing confusion has allowed a degree of manipulation, pushing Sonafeco toward a pattern in opposition to the principles of the Freedom Charter.

What exists now at Mazimbu is an hierarchal establishment, a boss class and others. While we contend that such a social organisation is totally contrary to the principles of our movement, this need not, necessarily, produce the problem encountered at Mazimbu. But for a structure along these lines - as with any large business firm - to succeed, there are two prerequisites:

1. The rhetoric - the expressed policies - must accord with the realities and
2. The hierarchy - the management - must be extremely - even ruthlessly - efficient.
Neither of these prerequisites can, under present conditions, be met. Nor, perhaps, should we - politically - wish them to be.

The alternative course - basically outlined in the 1978 proposals and enlarged upon in the "Green Paper" submitted to the curriculum workshop in December last year by the London Education Committee - is one of democratic structures which acknowledge:

1. That we are all in the same boat and
2. That we share a common - and clearly expressed - goal and direction.

Either way, it is essential to state, once and for all, WHAT Sonafoo is and WHERE it is heading, spelling out, in addition, precisely how other sectors and ancillary bodies and their personal relate to this overall concept.

As things stand, we have a situation of confusion where tyranny is an ever present threat; a hierarchy which verbally expresses revolutionary ideals yet conducts itself in a generally reactionary manner, acting without consultation and reacting from crisis to crisis without planning or adequate forethought. This frequently leads to arbitrary, insensitive and high handed actions.

Because of this situation, fear - and its attendant evils of cynocephaly and hypocrisy - thrives. The overall system - as much a learning device as any "school" - encourages the worst aspects of the human condition; aspects which we, as South Africans, should be especially aware. This system breeds arrogance, patronage, elitism, a whole panoply of selfish and self-centred drives which contribute to the emotional crippling of a people. It is a situation in which ignorance can be lauded, creativity and initiative killed and a social microcosm created which is, from its roots, rotten.

We have, in our time here, seen at first hand many human tragedies; witnessed the unthinking destruction of fragile human confidence and been appalled by so many insensitive, arrogant and destructive actions based on attitudes which would certainly not be out of place among the ranks of the Pretoria regime. It is easy in many of these cases, to blame individuals concerned. Yet, we believe, this would be wrong. It is the structures, themselves the result of confused direction and fogged policies and principles, which encourage latent megalomania and arrogance to bloom, so creating the very conditions in which the real enemy and its agents can thrive.

Unfortunately, those who have wielded arbitrary authority seldom seem willing to give it up (with regard to this attitude, its prevalence and dangers, I recommend a reading of Paulo Friere's book, Pedagogy of the Oppressed). But the situation, while serious, is not, we think, beyond redemption provided - especially bearing Dakawa in mind - firm action is urgently taken. As things stand, we fear
that the future of Namibia—and Soweto in particular—may, in quite large part, be out of the hands of the movement, a dangerous but, hopefully, temporary, situation. But while it lasts, the situation is, we believe, potentially explosive and fragile enough to allow for minimum outside manipulation to trigger major problems and disruption.

That there will be further unpleasant incidents at Namibia we are sure. All we can hope is that they will be contained and that the examination of them will prompt deep analysis rather than the shallow thrashing about of frightened, insecure individuals searching for scapegoats.

Both Barbara and I still remain basically optimistic, although deeply concerned—and we assure you that we remain just as true to the stated goals and principles of our movement as we have ever been.

Our decision to leave was not taken lightly. Nor was it triggered by single incidents, however horrific we may have found some of them (eg: the flogging of the eight women or the post midnight raids and torture of the "daggal" students). The decision was reached after much soul searching, debate and criticism within our family and our action. I am firmly convinced, was the right one. And not only for the political reasons already mentioned, but also for the personal reasons that the pressures of the essentially isolated existence as "the conscience of Namibia" (K. Nakoichi) was having a detrimental effect on our family collective.

Throughout, I attempted to remain—in theory and practice—as dedicated to the policies and principles of the ANC as I have tried to ever since Joe Gqabi first brought me into this movement 21 years ago. And it is against this background that I tendered my resignation in the form I did. It was put as a personal letter to the principal because I felt it would not be in the interests of the movement to make common knowledge of such fundamental differences at Soweto. The principal, however, informed me that there was no need to write another, formal, letter; that he had merely copied mine and sent it to Lusaka.

This last I mention by way of explaining why it might seem I did not follow the correct procedure in resigning.

Finally, we hope we have not in any way caused you to regret your invitation to us to join Soweto. I assure you that Barbara and I have done our best to carry out the tasks mandated to us by the Third Education Council and in accordance with the policy and principles notified by the NEC.

So, as much for the sake of not being the cause—real or imagined—of further disunity as for the preservation of our security and stability as a family, we leave Namibia to continue the struggle in some other way elsewhere.

With kindest regards and best wishes—Amandla!
STUDENTS WORKING IN MAIZE FIELD: DAKAWA
Appendix 27

Chao Kikwu, T.R.B. house nr.15,
24-3-1982.

Dear Terry,

After careful consideration I have decided to stop teaching at Somafo Primary School.

When I applied for the job last year, I had many reasons for doing so. I strongly supported the struggle against apartheid, both for political and humanitarian reasons.

Today I have decided to withdraw for humanitarian reasons.

I do not believe that violence and brutal force as a means to discipline students in a school. Violence can only lead to oppression of people - it has nothing to do with education at all, and is far from the beautiful picture of Somafo the leaders are drawing in official papers about Mazimbu.

The Primary School has so far been able to keep the violence from the door. That time is now over.

Children have started to come to school with black eyes. A teacher has been assaulted, and nobody has done anything about it. Another teacher took part in the latest outburst of brutality.

Of what use is my coming to teach at Mazimbu? How can I ask the children to write compositions like: Comradeship, when a comrade to them is nothing but an empty title? How can I get inspired in class, when my mind is occupied with the latest brutality of Mazimbu? How can I use the experience of the children as a base for my teaching, when their experience is that of living awake at night listening to the screams of students being beaten up by "comrades"? How can the children learn in an atmosphere of violence and fear?

No, Terry, I have closed my eyes too long. As I am not an A.N.C. member I haven't voice outside the teachers meetings. Had I been among my own people I would have protested strongly and stubbornly against the violation of basic human rights. But as it is, All I can do is to stop teaching at Somafo Primary School. This I will do with effect from 25-3-82.

It was my plan to join the anti-apartheid movement as when I came home. I have realized that this is impossible for me now. I would always have to answer any question about Mazimbu honestly. But what can I answer when people ask questions
about the discipline in the school. How can I ask people to feel solidarity for the struggle against a brutal regime, when the leaders of the struggle themselves rely on brutality and oppression?

I feel very sad that my period at Sosafco should end with a letter like this. It has been a great pleasure and a valuable source of knowledge to meet and work together with the South-African children and staff. It has been my most important experience during my stay in Africa. My understanding of the African culture and the struggle for freedom in the southern part of the continent has been widened immensely.

I sincerely hope that the A.N.C. will soon overcome and change the situation at Mazimbu. A.N.C. has too much to lose and so much to win.

Yours in solidarity

[Signature]

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE
Appendix 28

SNFC/3/1

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (S.A.)

SOLOMON MAHLANGU FREEDOM COLLEGE

Private Mail Bag, Mazimbu,
P. O. MOROGORO,
Tanzania.

………………. [1980]

Mr./Mrs ........................
…………………………...
…………………………...

Dear ......................

I am writing to you on a matter of serious importance to our struggle for liberation demanding serious sacrifice from all of us.

On May 7th 1979, the African National Congress of South Africa founded Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, Tanzania. This was in response to a great national need of our people resulting from the intensified unwarranted systematic savage attacks, murders, detentions and tortures of our school children in the mid-1970s.

These retreating students had not only been starved of elementary true education, by even the little they had received could be described as a deliberate miseducation by the South African ruling white minority racists. They need your help. They need the benefit of your wide teaching experience even for a limited period of time which you are willing to spare for them. The problems of rectifying the damage caused by Bantu Education can be best solved by those who understand both the background of the students and the operations of Bantu Education.

We are therefore inviting you to come and join the staff of your College so that our educationally starved youth can have the benefit of your accumulated experiences. You could also come for a limited trial period after which you could freely make a fresh decision.

You will understand that as a liberation movement we have in fact no material benefits to offer you except an opportunity to derive the satisfaction of having made another great sacrifice of service towards our liberation. You and all your dependants of course will not starve when you are here. The AFC(SA) covers all reasonable food and clothing requirements, including a modest cigarette allowance. It is therefore a national service with a difference. For the 20 odd staff already here it has become that very fact of a service for national liberation without a salary that has given the greatest satisfaction. Categorically, some have said they refuse to be paid in order to liberate themselves.
Certainly the experience one gains here, where there is so much to be done and so many problems to be solved is the source of our daily inspiration. It presents a challenge of a lifetime and guarantees beyond all doubt that Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College can now never die because it is the embodiment of many centuries of the aspirations of our people for an education of their own design. It is a pioneering project to which there is a special contribution you could make. In the event of deciding to respond to this national call please contact or write to:-

Coordinating Secretary,
ANC(SA) Dept. of Education and Culture,
P. O. Box 1791,
LUSAKA.

for further details.

Forward to a Peoples Government!

M. W. NJOBE
UNIVERSITY PRINCIPAL
WESTERN CAPE

Cc. ANC(SA) Dept. of Education & Culture, Lusaka.