

An Age-Old Tug of War: Understanding the Intergenerational Conflicts of southern African  
Nationalist Groups

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### Introduction

The only people to escape the detention centers of political activists in Southern Rhodesia were a group of university students in 1966.<sup>1</sup> In mid-March of 1966, Josiah T. Maluleke escaped the Gonakudzingwa detention camp to register as a second-year economics student at the University of Rhodesia (UR). Like other political activists, he had been detained without charges for his involvement in African nationalist circles and placed in Gonakudzingwa to avoid any further radicalization of university students. Evidently, curtailing politicization on the university campus came much too late: students and faculty alike surrounded him in a wave of admiration and support of his resilience against the white Rhodesian government. He could not be re-arrested without inciting a mass altercation. His defiance of the government was infectious. The principal of UR submitted his resignation letter rather than betray Maluleke to the police. Though he did not stay to re-enroll, Maluleke went to complete his studies in exile, escaping the clutches of the Rhodesian legal system.<sup>2</sup> However exceptional his breach of carceral punishment, Maluleke epitomizes the irrepressible spirit of youth activism in southern African liberation movements. The post-1960 generation of students challenged axes of power that stupefied older nationalist leaders. Youth activists refused to be contained by the white minority governments and the older generation of African nationalist leaders by continually reimagining notions of agency and freedom espoused in the era of liberation.

This paper seeks to understand the intergenerational conflicts of southern African liberation movements. Frequently, founders and leaders of nationalists groups were political elites educated before the 1960s representing a privileged class of those able to overcome the extreme barriers in colonial education of the early to mid-20th century. Moving into adulthood

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<sup>1</sup> Jocelyn Alexander, "Nationalism and Self-Government in Rhodesian Detention: Gonakudzingwa, 1964-1974," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37, no. 3 (2011): 557.

<sup>2</sup> J. Leo Cefkins, "Rhodesian University Students in National Politics," in *University Students and African Politics*, ed. William John Hanna (New York: Africana Pub. Co., 1975), 152-153.

endowed with this academically charged authority, these leaders were detached from the experiences of disempowered Africans under the white minority governments yet intended to lead them into liberation. The start of armed struggles in the early 1960s and waves of exiles of political activists encouraged the regional migration of youth. Nationalist groups established educational institutions in their own enclaves to aid in the proliferation of revolutionary politics and enforce a cohesive political identity for the liberation movement. Additionally, in these ancillary spaces for southern African nationalists, young Africans found greater educational opportunities through the provision of foreign scholarships by political and nonprofit entities hoping to co-opt their support in the Cold War. The expansion of the educated class by the younger generation of South Africans produced tensions with leaders educated prior to the 1960s. Leaders felt their authority and their political hegemony threatened by demands of youth members for devolution of power.

I started my research by interviewing five Africans who attended college from the 1960s to 1980s. They all had in some way witnessed or participated in political activism as a student. It is easier to judge African liberation movements in retrospect, but one consistent quality in my interviews was that they all recalled their fierce optimism in the prospect of African liberation. They expressed their youthful commitment to African governance, agency, and fairness. Yet, the scholarship on African student activists during revolutionary periods remain pessimistic and skeptical of their objectives. The scholarship blanketly dismisses student activists as elite aspirants. The stigma flattens the diversity of the ideological and material environment of student bodies. The volatility of studenthood in Africa, especially in southern Africa in the temporal frame of this paper, disproves any general summation of students' objectives as simply entitled or selfish. Dan Hodgkinson, a prolific scholar on student activism, claims that Rhodesian student

activists of the 1960s and 1970s felt entitled to political positions as the country's intellectual class.<sup>3</sup> He comes to the same conclusion about students in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Uganda, and many others.<sup>4</sup> Constantin Katsakioris similarly simplified the dissent of Mozambican and Namibian youth as their, “frustrated ambitions... to be considered elites.”<sup>5</sup> Michael Panzer referred to Mozambican refugees as “socially opportunistic.”<sup>6</sup> I am not denying the role of education in enabling social mobility. Instead, I am insisting that the literature on African student activists must take greater care in interrogating their objectives by considering their lived experiences and contexts rather than using a retrospective lens to analyze them as proto-elites. This thesis seeks to contribute to the current scholarship on African student activism by underlining the complex conditions of studenthood during southern African liberation movements.

Understanding studenthood as a highly volatile status for southern African youth elucidates how the politics of the leadership of older educated elites clashed with the post-1960s generation. The insecurity of education in southern Africa constantly transformed youth's status as students to and from positions as laborers, peasants, prisoners, and other proletarian backgrounds. As education no longer belonged to a few urbanites of the colony, conflicts emerged within nationalist groups over ideological disputes and the democratization of power. Fissures developed within nationalist groups as the younger generation reimagined the notions of liberation set forth by the leadership. Intergenerational disputes set the pursuit of education in opposition to the pursuit of liberation despite the foundational commitments of nationalist

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<sup>3</sup> Dan Hodgkinson, “Nationalists with No Nation: Oral History, ZANU(PF) and the Meanings of Rhodesian Student Activism in Zimbabwe” *Africa* 89, no. S1 (March 2019): S43.

<sup>4</sup> Dan Hodgkinson and Luke Melchiorre. “Introduction: Student Activism in an Era of Decolonization” *Africa* 89, no. 1 (Jan 2019): S8.

<sup>5</sup> Constantin Katsakioris, “Students from Portuguese Africa in the Soviet Union, 1960–74: Anti-Colonialism, Education, and the Socialist Alliance,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, April 3, 2020, 145.

<sup>6</sup> Michael G. Panzer, “A Nation in Name, a ‘state’ in Exile: The FRELIMO Proto-State, Youth, Gender, and the Liberation of Mozambique 1962-1975” (Ph.D., SUNY at Albany, 2013), 146.

leaders for the expansion of education for Africans. Nationalist leaders progressively developed ways to control the means of education and academic settings, but not without resistance from youth. This paper argues that the urgency to capture the post-1960 generation of student activism created paternalistic and, in some cases, authoritarian dynamics by leaders of liberation movements as in efforts to transform nationalists groups into legitimate political parties nearing the dawn of independence.

### **Education and the Rise of Nationalist Leaders**

The restrictions in colonial education in southern Africa prior to the 1960s inform the trajectory of nationalist politics. The estrangement of African youth from indigenous edification and colonial schooling fed the labor demands of white settlers and corporations that leeches southern Africa of its resources. The deprivation of southern African peoples fermented the perception of formal schooling accredited by white powers as being the pathway to colonial civility. Academic achievements also afforded some an escape from the wicked contract labor system and other forms of forced labor. Colonial education policies and institutions were created to be inaccessible and insuperable. Language and age requirements, costs of tuition, disciplinary tactics, and other frivolous obstacles barred African youth from attending or continuing school. These impasses created a pipeline into the labor market. Moreover, the curriculum was not designed to be intellectually engaging or conducive to creating socially or economically competitive African societies. The few who were able to attain secondary and tertiary education—by privileged means of their social position, parentage, class, and proximity to urban districts—adopted the disciplinary doctrines of colonial institutions to go on to lead nationalist groups. Given their path to leadership, the political elite educated prior to the 1960s would champion education as the liberator of Africans, but still sought to secure their power by

controlling the means of schooling for youth. This chapter will lay out the policies and practices of colonial education and how these systems begat the nationalist leaders of Angola and Mozambique, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and South Africa.

### *Angola and Mozambique*

Only few Africans could navigate the abjectly neglected Portuguese education system. The leadership of the Movimento Popular para Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) came from an elite urban, educated, and frequently *mestiços* (mixed race) class of Africans in the colonies. Higher social statuses granted them unique educational opportunities not widely available to Africans because of the deliberate limitations in the education system. In 1926, a coup brought António de Oliveira Salazar to power as the new president of Portugal and waded in an era of Catholic military dictatorship.<sup>7</sup> In 1933, Salazar allowed the Catholic Church total dominion over rudimentary education—the two education levels in which Africans were assimilated to Portuguese language and culture—and limited missionary schools of different denominations.<sup>8</sup> This new ruling further limited opportunities for schooling for African children. However, Agostinho Neto, who would become president of the MPLA in 1962, circumvented that obstacle because of his father's position as a Methodist pastor. The Protestant Church competed with the Catholic Church for missionary influence in Angola.<sup>9</sup> Neto became one of the few African to gain secondary education in the capital city of Luanda.<sup>10</sup> He worked as a secretary to an American Methodist bishop, Ralph

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<sup>7</sup> Pedro Felisberto Miguel Bondo, "THE HISTORY OF ANGOLAN EDUCATION 1930-1980: THE CONVERGENCE OF COLONIALISM, RELIGION, AND DECREE" (Ph.D., KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, n.d.), 135.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.; Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 50.

<sup>9</sup> Gillian Rosalind Gunn Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation: Western Relations with the MPLA and FRELIMO from 1956 to 1976" (Ph.D., England, London School of Economics and Political Science, 2001), 25.

<sup>10</sup> Jennifer Davis and George M. Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain: Angola and the MPLA* (New York: Africa Fund, 1976), 13.

Dodge, to fund his secondary school education. In 1947, he earned a scholarship from the Methodist missions in New York to study medicine at the universities of Lisbon and Coimbra.<sup>11</sup> Neto's academic trajectory would not have been possible without his father's connections as a Methodist pastor and his proximity to Luanda. The ordinance granting Catholic missions control over African education severely cut down the presence of mission schools of other denominations and was more strictly enforced over the decades.<sup>12</sup> There were few schools available in rural areas and many Africans did not receive an education past the fourth grade.<sup>13</sup> Most schools open to Africans beyond mission schools were art craft schools, primary teaching schools, teacher preparation schools, school monitor courses, and preparatory schools.<sup>14</sup> The education system kept Africans out of academia and professional careers. Neto joined the young intelligentsia of Portugal's African colonies in Lisbon. Lisbon since the 1920s had hosted a culture of African youth forming politics around pan-Africanism, Black nationalism, anti-fascism, and communism.<sup>15</sup> In 1956, the MPLA was formed in Luanda through a coalition of several other groups dealing in matters of communism and revolution by young educated returnees from Lisbon, many *mestiços*.<sup>16</sup> Neto joined MPLA after his release from prison in 1957 for his writing and anti-colonialism activism.<sup>17</sup> He returned to Angola after graduating in 1958 and established his medical practice catering to underserved Africans.<sup>18</sup> The practice served as a cover for his clandestine work for the MPLA. He was arrested again in June 1960. A massive campaign was launched for his release. Neto's poetry had earned him international acclaim;

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 13; Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 25.

<sup>12</sup> Judith Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique: The Governance Of Learning From Colonization To The Present* (Routledge, 2019), 94.

<sup>13</sup> Bondo, "THE HISTORY OF ANGOLAN EDUCATION 1930-1980," 159.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 166.

<sup>15</sup> Davis and Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain*, 9-11.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 11.; Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 22.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 26.; Davis and Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain*, 13.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 13.

Western liberals and intellectuals wrote letters to the *London Times* and urged governments to demand his release. He was named president while in prison following the arrest and exile of past presidents of the MPLA. In Angola, his arrest sparked a demonstration outside Luanda's central prison on February 4, 1961 of 3,000 members of his village of Bengo and the adjacent village of Icolo who attacked the prison.<sup>19</sup> The Portuguese responded by arresting and executing nearly every villager of Bengo burning down the town.<sup>20</sup> This incident marked the beginning of preparations for the armed struggle in 1961 as members of the MPLA fled into exile. Neto was released in March 1962 under orders he remained in Angola, but he secretly escaped.<sup>21</sup> His arrest launched Neto onto the main stage of the Angolan liberation movement alongside other educated, professional Africans and *mestiços*. The MPLA took credit for the protest at the prison, however, Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a high ranking MPLA figure in the 1960s revealed in an interview that the demonstration was an unplanned revolt against the tyrannical Portuguese security system.<sup>22</sup> This is only the start of many instances in southern African liberation movements in which the bourgeoisie leadership will co-opt the work of the African proletariat.

Similar to Neto, Eduardo Mondlane, son of a Tonga chief, also received a Protestant missionary education in Angola.<sup>23</sup> Mondlane would become FRELIMO's first president. When Mondlane completed his primary schooling, he had attained the highest level of general schooling available to Africans in Portuguese colonies at that time. He then received a scholarship for agriculture from an American methodist mission, allowing him an opportune chance to learn English.<sup>24</sup> Given the dearth of secondary schooling in Mozambique, Mondlane

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<sup>19</sup> Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 26.-27.; *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>20</sup> Davis and Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain*, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 26.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>23</sup> Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 44.

<sup>24</sup> John A. Marcum, "Eduardo Mondlane," in *Conceiving Mozambique*, ed. John A. Marcum, Edmund Burke III, and Michael W. Clough (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 4.

attended a Swiss secondary school in the Transvaal in South Africa under the sponsorship of a Swiss missionary.<sup>25</sup> Not only was the cost of secondary school tuition high for African parents, often children in school meant a loss of labor power for poor families.<sup>26</sup> In 1948, Mondlane became the first Mozambican African to attend the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg on a scholarship.<sup>27</sup> To put this in perspective, by 1954 the Angolan public school system had 71 primary schools, but only one government high school.<sup>28</sup> Most Africans could not afford the cost of private school tuition nor could they access secondary schools since they were concentrated in the capital city of Lourenco Marques.<sup>29</sup> The first university in Angola would not be established until 1962. Even then the university was underfunded and only a limited number of Africans qualified to sit for examinations for a chance at attaining higher education in Portugal.<sup>30</sup> Mondlane was deported a year into his time at Witwatersrand University by the South African government for his student activism in the Núcleo dos Estudantes Africanos Secundários de Moçambique (NESAM), the leading Mozambican student movement that criticized Portuguese colonialism.<sup>31</sup> When he returned to Lourenco Marques he was arrested and interrogated by the Portuguese police for his involvement in NESAM then sent by the colonial officials to Portugal to continue his schooling. The colonial administration organized for him to study in Lisbon under a scholarship from Protestant missions and the Phelps Stokes Fund in New York.<sup>32</sup> Still, the surveillance and harassment by the Portuguese police continued in Lisbon, so Mondlane requested his scholarship be transferred to the United States and he entered Oberlin College in

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<sup>25</sup> Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 44.; *Ibid.*; 5.

<sup>26</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 89-90.

<sup>27</sup> Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 44.; Allen F. Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), 81.

<sup>28</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 87.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>30</sup> Bondo, "THE HISTORY OF ANGOLAN EDUCATION 1930-1980," 172.; *Ibid.*, 97.

<sup>31</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 81.; Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 44.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

1951.<sup>33</sup> He graduated in 1953 and attained his masters at Northwestern University in 1956 then doctorate in 1960 studying sociology and anthropology.<sup>34</sup> He finished his doctorate as a visiting scholar at Harvard.<sup>35</sup> When he returned to Mozambique in 1961 with diplomatic immunity as a United Nations employee, he was the only PhD degree holder in the entire colony.<sup>36</sup> Mondlane's academic career was an incredible feat over the many obstacles in the Portuguese colonial education system. By 1955, in a population of nearly six million Africans only ten were enrolled in secondary schools.<sup>37</sup> In 1960, only 30 Africans in a student body of 1000 attended the main secondary school in Lourenco Marques.<sup>38</sup> By 1961, less than 1% of Africans were *assimilados*, a status accorded to Africans who had attained a high level of education and a professional job.<sup>39</sup> Facing harassment from the Portuguese when he arrived in Mozambique, Mondlane fled to Tanzania, under the wing of Julius Nyerere, whom Mondlane had previously developed a friendly relationship with in New York.<sup>40</sup> Nyerere's endorsement of Mondlane as the best candidate for the leadership of FRELIMO is unsurprising because his academic achievements socially accredited to lead a nationalist movement. Nyerere used his influence to urge the unification of three Mozambican groups: the União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (UNDENAMO), comprising mainly of mine laborers in Salisbury and students studying in University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (UCRN); the Mozambican National African Union (MANU) of dock and plantation workers in Kenya; and the African National Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI) of migrant workers in British Nyasaland. Mondlane had no

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<sup>33</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 81.; *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>34</sup> Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 44.; Marcum, "Eduardo Mondlane," 6.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>36</sup> Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 81.

<sup>37</sup> Marcum, "Eduardo Mondlane," 6.

<sup>38</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 94.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>40</sup> Joanna T. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Africa (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2019), 49.

prior relationship with any of these groups. Yet, in June 1962, he resigned from his position at the UN to participate in politics and lead the newly formed FRELIMO.<sup>41</sup> That same summer he would join the faculty of the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. Mondlane's experience in academia would color FRELIMO's investment in the education of Mozambicans and the party's hegemony by elitist leadership. Like Mondlane, his *mestiço* vice president Marcelino dos Santos had no prior affiliation with the foundational groups of FRELIMO and had studied abroad in Portugal and Paris. The leadership of FRELIMO consisted primarily of rural, commercial petty bourgeoisie class and urban Africans.<sup>42</sup> The poor representation of uneducated people, laborers, and youth would create internal conflicts in FRELIMO and shape the trajectory of the movement.

Meanwhile, Africans unable to overcome the obstacles of the Portuguese colonial education system became exactly what the system was designed to create: laborers. While only 1% of Africans had achieved *assimilado* status by 1961, there were over 100,000 Mozambicans gold mineworkers in South Africa, making up nearly a quarter of the total mineworkers in the state.<sup>43</sup> As the poorest colonial power in Africa, Portugal lacked the finances and personnel necessary to operate the colonies.<sup>44</sup> Britain financed Portuguese colonies in southern Africa because Africans from Angola and Mozambique significantly contributed to the labor pool for British colonies.<sup>45</sup> The *chibalo* system, enacted by the first native code in 1899, imposed forced labor in Portuguese colonies to service European plantations, construct and operate ports and roads, and domestic work.<sup>46</sup> Mozambicans worked in South African mines and the railways and

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 49-50 & 59.; Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 79 & 81.; Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 45.

<sup>42</sup> Clissold, "Coercion versus Co-Optation," 45-46.

<sup>43</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 78.

<sup>44</sup> Bondo, "THE HISTORY OF ANGOLAN EDUCATION 1930-1980," 125.

<sup>45</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 128.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 55.

ports of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>47</sup> Angolans worked in mineries and fisheries in South West Africa.<sup>48</sup> The negligence of African education created a pipeline into the *chibalo* system. While some like Neto, Mondlane, and dos Santos were able to best the barriers in the education system, others were swept under by financial constraints, age restrictions, shortages of schools, listless curriculums, and laws that explicitly prohibited Africans from gaining further education. Prior to 1930, schools were frequently empty and teachers ill-equipped or untrained themselves.<sup>49</sup> Most Africans could not afford to send their children to private schools so they could receive a marginally better quality of education.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, plans made to expand schools for Africans fell short in practice. The plans for the construction of school in Angola made in 1947 were not completed until over a decade later in 1958.<sup>51</sup> Most schools were located in districts of white settlers and near administrative posts making it difficult for Africans who lived in rural areas to access them.<sup>52</sup> The administration made three years of rudimentary schooling compulsory for children ages seven to ten living within three kilometers of a school, which were not widely available. After completing rudimentary school, students moved on to three levels of primary education to gain admission to secondary school. However, the school system was designed to fail more students than it passed.<sup>53</sup> In 1961, a little under 3% of students in primary schools passed.<sup>54</sup> The low passing rates meant students often had to repeat years, making them miss the cutoff age of 13 for secondary school admission.<sup>55</sup> Additionally, few mission schools provided the fifth-year preparatory programmes needed to move on to secondary schools.<sup>56</sup> Schools

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<sup>47</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 48.

<sup>48</sup> Dreyer, *Namibia & Southern Africa* (Routledge, 2016), 45.

<sup>49</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 81.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>51</sup> Bondo, "THE HISTORY OF ANGOLAN EDUCATION 1930-1980," 154.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 158.

<sup>53</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 88.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.; Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 50.

<sup>56</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 90.

inadequately contributed to the quality of life for African youth. Missionary schools focused on the rote learning of catechism under the guise of promoting religiosity and prohibited the use of local languages within school properties.<sup>57</sup> African languages were referred to as “languages of the dogs.”<sup>58</sup> Even with the restrictions on African languages, by 1950, an estimated 97% of Africans in Angola and 98% in Mozambique were illiterate in Portuguese.<sup>59</sup> The Portuguese colonial education system was designed to discourage Africans from becoming anything other than subordinates to the white settler class. Portuguese colonies feigned meeting the civilizing mission touted by other colonial powers. Angola and Mozambique solely functioned to fulfill the financial needs of Portugal and the surrounding European powers by providing a meager education system only meant to push African into the labor force.

### *South West Africa*

Similar to the Portuguese colonial administration, the government of South Africa lazily administered South West Africa as an opportune extension of their supply of labor, natural resources, and land. Though education was made compulsory for white settlers between the ages of seven and seventeen after 1920, the South African government made no provision for African education. Missionaries almost exclusively controlled African education until the introduction of apartheid in 1948.<sup>60</sup> Missionary-educated African had to travel to South Africa for post-primary education.<sup>61</sup> South West Africa had no government sponsored secondary schools until the 1960s.<sup>62</sup> The negligence of the education system, like in Angola and Mozambique, provided an

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<sup>57</sup> Bondo, “THE HISTORY OF ANGOLAN EDUCATION 1930-1980,” 132.

<sup>58</sup> Marshall, *Literacy, Power, And Democracy In Mozambique*, 84.

<sup>59</sup> Isaacman, *Mozambique*, 52.

<sup>60</sup> Reitumetse Obakeng Mabokela, Kimberly Lenease King, and Robert F. Arnove, “Higher Education Transformation in Namibia: Road to Reform and Reconciliation or Rock of Sisyphus!,” in *Apartheid No More : Case Studies of Southern African Universities in the Process of Transformation* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001), 127-128.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>62</sup> Siphosibus Maseko, “The Student Movement and the Struggle for Liberation in Namibia” (M.A., Canada, Queen’s University (Canada), 1992), 26.

abundant supply of laborers for the workforce. Consequently, labor became the underbelly of the Namibia liberation movement.

The dichotomy between labour and education is extremely emphasized in the Namibian liberation movement. The establishment of the two main Namibian nationalist groups, the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and the South West African National Union (SWANU) emblemize the divisive pathways to higher education and to the labor force created by southern African educational systems. In April 1960, SWAPO was created by the unification of some of the members of SWANU and Ovamboland People's Organisation (OPO), a workers' union. SWANU formed a year prior by former leaders of a student activist group, the South West Africa Student Body (SWASB), studying in South Africa at the University of Fort Hare. The leaders of SWASB, Fanuel Jarientundu Kozonguizi, Kerina Mbirumba, and Zed Ngaurue, were inspired by the 1952 Defiance Campaign of the ANC Youth League to create an organization for Namibian secondary and university students in South Africa.<sup>63</sup> Once back in the Namibian urban center of Windhoek, the founders of SWASB transformed the group into a cultural organization for like-minded educated Africans. SWANU established the *South West News*, the first black-authored newspaper in South West Africa, and supported scholarships for Africans looking to study in South Africa.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, the OPO, previously known as the Ovamboland People's Congress (OPC) was founded by Namibian laborers in Capetown in 1957 to abolish the contract labor system.<sup>65</sup> SWAPO was created by Andimba Tovia ya Tovia and Sam Nujoma, who would become the president of SWAPO and Namibia after independence in 1990.<sup>66</sup> Nujoma

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<sup>63</sup> Somadoda Fikeni, "Exile and Return: The Politics of Namibia's 'Returnees'" (M.A., Canada, Queen's University, 1992), 37.

<sup>64</sup> Christian A. Williams, "Education in Exile: International Scholarships, Cold War Politics, and Conflicts among SWAPO Members in Tanzania, 1961–1968," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43, no. 1 (January 2017): 128.

<sup>65</sup> Christian A. Williams, *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa: A Historical Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps*, African Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316162958>.

<sup>66</sup> Fikeni, "Exile and Return," 38-39.

received missionary education in South West African up until the age of 16.<sup>67</sup> In an interview in 1994, when asked about his schooling as a child, he instead referenced the pastoral part of his upbringing: “like all other boys at that age, I used to spend most of my time herding my father’s cattle and working with the family.”<sup>68</sup> Though SWAPO absorbed some members of SWANU, Nujoma made certain to fashion the group’s political identity as one rooted in collectivism and militant liberation in contrast to the intellectual, individualistic reputation of SWANU. In the title of his autobiography, *Where Others Wavered*, he subliminally disparaged the passive theoretical methods of SWANU’s activism. SWANU largely focused its efforts during the Namibian liberation movement on organizing foreign scholarships for Namibian youth looking to flee the country and most of SWANU’s leadership were studying Sweden in the 1960s.<sup>69</sup> Though SWAPO members, especially future leaders of the party, did study abroad as well, SWAPO guerilla fighters were at the forefront of the political image of the Namibian liberation movement. Most guerilla fighters were migrant workers denied an education by the South African system. Higher education would come to dictate who became bureaucrats or rank-and-file soldiers of the liberation movement. The deprivation of education in South West Africa characterizes the elitist divisions within SWAPO and between SWAPO and SWANU. Migrant workers were not only laborers but represented a class of those denied social mobility due to their lack of formal education. The volatility of education politicized African youth in many ways.

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<sup>67</sup> “Nujoma, Sam (Namibia),” in *The Statesman’s Yearbook Companion: The Leaders, Events and Cities of the World* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2019), 285.

<sup>68</sup> Mick Slatter, “Sam Nujoma, President of Namibia,” *Africa Report* 39, no. 5 (September 1, 1994): 71.

<sup>69</sup> Johann Müller and Reinhart Kössler, *The Inevitable Pipeline Into Exile : Botswana’s Role in the Namibian Liberation Struggle*(Basel, Switzerland: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 2012), 121.; Williams, *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa*, 126.

*Southern Rhodesia*

Like in Angola, Mozambique, and South West Africa, education in Southern Rhodesia grew as needed to support the white settler society only to residually benefit Africans. Since the opening of the first African school in 1859, missionaries operated primary schooling for Africans. In 1899, the white settler government enacted the first education ordinance providing grants only for white children.<sup>70</sup> The influx of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia following World War I prompted a reformation of educational and labor policies to benefit the settler population. The government did not provide any state-sponsored primary education for Africans. Instead, in 1920, the government established Domboshawa and Tjolutjo African industrial and agriculture schools in Mashonaland and Matabeleland respectively. The schools taught African students livestock management, carpentry, building, forestry, gardening, and other manual labor skills they were expected to employ in their own communities or for European employers.<sup>71</sup> The government did not open an elementary school in Southern Rhodesia until 1944, leaving generations of African youth with little other option than to work for white settlers.<sup>72</sup> The principal of Domboshawa explained his project in Southern Rhodesia as: “where a higher civilisation infringes upon a lower one, we must not forget that the higher civilisation as well as the other is affected. The civilised community in contact with the barbarian community must either raise the latter to its own level or it will ultimately itself sink unto barbarism.”<sup>73</sup> Colonial African education was entirely concerned with the settler’s experience in Africa.

Joshua Nkomo’s father, a teacher employed by the London Missionary Society, educated him through primary school. Like Neto, Nkomo’s father’s affiliation with missionaries allowed

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<sup>70</sup> Tendayi J. Sengerwe Kumbula, “Education and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia: 1946-1974” (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 1976), 128-129.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 140-141.

<sup>72</sup> Eliakim M. Sibanda, “The Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), 1961–1987: A Political History of Insurgency in Southern Rhodesia” (Ph.D., University of Colorado at Boulder, 2001), 80.

<sup>73</sup> B. W Lloyd, *Early History of Domboshawa School: Period 1920-1939* (Native Affairs Dept., 1962), 8.

him a rare chance at consistent early education despite the family's poverty. Nkomo would later become president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). After completing primary school, he enrolled in Tjolutjo Government Industrial School in 1932 at the age of 15.<sup>74</sup> In 1934, the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 legalized the reservation of jobs for white settlers and barred Africans from skilled apprenticeships.<sup>75</sup> The law formally restricted Africans from high-paying industrial work. After graduating from Tjolutjo in 1936, Nkomo rejected the paltry wages offered by European contractors to try his luck as his own employer by operating a secondhand bus with his brother. After several unlucrative job ventures he left for South Africa in 1942 to continue his education.<sup>76</sup>

Nkomo's further education in South Africa would also have lasting effects on the Zimbabwean liberation movement. Africans in Southern Rhodesia often travelled to South Africa for secondary and tertiary schooling due to the lack of provisions in the state. Nkomo left for South Africa in 1942, working odd jobs to support himself through secondary school and college. In 1945, he enrolled in Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Science where he met Seretse Khama, the future president of Botswana; Nelson Mandela, a student at Witwatersrand University at the time along with Khama; and Herbert Chitepo, another Zimbabwean nationalist leader and the first Black Chief Justice of independent Zimbabwe.<sup>77</sup> These encounters would create key political alliances for Nkomo and his schooling in Johannesburg acted as a critical site for his ideological development in regards to anti-colonialism and socialism. In 1949, Nkomo started his degree in economics and sociology at the University of South Africa.<sup>78</sup> That year over 600 secondary students from Southern Rhodesia were studying in South Africa and 15 Southern

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<sup>74</sup> Joshua Nkomo, *Nkomo: The Story of My Life* (London: Methuen, 1984), 8 & 22.

<sup>75</sup> Kumbula, "Education and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia," 143.

<sup>76</sup> Nkomo, *Nkomo*, 6.

<sup>77</sup> Sibanda, "The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)," 143-144.; Nkomo, *Nkomo*, 35.

<sup>78</sup> Sibanda, "The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)," 162.

Rhodesians had South African university degrees.<sup>79</sup> Nkomo would graduate into their ranks in 1951. Given his relationship with members of the party and as one of the few college-educated Southern Rhodesians in South Africa, Nkomo was elected president of the Southern Rhodesian chapter of the ANC until the Southern Rhodesian government banned the group in 1959.<sup>80</sup> The position was one of many political seats Nkomo would occupy in Southern Rhodesia as mass political groups evolved into the formation of ZAPU on December 17, 1961 under his leadership.<sup>81</sup> The deficiencies in the Southern Rhodesian education system pushed Africans into other states for access to education and allowed rising elites to form cross regional alliances with other southern African nationalist leaders in the 1950s. This unwitting effect of the education system will sustain liberation movements as intensified persecution forced nationalist leaders into detention or exile.

Likewise, Ndabaningi Sithole benefitted from a close association with missionaries in Southern Rhodesia. Sithole would become the founder of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) out of a schism with ZAPU in 1963. At the age of 12 in 1932, Sithole started attending elementary school provided by the British Methodist Church in Shabani. Unlike Nkomo, Sithole did not have the support of his father to continue his education. He dropped out by the end of 1932 to the pleasure of his father, who urged him to be a laborer instead.<sup>82</sup> As is the case for African children in Angola and Mozambique, children in schools meant a loss of income for poor families. However, after lying to his father that he found a job, Sithole left home in 1936 and enrolled himself in Dadaya Mission boarding school using his savings from his previous employment as a caretaker for a white family. He worked through academic breaks to fund his

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<sup>79</sup> Kumbula, "Education and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia," 233.

<sup>80</sup> Boipelo Winnie Oitsile, "Botswana and the Liberation in South Africa and Zimbabwe: The Government and People against White Racist Rule" (M.A., Trent University, 2010), 20.

<sup>81</sup> Sibanda, "The Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)," 125.

<sup>82</sup> Ndabaningi Sithole, *African Nationalism* (London: Oxford, 1968), 12-13.

primary education once his savings ran out. When he graduated in 1939, he earned a scholarship to train as a teacher at Waddilove Training Institution. However, secondary schooling eluded him because of the cost of tuition.<sup>83</sup> At the time, schooling in Rhodesia was not free and mission schools did not provide secondary schooling until the early 1940s.<sup>84</sup> Africans paid a third more for their schooling than whites, though settlers earned nearly ten times more than Africans in wages.<sup>85</sup> Sithole worked as a teacher and preached as his livelihood. At the age of 35, he attracted the attention of the American Mission Board with his sermon on racial unrest, ‘Our Need of Love Not Weapons’. The Mission Board awarded him a scholarship to study at the Andover-Newton Theological Seminary in hopes of nurturing a talent that could redress racial unrest in the United States as well.<sup>86</sup> Sithole’s missionary education launched his political career and afforded him a rare opportunity to study abroad in the 1950s. His American connections would help internationalize the Zimbabwean liberation movement, as Nkomo regionally accomplished in South Africa. Nationalists became leaders of liberation movements because of the authority and confidence entrusted in them by their education. They not only had degrees but political affiliations that legitimized them and provided practical support once white governments heightened their persecution of nationalist activists.

### *South Africa*

The most prominent South African nationalist group grew out of the same patterns of the deprivation of education and internationally-connected educated elites examined throughout this chapter. The restrictive and under-resourced African education system in the British colonies of the Cape and Natal shaped the formation of the African National Congress. Few Xhosa and Zulu

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 14-16.

<sup>84</sup> Kumbula, “Education and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia,” 197.; Norman Joseph Atkinson, *Teaching Rhodesians: A History of Educational Policy in Rhodesia* (London: The Camelot Press, 1972), 118.

<sup>85</sup> Kumbula, “Education and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia,” 163.

<sup>86</sup> Sithole, *African Nationalism*, 23.

speaking peoples of southern Africa rose to political distinction by way of higher education in the early 20th century. Eight years after the Boer Wars, the two Boer republics and two British colonies formed the Union of South Africa in 1910, relieving the British crown of its colonial duties and instituting an independent white minority-ruled state in the southernmost tip of the African continent.<sup>87</sup> A delegation of educated Africans travelled in vain to England to protest the exclusion of Africans from South Africa's parliament. They hoped to convince the British government to extend the illusory policy of non-racialism of Britain to South Africa. Dr. Pixley ka Izaka Seme returned from his studies at Oxford University and called for a multi-ethnic coalition of Africans against racism. In his graduation ceremony address at Columbia University for his Curtis Medal award in April 1906, he proclaimed of Africans: "The giant is awakening! ... The African already recognizes his anomalous positions and desires a change ... The regeneration of African means that a new and unique civilization is soon to be added to the world. The African is not a proletarian in the world of science and art: he has precious creations of his own ..."<sup>88</sup> Upon his return to Johannesburg in 1910, he learned that unfortunately his stellar education had not afforded him equal status to white settlers.<sup>89</sup> Seme's coalition met at Bloemfontein in 1912 and formed the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which would later be renamed the African National Congress in 1925. The conference included educated Christian middle-class African men employed as teachers, journalists, clergymen, clerks, businessmen, and builders all educated in mission schools in the late 19th century.<sup>90</sup> Seme's uncle, Dr. John Langalibalele Dube, a reputed Zulu leader, was elected president of the ANC.<sup>91</sup> He was trained by American missionaries at Oberlin Preparatory Academy and returned

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<sup>87</sup> Heidi Holland, *The Struggle: A History of the African National Congress* (New York, NY: G. Braziller, 1990), 38.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 40.; Pixley ka Isaka Seme, "The Regeneration of Africa" (Columbia University, April 5, 1906), [https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/regeneration\\_of\\_africa\\_by\\_Pixley\\_Seme.pdf](https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/regeneration_of_africa_by_Pixley_Seme.pdf).

<sup>89</sup> Heidi Holland, *The Struggle*, 39.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 41.

to South Africa to establish the first industrial school for Africans with the funding of American philanthropies in 1901, earning him an honorary doctorate from the University of South Africa.<sup>92</sup> Dr. Dube and Seme were among the exceptionally educated co-founders of the Congress whose elitism would be reflected in its conservative politics of reformist liberalism. Seme sought to realize the African renaissance he had declared to a crowd at Columbia was forming. The renaissance apparently constituted professional, educated men who would lead Africans into a new liberal era.

The formative academic experiences of Dr. Dube and Seme explain their privileging of European culture in hopes of remaking Africans in that image. In his Columbia commencement speech, Seme addressed the notorious slave-owner John C. Calhoun in an effort to prove Black intellectualism as evidenced by the, “black men of pure African blood who could repeat the Koran from memory, skilled in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldaic - men great in wisdom and profound knowledge.”<sup>93</sup> While Seme is not alone in this sentiment—joined by W. E. B. DuBois in *Black Africa*, the writers of the negritude movement, and other Black political leaders entangled in the politics of racial uplift—in this impuissant attempt to counter the illogicalities of white supremacy with empiricism, it demonstrates a racial insecurity donned in a top hat invested in colonial notions of civility. Dr. Dube wrote of his co-ethnics: “the Zulus, ... a people who have but recently seen the light of civilization and felt the glorious influences of Christianity through the efforts of missionaries ... when the absence of the Bible, the school house and the Church left these people to their own heathenism and superstitions.”<sup>94</sup> For Christianity, Dube overlooked the massacre of his people in 1879. I do not mean for this analysis

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<sup>92</sup> Shula E. Marks, “Southern Africa - Independence and Decolonization in Southern Africa,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, August 5, 1998, 43-44.; Holland, *The Struggle*, 41.

<sup>93</sup> Seme, “The Regeneration of Africa.”

<sup>94</sup> John Langalibalele Dube, *A Familiar Talk upon My Native Land and Some Things Found There*. (n.p., 1891), 5.

to be a personal condemnation of men's character, but simply to illustrate the insidious, inescapable infection of white supremacy in African people's psyche through indoctrination in white academic institutions. The liberalism of the ANC resisted efforts by younger generations to form a mass movement. The formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944 by young professionals was only a prelude to the intergenerational conflicts that would shock the party post-1960s.<sup>95</sup>

Dr. Seme and Dube's academic career were not frequently replicated by other Africans because of the limited access to higher education in South Africa. South Africa, like the other aforementioned southern African states, restricted education to funnel Africans into the labor pool. The success of white-ruled South Africa relied on the subjugation and containment of Africans. Since the dawn of colonialism in South Africa, land progressively came under white ownership forcing Africans into designated settlements. The Land Act of 1913 reserved 14% of the total land area in South Africa to Africans, drastically diminishing Africans' subsistence farming and forcing them into the wage labor system to pay exorbitant taxes to the white government. The Native Act of 1923 required Africans to carry passes for entry into urban areas so long as they were there to work for white settlers.<sup>96</sup> The dispossession of Africans made it nearly impossible to complete schooling. Prior to 1945, African education relied largely on voluntary contribution and taxation through the Native Taxation Act of 1925.<sup>97</sup> In 1925, after higher primary schooling, African enrollments dropped from 2,915 in Standard V to 422 for the first year of secondary schools. That year only 63 students were enrolled in the final year of

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<sup>95</sup> Shannen Lee Hill, "The Changing Legacies of Bantu Stephen Biko and Black Consciousness in South African Visual Culture" (Ph.D., The University of Wisconsin - Madison, 2003), 4-5.

<sup>96</sup> S. Nombuso Dlamini, "Critical Teaching under the Bantu Education System" (M.A., Saint Mary's University, 1990), 32-33.

<sup>97</sup> Muriel Horrell, *Bantu Education to 1968* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1968), 1.; Holland, *The Struggle*, 47.

secondary school.<sup>98</sup> Tuition rose with each educational level, eliminating Africans without sufficient resources. The demand for a stable workforce in wartime industries created by World War II prompted the government to increase funding for African education and support school feeding schemes.<sup>99</sup> Still, the expenditures were minimal: in 1944, the government spent R7.78 per African student or 60 cents per African on education. In 1945, less than 3% of the total 587,586 African students were enrolled in post-primary classes.<sup>100</sup> Most African could not complete their schooling under these conditions. The white South African government deliberately made each level of education harder to complete.

The induction of the apartheid government in 1948 by the National Party advanced racist policies.<sup>101</sup> The Bantu Education Act of 1953 sponsored by Henrik Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs (1950-1958) then prime minister (1958-1966), instituted Afrikaner principles of ethno-nationalism to encourage the separate development of Africans in hopes mitigating any festering resentment amongst disenfranchised and dispossessed Africans.<sup>102</sup> Verwoerd hoped to constrain African political aspirations to the reserves, leaving the governance of South Africa to white settlers.<sup>103</sup> The attempts to delay African nationalism demonstrates the African education system's primary goal of maintaining white supremacy by limiting access. The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 recognized African reserves as 'homelands', creating eight ethnic units that allowed Africans self-governance under the apartheid government's administrative domain.<sup>104</sup> That same year, the apartheid government passed the University

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<sup>98</sup> Horrell, *Bantu Education to 1968*, 51.

<sup>99</sup> Holland, *The Struggle*, 49.

<sup>100</sup> Horrell, *Bantu Education to 1968*, 1.

<sup>101</sup> Mabokela et al., "Higher Education Transformation in Namibia," 128.

<sup>102</sup> Hermann Giliomee, "A Note on Bantu Education, 1953 to 1970," *South African Journal of Economics* 77, no. 1 (2009): 190, 193.; Tom Penfold, "The History of Black Consciousness," in *Black Consciousness and South Africa's National Literature*, ed. Tom Penfold (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 18.

<sup>103</sup> Giliomee, "A Note on Bantu Education," 193.

<sup>104</sup> Laura Evans, *Apartheid, the Bantustans and the End of Empire, Survival in the "Dumping Grounds"* (Brill, 2019), [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004398894\\_003](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004398894_003).

Education Act, extending the policy of separate development of the Bantu Education Act to the tertiary level.<sup>105</sup> Africans and non-white students could no longer attend the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersand and the segregated classes of the University of Natal.<sup>106</sup> The South African education system was structured so that few Africans could attain degrees of completion and if they did it was under restrictive terms that maintained their secondary status in society. This is a testament to the impoverished state of the other southern African education systems because the restrictive South African educational system still attracted Africans across the region. Eduardo Mondlane, Jariretundu Kozonguizi, and Joshua Nkomo all studied in South Africa because of the lack of opportunities in their states. Even then, those able to win scholarships and afford the journey to South Africa were a privileged few. The abysmal state of the region's education system staggered the socioeconomic progression of Africans creating a class defined by professionalism and another by labor. The dichotomy would complicate ideas of liberation moving forward into the 1960s.

### **Internal Conflicts Stressed by the Armed Struggle**

The increased persecution of African nationalists and the start of armed struggles from the early 1960s spurred frequent migrations of refugees across southern Africa, notably youth looking to continue their disrupted education. Recently independent neighboring African states—especially Tanzania in 1961, Zambia in 1963, and Botswana in 1966—served as sanctuaries for Africans from South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique to carry out nationalist operations in exile and pursue educational opportunities not available back home. Displaced youth were absorbed by nationalist groups eager to boost their supporter base, gain foot soldiers for the armed struggle, and cement their legitimacy as the sole

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<sup>105</sup> S. Nombuso Dlamini, "Critical Teaching under the Bantu Education System" (M.A., Canada, Saint Mary's University (Canada), 1990), 43.

<sup>106</sup> Horrell, *Bantu Education to 1968*, 20.

representatives of aspirant southern African nations. Internal displacement also occurred with detention camps and as guerilla armies liberated provinces from the white minority government. Additionally, nationalist groups competed for international recognition to win political legitimacy and donor aid. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), founded in 1963 to realize pan-Africanist goals, set up the African Liberation Committee (ALC) to support ongoing liberation movements from white minority or colonial regimes. Most movements at the time were clustered in southern Africa. The ALC established a principle that only one movement of a nation could be recognized, with exceptions made for Zimbabwe and Angola.<sup>107</sup> This chapter will explore the conflicts that arose as leaders of nationalist groups sought to homogenize their political identity by unilaterally deciding the roles and futures of youth members.

*FRELIMO and SWAPO in Exile in Tanzania*

In exile, leaders of nationalist groups worked to create proto-state institutions that enforced a hegemony. Consequently, the project constrained the educational and political aspirations of youth they intended to liberate. Julius Nyerere's pan-Africanist vision made Tanzania a favorable site for many liberation groups to continue their work of nation-building uninterrupted. Yet, as the member base of these groups increased in exile, leaders viewed the expansion of youth's worldview, thus evolution of their ambitions, as a threat to their position and the nationalist movement. In Tanzania, conflicts arose within FRELIMO of Mozambique and SWAPO of Namibia over the pursuit of education by youth refugees and the shortcomings of the dreams they had been sold to join nationalist groups. In this section, I will be comparing the cases of Mozambican and Namibian youth in Tanzania to underline the patterns in the undemocratic dynamic between the leadership of FRELIMO and SWAPO and the youth. Youth

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<sup>107</sup> Müller and Kössler, *The Inevitable Pipeline Into Exile*, 72-73.

living in exile had no other authority figure other than the leadership of the nationalist groups making them vulnerable to abuses.

Both FRELIMO and SWAPO enticed young people to join the liberation movement under the promise of continuing the education white governments denied them, but once the process commenced the ambition of younger members clashed with the plans of the leadership. Following the attacks on the northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Nissa in Mozambique, FRELIMO agents scavenged refugee camps to recruit young people.<sup>108</sup> In order to establish the group as a trustworthy beacon of during a disorienting time, FRELIMO created means of articulating and disseminating their political vision. Primary schools for children were built in camps and officials went out to politically educate women and old people.<sup>109</sup> Their most ambitious project, the Mozambique Institute, also became the group's destabilizer. A grant of \$100,000 from the Ford Foundation sourced by Janet Mondlane, the white American wife of the president of FRELIMO, funded the construction of the Institute.<sup>110</sup> While providing a variety of necessities for refugees such as medical services and clothing, the Mozambique Institute served as a secondary school for students under the age of 17.<sup>111</sup> FRELIMO utilized the Institute as a site to ideologically manage their younger members. Though SWAPO built no such institution, officials used the promise of Tanzania as a sanctuary to attract members. SWAPO advertised scholarships on their radio broadcast on Radio Tanganyika, a programme started in Tanzania in 1961. SWAPO leaders, like exiles Hifikipunye Pohamba and Peter Nanyemba, infiltrated Namibia in 1963 to recruit students. Namibian contract workers in Bechuanaland and South West Africa, many in their 30s and eager to continue the education denied them, were lured in with the

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<sup>108</sup> Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'state' in Exile," 122.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>110</sup> Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 82.

<sup>111</sup> Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'state' in Exile," 296.

promise of scholarships.<sup>112</sup> Many awaiting transit in Bechuanaland, eager to join the movement plainly swore their allegiance to SWAPO, unaware that the armed struggle would begin on July 18, 1966.<sup>113</sup> Those unable to secure a scholarship because their lack of prior education were sent off to military training camps.<sup>114</sup> Once in Tanzania, Namibian students continued to advertise for SWAPO by writing letters to their peers in South West Africa to promote their newfound scholarships.<sup>115</sup> Education became the siren call of the liberation movements regardless of if the opportunities were stable or abundant enough for those who heard the call.

Soon, that call became the very thing leaders bemoaned as they scrambled to mold their masses before they escaped to the ever alluring ‘abroad’. Youth grew disillusioned by the life of liberation promoted by FRELIMO and SWAPO. Their security and refugee status depended on sponsorships by the groups.<sup>116</sup> Abel Mabunda, a former student of the Mozambique Institute recalled that to join FRELIMO, he had to surrender his identification documents to officials who never returned them. He explained: “The purpose, you control better people when you hold their identity.”<sup>117</sup> Acting as representatives, nationalists groups mediated, and as a result controlled, the movement and opportunities of their members allowing the leadership to remake members’ identities in their vision. The Kurasini International Education Centre (KIEC), founded by the private American non-profit organization the African American Institute (AAI), required students to be sponsored by a political party for admission.<sup>118</sup> The AAI began their work in

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<sup>112</sup> Christian A. Williams, “Education in Exile: International Scholarships, Cold War Politics, and Conflicts among SWAPO Members in Tanzania, 1961–1968,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 128-130.

<sup>113</sup> Müller and Kössler, *The Inevitable Pipeline Into Exile*, 157.; Dreyer, *Namibia & Southern Africa* (Routledge, 2016), 54.

<sup>114</sup> Williams, “Education in Exile,” 130.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>116</sup> Barnett F. Baron, “Southern African Student Exiles in the United States,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 10, no. 1 (1972): 82.

<sup>117</sup> Panzer, “A Nation in Name, a ‘state’ in Exile,” 150.

<sup>118</sup> Williams, “Education in Exile,” 131.

Tanzania in 1962 to assist southern African student refugees in gaining secondary and higher education. As the demand for education surpassed the Mozambique Institute's capacity, aspirant students were referred to Kurasini.<sup>119</sup> However, soon the demand by Mozambicans and Namibian refugees exceeded Kurasini's capacity. So, barriers such as language and age requirements as well as an entrance exam were enforced.<sup>120</sup> FRELIMO and SWAPO then pushed rejected youth to enter military training camps.<sup>121</sup> The process perpetuated the injustices of the education systems refugees faced back home by dividing youth into students and soldiers, the laborers of the armed struggle.

Frustrated by the stagnancy in their education and the opportunism of leaders, resentment festered amongst youth refugees. Students were frequent under criticism for their academic aspirations by the very leaders that lured them in using scholarships. The hypocrisy of the leadership of FRELIMO, many of them *assimilados*, stunned Mozambican students.<sup>122</sup> The leaders of FRELIMO created affluent lives for themselves in Tanzania owning property and operating profitable businesses, while refugees live in squalid camps.<sup>123</sup> Both FRELIMO and SWAPO youth refugees used George Orwell's *Animal Farm* as an allegorical reference to the corruption of their leaders.<sup>124</sup> The leaders of FRELIMO and SWAPO insisted the liberation movement came before their education, though education had been promoted as fundamental to liberation. The commanders of SWAPO's guerilla army, the South West African Liberation Army (SWALA), viewed the Kurasini students as pro-American, but the school complied with

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<sup>119</sup> Joanna Tague, "A War to Build the Nation: Mozambican Refugees, Rural Development, and State Sovereignty in Tanzania, 1964-1975" (Ph.D., University of California - Davis, 2012), 95.

<sup>120</sup> Williams, "Education in Exile," 131.

<sup>121</sup> Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'state' in Exile," 150.; Tague, "A War to Build the Natio," 110; Williams, "Education in Exile," 133.

<sup>122</sup> Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'state' in Exile," 297.; Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 36.

<sup>123</sup> Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'state' in Exile," 296.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.; Williams, "Education in Exile," 131.

the Tanzanian curriculum.<sup>125</sup> They believed Kurasini was a seed of the CIA to infiltrate the movement, though SWAPO happily accepted aid from the U.S.-backed Mobutu regime in Zaire.<sup>126</sup> The leaders' antagonism towards students did not align with their own behaviours causing resistance from students who began to distrust their intentions. The agenda to make them servants of the revolution, while the prospect of freedom from the repressive nationalists groups through academic advancement lay ahead, was fiercely refused. Leaders preached of collectivism, but did not share the same material conditions as youth they demanded total loyalty and obedience from. The deviance from their political ideology did not command the respect of youth members, only contempt and suspicion.

Given the repressive nature of the leadership towards the younger generation they politically educated, students inevitably retaliated. Ironically, though FRELIMO and SWAPO worked to foster party loyalty and a commitment to the revolution, students used their training against their leadership because they viewed them as corrupt. Tensions at the Mozambique Institute erupted December 1967 and spilled over into the next year. While students conceded that their education would be rife with interruptions because of the war, they resisted being forced into military training. FRELIMO's training camp at Nachingwea in rural Tanzania aroused fear and resentment amongst the students of the Mozambique Institute due to accounts of abuse, torture, and executions of those suspected of challenging the party's hegemony. In January 1967, students rejected new rules demanding they train at Nachingwea during academic breaks and that students who failed courses twice over would be sent to military training—feeding the very elitism leaders wished to combat. The leadership also demanded

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 133-134.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 134.; Christian A. Williams, *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa: A Historical Ethnography of SWAPO's Exile Camps*, African Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316162958>.

students already in universities pause their studies for a full year to participate in the liberation movement.<sup>127</sup> Eduardo Mondlane wrote a scathing 13-page letter scolding students for their unwillingness to enter military training while he jetted around the globe attending political conferences using party funds.<sup>128</sup> The administration of the Mozambique Institute then enforced a 9:30PM curfew in January 1968. Students found the rule excessive and claimed they had never exhibited any disorderliness to warrant the new curfew. When students demanded a meeting with the administration and Mondlane on January 29, 1968, Mondlane rebuffed their request and travelled to yet another conference. Since the meeting never convened and students rejected Mondlane's request for a written notice, students' demands remain unknown.<sup>129</sup> However, the increasing disciplinary regulations at the Institute without their consultation or any prior misbehavior clearly infuriated students. The draconian imposition on their lives and academic futures infringed on the dreams of liberation they were sold by FRELIMO recruiters. Moreover, many students disapproved the white teachers, particularly Portuguese ones, at the Institute.



Picture 1: Dr. Holder Martins, one of several white teachers at the Mozambique Institute, and his assistant, Aurelio Manave giving a class for nurse aides.

<sup>127</sup> Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 102-103.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 103; Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'state' in Exile," 296.

<sup>129</sup> Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 104.

Although FRELIMO was explicitly anti-colonial, white Portuguese were not banned from the movement.<sup>130</sup> On February 13, students staged a “campaign of indiscipline” by vandalizing property, skipping classes, and threatening teachers. When Mondlane visited the Institute on February 23 after refusing student’s diplomatic requests to engage him, he was insulted and dismissed.<sup>131</sup> An altercation between students on March 5, 1968 led to the closure of the Institute in Dar es Salaam. The instigator of the fight, Daniel Chatama reasoned his assault of the other student as, “a political statement in my rage against Mondlane, his wife and fellow southern traitors who I believed represented colonial interests... Indirectly I slapped Mondlane.”<sup>132</sup> Unable to take out his frustrations on the actual source of his rage, Chatama, like other students in the previous months, found a proxy by plunging the Institute into chaos. The Mozambique Institute was imploding.

The actual conditions of the Institute greatly differed from the pictures of smiling faces, like the one to the right, in the school’s advertising



Picture 2: Students at the Mozambique Institute doing their own laundry.

<sup>130</sup> Panzer, “A Nation in Name, a ‘state’ in Exile,” 297.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>132</sup> Panzer, “A Nation in Name, a ‘State’ in Exile,” 305.

pamphlet made to attract donors.

Rather than working to ease tensions, the leadership of FRELIMO turned to punitive measures to correct students' behavior. Samora Machel, FRELIMO's Secretary of Defense and successor of Eduardo Mondlane, walked into the campus with his pistol on display to intimidate students, confirming allegations of abuse ongoing at the Institute. The showdown of March 5 provoked a rare intervention by the Tanzanian government. Students egged on the police to beat their teachers and dean as they were arrested.<sup>133</sup> The unraveling of the Institute is attributable to efforts by the older bourgeoisie leadership to punish the actual victims of the armed struggle. Student refugees constituted the main ethnic group, the Makonde, of northern Mozambique whose homes were targeted when the war started. Northern Mozambicans were the most victimized by the chibalo system to work on cotton plantations and were the largest rural illiterate community.<sup>134</sup> Many members of the leadership came from the city of Lourenço Marques with greater access to education.<sup>135</sup> Students were defending their right to the same education the leadership already achieved. The pursuit of social mobility was especially desirable to northern Mozambicans given their historic impoverishment by Portuguese colonialism. The leadership of FRELIMO were simply detached from the traumatic experiences of extreme colonial deprivation, escaping war, and living in rundown refugee camps. The privilege of the leaders of FRELIMO allowed them to seize and bureaucratize the movement to position themselves as the sole representatives of Mozambicans. The leadership closed down the Institute of 144 students by the end of March. The majority of those students fled to Kenya or

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<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 309-310.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 282.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., 316.

remained in the custody of the Tanzanian police to avoid deployment to military camps.<sup>136</sup> Abel Mabunda fled to Kenya to pursue a college degree, living in exile after quitting FRELIMO.<sup>137</sup>

Later that year, Namibian youth refugees faced a similar conflict. SWAPO established the Kongwa camp as a guerilla training camp in rural Tanzania with the support of the Tanzanian government and the OAU.<sup>138</sup> Trainees took military courses on using firearms and explosives to engage in mock warfare. Though different from what they envisioned when informed of scholarships in Tanzania, trainees were still engaged in revolutionary political education as well as english and mathematics classes. They read the writings of revolutionaries like Mao Zedong, Karl Marx, Ahmed Sékou Touré, Partrice Lumumba, and others.<sup>139</sup> Still, trainees were dissatisfied. Some refugees were sent to Kongwa without being allowed to sit for entrance exams to join their peers at schools set up by the AAI.<sup>140</sup> Throughout the 1960s, Kongwa struggled due to underfunding and anxieties over espionage. The commanders at Kongwa punished suspected spies and dissenters at will, while they broke the rules they set for the camp such as the ban of alcohol and sexual relations. Additionally, leaders of SWAPO had unrestricted access to donor funds, yet refused to provide supplies for the camp. English classes, popular amongst trainees, were cut by the leadership in Dar es Salaam.<sup>141</sup> Similar to students of the Mozambique Institute, Namibians of Kongwa viewed their leaders as corrupt hypocrites unfit to dole out severe punishments against them. Leaders used fear and discipline to command obedience but did not value their trainees by supporting their basic needs for supplies or the marginal education they pursued.

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<sup>136</sup> Tague, "A War to Build the Nation," 111.; Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania*, 108.

<sup>137</sup> Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a 'State' in Exile," 311.

<sup>138</sup> Williams, "Education in Exile," 134.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 134-135 & 138.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 137-139.

A group of guerrilla fighters who had returned to Tanzania from training in China took up the cause of trainees at Kongwa. The group consisted of seven former students of Nkumbi International School, the counterpart of Kurasini located in Zambia, who volunteered to go for military training after completing their studies. In November 1968, six members of the group and Samson Ndeikwila, a former Nkumbi student and the English and mathematics teacher at Kongwa, wrote to SWAPO leadership in Dar es Salaam about the conditions of the camp and the corruption of SWAPO officials. Just as Mondlane did with the students of the Institute, the Kongwa delegation was dismissed. Instead, commanders at Kongwa advised the group to abandon the matter and continue their studies in Kenya like other Namibians who left SWAPO.<sup>142</sup> Although this delegation showed the commitment SWAPO leaders wanted of youth and student refugees, it was not appreciated. Preserving the hegemony of SWAPO leadership proved to be more important than ending corruption and serving lower rank members. When the delegation refused to leave, the commanders along with the leaders in Dar es Salaam had them arrested and detained by the Tanzanian police for six months. They later were transferred to a refugee camp where they escaped to Nairobi to find 50 other Namibians awaiting scholarships from the UN.<sup>143</sup>

The response of SWAPO leaders calls into question what it really means to betray the revolution. The control of youth and student refugees was more a matter of establishing a clear hierarchy in the party than any real criticism of their academic aspirations or commitment to the liberation movement. Moreover, as shown by the group of seven guerrilla fighters, some students were willing to participate in the armed struggle without coercion. However, abuses by

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 137.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 137.

commanders made training camps sites of horror because of torture and shady executions. The means of discipline employed by leadership fractured nationalist movements.

### *The ANC in Exile*

As briefly detailed in the previous chapter, the ANC struggled in its first decades to capture the spirit of resistance demonstrated by average Black South Africans due to elitism, internal bureaucratic disputes, and liberal politics. The creation of the ANC Youth League in 1944 was symptomatic of the push for stronger, more direct activism from the party's leaders. The party's politics strengthened in exile following their banning in April 1960 after the Sharpeville Massacre.<sup>144</sup> In March 1960, the Sharpeville township, an illegally established residence for Africans, was forcibly demolished and 69 people were killed in a demonstration organized by the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).<sup>145</sup> On April 8, 1960, the government banned the PAC and ANC under the Unlawful Organizations Act.<sup>146</sup> Like other movements—ZAPU, ZANU, FRELIMO, MPLA, and SWAPO—the ANC attempted to maintain a clear chain of command as to not let the state of exile mean the abandonment of the liberation movement.

The longevity of the ANC can be accredited to the party's ability to establish itself not only as a movement but a brand by stubbornly absorbing and claiming responsibility or influence over contemporaneous groups. When youth members threatened to fraction the party, the Youth League was formed. As the PAC gained greater support rivaling the ANC, the party adopted similar militant politics by forming a military wing, the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). The adaptability of the ANC supports the party's longevity. The ANC leadership's international political connections and the party's seniority compared to other groups won them recognition as

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<sup>144</sup> Hill, "The Changing Legacies of Bantu Stephen Biko," 4.; Dreyer, *Namibia & Southern Africa*, 25.

<sup>145</sup> Christopher Riches and Jan Palmowski, "Sharpeville Massacre," in *A Dictionary of Contemporary World History* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

<sup>146</sup> Hill, "The Changing Legacies of Bantu Stephen Biko," 7.

the sole representatives of the South African liberation movement. The existence and popularity of other groups were perceived as a threat to the movement's political leadership.

Chris Hani of the MK posed a credible internal threat to the ANC leadership. Hani funded his education using grants from missionaries and the Transkei Bantustan government allowing him to complete a degree from the University of Fort Hare in 1961. For context, in 1960 only 397 African earned certificates of completion for secondary education. Therefore, Hani's education would earn him favorable positions in political career. Additionally, his father, Gilbert Hani, was a mid-rank member of the ANC.<sup>147</sup> He used this advantage to advocate for his peers in MK and against the ANC leadership. In 1969, Hani along with 6 other members of the MK released a memorandum condemning the ANC leadership. They accused the leaders of corruption, elitism, and nepotism. They criticized the leadership's utter disregard for the actual fighters of the revolution in favor of members in bureaucratic positions. The memorandum included a host of accusations dealing with the lack of transparency from the leadership and a call for an end to the leaders' hegemony in favor of greater democratic management of the party.<sup>148</sup> After refusing to stand trial, the group was expelled from the ANC. Hani continued to work with the MK in the mid 1970s despite a suspected assassination plot against him by members of the MK shortly after his expulsion.<sup>149</sup> Though the conflict within the ANC did not totally destabilize the movement, sentiments of distrust and dissatisfaction with leadership prevailed. Yet, the ANC maintained these delicate internal fractures to keep its position as the primary South African nationalist party. The political image of the movement trumped malpractices within the group.

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<sup>147</sup> Timothy Gibbs, "Chris Hani's 'Country Bumpkins': Regional Networks in the African National Congress Underground, 1974-1994," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37, no. 4 (2011): 680.

<sup>148</sup> Macmillan, "The African National Congress of South Africa in Zambia," 311.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 312-313.

The ANC's struggle to contain and adopt the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) demonstrates the party's anxieties of fading into obscurity for a younger generation. The BCM stepped in to fill an absence created by the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960. The BCM developed out of student unrest following the extension of the Bantu Education Act to universities in 1960. Steve Biko formulated the theory of Black Consciousness in the late 1960s as a medical student at the University of Natal.<sup>150</sup> Black Consciousness defined a cultural practice and ideology developing separate from white values that entangled the histories of peoples oppressed by white supremacy.<sup>151</sup> In Biko's essay "We Blacks" he defined the realization of Black Consciousness as the moment in which:

"it becomes more necessary to see the truth as it is if you realise that the only vehicle for change are these people who have lost their personality. The first step therefore is to make the black man come to himself; to pump back life into his empty shell; to infuse him with pride and dignity; to remind him of his complicity in the crime of allowing himself to be misused and therefore letting evil reign supreme in the country of his birth. This is what we mean by an inward-looking process."<sup>152</sup>

Black Consciousness was a process of racialized self-empowerment to throw off the drubbing cloud of white domination. Biko drew from the political thought of the Black Power movement and Black revolutionaries like Frantz Fanon. As a cultural phenomenon, Black Consciousness influenced the literary and artistic productions of younger generations as well as their activism in the 1960s and 1970s. The movement rejuvenated an air of confidence about Black culture in the face of racist imposition by the apartheid state. In July 1969, the movement formalized into the South African Students' Organization (SASO) in response to the overwhelming whiteness and prejudice of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).<sup>153</sup> The popularity of the BCM in South Africa grew during a 136-day trial from 1975 to 1976 against nine members of

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<sup>150</sup> Penfold, "The History of Black Consciousness," 18-19.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>152</sup> Stephen Bantu Biko, "We Blacks," *Frank Talk Editorial Collective* 1, no. 4 (September 1984), 27.

<sup>153</sup> Penfold, "The History of Black Consciousness," 19.

SASO by the apartheid state. The trial drew massive crowds of people singing freedom songs and giving the Black power salute in solidarity.<sup>154</sup> Meanwhile, the ANC struggled to wage a successful armed struggle and maintain relevance in exile.<sup>155</sup> In the early 1970s, the ANC dismissed the BCM as naive for building a racially exclusive movement and claimed SASO as their proteges who needed their guidance to accept non-racialism.<sup>156</sup> Biko criticized the politics of non-racialism and liberalism as unproductive: “Nowhere is the arrogance of the liberal ideology demonstrated so well as in their insistence that the problems of the country can only be solved by a bilateral approach involving both black and white.”<sup>157</sup> Rather, he insisted that “the myth of integration as propounded under the banner of liberal ideology must be cracked and killed.”<sup>158</sup> Firmly standing in contrast to the ANC, the nationalist group was forced to reevaluate its own policy of non-racialism as the BCM ignited debates on race, class, militancy, and psychological liberation.<sup>159</sup> Though the BCM forced members of the ANC to reevaluate their commitments, the ANC leadership maintained a patronizing and skeptical narrative towards the movement. In May 1972, the ANC published a response to Black Consciousness: ““If on occasion the Black man’s struggle for freedom should appear to the onlooker to be racialistic in its form ... It will only mean that white racialism in South Africa ... has been breeding counter-racialism despite our determined efforts, over many decades to resist this process.””<sup>160</sup>

Oliver Tambo, the president of the ANC, expressed a reluctant acceptance of the racial

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>155</sup> Toivo Asheeke, “‘Lost Opportunities’: The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC-SA)’s Evolving Relationship with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in Exile, 1970-1979,” *South African Historical Journal* 70, no. 3 (September 2018): 523.

<sup>156</sup> John Daniel, “Teaching Politics in Exile: A Memoir from Swaziland 1973–1985,” *Politikon* 40, no. 3 (December 1, 2013): 462.

<sup>157</sup> Stephen Bantu Biko, “Black Souls in White Skins?,” *Frank Talk Editorial Collective* 1, no. 4 (September 1984), 24.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>159</sup> Asheeke, “‘Lost Opportunities’,” 527.

<sup>160</sup> “Black Consciousness,” *Sechaba* (African National Congress, May 1972), SOUTH AFRICA, 20.

exclusivity of the BCM yet maintains the ANC's commitment to non-racialism. Rather than identifying white men as opponents, Thambo believed the systems of white supremacy were at fault. The ANC allowed the debate on Black Consciousness only in the capacity in which it could open avenues on, "how best to exploit the revolutionary potential of the masses of the people."<sup>161</sup> The ANC regarded the BCM as an opportunistic venture rather than a legitimate movement in its own right.

The ANC took on a paternalistic attitude in regards to the BCM in hopes of absorbing its members into its ranks. Following the Soweto Uprising of July 1976, the ANC scrambled to claim responsibility for the incident despite the closer proximity of the BCM to students. The Uprising, organized by high school students of South African Students (SASM), staged a protest against the imposition of an Afrikaaner language policy in schools and schoolchildren were met with police aggression and the use of lethal force.<sup>162</sup> The Soweto Uprising attracted mass international condemnation of the apartheid government, prompting the ANC to shove itself into the spotlight and positing the party as the grandfather of the youth activists. Scholarship on the Soweto Uprising disputes the influence of the ANC or BCM because members of the SASM claimed both groups.<sup>163</sup> Regardless of the debate, what is clear was the ANC's attempt to seize the moment for more international attention. Shortly after the Uprising the July 1976 issue of *Sechaba* published "OUR YOUTH NEEDS A.N.C. REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP" declaring, "Unlike the then youth, present-day youth lack a sound political direction and leadership. The temporary vacuum after the banning of the ANC and the imprisonment of many of its cadres and leaders contributed a great deal to this unfortunate situation."<sup>164</sup> The article

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<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 20.

<sup>162</sup> Penfold, "The History of Black Consciousness," 32.

<sup>163</sup> Asheeke, "'Lost Opportunities'," 532.; Ibid., 34.

<sup>164</sup> "OUR YOUTH NEEDS A.N.C. REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP," *Sechaba* (African National Congress, July 1976), SOUTH AFRICA, 17, <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sejul76>.

subliminally blames the devastating outcome on the BCM's refusal to build a broad based coalition. The article goes on to cite the MPLA and FRELIMO as successful examples of working with white liberals, overlooking protests by Mozambican youth over the inclusion of white Portuguese members.<sup>165</sup> The following year an interview with Oliver Tambo was published October 1977, in which he claimed the recognition of racial distinction "doesn't make black consciousness a movement ... people are reacting to a situation created for them ... the struggle is for justice, for human rights ... it is capable of being supported by all human beings who support just causes irrespective of what race they belong to."<sup>166</sup> He then went on to claim Black Consciousness as the nascent position of the ANC, although white liberalism was involved from the establishment of the party, gesturing at the considerable development and maturity of the party. Published only a month after Biko's death while in detention, the magazine made no mention of such a significant and inspiring figure in the South African anti-apartheid struggle. Even though the wrongdoings in Biko's death were not made public until years later, there still was an air of mystery surrounding his death. It moved South Africans. He was a giant, but clearly not to the ANC. The ANC sought to erase all other contenders as icons of the liberation movement. Despite attempts to elevate the ANC after the Soweto Uprising, two members of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), Tsietsi Mashinini and Khotso Seatlholo, denounced the ANC's claim for credit over the Uprising and scorned the party as an ineffective leader of the armed struggle.<sup>167</sup> Even in exile and after taking up arms, the ANC functioned primarily as a political party, bureaucratic and elitist in essence, rather than a radical group. The

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<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>166</sup> "ANC President Explains the Struggle," *Sechaba* (African National Congress, October 1977), SOUTH AFRICA, 10-11, <https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/seoct77>.

<sup>167</sup> Asheeke, "'Lost Opportunities'," 532.

urgency to stay above the masses detached them from populist movements in South Africa that maintained the spirit of revolution while the ANC fussed over its political reputation.

### *Establishing Order in Zimbabwean Detention Camps*

The forms of detainment practiced by the white Rhodesian government actually helped the leaders ZAPU and ZANU establish and maintain a hegemony unlike aforementioned nationalists groups that struggled to fight off competing influences for the political support of their youth. Detention camps strengthened the rigid divisions between the two Zimbabwean nationalist groups. Though intended to isolate nationalists, detention camps allowed political leaders to establish an order and to discipline younger and newer impressionable members.<sup>168</sup> The camps separated detainees by political affiliation, allowing ZAPU and ZANU to develop separately. The Gonakudzingwa camp was the designated ZAPU camp and Sikomebla camp for ZANU detainees.<sup>169</sup> Wha Wha detention center held detainees of varying political affiliations, but the conditions of isolation and captivity forced them to form a cohesive democratic order.<sup>170</sup> Detention camps were largely male, reflecting the androcentricity of the Zimbabwean liberation movement and the Rhodesian government's conception of threats to white rule.<sup>171</sup> Often people were placed in these detention camps without charges as a preventative measure to keep them from further politicizing African communities.<sup>172</sup> The camps were built to demoralize political activists, but instead it furthered their political imaginations. Nkomo explained the atmosphere at Gonakudzingwa: "Our prison became a centre for political education both for us prisoners and for our visitors. The government had evidently not thought what the effect would be of putting us

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<sup>168</sup> Munyaradzi Bryn Munochiveyi, "The Political Lives of Rhodesian Detainees during Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46, no. 2 (2013): 284.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 296, 298.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 297.

<sup>171</sup> Munyaradzi Bryn Munochiveyi, "It Was Difficult in Zimbabwe: A History of Imprisonment, Detention and Confinement during Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle, 1960–1980" (Ph.D., University of Minnesota, 2008), 174.

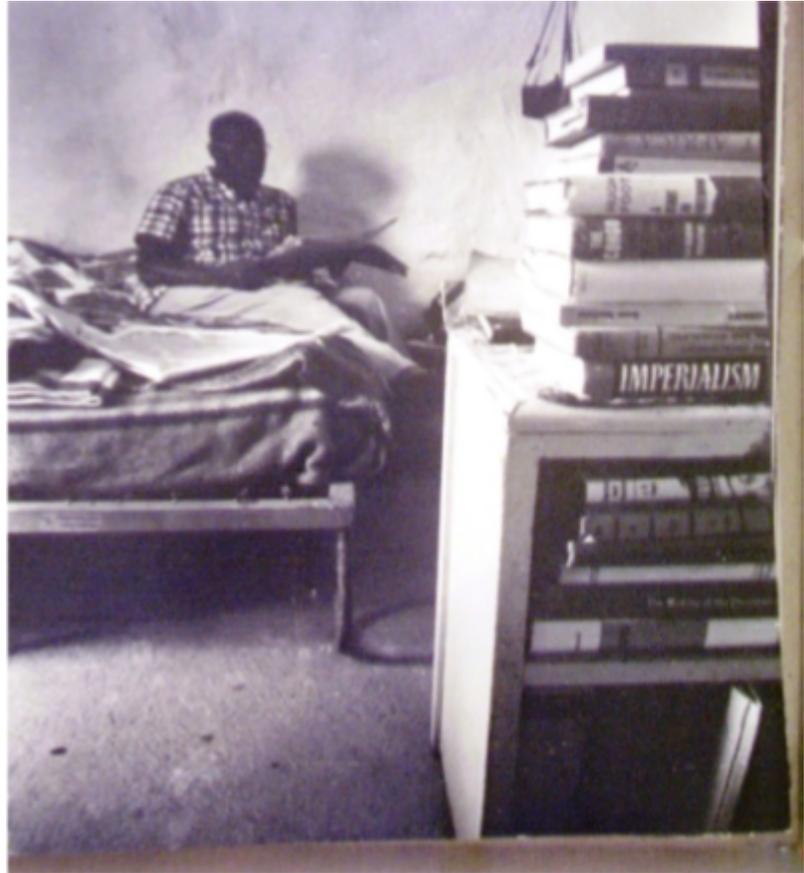
<sup>172</sup> Alexander, "Nationalism and Self-Government in Rhodesian Detention," 552.

away in that remote place,  
almost without supervision.”<sup>173</sup>

Detention camps became sites  
of political education for  
different classes of people:  
university students whose  
studies were interrupted, elderly  
peasants who minimally or  
never received formal  
education, and workers whose  
schooling was cut short in their  
youth by labor demands.<sup>174</sup>

Detainees psychologically  
resisted captivity through  
education. It served as a morale

booster for political activists who found themselves in camps without their day in court. Prior to 1965, there was little supervision of the camps because of their isolation from populated towns and the threat of attacks by wild animals if prisoners tried to escape. So, detainees freely intermingled with local rural Africans and set up makeshift classrooms in the wild.<sup>175</sup> Routines in the camp were structured around education. Detainees were able to attain academic certifications through smuggled correspondence with the outside world. Educated detainees ran classes for



Picture 3: ZAPU nationalist Josiah Chinamano in detention at Wha Wha. His bookshelf shows a stack of reading materials. Detainees preoccupied their time with educational activities.

<sup>173</sup> Nkomo, *Nkomo*, 124.

<sup>174</sup> Munochiveyi, “‘It Was Difficult in Zimbabwe’,” 174.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.; Alexander, “Nationalism and Self-Government in Rhodesian Detention,” 556.

others. Even those with university diplomas were able to complete additional degrees.<sup>176</sup> Political activists created their own social orders to overcome the undignified and debilitating conditions of detention camps. Education gave form and meaning to their imprisonment.



Picture 4: A detainee at Sikombela teaches local students behind his detention barrack.

Moreover, the order established allowed nationalist movements to mold the ideologies of young activists and ensure their loyalty through mechanisms of discipline. Nkomo was detained on April 16, 1964 and Sithole in June 1964.<sup>177</sup> Both spent ten years in detention in Gonakudzingwa and Sikombela respectively.<sup>178</sup> ZAPU and ZANU leaders created a form of self-government separate from their captors by transplanting and enforcing the external hierarchies of nationalist groups in the camps.<sup>179</sup> Leaderships created routinised institutions to give structure to the uncertainty of detention. In Gonakudzingwa, Nkomo headed the proto-government project. He, along with other ZAPU leaders in camp, created a bureaucracy

<sup>176</sup> Munochiveyi, “The Political Lives of Rhodesian Detainees during Zimbabwe’s Liberation Struggle,” 297-298.

<sup>177</sup> Nkomo, *Nkomo*, 124.; Ndabaningi Sithole, *Letters from Salisbury Prison* (Nairobi: Transafrica, 1976), 1.

<sup>178</sup> Nkomo, *Nkomo*, 124.

<sup>179</sup> Munochiveyi, “‘It Was Difficult in Zimbabwe’,” 178.

that kept detailed records of all detainees.<sup>180</sup> Huts in the camp were spatially organized by the ZAPU hierarchy. Nkomo's hut was referred to as the 'State House' where the leadership gathered and received journalists and visitors before the tightening of camp restrictions in 1965 after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) that severed Rhodesia from Britain and instituted a white-minority rule state.<sup>181</sup> Although the camps encouraged political debate that enriched nationalist ideologies by detainees sharing their diverse experiences, it was clear who ran the camps.<sup>182</sup> In Sikombela and Gonakudzingwa, leaders regulated detainees daily activities, language, etiquette, gender relations, and so on through proto-judicial institutions within the camp.<sup>183</sup> Leaders took great pride in enforcing strict orders as the camps grew beyond the capacity of provisions available to detainees.<sup>184</sup> Sithole expressed confidence in discipline and punishment to enforce sanctioned behavior during his days in school: "at my previous Central Primary School whipping had been used as part of disciplining the students. Apparently, I had come out the better for it."<sup>185</sup> Though there no evidence of corporal punishment in Sikombela came up in my research, Sithole's penchant for discipline shines through the rigidity of the camp. ZANU leadership created a police force called the Zimbabwe Republic (ZRP), that would later be adopted in the post-independence era, to enforce the rules of the camp.<sup>186</sup> The creation of a disciplinarian entity in an already carceral space shows the lack of commitment to the abolition of colonial institutions. Instead, leadership wanted to take over the terms of justice refashioned with Africans at the helm, reminiscent of the proclamations of an African renaissance by Pixley

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<sup>180</sup> Alexander, "Nationalism and Self-Government in Rhodesian Detention," 560.

<sup>181</sup> Munochiveyi, "'It Was Difficult in Zimbabwe'," 180.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>183</sup> Alexander, "Nationalism and Self-Government in Rhodesian Detention," 561.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 560.

<sup>185</sup> Sithole, *African Nationalism*, 7.

<sup>186</sup> Munochiveyi, "'It Was Difficult in Zimbabwe'," 180.

ka Isaka Seme. Liberation was confused with the co-optation of repressive institutions and ideals.

Given the lack of options in detention camps, the leaders of ZAPU and ZANU were able fashioned themselves as the harbingers of liberation from white supremacy granting them impunity and dominion over young detainees. Rule-breakers were sanctioned and given extra domestic chores, while higher ranked members were exempt from performing a number of camp duties. Punishments unequally fell on young detainees, who also faced the threat of party membership suspension by senior leaders. Furthermore, detention revealed the class imbalances between older and younger members. Elders with established businesses outside the camps were able to smuggle in coveted contraband and extra food rations, while younger people were made to exchange their labor for treats.<sup>187</sup> John Mzimele, chairman of ZAPU's north-west province, challenged the unjust punishments of young men in Gonakudzingwa. In an interview he explained: ““You don't blackmail a youngster to the point he has to wash your panties ... I objected to the enslavement of young boys. I said we've deprived them of their manhood in the struggle and still you want to humiliate them.””<sup>188</sup> After reasoning failed with the perpetrator, Msika the senior ranked member of ZAPU, Mzimele went to attack him and was ordered to the camp's court for allegedly betraying the group.<sup>189</sup> These coercive scenes at detention camps bring into question how much of Maluleke's and other university students' escape from prison was due to the injustice of the white Rhodesian government and how much was due to the abuses of power by ZAPU leaders within the camp. Similar to the case of commanders in the SWAPO camp, Kongwa, dominating young members proved more important than practicing the principles of fairness expressed by the nationalist groups. Unlike the leaders of FRELIMO,

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<sup>187</sup> Alexander, “Nationalism and Self-Government in Rhodesian Detention,” 564-565.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 566.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 566.

SWAPO, and ANC, the isolation of the camps gave the leaders of ZAPU and ZANU control of young members since they had no other escape. When put in contrast with this scene of detention, the frustrations of Mozambican and Namibian students seem less like the abandonment of the movement for entitled, individualist reasons and more like a will to escape the repression of privileged unprincipled authoritarian leadership.

#### *MPLA Education Camps in Liberated Areas*

Unlike the aforementioned nationalist groups, the MPLA struggled to create significant headquarters for the Angolan liberation movement in exile or detention. Following the start of the armed struggle on February 4, 1961, the MPLA was surrounded by hostile governments.<sup>190</sup> Where Mozambicans could escape to Tanzania, Angolans faced difficulties traversing the hostile borders of South West Africa, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), and Zaire. The South African government opposed the Angolan liberation movement to maintain white supremacy in southern Africa.<sup>191</sup> Similarly, Angola's eastern frontier did not become a friendly space until the independence of Zambia in 1964. Two years later, the MPLA moved into Zambia to conduct guerilla attacks against the Portuguese using supplies brought in from Tanzania.<sup>192</sup> Sources do not give detailed accounts of Angolan students in AAI schools in Zambia or Tanzania, the schools' language requirements would have eliminated the highly illiterate populations of Angolan youth. In a 1972 study of southern African exiles studying in the United States through the Southern African Students Program (SASP), created by the AAI in 1962, Angolan students came in last, tied with Namibian students, with a total of 23 students out of a total of 213 surveyed.<sup>193</sup> To the north of Angola, the U.S.-backed government of Zaire grew hostile to the

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<sup>190</sup> Don Barnett and Roy Harvey, *The Revolution in Angola: MPLA, Life Histories and Documents* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1972), 1.

<sup>191</sup> Williams, *National Liberation in Postcolonial Southern Africa*, 106.

<sup>192</sup> Inge Brinkman, "War, Witches and Traitors: Cases from the MPLA's Eastern Front in Angola (1966-1975)," *The Journal of African History* 44, no. 2 (2003): 307.

<sup>193</sup> Baron, "Southern African Student Exiles in the United States," 76.

MPLA due to its Soviet and Cuban alliances. Holden Roberto formed the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA) from an alliance with several other smaller competing activists groups.<sup>194</sup> In April 1962, after several failed attempts to ally with the MPLA, the FNLA declared the formation of the Governo Revolucionário de Angola em Exil (the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile GRAE). The GRAE won the approval of the government of Zaire in June 1963 then the OAU in November 1963 and the MPLA was pushed out of Congolese territory.<sup>195</sup> The MPLA returned to its roots as the only Angolan nationalist group formed within the colony, accepting its lone venture. The early years of the armed struggle set a precedent for the movement to not rely heavily on an exile population. Rather the MPLA worked fiercely to liberate areas and integrated the project of education within the colony unlike the efforts of FRELIMO and SWAPO. The MPLA created clandestine schools for young Angolans to learn reading, writing, natural science, Angolan history, and political theory. By 1971, more than 40 primary schools were created in liberated provinces with over 3,000 students. The MPLA also created textbooks and shared them with FRELIMO and the Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) of Guinea-Bissau, in respect of the shared struggle against Portuguese colonialism.<sup>196</sup> There exists little records of the MPLA's activities because of the culture of secrecy that developed under high surveillance by the Portuguese secret police (PIDE).<sup>197</sup> This creates methodological issues for my thesis, so I will not speculate about intergenerational tensions in this context. However, it is evident that the MPLA influenced students within colonial schools beyond their liberated provinces. The story of 'Maria', an alias

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<sup>194</sup> Jennifer Davis and George M. Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain: Angola and the MPLA* (New York: Africa Fund, 1976), 21-22.

<sup>195</sup> Don Barnett and Roy Harvey, *The Revolution in Angola; MPLA, Life Histories and Documents* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1972), 3.

<sup>196</sup> Davis and Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain*, 12, 32.

<sup>197</sup> Thomas Masaji Okuma, *Angola in Ferment: The Background and Prospects of Angolan Nationalism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), 65.

used for the safety of the interviewee, demonstrates youth support was present in the Angolan liberation movement. Maria briefly explained that she was active in the student cells of MPLA at her technical school in Luanda before it was infiltrated by the PIDE and she was imprisoned.<sup>198</sup> Though not much information is available on the activities of Angolan students on the continent, the case of Angola still shows the ability to capture the minds of young people supports the success and legitimacy of a nationalist group as independence approaches.

### **Diaspora Students of the Liberation Movements**

While the struggle against white minority governments raged on in southern Africa, some students were able to travel internationally to continue their education. American and Eastern European entities took special interest in southern African students hoping to influence their political allegiance in the Cold War. Armed with their own politics framed by their experiences under white supremacy, students often merely manipulated the political climate of the Cold War to attract sponsors. Some students moved to the British metropole, London, and other cities in western Europe creating multinational immigrant populations for students to continue to develop their politics by creating cross-regional linkages with fellow Africans. Their distance from the revolution, however, did not mean they abandoned the cause. Many students travelled under the sponsorship of nationalist groups and remained involved in the liberation movement. In fact, their distance from African headquarters of nationalist groups allowed them to freely criticize the leadership without fear that their scholarships would be rescinded or education interrupted. In some cases, the fear of the suspension of their education followed them across the seas so students hastily separated themselves from nationalist groups and disappeared. This chapter will

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<sup>198</sup> Marcia C. Schenck, "Negotiating the German Democratic Republic: Angolan Student Migration during the Cold War 1976-90," *Africa* 89, no. S1 (March 1, 2019): S144.

explore the diasporan context and the students' existential dilemma in figuring their identity within and apart from nationalist groups given the pressures to engage in activism.

*Mozambique Students in the United States Respond to Eduardo Mondlane's Letter*

Mozambican students abroad refused to be threatened by Eduardo Mondlane or coerced into abandoning their studies to join the armed struggle. They stood firmly in their role as ambassadors of the Mozambican liberation movement. Unlike the students of the Mozambique Institute, Mozambican students in the U.S. brazenly criticized Mondlane's December 1967 treatise and were not abused for it. They denounced the undemocratic nature of Mondlane's leadership. In May 1968, Mozambican students in the U.S. disseminated a nine-page response to members of the União Nacional dos Estudantes Moçambicanos (National Union of Mozambican Student–UNEMO).<sup>199</sup> Firstly, they censured Mondlane as an unfit president in many regards. They cited other revolutionaries, particularly Patrice Lumumba, as better examples of democratic leaders of liberation movements, encouraging a culture of open criticism in FRELIMO. The most damning of critiques, they labeled Mondlane as “an imperialist representative disguised as a Mozambican nationalist” reawakening suspicions of his ascension to power in a colony where educational opportunities were gravely neglected.<sup>200</sup> They questioned why the Portuguese would support his education at the University of Lisbon though they allegedly believed him to be a credible threat to their colonial order. They concluded: “This is quite an enigma!”<sup>201</sup> Comparatively, Neto of the Angolan liberation movement was imprisoned for his activism in Lisbon. The response then goes on to return Mondlane's accusation of opportunism: “As for his going to Dar es Salaam and ‘unifying’ the parties it does not seem that

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<sup>199</sup> Douglas L. Wheeler, “A Document for the History of African Nationalism: The Unemo ‘White Paper’ of 1968, a Student Reply to Eduardo Mondlane's 1967 Paper,” *African Historical Studies* 3, no. 1 (1970): 169.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 171

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

this was due to his own nationalist drive ... but rather by the request of President Julius Nyerere and ... was influenced by the American government ... that is the same government that [Mondlane] consider[s] to be the corrupter of the nationalism of our Mozambican youth...<sup>202</sup>

They insisted he was better off teaching imperialism at American universities than parading around as an anti-imperialist.<sup>203</sup> Mondlane had studied in America for twelve years only to return to Africa and point fingers at students who have not even completed their bachelors' degrees. As a Mozambican with the highest academic degree, Mondlane was in no position to critique prospective university graduates. The revolution had not waited for him to complete his education, he had only stepped in later as the face of work that had been started by Mozambicans on the continent. Why should diasporan students behave any differently than he did since he exemplified their desires to return as leaders accredited by their foreign degree?. Mondlane did not bear arms in the guerilla war, he attended conferences.<sup>204</sup> Mondlane promoted the message that education was paramount to the liberation without considering if it should be revolutionary or in white academic institutions. The younger generation adopted the message and declared: "No one can question the fact that Mozambique needs an educated elite with higher training ... whether or not Mister Mondlane wants to admit it, all students are going to bring progress in Mozambique by means of serving, helping and cooperating with the people."<sup>205</sup> The glorification of formal education, subconsciously referencing white ideals, upheld by the *assimilado* leadership of FRELIMO engendered this curious rivalry between elitist groups. Although Mozambican students were able to point out the oppression of the FRELIMO leadership, they made no connection to how their very similar academic routes foster a culture of paternalism.

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., 175

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 178-179.

While they maintained respect for guerilla fighters, they still insisted they are better fit leaders. Western validation grants educated elites an undeniable, and unearned, authority over other Africans.

With that privilege, diasporan Mozambican students were able to give criticism at a safe distance from “Mister Mondlane’s bullets”, while students of the Mozambican Institute were carted off to Tanzanian prisons or military training camps.<sup>206</sup> Personal attacks against Mondlane aside, the students in the United States made valuable critiques of the authoritarianism of FRELIMO leadership. The students of the Mozambican Institute asked to be consulted on new policies of the party and Institute, but were dismissed. While claiming to be a representative of “the will and aspirations of the Mozambican masses”, the leadership actually made no effort to figure out what those desires were but instead delegated roles to lower ranked members.<sup>207</sup> The diasporan students in America challenged Mondlane that, “the intellectual, who is truly worthy of that term, does not impose his decisions. He ponders, consults, and submits [matters] to criticism.”<sup>208</sup> This push for the democratization of FRELIMO expressed the diverging notions of liberation that prospective members were sold and the praxis that fell short of those principles. The response of UNEMO-US members gets at the despotism and the discordance of FRELIMO leadership that took advantage of the unjust colonial education system to fill the guerilla army by forcing aspirant students into military training. Yet, the leadership also resented those, much like themselves, that were able to navigate the biased system to attain scholarships. Faced with a younger mirror image of themselves, the FRELIMO leadership clumsily hurried to close the doors to power that they had walked through just over a decade prior.

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 177. The bracket is in the translated text.

*South Africans and Zimbabweans in Britain*

Just as the UNEMO-US students boldly responded to Mondlane at a safe distance, it is no surprise the only place the Hani memorandum was published was in an obscure journal based in Nottingham, England nearly a decade after the original delivery of the document.<sup>209</sup> The article was published unsigned and stated: “The A.N.C. in Exile is in a deep crisis as a result of which a rot has set in.”<sup>210</sup> The article accused the leadership of privileging students in London, though the authors believed:

“the youth in M.K. as the most revolutionary ... The Youth of South Africa is not located in London or in any European capital. We therefore take particular exception to the appointment of certain students as leaders of the A.N.C. Youth. ... As opposed to the treatment of the students, we find complete indifference and apathy to the heroes and martyrs of our Revolution who have fallen both in South Africa and Zimbabwe. We have in mind the gallant sons of our country, who without doubt lay their lives in the struggle against imperialism.”<sup>211</sup>

The elitism of the ANC caused other youth to reject diaspora students as participants in the revolution. Also, the Hani memorandum expressed a politic of belonging that roots African identity in the continent as opposed to including the diaspora. This is a contemptuous reaction to the elitist politics of the ANC that undermines the significant contributions of diaspora students that pressured foreign governments to divest from the South African apartheid government.<sup>212</sup> Unlike the conflicts between Mondlane and students, here it is the youth making a claim of individualism and opportunism against other youth and the leadership. The intergenerational conflicts in southern African liberation movements denote complex nuances in regard to obligations in the struggle that have less to do with one’s position but rather the value of their contributions.

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<sup>209</sup> Hugh Macmillan, “The ‘Hani Memorandum’--Introduced and Annotated,” *Transformation*, no. 69 (January 1, 2009): 106.

<sup>210</sup> “The Bankrupt, Corrupt, Degenerate Leadership of the ANC of South Africa,” *Ikwezi*, no. 9 (June 1, 1978): 3.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>212</sup> Anti-Apartheid Movement, “South Africa,” *Anti-Apartheid Movement Annual Report on Activities and Developments*, Sept 1982, 7-8.

Unlike Mozambican and South African diasporan students, Zimbabweans studying in London sought to distance themselves from the title of ‘students’ as not to be associated with elitism. The perceived passiveness of studenthood contrasted notions of masculinity thought to be more associated with soldiers of the armed struggle.<sup>213</sup> Given the patriarchal order of liberation movements, this fear of effeminization prevailed diasporans’ notion of their identity. Considering the politics of gender and sexual relations that arose in Zimbabwean detention camps and Namibian military camps, femininity was equated to apoliticism because, unlike men under colonialism, matters of women’s flesh are reduced to rudimentary desires unworthy of critical analyses under the core nationalist agenda. Nationalist groups’ conception of liberation only imagined men steering the tides of justice, merely crystallizing colonial androcentricity. The issue of women’s liberation was an addendum to ZANU as the ‘Women’s League’. The League fought for an ideal of gender egalitarianism that was not embedded in the core of the nationalist party.<sup>214</sup> Much of the 30 Zimbabwean men and women interviewed by JoAnn McGregor preferred the titles ‘party cadres’, ‘party operatives’, ‘party revolutionaries’, or plainly ‘militants’ to avoid the depoliticizing title of ‘student’.<sup>215</sup> Some of the interviewees had participated in the armed struggle and were keen to distinguish themselves from other students though they had similar academic objectives.<sup>216</sup> The stigma against students made former soldiers unsympathetic to the wide-ranging experiences of studenthood that they helped diversify. The moral superiority of a fighter exaggerated the bias of students abandoning the liberation movement, though the possibility of soldiers deserting the battlefield also existed. Despite this bias, nationalist groups’ leadership were invested in students as the future bureaucrats of the post-independent state rather

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<sup>213</sup> JoAnn McGregor, “Locating Exile: Decolonization, Anti-Imperial Spaces and Zimbabwean Students in Britain, 1965–1980,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 57 (July 1, 2017): 64.

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

than awarding those positions to fighters who remained in the war. After taking over ZANU presidency in 1976, Robert Mugabe invited intellectuals back to fill positions in education, diplomacy, and legal fields.<sup>217</sup> The post-colonial state was gearing up to be in conversation with the western hegemony of the international community. It begs the question how revolutionary is this African regeneration if the ideals of bureaucracy, diplomacy, and law continue to be shaped by forces outside populist movement?

Recalling the academic trajectory of the founders of ZAPU and ZANU, we can see how formal education decides who rules. Even with intergenerational disputes, the contributions of students were still considered. Cyril Ndebele explained: “[Students] didn’t entirely take everything that the leadership in Lusaka told us, we weren’t very popular with the executive in Lusaka, we were the revolutionary arm, the intellectuals, thinking ahead, thinking that we could give the party direction.”<sup>218</sup> In the early 1970s, student members of ZAPU organized a students-only conference in London that incensed the leadership in Lusaka. Headquarters vowed to discard their conference paper, but instead their concepts were included in ZAPU’s manifesto.<sup>219</sup> This turbulent marriage between the older and younger generations of intellectuals was only setting the stage for the passing of the proverbial baton to keep political power within the same class of people. The tension between students and soldiers was manufactured by precipitation of elitism from the older generation. The leadership delegated roles to younger members using the same biased colonial systems that allowed the older generation to attain higher education. Although the younger generation showed they could be students and soldiers, the higher valuation of academics dichotomized the two roles. Accepting formally uneducated or

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., 73.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 73.

undereducated soldiers as pupils of a subversive form of training would have challenged the systems that legitimized the leadership.

*Southern African Students of the Eastern Bloc*

With the support of leftist eastern European governments, it was much easier for southern African liberation movements to keep tabs on their students abroad than in the west. For example, SWAPO sent 430 children to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) between 1979-1989 to be educated as future leaders of Namibia. There, the upbringing and schooling of the children was totally decided by SWAPO with the assistance of the GDR government.<sup>220</sup> The outcome of the case of the Namibian GDR kids falls outside of the temporal frame of this thesis, but their upbringing alone shows how SWAPO leadership could entirely govern the lives of youth. In a similar vein, the MPLA decided that since Angolan youth could not meet Soviet university academic requirements, they were directed to professional-technical schools instead. In the 1967 to 1968 academic year, 70% of Angolan students studying in the USSR were in professional technical schools instead of universities. Conversely, over 90% of Nigerian or Ghanaian students studied at universities, medical, and engineering institutes in the same time period.<sup>221</sup> The leadership of the MPLA felt the manual needs of the armed struggle were better fit for undereducated youth. This line of thinking does not deviate from ideas of labor over education that created government-sponsored technical schools in southern African. While this could be blamed on the demands of the armed struggle, it does not explain why the few men allowed to study in universities often were close to party leadership and had attended schools in Angolan urban centers or in exile.<sup>222</sup> José Eduardo dos Santos, the future president of Angola,

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<sup>220</sup> Caroline Schmitt and Matthias D. Witte, “‘You Are Special’: Othering in Biographies of ‘GDR Children from Namibia,’” *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 41, no. 7 (June 2018): 1353.

<sup>221</sup> Katsakioris, “Students from Portuguese Africa in the Soviet Union,” 151.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

was one of these selected men.<sup>223</sup> The standards of the *assimilado* status extended into the revolution because the leaders maintained the status. The leadership of the MPLA, just like FRELIMO, the ANC, ZAPU, and ZANU, reproduced the avenues that maintained their authority. They were building an elite class so that a transfer of power in the post-independence era would maintain their hegemony.

Still, some students disobeyed the leadership. Mozambican students studying in the USSR between 1960 and 1974 expressed opposition to FRELIMO like their American counterparts, causing trouble for the leadership. UNEMO-USSR had resisted an order from the party to join a coalition of African students of MPLA and PAIGC youth, União Geral dos Estudantes da África Negrasob Dominação Colonial Portuguesa (UGEAN). They asserted that UNEMO was an independent entity just as UNEMO-US insisted they were independent of FRELIMO in their denouncement of Mondlane in 1968.<sup>224</sup> At every turn, diasporan Mozambican students frustrated the leadership of FRELIMO's claim over their agency. Many extended their stay in eastern Europe by repeating one academic year, applying for postgraduate degrees, or marrying citizens and simply disappearing off FRELIMO's radar. Angolan students also used the same tactics.<sup>225</sup> I hesitate to pass judgement on their decision to desert the liberation movement because of the authoritarianism of nationalist groups. The hegemony of the leaders suffocated any diversity in ideology and fermented their elitism. The methods of nationalist leaders did not inspire loyalty.

### **Conclusion**

The intergenerational conflict between the elites educated prior to 1960 and students born out of the liberation movement ignited a fierce battle on what liberation means. Leaders

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 146.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 158.; Wheeler, "A Document for the History of African Nationalism:," 176.

<sup>225</sup> Katsakioris, "Students from Portuguese Africa in the Soviet Union," 159.

shrewdly wielded their authority to morally condemn any actions of students that threatened their position. The pursuit of education was not a vain endeavor, but instead youth's reaction to a white supremacist system that denied them basic rights and comforts that higher education could afford them. Since leaders had no vested interest in dismantling colonial institutions, rather appropriate them for their own political ends, some of the younger generation sought to follow the same elitist traditions. The experience of Namibian youth trainees in Kongwa, Zimbabwean university students held in detention centers, and Mozambican students in the United States cannot be reduced to a singular narrative of opportunism. My research hopes to complicate narratives of students as simply elite aspirants by abandoning the retrospective position and honing in on the diverse desires of youth and sentiments of fear, pride, and most importantly hopefulness that informed their actions.

The leaders of nationalist groups reduced liberation to a nation-building project, therefore reproducing white supremacist institutions like police forces and exclusionary education systems. The urgency to secure the means of governance leading into the post-independence era bastardized the liberation movements of southern Africa, as it has throughout the continent. Intergenerational tensions amongst Africans have been prolonged by the failures to realize a truly radical liberation from white supremacy, politically and psychologically. African youth continue to reimagine ideals of liberation to redress the inequalities of the current neocolonial system. Recent protests in Nigeria, Angola, Mali, Senegal, and other countries across Africa are manifestations of the persisting frustrations of young people towards old politicians that cling on to oppressive institutions for power. As Africans, we must embrace ourselves as constantly evolving people committed to introspection to work through the damages of white supremacy

and abolish systems that were not made with our wellbeing in mind. Youth rightfully agitate society to remind us where we have become complacent to our oppression.

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## Pictures

- Picture 1 & 2: Mozambique Institute. *Mozambique Institute: 1965*. Tanganyika Standard Ltd., 1965. <https://jstor.org/stable/10.2307/al.sff.document.chilco199>.
- Picture 3 & 4: National Archives of Zimbabwe MS 625/4-5, “Political Prisoners and Armed Struggle”

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