

From:

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Education

Committee

To:

DAR ET IALAM Education
Committee

THIRD DRAFT OF THE
S.A. HISTORY SYLLABUS
TO BE PRESENTED AT
THE APRIL MEETING
AT MAZIMBU.

SECTION I WILL FOLLOW —
IT IS STILL BEING PREPARED

History of South Africa Syllabus - Preliminary Notes.

1. ~~It should be noted that this syllabus constitutes only one of the syllabuses in the general area of the social sciences and in considering this syllabus it~~
1. In considering this syllabus it should be borne in mind that it constitutes only one of the four syllabuses ~~in~~ planned in the general area of the social sciences. The other syllabuses are: The Development of Societies, The History of the Liberation Movement, the development of capitalism as a world system. Consequently, in this syllabus topics which will be dealt with in these other syllabuses in detail are only introduced insofar as they are necessary for a understanding of the history of South Africa. This means, for example, that the class and social struggles which characterize the development of capitalism in Europe will be dealt with elsewhere as also will be the struggles of the national liberation movement in South Africa.
2. In drawing this syllabus we have taken full notice of ~~the~~ comments and criticisms which were made at our last seminar and those which have been submitted to us in writing. In addition we have drawn heavily upon ideas contained in written comments/^{and} in other syllabuses but we have tried to combine these into a coherent and systematic course outline. For the purposes of comparison we attach two syllabuses prepared in Lusaka.
3. We would like to stress a point made in the introduction to the draft syllabus. We regard the syllabus as a teaching guide in the sense that it attempts to suggest to the teachers ~~the fundamental~~ both the important events and also the fundamental relations which have structured our history. The order of teaching, the period covered by any class, the depth and complexity of the teaching will depend on particular circumstances of each class.
4. The history syllabus, together with all the other syllabuses will be considered at the April meeting of the Education Council. Comments, criticisms and suggestions made at the seminar will be fully noted and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ fed into the discussions to be held in Mazimbu.

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA SYLLABUS

AIMS

The fundamental aim of this course on the History of South Africa is to provide student cadres of the African National Congress with the materials and means through which they will be able to acquire the knowledge, analytical skills and perspective necessary for informed social and political analysis in their role as revolutionaries in the liberation struggle and in a liberated South Africa. The course is structured to achieve these aims by:

1. Providing a scientific account, free of racist and imperialist distortion, of the historical transformations in Africa and particularly South Africa;
2. Placing the African societies and people at the centre of that history through the analysis of the different forms of struggle in different periods and in different places.
3. Presenting history not simply as a body of knowledge about the past, but also as the investigation of social processes which are relevant to the understanding of the present.

METHOD

The teaching methods to be used are determined mainly by the aims of the course but also, in part, by the problem of the availability of books and other teaching materials:

1. Firstly, while the syllabus itself sets out a comprehensive periodization and chronological outline of the history, at the same time it provides a flexible scheme which does not demand any necessary order of teaching and which enables different parts of the syllabus to be focussed on as required at different levels of complexity and/or depth. Indeed, the fact that the fundamental aim of the syllabus is the analysis of the present, strongly suggests that wherever possible the teaching should begin from the study of contemporary South Africa and proceed backwards.
2. Secondly, both the relative absence of suitable history texts and the insistence upon the learning of analytical skills, leads to the idea that considerable emphasis should be placed on the students "discovering" history for themselves by directly handling the historical materials - newspaper cuttings, documents of

political organizations, government statistics, posters, political speeches, oral history notes etc. - in teaching kits.

3. Thirdly, the knowledge and understanding of the students of our history will be advanced through a study of ~~the work~~ those books, articles etc produced both within the movement and by academics and teachers which provide and ~~the~~ objective account of South African and African history.

II. THE RESPONSE OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE TO THE IMPACT OF MERCANTILIST EXPANSION FROM THE 16th to the 18th CENTURIES

1. African Social Formations Immediately Prior to European Conquest and Economic Penetration

A more detailed study of those African societies which from the 16th century onwards become linked to the history of South Africa either indirectly through common subjection by colonial and imperialist powers or directly through the relationship between the African societies or the relationship between these societies and the various states (colonial, republics etc) which appear on the scene.

- a. Social formations in West, West Central, East and Southern West Africa: modes of production and social ~~form~~ organization; indigenous merchants, slavery and slaving empires.
Relationship between the various societies in these different regions.
Trans Saharan and Indian Ocean trade
~~Arabians~~ with ~~the~~ East Africa. ~~and Zimbabwe~~
- b. Social formations in Southern Africa:
modes of production and social and political organization; geographical location, migrations and settlement.

2. The Rise of Merchant Capital in Europe

European conquest and economic penetration of Africa was a function of the rise of merchant capital.

- a. The economic and political changes, the class and social struggles in 16th Century Europe which result in the rise of merchant capital - the development of regional economies, commercialization of agriculture, transformation in productive relations; the absolutist state and its role in the transition to capitalism.

The mechanisms of merchant capital expansion in general:

- i. The role of force, plunder, conquest and the exaction of tribute as processes of primitive accumulation; the establishment of coercive control over non-capitalist societies
- ii. Long distance trade and unequal exchange as a major means of accumulation of merchant capital

3. European Conquest and Economic Penetration of Africa

- a. The organizational means of merchant capital's economic and political domination of African societies - the large scale commercial and trading companies and their relationship to the state

the Portuguese, Dutch and English trading companies.

- b. Voyages of "discovery", the search for trading goods and slaves.

The Portuguese and Dutch Empires in Africa.
Britain and the slave trade.

4. European Penetration and Expansion in South ~~XX~~ Africa:

~~XX~~ Dutch Colonial presence at the Cape from 1652:

- a. The formation of a slave based society in the Western Cape in the 17th century; the importation of Malays.
- b. The Khoi and San in the colony; their wars of resistance in the 17th and 18th centuries, colonial

The gradual/penetration eastwards into the Eastern Cape and towards Natal; the establishment of feudal relations in agriculture in the 18th century; the struggles, ~~and~~ conflicts and alliances over land, labour and cattle; the wars of resistance e.g. 1779, 1789, 1799.

5. The African Social Formations South of the Zambezi and Outside Areas of Contact with Whites in the 18th Century.

III. INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM, BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE RESISTANCE OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE FROM THE BEGINNING TO ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY

1. Industrial Capitalism and Merchant Capital in Britain.

The development of industrial capitalism in Britain. The rising demand for raw materials by capital~~x~~ and the importance of the colonies as a source of these materials. The search for markets for the sale of commodities produced ~~under~~ in the capitalist mode of production in Britain.

Merchant~~x~~ capital's new function - the supply from the colonies of materials for production in the metropolis and the sale of commodities produced in the metropolis in the colonies.

2. The social formation in the Cape Colony at the beginning of the 19th century:

The production of agricultural commodities for export on the coastal belt; the dominance of merchants and the export of agricultural commodities; the relations of production in agriculture; the structure of colonial rule; British colonialism and the wars of resistance - Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho. The anti-slavery movement and the emancipation of slaves; 1820 British settlers;

The causes of the "Great Trek."

3. African Social Formations ~~in~~ Outside of Direct Contact with the Colonial Powers.

Colonial penetration as one of the conditions affecting changes within and relations between the African societies in the "interior".

The changes and struggles in African societies and the effects on migration and settlement; the Mfecane; the rise of the Zulu kingdom.

4 (a) The Boer colonization of the interior from about 1830 onwards:

The Boer trek into the interior, the expropriation by violence and manipulation of the land of the African communities - the dispersion and resistance of the African people; the subjection of the African people to feudal relations on the conquered land; the agricultural economy of the boer republics.

The political establishment of the Boer Republics; Sekhukuni's resistance; Mosheshwe builds a nation; the Zulu nation dismembered.

(b) The expansion of British colonialism into the

interior~~x~~ and the reasons for this: Imperialist strategies, the treaty system; annexation of the Ciskei and of Natal; the Griqua chiefdoms; ~~the conventions~~

- c. British imperialism and Boer colonialism; the conventions of Sand River and Bloemfontein.

IV. CLASS AND NATIONAL STRUGGLES IN THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM (1870-)

1. Monopoly Capitalism and Imperialism

xxImperialism as a new mode of colonial oppression and exploitation.

Capital accumulation and class struggles in the metropolis: concentration and centralization of capital, finance capital, the tendency of the rate of profit to fall, the export of capital.

Colonies in the first phase of imperialism - the export of capital to the colonies, the production of raw materials increasingly under capitalist relations of production, the development of extractive industries. New forms of colonial domination including settler colonies.

Inter-imperialist rivalries and the struggle for colonies at the end of the 19th century - the scramble for Africa.

2. BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The consolidation of British imperialism in South Africa (1870 -1910) and the shaping of class and national struggles:

- a. The social formations in the 1870's: capitalist production and pre-capitalist modes of production~~x~~ and social organization.
- b. The establishment of the economic dominance of British imperialism:
 - i. The discovery and development of gold and diamonds; the place of gold in the world economy.
 - ii. The centralization of capital in the diamond and gold industries
 - iii. The establishment of the migrant labour system and its relationship to the "reserves".
 - iv. The development of the economic infrastructure
 - v. Economic and fiscal policies.
 - vi. Conflicts over labour and the redistribution of the surplus between mining capital and white farmers

- c. The establishment and consolidation of the political dominance of British imperialism culminating in the formation of the South African state:

Cape liberalism, segregation in Natal and Boer republicanism; annexation of the Transvaal Republic; wars of conquest against the African communities; Cecil Rhodes, arch imperialist; Anglo-Boer war; Treaty of Vereeniging; Transvaal and Orange Free State under British rule; Unification and all white parliament.

d. Class struggles and the formation of the labour movement:

i. The emergence of a new class structure:

Rural Areas: development of capitalism in agriculture - the transformation of feudal labour into wage labour of a special kind; Indian indentured labour in Natal; extrusion of bywoners and the creation of "poor" whites.

The squeezing of African independent farmers and the reduction of African communal production to "subsistence" level.

Urban Areas: beginnings of the urban proletariat and of a white petit bourgeoisie. Immigrant skilled workers on the mines; and African proletarianization - the migrant workers.

ii. Class Struggles:

capital and labour in the mining industry and the different processes and struggles leading to racial divisions in the working class; the first trade unions; class struggles in the countryside over land and labour.

e. The Shaping Of National Liberation:

The nature of and issues in the early national struggles in the period of imperialism:

Battle of Isandhlwana, Bambatha rebellion - the end of military confrontation in this period; African newspapers; independent African churches; patterns of resistance and political organisations: women and passes, 1907; Indians unite under Gandhi, African Political Organization (APO),

African Congress movement before the Union, African newspapers, formulation of grievances and demands, independent churches, formation of African (Native) National Congress; class basis of the emerging national movement.

3. Imperialism, The Development of Capitalism in South Africa and Class and National Struggles. (Circe 1910 to the present)

Circe 1910 to 1930

a. The Economy of "Maize" and "Gold".

The dominance of gold production and the industrialization of the economy. The rationalization and centralization of the recruitment of labour; changes in the labour process and capitalization in mining.

7
The process of "slow" industrial development; the development of state enterprises - iron and steel etc.

The continued development of capitalist production in agriculture; struggles over land and labour; the problem of the home market.

The economic relationship of the emerging settler bourgeoisie to international capitalism and the nature of the economic conflicts between them.

b. Class Struggles and The State

Changes in class formation - the growth of urban working class, poor whites and poor blacks; the urban petit-bourgeoisies, black and white; the emergence of indigenous agricultural and industrial capitalist class; pre-capitalist modes of production in the reserves as a barrier to proletarianization; squeezing of African independent farmers.

Class struggles and the black working class:
African resistance to exploitation; African strikes on the gold mines etc, African trade unions the ICU etc.
The Industrial Conciliation Act and black workers.

Class struggles and the white working class:
Control of white workers - state policy and the white working class; struggles over the "colour bar"; white workers strikes; organization and struggles - the trade union movement and the formation of the Labour Party; 1922 Rand Revolt, Nationalist-Labour Pact government and white labour policies; relationship of white unions to black workers.

War on War, Internationalist Socialist League, the Great October Revolution in Russia, the formation of the Communist International; the South African Communist Party

c. The Struggles for National Liberation

The campaign against the 1913 Land Act, women against passes, 1913 strikes, Indian passive resistance, mass struggles in the 1920's, the organization and role of the ICU and the ANC; relationship of the ANC to the working class movement.

d. Afrikaner Nationalism, Capital and the State

The policy of segregation: The Native Land Act, Native Administration Act, Herzog's Bills, 1925 Urban Areas Act; puppet chiefs, etc.

The state's economic policy in relation to labour, the re-distribution of mining surpluses, agriculture, mining industry and industrial development, protectionism etc.

White political parties and their social and political bases; Afrikaner nationalism and British imperialism.

1930 Depression to 1945 ~~World~~ (End of World War 2)

a. Changes in the Economy

The depression as a crisis of accumulation on a world scale and its specific forms in South Africa. The restructuring of capital after 1933, particularly the rapid development of manufacturing and the continued transition to capitalism in "white" agriculture.

Rapid disintegration of pre-capitalist modes of production in the "reserve"; 1937 Land Act.

Effects of above on class structure - growth of the urban proletariat and of the reserve army of labour in the cities and the latent reserve army in the reserves; the development of and divisions in the petit-bourgeoisie etc.

b. Black Workers and National Movements.

Attack on African franchise; formation of All African Convention; ANC developments, changes in policies and ideologies including approach ~~ex~~ to joint councils and to the Native Representative Council.

Decline of the ICU and the development of industrial unions; struggles (e.g anti-pass) in town and countryside.

c. The Development of Afrikaner Nationalism

Broederbond and Ossewa Brandwag; the emergence of purified nationalism; the development of Afrikaner commercial and financial capital institutions; shifting white political alliances.

d. The State and the Dominant Classes

The struggle for state power:

The international context: the international crisis of capitalism, the rise of fascism, the struggles against fascism and the war.

Conflicts between the dominant classes over labour and economic policies, the distribution of surplus, protectionism etc

Shifting white political alliances, the decline of the labour party and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism.

South Africa Since World War II: From Segregation to Apartheid

a. The New Phase in Imperialism

The internationalization of capital, multi-national corporations; the shift of imperialist investment from raw material production and extractive industries ~~to~~ in the periphery to industrial investment in the advanced capitalist countries and into highly mechanised production in the 'periphery'. The formation of international institutions of finance capital - IMF, World Bank etc.

The hegemony of the USA.

The decolonization of Africa and neo-colonialism.
The alignment of African states and the OAU

Struggles and changes in Southern Africa -
Namibia, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

b. The South African Economy

The linkages of the South African economy and international capital: foreign investments and investment crises; finance regulation and the links between state enterprises, private national capital and foreign capital; South Africa's autonomy in the production of wage goods and her dependence on foreign production of means of production. Balance of payment crises and gold; the growth of the economy and the current economic crises.

The process of capital accumulation, the restructuring of capital including the dominance of industrial manufacturing in the economy; the redistribution of labour between and within different sectors.

The effects on class formation - changes in the division of labour, the growth and distribution of the black working class, the consolidation of the 'national' bourgeoisie, black and white petit-bourgeoisies; the growth of the

reserve army of labour of unemployment and the repulsion of the surplus population to the Bantustans; the proletarianization of agricultural labour.

c. Apartheid and the Struggles of the People

i. The Character of the Apartheid System:

Apartheid as the changing ~~xxxxx~~ means by which the dominant classes (in particular national and international capital, together with their allies) attempts to secure the conditions necessary for the expanded accumulation of capital against the opposition of the people in the political and economic conditions as they have emerged since the Second World War.

ii. The First Phase 1945 - ~~1960~~ 1961

The political, ideological and economic effects of the war; rapid proletarianization and urbanization - squatter movements, urban and rural poverty; conceptions of human rights, the UN etc.

The 1946 mine workers strike; formation of ANC Youth League; changes within the ANC; beginnings of alliances between ANC, Indian Congress and APO. Indian Passive struggles and the radicalization of the Indian Congresses.

The 1948 election and the significance of the Nationalist Party's victory; Political control through repression - banning of CP, Criminal Law Amendment Act etc. Measures to control the labour force and the rural communities.

~~Thaxxis~~

The rise of mass struggles: Youth League's programme of action; Defiance Campaign; Congress of the People and Freedom Charter; the various stay-at-homes; formation of COD and SACTU and the emergence of the Congress Alliance.

The focal point of these struggles: the struggle for a pound a day, opposition to institutional structure of Apartheid - Bantu Education, removal schemes, reference books, trade union legislation, etc etc.

Sharpeville and the banning of the ANC and PAC - the significance of Sharpeville.

The stay-at-home in May 1961 as a turning point in the transition from non-violent struggle to armed struggle.

iii. The Second Phase 1961 -

The effects of Sharpeville and May 1961 on foreign investment; the determination of the ruling class to stabilize the situation.

The formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe; the state's repressive apparatus and operations.

The expansion of the economy in the 1960's and early 1970's - changes in the division of labour and in the racial divisions in the occupational structure; increasing black proletarianization and unemployment; changes in the structure of the petit-bourgeoisie.

Bantustan strategies, ~~and~~ their political significance and their relation to the reserve army of labour.

Political consciousness and organization, black consciousness - since the mid-1960's.

Class and popular struggles: Namibia 1971; South Africa 1973; Soweto 1976. Armed struggles.