

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW HISTORY
CURRICULUM FOR THE SECONDARY LEVEL IN
SOUTH AFRICA: CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO
THE POSSIBLE INCLUSION OF THEMES DRAWN
FROM UNITY MOVEMENT HISTORY.

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THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION IN CANDIDACY FOR
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BY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the recognition of alternative content and perspectives provided in popular history traditions as a "necessary condition" for the development of a new history for secondary school in South Africa. In arguing for this recognition, research on the Unity Movement historical and dialectical materialist historiographical tradition and its potential for the pedagogical process is used as illustration. Aspects discussed as the context for such an argument include (a) the nature of history and popular history (as a world phenomenon), (b) the nature and objectives of history education, (c) the legacy of Apartheid history education and (d) guidelines for the development of a new history curriculum based on Curriculum Development Theory and pedagogical principles of the New History Movement. The thesis concludes that recognition of the historiographical tradition of the Unity Movement is a necessary condition for the development of a new school history for South Africa based on its "legitimacy" regarding its version of history as embracing the experiences, traditions and values of the majority of people in South Africa. Furthermore, it is also a tradition which provides the children of this majority a place (not only in the history of Southern Africa), but (more importantly) in the history of the world. This recognition would have far-reaching implications for a new history for schools. These are: revision of the present content of the secondary syllabus, the re-interpretation of themes currently considered as representing "major" processes in historical formation in both Southern African and World History, and the inclusion of more "relevant" and "popular" themes. It is argued that the facilitation of a more "legitimate" and "popular" history curriculum will be realised in South Africa if cognisance is taken of both this popular historiographical tradition and crucial aspects of the pedagogical principles of the New History Movement.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAC:	All African Convention
ANC:	African National Congress
Anti-CAD:	Anti-Coloured Affairs Department
CNE:	Christian National Education
COSATU:	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DEC:	Department of Education and Culture
DET:	Department of Education and Training
ERS:	Educational Renewal Strategy
HSRC:	Human Sciences Research Council
ILRIG:	International Labour Research and Information Group
JMB:	Joint Matriculation Board
MARHO:	Radical Historians Group
NECC:	National Education Crisis Committee
NEF:	New Era Fellowship
NEUM:	Non - European Unity Movement
NUM:	New Unity Movement
PAC:	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
RAU:	Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit
SACHED:	South African Committee for Higher Education
SPCC:	Soweto Parents Crisis Committee
TLSA:	Teachers League of South Africa
UCT:	University of Cape Town
USA:	United States of America
UWC:	University of the Western Cape

CHAPTER ONE

1. AIMS OF THE RESEARCH INVESTIGATION

The aims of this thesis are to:

- (1) make recommendations for content and perspective as integral to "the necessary conditions" for the development of a new secondary school history in South Africa.
- (2) argue that the inherited historical tradition of the Unity Movement¹ offers relevant content, topics and perspectives for the development of a new history curriculum. It is contended that recognition of the contribution of this tradition would ensure the development of a more relevant and "popular"² history curriculum.
- (3) identify (in relation to Unity Movement perspective and selection of topics) the shortcomings and limitations of the present secondary history syllabus in terms of *content* and *historical perspective* offered to the learner.

These recommendations offered in this thesis are not intended to be prescriptive, but aim only at providing guidelines based on:

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1. The Unity Movement, formerly known as the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), was originally founded in 1943 as a predominantly Western Cape based federal body of "Coloureds" and "Africans" established to oppose (amongst others) the segregationist Hertzog Bills. The term "Unity Movement" is used as a "blanket term" in this thesis to refer to the historiographical tradition of this movement in both its early form as the NEUM (Non-European Unity Movement) and its current existence since re-emergence in 1986 as "The New Unity Movement" (NUM).
 2. The term "popular" is used in the thesis to refer to those materials and content which enjoy majority appeal in South Africa (i.e. black appeal). It is, however, firstly recognised that blacks are not a unified group and secondly, that this "popular majority" includes those, previously classified as "white", who also identify with and appreciate the need for a new school history which would include a range of black popular content and perspective. Use of the term "popular" in this thesis does not also imply uncritical acceptance of "majoritarian" ideology and perspective. The term is used as reflective of the realistic existence of a historical consciousness and perspective which opposes that of the dominant ideology at a given time. The origin of the term and other relevant issues regarding popular culture are expounded on in chapter 3.

- (1) History as an "inherited tradition" and the relevance of the inclusion of the Unity Movement³ historiographical tradition in a new school history based on its embracement of the values, experiences, and traditions of the black majority in South Africa;
- (2) the fact that the development of a more "popular" and relevant school history, in terms of content and perspective, is imminent in South Africa;
- (3) research into trends in popular interests in history as reflected in the content selection and perspective of popular history materials of the Unity Movement (1943);
- (4) the shortcomings of the present history curriculum in South Africa in providing all children with an "historical identity". The thesis argues that the present content of the history syllabus does not incorporate all the experiences and traditions of all in the South African society. Hence the pupil suffers the disadvantage of not gaining a full picture of the past. Black pupils feel alienated, because the history of their traditions and experiences is not represented in school history. Even though the skills-based methodology can be usefully applied to allow pupils to critically investigate the present content and "fill the gaps" in some sense, they are still denied the pedagogical experience of identifying with the content and exploring "relevant" alternative "perspectives" of that content.

3. The history of this movement and the nature of its historiographical tradition is discussed (in full) in chapter 3.

2. METHODS OF RESEARCH

The following methods of research were applied:

- a) A *literature survey* of black popular historical writing (1910-), focusing on Unity Movement historical writing and reading material from the 1940s to 1990s. This took the form of The Educational Journal⁴, the history publications of the fifties (of writers Dora Taylor, Hosea Jaffe, W. Van Schoor and B. Kies), publications of the nineties by Hosea Jaffe⁵ and R.O. Dudley as well as the history articles published in The New Unity Movement Bulletins⁶ (1986-). The aim hereof was to make an analysis of why they have written, their content selected for writing, in which periods, for which audience and with which perspective they have written. These are considered as "relevant variables" in putting forward recommendations for a "popular" and more relevant school history.
- b) The *present history syllabus* (1985) for secondary schools was *analysed*, focusing on the *nature and limitation of perspective and content* offered for learning. This analysis was done in relation to the perspective and selection of content provided by the Unity Movement.⁷

It is important to note that the research was *not* conducted with the aim of determining *the nature of popular demands* in history education, but to rather focus on the popular content

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4. The TLSA (Teachers' League of South Africa), founded in 1913, became an affiliate of the Unity Movement when the latter emerged in the 1940s. "The Educational Journal" is the official organ of the TLSA. A significant fact is that the historical works produced within the Unity Movement ranks are and have been mostly written by this teacher constituency. (Referring to writers such as Van Schoor, B.M. Kies and R.O. Dudley) Whether the histories carried by the Journal have been written by this constituency seems unlikely. What is clear is that the histories they carry are sympathetic and congruent with Unity Movement perspective.
 5. This same author wrote "Three Hundred Years" (1952) under the pseudonym of "Mnguni".
 6. The Non-European Unity Movement, founded in 1943, re-emerged in 1986 as The New Unity Movement with The New Unity Movement Bulletins (1986-) as its "official organ".
 7. The analysis of the syllabus is not the focus of this thesis and such an analysis was only carried out within the parameters of Unity Movement historiography and its relevance to topics in the syllabus.

and perspective in South African popular historical writing, looking specifically at The Unity Movement historiographical tradition as case study. It is for this reason that the research methodology *did not take the form of interviews and questionnaires* as its basic form of fieldwork. Although recognising the importance of gauging the interests and needs of the learner and teacher in such a thesis, it is the contention of the researcher that such an investigation is but one aspect of a project on curriculum development process, which warrants an independent study.

The research focus of the thesis is on Unity Movement historiography and its potential for the development of a new school history. A comprehensive analysis of the current secondary history syllabus (1985) is not provided. The scope of this analysis is restricted to the relevance of syllabus topics, themes and perspectives offered in Unity Movement historiography.

The recommendations which are made in this thesis are based on the findings of (a) and (b) as well as recognition of "general prerequisites" for history curriculum development as "process" in South Africa. The latter is based on the usefulness of the New History methodology and principles⁸ in redressing the imbalances created by Apartheid school history.

8. A Philosophy of school history, developed in Britain, based on the subjects as "an approach to knowledge" rather than a "body of content". This approach and philosophy are expounded on in Chapter 4, pp.85-90.

3. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the research conducted:

The thesis draws the following conclusions:

- i) The current history curriculum (1985) offers content and perspective not relevant to present popular historical interests in South Africa. This inherited tradition has been largely ignored in the making of the South African history curriculum.
- ii) One way in which the crisis evident in the present history curriculum can be resolved is on the level of both content and perspective offered to the learner. In this sense, the Unity Movement historians provide a useful framework in which to start the debate or the development of a "relevant" and more popular history curriculum.
- iii) The New History Movement offers valuable pedagogical principles which, combined with the inclusion of Unity Movement popular content and perspective, can provide a useful framework in which to start a debate on the development of a new history for secondary school in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH INVESTIGATION

This chapter provides a background to the research by looking at the following relevant aspects: (a) objectives in history education; (b) the South African context of history education; (c) educational implications of resistance education in South Africa; (d) state response regarding curriculum; (e) innovative responses in history education and (f) the Unity Movement historiographical tradition as a case study of the latter. Furthermore, this chapter provides a background to chapters 3, 4 and 5 in which the Unity Movement historiographical tradition and the relevant guidelines regarding history curriculum development are explored.

A. THE NATURE OF HISTORY

History can be defined as a recording of "a social process" involving the interaction of human beings whereby social traditions are developed. These traditions can be viewed as the handing down of skills, lessons and experiences from one generation to another in the course of time. The writing of history can therefore be viewed (in part) as being the recording of these traditions. The nature of history can hence be viewed as related to how these traditions are recorded. The nature of the recorded version of these social traditions is therefore dependent on the perspective of those who record history.

In this regard, E.H. Carr (1987:8) makes the point that two aspects are cardinal to the process of history: i.e. society and the individual's place in time. He contends that when we attempt to answer the question "What is History?" our answer consciously reflects our own position in time and the view we take of the society in which we live. Central to Carr's philosophy is the significance attached to social interaction which is interpreted as "historical

process". He explains history as a social process, in which individuals are engaged as social beings.

Crucial to the process of writing history, is the historian's selection of facts and the interpretation thereof. Facts in history are viewed as the "raw material" selected, interpreted and "moulded" by the historian in order to present a particular version of the past. Each historian carves out his or her "own story" by processing such "raw material" into an idealised version of "the past". Inherent to the process of selection and interpretation in historical writing are the notions of "bias", "objectivity" and "truth". These determine the form and content of a particular version of the past. The selection process plays an important role in determining the ultimate "content" of historical knowledge.

Historical writing, as reflected in the process of selection and interpretation, is ever changing and evolutionary in nature. Carr sees this as the nature of the history of historical writing (i.e. historiography) as noted in the ever changing goals with which historians write. As society changes, the historian's goals also evolve, constantly gaining new meaning and shifting in emphasis. This "evolutionary process" is seen to be central to what we come to know as the different versions of "history" presented at a given time. According to Carr (1987:124), Historiography is a "progressive science", it seeks to provide constantly expanding and deepening insights into a course of events which is itself progressive.

This process of the evolution of new goals within an "everchanging" and "developing" society is furthermore considered as instrumental in giving "content" to historical knowledge at a given time. This is how access to what is deemed (at a given time in history) "relevant" historical content and knowledge is gained and also where the link between the past, present and future gains significance. Hence we view the past and achieve our understanding of that past only "through the eyes of the present" (1987:130). For this reason, history acquires meaning and objectivity only when it provides a coherent link between past, present and future.

Carr (1987:108-114) asserts that history is a process started with the handing down of tradition, of habits and lessons recorded of the past into the future; a process of progress

through the transmission of acquired skills from one generation to another. In short, therefore, history is seen as a "social process" in which we interact as "social beings", "handing down traditions and experiences". Hence the notion, that the "content" of history can be realised only as we "experience" it (1987:116), gains meaning.

Society is socially diverse in nature, encapsulating various social traditions and experiences. In the process of writing history, one age records that which it finds worthy in another. In this process, all other traditions and experiences are inevitably (through the process of selection and interpretation) neglected or ignored, and left on the "periphery". The history of the experiences and tradition of the politically dominant group gains historical hegemony and comes to be presented as "the past".

In this process, History can become "irrelevant" to those who cannot identify with the experiences and traditions as presented in the dominant version of the past. It stands to reason then that, *in order for history to gain meaning for all in society, the history of all traditions and experiences need to be recorded and represented.* The experiences of all human beings in the process of social interaction therefore need to be recorded as "history". These should be represented as part of a social process whereby social beings of "diverse traditions and experiences interact" to contribute to the development of society.

B. THE NATURE OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

In this discussion only those works and traditions relevant to the purpose of the thesis are discussed. This section offers therefore no "comprehensive" account of historiography in South Africa. Its main aims are to (1) identify the emergence of Afrikaner Nationalist history as emerging under colonial rule as "oppositional" history (2) highlight the emergence of "liberal" and "radical" history and Africanist paradigms in academic history and (3) identify the emergence of a "popular" form of academic history in South Africa.

The pattern of exclusion and inclusion of respective "inherited traditions" in the recording of history is observed in an overview of the main trends of historical writing in South Africa. For example, Settler historians chose to emphasise the "inherited settler tradition" in their

recording of South Africa's past and similarly Afrikaner Nationalist historians have chosen to emphasise those events inherent to the Afrikaner Nationalist experience and tradition in the historical development of South Africa. These respective "recorded versions" of South African history consecutively informed the content and perspective provided in school history under the respective periods of British and Afrikaner Nationalist "political hegemonies".

Theal is also described as "the father of South African historiography" because he established a tradition of strongly pro-colonist, anti-black historical writing which created the "racist paradigm" which served to "justify white rule" (Saunders, 1988:29). He also propagated the myth of the "empty interior of the 1830s"; myths still repeated more than one half a century after his death (Saunders, 1988:41). Theal and Cory were the dominant "Settler Historians" in South Africa during the 1890s. Theal's work focused (amongst others) on the physical characteristics of the "Bushmen" and "their incapacity to adapt to European civilisation" (Theal, 1964:7-8). Blacks were seen not to be "equals" of whites and their history was therefore viewed as "not as significant as the history of white settlement" (Saunders, 1988:29). Furthermore, Theal is seen to have recognised the work of Dutch colonists in "opening up and developing South Africa" and his work was therefore not rejected by the Afrikaner Nationalists (Van Jaarsveld, 1964:120). Theal also found favour with Afrikaner Nationalists because "he stood for 'the white' against the 'Bantu' and interpreted collisions on the frontier as 'the fault of blacks'" (Van Jaarsveld, 1964:120). Therefore because of his "somewhat sympathetic" stance to the "Afrikaner", his books were approved of in the Republics and recommended for use in school in 1893 (Van Jaarsveld, 1964:126).

It was in reaction to British political hegemony, at the time, as well as the British historical writing of Wilton, Holden and others, that an "Afrikaner Nationalist" historical writing and consciousness emerged. Van Jaarsveld emphasised the British bias which characterises early traditions of historical writing in the period of "British colonial dominance" in South Africa. In citing Holden's "History of the Colony of Natal" (1855), he refers to the works of "settler historians" as having depicted the "Afrikaners" as "slave traders", "robbers" and "murderers" (Van Jaarsveld, 1959:96). He, furthermore, asserts that their historical writing focused predominantly on events such as the arrival of the British and the deeds of the governors, while they neglected the events which occurred in the period under Dutch rule (Van

Jaarsveld, 1964:118). According to Van Jaarsveld, British History, was in the latter part of the nineteenth century, taught alongside Cape History with Britain "as its central theme" and the Cape "at the fringes". The history of South Africa was not presented as "independent" of Britain (1964:119). Afrikaner Nationalist writers of the mid-twentieth century emphasised the poor white problem, the establishments of Boer Republics and the struggle for the establishment of an "Afrikaner culture". They also accepted Theal's perspective of the history of blacks as "not relevant" to the study of South African history.¹

This tradition was carried further in the work of C.F.J. Muller (1969)² which presents South African history as a "chronology" (amongst others) of the following events: the explorers, Jan Van Riebeeck, The Great Trek and its significance, the Anglo-Boer war, Reconstruction, Unification and Republic. The "empty interior" theory and the "significant division amongst blacks" feature as "extremely important factors which contributed to the retention of white power in South Africa (1969:422-425). Van Jaarsveld discusses the Mfecane as causing great "havoc and destruction" in Southern Africa (1975:107) and states also that the Bantu were "recent immigrants" to South Africa (1975:54). His chronology of South African history starts with "Whites, Hottentots, Bushmen and Slaves" leading on to "Afrikaner resistance to British supremacy" and "From subjugation to Independence" (i.e. from British rule). This chronology culminates in the existence of a "multinational South Africa and how "John Voster points the way forward".³

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1. See in this regard "Geskiiedenis van Suid-Afrika", A.J.H. Van der Walt and J.A. Wiid (eds) (1951:331-333). Writers in the text draw an analogy between the Egyptian mummies and the "Bushmen". The point is also made that the interior was "scarcely populated", because blacks "savaged" each other.
 2. Referring to Muller's (ed) "Five Hundred Years of South African History" (1969).
 3. Referring to his work "From Van Riebeeck to Voster: 1652-1974 (1975).

With the introduction of liberal historical writing⁴ in the 1920s, writers started to include the "inherited traditions" of both white and blacks in their writing. W.M. Macmillan is viewed as "the most important early liberal writer" (Saunders, 1988:47). He is seen to have brought a "critical sense" to South African professional scholarship by disclosing relevant issues so that people would understand better the nature of society and work to transform it (Saunders, 1988:62). His work was therefore a radical departure from those of Theal and Cory in that he challenged their pro-colonist and anti-black view, rejected the settler tradition and showed sympathy for "people of colour". He began to move away from racial categories and realised the significance of economics and the interaction between blacks and whites as central theme in South African history⁵ (Saunders, 1988:65-75). By introducing the liberal "race relations" theme, Macmillan presented the perspective of seeing "the making of South Africa's history" as the "collective effort" of "all its people" (Macmillan, 1927:289). Macmillan's content, perspective and methodology were thus a clear break away from the "colonial and imperial" tradition of earlier writers as well as that of his contemporaries.

The 1930s were marked by the contributions made, in academic historical writing, by Macmillan's student C.W. de Kiewiet. Of Macmillan's contribution to a new historical methodology in South African history, de Kiewiet remarks that it was thanks to Macmillan's teaching in the 1920s, that the whole "unhistorical architecture" of Theal and Cory broke down. It was then that he realised that there was "no South African history"; that it had to be "rewritten, round a fresh architecture" (Saunders, 1986:17). It should be noted that the 1920s and 1930s were marked by work of "progressive historians" such as F.J Turner, C.A. Beard and V. Parrington, who were dominant in American historiography in the 1920s and 1930s. They believed in a "new history" for reform which should embrace a social and economic dimension and should include the history of "the common man". Macmillan and de Kiewiet thought likewise, but by contrast, they stressed "co-operation" rather than

4. It is significant to note that writers of history in The Educational Journals of the TLISA drew heavily on the liberal tradition in their analysis of the historical development of South Africa. Prominent reference resources reflected in respective bibliographies of these journals are those of Marais, De Kiewiet and Macmillan. See The Educational Journal, volumes of March - June 1951 (Bibliography of the "Van Riebeeck Series"); November - December 1959 and March 1960 (Bibliography of "The rise and decline of Union") See November - December 1960 and March 1961 (References for teachers of history).

5. A good example of Macmillan's work (in this regard) is the "Cape Colour Question" (1927).

"conflict" to influence the then contemporary political situation in South Africa (Saunders, 1988:95-96).

Macmillan and de Kiewiet challenged the dominant themes of Theal, namely the role of British policy. In 1947, de Kiewiet pointed out to the staff at Fort Hare that the study of history could be a means of "liberating people from their past" and that South African history should be "liberatory" (Saunders, 1986:70). He argued that blacks had played as significant a role in the history of South Africa as whites (Saunders, 1986:70). Like Macmillan, he also employed various disciplines in his methodology as reflected in one of his works entitled: "A history of South Africa: Social and Economic" (1942). This work, which contains a chapter on "Poor Whites and Poor Blacks", describes (amongst others) the land wars as "labour wars" (1942:180). Furthermore, he saw the origins of the proletariat in South Africa as "an essential passage of its economic and social history" (1942:182). He followed Macmillan in exploring the causes of African poverty; he painted South African history as a picture of "continuous depression and disintegration", especially with regard to the Xhosa Cattle-killing of 1856-1857 (Saunders, 1988:85). These themes, introduced by Macmillan and de Kiewiet, are seen to be explored by historians in the 1970s.

There was no further move towards the Africanist perspective in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s (Saunders, 1988:105). This kind of tradition did, however, continue in the work of "amateur" writers such as A.T. Bryant (a missionary), J. Stuart (who wrote on the Bambatha rebellion) and the "Christianised African elite" (A. Soga, S. Plaatje, and S.M. Molema) and those of the "Trotskyite" movement, Taylor and Jaffe. It was a period in which the African petty bourgeoisie made appeals to people to "dig out their own history" (Saunders, 1988: 109). Most professional historians (at the time) assumed that the study of Africa belonged to the "discipline of Anthropology" (Saunders, 1988:110). Liberal writers, such as Walker and Marais, were concerned with policy towards "people of colour" and not the study of "their history from within" (Saunders, 1988:117). L. Thompson, not concerned with the African tradition, then focused on the history of constitutional struggle - a theme advanced by Andre Odendaal over two decades later (Saunders, 1988:123). The Second World War was seen to "handicap" research during this period.

The sixties were marked by the development of two traditions in South African historiography: the Liberal Africanist and Radical Africanist tradition. This particular branch of historiography developed in response to the anti-colonial struggles and decolonisation in the late 1950s and early 1960s (Bundy, 1986:5). These writers were concerned with "discovering the broad outline of the African past" (Bundy, 1986:6). During the 1960s liberal Africanists were starting to show that blacks had played an important role in Southern African history (Saunders, 1988:143). L. Thompson emerged as the most important liberal South African historian of the sixties.

In "The Oxford History of South Africa" (1969) L. Thompson and M. Wilson state that their work derives from the belief in the interaction between "peoples of diverse origins and languages". The underlying motive for the work is expressed as the need "to break away from previous works which concentrated on the achievements of whites and their relations with one another". It is also aimed at breaking away from the histories written by English historians "which showed sympathy to the policies of the British government, of missionaries and liberals". The authors wanted to break away from what they termed "the five basic assumptions which shaped writing about South African history". These assumptions were identified by the authors as the following (amongst others): that the history of South Africa began with the discovery of the Cape; that each "physical type" formed a "pure" race and had the exclusive occupation of a specific area and remained isolated from others and that it is "improper" for the historian to be concerned with "social structure" (Thompson and Wilson, 1969:vii).

Due to state repression, the 1960s witnessed a steady exodus of leftist and liberal intellectuals who were consequently influenced by historiographical developments abroad. These influences were firstly, from the Annale School which made an impact on historiography in the 1940s and 1950s (Bundy, 1986:3) with their perspective of history as "the science of human societies"; secondly, the Marxist/materialist history (revitalised after Stalin's death) which emphasised the transformative nature of history and the determining nature of the material base of society; thirdly, "the proliferation of new historical genres or specialisations" (Bundy, 1986:4) focusing on the history of the family, women, crime, popular culture etc. and fourthly, "the history from below" or "people's history" movement, seen as a confluence

of the Marxist and Annalist traditions (Bundy, 1986:4). "Class and Colour: 1850 - 1950" was a source widely read by this "new generation"; and helped shape their ideas (Saunders, 1988:166-167). The late sixties was also a period in which Marxist scholars such as E. Thompson, E. Hobsbawm and C. Hill grappled with themes of social and economic change (Saunders, 1988:170). F. Johnstone provided a class analysis of segregation in his work "Race, Class and Gold" (1976) (Saunders, 1988:171). Wolpe, not a trained historian, argued that the reserves served the interests of mining capital (Saunders, 1988:172).

By the mid-seventies there was no "unanimity" amongst South African radical historians, "beyond a basic commitment to materialism" (Saunders, 1988:181). Those with the heavy structural Marxist approach to history were not historians, but their work was seen to be "heavily sociological" and "ahistorical" (Saunders, 1988:181). These scholars turned away from the study of early society, the use of oral tradition and the "concern" of L. Thompson. They rejected "Africanism" as well as the liberalism of the 1960s (Saunders, 1988:182).

On the other hand, there were many historians who were influenced by a more "flexible" Marxist approach to history of the E. Thompson - tradition (Saunders, 1988:178). They were influenced by the French Marxist Anthropological perspective on pre-capitalist societies and "the history from below" approach of the British Marxist historians and the History Workshop Movement⁶ (Saunders, 1988:182). This tradition included the work of historians such as J. Peires and P. Delius who studied the history of the nineteenth century African state, respectively focusing on the Xhosa of the Eastern Cape and the Pedi of the Eastern Transvaal. They were not just recovering African history "from within", but were also looking at the "contradictions in precolonial African society" (Saunders, 1988:184). This "second generation of African historians" witnessed the political disorder and economic disasters of the post-colonial African regimes and tried to uncover the structural weaknesses and defects of African societies (Bundy, 1986:6).

6. In Britain, since 1967, radical historians gathered for a conference under The History Workshop banner. The formation of this workshop resembles the Radical Historians Organisation (MARHO) in the United States.

While the structuralists depicted Africans as "victims" of the capitalist order, revisionists showed, through detailed historical work, that Africans "shaped their own history" (Saunders, 1988:184). The revisionists stressed the importance of "human agency" and distrusted "theoretical abstractions" of the structuralist approach (Saunders, 1988:184). The debate centred (amongst others) around the perspective that a structuralist approach could so emphasise the "collective" that "the individual seems to play no role" (Saunders, 1988:184).

It was also in the seventies that historians, such as van Onselen, turned to the organisational history of the labour force and the experience of workers. This was particularly a feature after the Durban strikes of 1972 and 1973 (Saunders, 1988:185). In the late seventies, historians added to the dialectic of race and class, that of "gender" (Saunders, 1988:190). "The History Workshop", founded at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1978, under the initiative of academics such as L. Callinicos, E. Webster, P. Bonner, P. Kallaway, C. Van Onselen, Tim Couzens and B. Bozzoli, had two "underlying motivations": (1) that of providing trade unions and other organisations with useful information and historical background and (2) the more "Gramscian motive" of "empowering the dispossessed" by returning to them their "lost or distorted historical traditions" and giving them "a sense of their contribution to society" (Bozzoli, 1989).

By the eighties, most radical historians are seen to have accepted that both the "unique" and "structural" should be taken into account in historical research and writing i.e. "human agency", "ideology" and consciousness were important and that the "material" base was not always "determinant" (Saunders, 1988:191).

A number of historians started to build on the E.P. Thompson - tradition of "history from below", writing about topics on "the experiences of ordinary men and women" and the history of townships such as Sophiatown. Methodologies in this new approach emphasised the use of oral testimony and autobiographies.⁷ The tradition of "social history" became

7. Wits University launched an Oral History Project in 1979. This is seen as "the most noteworthy attempt" in South Africa to collect oral testimony. Other universities soon followed in this trend, for example, the University of Cape Town produced numerous papers on the history of Cape Town, many focusing on the lives of the subordinate classes. (The University of the Western Cape established its "Peoples History Project" in 1986.)

dominant, which "enlarged the map of historical knowledge, opening up new topics for enquiry, new kinds of evidence, new questions and new approaches" (Bundy, 1986:3).

The most significant contribution in academic "social" and "popular" history emerged in the form of the Callinicos Volumes⁸ which grew out of papers delivered at the Social History Workshops held at Wits in 1978. These volumes were of the first focus of "popular" academic histories written in the eighties. The Callinicos volumes found their genesis in the confluence of two streams in historical writing: that of popular oppositional writing and the academic "history from below" perspective.

Drawing from social and labour histories, her work attempts to give "access" to an "ordinary" class of readers. While the first volume "Gold and Workers" (1981) is more analytical, "Working Life" (1987) is written for "an intended audience" of a "worker readership"⁹. "Working Life" is seen, by the writer, to have been written at a time when there was "a fairly major shift in historiography"; "one which shifted in the direction of an "experiential social and oral history".¹⁰ Her writing was also informed by the perspective of not merely looking at people as just "oppressed", but also the need to look at how oppressed people "shape and make their own lives"; how their "consciousness develops".¹¹

C. OBJECTIVES IN HISTORY EDUCATION

It has been said that through the process of selection and interpretation the history of the dominant political group (as recorded by historians who identify with this group) comes to

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8. These volumes had been a welcoming arrival in the absence of a resource base for teachers and pupils alike. They succeed (to some extent) in filling the gap in "decontextualised" textbook versions of South African History, especially regarding the formation of a working class and the discovery of minerals in South Africa.
 9. Callinicos writes as an "activist historian"; herself having been involved in worker education in the Old Metal and Allied Worker Union in Durban. Her volumes enjoy a wide readership of workers, teachers, pupils and even university students. She states that her motivation for producing this work lay in the need to have filled "the gap" in school history (Interview, June 1990).
 10. Interview, June 1990. (She has drawn most of the material for the second volume from material researched by The History Workshop at Wits.)
 11. Interview, June 1990

be presented as "the past" in any given society. Imbedded in this version of the past are world views and values of the dominant political group. These world views and values shape the educational system of a given society. The subject History plays a particularly important role in shaping and transmitting these worldviews and values imbedded in the school curriculum. It is in this context that this subject often takes on specific significance in the battle to win the "hearts and minds" of the students.

In order to realise this political aim, the version of a society's past (as written by the dominant political group) therefore comes to be presented (in one form or the other) as "school history". Subsequently, the history of the experiences and traditions which embraces values of the dominant political group is offered for learning in school.¹² It is this version of a society's past which is ultimately validated as "worthwhile historical knowledge".

The questions which now logically confront us are firstly, whether this knowledge of the past is "worthwhile" and secondly, by what criteria it is held to be "worthwhile". The exact meaning of epistemological concepts such as "worthwhile historical knowledge" and "truth" in school history has not as yet been defined. The role played by factors such as "bias" in history contributes further to the mystification of these concepts. P.J. Rogers (1979:5) asserts that no criterion has yet been indicated which "will guarantee the truth of what the pupil claims to know". Regarding the question of historical knowledge, Carr (1987:27) contends that "knowledge is knowledge for some purpose and that the validity of the knowledge depends on the validity of the purpose". In other words, the knowledge of past experiences and traditions of the dominant political group gains the status of "valid knowledge" in school history, only as far as it plays a political role in winning the "hearts and minds" of the pupils, justifying their political hegemony in society. This same kind of criteria is relevant to the aims of "popular" history in which history education is integral to the process of emancipation.

The political and pedagogical problematics surrounding these concepts have precipitated debates around a new approach to school history in Britain, which led to the emergence of

12. Refer to the points made in this regard by Van Jaarsveld (1964) regarding colonial history in school.

the New History Movement. This movement grew out of increasing calls in Britain during the late sixties for more interesting history compared to syllabuses which were geared to the memorisation of facts. Britain pioneered the process of curriculum reform in history. "The Schools Council History Project", through which The New History Movement attempted to implement their new philosophy of history education, demonstrated that there was a distinct need "to reconsider the place of history" within the changing curriculum in Britain.

New history educationalists argue that one cannot talk "meaningfully" about historical knowledge without some understanding of how that knowledge is arrived at. Their project, which started in 1972 and was aimed at 13 to 16 year olds, began with a conscious attempt to rethink the philosophy of teaching history in school. This philosophy entailed the emphasis upon the subject as an approach to knowledge rather than a body of content. The argument is the developing and understanding of the methods or process of historical enquiry into how we come to acquire our knowledge of the past. Their focus is also on "learning by experiencing".

Pupils make extensive and guided use of the sources of evidence. In this way, the problems, difficulties and uncertainties that relate to historical knowledge are highlighted for them. Through this process, pupils develop an appreciation that there is room for a variety of views. In assessing evidence and drawing their own conclusions, pupils develop skills which are fundamental to the "new history" philosophy and methodology. The skills to comprehend, judge, extrapolate, synthesise and evaluate are interpreted as those abilities through which pupils acquire "critical thinking" in history. Through "critical thinking" the main objective of history teaching is to allow students to understand the world in which they live.

By arriving through critical thinking at this understanding pupils should therefore acquire knowledge of change and continuity as integral to social process in history. Understanding the world in which they live also implies understanding the process of handing down traditions and experiences from one generation to another. This should provide the pupil with a firm understanding of the coherent link between past, present and future.

However, when one particular presentation of the past is dominant in school history, pupils are denied the opportunity to fully understand the world in which they live. They are denied the "pedagogical experience" of understanding history as "social process", whereby all human beings interact. They are deprived of the education of seeing history as "social interaction" of all human beings. By losing sight of this aspect of historical process, they are denied the perspective integral to a comprehensive insight to the past: i.e. the coherent link between past, present and future.

All children inevitably suffer "educational deprivation" in such a school history - those of the dominant as well as politically less powerful groups. Worst of all, those on the periphery see, through school history, no experience and traditions with which to identify, because their past "in full" is not presented. In short, they are denied "a place" in history.

In realising the pedagogical objective of "understanding the world in which we live", and allowing pupils to arrive at this objective through critical thought processes, a fundamental objective in history education challenges educationalists: The need to attempt to provide the opportunity for pupils to gain a full picture of events in the past. Only by attempting to provide this, will pupils be afforded the opportunity to see history as "a social process whereby all human beings interact, handing down traditions and experiences, linking the past, present and future".

D. THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT OF HISTORY EDUCATION

In South Africa, history teaching has for long been a contested terrain - a terrain (seen to be) abused by the ruling class to "colonise" the minds of pupils. History teaching in South Africa has never been neutral; its role has been inextricably linked to the politics of the given hegemonic class in this country.

During the period of British rule in South Africa at the turn of the century, British and Imperial History enjoyed predominance in school history. After 1948, with the reign of the Afrikaner Nationalist Government, school history had a predominant Christian National focus, with "Afrikaner" events enjoying status.

Since the establishment of the Apartheid Regime in South Africa in 1948, the education system in this country had been shaped by a particular Afrikaner Nationalist worldview. The Afrikaner Volkskongres founded an institute for Christian National Education (CNE) in 1939. This institute published a pamphlet in 1948 setting out its CNE policy. Reflecting the worldview of the Afrikaner Nationalists, this policy expressed their views about the role of the Calvinist church in education and their views about nationalist education for "Dutch-Afrikaner" children and others.

In the years following 1948 the Apartheid policy was put into practise in education through the creation of different education departments for different "race" groups. Such a policy in education had the aim of facilitating the separate development of the different "races" in South Africa along "eiesoortige" lines and also served (above all) to preserve the "identity" of the Afrikaner Nationalist. This policy was effected by The Bantu Education Act of 1953, The Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963 and the Indian Education Act of 1965.

The Bantu Education Act was the result of the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission appointed to plan segregated education along racial lines, specifically the education of the "native" as "a separate" and "subservient" "race". This Commission recommended a radical reorganisation of African education. The Coloured Education and Indian Education Acts formed part of the "family tree" of Apartheid Education of which Bantu Education served as foundation.

At a later stage the National Education Policy Act was passed in 1967, which laid down guiding principles for white education. Its ideals for the "National" *content* of white education are captured in the assertion that: "National education in schools shall have a broad national character which shall be imprinted (a) through the *conscious expansion of every pupil's knowledge of the fatherland* (own emphasis), embracing language, history and traditions and (b) by developing this knowledge in each pupil into understanding and appreciation by presenting it in a meaningful way where appropriate, *in the teaching of the two official languages, national history of the fatherland*" (Malherbe, 1977:147-148).

The different Education Acts were based on the realisation of the aims outlined by the CNE Policy which include those of (a) that "God has willed separate nations and peoples" (b) that each "nation" has its "own unique identity" or "eiesoortigheid" (c) that every "nation" is "different" and has its "own alien identity" or "andersoortigheid"; (d) the education of the "Native" is to be "firmly grounded" in the "philosophy" of the "whites".¹³

To achieve the aim of building "separate nations" and preserving the "Afrikaner Nationalist identity", particular attention was given to the teaching of such subjects as History. For the CNE policy regarded the instruction of the "moedertaal" and "*volksgeskiedenis*" as the major means of fostering "tribal identities". They stated that "*die vaderlandse geskiedenis van die nasie is die groot middel om liefde vir die eie te kweek*" (CNE Policy Document, 1948:8-15).

The inculcation of "tribal" values in history education in South African schools has since 1948 been channelled via two main components of the history curriculum. These being:

- (a) the selection of *content* material for the study of South African history at school with emphasis on Afrikaner Nationalist events and
- (b) presentation of *Afrikaner Nationalist content* in school History textbooks as "non-problematic".

Various studies into the syllabi and textbooks of school history in South Africa have been conducted (Auerbach, 1966; Van den Berg, 1981; Mulholland, 1981; Dean, 1984). Their findings exposed the effect as well as the evolution of the Verwoerdian policy of "separate development" in history education. In his study on South African history textbooks, Auerbach (1966:26) found that much emphasis was put on the history of Europeans in South Africa, especially Afrikaners. He concluded that white children who learned history with this emphasis were likely to be imbued with the "erroneous belief" that Africans are permanently "tribal and inherently inferior to Whites".

13. Adapted from "Articles 14 and 15" of the CNE document.

A study conducted by Van den Berg and Buckland (1981) has shown that although there had been some form of change in the type of content offered, the South African history syllabi¹⁴ of the eighties had still been exposing white and "eiesoortige" bias in the content offered; that there were "clear indications" that it reflected a "white" perspective in general, and an Afrikaner Nationalist one "in particular". Hence History was portrayed as essentially a "white" activity and where reference was made to persons classified other than "white", this was done in the sense of providing "background information" and of having a "separate" history requiring attention in segregated syllabus compartments.

These studies into aspects of the history curriculum in South Africa have also shown that school history has served the function (amongst others) in justifying Apartheid policies (Dean, 1984:17). Research into South African history textbooks has shown that there was a "pronounced trend" to greater ethnocentrism in Afrikaans textbooks, which had influenced the *content* of the syllabus prescribed for all schools (Dean, 1984:39). Prior to these findings, Cornevin's study (1980) exposed the premises on which the ideology of Apartheid is based and the myths that have been created to justify such an ideology. Mulholland's study (1981) revealed that the aims of history teaching and learning since 1948 have remained static, fulfilling the political aims of the ruling Nationalist Party Mulholland (1981:277). It should, however, be recognised that the political aims of history learning in South Africa have evolved from idealising the Verwoerdian dream in the fifties towards the multi-cultural reformist dream of the eighties and nineties. The political aims and methods of the ruling Nationalist Party have not remained static over the past three decades. Although they had been directly aimed at fostering Apartheid through curriculum content in schools, the means by which this had been done had evolved from being blatantly racist to more subtle forms of justifying white rule in South Africa.

14. Denoting the segregated syllabus compartments under Apartheid education based on one "core" syllabus.

Through its Afrikaner Nationalist bias¹⁵ (in content and perspective) the South African history syllabi fail to reflect an understanding of history as social process whereby all human beings interact and social traditions are developed. Although the South African historiographical pattern (in terms of Liberal and Radical historical writing) shows development towards increasingly including the history of both blacks and whites, this is not reflected in school history. The syllabi have remained predominantly Afrikaner Nationalist in character, reflecting worldviews, values and the "inherited tradition" of the Nationalist Party. The content exposes a predominantly political and constitutional focus, although South African historiography has shifted in the direction of social and economic interpretations. The predominantly Afrikaner Nationalist content ignores the complexities of the interaction of the dynamics of "race" and "class" in South Africa and the emergence of an African History perspective. The rich "inherited tradition" of prehistoric Southern Africa is largely neglected. The syllabi of the eighties are showing some attempt to incorporate a history on the Stone and Iron Age in Southern Africa. However, such content covers a small percentage of the entire syllabus and remains overshadowed by predominantly "white" content. Such history is limited to a study of the Mfecane as background to 19th century white history of Southern Africa. Developments in African History and Social History have also largely been ignored.

In neglecting these aspects of Southern Africa's past, the syllabi fail to provide both black and white pupils with the opportunity to gain "objective" and "meaningful" insight into the past. In effect, they fail to provide pupils with a comprehension of the link between the past, present and future South Africa.¹⁶ The traditions and experiences of the dominant political and cultural white group enjoy high status in the history curriculum. In having this character, the South African history syllabi become "irrelevant" to the majority of pupils¹⁷. They

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15. Content which reflects a predominance of events which romanticise the history of the "Afrikaner volk" and their struggle for nationhood. (The Great Trek; Battle of Blood River; the establishment of the "Afrikaner Republics"; the Anglo-Boer War etc.)
 16. It is, however, noted that much depends on the methodology and insight of the teacher in executing the task as either "transmitter" of this content and perspective or "facilitator" of the acquisition of critical skills in the learning of such history.
 17. "Majority" referring to all those pupils not registered as "white" according to the previous Population Registration Act, which had recently been scrapped in 1991.

cannot identify with the experiences and traditions of the minority "Afrikaner Nationalist" group.

Inherent in the pedagogical question of whether the current core South African history syllabus provides the pupil with "worthwhile historical knowledge" is the need (like in Britain) for a review of the current (1985) syllabi. If the aim of South African school history is to make pupils understand the world in which they live, then it is imperative that the opportunity is created for history pupils to (i) acquire necessary skills for the development of critical thought processes through working with different sources of evidence and (ii) be presented the South African past in "full", by providing the pupil with a variety of perspectives on a given event.

This implies that not only the issue of how a skills-based history education can be provided, but more importantly, the issues of content and perspective must be addressed. The skills-based methodology can only find meaning and be applied within content material which would allow for maximum application. Skills and content are necessary to one another. There are presently huge "gaps" in terms of content, perspective and a skills-based methodology in the South African history syllabi. A prerequisite for maximum exploitation of a skills-based methodology would imply a re-appraisal of the current perspective of school history and a reassessment of content¹⁸ in order to provide a more "comprehensive picture" of the past. This does not, however, imply that the problem is only about "gaps" in content. The nature of the pedagogical approach to that content is also at stake.

Of relevance here is a study conducted by Mulholland (1981) into the evolution of history teaching in South Africa. She emphasises the need for reform of history content in schools. Her thesis reveals the following points:

The way subjects are taught and the methods of organisation in the schools are important factors, but in the final analysis the content of curricula and syllabi decides what beliefs and attitudes are imparted to pupils (1981:251).

18. This does not suggest that "patch work" of the current syllabi is the solution to reform thereof.

In the South African history sections of both primary and high school syllabi so much that is interesting and informative is ignored, while so much that is of limited appeal and often limited value is repeated (1981:326).

In concluding the study, Mulholland calls for working towards a situation where teacher, text and syllabi do not reflect sectional interest but general knowledge and understanding of benefit to all society and all in society (1981:338).

E. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF RESISTANCE EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Afrikaner Nationalist Education has not gone unchallenged. The fifties, sixties, seventies and the last and present decade have been marked by continuous and militant resistance to Apartheid Education.

Significantly, one of the causes of the Soweto uprising of 1976, was black dissatisfaction with the proposal that half of the subjects in standard five and form one be taught in the medium of Afrikaans.¹⁹ *This signified dissatisfaction with a key aspect of Afrikaner Nationalist content in the curriculum.* In 1980 the Cillie Commission acknowledged that there was considerable dissatisfaction with "Bantu Education" which ensured an education for blacks which would force them to remain on the "political and social periphery" of a "white dominated" society. The Afrikaans language, which is "outside" of the experience of many black children in South Africa, would have served to further entrench the alienation of these blacks.

The student revolt of June 1976 ushered in a spectacular and dramatic social critique of ruling class strategy in all its forms. This education resistance movement manifested itself in the mid-eighties in the form of the People's Education Movement. By the eighties the oppositional movement in history, which had a long tradition of struggle earmarked by (amongst others) the contribution of popular works by S. Plaatje in the first decade of this

19. Because of the tremendous opposition, this instruction was withdrawn by the Minister of Bantu Education.

century and the Unity Movement "classics" of the fifties, culminated in the "Peoples History Movement".²⁰

The concept "People's Education" emerged out of the education crisis during 1984 and 1985 when the "legitimacy" of "Bantu Education" and state power over schools was once again challenged. It was in this context that the Soweto Parent's Crisis Committee (SPCC) was formed in October 1985. This initiative gave birth to the call "People's Education for People's Power".

One of the main resolutions adopted at the SPCC meeting in December 1985 was that of "Control and Empowerment" (Mkhatshwa, 1985:6). The concept of "control and empowerment" implies that students, parents, teachers and workers should have a voice in deciding what kind of education should be provided and *how* this should be done. In order to realise this goal of "people's power" in education, the SPCC called a National Consultative Conference in December 1985, out of which the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed in March 1986.

One of the most important goals of the People's Education Movement was the construction of "*alternative curricula*" for schools in the form of "People's Education" programmes. People's Education Commissions, which included a History Commission, were set up in June 1986 to work on developing material for this purpose. This was intended "to help students and teachers to present the syllabi in different ways" and to produce resources "to help the community to run their own 'alternative' programmes" outside of the school structure (Kruss, 1988:25).

F. STATE RESPONSE REGARDING CURRICULUM

The militant educational resistance movements of 1976 and the eighties as well as international pressure against Apartheid forced the Nationalist government during the last decade to address popular demands in education.

20. The formation of this movement, as distinct from the earlier tradition, in terms of formation, origin and nature is explored later in this chapter.

In the years after the Soweto Uprising of June 1976, the Apartheid state adopted the so-called "total strategy" in 1979 as a means to counter the "total onslaught" directed against South Africa. Integral to this strategy, was a new improved educational dispensation. This "total strategy" response was an attempt to alleviate its financial and political crisis. In this regard, P. Kallaway asserts that at that time the very institutions designed to propagate "education for domestication" on the Verwoerdian model, turned out to be "trojan horses" (1990:20). Through this strategy the Apartheid State also hoped to introduce (amongst others) a programme of social reform to satisfy black aspirations. But by 1981 this strategy was in crisis as it had failed to meet the popular demands of blacks. This background precipitated the appointment of a commission of inquiry into education in 1980, namely the De Lange Commission which reported its findings in 1981. This commission called for industrial training, vocational education, compulsory attendance, increased worker efficiency, and "a single-ministry of education".

The government responded to the De Lange Report with The White Paper published in 1983 which rejected the proposed "single ministry of education". Because of its failure to meet the demands for equal education and the increasing financial crisis experienced, the state was faced with increased school unrest during the mid-eighties. The Minister of National Education's announcement of a "Ten Year Plan" followed in 1986. (The same year in which the People's Education Movement emerged.) This plan was shelved due to the increasing financial burden in providing education in South Africa.

By the late eighties, the crisis in education had reached a "high point" against the background of disastrous matric DET results, school boycotts (despite the call by the ANC for a return to classes), strikes and stayaways. February 1990 marked a watershed period in ruling class strategy and ideology. This was reflected in de Klerk's Opening of Parliament speech at the time. South Africa, it was said, would embark on "a road of reform" towards a "non-racial" democracy; political prisoners would be freed and political organisations unbanned. This radical reform in Nationalist Party strategy would have far-reaching consequences in all spheres of life in South Africa - most significantly in education.

In a desperate attempt by the "verligte" Nationalist Party ideologues to solve the education crisis, the Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS) was announced by the Minister of National Education in May 1990. Although limited in nature, this strategy reflects the seriousness with which the state is presently attempting to redress the crisis in education.

Within this political milieu the government made its announcement of "Open Schools" - a policy to move away from Apartheid Education (in terms of racial segregation of children) and also to encourage "school communities" to take charge of their own schools by January 1991. This policy also came as a reflection on the March 1990 budget which indicated the intention of the government to "privatise" education.²¹ This dramatic "evolution" in ruling class politics and strategy had far-reaching consequences for education (in general) as well as both *content and perspective of learning* at school.

Attempts by the Nationalist Government to redress the way in which the written past (as well as knowledge about that past for school use) have traditionally been presented, are indicative of this process. The eighties and start of the nineties saw such reformist initiatives (undertaken by academics) in history education in South Africa.

The heavy Afrikaner Nationalist bias in school history in South Africa has generated a crisis in history education. This crisis has partially been identified as the increasing criticism of the bias of the syllabus *content* (Kallaway, 1989:1). Pupils are presented, in the syllabus and traditional textbooks, with one single perspective of the South African past. Such a presentation denies students the opportunity to understand "the complexity of historical interpretation" (Kallaway, 1989:3-4). Unless teachers are acquainted with the teaching of critical skills in history, pupils would fail to gain a "comprehensive" picture of the past. The crisis in history education is also well noted by academics such as Trumplemann and Kapp. They have realised the need to address reform in history education and are looking at ways in which School History can play a "conciliatory" role in a "multicultural" society (Trumplemann, 1990:1-5). Similarly, Van Jaarsveld (1982:Preface), had called in the early

21. In February 1992 previously white schools were presented with the option of becoming Model C schools, i. e becoming semi - private.

eighties for a "new" school history to meet the political and educational demands of the day (Van Jaarsveld, 1982:Preface).

Besides recognising the need to respond to the popular demands in history education in South Africa, these "reformist" ideas on history education also emanated from the need to address the crisis in history education in white schools.²² Regarding this crisis, Van Jaarsveld asserted that the "old past" with its "colonialist mentality" was "dying" and that the "overemphasis" on the nineteenth century conflict between "Boer" and "British" in school history might have lost its relevance (Van Jaarsveld, 1982:142-158).

In attempting to provide solutions to the current crisis in history education, the HSRC appointed investigations into school history. These sub-committees reported on their work during the course of 1992. Investigations took the form of (amongst others) (i) P.H. Kapp, Professor of History at the University of Stellenbosch, whose recommendations for history education were put forward in July 1990; (ii) Professor M.H. Trumpelmann of the RAU whose report and recommendations were delivered during May 1990; (iii) an investigation during the course of 1990 by U.C.T. academics (R. Sieborger and P. Kallaway) and practising teachers J. Bottaro (Westerford High School) and D. Hiscock (Bishops). The latter took the form of an investigation into assessment in history teaching in the senior secondary phase.

Significant here are the recommendations put forward by Kapp and Trumpelmann as representative of state reform initiatives in history education. Trumpelmann made proposals for South African as well as African history. A new section for a core South African/African syllabus for standards 8 to 10 would be that of Economic History, which would deal with issues such as class conflict, African Socialism and Economic problems in Africa after 1945. A section on Political and Ideological History is also recommended. This section would focus on issues such as whether democracy works in Africa; Land as political factor in the history

22. 82 % of white matriculants in the Cape did history in 1940, while the figures for 1953, 1973 and 1981 were respectively 66 %, 51 % and 32 % (Van Jaarsveld quoted these figures from a Burger article of 1974).

of South Africa, Segregation, Apartheid and Racism, Resistance Movements against white domination (1912-1990) and Africa's struggle with cultural differences.

Kapp's recommendations, on the other hand, expose a distinctly ethnic focus. His recommendations are for both the Junior Secondary and Secondary phase school history. Although attempting to include studies on various groups in South Africa (other than white), Kapp's focus is still heavily embedded in a white-dominated content and perspective. A section indicative of this focus is found in his recommendation on standard 6 South African history. It is all white history starting from mid 17th century white settlement in South Africa. The standard 7 syllabus recommends a choice module whereby the specific history of any "culture" in South Africa can be studied. This same kind of choice is repeated in standards 9 and 10.

Although Trumpelmann's recommendations represent a marked departure from the present syllabus, his focus is still tinted with a racial focus as indicated in the "hidden curriculum" of sections which subtly suggest white rule as superior to black rule.²³ The recommendations of Kapp and Trumpelmann (though still heavily Eurocentric as reflected in their emphasis on white history and their ethnic focus) emphasise the recognition that *review of South African history content and perspective are most relevant issues in the process of educational reform.*

Furthermore, in suggesting a resolution to the crisis in history education, Van Jaarsveld had argued (more than a decade ago) that the time has arrived for a panel of academic experts and educationalists to hold a national conference with the aim of arriving at decisions regarding the status of school history, its *content* and future (1982:159). The significance of Van Jaarsveld's assertion lies in his recognition that not only the status of history as school subject be reviewed, but also the *content* thereof.

23. An example of a section which lends itself to this kind of focus is "Whether democracy works in Africa".

In the light of this, academics also contend that there exists a need to move into "certain directions" in history education for the purpose of reform. Relevant to this thesis are the following suggestions put forward:

- a) moving *beyond a liberal perspective* to a viewpoint that includes African Nationalist and Marxist/Socialist historiography;
- b) to move away from political history to a perspective that integrates the political with economic and social history;
- c) to move away from a "Great Man" or "Great nation" approach to an emphasis on *Political Economy* and the history of the *majority* of the people (Kallaway, 1989:5).
- d) A new curriculum would be analytical, dealing with change, continuity and conflict, giving historical skills, and enabling students to reflect on, evaluate and apply their knowledge (C. Bundy, quoted in the HSRC report on assessment by Kallaway et al., 1992:6).

G. INNOVATIVE RESPONSES IN THIS TRANSITIONAL EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

1) THE POPULAR HISTORY MOVEMENT

The History Commission set up by the NECC in 1986, was faced with the dilemma of aiming to provide material to supplement gaps in the official syllabus or to provide a complete alternative history syllabus. Out of this a workbook, "What is History?" (1987), was produced to function as both a "filler" of this gap and as "*an alternative*" to school history.²⁴ Significant about the NECC initiative is its reflection of the popular perception of an alternative history for schools. The most significant and radical feature thereof is *the nature of the content selected* for this purpose. Content topics covered are: The Anti-Pass

24. These included productions by the 1984 University of Cape Town H.D.E. method class.

Campaign; The Freedom Charter; Workers' History; Sharpeville; Rent struggles; June 16;²⁵ The 1913 Land Act and a biography of Nelson Mandela. The *content* therefore called for is reflected in the following: "History-properly taught-should not just tell of the deeds and sayings of people in authority; it should recover and comprehend the doings and thoughts of ordinary men and women. It should identify the historical sources of dispossession, oppression and exploitation, and examine the ways in which these were resisted" (1987:1).

Although little was said about skills related education and the emphasis therefore being on "content change", this perception reflects a demand for a full presentation of the past. The development of critical skills, though of indispensable value in history education, is viewed as a mere vehicle towards comprehending the past in full. Muller raises an important point regarding popular educational expectations on an alternative history: "Insistence on process while developing curricula means emphasis on the development of critical skills rather than exclusive stress on *alternative content* (own emphasis). But it is hardly surprising that many students still expect from people's education the unvarnished 'truth', . . . 'to recover and comprehend the past *in full*'" (1987:30).

Most prominent regarding the popular history movement is that it has a long tradition which goes back to the early years of the decade. The tradition singled out for a case study in this thesis is (as mentioned) the Unity Movement tradition. This tradition is also an "anti-colonial" one which seeks to (like the NECC) single out the sources of dispossession, exploitation and oppression in South Africa. Also, like the NECC, Unity Movement writers write to "liberate" the minds of the oppressed; to "decolonise" the "historical consciousness of the oppressed". Both the NECC and Unity Movement traditions write with "educational purposes" in mind. The selection of content is also reflective of an oppositional tradition, looking at (amongst others) "resistance history". Both the NECC and Unity Movement traditions do not overtly promote the need for the application of critical skills in history. The Unity Movement, for instance, calls for a "scientific approach" to history in which "underlying causes" of events are "dissected". On the other hand, while the NECC does not

25. A major part of this production focuses on the historical event of June' 76.

spell out the indispensability of the development of critical skills in history learning, activities (which suggest this kind of approach) are included in their history package.

The popular demand seems to more overtly suggest that gaps in the presentation of South African history be filled than the need for the development of critical skills. The suggestion is therefore that *the call is primarily for popular and alternative content*. The limitation of this perspective lies in neglecting the recognition that skills and content are necessary to one another. Skills cannot be effectively applied and be developed without the necessary content to do so. On the other hand, *it is not merely alternative content that is the issue, but critical approaches and the development of skills in all history learning irrespective of content*.

2) *ALTERNATIVE INITIATIVES*

a) **Resources outside the formal school structure**

Since the mid-seventies a small group of educationalists have attempted to promote those perspectives which embrace a progressive²⁶ historiography and historical methodology. They have attempted to move in the direction of a historiographical approach which includes African Nationalist, Social and Economic history. Their influence has most directly been felt at university level. This generated work around curriculum development as well as content, oral history projects and alternative teaching methods.²⁷

There had also been a review of content offered for history learning at university level. Oral History Projects have been established at universities such as the Universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand, and Natal and are also under way at "independent" colleges such as Khanya (SACHED). These projects are aimed at recording the past through the word of the ordinary man and woman and in so doing, filling many gaps in the orthodox version of the South African past. A Peoples History Programme, aimed at providing popular content in history education and affording students the opportunity to record "their own past", has been

26. Representing a radical break from Afrikaner Nationalist historiography and traditional methodology.

27. See Perspectives in Education Vol. 12 No. 1 Summer 1990/1991.

established at UWC in 1987. Forming part of the history curriculum for undergraduate history students, this programme serves as an integral component of the formal curriculum of the UWC History Department.²⁸ In the late eighties, the history department at U.C.T. was forced to review the Eurocentric content of their courses offered to undergraduates.²⁹ Since 1989 U.C.T.'s History Department started the process of moving away from the Eurocentricity of previous courses.³⁰ At universities (such as UCT) teacher education courses focus explicitly on educating prospective history teachers who will impart "critical thinking" in their pupils. Educationalists involved with history teaching methodology in the education faculties at certain universities are presently working hard at enabling prospective history teachers to move away from the narrative approach to a concept and skills-based education perspective.³¹ Such an education is aimed at providing both pupils and teachers with the necessary tools and perspective to transcend the limitations of the present Afrikaner Nationalist biased history curriculum.

A conscious and deliberate move in the direction of alternative and popular history education in terms of *content*, approach and perspective, became a visible feature of educational reform at university level since the mid-seventies.

b) Resources within the formal school structure

There has been a marked attempt in the eighties by "progressive" textbook writers to introduce the New History methodology in the history classroom in South Africa as a means to counter the heavy Afrikaner Nationalist bias in traditional texts. The History Alive³² series presents such an initiative against the background of increasing criticism of South

28. *ibid.*

29. The crisis in the pass rate in the first year course at the end of 1988 also served as a contributory factor for this re - appraisal.

30. See Perspectives in Education, Vol. 12 No. 1 Summer 1990/1991.

31. Some of these educationalists include textbook writers who produce textbooks based on the skills-based methodology, representing a radical departure from traditional narratively written texts.

32. Published by Shuter and Shooter and introduced in conjunction with the new syllabus (1985).

African history textbooks for school. This series represents the most marked attempt to solve the crisis in history education from *within* the present school history curriculum. The History Alive 9 & 10 books were originally aimed at serving the JMB examination and attempted to promote the approach developed there with other examining bodies. The writers aimed at introducing a broader historiographical perspective into school history, by promoting historiographical insight and skills-based methodology.

These texts show the potential to succeed in providing the learner with a complexity of interpretations on the same event. They also serve a valuable function in supplementing the present history curriculum, by providing both teacher and pupil with historiographical perspectives and the opportunity to develop skills (amongst others) of empathy, extrapolation and judgement on the *present selected content* for school history. Criticism of this series would include the realisation that although this series attempts to promote historiographical perspective and the development of critical skills, its chief limitation lies in its inability to transcend the parameters of the predominantly Afrikaner Nationalist content of major topics and themes selected for school history. A variety of alternative resources for history exist. These include the SACHED publications, the UWC publications and recent 1992 publications.

3) *MICRODEVELOPMENTS: A BRIEF CASE STUDY OF CATHKIN HIGH SCHOOL*

As a teacher of History at a House of Representatives school in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town for the past eight years, I have observed and experienced that the process of constructing a new history curriculum (though only in embryonic form) is well on its way. Furthermore, having been trained as a teacher during the eventful years of the early eighties and having started a career as a teacher during a turbulent 1985, presented me with the fortunate opportunity to gain first hand experience of what was happening on the ground in the History classroom. This was a time when both pupils and teachers were starting to engage in a debate about an "alternative" history. This process of transforming the present curriculum within the confines of the school has already taken off in the mid-eighties at a Cape Flats HoR High School.

The slogan "People's Education" and its concomitant demands for "people's power" have been given a distinctive content at Cathkin High School. The Cathkin Document³³ drawn up in 1985, reflects the essence of what the school's teachers and pupils understand as "People's Power" in education as that which the community "knows" as "important" and "relevant" for learning in school (Cathkin Working Document, 1985:11).

Evidently, as early as the mid-eighties, the process of attempting to transform the power relations operative in the school curriculum had been felt at schools like Cathkin in the Cape Peninsula. This process created the opportunity for educational change in schools and particularly for addressing alternative curriculum content, perspective and methodology in various subjects at the school.

A History Society had been established at the school with the main aims of critically analysing and debating history textbooks as well as presenting an alternative history programme by documenting and recording present and past events as part of "People's History".³⁴ In 1986, a group of teachers and pupils at the school decided to explore Heideveld, their community. Out of this project emerged "Our Community in our Classrooms" (1992), a collaborative product of Roy Prinsloo (history teacher at Cathkin at the time) and the Materials Development Project in the Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape. The project is written mainly for teachers with the purpose of showing them how firstly, history can come "alive" through the integration of local history in the classroom and secondly, how local history can become part of the school curriculum.

The perspective which informs these developments at Cathkin regarding history education is imbedded in the assertion that the incorporation of a Black Nationalist perspective is essential to a new school history (Cathkin Working Document, 1985:11).

The school's history department is said to be the one subject department most involved in the experimentation of alternative curricula material. Pupils are sent on "Write your Own

33. See Appendix.

34. Interview with history teacher at Cathkin (R. Prinsloo) on 10 August 1991.

History" projects. In the attempt to bring people's history to the classroom, the history department has introduced "struggle history" in the form of detailed histories on the ANC and PAC. The pupils are asked *what they want to learn* and teachers then work out possibilities around this in the curriculum.

4. *CONSULTATIVE UNIVERSITY CONFERENCES ON A NEW HISTORY CURRICULUM*

Three history curriculum conferences were held at the Universities of Natal, Cape Town and the Witwatersrand respectively in February, March and May 1992. The idea of these conferences emerged out of the Kenton Education Conference at Katberg in October 1991 and was tabled as providing the opportunity to teachers and interested academics to contribute in a "democratic" way to the process of developing a new history curriculum in South Africa.

Significant about these conferences were their aims to (amongst others) inform teachers about developments in the area of curriculum development and to promote teacher and broader public debate about a new history curriculum. Of relevance to this thesis, was the panel discussion at the Cape Town Conference (May 1992) on "The content of a future curriculum". Kallaway highlighted the problem of selection of content in the development of a new history curriculum. He proposed the use of the criteria of a "world history" for the selection of topics and generative themes which will provide students and teachers with a way of engaging in discourse not only locally, but also comparatively. Neville Alexander³⁵ emphasised the need for a curriculum which will (amongst others) convey the idea of South Africa as part of an "inter-dependent" world. Kapp suggested a core curriculum with "cultural options".

At the conference held in Durban, John Pampallis called for a change in the content of the syllabus and "the central role in that history of their long struggle for freedom". He also stated that we "cannot hide behind a 'skills-based' approach and use it as a substitute for

35. Neville Alexander was, incidentally, "schooled" in Unity Movement politics.

changing the content of the syllabus"; that a skills-based approach must be introduced in addition to content changes to help give school history "increased legitimacy and popularity".

Ismail Vadi called for (at the conference in Johannesburg) a history curriculum which can begin "to generate a sense of a single nation". Other proposals he made were for an "inclusive people's history" which "simply means all the people of South Africa", an "Africanised" curriculum and a "World History".

Most significant, with regard to this thesis, was the assertion by Sue Krige (in her summary of discussion of the conference in Cape Town) that there exists a need "to survey alternative popular materials" in order to work towards proposals for a new "core" curriculum for South Africa. Of the key aspects raised, regarding curriculum development at the conference, were: that the new history curriculum should not be a "vehicle for propaganda" with "a new set of heroes" replacing the discarded one. African History should definitely receive greater emphasis in a holistic approach regarding themes and different geographical areas. History should be interpreted in terms of Africa's contribution to European and World History; that content must not become "marginalised" and merely a vehicle for teaching skills as this would "eviscerate" history ("History Matters", 1993).

CONCLUSION

Most significant of the responses discussed, is the emphasis on two aspects of curriculum change in history education:

- (1) *the need for new alternative content and perspective and,*
- (2) *the need for that content change to be executed within the framework of necessary pedagogical conditions in which critical skills are developed.*

Educational reconstruction remains the most challenging task that confronts us. Such a task encompasses major undertakings, spanning from those of a structural nature to curriculum reform on a national scale. Curriculum reconstruction presents its own complexities, ranging from syllabus content, textbook revision to reviewed teaching methodology. This research

focuses on two symbiotic aspects of this task: consideration of content revision and perspective and the development of critical skills in the teaching of that alternative and popular content in history education in South Africa

CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGIN, NATURE AND AIMS OF POPULAR HISTORY

In reflecting on the development of popular historiography and popular demands in education in South Africa (dealt with in chapter 2) this chapter focuses on the origin, nature and aims of popular history. The chapter looks at the popular history tradition as diverse in origin, nature and aims in South Africa and as encapsulating a wide range of contrasting political ideologies: from that of Afrikaner Nationalism to Marxist Historical Materialism. Recognition of this diversity and the aims with which all popular oppositional history is written, is crucial in developing a history curriculum which aims to consider inherited popular historical traditions as a "necessary condition" for such a process.

A. THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT "POPULAR HISTORY"

As early as the 18th century a group of German intellectuals coined the terms "popular culture" and "popular history". This was a period in Europe when waves of popular culture of folksongs and folklore spread widely across the continent as part of the cultural revolution of the early movements of national self-discovery.¹ The concept was further developed in the era of bourgeois liberalism in late 19th century Europe.

The formation of ideological traditions in 19th century Europe reflects the emergence of distinct "popular" traditions and "cultures" associated with "national majorities". The upsurge of Nationalism characterised early 19th century Europe in the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789 and the Napoleonic era. Impulses to unite cultural and political "nations" became then particularly strong. This is particularly reflected in the rise of Nationalism in 19th century Europe. This era was characterised by the overthrow of absolutism by popular

1. Also refer to writings during the Age of Enlightenment (1715-1789) such as that of J.J. Rousseau on "Popular Sovereignty and the Social Contract" (1762) in which he expounds on "the will of the people".

front alliances spearheaded by the bourgeoisie. This was also a period within which a "People's Charter" was drawn up in 1839 by middle class intellectuals in Britain, urging reform by expressing the rights and needs of the "people" in the United Kingdom. It was in this context that the term "popular" thus came to be associated with the emerging "culture" and "history" of this new social class - "the majority of the nation". The culture and history of this "majority" were consequently respectively referred to as "popular culture" and "popular history". The philosophic and political roots of the concept are therefore pre-Marxist, concerned with "people" as a collective social community and the recovery of their past in terms of "culture" and "nation-building".

B. THE AIMS AND NATURE OF POPULAR HISTORY

The aims and nature of Popular history vary significantly within different political and social contexts. The popular perception of history in Western democracies (such as Britain and the U.S.A.) is markedly different to the brand of popular historical consciousness reflected within post-colonial contexts such as Latin America and Africa. The concept holds a variety of meanings for a variety of groups, depending on social and political goals and agendas of such groups at a given time.

1. THE AIMS AND NATURE OF POPULIST HISTORY IN WESTERN DEMOCRACIES AND IN THE POST-COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

1.1. Western Democracies

Much popular history is written and propagated by diverse groups of political "actors". In Europe, these range from Liberal Socialists, Fascists to Communists. In this sense, "popular history" is informed by a diversity of perspectives regarding "the nation" and "the people".

The failure of academic historians to consider and write alternative history sparked off the emergence of popular histories in Europe during the mid-20th century. The reaction of groups who wrote for and about working people should also be understood within the context of the emergence of working class and socialist movements in Europe during the early

twentieth century. Out of these movements, emerged a concern for the "common people". Historians were then reflecting working class experiences, thereby echoing the perspective and content of the popular poem by Brecht. The shift in historical writing was now from "great men" to "ordinary men and women".² The concern was not only to write for the "inarticulate", but also to include the history of their culture as part of the attempt to bring the "boundaries" of history close to those of people's lives. This popular methodology also incorporates "people" as writers of history, by allowing them the opportunity to write about their own experiences, townships and struggles as "active" participants of history. In this way, the act of historical production is "democratised" and the constituencies of historical writers enlarged. Popularly known as "history on the ground", this has become an alternative to "dry as dust" historical scholarship, which ultimately serves to challenge "professional monopolies of knowledge". Examples of "popular" history traditions in Britain and the U.S.A. will now be briefly discussed.

1.1.1. Britain

The popular history movement in Britain has its origins in popular front politics of the 1930s and 1940s. The Communist Party's Historian's Group was formed in the mid-20th Century with the aim to reactivate a national-popular consciousness and to generate a new popular sense of history. "History from below" emerged from the ranks of this Historians Group³ during the 1940s and 1950s. In 1951 the Party accepted a parliamentary road to socialism, based on a broad popular alliance and thereby dropping its commitment to Soviet Power. It is within this context then that this historian's group produced a distinctive notion of "the people" as constituted within a popular united front alliance, distinctly different in class composition from the working class. "People's history", as representative of a broad class alliance, gained the status of "oppositional history" as being opposed to bourgeoisie historiography and to most forms of academic history.

1.1.2. The U.S.A.

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2. G. Rude and Hobsbawm were people's history historians of this time. For example Rude is well known as a writer on 18th century social history and for his work: "The crowd in the French Revolution" (1959).
 3. Historians such as C. Hill, E. Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson wrote for this group.

Popular history experienced an ebb and flow in America. At the time of the Great Depression it enjoyed prominence, while in the 1940s and 1950s it receded in the wake of the emergence of "the great American ideal". By the 1960s and 1970s the American political left was revived as witnessed in the Civil Rights and Vietnam Protest Movements. This period witnessed the rebirth of ethnic, racial and (to a lesser extent) class consciousness. Historians shifted their emphasis to that of recovering the daily lives of "ordinary" Americans, building on traditions of local and amateur history. They were also generating and disseminating a forceful critique of the dominant version of history. Through this process, History came to be seen as an agent of empowering "the people" in the United States.

In short then, populist history in Britain and the U.S.A. is primarily concerned with appropriating the past of "the ordinary working man and woman", making that knowledge of their past accessible and involving them in the actual writing of history.⁴ This concept and its interpretation are also no longer associated with the distinct bourgeoisie liberal connotation during the late 19th century Europe. The meaning of "popular history" in western democratic society is reflected in "a multiplicity of historical consciousness and class interests".⁵

1.2. *The Post-colonial Experience*

Popular historical consciousness gained a different meaning in the anti-colonial struggle to what it meant in western democracies. A case in point is the meaning this concept gained in Nicaragua and Mozambique. Since independence the emphasis on populist history had become an important instrument for undermining the colonial psychology of dependence and inferiority in these two countries.⁶

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4. The developments in British and American historical writing and research gave birth in the 1960s to the formation of the Radical Historians Group (MARHO). The British History Workshop Movement was started by worker students and involves many worker-historians and local working class people. This Movement works therefore closely with the trade union movement. MARHO, on the other hand, was started by graduates training to become historians. The main aims of these movements are to further the objectives of "popular history" by appropriating the past.
 5. The debate in the 1970s between the E.P Thompson "social history" methodology and the Althusserian structuralist Marxist methodology had been elaborated on in Chapter 2.
 6. The fact that "the people" are invaded by a variety of political agencies to vindicate their actions is noted.

1.2.1. Nicaragua

In Nicaragua, popular historical consciousness is closely tied up with the methodology of the literacy programmes offered to adults, facilitating the process by which cultural impoverishment of colonial rule is counteracted. Literacy is viewed as a vehicle by which the process of appropriating the "people's" past is achieved. Through acquiring the skills of reading and writing, people are seen to become "empowered" in the sense of recovering their own rich social and cultural pre-colonial past. It is argued that by expressing their opinions about their lives, culture, past and future, people would begin to develop and strengthen their creativity and analytical abilities as well as to see themselves as "makers of culture and history" (Miller, 1981:18). Of relevance here, is the assertion by Paulo Freire (1981) that as people learn to read and write words, they simultaneously learn to "read" and to "rewrite" reality. Hence Popular History in Latin America is seen as the process of "decolonising" the "historical consciousness" of people through the process of "involving them in the rewriting of history" and in so doing "empowering them to transform the present". It is therefore "emancipatory" in nature, aiming "to culturally and politically liberate the people". In short, popular history is perceived to perform the role of political vehicle in "combatting the legacies of colonial rule" and in working towards transforming society in the interest of "the people".

1.2.2. Mozambique

In Mozambique, People's History is viewed as one of the "cornerstones" in the building of a new post-colonial and liberatory society. It is also seen as part of the process by which the call for an "emancipatory philosophy" of African history is answered. One of the resolutions carried by the International Congress of African historians meeting in Dar es Salaam in 1965 was the need for a "liberatory" and anti-colonial African philosophy of history (Tosh, 1984:4). This resolution also emphasised the need to produce material out of which a national identity as well as pride in African culture can be nurtured. Such a call decisively influenced the content of the school history curriculum. For example, African school and university syllabi feature state building in pre-colonial Africa like the Medieval Empires of Ghana and Zimbabwe and records of resistance. Such topics are seen to form part of a "historical consciousness" at school. Mozambican Popular history is therefore specifically focused on combatting the poverty of colonial historiography and the effect of colonial education. In

1978 Samora Machel asserted that the struggle against the colonial culture is of paramount importance in the struggle to build a post-colonial Mozambican nation. He referred to this as the struggle towards "the liberation of cultural creativity" (Gray, 1982:143).

History is seen by the state as one of the important vehicles through which the process of empowering people towards the liberation of cultural creativity is attained. The "democratisation" of historical writing is based on the interpretation of history being about the people, by and for the people. This ideal is realised by affording workers, peasants and students the opportunity to write their "own" history, thereby attempting to achieve "liberation of popular creativity" and victory over "underdevelopment". Popular history holds therefore "emancipatory significance" for the Mozambican people.

Moreover, a significant development in Mozambique is the People's History Campaign which aims at attempting to recover aspects of Mozambican history which will contribute to "national unity". For this reason, the history of resistance to colonial occupation enjoys great importance as part of the process of re-appropriating National history and decolonising the historical consciousness of the Mozambican people.

2. *THE AIMS AND NATURE OF POPULAR HISTORY IN SOUTH AFRICA*

The assertion by British populist historian, R. Samuels (1981), that there are many contenders for the label "people", not only left-wing but also right-wing and liberal versions, is also appropriate to the South African situation. To some groups it is interpreted as the history of the "Afrikaner Volk", to others it is workerist history, to some it is the history of all the oppressed, while others view it as the history of the "ordinary man and woman".

Bozzoli (1983:6) states that it seems to be increasingly the case in South Africa that the two main contenders for legitimate use of the "popular" label are cultural nationalists and more worker-orientated historical materialists. These interpretations are very specific and categorical in that they interpret such history as belonging respectively to a specific ideological, "ethnic", "cultural" and "class group" in South Africa.

Of relevance here is the assertion by R. Samuels that people's history, whatever its particular subject matter, is "shaped in the crucible of politics and penetrated by the influence of ideology on all sides" (Bozzoli, 1983:6). In this regard, Neville Alexander contends that "People's History can be conservative or reactionary and is therefore not necessarily socialist history".⁷ The various interpretations of what is considered by respective ideological groups as a "popular" history of South Africa should be understood within this context.

2.1. "Volksgeskiedenis": Afrikaner Nationalist Popular History

Luli Callinicos, in making the point that popular history is not new in South Africa, asserts that "Afrikaner Volksgeskiedenis" was an important pioneering exercise emerging in earnest after the South African War (1899 -1902), capturing the imagination of Afrikaans speaking whites (1988:2). Van Jaarsveld identifies this form of historical writing as integral to the increasing national awareness experienced by the "Afrikaner". He states that it was this awareness which sparked off the first concern for "own" volksgeskiedenis in the "Afrikaner" and which had been responsible for the process whereby the "Afrikaner" became a "historically conscious" individual. This awareness led to a strong group-consciousness and a feeling of solidarity and of a common destiny as a "distinct social and political group of "people" and "nation" (Van Jaarsveld, 1964:35).

Gustav Preller (1875-1943), the founder historian of "volksgeskiedenis", relied heavily on oral history and therefore popular memory. He also familiarised himself with popular forms of both oral and written storytelling. It was largely Preller's work that popularised "The Great Trek". All Preller's texts are marked by a predominance of what the "volk" wore, ate and drank. One of the most crucial themes in his work, according to Isabel Hofmeyr, had to do with how the "volk" recalled the past and, more importantly, how one could get them to "enact" this memory in their own lives (1988:535).

In the process of struggling to establish themselves as a "people" and nation, the recollection of their "history of survival" against British and indigenous threats gained significance.

7. Point made by N. Alexander at a People's History Symposium, U.W.C., January 1989.

Prominence was accorded to events which had a direct bearing on the struggle to "preserve" the "Afrikaner's" nationhood in South Africa. Events which consequently came to stand out are "The Great Trek"; their treatment by the British; establishment of their Republics; The Battle of Blood River etc. Individuals who led the struggle for "freedom" came to be singled out as the "heroes" in "Afrikaner Nationalist" history. Ironically, Preller's writings reflect a particular "populist" perception of history, asserting that great men do not make history, but that the "masses" do and that great men only lend their names superficially to events (Van Jaarsveld, 1964:83).

It is this kind of writing and perspective which informed the dominant Christian Nationalist Afrikaner historical writing of the twentieth century written by trained historians such as Gustav Preller, Van Jaarsveld and Muller. Christianity became one of the foundations of the "Afrikaner's" "geskiedenisbeeld". This vision of their history was informed by an interpretation of the "uitverkore volk" as based on the Old Testament.

In conclusion then, Afrikaner Nationalist history grew out of a strong desire to have a "fatherland" history written from the "Afrikaner's" point of view. History was ascribed a value second to the Bible. Intimate links between politics and history were established. In the years following the coming to power of the Nationalist Party in 1948, Afrikaner Nationalist historiography, having its roots in early forms of volksgeskiedenis, came to produce a version of history which was portrayed as "representative" of South Africa's past.

2.2 The Oppositional History Movement

The ideological dominant form of historical writing inevitably and by its very nature sparks off forms of culture, ideology and writing which oppose the values, principles and perspectives of the hegemonic historical interpretation of the past. Such is the nature of what is termed "oppositional" writing at a given time in the history of historical writing. This description is used to indicate that this was a form of writing in *opposition* to that of the hegemonic class in South Africa. In the first half of this century it was oppositional to the dominant white (both English and Afrikaner) political rule, while the writing after 1948 was more a form of "protest writing" against Afrikaner Nationalist rule. It is recognised that

Afrikaner Nationalist volksgeskiedenis is also oppositional in nature as a political reaction to British political dominance in South Africa at the turn of the last century. Although the two forms of writing (i.e. Volksgeskiedenis and Oppositional writing) are both forms of popular history, they are separately treated because the latter is contextualised as a reaction to both the former and British Imperialist historiography.

The underlying philosophy of oppositional history in South Africa is captured in the words of Amilcar Cabral: "The colonialists have a habit of telling us that when they arrived they put us into history. You are well aware that it is the contrary. When they arrived they took us out of our own history. Liberation for us is to take back our destiny and our history"(UWC, 1987).

As mentioned earlier, South African popular historical writing is not written by a particular homogeneous group of social actors. Although the common objective of populist history in the South African context is (as stated in the words of Cabral) the liberation of "people", popular historical writing in South Africa is diverse in philosophic and ideological origin.

This diversity is not only peculiar to the difference between volksgeskiedenis and the predominantly "black" version of popular history. There are, especially amongst disenfranchised South Africans, major debates regarding versions of "the people" and the "popular" past of South Africa. The unique historical formation of "ethnic" and class complexities in the South African society is markedly reflected in these conflicting interpretations, aims and objectives. An overview of the evolutionary nature as well as ideological diversity and aims of the popular history movement is appropriate.

The process of writing popular history in South Africa had undergone "qualitative changes" over the past decades of this century.

Writings of the early twentieth century⁸ reflected a need by the disenfranchised to be heard and recognised at a time when they were excluded from parliament and dispossessed through

8. Referring to the works of S. Plaatje and S.M. Molema.

the Land Act of 1913. These also came as reaction to the neglect of the role of blacks in South Africa's recorded past. Populist writing of this time was aimed at recovering this "neglected" past. The emphasis was on black involvement in events as well as their existence as "people" in their own right⁹ and the adverse effect of government policy on them.¹⁰ The audience addressed was the "voteless" and "landless" black majority.

A growing proletariat¹¹ became a phenomenon of South African society within an increasing industrialised economy by the 1920s. During the 1920s and 1930s intellectuals in the Communist Party began to grapple with how "to conceptualise the South African struggle" (Saunders, 1988:132). The audience for populist writing shifted in favour of a growing working class, geared towards writing for workers and the Communist Party.¹²

Characteristic of the 1930s was the emergence of a range of popular historical writing, reflecting different skills, objectives and popular political interpretations of South Africa's past. ANC publications, The Guardian and New Age, carried histories aimed at a broad popular audience addressing the history of dispossession as most prominent theme. It was also during this period that a demand was made to E. Roux to write "a black man's history" of South Africa, which would recover black organisational history. This resulted in the publication of "Time longer than Rope", seen to be written from "the point of view of the people" and also identified as the "first major Africanist history to emerge from South Africa" (Saunders, 1988:134). Also seen as the first attempt to write a history on South African Labour, it was written for night school students, serving the emerging African trade union movement.

9. Referring to the work of S.M. Molema entitled "The Bantu: Past and Present" (1920).

10. Referring to Plaatje's "Native Life in South Africa"(1916), written as a reflection on the 1913 Land Act.

11. Concept used to denote this growth not only in class terms but also in terms of consciousness in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

12. Refer to the works of S.P. Bunting (Red Revolt and the Rand Strike, 1922), W.H. Andrews and E. Roux written during the 1920s. Prominent labour histories of Andrews and Roux were published in the forties: "Class struggles in South Africa" (Andrews, 1941); "Time Longer than Rope" (Roux, 1944).

Writing through the medium of The Spark¹³ and addressing a working class audience, the "Trotskyists"¹⁴ emphasised "the historical exposure" of the "evils of Capitalism" as a "world order". During the forties writers from the "Trotskyist" political fold started to write "alternative" histories on South Africa (Saunders, 1988:135). This tradition resulted in (amongst others) the publication of the Unity Movement classics of "Mnguni" and "Majeke" in 1952.¹⁵

The inseparability of popular history and liberation became a dominant theme and also increasingly characteristic of popular historical writing of the 1940s.¹⁶ The Educational Journal of the Teachers League of South Africa carried histories which, for example, reflected the philosophy that liberation and history are "inextricably linked" and that South Africa's past must be "re-interpreted"¹⁷.

During the militant and populist 1950s¹⁸ a variety of popular resources spilled out from both Congress and "Trotskyist" fronts. A decade marked by "protest history", popular history of this period became markedly "oppositional". Popular history writers, such as Jaffe and

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13. Organ of the Spartacists, "Trotskyite" discussion group in the Western Cape. The Spartacist Club was formed in 1934 - a discussion group of workerists espousing Marxist-Trotskyist thinking. Members of the Unity Movement leadership were members of this club (Jaffe, 1992).
 14. A "label" disputed by Jaffe (1992) as "unfounded" and politically "incorrect". He illustrates the fundamental differences between Unity Movement thinking and Trotskyism in terms of the "non-racial" ideology versus Trotsky's identification of South Africa as a "Black Republic" (1935). Trotsky is viewed by the Unity Movement as having failed to reject the colonialist concept of "races" (i.e. the existence of "races"). Trotsky is seen to have "unhistorically" transferred the idea of "self-determination" to South Africa (1992:11-12).
 15. A detailed discussion of this tradition follows in an appropriate section for discussion later in this chapter.
 16. The 1940s represent a period of rapid militant trade union development which is seen to have pushed the black petty bourgeoisie into more radical positions.
 17. The TLSA is an affiliate of the Unity Movement and The Educational Journal is its official organ. Detailed discussion of The Educational Journal histories (published from the forties to nineties) and a brief history of the TLSA follow later in the chapter under "Unity Movement History as Case Study".
 18. A period marked by popular mass struggles waged by the ANC; also a decade which was characterised by opposition to the celebration of 300 years of colonial rule. The works of Mnguni (1952) and Majeke (1952) were written as "protest histories" to this celebration.

Taylor, wrote "to expose the process of conquest, dispossession, enslavement, segregation and disenfranchisement". The aim of this approach was to facilitate the process whereby the oppressed as a whole would understand better "how to transform the status quo". It was contended that to know the past is already a step forward in knowing the road to liberation and that the study of the past should aid the popular audience in unburdening themselves of the status quo; for its main sustenance is the "ignorance, unawareness and passivity of the oppressed" and its "death knell is the awakening of the people" (Jaffe, 1988:Introduction).¹⁹ The 1950s also witnessed the writing of a "People's History" on South Africa in the form of a collection of pamphlets by L. Forman (1928-1959). His work is said to have been inspired by A.L. Morton's "The People's History of England" (1938) (Saunders, 1988:139).

In the wake of severe state repression on political organisations, the popular history movement lost its momentum in the 1960s. It re-emerged in the 1970s from within the Black Consciousness Movement in the form of a "Post-Soweto People's Literature Movement". This period saw the rebirth of popular history in the form of poetry, prose and drama, romanticising the "black man's history" in both content and interpretation.²⁰ Plaatje's theme of the dispossession of blacks through the 1913 Land Act featured as central theme around which black popular literature was written.

The 1980s, a decade marked by growing working class militancy, violent student uprisings and the re-emergence of the Congress Movement, witnessed the rebirth of different ideological popular forms of history as characteristic of the 1940s and 1950s. Two distinct and ideologically conflicting popular history traditions emerged: workerist versus nationalist.

Literature written within the Congress historiographical paradigm²¹ urged people to fight colonial history which they had been fed for decades and to take back their destiny and their

19. The republished version of the original published in 1952.

20. See the "New History Series" in the Staffrider Magazine published during the seventies.

21. Writing which predominantly focuses on the history of the ANC as a form of popularising this organisation.

history (1987).²² Protagonists of "people's history" called for "real" history and resistance to "Herrenvolk" history. Similarly, New Unity Movement writing of this decade concentrated specifically on the history of the political principles of "non-collaboration" and the history of its own organisation. Various biographies of "political heroes" of the past spilled out during this period when conflicting political propaganda between workerists and populists was the order of the day.²³

The most significant feature of popular historical writing of the eighties was the emergence of a particular form of writing which reflected the confluence of traditional popular writing and radical academic historiography. The influence of "The History Workshop" Movement became clearly evident in the content and methodology employed in the writing of these histories.

Through active participation in the production of popular histories radical academic historians were now answering the popular demand for "relevant" history. Popular history productions, i.e. *Upbeat* (1981), the Callinicos Volumes (1987/88), the NECC production (1986) and "New Nation New History" (1989), showed in content features characteristic of both the "New History" and "History Workshop" methodology. Evident in these productions are the "from below" as well as "history of the ordinary man and woman" approaches. As indicated by the writers of the history series in "New Nation New History" the work, unlike productions which "speak for the rich and powerful", aims to "give a voice to those below" (1989:1). The same approach is evident in the NECC history production (1987) which states that "History should not just tell of the deeds and sayings of people in authority", but that it "should recover and comprehend the doings and thoughts of ordinary men and women",

22. This series, "Let us Speak of Freedom", consists of three volumes and was written within the ANC historiographical paradigm. The content of the series is predominantly that of the history of the ANC presented as the history of South Africa.

23. It is recognised that productions, especially from the ANC fold, were not necessarily written by "amateur" historians. This was a period in which academically trained political cadres of organisations like the ANC joined in the movement of rewriting the past on behalf of their political organisations. (An example is "The history of the Freedom Charter" by J. Cronin and R. Suttner, 1986). Workerist intellectuals (often trained sociologists), were on the other hand, writing worker and labour histories for the worker membership of trade unions. Examples are the ILRIG, LACOM and COSATU Publications.

by identifying "the historical sources of dispossession, oppression and exploitation" and "examining the ways in which these were resisted."

In these productions emphasis is placed on oral testimony as "rich untapped resources" encapsulating the "fight-against-memory" approach. An example of this approach are the histories carried in Upbeat. The production by L. Witz entitled Write Your Own History (1988) attempts to directly involve readers in the actual process of historiography. The author reflects on the popular objective of "empowering" people through the process of involving them in historiography. Through empowering people in this way, they would (like in Britain and the United States) realise that "writing history will give them power, power to resist and power to work towards change" (Witz, 1990:387).

The following is the closest these productions come to define "people's history" and "popular history" as concepts: "It is the *ordinary people like us* who make up most of the people of this world. . . if we want to know more about the world around us, we should start looking at the lives and homes of the ordinary people" (Upbeat, 1982:9). Although vaguely implying the "history of ordinary men and women", the interpretations by these productions of the concepts "popular history" and "peoples history" remain unclear.

Because of the unique and complex historical formation of class and race in South Africa, there exist different ideological interpretations of "people's history" and "popular history" in South Africa. There remains (as yet), therefore, no definitive description of these concepts.

The chapter now proceeds to look at the Unity Movement's inherited popular historical tradition as case study.

C. THE UNITY MOVEMENT'S INHERITED HISTORICAL TRADITION

This chapter investigates the Unity Movement's historical inherited tradition as a case study of a popular perspective of history in South Africa. It had been mentioned that popular history in South Africa is diverse in philosophical and ideological origin. This is particularly

true of the Unity Movement's perception of history as well as the European pre-Marxist popular tradition. Unlike the African Nationalist approach, its roots are to be found in a Marxist-Leninist approach to history.²⁴ The three chief features of this tradition are: (a) An anti-liberal (b) anti-Imperialist and (c) historical materialist approach to South African history.

In this chapter emphasis is placed on the "classics" of Dora Taylor and Hosea Jaffe published during the course of 1952 as well as current The New Unity Movement Bulletins. The political and educational importance of the publication of Jaffe's "Three Hundred Years" (1952), had been emphasised by the TLSA: "To the student struggling to make his way through the maze of apparently meaningless facts and personalities of South African history, to the conscientious teacher trying to set facts and personalities in their correct perspective, to the students of politics wishing to understand in order to transform the status quo, Taylor has given an invaluable guide and a powerful weapon".²⁵ These publications are most comprehensive and "representative" of the Unity Movement's historical methodology. The classics of Taylor and Jaffe have formed the foundation for later historical perspectives and methodology provided by writers within the Unity Movement fold. The New Unity Movement Bulletins provide comprehensive theoretical analyses of Unity Movement's historical methodology and perspective. Analyses of the works of Kies (1953), Van Schoor (1951) Dudley (1983) and contemporary works of Jaffe (1980s/1990s) are also discussed. Because of their focus on school history, historical analyses offered in The Educational Journal are more appropriately discussed in detail in chapter 6.

An outline of the Unity Movement's perception and historical methodology is appropriate. This outline provides a basis for chapter 5 in which it is illustrated (in detail) how the Unity Movement's perspective can facilitate and inform discussion and debate around a new perspective and approach to school history in South Africa.

24. The Unity Movement historical tradition has always been charged as being Trotskyist. This investigation into their literature has found the contrary. Refer also to footnote ?.

25. The Educational Journal, Sep. 1952 "Review of Three Hundred Years"

A brief background of the Unity Movement's approach and perspective as well as the aims of Unity Movement's historical writing are first provided. This is followed by an outline of their historical philosophy and methodology. The major historical themes in South African history selected by this tradition are explored.

1. *BACKGROUND*

The Unity Movement was founded in 1943 as The Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM). It was formed out of a merger of the All African Convention (AAC) (1935-1940) and the militant "Coloured" Anti-CAD movement (1940-1943).²⁶ Its organisational roots find themselves in the "segregationist period"²⁷ in South African history: the AAC was formed to fight the segregatory Hertzog Bills of 1935 and the Anti-CAD was formed to oppose the implementation of local ethnic government bodies.

On an international scale, this was a period marked by the imperialist aggression of Germany against European states; the invasion of China by Japan and the emergence of opposition movements against French Imperialism in Vietnam. The 1930s was also a period of popular upsurge (on an international scale) against Nazism and racism. The domestic struggle against racial segregation was waged within this broader context. Imperialist involvement in South Africa (in both the economic and political sphere) was acute at this time. For instance, the mining industry was increasingly being monopolised by "foreign capital".²⁸ Segregatory legislation intensified²⁹ particularly during this period - cementing the development of racial capitalism in South Africa. No longer was it mainly the black working class who experienced the brunt of the effects of imperialist involvement in South Africa. The African petty

26. See *New Unity Movement Bulletin* Vol. 1. No. 2. Aug-Sep 1987.

27. The period 1870 to 1948 is referred to by historians such as R. Davies and D. O'Meara (1988) as "the segregationist period" in the development of racial capitalism in South Africa.

28. This monopoly brought about calls for an "Afrikaner" Republic free from British Imperialism".

29. For example: The 1936 Natives' Land and Trust Act restricted access to land of labour tenants.

bourgeoisie was subject to increasing economic and political pressures.³⁰ Their economic, social and political position was increasingly ordered in the same terms as those of African workers (O'Meara, 1988:311).

The New Era Fellowship, (NEF) founded in 1937, provided a "theoretical base" for the NEUM through its regular lectures, debates and discussions on both national and international issues. Given the national and international scenario it was therefore no coincidence that the inaugural lecture of the NEF was entitled "Imperialism".³¹ Since its inception, then, the Unity Movement has focused upon the history of Imperialism in South Africa. By drawing upon "lessons in history" between the colonised in the world and the imperialist countries, they advocated a policy of "anti-imperialism". The historical origin and formation of Unity Movement perception is succinctly summarised by Hosea Jaffe when he states that the roots of the NEUM and its present constitution as the NUM lie deep in an "anti-imperialist thinking" in the 1930s and that it is therefore anti-imperialism which constitutes one of the main pillars of the "theorems" of the Unity Movement³² (1992:33).

The TLSA was established in 1913 as an "offshoot" of the South African Teachers Association, after the "betrayal of the franchise rights to Non-European peoples in the Act of Union of 1910".³³ In its early form, the TLSA was concerned with gaining "Coloured" rights as a privileged teaching core. During the 1930s a "new direction" was moved into when young oppressed teachers "began to question the political, social and economic bases of Capitalist Imperialist links of all education in South Africa" (TLSA Presidential Address, 1992:6). This laid the foundation for the "new road" embarked on by the TLSA in 1943-1944, a campaign for "full democratic rights", a "non-racial national" education system

30. For example, in 1936 the Old Cape Franchise, which extended franchise rights to "Africans" according to property, was abolished.

31. This first lecture was delivered by W.P. Van Schoor, prominent member of the Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA). He was also a writer of popular histories by the Unity Movement. His work is explored later.

32. The other "pillars" are "non-collaboration", "non-racialism" and a "minimum programme".

33. See the Presidential address delivered by E.W. Steenveld at The Annual Conference of the TLSA, 1992.

and the rejection of the mission-school system. The TLSA was co-founder of the ANTI-CAD movement and the All African Convention against the Hertzog legislation of 1936. Through the TLSA's official organ, The Educational Journal, members contributed articles of a variety of educational, social and political topics.

The TLSA drew its main support from predominantly "Coloured" teachers. They have since their inception in the early 1910s produced regular journals on educational issues. Their motto, "Let Us Live For Our Children", stands for a commitment to "good teaching" in terms of countering the "Herrenvolk myths" in school and university, especially in subjects such as History. This was, according to Steenveld, a reflection of "the seriousness with which teachers tackled the content, method and quality of the material they presented to their pupils" (1992:8). The Education Department's new syllabi and curricula were regularly "critically dissected" and subjects like History were analysed "to enable teachers to raise the quality of their work in the classroom" (1992:8). Racism in textbooks and their roles in "promoting tribalisation and the debasement of education for the oppressed" was exposed (1992:8). The popular theme of the TLSA, "Let Us Live for Our Children", emerged out of the Golden Jubilee Conference of the TLSA held in Port Elizabeth during June 1962³⁴ (1992:14) The topic of the content and method of education in South Africa was a key focus of TLSA "consciousness" as evident in the respective conferences on the topic held in June 1962 and 1963. By exposing "Herrenvolk" myths at school, by encouraging a scholarly approach and by re-teaching the lessons of history, the TLSA sees itself as teaching "for Liberation" (1992:20).

Unlike the popular history movement in Europe which emerged as a pre-marxist tradition, the Unity Movement tradition has its roots in Anti-Imperialist Marxist thinking of the 1930s. Like the European tradition, the Unity Movement is concerned with the history of people as a "collective social community" striving towards "nation-building". The Unity Movement and the Mozambican Peoples History Movement share the common goal of striving through their "popular histories" towards "nation-building". Similarly to most popular histories, like the

34. The theme was introduced and discussed under these sections: "The Evolution of a TLSA Philosophy", "The TLSA and the Control of Education", "The TLSA and the Content of Education", "The TLSA and the PTA's" and "Helping to Build the South African Nation".

Afrikaner Nationalist Volksgeskiedenis tradition, the Unity Movement historiographical tradition grew out of the process of struggle against political domination. Like the Volksgeskiedenis tradition, they have accorded prominence to certain events³⁵ which (in their case) had a direct bearing on their struggle against Conquest, Imperialism and Apartheid.

The Aims of Unity Movement Historical Writing: History as "Emancipatory"

In order to understand the nature of Unity Movement historical methodology and perspective, the aims of their writing need to be addressed.

Unity Movement writers of the earlier tradition, such as Van Schoor,³⁶ believed that the "victims" of the Apartheid system will play a "major role" in "the shaping of a new history"; that in order to "make" that history, the "oppressed" need to "understand history"; that a people desiring to liberate themselves need to understand "the process of their own enslavement" (Van Schoor, 1951:52). This perspective was reiterated by Jaffe³⁷ in 1952 when he asserted that the purpose of his history³⁸ is to expose the "process of conquest, dispossession, enslavement, segregation and disenfranchisement of the oppressed"; that we cannot know a phenomenon without knowing its history (Jaffe, 1952:Introduction). In the

35. The Volksgeskiedenis tradition has accorded prominence to The Great Trek, Battle of Blood River etc.

36. W.P. Van Schoor was a trained teacher and contemporary of B. Kies, Hosea Jaffe and I.B. Tabata. He helped to found the New Era Fellowship in 1937. He was elected as president of the TLISA in 1951 and led the campaign against the introduction of Christian National Education. He served on the National Anti-CAD Committee and Head Committee of the Unity Movement. He left South Africa for England during the repression of the 1960s.

37. Writing then under the pseudonym of "Mnguni" - probably for security reasons under the repressive Apartheid state. It is thought that Dr. A.C. Jordaan, a Xhosa-speaker who taught African languages at U.C.T. at the time and who was also a member of the NEUM, must have assisted him in the writing of "Three Hundred Years" (1952) (Saunders, 1988:136). He had been an active member of the NEF and a "tireless" researcher in the field of economics, politics and the history of struggles. He entered the political struggle in South Africa in the years of 1935 - 1945 when the foundations of the Unity Movement were laid. He fled the country during the repression after Sharpeville. He has joined authors such as Wilfred Burchett and Samir Amin.

38. Referring to his work "Three Hundred Years". (First published in 1952)

same year, Dora Taylor³⁹ contends that it is necessary for a people engaged in a liberatory struggle to "rewrite" the history of the past; that it is part of the very process of liberation "to expose the distortions of history which are presented by the herrenvolk as truth and taught to the young in the schools and universities"; that the rulers make people feel they are inferior by "wiping out their history" or presenting it in such a way that "they feel no pride but shame"; that in rewriting this "new history", we shall need a "new vocabulary", "for language itself has become distorted in the service of herrenvolkism" (Taylor, 1952:Introduction). The same philosophy is reflected in the TLSA work, when it is asserted that "we cannot fight for freedom unless we had freed our minds that enslave us", because "the struggle for freedom in history has also been the struggle for ideas which would act as a dynamic historical force" (1950:9).⁴⁰ Recently, R.O. Dudley⁴¹ has developed the aim of Unity Movement historical writing further by stating that Unity Movement histories of the earlier tradition (those of the fifties) are currently republished⁴² with the aim to counter "the stream of manufactured history" flowing from universities in the form of "ethnic" histories (Jaffe, Foreword by R.O. Dudley:1988). This assertion follows within the strong anti-liberal and "anti-Europe" tradition of Unity Movement historical perception. The works of Jaffe and Taylor are particularly known for this tradition. Traces of this tradition are still found in contemporary Unity Movement thinking when they state that the "People's history" movement (as produced at liberal universities) is an "imported" approach to history,

39. Writing then under the pseudonym of "Majeke" - probably for the same reasons Jaffe has done so. It is contended that I.B. Tabata (who wrote a history on the AAC) may have helped Taylor with this work (Saunders, 1988:212). She fled South Africa during the post-Sharpeville repression period and settled in England where she died. In exile she continued writing on the history of Southern African Liberation movements. She helped to found the Unity Movement, assisting with clarifying its political, philosophy and strategies.

40. This view was presented at a TLSA Conference held in June 1950. It was at this conference that a resolution on "The Place of History in the Struggle for Freedom" was passed. A paper presenting views on the "emancipatory" role of history was delivered by visiting lecturer J. Hatch from the University of Glasgow. His views were reiterated in the said Journal.

41. Presently president of the New Unity Movement. TLSA member and former headmaster at Livingstone High School, a Western Cape House of Representatives High School. Chisholm (1991) has referred to these schools as "Unity Movement Schools", over which Unity Movement teachers asserted their "control" and committed themselves in building a distinctive ethos of non-racialism in these schools.

42. The histories of the fifties such as those of Jaffe (1952), Van Schoor (1951) and Taylor (1952) have been republished in the late eighties soon after the launch of the New Unity Movement. They are published as part of the "Unity Movement History Series".

promoting liberal ideologies which conceal the true nature and history of capitalist exploitation and Imperialism (Interview with Unity Movement member, August 1992).

The historical writing of the Unity Movement is especially directed at South African school-going and university youth. They assert that "It is of fundamental importance that the youth set themselves the task of laying bare the historical process that leads to today's titanic struggle between the ruling class and the oppressed and exploited labouring masses: "It is only when we arm ourselves with an understanding of this historical process . . . that the youth can take up the struggle along a road that truly leads to liberation" (1988:2).⁴³ History is seen as "partial" to the oppressed people and viewed by the TLISA as the "potential" liberators of mankind (1952:10). Such an understanding is seen as forming part of a serious attempt to come to grips with the lessons of history and is integral to "the knowledge of liberation" (1952:5).

One of their major aims is to protect children "from the racist poison of the ruling classes" and to teach them that they are part of "a single human race and a single South African nation" (NUM, 1988:9). In this way, it is believed, the foundation is laid for the barriers of segregation (in the form of tribal, ethnic and sectarian attitudes) to be broken down. In this regard, the Unity Movement's aim of their historical writing echoes the motto of the TLISA - "Let Us Live for our⁴⁴ children". To them, the task of the history teacher is to "analyse those forces that strive to carry society to a higher level" and "the important duty to teach the children the history of the oppressed people" (1952:10). This kind of approach to the teaching of history, is informed by their perspective that "history should not be regarded as a series of isolated historical events, but as a continuous process in which mankind⁴⁵ has sought to overcome the barriers of freedom" (1950:8). They therefore find meaning in the

43. A publication of the Youth Wing of the New Unity Movement.

44. The "our" referring to all disenfranchised and oppressed groups in South Africa (i.e. the children of these groups).

45. The Unity Movement publications tended to use sexist terminology. While the author does not subscribe to this terminology, it is used when referring to statements made in these publications.

words of the African liberation fighter, Amilcar Cabral: "We must preserve for our children the best of what we have learned; they are the flower of the struggle"⁴⁶ (NUM, 1988:8).

One of the most significant features of the Unity Movement perspective and methodology is their aim of writing to promote an appreciation that the process of understanding the past "needs to be constantly re-sharpened and redefined" (A.F. Slingers, 1986).

2. *THE UNITY MOVEMENT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PHILOSOPHY AND METHODOLOGY*

The Unity Movement's approach to history as well as their perspective are reflected in the content of their various productions dating from 1952 onwards.⁴⁷ Their productions over the past forty years show a consistent historiographical tradition in terms of content and perspective. All their writings are informed with a historical materialist philosophy and a dialectical materialist analysis.

These productions are written with the aim of "liberating" the historical consciousness of the oppressed in South Africa. To achieve their aims the writers select particular "major" themes outlining the historical development of the world system and South African society. These are Dispossession, Segregation and Capitalism-Imperialism. Their continued commitment to this particular perspective and approach to history is reflected in the respective "Forewords" written in the various current republications of the 1952 productions. "Three Hundred Years" (1952) has been re-published with the aims of (amongst others) (a) "correcting" the "error" of C. Bundy's assertion that Marxist historiography only emerged in the 1970s in South Africa and (b) countering the "stream of manufactured history" in the form of "people's histories" from the "newer bush colleges" (R.O. Dudley, 1988). Their world history

46. Cabral quoted in the *New Unity Movement Bulletin*, Vol. 2 No. 1. March-April 1988:8 (as part of the series "The history of the Unity Movement": part 3). Incidentally, Cabral's interpretation of history is also quoted in the UWC History Series, published in the mid -eighties, "Let us Speak of Freedom" (undated).

47. "The role of the missionaries in conquest" (Taylor, 1952) and "Three Hundred Years" (Jaffe, 1952) were written as "Protest histories" against the celebration of "three hundred years of white rule" in South Africa.

perspective is also reflected in the history topics selected for discussion in the various Educational Journals of the TLSA.⁴⁸

While the earlier works (of the fifties and the Educational Journal histories) emphasised the major themes of Dispossession and Segregation⁴⁹ the current works are focused on World Imperialism and its role in Southern Africa.⁵⁰ The present focus is also more on international events in the light of the "fall" of Socialism and Communism.⁵¹ While they differ in concentration on themes, these themes are investigated and approached from a common historical philosophy and methodology i.e. historical and dialectical materialism.

Historical and Dialectical Materialism

The Unity Movement's Marxist philosophy of history is reflected in its three part series on "Materialism" published in the New Unity Movement Bulletins during the course of 1990/1991. Readers are introduced to a materialist perspective of history as "a necessary way in which a full and true picture of the past can be attained".⁵²

The essence of the philosophy of historical materialism is presented in the following way: Existence determines consciousness, therefore "man's" social existence must determine historical social consciousness. According to Taylor, a man's mode of existence in society dictates his social relationships, his morality, his way of thinking (1952:132). This consciousness is related to "man's" position in society in terms of the production system (i.e. class position). Group consciousness and class position are therefore created on the basis of

48. See in this regard the following issues of The Educational Journal: March, April, May-June, 1951; ("The Van Riebeeck Series" illustrates Van Riebeeck's link to Segregation and Dispossession); Nov. - Dec. 1959, March 1960 ("The Rise and Decline of Union").

49. These were written in a period of the "Onslaught of Apartheid" marked by blatant laws of Segregation which marked the political dispossession of blacks in the process of completing the process of white conquest.

50. This focus is also observed in the recent publications of The Educational Journal of the 1990s, dealing with topics such as "The World and South Africa" (Example: issue of July - August 1991)

51. See New Unity Movement Bulletins of the period 1990-1992.

52. See all of the three part series on "Materialism" in the 1990 - 1991 Bulletins (refer to Bibliography).

the division of labour and wealth. These classes are seen to be engaged in continuous struggle. Social revolution ensues whereby the solutions to the problems of workers are found in the economic structure of society. This materialist perception of history is seen by the Unity Movement as a "revolutionary instrument" and the way in which Marx has defined the role of the masses in history (NUM, 1990:13).

The Unity Movement agrees with Engels that this perspective of history is one "which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all important historic events in the economic development of society" (op cit:14). They also find meaning in Lenin's assertion that this Marxist philosophy of history alone has "shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have languished". They also contend that Marx's economic theory has also alone explained the "true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism" (op cit).

They write further that the fundamental role played by the forces and relations of production in different periods in history enables us "to penetrate beyond the mere surface manifestations of events"; that such an approach allows us "to dissect the underlying economic and social forces" that gave rise to such events as the French Revolution of 1789 and the Paris Commune of 1871 (1991:7). The main elements of Dialectical materialism are (1) The Law of contradiction: built in opposites are in a state of continuous struggle and, as a dynamic process, leads to the destruction of the existing system and its replacement by a new order set on a higher plane. According to Taylor, "Capitalism has shattered tribalism. . . the very forces that destroyed tribalism are welding the people together. . . objective forces themselves place within the hands of the oppressed the means of their own liberation" (1952:140); (2) **The Law of Unity of opposites**: Without capitalism there can be no proletariat and vice versa (NUM, 1991:7); (3) **The transformation of Quantity into Quality** and vice versa: during "critical epochs in history" the process of social change, in continuous increases or additions to the armoury of the oppressed class, are paralleled by a constant breakdown of the existing order - speeded up to a point at which a giant qualitative change takes place and a totally new order replaces the old (eg: Feudalism to Capitalism) (op cit); (4) **Development through Contradiction**: development occurs through the negation of the negative: Feudalism - Capitalism - Socialism. In a complex modern society, such as South

Africa, the specificity of each contradiction or each situation gives rise to its own forms of struggle between the opposites (op cit:8). This view of history was seen by the Unity Movement (in the fifties) as "correct".⁵³

This materialist perception of history, based on a dialectical method of analysis, is seen by the Unity Movement as a "scientific method" which regards society as a living organism in a constant state of development. This development has started out in all societies as "a major struggle between 'man' and his environment",⁵⁴ followed on by colonialism, slavery and culminating in the fight against imperialism. This view is also expressed in The Educational Journal⁵⁵ when it is asserted that "the status quo did not drop from the heavens; it was 'man-made' and can therefore be "transformed by man" (1952:9).

Evolutionary Theory/debunking the Myth of "Race"

A materialist perception of the historical development of people is used to substantiate the Unity Movement's promotion of the "evolutionary theory". They assert that a materialist perception of our origins assists us in "debunking myths" of "racial superiority" and the "racism, nationalist, ethnic and sectarian prejudices and practices that bedevil society". The Educational Journal, has in this regard, therefore emphasised the need for teachers of history "to counter racist myths in textbooks and in the classroom".⁵⁶

To them, evolutionary theory illustrates how closely people are all related as part of the human race. They draw heavily on Charles Darwin's "Origin of Species" (1859) to provide

53. See The Educational Journal of July-August 1950:8. Also interesting is the fact that there does not seem to be unanimity amongst Unity Movement writers (at present) regarding this perspective. For example, the historical analyses in the Educational Journals of the TLSA and The New Unity Movement Bulletins are still rigidly informed by this perspective, while Jaffe's later work ("Whither the World System?", 1989) calls for a reappraisal of deterministic historical theories regarding modes of production.

54. See Jaffe's "Three Hundred Years" 1952:7.

55. Reference sources used for the writing of TLSA histories not consistently indicated.

56. See issue of April - May 1966. Teachers are encouraged to read Cyril Bibby on "Race, Prejudice and Education" in order to carry out the task of defeating "racial myths in education".

the basis of their views on history and advocate this as "basic reading for cadres" (NUM, 1991:9). Not only does the materialist perception of history assist in debunking racial "myths" but, according to the TLSA, it is also seen as an important vehicle in promoting the ideal of "nation-building".⁵⁷ They state that it was always the organisation's contention that the concept of "race" was "an invention of a predatory slave-trading and colonising ruling class seeking to justify the brutal subjugation and exploitation of the colonised peoples" (NUM, 1988:7). Implicit in this theory is their perspective that precapitalist societies had no discrimination on the basis of race and that with the rise of Capitalism came the advent of race. The 19th century academics are seen as 'handmaidens' of the empire building capitalists, therefore they (the academics) "attempted to change the myth of race into scientific reality"(op cit:8). As capitalism spread its "tentacles" worldwide so did the "germ" of racism in order "to justify colonial conquest".

Jaffe contends that the Unity Movement was the first in the world in the 1940s and 1950s, and the only liberation movement "to deny the very existence of human races" (Jaffe, 1992:30).⁵⁸ He makes the point that even genuine Marxism was not immune from the ideological virus of "race"; that Engels accepted "race" in his essays on Algeria and Afghanistan in 1857 and Trotsky in a letter to South Africa in 1934 when he accepted the Stalinist policy of a "Black Republic" (op cit.:33).

The Unity Movement perspective on the history of South Africa is informed by this theory of the relation between the origin of "race" and the development of capitalism. The very selection of their "major" themes for historical writing is based on this perception. Their analysis of the historical development of South African society is therefore based on the following general "guideline": The mining revolution in South Africa intensified Labour Legislation and Segregation; the white worker was co-opted through the policy of "divide and

57. The Educational Journal of Jan. - Feb. 1962 (No. 6 Vol. XXX III) dealt (amongst others) with "Our concept of the Nation".

58. In this regard he also refers to the NEUM DECLARATION TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, (1951) which called for a "non-racial nation" and an address delivered by himself in the Drill Hall in 1958 entitled "There are no Coloureds, Africans or Whites".

rule"; hence economic measures formed the basis for social and political segregation - therefore the need to build "a nation" (op cit.:9).

The work of B. Kies⁵⁹ was written specifically with the aim of debunking notions of "racial superiority". Kies makes the point that the Egyptian contribution to world civilisation is "an essentially African-Asian contribution"; that the Egyptian culture was a forerunner of Greek civilisation (Kies, 1953:24); that there were African states very much further on the road of 'civilisation' than any part of Europe outside Spain and the spheres of Arab-Jewish influence⁶⁰ (Kies, 1953:34). The most fundamental point made is that "mankind" advanced in civilisation in Africa on the same "general lines" as elsewhere and that the relative isolation of some continents affected both speed and content of this advancement (Kies, 1953:35). Kies also asserts that "Civilisation" in Europe had both a positive and negative side. Referring to the latter, he points out that it was achieved through "plunder, exploitation and national aggression"; that British Imperialism grew rich upon "piracy, colonial plunder and chattel slavery" (op cit:38).

This work was followed up with a recent publication by Hosea Jaffe written within the same tradition.⁶¹ In his lecture Jaffe focuses on the axis of "race" and "discovery myths". Jaffe asserts that Columbus personified the birth of capitalism and of Europe; that his place in history is threefold: he was one of the creatures and creators of "one inseparable Holy trinity": Europe, capitalist-colonialism and racism; the three evolved as one whole to become a "global organism" which some call a "mode of production" and others a "social formation" (Jaffe, 1992:13). He also contends that the 500 years from the Crusades to the "Discoveries" was one of "proto-capitalist primary accumulation" in Asia and Africa by what was to

59. Referring to "The contribution of the non-European peoples to world civilisation"(1953). (Published by the TLSA.)

60. Referring to, what he calls, the "advanced cultures" of the "peoples" of Akan, Benin, Dahomey and Nubia.

61. Referring to a lecture, "The contribution of the Europeans to world civilisation" (1992). Jaffe draws on the works of B. Kies (1953), K. Marx and F. Engels ("Das Kapital", "The Communist Manifesto"). Primary sources on the voyages - log books etc.; Jaffe (1952); Cairnes (1968); Eric Williams' "Capitalism and Slavery" (1944); F. Braudel (1979) on "Capitalism and Civilisation"; Biographical studies on Columbus; American Archaeological Works; New Era Fellowship lectures; L. Trotsky and H. Wolpe.

become Europe (op cit:15). Unity Movement writers, like Jaffe, base their assertions regarding "race" on the fact that there is "little or no evidence that racism existed before capitalist-colonialism" (op cit:35). In short then, their main theorem is that colonialism and racism are intrinsic to capitalism and its corollary is that Europe is both "creature and creator of an inherently racist and colonialist mode of production" (op cit. 37).

Jaffe sees present day South African historians as categorised within four categories according to which Unity Movement "historians" constitute the fourth group which he calls "non-racialist historians". They are seen to have a fundamental difference with all other historians in South Africa (notably academic historians) who generally take "race" as the obvious criterion for the "special case of South Africa". They reject the classifiability of the human species into races on both historical and biological grounds (Jaffe, 1990:14). They have a fundamental difference with what they term "neo-liberal" historians⁶² in that they do not believe in the existence of "ethnic groups". As Jaffe puts it that "there are no Zulus, Xhosas, Sotho any more than there are Afrikaners or Englishmen in South Africa. . . Language is not ethnicity or ethnicity language. . . ethnicity means either 'race', which does not exist, or tribe which did exist up to a century ago, but no longer does" (1992:5).

World Perspective

Fundamental to Unity Movement historical method of analysis is the theory that "the whole determines the part" (NUM, 1992:5). They define this approach as part of their "Political Economy analysis" which is expounded as "the important happenings in any country are a consequence, a result, a manifestation of the behaviour of the world system of which it is a part" (op cit).

Early traces of this perspective are found in the early publications of The Educational Journal. Historical analyses of events were then located within an analysis of the world

62. Referring to revisionist South African historians such as C. Bundy, C. Saunders.

economic system. For example, "The Van Riebeeck Series"⁶³ provides an analysis of the arrival of the Dutch within the context of the process of the breakdown of Feudalism as a world system and the rise of the nation-state. The history of Van Riebeeck is seen to be "re-evaluated" within the "Political Economy" of the world, as "part of the expansion of European commerce, accompanied by the growth of the nation - state" (1951:6). The same kind of views on contemporary history are found in the current publications of The Educational Journal.⁶⁴

Other current historical writings of the Unity Movement, in the form of lectures delivered and Bulletin-publications, focus mainly on the world system and its history. Earlier expressions of locating analyses within a global context, within Unity Movement historical writing circles, took mainly the form of publications and lectures under the title of "Imperialism"⁶⁵ and such publications as that of Taylor's.⁶⁶

In a lecture delivered in 1989,⁶⁷ Hosea Jaffe made the point that, in looking at contemporary changes in the world system, it is important to note that all events (contemporary and of the past) are "conditioned" and even "determined" by the world system of which they are a part.⁶⁸ He stated further that the world system is "dominated by the capitalist mode of production"; that colonialism", which is now in its "ultimate phase" (called by Lenin "Imperialism"), is the fundamental feature of capitalism; that the great divide in the world system is between East and West and that "History is the result of this East-West

63. Published in the issues of March and April (1951), May - June (1951). The bibliography includes work of Pirenne, Economic History Review, Hayes, Barnes, South African Journal of Economics, Marais and De Kiewiet.

64. See publication of July - August 1991: "The World and South Africa".

65. Referring, for example, to Van Schoor's inaugural lecture delivered at the launch of the NEF in 1937.

66. Referring to "The role of the missionaries in conquest" (1952) which dealt with the world system and imperialism in an indirect way.

67. Delivered at the Unity Movement's Joint Committee of Fellowships in Wynberg in 1989, focusing on recent developments in the world, i.e. the "fall" of socialism.

68. The lecture was entitled "Whither the world system".

vector" and the nation-class struggle which is the South- West vector; that we in South Africa are caught up in history as a "component" of the South-West vector" (Jaffe, 1989:2-4).⁶⁹

D. CONTENT THEMES SELECTED BY UNITY MOVEMENT WRITERS

1. IMPERIALISM

It is significant that the very first lecture presented at the launch of the NEF was entitled "Imperialism". It had been mentioned that Jaffe contends that the roots of Unity Movement writing lie deep within "anti-imperialist thinking of the 1930s". The theme of "Imperialism" had since then become a notable feature of the Unity Movement historical tradition.

In substantiating their imperialist focus, they draw from political writers, such as Rosa Luxemburg, who put forward a definition on Imperialism in 1915 as "an autocratic power which directs and rules the industry, trade and credit system, using the world stage as the setting of its actions" (Jaffe, 1989:4).

Their anti-imperialist focus and theme is particularly prominent in the current histories written in the Bulletins of the movement.⁷⁰ Their historical analysis of the role of imperialism in South Africa and the rest of the world is based on the following perspective: For capitalism to thrive the colonial people first had to be deprived of their political and economic independence.⁷¹ In defining the historical role of imperialism they state that "it is a system in which powerful states like the USA manipulate world markets, dominate all major industries and commerce and prey upon the poorer countries, stealing their valuable minerals and other raw materials; In the final analysis it is a parasitic system. . . designed to benefit the rich and make the poor even poorer" (NUM, 1987:9). Imperialism is seen by

69. The same kind of perspective is found in the current publications of The Educational Journal (For example: the issue of July - August 1991).

70. An introductory article to the series on "Imperialism" published in the bulletins since the end of 1987 was entitled: "What is Imperialism part 1: What is Imperialism and how does it affect South Africa?" (New Unity Movement Bulletin, Vol. 1. No. 3 Nov-Dec. 1987).

71. This view is strongly reflected in the works of Taylor (1952) and Van Schoor (1951).

the Unity Movement as playing this role in history by providing "aid" as a means of oppression and exploitation and by protecting itself through repression (for example, as in Vietnam, Nicaragua and Angola) (op cit:18).

The Unity Movement sees the World wars as "inter-imperialist wars" (op cit:7). Capitalism got out of its crisis through wars (op cit:6). The World Wars promoted the "major social revolutions" against capitalism: The Russian revolution of 1917-1924 and the Chinese revolution of 1948. They contend that contemporary history should be seen in the following context: Capitalism failed to live up to its "three commandments": free markets, democracy and self-determination (op cit:6).

They see the selection of the imperialist theme as integral to the Marxist perception of history. To them, Marx pointed the way to "resolving the contradictions inherent in the system" by an "objective analysis" of the capitalist system (NUM, 1991:11). Their historical analysis of South Africa is based on the perception that the politics of South Africa are the politics of cheap black labour and that the principal conflict is between capitalist-imperialism and the oppressed workers (op cit:8-9). The South African system is "fraught with contradictions" brought about by imperialist intervention in the country's historical development (op cit:10).

Imperialism is also seen as playing the role of "ideological intervention and manipulation" in the history of South Africa (op cit:19), by "subverting" the liberatory movement⁷² and creating amongst the oppressed an elite group of leaders who would "collaborate" with the rulers in economic exploitation and political oppression (op cit:22). Imperialism is charged as "the objective, historical reason for the retardation of South African liberation" (op cit:27).

The selection of most of the content for Unity Movement writing is informed by an anti-imperialist perspective. Content selected regarding the history of South Africa (within the framework of imperialist intervention) follows the following "historical chronology": The

72. As representative of the broad democratic movement encapsulating African Nationalist, Populist and Socialist organisations.

mining revolution in South Africa, disfranchisement (The Act of Union of 1910 as a key component of imperialist intervention), Segregationist Legislation (focusing on the Labour Acts of 1911, the 1913 Land Act, 1936 Land Act and Education Acts) and lastly, the process of intensification of imperialist intervention in the 1960s which culminated in the present form of "imperialist co-option of the oppressed middle class to save South Africa from revolution".

2. *DISPOSSESSION*

In providing a "key" to understanding post - Jan Van Riebeeck South African history,⁷³ Mnguni states that "whether the motive was slavery, or feudalism or wage-slavery, the constant method was land wars or land laws." He calls this the highest "common factor" to the history of South Africa (Jaffe, 1952:24). This perception of the history of South Africa is reflected in the Unity Movement's "chronology" of South African history which is based on a lineage of "wars of conquest" and "methods of subjugation" against the indigenous people. In simplistic terms it is represented by a chronology of "the history of dispossession of the people of South Africa". This same perspective informs the series on Van Riebeeck, published in The Educational Journal during the course of 1951.⁷⁴

The process of dispossession is seen by Unity Movement writers as integral to the development of Capitalism in South Africa and as furthermore serving the interests of Imperialism.

Specific events highlighting "the history of dispossession" are singled out by Unity Movement writers. These are: The wars of conquest,⁷⁵ the 1856 Cattle Slaughter, the introduction of Ordinance 50 and The Peace Treaties.

73. As cited from original text. See Mnguni (1952:23).

74. See footnote 48.

75. Include all wars waged between indigenous groups and whites since the landing of Jan Van Riebeeck. The content of Jaffe's "Three Hundred Years" (1952) represents a "chronology" of these wars. Taylor's work (1952) is more focused on the role of missionaries in the process of dispossession - as "agents of conquest."

Jaffe⁷⁶ makes this constant link by treating the land wars as part of an economic process which culminates in the establishment of a Capitalist South Africa. He provides the perspective that (a) a link existed between the land wars of 1658-1660 and 1673-1677 and the means towards establishing slavery (b) the land wars from 1770 - 1806 were the means whereby primitive pastoral feudalism was established (c) the final stages of these land wars and the subsequent "anti-Bantu" land wars (1812 - 1896) promoted the interests of British Imperialism. This led to the development of "Capitalism" in South Africa. These last wars furnished wool for the textile factories of Britain, opened fresh markets for British exports and opened the greatest diamond fields in the world (Jaffe, 1988:64). The labour market expanded with the land - wars and in return expanded the export market of wool, wine, sugar, wheat, diamonds and gold (op cit:131).

Van Schoor⁷⁷ identified the period 1806 - 1834 as one marking "the transition from chattel slavery to wage slavery" which was "opened by dispossession in the form of the land wars" of 1799, 1811, 1819, 1834 and the forties (Van Schoor, 1951:11). He also made the point that the process of dispossession was significantly intensified in the period of "major military conquest" after the opening of the sugar plantations and the mines (op cit:12).⁷⁸

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76. Unlike Taylor's work, Jaffe's is accompanied by a comprehensive list of primary and secondary resources: Works on which he drew for "Three Hundred Years" (1952) include research articles from the South African Journal of Science, Science News; Newspapers; ("The Cape Argus", "Die Burger", "Eastern Province Herald"); Popular Histories: (New Era Fellowship Lectures, "Torch" articles); Works of (E. Roux, J.H. Soga, W.H. Andrews, B.M Kies, I.B. Tabata, E.L. Maurice); Primary sources: (documents of the Dutch East India Company, Van Riebeeck Journals of the 1650s, Van Riebeeck diaries, Correspondence documents of Van Riebeeck, Minutes of meetings, Cape Colony Records, Government Gazettes, Basutoland Records); Historical works of R. Broome, B. du Bois, I. Schapera, C. Thompson, G.M. Theal, Hattersley and de Kiewiet.
77. Van Schoor's list of references for his work (1953) includes J.H. Hofmeyr's "South Africa"; the "Torch" series on "History of Despotism"(1950); Commission Reports; S. Van der Horst's "Native Labour in South Africa", J.S. Marais' "The Bantu speaking tribes of South Africa", E. Walker's "Lord de Villiers and his times", C.W. de Kiewiet's "History of South Africa, Social and Economic", Rose Innes' "The Glen Grey Act and the Native Question", the Miner Papers, S.T. Plaatje's "Native life in South Africa" and E. Roux's "Time Longer than Rope".
78. This is a point highlighted as a prominent fact in the text. The military conquest of the Xhosa is not included.

Both Taylor⁷⁹ and Jaffe provide a controversial perspective of the Cattle Slaughter of 1856 by treating it as part of the process of dispossession.⁸⁰ Jaffe has criticised (what he terms) "neo-liberal historians" as viewing this event as "rooted in traditional religion and custom" of the Xhosa. According to the viewpoint, expressed by Jaffe and Taylor, the Cattle Slaughter of 1856 was "deliberately manipulated" by the colonists (Jaffe, 1990:15,41). Taylor stated that the "Nongquase cattle-killing" was "missionary -inspired" and "the first fruits of the subjugation over the minds of the people". She finds explanation for her assertion in the rationale that the Xhosa people were in "a condition to be swept into madness by wild rumour, superstition and faith" at the end of the "wars of aggression" (Taylor, 1952:74).⁸¹

Van Schoor gave much prominence to the introduction of Ordinance 50 as one of the highlight of events in the process of dispossession.⁸² He asserted that "the much boosted" Ordinance 50 amounted "to nothing other than a labour ordinance" to "regularise and legalise wage labour", whereby "slaves remained slaves" within a "new form of slavery under legal trappings of pseudo-equality" (Van Schoor, 1951:10). This assertion is informed by his perspective that Ordinance 50 "emancipated" the British government (rather than the slaves) from the "burdens of an expansive slave economy" (op cit). According to Taylor, Ordinance 50 had two faces: on the one hand, it "freed" the slaves while on the other hand, it "lifted feudal restrictions" and "consolidated labour laws". In short, it served to (paradoxically) both "liberate" and "control" a landless people (Taylor, 1952:19).

The Peace Treaties signed between the whites and indigenous are also highlighted as events "central" to the process of dispossession. Jaffe states that the peace treaties were drafted to "complete the conquest" and "prepare for the economic subjugation" of the "conquered Africans"; it was "the bridge from conquest to exploitation" (Jaffe, 1952:71). These peace treaties form the core of Taylor's work in which she provides the perspective that the

79. A significant fact is that no recorded bibliography or reference source accompanies Taylor's work. The reliability of the evidence and conclusions drawn is therefore questioned.

80. The "incorrectness" of this view, in the light of later research by Peires (1988), is fully discussed in chapter 5.

81. "Wars of aggression" as synonymous with "wars of conquest" or "wars of dispossession".

82. Referring to "The origin and development of Segregation" (1951).

missionaries "promoted" agreements between the chief and the British "for the seizure of large pieces of land from the tribe" (Taylor, 1952:7).

3. *SEGREGATION AND CAPITALISM*

Jaffe summarised the history of South Africa (when he was writing in 1952) as a history of 300 years of struggle between oppressor and oppressed; a history of struggle against "planned, deliberate, and conscious policies of white domination". He states further that after the wars of dispossessions, land laws were passed "to drive the people off the land" (Jaffe, 1952:135, 176).

The three hundred years of South African history (as written in the fifties) were viewed as marking a history of segregation which served the interests of colonialism, capitalism and imperialism in "consecutive" economic eras.

Van Schoor's work⁸³ was specifically aimed at tracing both the origin and development of segregation and linking it to the historical development of the different economic "modes of production" in South Africa. Significant of the Unity Movement perspective (regarding Segregation) is that they see it as a British product and not a "domestic" one.⁸⁴ They also state that it is only in this context that the history of 1652 to 1870 is "significant" for them as oppressed people (Van Schoor, 1951:7).

The theme of linking segregation to the development of capitalism in South Africa is viewed as part of the "dialectical" approach of the Unity Movement to the history of South Africa. Emphasis on the historical development of Segregation as integral to the development of Capitalism in South Africa is also found in The Educational Journal of the past decade in

83. The editorial asserted that the work was published to "excite comment, provoke discussion and inspire further thinking, research and chronicling" (1986:4-6).

84. Van Schoor (1951): Point made that anti-African legislation of the Boer Republics was not so much the work of the Boer as of the British. This point is also made by Jaffe (1982), calling the Union a "British idea" and he speaks about "The liberals and the Union".

which a series on "A brief history of the Franchise in South Africa" appeared.⁸⁵ In 1983 R.O. Dudley asserted that "the colour bar and the entire panoply of race policies are products and agencies of economic exploitation in the first instance". He referred to this analysis as the "consistent lineage of Unity Movement theory" (Dudley, 1983:2).⁸⁶ Van Schoor contended that the foundation of the colour bar system was laid in Kimberley and "travelled from the Cape to the North" (Van Schoor, 1951:15,18). Hence this system of segregation has its roots in the mining revolution which paved the way for a "united white South Africa" in 1910 (op cit:19). The Act of Union was the "gravestone of Non-European political rights, fashioned by Carnarvon, Selborne and Milner and put into position by Botha and Smuts" (op cit 20). The Educational Journal Publications of the Fifties and early Sixties featured a series on "The Rise and Decline of Union"⁸⁷ The respective writers of the series made the points that "financial interests dictated the formation of Union" (1959:16), because there was a need for a regular supply of cheap "non-white" labour (1960:7); that legislation of the Union "has driven the colour - bar right through every sphere of life" (1960:10). The "colour prejudice of the Boer" was to become "the psychology of the system", the British contribution was "material", while the Boer contribution was "emotional" (Van Schoor, 1951:19).

From 1910 to 1950 the system of segregation in every walk of life was consolidated on the foundation of the industrial revolution in South Africa (Van Schoor, 1951:32). This, according to Van Schoor, was "a period of basic reconstruction of South Africa preceded by the period of wars of conquest and dispossession of the African peasant" (op cit). This, he regarded as a "summary" of "the history of South Africa" (op cit).⁸⁸

85. See publication of June 1981, Vol. LII No. 8.

86. Lecture delivered at a consultative conference in Wynberg in preparation of the launch of the New Unity Movement in 1985.

87. See publications of Oct. 1959; Nov. - Dec. 1959 (Vol. XXXI, No. 4) and Jan. - Feb. 1960 (Vol. XXXI No. 5).

88. It is noted that Van Schoor did not deal with the origins of segregation within the period of the mining revolution alone. He emphasised the link between the development of capitalism and segregation within this period as a "landmark" in the development of capitalism along segregatory lines.

The formation of union in 1910 is still regarded by contemporary Unity Movement writers as "a landmark" in the history of segregation in South Africa. R.O. Dudley contends that the Act of Union "consolidated the system of segregation into a national one"; with it went "total exclusion of all persons of colour and the intensification of the process of subduing the disenfranchised to the position of a massive labour force producing super-profits" (Dudley, 1983:6). He elaborates that from 1910 onwards "the superstructure of the Colour-Bar was built up systematically, reinforced and consolidated by means of a series of colour laws unique and unparalleled in the whole history of mankind" (op cit:20).

In his "content chronology" of the history of segregation in South Africa, Jaffe singles out "Segregation under slavery", "the process of disfranchisement" (Act of Union), the 1913/1936 Land Acts and the Education Plan of 1951. On the other hand, Taylor focused on the "Divide and rule" strategy of the British during the period of colonial conquest as forms of segregation. Dudley divides the history of segregation in South Africa into three periods: (a) The period of 100 years between 1850 and 1950 as "one of the most unbridled pillage of the natural wealth of the country and the plundering of its human resources to enrich that bloc of conquerors and exploiters whom we term capitalists and imperialists"; (b) 1850 - 1920: a period in which the "locationising of the African oppressed" was completed; (c) 1950 - 1970: the completion of the "locationising of the rest of the oppressed" (Dudley, 1983:5).

E. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITY MOVEMENT HISTORIOGRAPHY TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ALTERNATIVE HISTORY TRADITION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Unity Movement historical perception has not gone without criticism. Saunders (1988) has criticised their writings for being "anti-liberal"⁸⁹ and focused on "Native", "Indian" and "Coloured" heroes. He claims that other actors in South African history have been regarded by the Unity Movement writers as "collaborators", "fascists" and "quislings".

89. The specific definition given by the Unity Movement's perception of "liberal" is not clear. In the work of Taylor and Jaffe (in the fifties) explicit reference is made to the "missionaries" as liberal. Currently, it is not clear whether they use it as a "blanket term" for both "liberals" of the "missionary" era and the Marxist revisionist "white" academics, such as C. Bundy and others. The latter view is observed in Jaffe's "South African Neo-liberal Historiography" (1990).

While recognising the overwhelming impact of Unity Movement intellectual culture in the Western Cape, Nasson (1990) has also identified several weaknesses in their historical perception. According to Nasson, this tradition is seen as serving a "propagandistic" function which is part of a "liberationist political strategy"; the "anti-everything" histories are "spiritual exercises" to serve a political function and "polemical, crude and deterministic" interpretations within a materialist paradigm are provided.⁹⁰

Historians such as Saunders⁹¹ have recognised the impact of Unity Movement historical thinking on popular black intellectual life in South African - and more specifically in the Western Cape. He cites, for example, the lectures on the "Wars of dispossession" delivered by Jordan in which the positive consequences of the Mfecane were stressed - something which professional historians only started doing in the mid-sixties (Saunders, 1988:136). The works of Taylor and Jaffe (1952) were also of the first histories in South Africa to have moved away from "conventional" and "derogatory" racist terms in their use of terms such as "!Ke" for what was then commonly referred to as the "Bushmen" (Saunders, 1988:137). The 1952 "classics" of Jaffe and Taylor are also seen to be more "radical" than Roux's pioneering "Time Longer than Rope"; that many of the points they made for the first time, would later be accepted by professional historians.⁹²

The influence of the works of Taylor and Jaffe are noted (in particular) for their profound influence on the Cape Flats and in Soweto before and after 1976. Nasson has noted that Taylor and Jaffe's works have been widely distributed amongst radical students during the seventies and eighties at UCT and UWC. This provided university students with a "history from below" with another meaning, that of contesting university history⁹³ (Nasson,

90. Elaboration of this critique is provided in chapter 5.

91. See Saunders, C: "The making of the South African past": 1988:138.

92. For example, the theme on the missionaries as "agents" of colonisation, was later recognised as one for further research and response. Historians admitted that it would be not so easy to deal with some of the points made by Taylor in "The role of the missionaries in conquest" (1952) (Saunders, 1988:138).

93. This point links up with the point recently made by Dudley regarding "people's history" flowing from the "newer" bush colleges. (Evidence of Nasson's assertion is still lacking.)

1990:202). Luli Callinicos has identified Unity Movement writing as falling within "a rich tradition of liberal, national and radical popular history" (Callinicos, 1986:22). Prominent South African historians have therefore described this historical tradition as "not merely an idiosyncratic and anachronistic amateur school centred upon schoolteachers and lawyers, but a possible forerunner of radical and alternative historiography in South Africa" (Nasson, 1990:205). "Three Hundred Years" is viewed as a pioneering work which provided insights, new at the time, taken up in later work by academic universities. Saunders (1988) has cited the influence of Unity Movement writing on further research in the following areas: the downplaying of the Great Trek was followed in the first volume of the Oxford History (1969); Susan Newton-King followed Jaffe in the 1970s in advancing the economic argument for Ordinance 50. The major argument in "Three Hundred Years" was to show that the apartheid laws of the nationalist government were no radical departure - an argument frequently heard in the 1970s. As Africanism became an accepted way of approaching South African history in the sixties, so historians came to recognise contributions made by Jaffe and Taylor.⁹⁴ L. Thompson (1969) cited Taylor as the only examination of the role of the missionaries in white expansionism. In the re-publication of "Three Hundred Years", Dudley has made the point that "official" historians cannot ignore Jaffe's impact upon generations who drew upon the work's teachings.⁹⁵ Nasson also states that although the Unity Movement inherited tradition⁹⁶ (1990:190) has made "its greatest and popular mark" during the 1940s, its language and concepts have "survived over whole stretches" of periods from the early 1940s to late 1980s (Nasson, 1990:197).

The Unity Movement contribution to historical consciousness in South Africa gains particular significance in the light of the fact that a large constituency of its membership comprises of teachers. Their role became particularly important as those who engaged directly on the "pedagogical front" in the history classroom. More significant is the fact that TLSA writers

94. This view is contrary to the assertion by B. Nasson (1990) that the contributions offered by "materialist and determinist accounts of Unity Movement writers were not taken seriously by universities".

95. See foreword of "Three Hundred Years" (1988).

96. A tradition which, according to Nasson, is seemed to have found its voice through "a language of oral tradition".

of histories, such as Van Schoor and Maurice, were *practising teachers*. B. Nasson has recognised the Unity Movement influence in the Western Cape in terms of having provided "a distinctive pedagogical setting". He asserts that Unity Movement teachers "constituted a collective form which moulded a process of "historically-aware-learning" among pupils (Nasson, 1990:190). Furthermore, he views their perspective on the "race-concept"⁹⁷ as their greatest historiographical contribution. Their teaching of a "hidden" historical tradition is also recognised. Nasson asserts that the Unity Movement historical perception has gained "local hegemony" because they have developed their own *reinterpretations, definitions, content and pedagogues* for a South African history (1990:190-196).

Based on (a) the *alternative inherited historical tradition* provided by the Unity Movement (b) the recognition by academics of the *impact of this tradition on popular historical consciousness* in South Africa and (c) their emphasis on "*the place of history*" in the *classroom*, this thesis proceeds to explore (in chapter 5) the utilisation of Unity Movement historical perception in facilitating the process of building a new history syllabus for secondary schools in South Africa.

97. The concept of "non-racialism" is based on the ideology that races do not exist and that the concept was a myth which had its genesis in the "discovery era". The same kind of perspective is espoused by Neville Alexander in his call for a history curriculum which would inculcate "non-racial" values. (See "History Matters" 1993:14).

CHAPTER 4

GUIDELINES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW HISTORY CURRICULUM FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

The previous chapter provided an outline of the Unity Movement historical perspective and methodology. The aim of the thesis is to consider themes and perspectives drawn from our history in the development of a new history curriculum for secondary school in South Africa. A context is needed for the consideration of such an incorporation. This chapter therefore focuses on the New History methodology and the theories regarding curriculum development as a possible and appropriate context.

The New History methodology is considered as providing a broad base of pedagogical guidelines for alternative history education in South Africa. A remarkable feature of present "alternative" history resources in South Africa is their emphasis on the development of skills based on the New History methodology. A prominent example, in this regard, is the pioneering "alternative" and "People's History" resource of the NECC "What is History?" (1986). The general approach in more "progressive" textbooks such as "The History Alive Series" (1986, 1987) is also informed by the New History Methodology. On the other hand, theoretical considerations regarding curriculum development as process gain particular relevance in the present transitional phase in education in South Africa.

1. CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT THEORY

It is necessary to examine the various conceptual understandings which inform the present-day meaning of this concept. An examination of the concept "curriculum development" should essentially take place against a brief background of the historical milieu against which the concept "curriculum" as an integral component of the symbiotic relationship between knowledge and control had emerged.

Stenhouse sees the curriculum as an attempt to communicate the essential principles and features of an educational proposal in such a form that it is open to critical scrutiny and

capable of effective translation into practice (1975:4). To educational theorists, such as A.V. Kelly (1985:26), the curriculum encompasses all the learning that goes on in school and all dimensions of the educational process. It is viewed as the entire program of the school's work, the essential means of education. Conceptualised as everything that the students and their teachers do, it is regarded as "twofold" in nature, made up of activities and of the materials with which they are done. F.W. Connell sees the curriculum as essentially broader than the syllabus, distinguishing between three kinds of curricula: a) subject curriculum (b) core curriculum and (c) activity curriculum (1955:16-22). On the other end of the scale, Barrow (1984:3) notes that the curriculum should be understood to be "the presented content for study".

The concept "curriculum" is clearly conceptualised on two levels. In a narrow sense, its definition is confined to the content material in learning. In a broader sense, its conceptual understanding includes a range of complexities operative in the learning environment.

The concept "curriculum development" needs to be examined within the context of the theoretical assumptions outlined above. Two important words in the vocabulary of the curriculum development process are "objectives" and "evaluation". In the process of developing a curriculum, those involved need to begin their work by defining their objectives so that the learning procedures to attain these can be determined. The other need is the carrying out of the objective evaluation in the course of trial so that the effectiveness of the chosen specifics in attaining the stated objectives can be checked.

M. Hammersley and A. Hargreaves view "curriculum development" as the process of revalidating and reshaping our educational aims and objectives and examining the ways in which these can best be achieved (1983:11). The kind of question to be asked would be "*What kind of child do we expect our secondary school to produce?*" The answer to this question will determine not just the content and methodology of what is taught in specific subjects at school, but also the learning criteria and skill objectives.

Curriculum development is viewed essentially as a "practical" affair, involving the practical implementation of curriculum materials which will determine the nature and outcome of the

development of the curriculum. In other words, the curriculum's development and nature are subject to teacher and pupil involvement with the materials produced. The curriculum is not "handed down" to teachers and pupils, but they become an integral part of the curriculum development process. The process cannot take place without them. They become "cardinal actors" in its implementation and ultimate development. As the needs and nature of a situation change, the nature of the curriculum development process is seen to change. Evaluation of the curriculum, concerned largely with problems arising from the trailing of materials, is seen to take place during the "working life" of the project materials and becomes an on-going process.

In short, the curriculum development process is viewed as taking place within the context of the "real" situation at school. It is seen as a process of "clarifying a vision of changed educational practice and embodying that vision in new materials and procedure which are directed toward "newly conceived educational goals or toward a refined understanding of extant goals". The "embodiment" of the new activities may be in a set of teacher or student material, new procedures for teachers or students to follow, new settings for learning, new resources for students to use and new institutional arrangements" (Journal of Curriculum Studies, 1985:22).

In stressing the cardinal role teachers play in curriculum development, W. Harley asserts that teacher participation is crucial to curriculum development, because teachers have the knowledge, experience and "sensitivity" essential for such a process (Journal of Curriculum Studies, 1977:21). He also argues for a reappraisal of the balance between the participation of teachers and "outsiders" in the curriculum development process.

For the curriculum developer, the broad meaning of "curriculum" (as outlined by theorists such as A.V. Kelly, F.W. Connell and others) becomes more significant. T. Becher and S. Maclure (1978:13) assert that the work of the curriculum developer is not completed till it has actually "penetrated" the classroom and influenced what goes on between individual teachers and individual learners and that curriculum development has to be regarded as *the responsibility of a much wider group of people than those specialists described as "curriculum developers"*. In short, what they essentially argue for is that we must make sure that the

development process is seen in a much broader "pedagogic setting"; that the *interaction and practice on the pedagogical front* between the materials, pupils and teachers is a *most significant determinant in the curriculum development process*.

Regarding this thesis, three important issues are cardinal to the perception offered by Becher and Maclure: One, that the broad complex nature of education militates against a narrow frame of reference in curriculum development; Two, that curriculum development is an ongoing dynamic process which only gains meaning and effect through the process of praxis; Three, that curriculum development is, by its very nature, a "*collaborative exercise*" between educators, experts and pupils.

In arguing for the inclusion of Unity Movement historical perspective and methodology in the history curriculum development process in South Africa, the above theoretical assertions are taken cognisance of.

2. THE "NEW HISTORY" MOVEMENT

Since the late sixties history syllabuses in Britain had been reconsidered and information was spread regarding the different methods of teaching history. It was a time when new syllabi and teaching methodology had been experimented with. It was against this background that the Schools Council in Britain funded the "History 13-16" project in March 1972. This project was a response to the opportunities offered by the New History Movement. The Project was based on public examinations at 16+ and the consideration of the position of History within the "whole curriculum" as part of the need for a "revival" of history education in Britain.

The Schools Council suggested that there was a distinct need for a project which would help teachers to reconsider the place of history within the changing curriculum which were currently being developed in Britain at the time. The project began its work in 1972 by reviewing the then current history practice in the teaching of history in schools.

The project (aimed at the history curriculum of 13-16 year olds), began with a *conscious attempt to rethink the philosophy of teaching history in school*. This philosophy entailed the emphasis upon the subject as an "*approach to knowledge*" rather than a "body of content". The most central argument to this "New" history for schools was the developing and understanding of the methods or *process of historical inquiry*. The focus of the study of history at school was seen as not on the past as such and what has happened but rather on *how we come to acquire our knowledge of that past*. Actual situations and developments that occurred become secondary to the process of inquiry. New History educationalists argue that one cannot talk meaningfully about historical knowledge without the dimension of some understanding of how that knowledge is arrived at and the "partial" nature of that knowledge.

The syllabus designs, material produced and assessment procedures subsequently produced and employed were firmly based on this philosophy. The materials developed by the Schools Council Project were based on the belief that history is not a body of knowledge structured on chronology. Different syllabi have been suggested by the Schools Council to overcome the traditional belief that history is based on the chronology of events in the past. The outcomes of teaching methods hoped for in the employment of the "New" approach to history, were *attitudes and abilities rather than the memorisation of facts*.

Formulations around curriculum content and teaching method in history, were based on *psychological findings* and theories regarding *the learning abilities of adolescents*. The most important conclusions arrived at by "New History" educationalists, concerning the psychological development of adolescents, were that these pupils have a range of abilities which make it possible for them to do some history; all of them can think at the concrete level and the majority have the ability to respond emotionally to the past (1976:11). The needs of adolescents which (as suggested) might be met by school history were:

- (a) The need to understand the world in which they live;
- (b) Their need to find their personal identity by widening their experience through the study of people of a different time and place;
- (c) The need to understand the process of change and continuity;
- (d) The need to develop the ability to think critically, and to make judgements about human situations (1976:12).

The advocates of this new approach have also given attention to the development of "logical deductive thinking". Teachers and examiners have made extensive use of primary evidence to extend and test this cognitive ability. Inductive thought was viewed as the major part of historical thinking. It was suggested that history teachers should not only concentrate on the acquisition of knowledge and of concepts, but that they should give frequent opportunities for the use of information in an inductive context by encouraging open-ended structuring of materials.

New History educationists emphasised the role of evidence in the development of critical thought processes. The methodology by which knowledge is seen to be acquired is by *pupils making extensive and guided use of the sources of history as evidence*. Such activity is viewed as the central and unique characteristic of the "new" history in school. One of the main aims of this "new" history is to counter the misconceived view of history as a body of established and indisputable facts. This it does by *highlighting for pupils the problems, difficulties and uncertainties that relate to historical knowledge*. Working with different forms of evidence is seen as a "reconstruction activity" that lends itself to the problem-solving approach. At the centre of this activity, are the pupils' own ideas and analyses. The teacher is provided with "considerable scope" to set up discussion and evaluation of them (1984:170).

The extensive use of sources is thus central to the enquiry method. The need for pupils to identify and interpret related evidence, assessing their reliability, arrive at judgements on the basis of sources and to eventually defend their judgement by referring to the reliability of the evidence in those sources is emphasised. Pupils are not expected to accept an "authorised" account or opinion of the past. They need "to formulate and justify their own account, to present a reasoned argument for their statements and views and to develop an appreciation that at times it is difficult to be certain of our understanding of historical situations and that there is room for a variety of views" (Thompson, 1984:170).

The development of "skills" and "abilities" are therefore seen as fundamental and central to the "new" history methodology. Of the skills and abilities regarded as important in history

learning are: a) Vocabulary acquisition; b) Comprehension; c) Analysis¹; d) Extrapolation²; e) Synthesis³; f) Judgement and Evaluation⁴. The skills to *comprehend*, *judge*, *extrapolate*, *synthesise* and *evaluate* are interpreted as those abilities through which the pupils acquire "critical thinking" in history.

These educationalists also believe that the way in which pupils can be led to see the use of history is to follow a *structured* course which attempts to show them what history is really about and what historians do. The "History 13-16" Project developed various units of Materials of "What is History?" for average 13 year olds to achieve this aim. The structure starts with "People in the Past" which aims to help pupils understand the chronological framework within which the historian pursues his/her studies. The second unit deals with detective activity which aims to introduce pupils to the skills needed when analysing and interpreting evidence. The third unit deals with looking at evidence, aiming to introduce the pupil to a variety of types of historical evidence. The fourth and last unit introduces the pupil to problems of evidence, leading pupils to make their own judgements.

Characteristic of the "New" approach to school history is "the integrationist approach". "New History" educationalists believe that history provides an obvious context in which subject integration may take place. There is historical Geography, History of Physics and Maths, History of Literature etc. It is also believed that history is not restricted to any particular subject matter, but is concerned with the study of people and events in time and it "focuses" on the study of change in human affairs. However, advocates of the "New History" for schools do realise that subjects do differ in approach and suggest that careful analysis is

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1. Seen as the skill to identify bias, point of view, value judgement in a piece of evidence or secondary source material.
 2. Based on the following thought process: "Since I know this, then it might be that. . . " Makes tenable inferences after examination of a piece of evidence. Puts forward tenable propositions to fill gaps in evidence. Can frame a reasonable hypothesis (Adapted from: Coltham, J and Fines, J in "Educational Objectives for the study of History" (undated):16 - 17).
 3. Can connect the link between elements. Can formulate what is known and what is not, but might be known (op cit).
 4. Uses appropriate criteria in evaluating a piece of evidence or secondary source material. Argues a conclusion, substantiates judgement by referring to criteria used; evaluates several possible conclusions with reasons given; uses caution and admits doubt in interpreting material (op cit).

needed where subjects interconnect and where they differ. It is suggested that one way of integrating studies is to choose a theme which can show the different ways in which the various subjects contribute to knowledge.

Simulation is also regarded as an important component of the "New History" teaching methodology. It is viewed as "breathing life into the classroom". In a simulation the pupil takes the role of an historical character, and has to take decisions similar to those which faced people in the past. The advantages of simulation are summed up as follows: ". . . (it) produces the teaching opportunities for the affective development of students. . . . (it) provides the structure for imaginative, sympathetic and empathetic work. " It helps to produce a solution to the problem of carrying into practice the desirable but apparently unattainable goal of children realistically deploying historical imagination" (Nichol, 1983:6-7).⁵

The "New History" Movement offers many useful approaches to perspective, curriculum and methodology in history. The "new" history for schools has also not been without criticism. P.J. Rogers asserts that there has been little agreement as to what the "new" history is or should be. He poses the question whether pupils can in any sense become "mini-historians" and at what age level this would be at all possible. These questions remain unresolved. He further asserts that the failure to provide an adequate answer to the fundamental epistemological question: "What is historical knowledge?" contributes further to the mystification of the concept "New History" as viewed in the school context. (1979:4). The most important from which we can benefit in the South African situation being:

- a) A rethinking of the philosophy of teaching history in schools;

5. Examples of simulation exercises would read as follows:

"It is 1789. You and your partner have decided to go into the cotton spinning business. . . In choosing a site think of the following points. . . ."/"How might you behave if you were a Viking leaving Norway to start a new life in Iceland in 930 AD?. . . Keep a diary of the progress of your settlement. . . say why you might have left Norway. . . ."/"Imagine what it might have been like to be in Cologne on that March morning in 1936. Let us pretend we are passengers on a tram that has stopped to let the German soldiers pass. You will represent one of the characters on board. . . ."

- b) A teaching methodology which promotes inquiry into historical process;
- c) The psychological findings regarding the learning abilities of adolescents;
- d) The extensive use of resources to highlight the difficulties and uncertainties which relate to historical knowledge;
- e) Acquisition of "critical thinking" through the acquisition of skills such as "analysis", "extrapolation", "synthesis", "judgement and evaluation".

The acquisition of these skills becomes especially relevant in the light of the need to reconstruct appropriate alternative history resource materials for use in schools. A history curriculum development process which incorporates the Unity Movement historical perspective and methodology needs to recognise the pedagogical significance of the above.

CHAPTER 5

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW HISTORY CURRICULUM FOR THE SECONDARY LEVEL IN SOUTH AFRICA: CONSIDERATIONS RELATED TO THE POSSIBLE INCLUSION OF THEMES DRAWN FROM UNITY MOVEMENT HISTORY

The following recommendations are made on the basis of the guidelines outlined in chapter 4 regarding (a) the inherited historical tradition of the Unity Movement in South Africa and (b) the pedagogical significance of the New History Movement for school history.

This chapter attempts to show that consideration of the major themes identified in Unity Movement historical writing as well as the perspective provided of such themes are a necessary condition for the development of a new popular history curriculum for secondary school.

This chapter proceeds to discuss (in detail) these themes and perspectives (identified in chapter 3) within the framework of their "place" and "legitimacy" in the development of a new secondary school history curriculum. These recommendations are seen to fit into a theme-based history curriculum informed by the New History pedagogical principle of "logical deductive thinking". Because of the Unity Movement's emphasis on history as "interrelated" world themes which form a "logical", "comprehensive" unit of analysis of the history of Southern Africa, Africa and the rest of the world, this principle is seen as most "appropriate" for making recommendations for a history curriculum based on Unity Movement historiography.¹

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1. In their writing and perception, their approach to history as a "history of key processes in historical formation" can be observed. Events are not singled out for detailed treatment, except in cases where they serve to illustrate the development of a particular historical process. For example, the Nongquase cattle killing is treated within the broader process of detribalisation in South Africa. This approach and perception of history represent in fact a radical departure from the treatment of events in vast detail, such as (for example) The Anglo-Boer War (1899) and The World Wars.

The New History principle of the "systematic treatment of principles and concepts on different levels of complexity" seems most useful for a school history based on a world history perspective. It is understood that such an approach to the treatment of school history can only be meaningfully executed if, in developing from one stage to the next, pupils are exposed to the same principles and concepts developed at "different levels of complexity". In such a process understanding is seen to be "constantly deepened into more sophisticated frames of reference" (Dickenson and Lee, 1984:30).

Research of Unity Movement historical literature highlights selection of certain "major" themes which are seen to form the "cornerstones" of their historical and dialectical materialist analysis of both the world and Southern Africa.² While their general historiographical framework emphasises these general broad themes, such as Imperialism, Capitalism and Racial Capitalism, their histories selected for detailed treatment, within such frameworks, can be divided (for school purposes) into two broad categories: "World History" and "Southern African History". Though the two are seen as interrelated, certain events had been "handpicked" by Unity Movement writers for historical "scrutiny" and re-interpretation to serve the political agenda of "the struggle for a non-racial democracy". These are looked at closer within the context of their potential for inclusion in a school history curriculum.

The "facts" and interpretations outlined in this chapter, as motivation and illustration of Unity Movement perception, are not necessarily viewed as "indisputable"³. The presentation of these "facts" and perceptions serves the function of argument in this thesis for consideration of such "inherited" traditions in the development of a new popular history curriculum for secondary school.⁴

2. These have been elaborated on in chapter 3.

3. It is recognised that Unity Movement perspectives of historical events in South Africa, in particular, have come under academic attack for its crude form of "historical determinism" by writers such as Nasson (1990). Refer to chapter 3.

4. The impact of the historiographical tradition of the Unity Movement on popular historical consciousness is recognised by leading academics such as Callinicos (1986), Saunders (1988) and others such as Chisholm (1990). This point has been elaborated on in chapter 3.

The chapter is written with the recognition of two fundamental New History pedagogical principles in mind: one, that there is a need to highlight problems, difficulties and uncertainties that relate to historical knowledge and two, that there is room in school history for a variety of viewpoints or historiographical approaches.

Some of the themes presently incorporated within the school syllabus, had been given a radical re-interpretation by the Unity Movement, suggesting the possibility of revolutionary "reshaping" and re-interpretation of school history and content for learning. The major themes identified in Unity Movement historical writing which might bear relevance to the development of a new history curriculum for school and which are discussed in terms of their potential for this development are as follows:

A: World History

- (a) The history of People and Civilisation
- (b) The intercontinental modal struggle⁵

B: Southern African History

(approached on two levels, each dealing with various sub-divisions):

Level one: The Process of Conquest:

- a) The Land Question (Wars of dispossession)
- b) The detribalisation process
- c) The Nongquase Cattle-killing (1856)

Level two: The political, Economic and Social Consolidation of the process of Conquest:

- a) The history of Segregation
- b) The Glen Grey Act (1894)
- c) The Act of Union (1910)

5. The perception that class struggles in European Colonial Power Societies precipitate (in their turn) class struggles in the colonies. See pp. 106 - 107.

The topics categorised within the broad general themes of Southern African History are indicative of the Unity Movement's "Political Economy Analysis" of South African History and represent a major part of the content covered in the popular historical works of the Unity Movement. The core of the work discussed for school history purposes are found in the popular works of Van Schoor (1951); Kies (1953); Taylor (1952); Jaffe (1952) and Jaffe (1992). These works are especially relevant, because of their nature regarding re-interpretations of what had traditionally been termed "herrenvolk" history. The works of Van Schoor, Taylor and Jaffe had been republished for educational purposes amongst the oppressed. The relevance of these re-interpretations to the present political situation has been continuously stressed by their respective editors who are all members of the TLSA.

The re-interpretations and topics identified for study in this section are not seen as representative of "full" recommendations for a new Southern African History Curriculum. It is not suggested that what is highlighted needs to be included at the expense of all other versions of the past. Both the re-interpretations and topics are highlighted as part of the first step towards the debate on how to redress the imbalances created by the Apartheid history curriculum. It is also relevant to indicate that recommendations and re-interpretations are offered with the recognition of the need for pupils to apply critical skills in the learning process of all history.

A: World History

a) The History of People and Civilisation

The Unity Movement's historiographical emphasis on "debunking the myth of race" and "Western Civilisation" forms the cornerstone of their perception of the historical development not just of South Africa, but of the world. It is viewed as one of the major "Great Lies" with which the Apartheid "herrenvolk" has attempted to poison the minds of the youth (Taylor, 1952). Because the purpose of such emphasis in Apartheid school history had traditionally been to obliterate the indigenous past and to legitimise "white superiority", one of the greatest tasks of all history reading and learning should therefore be to "defeat this myth",

to "take back" history and to inculcate a culture of "historical pride" in the young (Taylor, 1952:forward; Van Schoor, 1951:32).

In defeating these "Great Lies" in history, it is believed that "non-racial" historical consciousness is inculcated which provides a necessary precondition for the building of a non-racial democracy (Taylor, 1952). This is seen as one of the main aims of the TLSA in their call for "the building of the South African nation". At the last AGM of the TLSA Steenveld called (in his presidential address) for the "reading and rereading" of this paper delivered at a TLSA conference in 1962. He motivates such reading in terms of its "absolute up-to-dateness and relevance of our time" (1992:14). No "legitimate" history curriculum development process in this transitional South Africa can therefore proceed without recognising both the political and educational relevance of this perception. It is contended that an appreciation of the origin of people and civilisation forms the backbone of all historical understanding (Kies, 1953).⁶ If a school history curriculum is based on this perception of history, then the inclusion of such a comprehensive theme would obviously suggest treatment on various levels of complexity (Dickenson and Lee, 1984) in the school syllabus.

Kies' (1953) perception of the contributions made by Non-European people to world civilisation, should have major implications for the construction of a new history curriculum for schools. Such perceptions and their implications for history learning at school follows:

"What is Civilisation?"

Debates around this theme, viewed by writers such as Kies as the first step towards defeating the myth of "Western Civilisation" or "European Civilisation" (1953:9), would be a fundamental to the restructuring and formulation of a new South African school history. A theme on Civilisation would imply application of critical skills by pupils regarding the

6. Compare this with the New History Movement perception of the inclusion of a unit on "People in the Past" in the School's Council 13-16 History Project as assisting the pupils in an understanding of the chronological framework within which the historian pursues his/her studies.

existence of a "Western Civilisation" as "superior" to all other forms of civilisation as found earlier in the Americas, Asia and Africa.

Symbiotic to the question of "civilisation" is that of "race" in Unity Movement historiography. In understanding the myth of "race", it is important according to Unity Movement historical perspective, to understand the origin of people as part of one single and undivided "human race". It is, however, recognised that cultural differences cannot be denied, but that it is the way in which evidence regarding the existence or non-existence of "race" is exploited that is the problem. Neville Alexander contends that the entire school curriculum needs to be "re-inforced" through the development of a core-culture", and "commonality" must be promoted on the basis of our identify as South African or Azanian. On the other hand, we must accommodate diversity which we cannot deny, otherwise it will take its revenge on us. We must get away from the paradigm of separate cultures interacting with each other (1993:14).

The TLSA has (as early in the forties) emphasised the pedagogical significance of the study of civilisation in history: "Every child must be conversant with the outline of the general trend of civilisation and his or her history. In so doing, history becomes the very foundation of the child's future citizenship of the world" (1945:9). Pupils and teachers were therefore urged to read the works of V.G. Childe ("Man makes himself"); Durrant on "The Contribution of the Non-European to Oriental Heritage" and Kies' "The contribution of Non-European people to World Civilisation" (1953).⁷ More significantly, in an article which formed part of a series on "History", the TLSA looked at the "omissions" in the school history curriculum. The omission of the History of Ancient China, India, the Incas, Aztecs and the island civilisations of the Indian and Pacific Oceans were singled out as most significant.⁸ The TLSA also made the point, in the article, that there is no study of "prehistoric" man and that the "important" and "fundamental" discoveries which made "the earliest civilisations" had been ignored in school history.⁹

7. See The Educational Journal, Nov -Dec. 1960:10 (Vol. 4 No. XXXII).

8. See The Educational Journal, March 1961, No. 6 Vol. XXXII:6.

9. op cit.

A history curriculum informed with a historical materialist perception would therefore consider the study of evolution of people (in the Darwinist sense) as relevant. Of significance here is the assertion by R. Pring (1976:104) that certain kinds of knowledge presuppose others of a different kind and that there is a need to work out what presupposes what in a history curriculum.¹⁰

The Origin of People

The most fundamental perception of historical process is outlined by Kies (1953:12) as an understanding of humanity as belonging to one single "human race", one biological species, with the same number and formation of bones, the same brain and nerve structure and the same capacity for interbreeding; that the mutations in physical characteristics such as skin colour and hair texture have not made the slightest difference to the biological unity of "man" as a "single species", and provide no scientific basis for a division into what are popularly "mis-called" as "races". Kies appeals that in all history learning and reading "man's animal origin should not be forgotten" (1953:12) and that certain features of animal society should "not be overlooked" (1953:13).¹¹

This perspective informs Jaffe's assertion that the !Ke (San), the Khoi-Khoin and the Bantu lived in the same "tribal"¹² way as did the ancient inhabitants of old England, old India and China (1952:7).¹³ In providing the learner the opportunity to compare the earliest social organisations of people across the continents, as a theme in the history syllabus, the

10. This is the approach which informs the British Schools Council Integrated Studies Project, a theme based curriculum alternative to a curriculum based upon distinct subject-matters.

11. This kind of approach has been observed in the Zimbabwean textbook, "People making History" (1985) and the more recent South African history resource written for Sacred Heart "The Broken String" (1992).

12. The Unity Movement accepts the term "tribe" as a "necessary" and "inevitable" stage all people went through; as not peculiar to Africa or Asia, but Europe as well. Jaffe has been very critical of the "revisionist" interpretation and rejection of the term by South Africa historians such as Colin Bundy. See "South African Neo-Liberal historiography" (Jaffe, 1990:20).

13. No evidence provided of this assertion.

opportunity can be created for a more "objective" understanding of the origin of all people and a critical approach to the concept "civilisation" can also be facilitated.

Defeating the myth of "race", through the presentation of the school history curriculum, does not only mean defeating the myth of European superiority. It also means looking at all aspects of human development between white and black as well as black and black. This is an approach necessary in South Africa at a time when there is much claim for "racial purity" aimed at securing historically legitimate "cultural options" around a multi-cultural core curriculum. Of relevance here is Jaffe's assertion that Batwa (!Ke) blood "runs through the veins" of Persians, Indians and Arabs whose forefathers traded with them at Sofala and elsewhere as late as 950 AD and "courses" through the "pure" Zulu, amongst whom they lived right up to the 19th century. The Batwa are part of the mPondo, Tembu and Xhosa (1952:1).

In his history of Africa, Jaffe emphasises "race" as a "major subject" of history and warns against the "neo-colonial division of Africa" in an Arab and black part. He calls for the study of Africa's "vast and complex diversity" over the millennia as an essential aspect of "one, single, racially indivisible and indefinable continent" (1988:xi). It is also in this work that Jaffe identifies Colonialism as the "Genesis of Race" (1988:56) whereby racialism was the ideology, the means of conquest and subjugation. Racialism was therefore integral to the Crusades, Slavery, Conquests and Dispossession (1988:57). The entire working class of Europe was, according to Jaffe, "saturated with the ideology of racialism and took part in the racialist process of colonialism".

Because racialism was a social force and not merely an ideology (Jaffe, 1988:57-58), it warrants a place in the study of history. Not only for this reason, but also because an understanding of "racism" is viewed as fundamental to an understanding of World History in terms of major economic developments such as Colonialism and Imperialism as well as South Africa's own domestic "Racial Capitalism".

What is implicit in the Unity Movement's historical perception of "racism" is the need for an integrationist approach to school history. In order for pupils to understand such concepts

as "race", "evolution" and "civilisation" a fair background of Archaeology, Science, Anthropology and Biology is needed.¹⁴ An historical analysis based on this perception of the origin of people can only be taught effectively if opportunities for deeper understanding and critical application are provided in subjects across the curriculum. The present conventional subject-syllabus needs to be reviewed in terms of a more appropriate subject selection process to facilitate a restructured curriculum informed with this perspective.

The contribution of the Non-European people¹⁵ to world civilisation

Kies (1953) and Jaffe (1992) are the two main contributors to this aspect of Unity Movement Historical writing. The work of Kies is more comprehensive than Jaffe's. Jaffe has built on the thesis offered by Kies. For this reason, this section relies heavily on Kies as a pioneering popular work on the topic.

Kies makes the point (most crucial for the rethinking of a school history) that approximately 98% of man's history, thus far, is covered by the period of "savagery" - a period in which all people all over the world learned by trial and error what to eat, developed tools, the use of fire, created the idea of spirits to explain and control what he could not understand. It was, according to Kies, a period in which he strove "to establish the nexus between cause and effect" (1953:14).

Not much credit and "historical legitimacy" is hence given to the present content structure as well as approach to school history in the contention by Kies that "the whole of the scientific and industrial revolution of the West would therefore fall within a period equivalent to approximately one-half of one thousandth of the life-span of humanity to date" (1953:18)

14. From a biological standpoint, "race" is viewed by the Unity Movement as belonging to one group of the population, constituting the species *Homo sapiens*. There are no sub-groups or ethnic groups. Racism is the ideology based on the belief that different biological races do exist. Racism falsely claims that there is a scientific basis for arranging groups hierarchically (A. Montagu, 1972).

15. Kies stated that this term is used in his work in the "geographical" sense to mean peoples outside of the continent of Europe; a term which has no relevance to the physical characteristics of those outside Europe. These would include peoples of the Middle East, Asia, Africa and the Americas before their "discovery", invasion and conquest by "adventurers and Imperialists from Europe (1953:9).

and that "this mighty process of civilisation evolved for the greater proportion of time outside of Europe" (1953:40).

If we agree with the New History pedagogical aim of making the learner understand the process of change and continuity, then it is imperative that the Industrial Revolution is treated within the context of major developments all over the world which went before. Hence, the location of the Industrial Revolution within the present history curriculum as a key process fairly independent of developments elsewhere loses "legitimacy". The focus of the history curriculum (regarding this aspect) should then rather be how the rest of the world aided technological, political, economical and social advancement in Europe - looking at contributions made by Africa, Asia and the rest of what is presently commonly referred to as the "Third World". This would in effect imply a rejection of the latter concept, especially in terms of the "appendix" status given to "Third World" studies in the current curriculum.¹⁶

Implicit in Kies' historical perception of the origin of people is that "white Christian civilisation" did not come "in the nick of time" to save the !Ke, Khoi-Khoi and Bantu from extermination by one another; that all people in the world have undergone the process of "cultural evolution" from savagery to barbarism and from barbarism to civilisation (1953:13). This perception would emphasise the need for a world approach to the origin of people in a school history and not only treatment as an introduction to a new approach to South African history. The latter is an approach noticeable in the newer more "progressive" textbooks which only look at themes such as "The origin and settlement of people in Southern Africa" with the aim of correcting the "vacant land" myth. The Unity Movement historiographical approach goes a step further in viewing the origin of people as a necessary "universal" study in defeating the myth of "race" and to contextualise such a myth within a Political Economy analysis of History. Kies sees the emergence of "man", as marking the beginnings of culture from which "he" derives "his" "humanity" and begins "his" "social history" - a process which first flourished outside Europe (1953:14).

16. These are usually offered as "optional studies". See the standard 7 syllabus (1985).

Kies' perception of the contribution of Non-European people to world civilisation is motivated as follows: Western Asia invented and taught Europe the harnessing of a horse (1953:16-17); Great Mathematical and medical achievements were made by India (1953:22); The scientific movement began in the eastern portion of Greece where there was most active intercourse with Egypt, Phoenicia and Persia (1953:26); Athens developed because it was on the main trading routes with Africa, West Asia and the Far East (1953:26); After the Punic Wars Rome carried to all the corners of the Empire whatever ideas it had taken over from Greece, Africa and Asia (1953:28); The "lamps of civilisation" were burning in China, India, the New World and Africa prior to the "mighty Renaissance" (1953:33).

This perspective would imply the need for the development of a school history which looks at the beginnings of culture and civilisation in the early Asian, African and American societies. A radical departure from the Eurocentric studies of civilisation in the form of the "Renaissance" and "Reformation" as key studies of civilisation in the current standard six syllabus becomes imminent. Studies on the European Renaissance and Reformation would be necessary, but against the background of what went before within the Non-European context.

Radical re-interpretations of the political, social and economic history of Europe is suggested by Kies' outline of the four "main reasons" for people in Europe to have emerged "from a thousand years of darkness and to have bound ahead". This, Kies asserts, has nothing to do with "mystical psyche in persons of a particular colour or skull-shape" (1953:9).

This re-interpretation of the development of Europe would also suggest a radical reorganisation of the content in the history curriculum. If taken into account, a history curriculum can no longer (as currently) be divided into a General (World) History syllabus versus a South African syllabus. The syllabus can also no longer "open up" with European history as if this precedes the history of the rest of the world. Kies illustrates the contrary. In this regard, Jaffe draws the conclusion that an approach to history, which recognises the African contribution to world civilisation, would imply that South African History no longer be drawn into the history of the world through Diaz in 1487 (1992:1). Jaffe, furthermore,

states that there is good reason to believe that African sailors told Columbus of their voyages to America when he came to Guinea and Ghana in 1481 (1992:4).

A characteristic of the current history curriculum is that South African History is contextualised in terms of interaction with Europe - therefore the emphasis on themes concerning the arrival of whites and how they "shaped" South Africa politically, socially and economically. In the current (1985) standard 6 history syllabus, the study of Colonisation is presently located as "European" or "General" History; there is no contextualisation of this theme within "Non-European" history.¹⁷ The contrary seems to be the case and a history curriculum informed (in part) by a perception of how Africa and the rest of the "Third World" assisted in the shaping of World History seems most viable. A new "total world approach" would seem more appropriate to facilitate this perception of historical process in school history.

Kies identifies four main reasons for the political, economic and social advancement of Europe: a) the Crusades (b) the fact that during the mercantilist era, Venice and Genoa became leading commercial cities and Italy developed into the first capitalist country of the world (c) The voyages of discovery undertaken by "enriched merchants" having availed themselves of two Chinese inventions such as the compass and gunpowder, bringing unprecedented wealth back to Spain, Portugal, Italy and England (d) with new wealth the need grew to find new social and political forms less hampering to the productive and economic forces. During the latter half of the 15th century there was therefore an "alliance of royalty with burghers of the towns" which broke the might of the feudal nobility which led to the development of monarchies based solely on nationality. By this means "modern European Capitalist nations" came into being. Protestantism developed as the "ideological handmaiden" of the new economic and political nationalism (1953:36-37).

The four reasons Kies outlines are seen to be responsible for "that great revival of learning and enrichment of spirit known as the Renaissance" (1953:37). Civilisation was taken a stage further in Europe and America "on the backs of the people of Asia, Africa and America"

17. This term is used here in the sense suggested by Kies (1953).

(1953:39). We have therefore come through this process to the present stage of poverty, exploitation and oppression (1953:39). Recently Jaffe argues further that Europe did not exist before capitalism and that capitalism did not exist before Europe (1992:8) and that what became Europe did "assimilate from the Arabs in particular as well as Egypt, Ethiopia, Turkey, Iran, India and China" (1992:19). This perspective suggests treatment contrary to the present curriculum in which there are "Third World" and "Modern World" studies with the latter enjoying prominence and major coverage.¹⁸ In fact, Jaffe contends that Europe was driven outwards by poverty not by wealth (1988:43).

A new place and treatment of the conventional location of the Reformation is also called for in terms of Jaffe's contention that Catholic scholasticism owed much to two Islamic-Aristotelian Arab scholars in Spain, Ibn Ruschid (1126-1188) and Ibn Sina (980-1037). Islam was thus one of the building blocks of "European Christian Civilisation" (1992:19). At present the Reformation and Renaissance, which constitute a major part of the standard 6 syllabus, are presented as "pure" European History with achievements presented as independent from developments outside of Europe. The same approach applies to the location of the Emergence of Modern Europe in the current standards eight and nine syllabi of the House of Representatives.

Based on the Unity Movement historical perception, the Southern African Contribution To World Civilisation also deserves a place in a new history curriculum. As Jaffe states that millions of years after primeval development, the !Ke began to weave the fabric of civilisation, recording in the form of paintings how they spent their lives and in changing over from stone to iron tools the Batwa (!Ke) made a "fundamental contribution to human culture". Unlike some "primitive peoples" who could merely keep a fire burning, the Batwa could actually kindle fire. But because, asserts Jaffe, pioneers are seen to be more "backward" than those who follow them, their contribution to world civilisation was never really recognised (1952:10). Their technique, social organisation, and language were handed on to succeeding peoples, mostly their conquerors. Their whole heritage was transmitted,

18. See the standard 7 core syllabus (1985).

changed, adapted, built upon, often in unrecognisable shape and is yet everywhere to be seen in 20th century South Africa (1952:11).

If one then argues that school history should consider the study of inherited traditions, then the African contribution becomes significantly relevant to the development of a new history curriculum. Understanding history as "inherited tradition" is an important component of understanding the world in which we live and providing the child with the opportunity to acquire an understanding of the coherent link between past, present and future. Such an approach would ensure that the black child is "provided" with an inherited historical tradition with which to identify and be proud of.

Although attempts have been made with the introduction of the current House of Representatives curriculum¹⁹ to include "some form" of black history, this has rather been grossly inadequate. The inclusion of black history has thus far been presented within the Eurocentric framework as "background" material in the context of the contribution of Europe to Africa. Such an inclusion is (at present) limited to the study of the Mfecane (in the standard six and eight syllabi) as introduction to predominantly white South African history. Implicit in this kind of content structure of the present curriculum is the suggestion that Southern African history is only of relevance to world history from approximately 1820!

The study of Egypt as an African contribution to world civilisation

Kies asserts that because Egypt had been traditionally taught in schools as part of the "European Civilisation", it has become better known amongst pupils at school (1953:24). This seems to be still the case in the current primary school curriculum of the House of Assembly and House of Representative schools for standards 3 and 5 whereby Egypt is studied together with the Greek, Roman and Hebrew civilisations as part of the "Age of Civilisation" (standard 3). The River Valley Civilisation studies (Egypt and Mesopotamia) are focused on in terms of their contributions in writing and architecture (standard 5

19. There are variations between the segregated departments on the treatment of Black History as well as coverage thereof. The standard 6 DET syllabus provides for extensive treatment of "The Settlement of the Black Peoples", while limited treatment is provided in the standard 6 HoR syllabus.

syllabus). These studies are presently clearly located within the "Western Civilisation" paradigm as part of "European History" in the syllabus. He "corrects" this myth by the assertion that the Egyptians regarded themselves as African; that every fact of history proves that the Egyptians were an African people and therefore Egyptian history deserves treatment as an integral part of African history (1953:23). In terms of approaching history as an "inherited tradition", the study of Egypt as part of the Non-European contribution to world civilisation provides a useful platform for such an approach. He identifies some of these "inherited traditions" such as burial customs found in Europe and Egyptian improvements imitated later in Sicily and Italy.

Because Egypt was culturally (in many ways) a "forerunner of Greece" (1953:24), the implication is there that more prominence be given to the study of the Egyptian civilisation than that of Greece, or at least the former preceding the latter. In this regard, Kies therefore asserts that the "falsehoods of Greek, Roman and European civilisations purveyed in school history must be corrected" (1953:25).

However, Kies warns that the achievements of the River-valleys are not representative of the "beginnings of civilisation". This has implications for a new school history which might single out the Egyptian civilisation as a major theme study in the attempt to move towards a more "progressive world history". He sees rather a study of the neolithic period as a prerequisite for River Valley studies (1953:16). In his history of Africa (1988) Jaffe contends that, apart from the well-known civilisations that flourished in Egypt and others in the pre-Christian era, many societies existed in other parts of Africa comparable with those that grew up at the same time in Europe and Asia.

These civilisations are perceived as part of the "lost past" of Africa which needs to be "taken back".²⁰ The writings of amongst others, Amilcar Cabral, indicate that the "lost past" is itself an important "memoria" for the independence movements and that it is a vital element of our own times (Jaffe, 1988:7). Cabral, Nkrumah, Nyerere and Samora Machel have each

20. This brings into focus the quote by Amilcar Cabral regarding the colonialists and the "dispossession" of black history - a quoted phrase by a New Unity Movement Bulletin on the need to re-interpret history.

in their own way, shown how independence movements "are attempting to recapture the origins and authenticity of the African heritage" (Jaffe, 1988:8). The inclusion of a school history which focuses on these pre-Christian African civilisations need not be overemphasised.²¹

The "intercontinental modal struggle"

The Unity Movement's concept of class struggle is informed by a particular world history perspective based on the theory that the history of the world is a history of struggle between the colonial powers and the colonies, which is manifested in the class struggle of the bourgeoisie of the colonial powers and the working classes of the colonies.

The world system is dominated by the Capitalist mode of production which is a divided "mode" with its Imperialist "West" and semi-colonial "South" (Jaffe, 1989:2). The socialist countries have, in one way or another, delinked themselves from the Capitalist part of the world system by means of social revolutions (Jaffe, 1989:2). There is a constant struggle between the two modes of production, manifesting itself as a struggle between the continents of the South and those of the "West". The "intercontinental modal struggle" is therefore the struggle between the continents and their respective modes of production, i.e. the struggle between the continents of the Imperialist West and semi-colonial South.

They therefore contend that the European revolutions (which make up a major part of the secondary school curriculum) are not what they are made out to be (Jaffe, 1992:24). According to them, the real "social revolutions" were taking place far away in the "midst of an intercontinental intermodal struggle between the nascent capitalist mode of Europe and the communal societies across the Mediterranean, Atlantic Indian and Pacific oceans". Following on this analysis is the notion that "every major European capitalist nation had a social revolution which was essentially colonialistic", because before "each national capitalist class seized political power it had won economic power on and across the seas and oceans" (Jaffe,

21. In this regard, it is important to note the calls for a "national" history in schools which will inculcate "nation building" and not a "nationalist" history, whether "Afrikaner Nationalist" or African Nationalist. (Perspective provided by Vadi in "History Matters", 1993:45)

1992:25). For example, the French Revolution of 1789 was led by a bourgeoisie which had already become a world economic power in Louisiana, Canada, the Antilles, East India and Senegal. Napoleon I "mollified" French inter-class relations, enabling the conquest by the "nation" of most of West Africa, Malagasy and Indo-China in the 19th century (Jaffe, 1992:27).

Perspectives of this kind would therefore imply a shift in emphasis regarding the place of the "bourgeoisie" European revolutions in the curriculum, as not essentially "European", but as world phenomena having also precipitated social revolutions in the colonies.

A world focus is once again an obvious necessity for the contextualised treatment of social revolutions in school history. To speak about a "French" or "English" Revolution in a new school history curriculum, informed by a world history perspective, would be pedagogically inadequate. For example, it is this struggle between colonialism and the old societies, according to Jaffe (1988:58), which gave rise to various kinds of racialist colonies. Hence, in placing the history of Africa and Southern Africa with World History, perception of this dynamic becomes relevant. A school history which would include themes reflecting a more balanced perspective of "social revolution" as "world process" and which moves away from isolating case studies as major "European" history themes²² should be visualised and worked towards.

22. A predominant feature of the current secondary school history curriculum of the House of Representatives is the weight that these "European" social revolutions carry. Examples are The French Revolution of 1789 (Standards 6 and 8) and the Russian Revolution (studied over standards 9 and 10).

B. Southern African History

The Process of Conquest

The Land Question: Wars of Dispossession:²³

The Unity Movement views the "land question" as "central" to the history of dispossession, emphasising it as the "key" to understanding South African history (Jaffe, 1952:23) in terms of a political-economy analysis of historical process. In other words, the land question is interpreted as the "key" to the establishment of the respective "historical epochs" in South Africa: the land wars of 1658-1660 and of 1673-1677 are seen to have functioned as the means to the establishment of slavery; the land wars from 1770 to 1806 were the means whereby feudalism was established; the last series of land wars from 1812 to 1896 led to the establishment of Capitalism in South Africa (Jaffe, 1952:64).

This theory is further elaborated on in the following way: Van Riebeeck launched a land war in order to build up a slave society; Boer feudalism was expanded by a series of land wars; to facilitate the trading economy, land had to be taken away from the Khoi-khoi and Xhosa; land wars were waged to gain the diamondiferous fields of the Griqua, to obtain cheap labour for the gold and diamond mines. Hence the "land question" was the "core" of the problem for all conflicts in Southern African History (Taylor, 1952:78). This "highest common factor" is therefore viewed as a useful "key" to the history of South Africa (Jaffe, 1952:24).

The history of the process of dispossession is seen to have "two sides to the coin". The one is the story of the establishment of a white economy and white colonies and republics. The present school history curriculum is seen to have traditionally been based on telling the story "from this side of the coin". There is therefore the emphasis on firstly, the politics and

23. Of significance here is the fact that the resolution of the "land question" is a prominent feature of the political programme of "minimum demands" of the Unity Movement as formulated and adopted as point 7 of the programme in 1943. This Ten Point Programme is, incidentally, still the official political programme of demands of the New Unity Movement.

economy of the Cape Colony. Secondly, British reaction to the Great Trek and thirdly, the establishment of the Afrikaner Republics.²⁴

The Unity Movement perspective of the story is focused on "the other side of the coin". Their side of the story is one based on the process of how a people were "dispossessed" and its historical legacy for South Africa (Jaffe 1988). To them, telling the story from this perspective, provides the history reader with the opportunity of seeing the link between the past, present and future.

Their story would therefore not emphasise the predominantly "constitutional" process of the establishment of the white colonies and republics in Southern Africa, but rather how these were built "on the backs" of African Kingdoms. The process of dispossession, of how African kingdoms were built up and eventually destroyed to serve the functions of Imperialism, is seen as "the story" of nineteenth century Southern Africa.

For example, Taylor asserts that in a new history the "Great Trek" will not occupy the position it does in the familiar "herrenvolk" presentation of history. What the Unity Movement has to say about it will "best find its place when dealing with the dispossession of the Sotho" (Taylor, 1952:77). She also states that "to tell the story of Moshoeshoe would be to tell the story of the builder of a nation who tried to save that nation from the inroads of whites" (1952:87). Their story would therefore begin with the process of how he built up that nation, which "constituted a core of tribal unity" (1952:88). Such a story would focus on the period before the Basuto clash with the Orange Free State, focusing on positive relations with the other African kingdoms such as the Griqua and the Koranas as part of the process in which the Sotho nation built up a strong kingdom (1952:90-91). Dispossession of the Sotho, placed in this context, indicates *a radical departure from the conventional location and treatment* of such history as part of the "problems" confronted in the interior in the process of establishing a white South Africa.

24. A predominant feature of the present House of Representatives standard 8 syllabus.

Similar treatment would apply to the establishment of the Cape Colony, Natal and Transvaal. In this regard, a summarised account of Jaffe's treatment of the history of the dispossession of Southern Africa is relevant: the conquest of the Cape took place *through* the "anti-Xhosa wars" of 1812 to 1850 which culminated in the "Nongquase Cattle-killing" of 1856 after which Xhosa labour was recruited in the "new economy"; the conquest of Natal took place *through* "anti-Zulu wars" which destroyed the self-development of Zulu society from tribalism to semi-feudalism and commerce, culminating in the Bambatha rebellion of 1906, after which Zululand became "a vast labour reserve for the sugar plantations and mines"; the Transvaal Boer Republic was built and consolidated *on the lands of the dispossessed* Tswana, Sotho, Matabele and Swazi; the conquest of South West Africa²⁵ should be interpreted in terms of "anti-Nama" and "anti-Herero" wars (1952:127-129).²⁶

Implicit in this treatment of aspects of nineteenth century Southern African History, is the suggestion that (for example) the *building process of the establishment of African kingdoms be emphasised* rather than how they "impeded" the process of the establishment of "White" South Africa. Furthermore, the "positive aspects" of this building process should be emphasised rather than the "negative". In this regard, Jaffe states that the "positive side" of the building process of the Zulu Kingdom be focused on rather than the "scattering side"²⁷ (Jaffe, 1952:90). A reappraisal of the Mfecane appeared in a TLSA journal during the early eighties, entitled "The Difaqane: Fact versus Fiction: Colonial Dispossession". In this article, the aspect of "tribal unification" of the Mfecane is emphasised and not the "crushing". A strong attack is made on what the TLSA terms "liberal manufactured" accounts of the Mfecane²⁸.

25. As known at the time when this work was originally published in 1952.

26. An interesting feature of Jaffe's work is his labelling of the land wars as "anti"-indigenous wars, seen as an "onslaught" rather than a "battle" in the conventional "war" sense.

27. An approach especially characteristic of the present standards 6 and 8 syllabi (1985) which are both introduced to the pupil with a section entitled "The Mfecane and its aftermath".

28. The perspective in which emphasis is placed on how Africans have (in part) determined their own destiny. See The Educational Journal, September 1983, Vol. LV, No. 2:7.

Symbiotic to the study of the history of the process of building African Kingdoms would be the history of resistance to "white invasion". Rather than focusing on the battles the Trekkers and British colonialists met up with in the interior and studying the African Kingdoms in this context, the focus is seen to be on the existence of these Kingdoms and how whites became the "problem" in the interior and on the frontier. Based on this perspective, Unity Movement writing focuses therefore on what can be termed as "the history of resistance to the wars of dispossession".

Jaffe's work identifies this history from the resistance days under Van Riebeeck to the Bambatha rebellion of 1906. He identifies the "first war of dispossession" as that which occurred under Dutch rule when Van Riebeeck attacked the Khoi-khoin during the years 1658 to 1677; a war which allowed the slave colony to be "expanded and stabilised" (Jaffe, 1988:46). In recovering this war, he emphasises the strategy of resistance of the Khoi-khoin. In his account of the "Ten Year Land War" (1771-1781), the joint forces of the !Ke, Khoi-khoin and Xhosa against the Dutch are emphasised - how they resisted "the combined forces of a slave empire, feudal enserfers and early liberalism" (1952:54).

Jaffe is also of the opinion that the process of dispossession wiped out important histories, such as that of the !Ke, whom he said was driven "out of the pages of South African history" (1952:53) and who had been, by 1834, "physically wiped out" of history (1952:64). Implicit in this would be the suggestion that a new history for schools recover this "lost past" as a "history in its own right", representing an important cornerstone of the history of resistance, dispossession and the land question in South Africa.

These re-interpretations offered by the Unity Movement on nineteenth century Southern African history, provide a good basis for the application of New History skills such as Simulation (in the form of Empathetic reconstruction) and Critical skills such as Extrapolation, Judgement and Synthesis. Because of most recent research and developments in South Africa towards a more Africanist approach to history, there exist resources on conflicting evidence and re-interpretation of this period's history. In taking cognisance of the Unity Movement perception of the history of the "land question" would also suggest a radical departure from introducing Southern African history from the 1820 year-mark in the present

secondary school curriculum. The study of Southern African black history should not just be of significance in terms of the Mfeqane! However, one of the areas, in the existing curriculum, which shows a lot of potential (in developing a curriculum based on the Unity Movement historical perspective) is the current section in the standard 9 syllabus on "Imperialism, Republicanism and the Incorporation of African Chiefdoms".²⁹

The detribalisation process

This process is viewed by the Unity Movement as not just part of Southern African History, but of World History, within which Southern African History should be located.

An understanding of the "land question" is seen (in terms of the Unity Movement's historical perception and methodology) as a prerequisite to understanding the detribalisation process. The "land question" is viewed as having necessitated the process of detribalisation as the "political" means by which the process of conquest and dispossession was consolidated in South Africa. This process, according to Taylor, needs to be understood within the context of Imperialism and Colonialism (1952:25).

Jaffe states that after the final land wars, land laws became the fundamental economic method of segregation to serve the interests of Imperialism (1952:24). These laws completed a process begun by the land wars which, according to Jaffe, had since the coming of the British in 1795, "destroyed or undermined the isolated, exclusive tribal economy, dissolving its self-sufficiency and destroying their economic independence" (Jaffe, 1952:24). This process was economically necessary as more confiscated land increased the necessity to "accelerate the breakdown of the old system and incorporate the Africans into the system as labourers" (Taylor, 1952:43). Detribalisation was in actual fact the process and political means by which "a tribal people" were "integrated" (Taylor, 1952:48).

In this regard the period from the 1850s onward is seen as important as it is the time from which "the social and economic pattern of South African society began to unfold" (Taylor,

29. A perspective and approach informed by the contribution of relations with Africans on the shaping of the ZAR as presented in the History Alive standard 9 textbook is a most welcoming approach.

1952:63). This was a period in which British policy towards blacks became increasingly "ruthless" and Taylor quoted Harry Smith as having stated that "the blacks must be held in subjection and taught their own insignificance; they must surrender and implore for mercy; they must be forced to surrender by wresting (their) much-prized cattle from (them)" (1952:63).³⁰

The Treaty System, which begun a decade earlier, is viewed within this context. This system is seen by Unity Movement writers as an "instrument of detribalisation", in the sense that it "neutralised" the power of the chief and made him "subject to supremacy of British law". The direct result of this process was that the influence of the chief would "cease to exist" (Taylor, 1952:45). Through the treaty system the chiefs "gave up their independence" and were in effect "no longer the military leaders of their people" (1952:47). The economic side of the treaty system is also emphasised in terms of how property on the frontier had doubled in value since the inauguration of the treaty system and that there was a boom in the wool trade. Hence the treaty system is seen to have provided a "good measure of security" for an expanding Cape economy (1952:52).³¹

Of particular relevance, regarding the construction of a new history curriculum, is the perspective on the historical role of the Treaty System. This section forms currently a considerable part of the standard 8 syllabus and is located in terms of "The British reaction to the Great Trek". This location stands in radical contrast to the "place" the Unity Movement sees it to have. As asserted by Taylor, that it was the Boers who were protected by the system and not the Griqua or Sotho (1952:79). In the current syllabus a study of the system is located in terms of how the British were forced to control Boer movement into the interior by signing treaties with African groups.

In contrast, a curriculum informed with the Unity Movement perspective, would rather see the Treaty System as a "cornerstone" of the process of detribalisation. This approach would

30. Taylor draws reference in this regard to the Nongquase Cattle killing of 1856 to illustrate the analysis.

31. This perception might be viewed as collapsing a number of events into one - a methodology peculiar to Unity Movement analysis of emphasising and identifying the process rather than event.

be reflective of a political-economy analysis of how the treaty system served an expanding economy and how it consolidated the process of conquest. The period from the 1850s onwards would be treated in terms of the economic and political development in Southern Africa which culminated in the wars of dispossession and annexation towards the end of the century. This focus would represent *a radical departure from the present paradigm of the 19th century focus on Boer-British conflict* which culminates in the Anglo-Boer war at the end of the century.

The Nongquase Cattle Killing (1856)

The Nongquase Cattle killing is viewed by Unity Movement historical writers as *the* "national tragedy" of 19th century Southern African history, an event which calls for "historical investigation" and "re-interpretation" in a new history. Although Jeffrey Peires has done extensive research on the topic, he also admits that evidence is lacking on certain aspects of the event, for example on what Nongquase saw (Peires, 1989:109).

Taylor states that "a mystery has been allowed to surround the origin of the killing" (1952:72). She states further that "much herrenvolk ink had been spilt in endorsing the conclusions" of the government commission of enquiry into this event (1952:72). The confusion which surrounds the event is interpreted as part of "the falsification permeating the whole herrenvolk history of South Africa" (Taylor, 1952:73). It is therefore viewed as a "key" event in the history of the broad process of dispossession and detribalisation in Southern Africa.

Taylor views the event in terms of the "crucial" 1850s in which the whole of Southern Africa was "in ferment" - there were British and Boers in Natal and there were Boers over the Orange River into the land of the Griqua and the Sotho (1952:63-64). While "herrenvolk" historians are seen to put forward the viewpoint that Moshoeshoe instigated the Xhosa cattle killing in order to drive the Xhosa into attacking the Colony, the Unity Movement sees the event as instigated by the British (Taylor, 1952:64). These historians are seen to put blame on Hintsas's son, Sarili, and Moshoeshoe as having instigated the killing with the aim of setting loose a "desperate and maddened attack on the Colony" (1952:72). Basing their

analysis on the fact that Moshoeshoe was at the time too busy focusing on uniting his own people (Taylor, 1952:72), this is a viewpoint the Unity Movement totally rejects.

According to the Unity Movement, the "herrenvolk argument" was not proven. They also interpret the event to have weakened rather than strengthened that of Moshoeshoe (Taylor, 1952:73). It is contended that Grey's own behaviour contradicts the alleged fear of a violent attack on the colony, because in the period preceding the promised day, "he bought cheaply the grain squandered and cattle that could not be slaughtered fast enough by the "crazed people" (Taylor, 1952:73). Basing his work on extensive research³² into the event, Peires agrees that although Grey did not "initiate" the killing, he was responsible for turning it into "an irrevocable catastrophe" (1989:318). More importantly, according to Peires, is the fact that *both* Nongquase and Grey were responsible for turning the Xhosa into "South Africans" (1989:321).

This event is viewed as significant in terms of its contribution to the detribalisation and proletarianisation process of the Xhosa. Taylor contends that the cornerstone of his policy was to break the power of the chiefs and to destroy the tribal system. In this sense he was "the direct inheritor of Dr. Philip's schemes for the expansion of the British Empire" (1952:65).

"Disillusioned and starving" Xhosa people entered the colony after the mass-suicide and were employed as labourers - about 34 000 took service with white farmers (Taylor, 1952:73). It is therefore this event which increased the labour force by "hundreds of thousands" in the Cape Colony (1952:70-71). This political economy analysis of the event is motivated in the following sense: that it satisfied Grey's labour expectations beyond expectation; that shortly after the event, six Acts were passed in 1857 to control the "influx" of Natives; that Grey's administration at the time of the killing opened up "a new stage of conquest and with it a new era of economic development" (Taylor, 1952:74-75).

32. Peires made use of private and official papers of the colonial administrators, interviews with the elderly and "knowledgeable Xhosa", a wide range of English and Xhosa books and newspapers (See Peires, 1989:322).

"Tribal superstition infused with the fanaticism of Christianity" in a "demoralised" people is thought to have been responsible for the tragedy and it was "the first fruits of subjugation over the minds of the people" (Taylor, 1952:64-74). Because of a combination of these factors the Xhosa "were driven into the hands of the white man" (Taylor, 1952:71). Van Schoor is also of the opinion that it was a combination of "tragedy, duplicity and cunning" which "finally succeeded in bringing the Xhosa to his knees within a few years when the might of arms had failed for three-quarters of a century" (1951:11). He contends that this mass-suicide "coincided almost miraculously with the interests of Grey's policy and helped him to carry out his policy" (1951:11). This popular interpretation of the event is supported by the fact that destruction of cattle was "directly opposed to the whole social system of the Xhosa and at variance with their whole thinking"; that it could only happen to a people "in a profound state of demoralisation". Because "the more desperate a people become, the more they call upon supernatural aid, seeking deliverance from an intolerable position" (Taylor, 1952:73).³³

Contemporary research, on the other hand, suggests the contrary. Peires contends that in solving the "mystery" surrounding the event it is important for historians to ask "Who were Mhlakaze and Nongquase?" In answering this question, he sees it important to look at their respective backgrounds which shaped their consciousness. Mhlakaze was himself a "religious visionary" in search of prophecy and Nongquase had witnessed the horrors of war and the catastrophe of lungsickness. They must also have heard the prophecies of resurrection inspired by the supposed Russian victories in the Crimean war (Peires, 1989:310-311). The next important question, according to Peires, is "Why the emphasis on a cattle killing in their story?" The answer to this question, Peires locates in the lungsickness epidemic which reached Xhosaland in 1855 and which, in turn, led to cattle mortality. The Xhosa believed then that the cattle were "rotten" and "impure". Nongquase's story was therefore the answer to recovery from this catastrophe (Peires, 1989:312). There is, however, agreement between Peires' and the Unity Movement's perspective that the cattle - killing cannot be removed

33. This analysis is based on the Marxist analysis of social existence and consciousness: " For a man's mode of existence in society dictates his social relationships, his morality, his way of thinking" (Taylor, 1952:132).

from the colonial situation imposed on the Christians by Harry Smith in 1847 (Peires, 1989:313).

The historical significance of the event in a new history is further supported by Taylor's contention that many Africans are of the opinion that the strangers, who spoke so mysteriously to the young Nongquase and then concealed themselves in the reeds, were actually sent by the white people (Taylor, 1952:73). This perspective is reiterated by contemporary research by Peires that states that almost all Xhosa today hold Grey responsible for this historical disaster; that they believe that Grey manipulated Nongquase and more significantly, that this is an old interpretation which dates back to the time of the cattle killing itself (Peires, 1989:317). Peires, however, warns that blaming Grey absolves the Xhosa believers of their own part in the "greatest" of all Xhosa disasters. In this way, readers of history deprive themselves of history's "greatest gift" i.e. the opportunity of learning from the mistakes of the past (1989:317). This is incidentally one of the aims of Unity Movement history regarding "learning from the lessons from the past".

In referring to the general popularity of this event in "popular historical consciousness", moulded by an "inherited oral tradition",³⁴ Peires refers to a Soweto Day Memorial held in 1988, where a Reverend Xundu from Port Elizabeth referred to Grey and the colonial administrators of the 1850s as "those who can never be forgotten" (1990:51). This speech on the Xhosa cattle-killing and the mention of the "prophetess" Nongquase were "greeted with a prolonged hiss" from the "largely Xhosa" audience (op cit). There was a "similar" Black Consciousness song of the early seventies about how Grey "entered through Nongquase" and "finished off the power of the black people".³⁵

34. An early popular version of the event is also found in the work of amateur African writer H.I.E. Dhlomo entitled "The Girl who killed to save" (1935). This work has been criticised by M. Orkin as overemphasising the role of the missionaries in the event, which suggests that the cattle - killing formed "part of a divine plan to redeem erring blacks"(Article entitled: "Contesting prevailing discourse" in History Workshop 1987:3)

35. The AZAPO critique of UDF alliances with "white liberals" in the eighties is also seen as having its roots in the Dora Taylor perspective of "The role of Missionaries in Conquest"(1952) (Peires in Radical History Review, Jan 1990:52).

The Nongquase-killing features currently as an "enrichment study" in the chapter on "Grey's Federation Scheme" in the "History Alive" textbook.³⁶It does not, however, feature as a sub-study in this section of the prescribed House of Representatives syllabus for standard eight. Its "rightful" place in a history curriculum, informed with a Unity Movement perspective, would be within the history of the process of dispossession and detribalisation. In such a school history, Grey's Federation Scheme would not take the form of an entire chapter on details of the plan, but would rather be contextualised within a history of the broad process of detribalisation and dispossession within a crucial period of the development of a new economic and social pattern in South Africa.

The technical aspects of details of the plan (which are the major focus in the current curriculum) would only serve their relevance in the context of a broader history aimed at identifying how the plan paved the way for a new economy and social system. Such an approach would form a crucial background to the study of the Industrial Revolution in South Africa, The Rise and Fall of the Peasantry and the Emergence of Capitalism in South Africa.

In terms of the New History methodology and philosophy, teaching of this section lends itself particularly useful to the application of critical skills such as Extrapolation, Judgement and Simulation. There is much potential for empathetic reconstruction in the teaching of this history. Because of the nature of this highly controversial national event in 19th century South African history, a good framework can be provided for showing the learner the need to make allowance for various interpretations of the same event and to also deal extensively with the problem of evidence in history.

The history of Segregation

Unity Movement historical writers emphasise the history of segregation as a process in their writings originating in early slave society and being increasingly consolidated with the rise of Capitalism in South Africa. In this way, they attempt to show in their work the need to constantly see the link between past, present and future in history.

36. See "History Alive" (standard 8) pp. 232 - 233.

The Unity Movement analyses the role of segregation in South African History as part of the attempt by the ruling classes to have wanted to maintain white domination by creating a myth about the inferiority of the black man. On this "Lie" they are seen to have built the "the whole structure of oppressive legislation based on segregation" (Taylor, 1952:133).

In recovering this history, they highlight early forms of Segregation such as Tulbagh's placat of 1754 in terms of which slaves were forbidden to whistle or sing on the street at night (Van Schoor, 1951:9). The years of Dutch occupation at the Cape are not analysed in terms of problems the Dutch faced, how they lived and their relationship with Holland,³⁷ but rather as a period of political "misery" for slaves (Van Schoor, 1951:9). The Unity Movement focus is therefore rather on *the social and political aspects of the lives of slaves at the Cape* than that of their rulers.

In focusing on the lives of subordinates in the Dutch Cape Colony, the emphasis is on the *history of resistance to forms of political control*, such as segregation. The history of resistance of the heroes of dispossession, such as the Xhosa under the leadership of Ndlambe, is seen to enjoy privilege above that of the "Retiefs, Maritzes and Pretoriuses". The "heroes of resistance to dispossession and segregation" are seen as "the great defenders of common property of the Africans" (Van Schoor, 1951:11). In this regard, Jaffe's work is therefore seen as symbolic of the "history of struggle throughout the three hundred years of oppression and exploitation" (Jaffe, 1952:175-176).

A significant feature of the Unity Movement analysis of the history of Segregation is of the British "being instrumental" in laying the foundation for segregation in South Africa (Van Schoor, 1951:12). For instance, they oppose the viewpoint that the period 1834 to 1874 is one in which the Cape "received responsible government and finally reached the pinnacle of colour-blind democracy with the granting of responsible government in 1872". This period is, however, interpreted in terms of "severe property, income and educational qualifications which effectively debarred the mass of the population from the full franchise". They add further that "this much vaunted period of early Cape 'liberalism' was really a period of land

37. The current focus of the history of the Cape in school history.

robbery, carried out by a series of colonial wars, a period of serious military conquest" (Van Schoor, 1951:12). British monopoly of political control over blacks, in terms of segregationist policies, is seen to have originated in Kimberley. Hence the analysis that "the present-day system of segregation is basically the product of the Industrial Revolution in South Africa" (Van Schoor, 1951:17).

In writing about the "three hundred years of oppression" in South Africa, Jaffe emphasises the intensification of segregation after the Act of Union in 1910. The year 1910 is seen to represent a landmark in the history of segregation as it consolidated white political power and forms the cornerstone of political disenfranchisement. Laws passed, following The Act of Union, are therefore highlighted in the history of segregation. These laws are seen as forming a "*family tree*" of the history of segregation starting with the Glen Grey Act of 1894 and most significant ones in this history are (amongst others) the 1911 Mines and Works Act; the Labour Regulation Act of 1911 the 1913 Land Act and the 1936 Land Act. In terms of the Political Economy analysis of the history of segregation, the 1911 Mines and Works Act is analysed as laying the foundation for Racial Capitalism in South Africa and is therefore seen as significant in this sense. The Labour Regulation Act of 1911 was an Act by which Africans were prevented from becoming a settled worker in town, interpreted as preventing the settling down of a propertied peasantry. The 1913 Land Act is of great significance in terms of the history of the Land Question and is seen as one of the "keys" to understanding South African history. The Unity Movement emphasises the aspect of proletarianisation of the peasantry in terms of this act. It is seen as designed to keep the African landless. The 1936 Land Act is seen to have "completed the anatomy of African misery" (Jaffe, 1952:164). This "family tree" culminates in "Anti-Coloured legislation: 1937-1951"; "Anti-Indian Legislation: 1946-1950" and "combined Anti-European Legislation: 1950-1952".

In the TLSA histories the history of segregation is approached as "The history of the Franchise in South Africa". Published as a series during the course of 1981, emphasis is put on the economic reasons for the act in terms of labour and capital and the history of the Unity Movement struggle against disenfranchisement and the homeland system.³⁸

38. See the following issues of *The Educational Journal*, March 1981 (Vol.LII No.6); April-May, 1981 (Vol LII, No.7); June 1981 (Vol.LII, No.8) July -August 1981 (Vol.LIII No.1).

At present there is no allocation to the History of Segregation in the South African syllabus of the House of Representatives. The focus is predominantly on constitutional development as forming part of a process designed to "solve" the problems of labour and white rule in South Africa. The effect of segregation on social existence and consciousness and how the latter has shaped the present is ignored.³⁹

Given the current attempts to reshape the imbalances created by Apartheid history, *the history of Segregation as process* is by its very nature a topic of popular appeal. In order for the learner to understand the constitutional, political and social dynamics of the present, the inclusion of such a theme becomes imperative.

The Glen Grey Act of 1894

The Glen Grey Act of 1894 is viewed by the Unity Movement as one of the cornerstones of the history of resistance in South Africa. Emphasis on this Act also serves their perspective of segregation being a British rather than "Afrikaner" product.

The passing of the Glen Grey Act, is seen to mark the end of the period of military conquests and the beginning of the period of economic exploitation (Taylor, 1952:134). In terms of the Unity Movement's analysis, it is seen as "designed to answer the herrenvolk's labour problem, based on the principle of segregation". It also laid the foundation for a "Native policy" which was "fully worked out" after the Act of Union between British Imperialism and Dutch Feudalism in 1910.

The Act, which has as one of its main points local government in the reserves, is seen to form part of the chronology which includes Ordinance 50 of 1828 in the sense that it purports to respectively "empower" and "liberate" blacks, while its effect is the exact opposite. Through the Grey Act, it is said, the system of capitalism was combined with serfdom whereby the African was "pulled into the new economic system", while at the same time the

39. It is noted that attempts have been made to focus on this aspect by writers of "The History Alive" series (1986 - 1987).

rulers ensured white domination (Taylor, 1952:134-135). This same perspective is reflected in an early fifties TLSA history article on school history.⁴⁰

The immediate aim of the Act was therefore to drive the peasants off the land (Jaffe, 1952:136) through the process of cutting up communal land and providing individual tenure. Because the land was made a financial burden through taxes and the fact that it could not be sold without government consent, the majority of blacks were made landless (Jaffe, 1952:136). The peasants were driven off the land and expropriated, their communal holdings becoming labour reservoirs. Van Schoor contends that this Act was "the first important land act to render the African landless" (Van Schoor, 1951:18). He states that the Act was not designed to create a small African peasantry, nor to give local government to Ciskei Africans. Its aim was, on the contrary, the destruction of the African peasant (Van Schoor, 1951:18). Cheap labour was therefore the "undistinguished aim" of the land clauses of the Act. The Act is also seen as serving the process of disenfranchisement through the Bunga system of dummy toy councils of "elected" Africans who would tax and help to oppress the people (Jaffe, 1952:137). The land, labour, franchise and educational principles of the Glen Grey Act are seen to remain the cornerstone of government policy in all four spheres of our present time (Jaffe, 1952:137).

A detailed study of the Glen Grey Act would find its place, in terms of a Unity Movement analysis of history, within the themes of the process of dispossession and segregation in South Africa. In order for the pupil to be afforded a "full" picture of the development of Racial Capitalism in South Africa, such a study is crucial in terms of constitutional, economic and social aspects. It forms an important background study to understanding twentieth century South African history. A detailed study would provide the pupil with a firm background on the land question in South Africa and present popular demands for the resolution thereof. It is therefore a study crucial to providing the pupil with the opportunity to see the coherent link between past, present and future and to also understand the present world (in the local context) in which we live.

40. See The Educational Journal, Nov. - Dec. 1952:10.

The Act of Union (1910):

The Act of Union in 1910 has been described by Van Schoor as "the gravestone of Non-European political rights" (1951:20). Hence the significant emphasis placed on this event in their re-interpretation of South African history.

According to Jaffe, the Act of Union was a logical follow-up of the wars of dispossession, the Anglo-Boer War and the Glen Grey Act. The conquerors saw it as their next task "to close their ranks" in order "to build a united white oligarchy on the backs of the conquered, dispossessed, exploited, disenfranchised Africans" (1952:138). The complete form of this unity was the Union of South Africa. While Glen Grey was "the basic pattern of economic exploitation", the Act of Union was "the basic pattern of political oppression" (Jaffe, 1952:138). This perspective was also presented in the TLSA histories published in the fifties.⁴¹

The Act of Union represents a significant landmark in the history of the "family tree" of British segregation in South Africa. For example, Grey advocated a white union in 1858 for military reasons - a plan which mirrored the wars of dispossession. The discovery of diamonds caused the idea to develop a step further. Therefore in 1875 Carnavon advocated confederation to answer the need for a "uniform, wise and strong policy to deal with the Native question" (Jaffe, 1952:140). With the opening of the gold mines and the need for more cheap labour C.J. Rhodes, developed the idea further, from 1880-1900, when he suggested a confederation of all states under British crown. The history of the Act of Union is therefore viewed by Unity Movement writers, as *the history of disenfranchisement of blacks*.

According to the Unity Movement, the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) should be seen within this context (Jaffe, 1952:141). In preparing for the war, it is said that Milner took good care to prevent Africans from arming against the Boer Republic. This war should therefore not only be located within the framework of the conflict between Boer feudalism and British

41. The same period in which the "classics" of Taylor and Jaffe were originally published. (See The Educational Journal, Nov - Dec 1959:10; Jan - Feb 1960: 7 - 10; March 1960).

Imperialism, but more significantly, in terms of *how it forms part of the pattern of the history of disenfranchisement and dispossession of blacks* in paving the way for the establishment of a white oligarchy.

Through the Act of Union blacks were segregated judicially, and administratively. They were hereby driven out of the "body politic". The upper side of the coin of the history of the Act of Union is white democracy, white supremacy and white union (Jaffe, 1952:139). This is the side of the story presented through the school history curriculum which focuses largely on constitutional history from 1910 to 1970.⁴² Van Schoor contends that the Act of Union marks the "complete subjugation" of blacks in South Africa by which the mining revolution paved the way (Van Schoor, 1951:18).

Based on the foregoing, regarding the "family tree" of segregation, a curriculum informed with the above perspective would focus on the *period of 1850 to 1910 as significant in the formation of present - day South Africa*. This kind of focus would also imply a *new location for the Anglo-Boer war* as part of the background to the land question and segregation. The Act of Union would not only find a place in white constitutional history, but more significantly, in a history of dispossession and segregation. In this sense, the Act of Union would become an important component of the study of twentieth century black resistance movements in South Africa.

42. Of relevance here are the present standards 7 and 10 syllabi (1985) of the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that recognition of the Unity Movement inherited historical tradition, in terms of alternative content and popular perspective, is a necessary condition for the development of a new history curriculum in South Africa. This consideration would suggest firstly, a re-interpretation of the philosophy of school history; secondly, a radical reshaping of the present curriculum content; thirdly, a reappraisal of the "ordering" of that content and fourthly, the inclusion of "*relevant*" popular themes in a new school history. It would also mean a *radical departure from the present subject curriculum*, because implicit in a Political-Economy and Materialist analysis of history is the *interrelation of various disciplines* and their relevance to historical analysis.

Furthermore, Unity Movement dialectical and materialist historical perspective and methodology is useful in the sense that it provides new insight into historical events and processes of Southern Africa and the world. This presents exciting challenges for the development of a new school history which would consider popular historical traditions as having a "legitimate" place in the curriculum development process. The further usefulness of this tradition lies in its version of history as embracing the experiences, traditions and values of the majority of people in South Africa.¹

Not only does the Unity Movement provide a useful alternative perspective on historical events, but their philosophy of school history is also (in some instances) congruent with present debates on the teaching of history. For example, the TLSA has in particular (thus far) provided useful perspectives on the role of history in the classroom. They contend that because it is so difficult to be impartial in the classroom, the only "neutral factor" is historical evidence and teachers should therefore emphasise this aspect of their teaching. They further assert that it is not only evidence that is important in the classroom but teachers

1. This point is expounded on in chapter 2 in the discussion on Carr's (1987) interpretation of history regarding the "validity" of historical knowledge.

need to also understand "the laws determining human history" in order to analyse the generating social forces of any particular historical period. This is a useful debate in the development of a new secondary history curriculum, especially since this debate links up with the historiographical debate of the "Structuralist Marxist" perspective and the E.P. Thompson perspective of the total approach to history.² It is on such analysis "alone" that history becomes "intelligible" (1952:9). "Conscientious" teachers must therefore see history "as an instrument of social analysis" (1952:10). They have also emphasised that the "true" history teacher would emphasise the need for "critical examination" of what he or she teaches (1952:10). This perspective of history teaching contradicts their emphasis for teachers in the classroom to be "partial"; that to the teacher "falls the task" of analysing "those forces" that strive to carry society "to a higher level" and therefore the important duty of teaching the history of the "oppressed people" (1952:10).³

Already in the forties the TLSA called for "some form" of "empathetic reconstruction" in the history classroom, stating that a "good" teacher of history becomes akin to the novelist; the teacher must allow questioning and the creation of a feeling of "intimacy" with the material in the classroom; children must "feel emotion" in the history classroom which would "bring sauce to the tough meat of facts" (1945:9). The TLSA articles of the 1940s on school history also focused on the debate of the individual and heroes versus the "collective majority".⁴

Further considerations based on Unity Movement histories which are significant to the development of a new popular history curriculum for secondary school in South Africa are the following:

- a) The development of a secondary school curriculum based on a *World History* perspective;

2. See chapter 2 on this.

3. This same view was expressed in The Educational Journal (July - August, 1950:9).

4. See publications on the teaching of history in The Educational Journal Oct. 1945, Jan. 1946, and Oct. 1946.

- b) An *Integrated Studies* Curriculum based on a thematic approach across the school curriculum which will allow for as Dickenson and Lee (1984) assert, "the systematic treatment of material, concepts and principles on different levels of complexity" and into more "sophisticated frames of reference";
- c) A Secondary School Curriculum informed by a *Political Economy Analysis* which will be facilitated by an Integrated Studies and World History Curriculum. This approach would be fundamental to a World History approach informed by a Political Economy Analysis of how developments in Southern Africa and the rest of the world relate to the historical formation of the world economy;
- d) A curriculum which presents, in both content and perspective, a radical departure from the present predominant Eurocentric curriculum; one which emphasises the development of the World and, in particular, *the contribution of "Non-European" people to World Civilisation*. A curriculum which will therefore accommodate comprehensive studies on the *Development of Society and People from the earliest of times as a major component of history*. This will entail a radical departure from the present curriculum on two levels: i) a re-appraisal of the Primary School History Curriculum and ii) *a new approach to and location of the "European" Industrial Revolution*;
- e) A curriculum which will *attempt to foster "Nation-building"* and the inculcation of "non-racial" values by including studies on "The origin of People" and "Early Civilisation". Such a curriculum will by its very nature counter the promotion of "nationalist" histories;
- f) A curriculum which studies *history as "process"* with events located within that process rather than one emphasising events with process as "background";
- g) A curriculum which recognises *inclusion of "popular" "Africanist" themes* for detailed and critical study, such as "The Nongquase Cattle-killing" of 1856;

- h) With respect to Southern African history, *"The Land Question"* represents a "key" theme in understanding topics in nineteenth century history such as the process of Conquest, the establishment of Afrikaner Nationalist Republics and the subjugation of African Kingdoms. There are two broad frameworks in which Southern African history should, if based on this perspective, be treated (1) the process of Conquest and (2) the political, economic and social consolidation of that process with the development of "racial capitalism" as a "key" study of the latter.

The recognition of such a tradition, in the curriculum development process, would ensure the production of a history curriculum seen to be enjoying "popularity" and the necessary "legitimacy" in South Africa. In discussing the legacy of Apartheid history education (in chapter 2) the point has been made that in presenting pupils with one version of the past, he or she is denied the opportunity to obtain a coherent link of the past, present and future and furthermore, of understanding the world in which we live.

In putting forward recommendations, cognisance is taken of "relevant" New History principles such as (a) the development of critical skills in pupils in history learning (b) that there is a need to highlight problems, difficulties and uncertainties that relate to historical knowledge (c) that there is room for a variety of views in history (d) that it is important for all learners of history to understand the world in which they live and (e) that it is important that the "inherited traditions" of the majority are presented in the study of school history in order that the pupils of this majority feel that they have a "place" in history.

It is further recognised that recommendations for curriculum content and perspective are not there to simply be "handed down", but that the curriculum development process takes place essentially as an *"ongoing process on the pedagogical front"* between the suggested content, materials and (the most significant determinants) pupils and teachers.

In considering the aims and objectives of school history, it is important to recognise that Unity Movement histories, like all other popular histories, grew out of the oppositional movement. Hence its emphasis on certain themes and its particular bias regarding selection of topics for historical scrutiny. By incorporating different perspectives on South Africa's

past, we prevent the danger against which J. Tosh warns us, myth making about the past is incompatible with "learning from the past" and that myths flourish when historical knowledge is superficial and no alternative perspective is freely available (1984:18). He therefore suggests that what is needed is the provision of perspectives which can inform debate rather than service any particular ideology and that responding to the call of "relevance" is not a matter of falsifying or distorting the past (1984:21).

A continuous story cannot be woven out of "resistance" history alone - such a decontextualised treatment of historical process might lead to a distorted version of history. A limitation within Unity Movement historical writing lies within this approach to South African history - in "laying bare the historical process that leads to today's titanic struggle between the ruling class and the oppressed and exploited (NUM, 1990:14).

The aims and objectives of school history (i.e. facilitation of the development of critical skills) and popular history (i.e. history learning for emancipation) are by their very nature contradictory to each other. This dynamic calls therefore for the development of a history curriculum development process which, while taking into account the "legitimacy" of the place of popular perceptions and content, would also balance that with necessary and relevant pedagogical principles.

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