

each, - leftist/rightist, syndicalism, communism, radical nationalism etc; the cross-pollination of ideas between communism & nationalism, the formation of the SACP, and post-1917 radicalisation of ANC; development of appreciation of the special role of the working class in national struggle, and of role of the national movement in class struggle; ideological developments in both CP & ANC, the 'Black Republic' period, African Arms, the new Kumbede nationalism; symbiosis of the national & communist ideologies, the decline of sectarianism, the growth of all-black unity and the formulation of a comprehensive revolutionary national-liberationist ideology; the Freedom Charter, the CP 1962 Programme and Colonialism of a special type; the ANC-CP alliance, and its relations to UDF, SACTU, COSATU.

Biii: Theories of social development.

Biii (a) : Philosophy: The division of philosophy: materialism vs idealism; materialist philosophy development, from mechanistic to dialectical; the special contributions of Marx & Engels; the application of dialectical materialism to society, and uncovering laws of social development; the unity of theory and practice; the relations between social being and social practice; objective laws and the role of consciousness.

Biii (b). Historical materialism: dialectical-materialist concepts of the development of society; forms of pre-capitalist society, and the emergence of class divisions; class society and its varied forms - slave, proto-feudal, feudal, capitalist, and their modes and relations of production; the origins and characteristics of capitalism, its dynamics and contradictions; ~~the objective~~ socialism as the resolution of capitalist contradictions; mode of production of socialism, and the unity of forces

and relations of production; the role of the masses in social transformation and of the individual; basis and superstructure distinguished.

B iii (c) : Laws of dialectics : unity and contradiction of opposites; transitions from quantity to quality; negation, and role of tradition etc in historical development; evolution and revolution; the nature of knowledge, truth and objectivity; theory of class and of class struggle.

C. ECONOMICS.

~~C i~~ C i : Political Economy.

C i (a) The Capitalist Mode of Production: commodity production; the labour theory of value; use values and exchange values; the development of a general ~~theory of~~ form of value, and of money; the transformation of money into capital; the accumulation of capital, primitive accumulation & the separation of the producer from the means of production; labour power becomes a commodity, and its value determined; the production and appropriation of surplus value; absolute and relative aspects of surplus value; wages, exploitation, and struggle over hours and wages.

C i (b) The general laws of capital accumulation: the relative deterioration in conditions of the working class; average rates of profit, the price of production, and falling rates of profit; the division of profit in the capitalist class; special features of loan capital, and of land ownership and rents; the theory of capitalist crisis; the concentration of production, growth of monopolies and export of capital; imperialism, uneven rates of development; the financial oligarchy, state monopoly

7.
capitalism; the general crisis of capitalism.

Cii: Contemporary Economics.

Cii(a) Economic problems of our time: An introduction to the state of development and under-development of the world, with particular attention to the political economy of Africa; world economic relations, including patterns of trade and raw material/manufactured goods divisions of trade; world aspects of currency exchange, international loans and the growth of debt; debt and its impact on development economics and class/political problems of debtor countries; policies for tackling the debt crisis; the role of the World Bank, IMF and private banks; the international economic relations of South Africa, foreign indebtedness and foreign investment; the special role of gold, mining-financial oligarchy and the Stock Exchange in South African economics.

Cii(b) Reckoning the Cost: an introduction to the social and monetary costs of national planning: GNP, the concept and its relevance to national planning, to productivity, personal earnings, working practices and ownership of the means of production; consideration of the total costs of everyday services and operations, as e.g. education, housing, job creation, power, water, sewerage etc, and the need for overall State planning for each; the costs of waste, poor time-keeping, labour indiscipline; the economic costs of the inequality of women, ~~and~~ of migratory labour modes, ^{and of militarization;} the economic values of peasant/subsistence farming and capitalist/collective ranching; South African economic prospects now, after liberation, and 'when the gold runs out.'

D. ASPECTS OF POLICY.

Di: The National Problem: Sources and historic origins of nationalism and the rise of nation states; the economic basis and functions of nationalism; reactionary and progressive nationalism, and its role in social development and in revolution; nationalism and chauvinism distinguished; cultural identity, national identity and their unity and contradictions; historical experience of coping with national problems, as e.g. USSR, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Sudan, Nigeria etc. The national problem in South Africa - black nationalism, white nationalism, tribalism and cultural diversity; the Freedom Charter on the national problem; proposals for Constitutional Guidelines, and alternatives - as e.g. Soviet style, federal, 'group rights' - examined; legislative and/or educational requirements for meeting the problem.

Dii: Women in Society: The origins of women's inferiority and its relation to division of labour; the passage from inferiority to subjection, ^{and patriarchal systems;} the social/political/economic interests served and maintained by inferiority. Forms of women's inferiority generally, and its specific customary and legal forms in South Africa; the impact of inferiority on the social/political roles and thinking of SA men and women; the economic consequences of women's subjection; the relationship between national/^{religious,} class, and gender liberation/^{the impact of industrialism;} The experience of countering women's inferiority as e.g. in USSR, GDR, USA, Scandinavia etc, and the phenomenon of women leaders in male-oriented politics. The South African women's movement and its role in the struggle; the distinction between Western capitalism's 'Women's Liberation Movement' and our own; similarities between the women's movement and Black Consciousness in S.A. examined. The Freedom Charter, the Constitutional

Guidelines; and possible legal/educational ways of eliminating inferiority in SA. Housework, and the social relations of society.

D iii: The State: The historic origins of states in class society; the varying forms from 'stateless' to capitalist - monarchies, republican, dictatorships, and socialist forms, and their economic bases. The distinctions and inter-penetration of 'state' and 'government' and 'ruling class'; the organs of state power and their impact on class relations; the role of custom and tradition in state practices; the relevance of territory and boundaries to the national consciousness of nation states. 'Law and order' as the expression of state power, and the possibility of the 'independence of the law'; the role of constitution and codes of rights in relations between state and individual. The role of 'leader' vis-à-vis the state. The state in the age of imperialism and the military-industrial financial complex. Transitional forms of state - people's democracies etc. and conditions for transitional forms, and/or socialist forms. The state in periods of revolution - and as 'dictatorship' at other times; ideas of 'withering away' of the state, and of changing role of 'vanguard' and 'masses' in developed socialism; the historical experience of the working class state, in Paris Commune, USSR & China.

The contemporary state in South Africa, its class basis, and power divisions between economic ruling groups, military and bureaucrats; the state forms in the Bantustans. The Freedom Charter and the Constitutional Guidelines, their implications for fundamental change of the SA state, and the prospects for such change.

D iv: Land, and the rural people: The origins of private ownership of land generally; forms of social relations at various stages; the process of privatisation - British enclosures, Russian communes (1860), etc; the

South African process, from expropriation of tribal lands, to legal construction of reserves, Bantustans & resettlement camps. Class development of rural communities, and the social and political attitudes arising; stratification into rural labourers, subsistence farmers and petty bourgeoisie. An examination of SA's rural population, its geographic distribution, class structure, property, and legal position; the influences on all this of Bantustans, "independence", Border Industry and resettlement. The Freedom Charter and Constitutional guidelines to the future; the land and resources needed to sustain a free peasant family in SA. Current state of land usage, idle and under-used land, and of food production and its sources in peasant/ranching forms of production. Migrant labour and SA peasant production, and impact of abolition of migrant labour on land problems. Feeding the towns, and role of small-scale and large-scale farming, and of 'investment' land holdings. Possible ways to tackle the problems of food, landlessness and land-hunger, and unravelling the Reserves, resettlement areas and racial inequalities on the land. Land distribution schemes - the historical experience in other countries - and nationalisation. Leninism, and policies on worker-peasant relationships, and nationalisation and socialism.

Dv: Ecology and the future: The threats to global ecology explained - population growth, depletion of resources, environmental pollution - and the inter-dependence of eco-systems. The political and economic basis for current crisis in ecology; the role of free-market economics and uncontrolled growth and exploitation; the special consequences for ecology of war, the armaments race, nuclear power and drug/petro-chemical monopolies. Particular African ecological problems - desertification, the rain-forests, destruction of wild life, wood-burning; the special position of women in the drive to protect the ecology. The ecological consequences of high-tech. policies,

11
and alternative technologic approaches. Specific South African ecologic dangers - erosion, chemical fertilizers etc. Possible action for environmental protection, political, economic, legislative and mass popular action - nationally and internationally. Capitalism-socialism, and their interaction on ecology.

Dvi: Militarism, armaments, & peace: The historic socio-economic and cultural sources of militarism; capitalism, the division of the world and explosive growth of armaments industry; armaments and militarism as the means of establishing colonial dependency, and neo-colonialism. The effects of militarism and armaments in impoverishing the '3rd World', distorting economies, and stunting development. The expenditure of Africa on arms and armies, the class structures produced in African society, and the link between arms-traffic and power-bloc attachment. The relationship between national liberation, national development planning, and militarism/war. New ~~types~~^{areas} of armament development - nuclear weapons, space-weapons etc. and their economic & political destabilizing consequences. Current 'philosophies' of war - 'low intensity conflict', 'counter-insurgency', 'hearts & minds'. The development of a 3rd world military elite, and military dictatorship as a characteristic of newly independent states.

E. GEOGRAPHY.

Ei: The World Today: A descriptive course, with visual aids, to familiarize students with the geography of continents and countries, as well as global divisions of political systems, cultural-religious groupings, strategic alliances, and 'blocs'. The geographic divides - North/South, rich/poor capitalist/socialist, developed/underdeveloped etc; patterns of world production of foodstuffs, manufactured goods, minerals etc, and of world trade. The course to provide a working introduction to maps, projections, map-reading.

Eii: Going abroad: A short orientation course for students leaving to study in foreign countries - adapted if possible to one country only at a time. Introducing the country, a short sketch of its history, geography, political structure, and people, and cultures and customs. The social mores of the society. An outline description of the course to be attended, the conditions on which the students have been accepted, and the responsibilities of students to their host countries. Codes of conduct expected of students as guests, and as ambassadors for the ANC and the national movement. How to deal with problems of adjustment and integration abroad, when things go wrong.

F. SKILLS TRAINING.

Courses under this heading will be strictly practical 'how-to-do-it' courses, non-academic. Students will be given practical exercises in the topics of the course, both in fictional situations but also, as far as possible, in real activities - committee and public meetings etc - in the Dalkawa and Maginbu communities. The courses are intended both to raise the skills of present office bearers and workers in the various departments, and also for inexperienced rank-and-file members who wish to qualify for such posts in the future.

Fi: Officials and office bearers:

Fi(a) Chairperson: Opening the meeting - public meeting; committee meeting. Dealing with decisions; taking resolutions & amendments; keeping time limits on agenda items or individual speakers; ensuring all get a chance; picking speakers from the floor, encouraging the bashful; introducing speakers, and bridging the gaps between speakers; listening, taking

notes, summing up, and closing a meeting.

Fi (b) Secretary: Recording a meeting; writing up minutes; the selection of matter for the minutes; using minutes for checking on decisions, and for preparing following agenda; short-cuts in handling 'matters arising'. Simple filing systems, recording, and office procedures. Reporting to a meeting.

Fi (c) Treasurer or literature secretary: Simple accounts and book-keeping; preparing a financial statement, and how to present it; record-keeping, accounting, and verification or auditing procedures.

Fii PUBLIC SPEAKING WORKSHOP: Types of public speech: at mass meeting seminar/lecture, radio/TV interview, debate; good and poor techniques illustrated by film & tape. The purpose of public address as conditioning content and delivery. The use and misuse of voice, gesture, slogans and phrases. How to prepare a speech, note-making, practising, timing. Watching the audience and adjusting to its reaction.

Preparing for a public meeting, clarifying subject and objective; selecting speakers, agenda, and avoiding repetitions. Briefing the chairperson on speakers and subjects; chairpersons opening, bridging and closing speeches, and maintaining order. The use and misuse of humour, summing up, and avoiding anti-climax.

Special techniques for reading a paper, highlighting, emphasis. And for interviews - responding to questions, and making the essential points.

This course will make extensive use of tape and film material, to allow good and bad speeches to be dissected and analysed; and also for students to play back and look back at their own performance in class exercises.

Fiii. Propagandists' Workshop. The special value and uses of all

19.
forms of written and graphic material - excluding public speech - posters, handbills, pamphlets, news-papers, periodicals etc. Forms of presentation, styles and techniques; the correlation of form and style to the audience and the objective; unity and contradictions of form and content. The values of slogans, catch-phrases, vernacular; the uses of type-faces; the choice of words vs. graphics.

Practical demonstrations and/or exercises in various processes - woodblock, silk-screen, photo-litho and letterpress printing; the scope and limitations of duplicating, including hand-lettering; desk-top publishing and the word processor. Exercises in propaganda writing, designing, lay-out and paste-up/composition.

This course will, so far as is possible, use actual social/political problems as setting for practical exercises, and prepare material wherever possible for distribution in the community - not for throw-away!

G. PROBLEM SOLVING.

This is not strictly a "course". It is an exercise intended to be introduced into all courses at an appropriate part of the course. The aim is to develop self-confidence in coping with difficult political problems which arise in practical political mass work, and to develop ability to reason, argue, debate and take collective decisions. Exercises are designed to encourage the application of the ANC 'general line' to specific local practical tasks, and the essential of political activity - that is, completing the policy decision making by collective agreement on the propaganda and organisational steps by which cadres carry the policy from the group meeting to the masses, - from words to actions.

Method (a) The tutor will present the class with a scenario for

15
them to confront. The problem is to be one derived from real problems of our time in South Africa, and the scenario is to be presented in as much detail as possible. It should describe all those conditions which would be already known to a group meeting in the 'real world' situation - background to the problem, the terrain, people, political situation etc. in which it arises; outlines of the main suggestions emanating from 'outsiders' for coping with it. Tutors will answer only questions of clarification of the scenario; no attempt is to be made to guide the 'solving' process.

(b) The class will be divided into groups of 5 to 8 persons, the mix adjusted by tutors to avoid factions; factors as e.g. the readiness to speak out, gender, age, experience etc. to be taken into account to ensure some real-life balance. A chair-person and a reporter will be appointed/elected for each group - these posts to rotate round the group at each new session.

(c) Groups will be given a fixed and finite time in which to discuss the problem, reach a consensus so far as they can, and agree a short report of the decisions reached - and perhaps of strong minority views. The chair-person is to ensure that all members of the group are allowed adequate time to express themselves, and are encouraged to do so, however unwillingly.

(d) Groups will separate for their discussions. Tutors will not take any part at all, or intervene unless the chairperson allows the group to be totally dominated by the biggest talker - in which case intervention will be for purpose of regulating the procedure only, not for influencing the content. Tutors will listen in, observe, take notes for later comment.

(e) At the end of the set period, groups will reassemble in plenary

session in the class. The class now simulates, say, a 'branch' meeting. The group reporters will report in turn on behalf of the 'units' which constitute the 'branch'. After reports, the 'branch' will again have a limited time to consider, raise new points not raised in the report, and to reach the final 'branch decision'. Scenarios will determine whether the 'branch' is ^{of} ANC, trade union, youth, residents' or other organisation; scenarios appropriate to each should be aimed at.

(f.) After the 'branch meeting' is over, tutors will sum up - a return to the class-room from the world of 'make believe' - and deal with different strengths and weaknesses noticed in the group discussions, any salient factors in the scenario which have been ignored, and what has been learnt by this exercise, about the nature of the problem, ways of tackling political challenges, and any general theoretical lessons which can be drawn.

(g.) If experience indicates that real debate and controversy does not emerge at group discussion because of the homogeneous nature of the individuals, consideration to be given to introducing 'roles' for some individuals to play. Role playing must be taken seriously and attempt to simulate real-life differences as closely as possible. Roles will be allocated by tutors, in writing, and are not to be disclosed by the player to others, except in the acting out.

(h.) Classes are to be encouraged to consider the whole exercise, what they have learnt, its value etc, after allowing say 24 hours for the experience to sink in. At this 'review' session tutors will suggest further reading and source material which bears on the subject.

Q (Contd): PROBLEM SOLVING:

Some tentative examples of 'problems' which might be proposed in broad preliminary outline only.

Q(i): For an ANC unit: You live in flats & houses in one of the 'grey' areas of Johannesburg. There have been incidents of racial conflict, and AWP elements are publicly campaigning for the authorities to clear out all blacks. Behind them, thugs and vigilantes are beginning to mount a terror campaign to drive blacks out. What should you be doing about it?

Q(ii) For Youth activists: At your high school/college, your teachers trained in Bantu Education approaches, are taking a strongly racist, government oriented line in teaching, especially in history and social sciences. Protests by individual students have led to disciplinary action & suspensions, and there are some calls for strike action. Final year exams are not far off, and parents are opposing any action which might disrupt them. What are you going to advise the student body, and the community outside?

Q(iii) For ANC unit or Residents' Association: In your town/township, a coalition of private landlords and businessmen controls the local administration. There are clear cases of widespread corruption, self-enrichment and of privileges given to their cronies, and public services are declining. That coalition keeps itself in power by buying votes, by patronage - council jobs & supply contracts etc. - and by demagogic 'nationalist' and 'black advancement' slogans. An election campaign is about to start - a public citizens meeting has been convened. What proposals is your body going to make

Q(iv): For a joint COSATU-UDF local committee: You are residents of a peri-urban 'location' area outside Pietermaritzburg - mainly but not entirely Zulu speaking, with an Indian worker minority. Wage employment

in the area is mainly in a multi-national engineering works nearby. There has been a history of minor clashes and assaults between Inkatha vigilantes and 'young comrades.' Now information and rumour is rife that vigilantes are assembling for a frontal assault on the COSATU/UDF majority areas, & will burn the houses to drive them out. Some 'young comrades' are planning a pre-emptive strike to kill the warlords; the local church people are preparing a voluntary exodus of people to a temporary camp in mission station grounds some miles away. Some residents are stockpiling weapons, and preparing to barricade themselves in. Your groups are the leadership in the area. What do you do?

Q.v. For an ANC unit: There has been a change of administration nationally and locally (PASA.) The thousands of unemployed youth in your township are agitating for 'Jobs for All' in line with the Freedom Charter. Local authorities have been promised state funds to help local job-creation schemes, but everyone acknowledges that the funds are not enough to solve the problem. The local authority has called a town meeting to decide how the funds are to be spent, and many group interests are mobilising to campaign for their own plans. Your ANC unit will provide the main speaker at the meeting. What are you going to propose?

Q(vi) For ANC/UDF or TU: One of your prominent members has been elected to an important public office, in the administration. He has a long and distinguished record of public service, but since taking his new position, he has become corrupt, taking bribes, peddling influence, and appropriating public property for his own use. The matter is becoming a matter of local gossip, and is liable to grow into a major scandal which will compromise your organisation's public

standing. You are meeting without him to discuss whether to deal with the matter now or let it come out into the open; and how to put things right.

L. Baister.

Mogambo. 28 July, 1989.

Circulation: DPE Lusaka.

Director of Education. Mogambo.

Political Officer. East Africa.

London Education Group.

Collection Number: A3299

Collection Name: Hilda and Rusty BERNSTEIN Papers, 1931-2006

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers Research Archive**

Collection Funder: **Bernstein family**

Location: **Johannesburg**

©2015

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of the *Hilda and Rusty Bernstein Papers*, held at the Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.