# Note to the Reader:

*A brief overview to contextualize chapter 3. Chapter 1 lays the groundwork by elaborating how the different organs of the OAU offered different spaces for negotiations of the African refugee regime. Each of the following three chapters addresses different pillars of the refugee regime and varying sites of negotiations between different actors of the refugee regime. Ch. 2 focuses on the legal site of contestation developed through the OAU’s refugee convention, while this chapter discusses refugee students through the lens of manpower development plans. The reader has thus already developed an understanding of the main actors and sites of negotiations and the existence of different refugee categories in the planners’ minds.*

# Chapter 3

# Investing in Africa’s Refugee Workforce: Meeting Development Needs through Manpower Planning

# Introduction[[1]](#footnote-2)

Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, African Summit Conference of the Heads of States, May 21, 1963. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was in the making. Kenyan politician Ajuma Oginga-Odinga, speaking as the representative of the African National Liberation Movements in Non-Independent Territories, introduced their joint memorandum concerning refugees to the assembled Heads of State.[[2]](#footnote-3) The OAU’s Charter was signed four days later, on May 25. Thus, even before the organization had constituted itself, Mr. Oginga-Odinga put refugee manpower on the agenda. The liberation movements noted:

Shortage of manpower is a most serious handicap in the liberation movement and in the struggle against neo-colonialism both in the independent and non-independent countries. Training institutes for administration, military personnel and diplomatic services as well as schools for the refugees’ children are most desperately needed. We propose that every university, training institute or academy in Africa should also be re-quested to set aside at least 100 places every year for youths from the non-independent territories.[[3]](#footnote-4)

The liberation movements agreed on the importance of education and skills training to develop the manpower on which future liberated states could rely. To support the freedom struggle was to support education. They wanted to ensure that the OAU was aware of this link from its inception and that they were heard. Among the resolutions adopted by the first conference of independent African Heads of State and Government was the commitment to “grant scholarships, educational facilities and possibilities of employment in African government services to refugees from South Africa.”[[4]](#footnote-5)

 A year and a half later, at the opening of the Third Session of the OAU’s Commission on the Problem of Refugees in Africa, held in Kampala, Uganda, on the morning of November 16, 1964, Ugandan Prime Minister, Milton Obote, reminded the assembled delegates:

You are all distinguished men and … you have already examined the great human resources which the whole of Africa is loosing [sic] in these refugees at a time when Africa needs all the able people she can get. Every refugee is lost in the efforts to stabilise societies in Africa and to build a strong economy. Every refugee child is automatically denied opportunity [sic] to develop that mental power which we already lack today and which we cannot hope to have in sufficient number unless we give opportunity to all available material. Again, we cannot forget the fact of the strength of the individual African.[[5]](#footnote-6)

With his statement, Milton Obote framed education as a boost to development, one that would be lost if the displaced were not included. By speaking to the delegates of the OAU Commission, who were tasked with drawing up ideas for how to respond to the humanitarian and political challenges of refugees on the continent, he framed his appeal not in national but in continental terms.

 On February 6, 1965, a student at the Government College in Afikpo, Eastern Nigeria, took pen to paper to address the Secretary General of the United Nations to argue why he should be considered a refugee student.[[6]](#footnote-7) Samuel Chichindua, born in 1943 in Bechuanaland (today’s Botswana), submitted his application for the UN’s Special Training Programme for South West Africans (present-day Namibia), claiming his South West African nationality: “My fore-fathers were among those who fled into Bechuanaland after the Germany-Herero war. After I completed my primary education in Bechuanaland, the South West African Peoples Organization applied for me a scholarship for secondary education only.”[[7]](#footnote-8) At the time of writing, he pursued his secondary education at the Government College. He was planning ahead, seeking a scholarship to study agriculture. Mr. Chichindua knew how to negotiate labels. Being seen as a refugee student from South West Africa, not as a student from Bechuanaland, would open up more possibilities for gaining a coveted scholarship.[[8]](#footnote-9)

In February 1967, Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Deputy Director of the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF),[[9]](#footnote-10) took to his typewriter in Leiden, the Netherlands’ oldest university town, to prepare a document outlining the work of the IUEF in preparation for a conference in London in March 1967. In the document, Eriksson clearly established the links between the IUEF’s support for refugee students and the liberation struggle:

[W]e wish to regard our activities as a contribution to the liberation of these African countries which still are suffering under the rule of a colonial power or group. And we see it as our task to prepare as many students as possible for the time when these countries have gained their freedom and who can then take upon themselves to build up a new administration, who [sic] can lead the creation of new, free and independent African states, who will be competent and skilled to perform and plan the necessary economical and technical development in these countries. And before this time comes it is our hope that all of these we have been able to assist will find a role to play in the general development of the African continent, thus both assisting others in need of assistance and gaining experience for the difficult tasks which are waiting in the future. [[10]](#footnote-11)

Eriksson underscored the entanglement of decolonization, development, and higher education concerning refugee students from parts of Africa that were yet to be decolonized. With his memo, we have come full circle. The negotiation of the possibilities and constraints of refugee education was an important pillar of the emergent African refugee regime. These four episodes introduced here highlight the principal actors involved in the negotiation of refugee higher education during the 1960s: the OAU, the liberation movements, African politicians, international experts, and, of course, refugee students themselves. All of them played different roles in the complex endeavor of negotiating the provision of education and skills training to the displaced. Sites of negotiations varied from the desks of Samuel Chichindua in Nigeria and Lars-Gunnar Eriksson in the Netherlands to the public opening of the OAU’s Commissions on the Problem of Refugees in Africa in Kampala, to the conference floor in Africa Hall in Addis Ababa. Together, these actors and spaces of negotiation illuminate the complex arena of asymmetric global entanglements that allowed for the provision of scholarships to those labeled as African refugee students. Together, these discussions and activities shaped the globalized world in which those who acquired the label “refugee student” moved and operated.

Moreover, these events also serve to illustrate the various stakes and interests of refugee student education and training in the arena of the negotiated African refugee regime: political interests regarding the liberation of the continent and the building of strong independent nation-states; economic interests regarding the development of said nation-states; humanitarian concerns about effectively addressing the challenge of displaced Africans, and, finally, the students’ interest in creating better lives for themselves. Each of these moments, moreover, took place before there was a legal definition of African refugees as this all happened before the 1969 convention discussed in the previous chapter had been drafted and ratified and prior to the adoption of the 1967 protocol. The early 1960s was a time of fluidity around ideas concerning refugee status and refugee lives. The meanings of refugeehood in Africa were still under discussion.

The 1960s were, in some regards, a “golden age” for refugees on the African continent, as many countries were willing to support decolonial refugees and those from independent countries with asylum, land access, and educational resources.[[11]](#footnote-12) This “golden age” intersected with another, which Ludovic Tournès, Giles Scott-Smith, and Eric Burton call a “golden age” of scholarship programs for beneficiaries all over Africa driven by Cold War competition and, at least at first, geared toward taking Africans out of Africa.[[12]](#footnote-13) Studying the intersection of these two “golden ages,” this chapter argues that providing higher education for African refugees was a matter of international development aid *and* humanitarian concern, as the desire to assist those seeking refuge merged with the need to educate those who could “modernize” African nations.[[13]](#footnote-14) The resulting humanitarian developmentalism sent African refugees into the world and brought higher education experts to Africa during the decolonization period. Rendering African refugees useful crystallized as an important paradigm of the African refugee regime during the 1960s. This chapter explores how refugee students turned into agents of development for their home countries and the continent as a whole. The next chapter explores how rural refugees were to help develop the rural areas of their host nations.[[14]](#footnote-15)

Alongside the priority given to refugee education by the OAU, a plethora of international organizations and non-governmental organizations played a crucial role in providing education services in the framework of humanitarian development to refugees all over Africa during the 1960s. During the early 1960s, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was less prominent than it is today.[[15]](#footnote-16) The emphasis on higher education provision pioneered in the 1960s for African refugees is currently being rediscovered by agencies like the UNHCR. The guiding logic remains similar, with education for development featuring prominently.[[16]](#footnote-17) The UNHCR’s 2019 education strategy aims to enroll 15% of refugees in higher education by 2030 as opposed to only 1% in 2019.[[17]](#footnote-18) The accumulated knowledge of the many global actors who worked to provide higher education to refugees in the 1960s provides an invaluable historical resource from which we can draw when considering refugee student policy and practice.

Refugee students from territories today known as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa finished their degrees abroad but did not have decolonized home states to which they could return. The question of what to do with qualified returnees became increasingly urgent. By the mid 1960s, it was becoming clear that liberation across southern Africa was still a distant dream. Portugal and the white minority settler governments in South West Africa, South Africa, and South Rhodesia refused to heed calls for decolonization. The answer lay in incorporating the returnees into the logic of manpower development plans for independent African countries. Harnessing the labor power of refugees for the economic development of host states and their home countries when they eventually achieved independence was considered of paramount importance. For this reason, rather than pursuing general higher education, refugee students were to be guided toward technical fields and applied studies. However, there was an almost insurmountable hurdle to this apparently elegant solution: African manpower schemes were primarily national in scope, and refugees were non-nationals. This reality brought with it planning challenges and, above all, political obstacles.

Therefore, the grandiose plan for harnessing the potential of refugee students required the establishment of a coordinating institution. As such, the Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR) was founded. At first, it was housed at the OAU before being integrated into it.[[18]](#footnote-19) Exactly how the potential of these refugee students could be harnessed to further the development of the African continent was one of the central questions that perplexed delegates to the 1967 Conference on the Legal, Economic, and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems in Addis Ababa. This conference, co-organized by the OAU, was a key stage for negotiating the African refugee regime, on which various actors, from OAU bureaucrats to members of an international epistemic community, negotiated and brought their knowledge about refugees to bear, bringing together actors from the macro and micro levels of the African refugee regime. These discussions and performances of a plethora of actors motivate this chapter.

I argue that refugee higher education in the 1960s needs to be understood within the development framework of human capital theory. I examine the notion of human capital development as a proposed solution to the problem of employing African refugee students. In addition, the phenomenon must be understood in its political, pan-African dimension, supporting the development of the decolonized continent. This theory, indeed, merged with humanitarian arguments to create a hybrid form of humanitarian developmentalism at the 1967 Conference. Moreover, sending refugee students around the continent and the world to gain education and training created a globalized outlook for students and refugee experts involved in planning their studies. Refugee higher education must, therefore, be regarded as both a result of and a driver of increased international exchanges. It follows that the African refugee regime was not limited to the continent’s borders, but benefitted from a community of international experts while also sending refugees abroad.

I begin by describing the key institutional spaces and actors involved in negotiating refugee higher education. The following section outlines the historic global context of African refugee student migrations. The chapter then introduces the theme of refugee higher education and development, demonstrating how educational migration led to conversations about mobility, scholarships, and the notion of “refugee manpower development.”

# The OAU, Refugee Students, and the 1967 Conference on the Legal, Economic, and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems

The following extract from a paper prepared for the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems held between October 9 and 18, 1967, in Addis Ababa, titled *Education and Training for African Refugees,*[[19]](#footnote-20) describes the reasoning behind the provision of higher education to refugees:

The education of young refugee students inevitably has a certain nobility of character and objective. This is especially true in the education of young refugees from those countries of Southern Africa where millions of Africans have so long been denied a voice in the shaping of their own destinies, much less having the right to control their destinies. The education of a few hundred or even a few thousand refugees from Southern Africa will not only by itself change this sad state of affairs. But education offers hope – hope not only for the individual who receives it, but if it is properly offered and properly conducted, hope for the millions of people for whom someday the educated refugees may be able to provide leadership, public service, and the benefits which a good education bestows.

Refugee higher education was framed as empowering the individuals who directly benefitted from it, entire communities, and future independent states. It was considered a soft-power tool of political liberation and pan-African development.

Since refugee issues were intertwined with humanitarianism, development, decolonization, and state-making in Africa, refugees were on the OAU agenda from the outset. This included the matter of support for student refugees. Decisions about refugee students were made in the context of resolutions prepared by OAU specialists on refugee questions for the OAU Council of Ministers, and, if approved, passed on for discussion to its Assembly of Heads of States and Government. The OAU supported key gatherings, like the 1967 Conference, as a stage for the negotiation of the complex interplay between political imperatives, humanitarian concerns, and development goals relevant to decolonization-era refugees. Bureaucratic structures like BPEAR also played an important role in participating in negotiations about refugee education which formed an important pillar of the African refugee regime.

By the late 1960s, stakeholders forming part of the wide network of institutions offering scholarships in Africa had accrued nearly a decade of experience with higher education for refugee students. The OAU was able to build on this experience. Governments and non-government actors were taking stock, especially as it had become apparent that independence was taking longer than expected across southern Africa. To this effect, there was a flurry of international conferences and meetings.[[20]](#footnote-21) The most important of these was the 1967 Conference on the Legal, Economic, and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems, organized jointly by the OAU, the UNHCR, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (DHF). The latter was tasked with conference organization, while the former three organizations set the agenda and brought their expertise to bear on the matter. Technocrats from ten international and intergovernmental organizations, politicians from 22 of the 40 independent African countries, and observers from twenty-seven voluntary agencies met in Addis Ababa for the conference. Although the conference concerned many aspects of African refugee policy, the most important topic for this chapter was the education and training of refugees.

The 1967 conference gives us a snapshot of the negotiations among diverse actors at a pivotal historical moment. The 1960s were an important decade for refugees the world over. International laws were changing, from a near-total focus on European refugees displaced by the Second World War to the more inclusive definitions discussed in chapter Two. On the African stage, sustained discussions between the UNHCR and the OAU bore fruit and resulted in the promulgation of Africa’s own refugee convention in 1969, in which the concept of who was a refugee was given a more ample definition. Moreover, the UN declared 1968 the International Year of Human Rights, and, within the framework of activities for this year, it was hoped the 1967 conference would function as a “curtain-raiser and pace-setter.”[[21]](#footnote-22) The conference was, therefore, central to discussions of refugees, human rights, development, and decolonization. During this time, Africa emerged as the new “nerve center” of refugee management.[[22]](#footnote-23)

As a result of the 1967 conference, the OAU’s BPEAR came into being.[[23]](#footnote-24) It was intended to function as a clearing house for the placement of, in the parlance of the time, “professional refugees” as well as refugee students. As the initial framing of the discussion in Addis Ababa suggested, it was to be one of the main roles of the Bureau to coordinate scholarships and job placements for individual refugees.

In a letter on October 15 1968 to Sven Hamrell, Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Cyril Ritchie, Executive Director of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies, described the establishment of the Bureau as the “clearest and most important result of the Conference in so far as concerns coordination between voluntary agencies and governments.”[[24]](#footnote-25) However, it was intended to be more than that. Sadruddin Aga Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees between 1965 and 1977, referred to the “Employment and Placement Bureau” in Addis Ababa in the following terms:

(a)ny refugees who wish to study, who want jobs, who have vocational skills, would thus be able to register their qualifications, which would be checked and maintained in a central filing system so that all the governments in Africa could somehow share this burden and seek ways of absorbing that category of refugees.[[25]](#footnote-26)

He went on to voice his hope that the Bureau “might play a very important role in Africa to prevent the paradox of Africans finding very good jobs in Europe or in the United States, while there is still a need for experts from Europe and the developed countries to go to Africa to help Africans.”[[26]](#footnote-27)

The Aga Khan summed up the Bureau’s mission as coordinating refugee human capital in the service of the development of the African continent. This is a theme to which we shall return later. It was not only the High Commissioner who expressed high hopes that the Bureau would solve the problems of higher education for refugees. Sadly, it was a tall order that the Bureau could not live up to entirely, as it was plagued by financial restrictions, unclear organizational structures, and purported “incompetence and mismanagement.”[[27]](#footnote-28) In 1975, Philip E. Chartrand had already observed the discrepancy between the great effort and the small numbers of refugees actually placed in education or employment, noting the “continuing lack of confidence in Bureau programs evinced by most African governments.”[[28]](#footnote-29)

The fault was not all that of BPEAR. In fact, there were many obstacles to the education of refugee students. Many refugees were eager to pursue further education, but precious few possessed the skills to be considered for scholarships. Some asylum-offering states in Africa were reluctant to see places at their educational institutions go to refugees rather than nationals, and international scholarship actors perceived it as easier to place them at schools on different continents. Few countries, such as Tanzania and Zambia, oversaw the construction of secondary schools for refugees, like the Kurasini International Education Center in Dar es Salaam and the Nkumbi International College in Kabwe.[[29]](#footnote-30)

For the liberation movements, the relationship between two imperatives—fighting ignorance by pursuing an education and fighting on the battlefield—proved treacherous. Refugee students at the Mozambican Institute in Dar es Salaam, for instance, refused to fight in the military. Generational conflicts ensued between new- and old-guard Frelimo and Swapo leaders, the latter with little education but battle experience and the former interested primarily in education.[[30]](#footnote-31) Those fighting actively in the liberation wars and some newly independent states like Tanzania increasingly perceived higher education for the few as a problematic, elitist project, which ran counter to what was needed most, namely mass education and liberation. Some believed that higher education programs could even undermine political stability and social cohesion.[[31]](#footnote-32) Some governments, too, perceived African refugee scholarships as threatening. For instance, scholarships for students from Portuguese territories had become a bone of contention with Portugal because they were a clear sign of support for decolonization.[[32]](#footnote-33) Indeed, the Portuguese government went as far as to claim that scholarship programs “promoted displacement.”[[33]](#footnote-34) This accusation reveals the politics of scholarship provision in the refugee context.

# Global Exchanges: Refugee Student Migrations in and Out of Africa

In November 1961, Mr. Basil Reshane, a South African in exile in Dar es Salam, was offered a scholarship for 5.5 years to pursue veterinary studies in Norway. This scholarship was raised through the contributions of 2,300 Norwegian high school teachers. While waiting for the news, Mr. Reshane tried to further his education at a technical institute in Dar es Salaam. However, he had to work to earn a living, affecting his regular school attendance. In December 1961, he wrote to Professor T.C. Slee: “I tried to reason very hard with the people I am working for but they had no space for me except at this place [8 miles outside town] … I come home at 5.30–45 p.m. I only keep myself busy, as it were, with the homework from school.”[[34]](#footnote-35) He was growing increasingly frustrated with this situation and longed for a scholarship to allow him to concentrate on his studies. Writing as Secretary of the Norwegian South African Committee, Cato Aall also communicated with Professor Slee in Dar es Salam. It turned out that information could not be passed easily among scholarship-granting institutions and potential scholarship holders. Mr. Reshane did not know about his scholarship offer. Neither did he possess the necessary papers to prove his qualification, which he left behind when fleeing to Tanzania. In the end, Professor Slee was able to both vouch for the prospective student’s success and locate him to tell him about his good fortune. Mr. Reshane then was to relocate to another temporary refuge, this time in Norway. It was clearly impermanent because the Norwegians expected Mr. Reshane to return home after his studies. Like all other international students, he was prevented from practicing veterinary medicine in Norway.[[35]](#footnote-36) This anecdote demonstrates the volatility of the lives of refugee students as they sought to navigate their positions within the refugee regime and the important role that individuals like Professor Slee came to play in enabling the scholarship system to function on the micro level.

For refugee students seeking access to university education –something they could not achieve in their places of birth– their first course of action was to apply for scholarships. The story of refugee student migrations can be told in the context of African student scholarship migrations. From the late 1950s onwards, Africans seeking higher education migrated long distances on the continent and beyond to enroll in secondary and tertiary education programs.[[36]](#footnote-37) Eric Burton argues that these migration currents shaped international scholarship policies.[[37]](#footnote-38) The underlying assumption for refugee students, and African students in general, was that social mobility would be tied to the symbolic capital of university degrees that embodied the potential for educational advancement because education and decolonization had become intertwined.[[38]](#footnote-39) However, refugee scholarship programs, as was the case for African students more generally, were marked by a discrepancy between aspirations and opportunities. Since colonial times Africans’ demand for higher education had exceeded what the state offered. This was a legacy that was carried forward into independence.[[39]](#footnote-40) Prospective students from southern Africa moved to “hubs of decolonization” like Dar es Salaam, Accra, or Cairo because of the educational opportunities these cities promised.[[40]](#footnote-41) At the same time, they competed over access to scholarships and asserted their cosmopolitan agency in these hubs and at institutions across the globe.

Prospective refugee students could pursue several avenues to gain a scholarship. Researchers have access to archival records of student scholarship applications outlining educational pathways, country preferences, courses of future studies, and aptitude test results from Alice in the Eastern Cape to Accra and New York to London, and many places in between.[[41]](#footnote-42) As student letters to scholarship-granting institutions like the United Nations (UN) demonstrate, they could apply directly or go through their liberation movements. After independence, no longer as refugee students but as international students, they would apply through the bureaucracies of their decolonized states. Liberation movements like the African National Congress often directly referred refugee students they considered *bona fide* scholars. However, due to a lack of qualified candidates, they could not always fill their scholarship quotas.[[42]](#footnote-43)

Scholarship programs connected prospective refugee students with the world. By 1967 about twenty voluntary organizations from the US, France, Denmark, Norway, and Great Britain, among other places, including the Africa Educational Trust, IUEF, and World University Service, specialized in African refugee education and placement. In addition to voluntary agencies, governments across the East and West and non-aligned countries like Yugoslavia welcomed African students, some of them refugee students. We do not know how many African refugee students received scholarships. However, available statistics offer general indications of the scale of global African student migrations in the 1960s. In 1959–60 only about 4% of international students in the US hailed from Africa, a percentage that quadrupled between 1959 and 1967 as decolonization progressed. [[43]](#footnote-44) Between 1961 and 1971, the African Scholarship Program of American Universities enabled nearly 1600 Africans to study across the US and become the “modernizing elites” of tomorrow.[[44]](#footnote-45) By 1967 students from sub-Saharan Africa were spread across the globe. There were 4,347 in France, 5,613 in the US, 3,272 in the USSR, 3,299 in the UK, and 1,171 in West Germany.[[45]](#footnote-46) Yugoslavia offered 7,900 scholarships for liberation movements from the Global South for university education, vocational training, and secondary school education between 1955 and 1984.[[46]](#footnote-47) Focusing on students studying at universities and professional technical schools from the Portuguese dependent territories of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, and Cape Verde, there were 40 African students in Bulgaria, 54 in Czechoslovakia, 22 in East Germany, 32 in Hungary, 6 in Poland, 9 in Romania, and 158 in the Soviet Union in 1967.[[47]](#footnote-48)

The 1967 conference delegates did not possess accurate data regarding the exact numbers of African refugee students studying abroad. They knew that about 500 Southern African refugee students had studied in the US between 1961 and 1967 on US government scholarships and that the Swedish government supported another 60 students during the year 1966–67 to study at European universities, to which the Danish Refugee Council added about 23 students, who studied mainly at universities in Africa.[[48]](#footnote-49) According to one estimate, in 1967, 796 refugee students from southern Africa were enrolled in American universities and an estimated 750–1000 secondary school students in Africa were to become eligible for university education.[[49]](#footnote-50) Although it is well established that refugee numbers need to be taken with a grain of salt, it is safe to say that these numbers were infinitesimally small compared with the overall number of refugees on the African continent.[[50]](#footnote-51) Nevertheless, some who worked in the field of refugee education claimed that the numbers were sufficient because very few refugees had the necessary prior knowledge to be accepted into university, and only slightly more had the prior education to access secondary school.[[51]](#footnote-52)

Allocating scholarships to appropriate candidates was challenging. Some scholarship programs acknowledged the diversity of education levels among prospective refugee students and offered “all-expense scholarships both for the completion of secondary education and for various forms of higher education.”[[52]](#footnote-53) However, providing post-primary education to those willing to study was a challenge. Some preparatory schools, like the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam, affiliated with independence movements, sprang up to train students for scholarships abroad.[[53]](#footnote-54) The African American Institute sought to place Southern African refugee students at secondary schools in Tanzania. Placing refugee students at local secondary schools was not straightforward for various reasons, including competition for places, language barriers, and diverging curricula. One of the answers thus lay in constructing secondary schools for refugees, as was done in Tanzania and Zambia. Another answer was to send high school students abroad to countries like Yugoslavia, which also provided such scholarships. However, supply and demand were not aligned for the lower levels of refugee education. What was really needed –but rarely sought after by students and provided by scholarship-granting institutions– were scholarships for the upper primary school level to feed more students into the educational pipeline. The university scholarships available could not be filled due to insufficient numbers of qualified candidates.

By the 1960s, scholarship programs were embedded in a development framework. Mr. Eriksson of the IUEF acknowledged that “refugee assistance in developing countries should, in fact, be seen as development aid.”[[54]](#footnote-55) In 1967, 1,100 voluntary agencies, as non-governmental organizations were then called, spent about seven million dollars on development assistance annually, which equals $54.5 million in today’s currency.[[55]](#footnote-56) This meant that international development agencies and international organizations also funded refugee education programs in the context of what they considered development support.[[56]](#footnote-57) The UN, for instance, offered programs specifically targeting refugee students from colonized countries. The 1961 “Special Education and Training Programme for South West Africans” focused on providing educational opportunities to those limited by the racist Bantu education system.[[57]](#footnote-58) The 1962 “Special Training Program for Territories under Portuguese Administration” offered educational support to refugees from the Portuguese colonies.[[58]](#footnote-59) Both of these programs included a modest amount of funding for UN fellowships to appropriately qualified students, and both called on member states to offer scholarships to educate the future elites of the still oppressed territories.

The provision of scholarships was originally seen as a goal in and of itself. However, by 1967 some practitioners at the conference were aware that they could no longer continue giving out scholarships indiscriminately. “The time has come when we can no longer afford the luxury of training for the sake of training, education for the sake of education,” claimed John Eldridge, Regional Representative of the African American Institute. He suggested an alternative solution: “The time has come for those of us concerned with this problem to create a plan, a Refugee Manpower Plan.”[[59]](#footnote-60) He proposed aligning supply with demand in terms of refugee education. This would necessitate coordination among both scholarship-providing institutions (an effort toward which was made with the creation of the central register of the IUEF in Leiden) and through BPEAR to encourage students to take up studies deemed useful in the context of manpower development plans and to urge their return into the continental labor market. The Africanization of the civil service, universities, and the economy had, meanwhile, become a slogan not only to be applied to the manpower itself but also to the location of study provided by the scholarships so that more and more places were to be provided at African institutions. The next section will elaborate on the education of refugees for African human capital development.

# African Refugee Manpower Development

Delegates at the 1967 conference were confronted with a challenge. Refugee graduates from colonized territories were in for a much longer wait than anticipated for their own countries to be liberated and needed to be given asylum and employment somewhere.[[60]](#footnote-61) The question became how best to harness their skills for African development and pan-African politics in the context of complex negotiations of the African refugee regime.

The answer seemed simple: many African countries still employed foreign experts to fill the skills gap between their nationals and colonial administrators. Why not fill those positions with African refugee experts? While the notion was enticingly simple, its implementation proved fraught. Some qualified refugees successfully filled empty positions elsewhere on the continent, as in the case of South African ANC nurses in Tanzania starting in 1962.[[61]](#footnote-62) In 1965 Uganda also expressed an interest in South African nurses and doctors.[[62]](#footnote-63) However, for reasons I will discuss below, large-scale implementation of refugee expertise around the continent remained notional. Joseph Short, from the African American Institute, compared the deployment of Southern African refugees in the 1960s to astronauts being shot into space with no clear idea of if and when they would return to Earth, saying that limited resources and haphazard planning meant that it was impossible to predict when and where a refugee “might ultimately splash down at the end of a flight.”[[63]](#footnote-64)

This state of affairs had to be changed. The trajectories of refugee students had to be made more predictable through the power of human capital planning. The 1960s were a time when most countries in Africa had fairly well-defined development plans with clear pipelines for specific skill sets. These aimed to make states self-sufficient in expertise in running the public and private sectors. The goal was to “indigenize” government, education, and state bureaucracy positions. Colonialism had left most African countries severely lacking the human resources needed to fill certain professional positions. For example, excluding theologians, the Democratic Republic of Congo was estimated to have twelve graduates available at independence to service the entire country.[[64]](#footnote-65) In terms of higher education, the development paradigm meant that, in an attempt to support economic growth, late colonial education was slanted toward the more practical, technical, and vocational and less toward the liberal arts or philosophical disciplines.[[65]](#footnote-66) The development paradigm carried over from the late colonial to the postcolonial period as a new generation of African state leaders adapted its logic to fit their political goals. The 1960s subsequently became a decade of university-building in recently independent African countries.[[66]](#footnote-67) Internationally, contemporary sociologists John Meyer and colleagues referred to the decades bracketing the 1960s as the “world educational revolution.”[[67]](#footnote-68)

Dismantling colonial and racial hierarchies was a central motivator for manpower development planning. Tanzania, for instance, adopted and implemented a policy of shaping its post-primary education offerings according to the needs identified in a national economic plan.[[68]](#footnote-69) Strategic projections determined the allocation of university places and the awarding of scholarships. In the 1960s, this process worked fairly well, and Tanzania was celebrated as a success story of human capital development. However, in the long run, the future proved to be unplannable. By the 1980s, Tanzania was still far off from its goal of self-sufficiency. International organizations also played an important role in assessing the long-term development of education and its indigenization. The 1961 Addis Ababa plan favored strategic rather than universal education from secondary to tertiary levels while guaranteeing universal primary education.[[69]](#footnote-70) Education at the post-primary level was thus to follow economic rationales. This process of technocratic manpower planning was inherently elitist. It ran counter to the more egalitarian visions of education, such as the case of Ujamaa policies in Tanzania or the approach of Workers’ Faculties across the socialist world.[[70]](#footnote-71) These differences tell us about the contested nature of these policies. They are frictions that do not come to the fore in discussions about refugee manpower development at the 1967 conference.

Human capital theory underpinned much of the discussion about refugee higher education. Manpower development plans drew on human capital theory, which economists had started to advance in the 1950s.[[71]](#footnote-72) Proponents of the theory included American economists Theodore Schultz and his colleague Frederick Harbison, both at the University of Chicago; W. Arthur Lewis from Saint Lucia, who worked at Princeton University; and Ghana’s Chief Economic Advisor.[[72]](#footnote-73) The theory links education with personal upward mobility and, by extension, national economic growth. In the framework of the theory, individual capability and economic productiveness are believed to result from a complex interplay of societal factors in upbringing. Prominent among these is education. Therefore, a society that invests in education will increase its human capital and capacity for endogenous (and thus sustainable) economic growth. National economic growth was equated with development at the time, and therefore education came to be understood as a tool for development. As Elisa Prosperetti demonstrates, this theory gained purchase precisely because it provided a universal language with which African leaders could connect to donors using a shared discourse of development and modernity through education.[[73]](#footnote-74) Education was framed as more than a means of individual upward mobility. It was an instrument of economic development and social progress. Moreover, education was vital for building a unified nation-state from a patchwork of diverse ethnic groups. All these ideas came together in refugee higher education.

As John Eldridge explained, refugee manpower planning differed “significantly from national manpower planning [which] depends on political stability and control, the very opposite of conditions in Southern Africa.”[[74]](#footnote-75) While Eldridge was correct in his assumption that these two categories diverged, this was not only because no liberated national economy existed in 1967 to which the returning refugees from South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and South Africa could be directed. Because the very nature of the existing manpower plans across the continent was national in scope, non-nationals were seen as a destabilizing factor in many refugee-receiving countries. Consequently, although they were African and theoretically advanced the goals of Africanization, refugees were often not welcome in national labor markets, struggling to offer opportunities for their citizens. This resistance to refugees powerfully demonstrates the limits of Pan-Africanism in practice.[[75]](#footnote-76) Even countries like Botswana and Tanzania, which had open-door policies for refugees in the 1960s, went through more restrictive periods in the latter half of the decade.[[76]](#footnote-77)

Like elsewhere, the refugee situation in Africa was intricately intertwined with the attempt to create nation-states from the shards of empires: borders became fixed, and in- and out-groups were defined.[[77]](#footnote-78) Refugee manpower planning had to efficiently and quickly link refugee students with scholarship and education opportunities that matched the identified skills gaps. The potential training had to be appropriate for eventual reintegration at home and the more immediate, hopefully productive, “waithood” (a portmanteau of *wait* and *adulthood*, referring to the period after graduation in which graduate jobs are in short supply) in independent African countries.[[78]](#footnote-79) The balancing act was even more difficult because the intake was unpredictable.[[79]](#footnote-80)

Attempts to systematize scholarship selection procedures began to be implemented in the mid 1960s. This included a process in which, once a scholarship provider had identified a refugee student and the student had started the application, the student’s preferences for courses of study were to be guided in the direction deemed beneficial for their country of origin and the host country. It had previously been common practice to ask students for their preferences and see whether these corresponded to available scholarships. The first point of tension was whether to steer refugee students toward university-level education or technical training. In Africa in the 1960s, just as universities were being built, they often enjoyed a magical pull across all levels of society.[[80]](#footnote-81) The traditional university had long played a dominant role in the thinking of applicants and administrators alike. There was a general tendency in Africa, as elsewhere, to treat the university as pure “education” in contrast with “training” acquired at technical or vocational institutions, not least because of the upward social mobility it promised.[[81]](#footnote-82) This perception was also reflected in the discussion of refugee students who sought access to university-level training, not vocational institutes. In the context of the late 1960s, the UNECA and others were legitimately concerned that there would be an oversupply of candidates in professions deemed prestigious but which the labor markets of African nation-states could not absorb. In a report prepared for a conference that took place in London on March 18–19, 1967, the IUEF stated:[[82]](#footnote-83)

In a simple formula, one could state the problem so: that it is not much good training leaders and highly educated personnel if there are no people to implement the work, if there is no foundation which in this case means laboratory technicians, secretaries, technicians, and so on.

How best to deploy refugee labor was another matter of discussion. OAU Deputy Secretary General from 1964–73, H. Mohamed Sahnoun from Algeria, played a leading role in the organization of the 1967 conference for the OAU. He saw decolonization as the priority for refugee students, stating that “[r]efugee students should, first of all, participate in the struggle for freedom.” For him, refugee students should be prepared and employed in the effort “to establish majority governments in the countries of Southern Africa.”[[83]](#footnote-84)

Employing refugee graduates in the liberation struggles required a complex interplay between the students, liberation movements, independent African governments, and the OAU.[[84]](#footnote-85) However, not every student wished to affiliate with the designated liberation movement in their country of origin. Some belonged to other political organizations, and others did not wish to affiliate with any organization. Those not vetted by liberation movements lost out on the most successful route to scholarships through recognized liberation movements.

Furthermore, even among those linked to liberation movements, not all wished to take up arms, as the uprising at the Mozambique Institute demonstrated.[[85]](#footnote-86) However, there were many ways to support the struggle without actively fighting in the field. Examples included offering support to fellow exiles in independent Africa or servicing the needs of the so-called “refugee settlements” that lacked teachers, doctors, social workers, and the like. At the Mozambique Institute, for instance, male students had to spend their summers teaching literacy courses at the refugee camp in Bagamoyo.[[86]](#footnote-87)

Nevertheless, Lij Endelkachew Makonnen, permanent representative of Ethiopia to the UN from 1966–69, recognized that “freedom movements may not always be in a position to absorb all young refugees all at once.” For this reason, he believed settling refugee graduates in independent African countries was a necessary and “worthwhile” solution because refugees could gain work experience that would serve them upon their eventual return from exile while benefiting their host countries. He concluded that “triple benefits are derived – for the refugees, the host country, and the continent as a whole” if refugee graduates were to work across Africa upon their return.[[87]](#footnote-88)

What underlay this discussion was a shift from seeing refugees as objects of humanitarian concern to seeing refugee students as potential agents of development.[[88]](#footnote-89) The UNHCR aligned refugee protection with developmentalism as it reconceptualized refugees not as a humanitarian challenge but as a development opportunity by providing scarce skills.[[89]](#footnote-90) The UNHCR was not alone in its approach. Some national governments, such as Tanzania, shared this conviction.[[90]](#footnote-91) Nevertheless, the paths to employment were far from smooth and depended on many unknown variables as the already cited working paper for the 1967 Conference noted:

[W]e do not even know how many scholarships to universities have been awarded refugees [sic] from Africa. But, even if precise data were available, […] it would still not be possible to predict accurately how many of them would be seeking jobs in Africa. The answer […] is obviously affected by changing conditions in many parts of Africa, the policies of African governments who might employ refugee graduates, the policies and means of the exile political organizations, and the intentions of the students themselves.[[91]](#footnote-92)

Given this complexity, how could “the refugee problem” be solved? Durable solutions in the 1960s consisted, much like today, of three options: a) voluntary repatriation; b) settlement in the country of first asylum; and c) “resettlement of refugees in new homelands through education, vocational training, and placement.”[[92]](#footnote-93) Specifically, education and vocational training as a means of resettlement are of interest here. Resettlement within Africa was understood as an option for “successful urban refugees,” among them “artisans, white-collar workers, students, and members of the professional classes.”[[93]](#footnote-94) However, as we will see in the next section, skilled urban refugees were not always welcome.

# The Paradox of (Un)desirable Refugee Elites

It was an uncontroversial idea that refugee students should return to Africa and make themselves useful on the continent. Yet, what Joseph Short from the African American Institute referred to as the “utilization problem” was real, and how to best solve it remained a matter of debate.[[94]](#footnote-95) As of the late 1960s, the number of university graduates outstripped available employment opportunities. This mismatch was not necessarily because of an actual lack of opportunities or an oversupply of skilled workers. Significant also was the limited capacity of liberation movements and independent countries to absorb these graduates. It was true even for fields the UNECA declared high priority, such as teaching, accounting, soil conservation, or geology. Aside from this, many refugees graduated in low-priority areas and needed to be retrained “in some of the priority fields required by African governments to reorient them to the employment market and increase their prospect for employment.”[[95]](#footnote-96) These fields included laboratory technology, engineering, and teaching.

 The individual preferences of the refugee students themselves were not a priority in the grand designs of nation-states. Many refugee students deemed their futures more secure outside Africa and thus married and settled abroad and did not try to return. Some became comfortable abroad and lacked the political zeal to come back to Africa and contribute to its liberation and development if that meant greater hardships. Other students were not interested in priority subjects and pursued studies like law that carried great prestige but were predicted to reach saturation point in African national labor markets. Planners involved in the 1967 conference were eager to discourage studies that could not fill important gaps in labor markets across the continent. These gaps were particularly pronounced in technical and applied disciplines. To mitigate the danger of brain drain, scholarship spending was rerouted to focus on capacity-building in African institutions of higher learning.[[96]](#footnote-97) A 1967 paper produced for the DHF titled *Education for African Refugees* expressed the twin goal of promoting “useful” education and providing that education on the African continent.[[97]](#footnote-98) This discourse is a case in point for the continuities between colonial and postcolonial debates and policies about education concerned with “adapting” education to local “needs.”[[98]](#footnote-99) This approach is also reminiscent of scholarships across the Eastern Bloc.[[99]](#footnote-100) The same paper acknowledged that the usefulness paradigm was meant to be temporary: “With a little bit of luck, a stage will be reached where it is ensured that being a refugee does not deprive anybody of education commensurate with one’s abilities and legitimate aspirations.”[[100]](#footnote-101)

Beyond manpower planning, the lack of travel documents became a major concern for refugee students. Having often fled their countries without passports, they needed to spend considerable time and effort securing visas for onward travel without having a document from their country of first asylum that would allow them to return. Independent of pan-African plans discussed by UNECA or the OAU, postcolonial governments quickly assumed a “gatekeeping” function concerning both educational journeys and employment opportunities by enforcing restrictive border regimes.[[101]](#footnote-102) Even though students might have a scholarship to attend a certain school, states could, and frequently did, deny visas for entry into the country. Refugee educational experts stated that sending refugee students to the US was easier due to visa policies. Furthermore, documents were not only a source of insecurity but an obstacle to employment for refugee graduates. The issue of travel documents for refugees was one of the most controversial issues of debate at the 1967 conference, as few countries were prepared to guarantee refugees entry into their country upon return from their studies.[[102]](#footnote-103)

The fact that states were sometimes reluctant to issue guarantees to refugee students that they could return after their studies, even in cases where the skills they gained abroad would be useful, indicates a trepidation on the part of the young independent states of the political backlash being seen to favor “outsiders” over the needs of their own citizens might provoke.[[103]](#footnote-104) The 1967 conference paper titled *Education and Training for African Refugees* stressed that for young nation-states the “possibility of becoming centers of concentration of volatile, politicized, and perhaps potentially dangerous young exiles” was not an appealing prospect.[[104]](#footnote-105) This attitude underlines that even skilled migrants could be perceived as threats instead of assets. Note the shift from “refugee” to “exile” in this quotation to underscore the political involvement of the people in question, which, together with their youth and preference for urban centers, rendered them a potentially explosive time bomb in the eyes of many politicians and refugee experts. It is interesting how the trope of the refugees as a threat to national stability is reframed, overwriting any tangible economic benefits the skilled African expats could bring. This fearmongering contrasts sharply with a general perception of the 1960s–70s in Africa as a time of an open-door policy toward refugees, especially from unliberated areas.[[105]](#footnote-106)

 Supporting the overall goal of African unity and decolonization became a balancing act, especially for young frontline states like Botswana. Botswana (until 1966 known as British Bechuanaland) had been successfully hosting refugees from its white-ruled neighbors since 1957, acting as a transit country with a network of safe houses and shifting departure points linked to underground routes to Tanzania and Zambia. In fact, as Neil Parsons shows, hosting refugees became central to Botswana’s narrative of nationhood post-independence.[[106]](#footnote-107) However, when guerilla fighters sought refuge in Botswana in 1966–67, its welcoming attitude changed, and self-preservation won out. At the time of the 1967 conference, Botswana went through a short period of being sensitive to the danger that refugees might pose to its existence as an independent country surrounded by white minority regimes.[[107]](#footnote-108) During the conference, Botswana saw itself as the first destination country along a refugee pipeline of people fleeing from apartheid South Africa, Namibia, and Rhodesia, not as a country of final asylum. It, therefore, called for a political solution in the form of burden-sharing between African countries. As Mr. R. Mannathoko, the government representative from Botswana at the 1967 conference, stated, according to the provisional summary records of the Second Meeting held at Africa Hall, his country, with just one million inhabitants, “could not allow itself to be diluted by a potential of 15 million refugees from Southern Africa and 4 million from Rhodesia.”[[108]](#footnote-109) He surmised if apartheid were to prove unsuccessful, South Africa might expel its black population, “and both Botswana and Zambia would be flooded.” He this potential scenario intolerable and believed it would endanger the very independence of his country. His use of stereotypical water metaphors, speaking of “dilution” and a “flood” of refugees underscores the threat of the scenario and contributed to creating a hostile environment for refugees.[[109]](#footnote-110) Consequently, he declared that “even if these refugees were qualified for jobs, because of public opinion and unemployment, Botswana could not give them jobs and go against public opinion.” [[110]](#footnote-111) He defended his position in the full knowledge that Black South Africans disapproved. Already by 1969, however, Botswana was able to offer more explicit support to liberation movements going forward. Differing interests and intense fear on the part of some frontier countries undermined the theoretical pan-African imperative of absolute support for independence movements.

The discussion on frontline states demonstrates the importance of geography in refugee contexts. Tanzania’s president Julius Nyerere included his own country in the Southern African region because it supported liberation movements representing a wide range of countries to the south of Tanzania. In his view, Tanzania (independent as Tanganyika in 1961, united with Zanzibar to create the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964) and Zambia (independent since 1964) were the original frontline states able to provide guerilla camps. The next generation of frontline states, among them Botswana, would have to contribute to the cause differently. According to Nyerere, they “should … consolidate their states politically and economically … Once we had these economically independent countries stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, that would be a really powerful challenge and deterrent to South Africa.”[[111]](#footnote-112) Other propositions for a division of labor circulated at the time. For instance, Zambia’s president Kenneth Kaunda proposed that Zambia should be mainly responsible for migrations from Rhodesia, South West Africa, and South Africa. In contrast, Congo/Kinshasa was to focus on Angola and Tanzania on Mozambique but also was to support Zambia.[[112]](#footnote-113) Hence, reactions to taking in refugees were not uniform in the region or by states over time.

That the idea that skilled African refugee labor would be something to strive for was not universal is further demonstrated by Mr. L. Wako, the Ugandan government representative to the 1967 Conference. He suggested that the industrial sector of African countries was too small to absorb non-nationals, and refugees should be encouraged to farm and develop the agricultural base which underpinned most African economies.[[113]](#footnote-114) Uganda pursued a policy of “Africanization” (effectively a policy of Ugandinization) under President Milton Obote (1966–71), which included the expulsion of other Africans, as in the case of 30,000 Kenyans in 1969, and the expulsion of its Asian population under president Idi Amin in 1972. On the other hand, it had a history of taking in many refugees from the region, also before the OAU’s inception.[[114]](#footnote-115) Both the Botswanan and Ugandan representatives were speaking from positions that were at the time primarily nationalist regarding the employment of professionals and were not easily reconcilable with pan-African refugee manpower development plans. Because many countries shared this point of view, the ambitious plans faced real implementation challenges.

Higher education for refugees also had skeptics who believed it caused character problems. Reminiscent of colonial concerns about urban Africans, a concern often voiced in connection with the 1967 conference, was that qualified refugees tended tocongregate in urban areas, where they faced difficulties integrating into host societies and found themselves confronted with unemployment. This perception contrasted starkly with the students’ own expectations and the idealistic rhetoric surrounding refugee higher education. The 1967 conference report concluded that this “relatively small group constitutes a far more difficult problem than the large masses of rural refugees.” It judged the “band of professional refugee travelers” rather harshly and concluded that “These refugees tend to feel frustrated, become over-demanding, over-sensitive to criticism and difficult in their behavior.”[[115]](#footnote-116) Cato Aall underscored the importance of timely intervention with his striking comparison of refugees with nuclear radiation. Just as it was essential to act quickly to start the healing process before the effects of radiation set in, refugees had to be helped swiftly before they show “either apathy or a reckless attitude that ‘the world owes me a living.’” According to Aall, refugees “suffer[ed] under radiation […] experienced as general hostility and constraint.”[[116]](#footnote-117) Thus, the only way to avoid problems with prospective refugee students and educated refugees was to place them in study or employment without prolonged periods of uncertainty and “waithood.”[[117]](#footnote-118)

Of course, plans for refugee higher education and manpower were not made in isolation but in a wider African education and development context. They were shaped by international actors in education and humanitarian assistance who also needed to consider refugees in the context of the host populations. This brought with it constraints as to how much could be done specifically for refugees. “One cannot hope to create an ideal world for young refugees” a background paper to the conference noted and continued: “Efforts must be aimed at having refugees on the same footing as nationals. This may admittedly be insufficient, but what would then be at stake, would not be a refugee [underlined in original] problem but a wider one of development for the African countries.” [[118]](#footnote-119) This quote already hints at the difficulties for development practitioners in singling out a specific group of people in need over others with similar needs. It explains why the “refugee problem” came to be entangled with a “development problem” in the African context. However, as we have seen, according to politicians like Makonnen and those advocating for a refugee manpower plan combining both “problems” had the potential to lead to a win-win scenario.

Educated refugee elites inhabited an ambiguous place. They were desirable as prospective agents of development for their home regions, while on the other hand, they were undesirable as temporary (or potentially permanent) non-national elites taking up valuable positions in fragile labor markets. Despite the challenges, the consensus among professionals working in the refugee space in the late 1960s was to continue with the provision of scholarships: “So long as the refugee situation continues, it is vitally important to continue to provide educational assistance to refugees.”[[119]](#footnote-120)

# Conclusion

African politicians, African refugee students, international university personnel, and practitioners employed by international non-governmental education organizations together negotiated the micro to macro levels of refugee higher education, thereby contributing to shaping an important pillar of the African refugee regime. A crucial site, but by no means the only site, for the negotiation of the African refugee regime was the 1967 conference which took place in Africa Hall, the same venue where the OAU had come into being just four years earlier. In the words of Secretary General Diallo Telli, the goal of the conference was to “awaken international awareness of the serious position of African refugees” and “to find some happy solution.”[[120]](#footnote-121) Thus, while one of the stated goals of the conference was to raise international awareness about African refugees, a crucial outcome was the negotiation space it offered to delegates to discuss the issue of African higher education in the context of African development frameworks at the time of decolonization.

African higher education was an important and expanding field in the 1960s because it was deemed vitally important for the future of recently independent states and those territories that were expected to become either independent or majority-governed in the near future. In this context, refugee students and those categorized as “professional refugees” were not discussed in a purely humanitarian context, but rather their political nature and potential to act as economic agents of development received equal attention. A hybrid form of humanitarian developmentalism was thus at play in the field of refugee higher education. The ideal of an apolitical humanitarian engagement remained theoretical when it came to refugee education in Africa in the 1960s.[[121]](#footnote-122) Decolonization allowed for a renegotiation of the legitimate scope of humanitarian aid.[[122]](#footnote-123) One of the suggested solutions was aimed at harnessing the education of refugee student elites for national development in the spirit of pan-African solidarity. This was a plan which, as we have seen, met with resistance on several fronts.

The discrepancy between grand notions of solving both the refugee crisis and Africa’s development challenges through human capital development and the difficulties surrounding their trans-African implementation demonstrated that, to a large extent, such grand plans would remain theoretical. Following the state of discussions on African refugee higher education in the 1960s, it is easy to perceive the divergence between high-flown rhetoric and modest impact on the ground. Refugees numbered around one million, and scholarship programs in the tens or hundreds or thousands. Nevertheless, while structured refugee manpower development did, in hindsight, prove to be a pipe dream, African refugee students *did* travel the world acquiring education, and delegates from around the world traveled to Africa to coordinate international efforts to provide them with educational assistance. Perhaps even more importantly, the topic of refugee higher education became anchored as part of the African refugee regime. It did so from the top, as the OAU gave the matter institutional priority with its incorporation of the BPEAR, and passed various resolutions on the topic, but also from the bottom as refugee students from across colonized territories wrote countless letters to demand to be considered for scholarships. The traces these letters have left around the world in itself pay tribute to the global nature of the African refugee regime, also beyond the legal context discussed in the previous chapter.

While the importance of higher education for the African refugee context retreated into the background, certainly by the end of the Cold War, it is now being rediscovered by key organizations like the UNHCR, which has committed to substantially increasing the percentage of refugees who have access to higher education by 2030. However, students were not the only potential refugee labor assets. With a discussion of zonal development plans for rural refugees, the next chapter turns to another idea of how refugees could be useful for the development of the African continent–another idea that emerged as a crucial pillar of the African refugee regime.

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1. Parts of this chapter have been published as Marcia C. Schenck, "A Different Class of Refugee: University Scholarships and Developmentalism in Late 1960s Africa," *Africa Today* 69, no. 1 (2022). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. Ajuma Oginga-Odinga was, at the time of speaking, a prominent member of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). He became Vice-President under Jomo Kenyatta once Kenya became a Republic in 1964. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. Joint Memorandum to the African Summit Conference of the Heads of States by the Representatives of African National Liberation Movements in Non-Independent Territories, in African Union. Speeches & Statements made at the First Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) Summit, May 1963, Addis Ababa, p. 140, <https://au.int/en/speeches/19630508/speeches-and-statements-made-first-organisation-african-unity-oau-summit-1963>, accessed May 9, 2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. Organization of African Unity Archives (in the following OAUA), African Union Common Repository, Secretariat, Addis Ababa, CIAS/PLEN.2/Rev.2 B, Agenda Item II: Apartheid and Racial Discrimination, <https://au.int/sites/default/files/decisions/32247-1963_cias_plen_2-3_cias_res_1-2_e.pdf>, accessed May 29, 2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. Commission on the Problem of Refugees in Africa, Third Session, Kampala, November 16, 1964, p. 3. African Union Archives. OAU\_Addis\_2019, 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. This was the region of Nigeria in which the Biafra-Nigeria war was being fought. The war broke out two years after the letter writer had penned his application. It is likely that some of his fellow students became refugees in their turn as a result of this devastating war. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. UNA, Series 0443; Box 0059; File 0003; ACC: 00003, Applications for Scholarships for the Programme of Scholarships for South West Africans (Part A B) (3 files) - TR 222, pp. 1-4. <https://search.archives.un.org/applications-for-scholarships-for-the-programme-of-scholarships-for-south-west-africans-part-a-b-3-files-tr-222-4>, accessed April 19, 2021. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. The archives do not reveal whether the student was successful. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. The IUEF was an agency of the International Student Conference dedicated to technical assistance, scholarships and exchanges in the field of education. The fund was operational from 1961 until 1981. When the report was written, the majority of IUEF scholarship holders came from Southern Africa (South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South West Africa, and Zambia) and East Africa (Southern Sudan and Rwanda) as well as a few from Ghana. Some applicants were African students who wanted to abandon their studies in the Eastern Bloc. Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation Archive (hereafter DHFA), Handlingar rörande seminarier och konferenser 1967, F1: 23, Material rörande International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) Konferens London 18-19 mars, 1967, “International University Exchange Fund an agency of the International Student Conference” by Deputy Director Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Leiden, February 1967, p. 1-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. DHFA, “International University Exchange Fund,” p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. Egide Rwamatwara, "Forced Migration in Africa: A Challenge to Development," *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien* 8, no. 5 (2005): 182; James Milner, "Golden Age? What Golden Age? A Critical History of African Asylum Policy.," in *Centre for refugee Studies* (York University, Toronto, ON2004). The assumption is that the 1960s were characterized by a relatively welcoming climate for refugees on the part of host countries. Some authors like Bonaventure Rutinwa see the golden age of open-door policies stretch from the early 1960s till the late 1980s. In any case, the perceived “golden age” coincides with calls for Pan-African solidarity for the total liberation of Africa, Bonaventure Rutinwa, "The End of Asylum? The Changing Nature of Refugee Policies in Africa," *Working Paper No. 5*, no. 1 & 2 (1999): 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. Ludovic; Giles Scott-Smith Tournès, ed. *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and Transnational Circulations in the Modern World* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2017), 15; Eric Burton, "Decolonization, the Cold War, and Africans’ Routes to Higher Education Overseas, 1957–65," *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 1 (2020): 169. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. For a critical discussion of the modernization theory paradigm in the context of African higher education, see Anton Tarradellas, "“A Glorious Future” for Africa: Development, Higher Education and the Making of African Elites in the United States (1961–1971)," *Paedagogica Historica* (2020): 278-79. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. Alexander Betts, "Development Assistance and Refugees: Towards a North-South Grand Bargain?," *Forced Migration Policy Briefing* 2 (2009): 5; Joanna Tague, "Displaced Agents of Development: Mozambican Refugees and Tanzanian Nation-Building Projects, 1964-1975," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 50, no. 1 (2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. Sadruddin Aga Khan, "The Problems of Refugees," in *Refugees South of the Sahara*, ed. Hugh C. Brooks, Yassin El-Ayouty (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. The UNHCR notes: “Expanded participation of refugee students in higher education is essential to achieving SDG4, greater enjoyment of rights for all, and improved development outcomes.” See https://www.unhcr.org/what-we-do/build-better-futures/education/tertiary-education, accessed May 30, 2022. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. UNHCR’s 15by30 Roadmap, <https://www.unhcr.org/media/39184>, accessed May 31, 2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. The BPEAR was founded on March 1, 1968, housed at the OAU but originally designed to be independent. During the first years of its existence, the OAU, UNHCR, and UNECA, alongside other UN agencies and NGOs were to coordinate and facilitate its operations. In the 1970s BPEAR was structurally integrated into the OAU, first placed under the supervision of the OAU’s Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs in 1971 and by 1974 it became part of the OAU Secretariat’s political department. It was enlarged and tasked with additional responsibilities such as legal assistance to refugees, rural resettlement programs, Marina Sharpe, "Engaging with Refugee Protection? The Organization of African Unity and African Union since 1963," in *NEW ISSUES IN REFUGEE RESEARCH* (UNHCR, 2011), 19-21. I discuss the BPEAR in more detail in Chapter 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. DHFA, konferenser 1967, F1: 25, “AFR/REF/CONF. 1967/No 11”, “Education and Training for African Refugees,” p. 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. Other important conferences and meetings surrounding the 1967 conference included the 3rd International Seminar held in Sweden in April 26–28, 1966, on the topic of “Refugee Problems in Southern and Central Africa” under the auspices of the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies resulting in the publication of all presentations in Sven Hamrell, ed. *Refugee Problems in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967). The International Seminar on Refugee Students in Africa held in New York in April 1967 organized by the African-American Institute; St. John’s University symposium held in November 1967 and resulting in the edited volume Hugh C. Brooks, Yassin El-Ayouty, ed. *Refugees South of the Sahara* (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970). In 1979 the Conference on the African Refugee Problem took place in Arusha with African dignitaries and religious leaders from 38 African countries, 20 non-African countries, 16 governmental and regional organizations and five liberation movements in attendance, see Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Goran Melander, Peter Nobel, ed. *An Analysing Account of the Conference on the African Refugee Problem, Arusha, May 1979* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1981). By 1979 there were already four million refugees in Africa, up from less than 1 million at the last major conference in 1967 (Aderanti Adepoju, "The Dimension of the Refugee Problem in Africa," *African Affairs* 81, no. 322 (1982): 21. In the 1980s, two big pledging conferences followed, the First and Second International Conferences on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, also known as ICARA I and ICARA II, held in Geneva in 1981 and 1984 respectively, see Robert F. Gorman, "Beyond Icara Ii: Implementing Refugee-Related Development Assistance," *The International Migration Review* 20, no. 2 (1986). [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Organization of African Unity, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, "Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems 9-18 October 1967" (Addis Abeba, 1968), 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. Joanna Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Africa (Routledge, 2019), 10-11, 125. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
23. Joe Oloka-Onyango, "The Place and Role of the Oau Bureau for Refugees in the African Refugee Crisis," *International Journal of Refugee Law* 6, no. 1 (1994): 35. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
24. DHFA, konferenser 1967, F1: 22, Letter from Cyril Ritchie, Executive Director of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies to Sven Hamrell, Executive Director, Dag Hammerskjöld Foundation, 15.10.1968. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
25. Khan, "The Problems of Refugees," 219. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
26. Ibid., 220. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
27. Oloka-Onyango, "The Place and Role of the Oau Bureau for Refugees in the African Refugee Crisis," 47; Peter Nobel, "Refugees, Law, and Development in Africa," in *Michigan Yearbook of International Legal Studies Volume 3* (1982), 258. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
28. Philip E. Chartrand, "The Organization of African Unity and African Refugees: A Progress Report," *World Affairs* 137, no. 4 (1975): 280. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
29. Christian A. Williams, "Education in Exile: International Scholarships, Cold War Politics, and Conflicts among Swapo Members in Tanzania, 1961–1968," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 43, no. 1 (2017). [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
30. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 82; Williams, "Education in Exile: International Scholarships, Cold War Politics, and Conflicts among Swapo Members in Tanzania, 1961–1968," 126. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
31. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
32. Ibid., 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
33. Ibid., 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
34. ANC Archives, University of Fort Hare (in the following ANCA), Frene Ginwala Box 55F19, Letter from Reshane to Slee, 7.12.1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
35. ANCA, Frene Ginwala Box 55F19 Correspondence and Norwegian Scholarship Fund, Letter from Cato Aall to Professor T.C. Slee at the University College of Dar es Salaam; Letter of 8.12.1961 from O. Bie Lerentzen in Norway to A.T.C. Slee in Dar; Letter from O. Bie Lerentzen to Mr. Reshane, 3.12.1961; Letter to Aall, Dec. 15.1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
36. Sara Pugach, "African Students in East Germany, 1949-1975," (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2022), Ch. 2; Eric Burton, "Navigating Global Socialism: Tanzanian Students in and Beyond East Germany," *Cold War History* 19, no. 1 (2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
37. Eric Burton "Decolonization, the Cold War, and Africans’ Routes to Higher Education Overseas, 1957–65." Prior to the 1950s African students had studied in the metropoles of the respective colonizers. This unidirectional pathway began to diversify mid-century as a result of three interrelated processes: Cold War competition, policy responses to decolonization, and the increased importance of educational planning as tool for modernization and development, see for instance Monique de Saint Martin, Grazia Scarfò, Ghellab and Kamal Mellakh, ed. *Étudier À L’est: Expériences De Diplômés Africains* (Paris: Karthala, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
38. Burton, "Decolonization, the Cold War, and Africans’ Routes to Higher Education Overseas, 1957–65," 173-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
39. J. F. Ade Ajayi, Lameck K.H. Goma, G. Ampah Johnson, *The African Experience with Higher Education* (Accra; London; Athens OH: The Association of African Universities with James Currey and Ohio University Press, 1996). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
40. Eric Burton, "Hubs of Decolonization. African Liberation Movements and Eastern Connections in Cairo, Accra and Dar Es Salaam," in *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War “East”: Transnational Activism 1960-1990*, ed. Lena Dallywater, Helder A. Fonseca, and Chris Saunders (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
41. Scholarship applications can for instance be found in the Frene Ginwala Papers in the ANC archives, in the Endangered Archives Programme concerning the Zambian United National Independent Party (UNIP) archives at the British Library and in the UN archives, as part of the files pertaining to the scholarship programs for Southern Africans. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
42. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
43. Paul A. Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 5 (2009): 793, 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
44. Tarradellas, "“A Glorious Future” for Africa: Development, Higher Education and the Making of African Elites in the United States (1961–1971)," 278. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
45. Constantin Katsakioris, "Creating a Socialist Intelligentsia. Soviet Educational Aid and Its Impact on Africa (1960-1991)," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 2, no. 226 (2017): 277. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
46. Neǆad Kuč, "Southern African Students in Southeast Europe: Education and Experiences in 1960s Yugoslavia," in *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War ‚East‘: Transnational Activism 1960-1990*, ed. Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders, Helder Adegar Fonseca (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2019), 183. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
47. Constantin Katsakioris, "The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher Education for a Soviet–Third World Alliance, 1960–91," *Journal of Global History* 14, no. 2 (2019): 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
48. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems 9-18 October 1967," 34. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
49. Jospeh Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," in *Refugees South of the Sahara*, ed. Hugh C. Brooks, Yassin El-Ayouty (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
50. The dangers of uncritically believing statistics about refugees, albeit in a very different context, are well exemplified in Ulrike Krause, "The Powerful (Vagueness of) Numbers? (Non)Knowledge Production About Refugee Accommodation

Quantifi Cations in Unhcr’s Global Trends Reports," *Migration and Society: Advances in Research* 5 (2022). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
51. John Eldridge, "Education and Training of Refugees and Their Potential Contribution to Development," in *Refugee Problems in Africa*, ed. Sven Hamrell (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
52. UNA, Series 0443; Box 0086; File 0011; ACC: 00001, A/RES/1808 (XVII), TR 343, “Special Training Programme for Territories under Portuguese Administration”, 20.12.1962, pp 60-62. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
53. Joanna Tague, "In the City of Waiting: Education and Mozambican Liberation Exiles in Dar Es Salaam, 1960-1975," in *African in Exile: Mobility, Law, and Identity*, ed. Nathan Riley Carpenter, Banjamin N. Lawrence (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018); Michael G. Panzer, "A Nation in Name, a ‘State’ in Exile: The Frelimo Proto-State, Youth, Gender, and the Liberation of Mozambique, 1962-1975" (University at Albany, State University of New York, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
54. DHFA, “International University Exchange Fund,” p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
55. OECD/ICVA Development Aid Dictionary in United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems 9-18 October 1967," 181. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
56. Valeska Huber, "Planning Education and Manpower in the Middle East, 1950s–60s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 52, no. 1 (2017): 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
57. UN Digital Library (in the following UNDA), A/6080, “Special educational and training programmes for South West Africa: report of the Secretary-General”, UN, 27. Oct 1965, [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
58. UN Archives (in the following UNA), Series 0443; Box 0086; File 0011; ACC: 00001, “Special Training Programme for Territories under Portuguese Administration - TR 343”. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
59. Eldridge, "Education and Training of Refugees and Their Potential Contribution to Development," 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
60. This adds yet another stage of waiting in exile to the model proposed by Joanna Tague which recognizes education abroad as one form of exile and the waiting in hubs of decolonization for scholarships as another form of exile and underscores the need to broaden our vision to include multiple stages of migration legs and multiple migrations Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 33 and Ch. 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
61. ANCA, Morogoro Office, Women’s Section, 1971-74 Box 22 F 205, 52, Letter of the ANC Women’s section 6.6.1972; SADET, 2008, p. 451-3. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
62. ANCA, Morogoro Office, Accra, 1965-6 500 1 F1, 1 Letter to Raymond Kunene 22.2.1965; ANCA Morogoro Office Lusaka III 1966-67 Box 12 F 100, 56, Letter to Victoria Abongo, 15.2.1966. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
63. Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
64. Ibid., 90. The dire situation regarding university level educated personnel across southern Africa was only going to change very slowly. Even after a policy change prioritizing education in Mozambique in 1961, there were an estimated 373,978 students in pre-primary school, 20,869 in primary school, and only 119 in secondary school in the school year 1962-3 Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
65. N’dri T. Assié-Lumumba, "Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reforms and Transformations," *CODESIRA Working Paper Series* (2006): 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
66. Ibid., 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
67. John W. Meyer et al., "The World Educational Revolution, 1950-1970," *Sociology of Education* 50, no. 4 (1977). [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
68. Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945–1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 122-26; Eric Burton, "African Manpower Development During the Global Cold War. The Case of Tanzanian Students in the Two German States," in *African Research in Austria. Approaches and Perspectives.*, ed. Andreas Exenberger, Ulrich Pallua (Innsbruck: Innsbruck university press, 2016), 106-9. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
69. Colette Chabbott, *Constructing Education for Development: International Organizations and Education for All*, ed. Edward R. Beauchamp, International Education (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 143-4; Elisa Prosperetti, "An Anticolonial Development: Public Schooling, Emancipation and Its Limits in West Africa," (unpublished), 19-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
70. Ingrid Miethe, Tim Kaiser, Tobias Kriele, Alexandra Piepiorka, ed. *Globalization of an Educational Idea: Workers’ Faculties in Eastern Germany, Vietnam, Cuba, and Mozambique* (Berlin: De Gruyter). [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
71. Amartya K. Sen, "Economic Approaches to Education and Manpower Planning," *Indian Economic Review* 1, no. 1 (1966); Frederick Harbinson, Charles A. Meyers, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth: Strategies of Human Resource Development* (New York: Mcgraw-Hill, 1964). [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
72. For an elaboration of how human capital theory became preeminent, see Prosperetti, "An Anticolonial Development: Public Schooling, Emancipation and Its Limits in West Africa," 3-6; Robert L. Tignor, *W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
73. Prosperetti, "An Anticolonial Development: Public Schooling, Emancipation and Its Limits in West Africa." [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
74. Eldridge, "Education and Training of Refugees and Their Potential Contribution to Development," 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
75. A heterogeneous concept with a long history, Pan-Africanism evolved as a variety of ideas, activities, organizations, and movements that resisted oppression of those of African heritage, opposed the ideologies of racism, and celebrated African achievement (Adi 2018). The OAU never became the federation of African states Kwame Nkrumah and others had envisioned, and instead turned into an international organization with limited power and notoriously small budget but it remained guided by pan-Africanist ideals. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
76. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 143; Neil Parsons, "The Pipeline: Botswana’s Reception of Refugees, 1956–68," *Social Dynamics* 34, no. 1 (2008): 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
77. Panikos Panayi, "Refugees and the End of Empire," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, ed. Martin Thomas, Andrew Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
78. Alcinda Honwana, "Youth, Waithood, and Protest Movements in Africa," *African Arguments*, 12.08.2013 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
79. Eldridge, "Education and Training of Refugees and Their Potential Contribution to Development," 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
80. Ajayi, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
81. Assié-Lumumba, "Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reforms and Transformations," 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
82. DHFA, konferenser 1967, F1: 23, “Material rörande,” “International University Exchange Fund (IUEF),” 18. – 19.03.1967, p.5. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
83. Syracuse University workshop report cited in Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
84. Luise White, "Students, Zapu, and Special Branch in Francistown, 1964–1972," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 6 (2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
85. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 96, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
86. Ibid., 95. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
87. Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 94-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
88. Joanna Tague discusses the idea of Mozambican refugees as agents of development in Tague, "Displaced Agents of Development: Mozambican Refugees and Tanzanian Nation-Building Projects, 1964-1975." [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
89. Joël Glasman, "Seeing Like a Refugee Agency: A Short History of Unhcr Classifications in Central Africa (1961-2015)," *Journal of Refugee Studies* 30, no. 2 (2017): 345f. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
90. Jill Rosenthal, "From ‘Migrants’ to ‘Refugees’: Identity, Aid, and Decolonization in Ngara District, Tanzania," *Journal of African History* 56 (2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
91. DHFA, “Education and Training,” p. 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
92. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems 9-18 October 1967," 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
93. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
94. Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
95. DHAF, Folkrörelseakivet för Uppsala Län F1:25, Handlingar rörande seminarier och konferenser 1967, AFR/Conf.1967/No.12, The Manpower Situation in Africa in Relation to Educated Refugees, prepared by ECA for 1967 Conference, p.4. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
96. Debates about brain drain gained in importance from the 1960s onwards. Yet, some scholarship programs were more successful in returning graduates than others. Of the first generation of airlifters from Kenya to the U.S. only 9% remained in North America. Eastern Bloc countries argued that they did not contribute to brain drain because their students did not receive residence permits and had to move on, although as Eric Burton shows, this did not always mean they returned home Burton, "Decolonization, the Cold War, and Africans’ Routes to Higher Education Overseas, 1957–65," 184. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
97. DHAF, konferenser 1967, F1: 22, “Education for African Refugees: Outline of paper to be produced for Dag Hammarskjold Foundation,” 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
98. Damiano Matasci, Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, Hugo Gonçalves Dores, "Introduction: Historical Trajectories of Education and Development in (Post)Colonial Africa," in *Education and Development in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa: Policies, Paradigms, and Entanglements, 1890s-1980s*, ed. Damiano Matasci, Miguel Bandeira Jerónimo, Hugo Gonçalves Dores (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
99. Students were also often unable to select their disciplines when going to East Germany, see for instance, Hans Mathias Müller, *Die Bildungshilfe Der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe XI Pädagogik, Vol. 626 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995); Marcia C. Schenck, "Negotiating the German Democratic Republic: Angolan Student Migration During the Cold War, 1976-90," *Africa* 89, no. 1 (2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
100. DHAF, konferenser 1967, F1: 22, “Education for African Refugees: Outline of paper to be produced for Dag Hammarskjold Foundation,” 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
101. On the concept of the “gatekeeper state” and its applicability beyond the colonial-postcolonial divide see Frederick Cooper, *Africa since 1940 : The Past of the Present*, New Approaches to African History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5f. For an elaboration on gatekeeping with regard to educational exchanges and student mobility, see Eric Burton, ed. *Journeys of Education and Struggle: African Mobility in Times of Decolonization and the Cold War*, Special Issue (34: Stichproben, 2018), 4-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
102. Travel documents were not only a point of contention for refugee students but also for guerilla fighters crossing borders from camps to deployment areas and back or between camps. The heads of the Tanzanian and Zambian security services established a system in which guerillas completed recruitment forms which were to be verified by the Coordinating Committee of the OAU Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam and upon positive verification led to travel documents which allowed for the passing from Tanzania into Zambia and vice versa and allowed for mass deployments (Simpson 2016, 125–6). [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
103. See for instance, DHFA, Folkrörelseakivet för Uppsala Län F1:23, Handlingar rörande seminarier och konferenser 1967, Meeting Between Scholarship Giving Organisations and Political Organisations from Southern Africa on Education of African Refugees, London, 18th - 19th March, March 1967, “The Educational Needs of the African Refugees in Relation to the Manpower Needs in Africa,” written by the International University Exchange Fund, February 1967, p. 6. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
104. DHFA, “Education and Training,” p. 14. In some ways this is reminiscent of African students from colonial territories, who had to become inventive if they were seeking to take up scholarships in the Eastern Bloc as colonial authorities used the withholding of passports as disciplinary tool for applicants suspected of subversive behavior (Burton 2019, 37). [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
105. Bonaventure Rutinwa, "The End of Asylum? The Changing Nature of Refugee Policies in Africa," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 21, no. 1/2 (2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
106. Parsons, "The Pipeline: Botswana’s Reception of Refugees, 1956–68." [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
107. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems 9-18 October 1967," 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
108. DHFA, konferenser 1967, F1: 22, “AFR/REF/CONF/1967”, “Provisional Summary Record of the Second Meeting Held at Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, on Tuesday, 10 October 1967 at 10 a.m,” p. 4-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
109. Reports about how water metaphors continue to be used the world over abound, see e.g. Elisabeth El Refaie, "Metaphors We Discriminate By: Naturalized Themes in Austrian Newspaper Articles About Asylum Seekers," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5, no. 3 (2001). [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
110. DHFA, konferenser 1967, F1: 22, “AFR/REF/CONF/1967”, “Provisional Summary Record of the Second Meeting Held at Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, on Tuesday, 10 October 1967 at 10 a.m,” p. 4-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
111. Cited in Lena Dallywater, Chris Saunders, Helder Adegar Fonseca, ed. *Southern African Liberation Movements and the Global Cold War ‚East‘: Transnational Activism 1960-1990* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
112. Thula Simpson, *Umkonto We Sizwe the Anc's Armed Struggle* (Cape Town: Penguin Random House South Africa, 2016), 125-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
113. DHFA, “Provisional Summary Record of the Second Meeting Held at Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, on Tuesday, 10 October 1967 at 10 a.m,” p.6. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
114. Ram R. Ramchandani, *Uganda Asians: The End of an Enterprise: A Study of the Role of the People of Indian Origin in the Economic Development of Uganda and Their Expulsion, 1894-1972* (Bombay: United Asia Publications, 1976); Gijsbert Oonk, *Settled Strangers: Asian Business Elites in East Africa (1800-2000)* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage Publishing, 2013). Today Uganda is considered as a poster child for refugee management offering freedom of movement and the right to work, Alexander Betts, *The Wealth of Refugees: How Displaced People Can Build Economies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
115. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems 9-18 October 1967," 41. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
116. Cato Aall, "Refugee Problems in Southern Africa," in *Refugee Problems in Africa*, ed. Sven Hamrell (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1967), 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
117. For the argument about urban refugee presenting a particular problem set, see also Brett Shadle, "The “Problem” of the Urban Refugee: The African Refugee Regime and the Joint Refugee Services of Kenya, 1967–1982," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue canadienne des études africaines* (2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
118. DHFA, “Education for African Refugees,” p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
119. DHFA, “Education and Training,” p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
120. United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, "Final Report on the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems 9-18 October 1967," 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
121. Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
122. Andrew Thompson, "Humanitarian Principles Put to the Test: Challenges to Humanitarian Action During Decolonization," *International Review of the Red Cross* 97, no. 897-898 (2015): 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)