# *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 engaged with refugee work, and how various conceptions of the African refugee came into being in the early 1960s. Each of the following three chapters engages one conception of how African leaders and refugee experts understood and managed refugees. Ch. 2 focuses on the legal regime developed through the OAU’s own refugee convention. Ch. 3 discusses refugee students through the lens of manpower development plans. Ch. 4 engages rural refugees and zonal development plans. The book then concludes with an outlook on continuities and changes to present day refugee management approaches on the African continent. The reader of this chapter has thus already developed an understanding for the main actors, the development of the legal refugee regime during the 1960s, and the existence of different refugee categories in the panners’ minds. I present different ideas of how to both address the needs of refugees and further the development of the African continent (host and home states alike) in Chapters 3 and 4.*

# Chapter 3

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

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

Africa Hall, Addis Ababa, African Summit Conference of the Heads of States, May 1963. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was in the making. Kenyan politician Ajuma Oginga-Odinga, speaking as representative of the African National Liberation Movements in Non-Independent Territories, introduced their joint memorandum mentioning refugees to the assembled Heads of States on May 21, 1963.[[2]](#footnote-2) The OAU’s Charter was signed four days later, on the 25th of May. 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-3)

The liberation movements had 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 make sure that the OAU was aware of this link from its inception – and 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-4)

 Fast forward a year and a half to 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, then 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 losing 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 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-5)

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

 On the 6th of February 1965, a student at the Government College in Afikpo, Eastern Nigeria, picked up a ballpoint pen to address none other than the Secretary-General of the United Nations to make the claim for why he should be considered a refugee student.[[6]](#footnote-6) 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) and claimed 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,” he wrote.[[7]](#footnote-7) At the time of writing he was enrolled at the Government College to pursue his secondary education. He was already planning ahead, seeking a scholarship to study agriculture. Mr. Chichindua knew how to negotiate labels. Being seen as refugee student from South West Africa, not as student from Bechuanaland, would open up more possibilities of gaining a coveted scholarship.[[8]](#footnote-8)

In February 1967, Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, Deputy Director of the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF),[[9]](#footnote-9) 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:

We wish to regard our activities as a contribution to the liberation of these African countries which are still 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 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-10)

Eriksson underscored the entanglement of decolonization, development, and higher education with respect to refugee students from the parts of Africa which were yet to be decolonized, and with his memo, we have come full circle. These four scenes highlight the plethora of actors involved in 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 providing education and skills training to the displaced. Together, their discussions and actions shaped the globalized world in which those who acquired the label of refugee students moved. Moreover, these glimpses also serve to illustrate the various interests involved in the existence of refugee student education and training: 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 student’s self- interest creating better lives for themselves and their families. Each of these moments, moreover, took place before Africa’s refugee regime was well defined, before its backbone, the 1969 convention discussed in the previous chapter, had been drafted and ratified. The early 1960s were a time when there was a certain fluidity to the ideas around who is a refugee and what they can do, when 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-11) 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 towards taking Africans out of Africa.[[12]](#footnote-12) 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 who sought refuge merged with the need to educate those who could “modernize” African nations.[[13]](#footnote-13) The resulting humanitarian developmentalism sent African refugees out into the world and brought higher education experts to Africa during the era of decolonization.

Alongside the priority given to refugee education by the OAU, a plethora of international organizations and non-governmental organizations played a crucial role in the provision of education services in the framework of humanitarian developmentalism to refugees all over Africa during the 1960s. During the early 1960s, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) did not yet play the dominant role it plays today.[[14]](#footnote-14) The emphasis on higher education provision pioneered in the 1960s for African refugees is presently being rediscovered by agencies like the UNHCR, and the argumentative logic remains similar, as education for development features prominently.[[15]](#footnote-15) The UNHCR’s 2019 education strategy’s goal sees 15% of refugees enrolled in higher education by 2030, up from 1% in 2019.[[16]](#footnote-16) The knowledge the plethora of global actors gathered in the context of provision of higher education for refugees in the 1960s provides experiences on which to draw.

As refugee students from territories today known as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa finished their degrees abroad and lacked decolonized home states to which to return, the question of what to do with the qualified returnees became more and more urgent. By the mid-1960s, it was becoming clear that liberation across southern Africa was still a distant dream, as Portugal and white minority settler governments in South West Africa, South Africa and South Rhodesia refused to heed calls for decolonization. The answer lay in including the returnees in the logic of manpower development plans for independent African countries. Their education was to be executed in areas considered “useful” so that their labor power could be harnessed for the economic development of host states, and – upon independence – their home countries. Rather than obtaining universal higher education, refugee students were to be guided towards technical fields and applied studies. Yet there was an almost insurmountable hurdle to this apparently elegant solution: African manpower schemes were foremost national in scope, whereas refugees were non-nationals. This brought with it planning challenges and, above all, political obstacles.

The grandiose plan for harnessing the potential of refugee students therefore required the establishment of a coordinating institution, the Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR), first simply housed at the OAU, later integrated into it.[[17]](#footnote-17) Exactly how the labor power 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, on which this chapter focuses.

 In the following, I examine the notion of human capital development as a proposed solution to the problem of African refugee students’ employment. I argue that refugee higher education in the 1960s needs to be understood within the development framework of human capital theory, meant to support political pan-African concerns for a decolonized continent, a theory that itself merged with humanitarian arguments to create a hybrid form of humanitarian developmentalism by the 1967 Conference. Moreover, sending refugee students around the continent and the world to gain education and training created a globalized outlook for both the students and for the refugee experts involved in the planning of their studies; thus, refugee higher education must be regarded as both a result of and driver for increased international exchanges.

I start with a description of the OAU, refugee students, and the 1967 Conference as institutional frameworks within which discussions about refugee students took place. The following section lays out the historic global context of African refugee student migrations. The chapter then introduces the theme of refugee higher education and development, demonstrating how education migration provoked 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 passage from a paper prepared for the Conference on the Legal, Economic and Social Aspects of African Refugee Problems held between the 9th and 18th of October, 1967, in Addis Ababa titled “Education and Training for African Refugees”[[18]](#footnote-18) described 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 the empowerment not only of the individuals directly benefitting from it, but for whole communities, even states-to-be. It was to be a soft-power tool of political liberation and pan-African development.

Given the intertwining of the refugee issue with humanitarianism, development, decolonization, and state-making in Africa, the OAU placed refugees on its agenda from the start. This also meant discussing support for student refugees. This was done in the context of resolutions discussed by the OAU’s Council of Ministers and its Assembly of Heads of States and Government. The OAU supported key gatherings, like the 1967 Conference, to reflect on the complex interplay between political imperatives, humanitarianism concerns, and development goals at play in the refugee context during the era of decolonization. It was also done through bureaucratic structures like the BPEAR.

In the late 1960s, there was already nearly a decade of experience with higher education for refugee students on the part of the wide network of scholarship providing institutions in Africa on which the OAU was able to build. Governments and non-government actors were taking stock, especially as it became apparent that independence was taking longer than expected across southern Africa. To this effect there was a flurry of international conferences and meetings.[[19]](#footnote-19) 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 other three organizations set the agenda and furnished the expertise. It brought together in Addis Ababa technocrats from ten international and intergovernmental organizations, politicians from 22 out of the 40 independent African countries and observers from twenty-seven voluntary agencies. Although the conference discussed many different aspects of African refugee policy, for the purpose of this chapter the most important topic was the education and training of refugees.

The 1967 conference gives us a snapshot of the debates being held among a diverse group of political actors at a pivotal 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 Africa’s own refugee convention in 1969 which showcased a more expansive refugee 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.”[[20]](#footnote-20) The conference was therefore centrally situated in the discussions on refugees, human rights, development, and decolonization. It was during this time that Africa emerged as the new “nerve center” of refugee management.[[21]](#footnote-21)

As a result of the 1967 conference, the OAU’s BPEAR came into being.[[22]](#footnote-22) It was intended to function as a clearing house for the placement of, in the parlance of the time, “professional refugees,” and the placement of 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. This was an achievement which Cyril Ritchie, Executive Director of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies, described in a letter on October 15th, 1968 to Sven Hamrell, Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, as the “clearest and most important result of the Conference in so far as concerns coordination between voluntary agencies and governments.”[[23]](#footnote-23) But 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 where

(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.[[24]](#footnote-24)

He went on voicing a 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.”[[25]](#footnote-25) Thus the Aga Khan summed up the motive behind the creation of the bureau: the coordination of 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. But sadly, it was a tall order, and not one the bureau was to be able to live up to entirely as it was plagued by financial restrictions, unclear organizational structures, and purportedly “incompetence and mismanagement.”[[26]](#footnote-26) Already in 1975 Philip E. Chartrand observed the discrepancy between the great effort and the small numbers of refugees actually placed in education or employment, and noting the “continuing lack of confidence in Bureau programs evinced by most African governments.”[[27]](#footnote-27)

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 possibilities but precious few possessed the skills to be considered for higher education scholarships. Some states of asylum 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. Other 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.[[28]](#footnote-28)

For the liberation movements, the relationship between two imperatives—fighting ignorance by pursuing an education and fighting on the battlefield—proved to be treacherous terrain. Refugee students at the Mozambican Institute in Dar es Salaam, for instance, refused to fight in the military, and 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.[[29]](#footnote-29) 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.[[30]](#footnote-30) Some governments, too, perceived African refugee scholarships as threatening. Scholarships for students from Portuguese territories, for instance, had become a bone of contention with Portugal because they were a clear sign for supporting decolonization.[[31]](#footnote-31) Indeed, the Portuguese government went as far as to claim that scholarship programs “promoted displacement.”[[32]](#footnote-32) This 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 residing in exile in Dar es Salam, was offered a scholarship for 5.5 years of veterinary study in Norway. This scholarship was raised through the contributions of 2300 Norwegian high school teachers. While he was 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 secure a living, which prevented 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.”[[33]](#footnote-33) He was growing increasingly frustrated with this situation and longed for a scholarship to allow him to concentrate on his studies. Cato Aall, writing as Secretary of the Norwegian South African Committee, also communicated with Professor Slee in Dar es Salam. It turned out that information could not be passed easily among scholarship granting institution and potential scholarship holder. Mr. Reshane did not know about his scholarship offer. Neither did he possess the necessary papers to rove 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 locate to another temporary refuge, this time in Norway. It was clearly temporary because the Norwegians expected Mr. Reshane to return home after his studies. He was, like all other international students, prevented from practicing veterinary medicine in Norway.[[34]](#footnote-34)

As refugee students sought access to university education – something they could not achieve in their places of birth – the 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.[[35]](#footnote-35) As Eric Burton argues, these migration currents contributed to shaping international scholarship policies.[[36]](#footnote-36) 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; they “held the promise of advancement” as “education had turned into a matter of decolonization, and vice versa.”[[37]](#footnote-37) Yet 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 which was carried forward into independence.[[38]](#footnote-38) Prospective students from southern Africa moved to hubs like Dar es Salaam, Accra, or Cairo because of the educational opportunities these cities promised; at the same time, they competed over access to scholarships and asserted their cosmopolitan agency in these hubs and at institutions across the globe.[[39]](#footnote-39)

Prospective refugee students could pursue several avenues to gain a scholarship. Researchers can find refugee student scholarship applications outlining educational pathways, wishes for country, and course of future studies and aptitude test results from Alice to Accra and New York to London, and many places in between.[[40]](#footnote-40) As the letters of students to scholarship-granting institutions like the United Nations (UN) demonstrate, they could either apply directly, or go through their liberation movements, and, after independence – no longer as refugee students but then as international students – through decolonized state bureaucracies. Liberation movements like the ANC often directly referred refugee students whom they considered bona fide scholars; due to a lack of qualified candidates, they were not always able to fill their scholarship quotas.[[41]](#footnote-41)

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, International University Exchange Fund, 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. Yet the following numbers allow for an understanding of the general 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 which quadrupled between 1959 and 1967 as decolonization progressed. [[42]](#footnote-42) 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.[[43]](#footnote-43) 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.[[44]](#footnote-44) Yugoslavia offered 7,900 scholarships for liberation movements from the global South for university education, vocational training and secondary school education between 1955-84.[[45]](#footnote-45) Zooming in on students studying at universities and professional technical schools from Portuguese dependent territories – 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.[[46]](#footnote-46)

Exactly how many refugee students were currently studying on scholarships was unknown to conference delegates in 1967. They knew that about 500 southern African refugee students had studied in the U.S. 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.[[47]](#footnote-47) According to one estimate, in 1967 there were 796 students from southern Africa enrolled in American universities and an estimated 750-1000 secondary school students in Africa to be potentially fed into university education, plus those on other continents.[[48]](#footnote-48) These numbers were infinitesimally low compared with the overall numbers of refugees. Yet some who worked in the field of refugee education claimed that this was enough because very few refugees had the necessary prior knowledge to be accepted to university and only slightly more had the prior education to access secondary school.[[49]](#footnote-49)

Linking up the right scholarship with right person 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.”[[50]](#footnote-50) Yet 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.[[51]](#footnote-51) 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 a variety of reasons which could include competition for scarce places, language issues, 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 were really needed – but rarely sought after by students and provided by scholarship granting institutions – were scholarships at the upper primary school level, to feed more students into the educational pipeline. As it stood, the limited university scholarships on offer could not be filled due to a lack 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.”[[52]](#footnote-52) 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.[[53]](#footnote-53) This meant that international development agencies and international organizations funded also refugee education programs in the context of what they considered development support.[[54]](#footnote-54) The UN for instance offered programs specifically targeting refugee students from colonized countries. The 1961 “Special education and training programme for South West Africans” was focused on providing educational opportunities to those whose opportunities were limited by the racist Bantu education system.[[55]](#footnote-55) The 1962 “Special training program for Territories under Portuguese Administration” offered educational support to refugees from the Portuguese colonies.[[56]](#footnote-56) Both of these programs included a modest amount of funding for UN fellowships to appropriately qualified students, both also called on member states to offer scholarships in the name of educating the future elites of the still oppressed territories.

The provision of scholarships was originally seen as a goal in and of itself. But 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, and continued to offer a different solution: “The time has come for those of us concerned with this problem to create a plan, a Refugee Manpower Plan.”[[57]](#footnote-57) He proposed to flip the direction of thinking about refugee education to align supply with demand. This new direction of causality necessitated coordination among both scholarship-providing institutions (an effort towards which was made with the creation of the central register of the International University Exchange Fund (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, of universities, and of 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 notion of educating refugees for African human capital development.

**African Refugee Manpower Development**

Delegates at the 1967 conference saw themselves confronted with a challenge: returning refugee graduates from colonized territories had to prepare themselves for a much-longer-than-anticipated life in yet another exile location.[[58]](#footnote-58) The question became how to best harness their skills in the interest of African development and pan-African politics.

The answer seemed simple: many African countries were still employing foreign experts to fill the skills gap between their own 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 as of 1962.[[59]](#footnote-59) In 1965 Uganda also expressed an interest in South African nurses and doctors.[[60]](#footnote-60) However, for reasons to be will discuss below, a large-scale implementation of refugee expertise around the continent remained notional.

Joseph Short from the African American Institute likened deploying the potential of southern African refugees to space travel: “no astronaut should be launched into space without reasonable assurance that he can be returned safely to *terra firma*.” He continued:

By contrast, as education programs for southern African refugees developed in the first years of this decade, there were few ways, limited resources and little time to simulate the future as the space explorers have been able to do. It was not possible to predict with certainty when and where a refugee … might ultimately splash down at the end of flight.[[61]](#footnote-61)

This was to be changed. The trajectories of refugee students were 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 skills plans. These aimed to make states self-sufficient in expertise in running the countries’ public and private sectors. The goal was the indigenization of government positions, university positions, and so on. Colonialism had left most African countries severely lacking in people able to fill certain kinds of professional positions. To give but one example, excluding theologians, the Democratic Republic of Congo was estimated to have twelve graduates available at independence for service to the entire country.[[62]](#footnote-62) In terms of higher education, the development paradigm meant that in an attempt to to support economic growth, late colonial education was slanted towards being more practical, technical, and vocational, and less towards the liberal arts or philosophical.[[63]](#footnote-63) 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.[[64]](#footnote-64) Internationally, contemporary sociologists John Meyer and colleagues referred to the decades bracketing the 1960s as the “world educational revolution.”[[65]](#footnote-65)

The dismantling of 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.[[66]](#footnote-66) Projected needs determined allocation numbers and scholarship numbers for university. In the 1960s, this process worked fairly well, and Tanzania was celebrated as a success story of human capital development. Yet, 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 Addis Ababa plan of 1961 suggested strategic rather than universal education from secondary to tertiary levels, while guaranteeing universal primary education.[[67]](#footnote-67) Education at 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 as was for example the case of Ujamaa policies in Tanzania or the approach of Workers’ Faculties across the socialist world.[[68]](#footnote-68) These differences tell us about the contested nature of these policies, 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.[[69]](#footnote-69) Especially American economists Theodore Schultz and his colleague Frederick Harbison, both at the University of Chicago, and Saint Lucian born W. Arthur Lewis at Princeton University, also Ghana’s Chief Economic Advisor, are important names in connection with the development of human capital theory.[[70]](#footnote-70) The theory links education with personal upward mobility and by extension national economic growth. Individual capability and economic productiveness are the result of a complex interplay of societal factors in upbringing, prominent amongst which is education. Therefore, a society which invests in education will increase its human capital and therefore greatly increase its capacity for endogenous (and thus sustainable) economic growth. National economic growth, was at the time equated with development and therefore education came to be understood as tool for development. As Elisa Prosperetti demonstrates, this theory could develop so much purchase precisely because it allowed for a universal language with which African leaders could connect to donors via a shared vision of development through training and a shared modernity.[[71]](#footnote-71) 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 seen as a vital device for building a unified nation state out of diverse ethnic groups. All these aspects 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.”[[72]](#footnote-72) 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. Thus refugees, although African and therefore theoretically advancing stated goals of Africanization, were often not welcome in national labor markets that struggled to offer opportunities for their own citizens. This powerfully demonstrates the limits of Pan-Africanism in practice.[[73]](#footnote-73) Even countries like Botswana and Tanzania, known to support refugees in the early 1960s, went through more restrictive periods in the latter half of the decade and initially open-door policies became increasingly closed.[[74]](#footnote-74)

Just as 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 defined.[[75]](#footnote-75) Refugee manpower planning had to concentrate on potential refugee students and on linking them up relatively quickly with scholarship and education opportunities that matched the identified skills gaps. The potential training had to be attractive both for the potential 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.[[76]](#footnote-76) The whole balancing act was even more difficult because the intake was unpredictable.[[77]](#footnote-77)

Attempts to systematize scholarship selection procedures began to be put in place in 1967; 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 wishes 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 wishes and see whether these corresponded to available scholarships. The first point of tension was whether to steer refugee students towards university-level education or technical training. In Africa in the 1960s, just as universities were being built, they often enjoyed a kind of magical pull across all levels of societies.[[78]](#footnote-78) The traditional university had long played a dominant role in the thinking of the applicants and administrators alike; there was a general tendency in Africa, as elsewhere, to treat the university as true ‘education’ in contrast with ‘training’ acquired at technical or vocational institutions, not least because of the upward social mobility it promised.[[79]](#footnote-79) This also shone through in the discussion of refugee students who reportedly 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 that were deemed prestigious but that the labor markets of African nation states could not absorb. In a report prepared for a conference that took place in London March 18-19, 1967, the IUEF stated:[[80]](#footnote-80)

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.

The best deployment of refugee labor was another matter of discussion. OAU Deputy Secretary General from 1964-73, H. Mohamed Sahnoun of Algeria, who played a leading role in the organization of the 1967 conference for the OAU, saw the most important objective for refugee students as decolonization, stating that “[r]efugee students should, first of all, participate in the struggle for freedom.” Consequently, he saw but one solution concerning repatriation and utilization: “to establish majority governments in the countries of southern Africa.”[[81]](#footnote-81) Employing refugee graduates in the liberation struggles required a complex interplay between the students, liberation movements, independent African governments, and the OAU.[[82]](#footnote-82) 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. And even among those who were, not all wished to take up arms, as the uprising at the Mozambique Institute demonstrated.[[83]](#footnote-83) There was, however, a broad spectrum of possibilities for what precisely involvement in the struggle could mean, other than actively fighting in the field. Included was service to fellow refugees in exile in independent Africa, or service in what were known as “refugee settlements” which 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.[[84]](#footnote-84) Yet 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” and that therefore (temporary) repatriation to independent African countries was both a necessary and “worthwhile” solution because, according to him, the conditions across Africa were similar so that refugees could gain work experience in relevant environments and also benefit of 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.[[85]](#footnote-85)

What underlay this discussion was a shift from seeing the refugee as an object of humanitarian concern to seeing refugee students as potential agents of development.[[86]](#footnote-86) The UNHCR managed to align refugee protection with developmentalism as it reconceptualized refugees not so much as a humanitarian challenge but as an opportunity for development through labor.[[87]](#footnote-87) The UNHCR was not alone in its approach. Some national governments, such as Tanzania’s, shared this conviction.[[88]](#footnote-88) Yet the paths to employment were far from smooth and depended on many unknown variables:

We do not even know how many scholarships to universities have been awarded refugees 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.[[89]](#footnote-89)

Given this complexity, how was “the” refugee “problem” to 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.”[[90]](#footnote-90) It is specifically the mention of education and vocational training as a means of resettlement that is 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.”[[91]](#footnote-91) However, as we will come to see in the next section, urban refugees were not always welcomed as we might expect skilled migrants would be.

**The paradox of (un)desirable refugee elites**

That refugee students were to return to Africa and make themselves useful was an uncontroversial statement. However, 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.[[92]](#footnote-92) As of the late 1960s, university graduates outnumbered opportunities for employment, not necessarily because of an actual lack of opportunities or oversupply of skilled workers, but was also due to the limited capacity of liberation movements and independent countries to absorb these graduates. It was true even for fields that the UNECA declared high priority, such as teaching, accounting, soil conversion 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 in order to reorient them to the employment market and increase their prospect for employment.”[[93]](#footnote-93) These fields included laboratory technology, engineering, and teaching.

 Numerous grand designs did not much consider the wishes of the refugee students themselves. Many refugee students deemed their futures more secure outside Africa, and thus married and settled abroad and did not seek to return. Some lacked the political fervor to draw them back. Still others did not find the listed areas of study desirable and pursued the study of – for example – law, which carried great prestige and was an attractive degree for students, but for which African national labor markets were predicted to reach a point of saturation. Planners involved in writing the papers for the 1967 conference thus did not want to see students encouraged to study for degrees that could not fill important gaps in labor markets across the continent, gaps they foremost saw at the level of technicians and applied studies. To mitigate the danger of brain drain the spending on scholarships was to be rerouted to focus on capacity-building in African institutions of higher learning.[[94]](#footnote-94) A 1967 paper produced for the DHF titled “Education for African Refugees” brought the twin goals of pushing students towards “useful” education and doing so on the African continent together when it stated: “It had to be learned that it is better for students and Africa to be educated in Africa; that producing hundreds of lawyers and political scientists may not be very useful.”[[95]](#footnote-95) It was proposed that the best way forward was not to let students choose their own disciplines according to their liking, but to steer them into technical and vocational fields so as to produce technicians, which were deemed lacking on the African continent. 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.”[[96]](#footnote-96) This approach is also reminiscent of scholarships across the Eastern bloc. 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.”[[97]](#footnote-97)

Beyond manpower planning, the lack of travel documents became a major concern for refugee students, who had often fled without passports and then needed to spend considerable time and effort securing visas for onward travel, without having a document from their country of first asylum which would allow them to return. Independent of pan-African plans discussed by UNECA or the OAU, postcolonial governments quickly assumed a “gatekeeping” function with regard to both educational journeys and employment opportunities by enforcing restrictive border regimes.[[98]](#footnote-98) Practitioners stated that it was easier to send refugee students to the U.S. because even if places at schools in other African countries had been secured, visas were very hard to procure. 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 controversially debated at the 1967 conference as few countries were prepared to guarantee refugees entry into their country upon return from their studies.[[99]](#footnote-99) Not wanting to provide a return clause in the travel documents for refugee students brought into sharp relief that not even the return of skilled refugees was necessarily desirable to young independent states struggling to provide for their own population first and foremost, and afraid of the political backlash that employing “outsiders” might cause.[[100]](#footnote-100) As a working paper for the 1967 conference titled “Education and Training for African Refugees” noted:

independent countries in Africa, faced with a grievous array of their own problems, are understandably apprehensive of the possibility of becoming centers of concentration of volatile, politicized, and perhaps potentially dangerous young exiles, becoming more dangerous as their frustration at not being able to return home grows.[[101]](#footnote-101)

This underlines that even skilled migrants could be perceived first and foremost as a threat, not an asset. 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 their preference for urban centers, rendered them into a potentially explosive time bomb. It is interesting how the trope of the refugees as threat to national stability is reframed, overwriting any tangible economic benefits the skilled African expats could bring. This fearmongering stands in sharp contrast to a general perception of the 1960s-70s in Africa as a time of an open-door policy towards refugees especially from unliberated areas.[[102]](#footnote-102) However, in terms of education, a discussion paper prepared by the IUEF in February 1967 titled “Educational Needs of the African Refugees in Relation to the Manpower Needs in Africa” decried the “reluctance of the free African governments to accept refugees into their countries.”[[103]](#footnote-103) This was even more of a concern to the first countries of arrival for refugees from southern Africa, like present-day Lesotho or Botswana.[[104]](#footnote-104)

 Botswana (until 1966 known as British Bechuanaland) had been successfully hosting refugees from its white-ruled neighbors since 1957, acting as transit country including a network of safe houses and shifting departure points of underground routes to Tanzania and Zambia. In fact, as Neil Parsons shows, hosting refugees became central to Botswana’s narrative of nationhood post-independence.[[105]](#footnote-105) However, when guerilla fighters sought refuge in Botswana in 1966-67, its welcoming attitude changed and self-preservation gained the upper hand. 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. 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 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.”[[106]](#footnote-106) The theoretical pan-African imperative of absolute support for independence movements was in fact undermined by a diversion of interests and an intense fear on the part of frontier countries: if apartheid were to prove unsuccessful, so the Botswanan representative, South Africa might expel its black population,

and both Botswana and Zambia would be flooded. The elite of South African refugees could not understand why black African countries did not give them favorable treatment. They could not understand the meaning of independence to countries which have attained it, for 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.

Already by 1969, however, Botswana was able to offer more explicit support to liberation movements going forward. 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 on the grounds that it was a firm supporter of 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 which were able to provide guerilla camps. The next generation of frontline states, among them Botswana, would have to aid the cause in a different manner. 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.”[[107]](#footnote-107) 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, whereas Congo/Kinshasa was to focus on Angola and Tanzania on Mozambique but also was to support Zambia.[[108]](#footnote-108) Hence, reactions to taking in refugees were not uniform in the region or by states over time.

Mr. L. Wako, the Ugandan government representative to the 1967 Conference suggested that the freedom of movement of “professional refugees” should only be allowed for “official travel.” According to him, the industrial sector of African countries was too small to absorb non-nationals, hence refugees should be encouraged to farm in accordance with the agricultural base of most African economies.[[109]](#footnote-109) 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. It also took in many refugees from the region since before the inception of the OAU.[[110]](#footnote-110) Both the Botswanan and Ugandan representatives were speaking from positions which were at the time primarily nationalist regarding 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 sceptics 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 individual refugees tended tocongregate in urban areas, where they often faced difficulties integrating into host societies and found themselves confronted with unemployment, quite against their expectations and the grandiloquent rhetoric surrounding refuge 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: “These refugees tend to feel frustrated, become over-demanding, over-sensitive to criticism and difficult in their behaviour.”[[111]](#footnote-111) Cato Aall underscored the importance of timely intervention by employing the arresting comparison of military surgery in times of atomic warfare with refugees. 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.”[[112]](#footnote-112) Thus, the only way to avoid problems with prospective refugee students and educated refugees was to place them in a course of study or employment without prolonged periods of uncertainty and waithood.[[113]](#footnote-113)

Of course, plans for refugee higher education and manpower were not made in isolation but in a wider African education and development context, shaped by international actors in the field of education and humanitarian assistance. As a paper titled “Education for African Refugees” reminded the delegates:[[114]](#footnote-114)

 One cannot hope to create an ideal world for young refugees. 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.

The paper went on to differentiate between general problems of education across the continent, such as “lack of economic resources and facilities, how to orient curriculae [sic] and public education to serve both the legitimate aspirations of people and the demands of developing economies,” and those that were deemed applicable to the refugee population, among which are “psychological and practical uprooting, concentration of refugees in badly equipped areas, extreme poverty, language, employment on completion of studies.” While refugees in 1967 were vulnerable to a whole host of factors that would negatively impact their possibilities of obtaining education, many of the issues deemed “peculiar to the refugees” were ones that affected broad sections of the populations in the recently independent states, to which many of the refugees fled. Thus, on the one hand, educated refugee elites 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 above, the consensus among practitioners in the late 1960s is reflected in a paper written in preparation for the 1967 conferences which surmised: “So long as the refugee situation continues, it is vitally important to continue to provide educational assistance to refugees.”[[115]](#footnote-115)

**Conclusion**

The 1967 conference took place in Africa Hall, the very same venue in which the OAU had come into being just four years earlier and worked to, in the words of Secretary General Diallo Telli, “awaken international awareness of the serious position of African refugees” and “to find some happy solution.”[[116]](#footnote-116) One of these solutions was aimed at harnessing the education of refugee student elites for national development in the spirit of pan-African solidarity – a plan which, as we have seen, met with resistance on several fronts.

African higher education was an important and expanding field in the 1960s, not least because a claim to higher education was deemed vitally important for the future of recently independent states, as well as those territories that 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 their potential to act as agents of development received equal attention, revealing the hybrid forms of humanitarian developmentalism at play in the field of refugee higher education. Thus, the ideal of an apolitical humanitarian engagement remained a theoretical ideal when it came to refugee education in Africa in the 1960s.[[117]](#footnote-117) Decolonization allowed for a renegotiation of the legitimate scope of humanitarian aid.[[118]](#footnote-118)

The materials prepared for the 1967 conference suggest that refugee students as an elite pool of available manpower could be crucial to the development of African states if they were able to be integrated into manpower development schemes for the development of national economies. The BPEAR was to organize such continent-wide “utilization” of skilled refugee labor resources. The discussions analyzed in this chapter have shown that in practice national labor market policies prioritized employment of nationals over non-national refugees and that stereotypical notions of refugees as threats to political stability at times overwrote notions of refugees as assets to national development. The discrepancy between grand notions of solving both the refugee crisis and Africa’s development challenge through human capital development, and the difficulties surrounding their trans-African implementation, demonstrated that to a large extent the big plans remained entirely 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, between refugee numbers of around one million and scholarship programs in the tens or hundreds or thousands. Yet while structured refugee manpower development in hindsight proved but a pipe dream, African refugee students *did* travel the world acquiring education and, in pursuance of international coordination efforts of their training delegates from around the world came to Africa.

The ideas deliberated in this chapter formed part of the discussions that the epistemic community of refugee experts and African politicians had about refugee management at a time when Africa’s very own refugee regime was in the making. 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. Yet 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 was debated and tried during the 1960s and contributed to shaping the African refugee regime as it had emerged by the end of the decade.

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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-1)
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-2)
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-3)
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-4)
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-5)
6. This was the region of Nigeria in which the Biafra-Nigeria war was being fought, starting merely two years after the letter writer had pinned his request. Perhaps some of his fellow students were then turned into refugees in turn. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
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-7)
8. The archives do not reveal whether the student was successful. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
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. At the time of the writing of the report, 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 and African students who sought 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-9)
10. DHFA, “International University Exchange Fund,” p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
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 marked by relatively welcoming receptions of refugees by host countries, rendering them a “golden age” for refugees. 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-11)
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-12)
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-13)
14. 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-14)
15. 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-15)
16. UNHCR’s 15by30 Roadmap, <https://www.unhcr.org/media/39184>, accessed May 31, 2023. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. 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, became enlarged and tasked with additional areas of responsibility 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-17)
18. DHFA, konferenser 1967, F1: 25, “AFR/REF/CONF. 1967/No 11”, “Education and Training for African Refugees,” p. 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. 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 big 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-19)
20. 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-20)
21. 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-21)
22. 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-22)
23. 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-23)
24. Khan, "The Problems of Refugees," 219. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Ibid., 220. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. 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-26)
27. Philip E. Chartrand, "The Organization of African Unity and African Refugees: A Progress Report," *World Affairs* 137, no. 4 (1975): 280. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. 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-28)
29. 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-29)
30. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 80. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ibid., 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Ibid., 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. ANC Archives, University of Fort Hare (in the following ANCA), Frene Ginwala Box 55F19, Letter from Reshane to Slee, 7.12.1961. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. 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-34)
35. 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-35)
36. 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-36)
37. Burton, "Decolonization, the Cold War, and Africans’ Routes to Higher Education Overseas, 1957–65," 173-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. 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-38)
39. 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-39)
40. 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-40)
41. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 96. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. 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-42)
43. Tarradellas, "“A Glorious Future” for Africa: Development, Higher Education and the Making of African Elites in the United States (1961–1971)," 278. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. 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-44)
45. 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-45)
46. 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-46)
47. 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-47)
48. 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-48)
49. 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-49)
50. 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-50)
51. 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-51)
52. DHFA, “International University Exchange Fund,” p. 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. 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-53)
54. Valeska Huber, "Planning Education and Manpower in the Middle East, 1950s–60s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 52, no. 1 (2017): 98. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. 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-55)
56. 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-56)
57. Eldridge, "Education and Training of Refugees and Their Potential Contribution to Development," 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. 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-58)
59. 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-59)
60. 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-60)
61. Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 89. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. 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-62)
63. N’dri T. Assié-Lumumba, "Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reforms and Transformations," *CODESIRA Working Paper Series* (2006): 42. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Ibid., 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. John W. Meyer et al., "The World Educational Revolution, 1950-1970," *Sociology of Education* 50, no. 4 (1977). [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. 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-66)
67. 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, "‚Africa’s Most Urgent and Vital Need’: Human Capital Theory, Unesco, and the Ascendance of Anticolonial Development," (forthcoming), 19-21. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. 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-68)
69. 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-69)
70. For an elaboration of how human capital theory became preeminent, see Prosperetti, "‚Africa’s Most Urgent and Vital Need’: Human Capital Theory, Unesco, and the Ascendance of Anticolonial Development," 3-6; Robert L. Tignor, *W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006). [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Prosperetti, "‚Africa’s Most Urgent and Vital Need’: Human Capital Theory, Unesco, and the Ascendance of Anticolonial Development." [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Eldridge, "Education and Training of Refugees and Their Potential Contribution to Development," 81. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. 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-73)
74. 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-74)
75. 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-75)
76. Alcinda Honwana, "Youth, Waithood, and Protest Movements in Africa," *African Arguments*, 12.08.2013 2013. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. Eldridge, "Education and Training of Refugees and Their Potential Contribution to Development," 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Ajayi, *The African Experience with Higher Education*, 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Assié-Lumumba, "Higher Education in Africa: Crises, Reforms and Transformations," 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. DHFA, konferenser 1967, F1: 23, “Material rörande,” “International University Exchange Fund (IUEF),” 18. – 19.03.1967, p.5. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Syracuse University workshop report cited in Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Luise White, "Students, Zapu, and Special Branch in Francistown, 1964–1972," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 40, no. 6 (2014). [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. Tague, *Displaced Mozambicans in Postcolonial Tanzania: Refugee Power, Mobility, Education, and Rural Development*, 96, 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Ibid., 95. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 94-5. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. Joanna Tague discusses the idea of Mozambican refugees as agents of development in 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-86)
87. 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-87)
88. Jill Rosenthal, "From ‘Migrants’ to ‘Refugees’: Identity, Aid, and Decolonization in Ngara District, Tanzania," *Journal of African History* 56 (2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. DHFA, “Education and Training,” p. 3-4. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. 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-90)
91. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Short, "Utilization of the Educated Refugee from Southern Africa," 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. 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-93)
94. 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 a resident permit 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-94)
95. DHAF, konferenser 1967, F1: 22, “Education for African Refugees: Outline of paper to be produced for Dag Hammarskjold Foundation,” 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. 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-96)
97. DHAF, konferenser 1967, F1: 22, “Education for African Refugees: Outline of paper to be produced for Dag Hammarskjold Foundation,” 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. 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-98)
99. 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 establish a system whereby 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-99)
100. 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-100)
101. DHFA, “Education and Training,” p. 14. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Bonaventure Rutinwa, "The End of Asylum? The Changing Nature of Refugee Policies in Africa," *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 21, no. 1/2 (2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. 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-103)
104. 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-104)
105. Parsons, "The Pipeline: Botswana’s Reception of Refugees, 1956–68." [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. 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-106)
107. 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-107)
108. Thula Simpson, *Umkonto We Sizwe the Anc's Armed Struggle* (Cape Town: Penguin Random House South Africa, 2016), 125-26. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. 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-109)
110. 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-110)
111. 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-111)
112. 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-112)
113. 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-113)
114. DHFA, “Education for African Refugees,” p. 1. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. DHFA, “Education and Training,” p. 15. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. 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-116)
117. Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. 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-118)