

Inventing KNOWLEDGE

CONTESTS
IN CURRICULUM
CONSTRUCTION

Edited by
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Publisher's Centenary Message

INVENTING KNOWLEDGE is published in Maskew Miller Longman's Centenary year. It has been chosen as the company's centenary publication because it reflects both in fine detail and in broad theme the world of education and learning which MML has served for a hundred years.

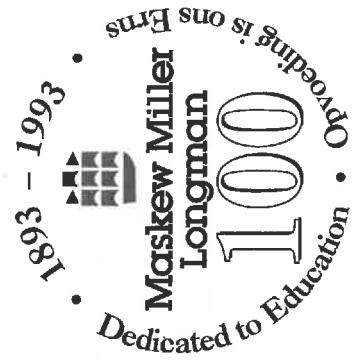
That service has principally taken the form of book publication, and today there will be many tens of thousands of South Africans who have achieved their educational goals with the help of Maskew Miller Longman books. Equally, there are great numbers of teachers who have used such books in the practice of their classroom profession.

A centenary is not just a time for looking back; for educationalists in particular, it is a time for looking forward to the imminent challenges and opportunities of life in a democratic South Africa. INVENTING KNOWLEDGE is a book that seeks to show us how those challenges may be met, those opportunities seized.

For all of us at MML, therefore, our centenary represents the chance to dedicate ourselves to the future, even as we celebrate the past. It is also a good time to realise that neither the achieved past nor the hoped-for future are abstract realms of experience. Both are realised in the work of people giving their best in the present.

Cape Town

March 1993



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CHAPTER 5

Curriculum policies and processes in Mozambique, 1930-1989: the colonial legacy and the challenge of national reconstruction¹

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Introduction

There is no literature that systematically examines curriculum policies and processes in Mozambique. The limited sum of literature on education issues concentrates on general policy principles and wider developments in education since independence (see Lisboa, 1970; Mawema, 1981; Barnes, 1982; Mondlane, 1983; Marshall, 1985; Seale, 1978; Hamilton, 1978; Azevedo and Mugomba, 1980). This is exacerbated by the fact that, generally, education has not constituted a relevant issue in Mozambican historiography. Recent reviews of literature on Mozambique by Bender and Isacaman (1976), Penvenne (1985) and White (1985) did not include education literature, neither did the conference on Mozambican historiography held in July 1990. Thus our knowledge of curriculum issues in this country remains very limited and merely exploratory.

Surprisingly, there has been an almost complete silence in most academic circles on important aspects of the education experience of Mozambique. As a result, the Mozambican experience has come to be regarded as either disastrous or uninspiring.² This is partly because progressive analysts have concentrated almost exclusively on the effects of imperialist aggression on Mozambique and have been unable to grasp critically internal processes such as changes in the education system. Those who have examined these processes have done so within the romantic tradition that dominated progressive literature on young revolutions, in which sentiments of solidarity and sympathy tend to overwhelm scholarly analysis (Marshall, 1985; Seale, 1978; Hamilton, 1978). There are however some recent important analyses of the Mozambican revolution worth mentioning (see for example Johnston, 1989; 1990; Graham-Taylor, 1991).

However, the current context – internationally and locally – necessitates a more critical approach to earlier experiments of social transformation without damaging their integrity. There is a need to learn from mistakes, as this chapter is attempting to show. It is a general appraisal of what happened in the Mozambican experience of curriculum development, and what went wrong: it is an attempt to examine critically the experience of Mozambique in the development of alternative curriculum policies in its attempts to build a socialist society. It looks at three major steps in the history of curriculum policy and practice in Mozambique: the curriculum model inherited from Portuguese colonialism; the attempts made in the course of the struggle for national liberation to develop an alternative curriculum; and the design and implementation of a curriculum for socialist transition. It also looks at the implications of the recent political changes, which culminated in the rejection of Marxism–Leninism, for future curriculum policies. The chapter draws attention to the problems entailed in the adoption of curriculum policies designed to foster particular ideological and party political goals, especially in periods of political crisis. It also shows the limitations of curriculum policies that do not reflect the complexity of the society in which they are implemented, particularly in cases of social, cultural, linguistic, geographical and economic diversity.

Colonial legacy

The processes of colonial education in Mozambique have been examined elsewhere (see Cross, 1987). This chapter will concentrate mainly on the colonial legacy and curriculum policies after independence. The main pattern of colonial education was established under colonial fascism, approximately between 1930/45 and 1975. Socially, colonial fascism was translated into a policy of social assimilation. This was aimed at producing the “Portuguese nation” of a large number of Africans, assimilating them into the Portuguese nation and culture through education, miscegenation and the deculturation/accluration process. It was based on the Native Assistance Code of 1971, which defined the civilised African as one who could speak Portuguese, had divested himself of all tribal customs and had gained the means to earn his own living. On this basis, the “New State” of Salazar set up a *regime do indigenato* according to which the African population was divided into two categories: the *indigenatos* (unassimilated Africans) and *neo-indigenatos* (Africans considered to have divested themselves of all tribal customs and to have assimilated Portuguese values and culture). The *indigenatos* represented the majority of the African population. They had no citizenship and had to produce on demand an identity card or *caderneta indigenata*. They were subject to all the regulations of the *regime do indigenato*, such as forced labour, influx control, control of movements and restrictions on the use of social amenities.

In theory, an *assimilado*, as a *neo-indigenata*, was to be regarded as a full Portuguese citizen. He or she enjoyed all the privileges that went with Portuguese citizenship (Mondlane, 1983: 41). A set of social and economic benefits was granted to those who succeeded in the transition to the status of *assimilados*, such as exemption from certain taxes and the right to purchase land, other property and labour (Mawema, 1981: 155). In practice, the *assimilados* remained a third category.

Along with the assimilation policy went the strategy of miscegenation, which viewed colonial authorities as constituting an appropriate instrument for the spread of Portuguese ethnic characteristics in African society and the “most powerful force of colonial nationalism”. When given equality to the European under the law and admitted to administrative, religious, political and military positions, it was argued, “the *mulatto* comes to adopt exclusively the customs and languages of the conquering nation” (Mondlane, 1983: 50). As a result of this policy, *mulattos* (people of mixed race) were encouraged to play an important role in the colonial superstructure. They were thus provided with better material and education privileges than the *assimilados* (Mondlane, 1983: 50–4).

The colonial state assumed responsibility for the education of Europeans, Asians and other groups including the *assimilados*. The education of *indigenatos* (unassimilated Africans) was left in the hands of the Catholic missionaries, who were, however, under the direct control of the colonial state. Two categories of school system were institutionalised in Mozambique: the Roman Catholic mission schools for African children and the more sophisticated government schools for whites, Asians, *mulattos* and *assimilados*. The former provided for rudimentary instruction or instruction of adaptation, and were expected gradually to lead “the African from a savage to a civilised life, making him more valuable to society and to himself” (Isaacman and Isaacman, 1983: 50). They were based on the assumption that education, to be effective, had to take into account the disparity and the different degrees of civilisation between Europeans and Africans (Amunio do Einsino, 1930: 26). The African primary schools, situated predominantly in rural areas, were run by the Portuguese Catholic missionaries or, where this was not possible, by Protestant missions and the government. They were known as rudimentary schools. At the same primary school level, the government and the Catholic missions established a lower level education in arts and crafts for Africans. African schools were to produce a lower class of technical and agricultural workers and craftsmen who could easily be manipulated by the colonial economy. The state retained the responsibility of establishing programmes and curricula and awarding examination certificates. Secondary education was generally offered by a few *liceus* (grammar schools) in urban areas and was open on the basis of state examinations to African pupils. An African graduate from the rudimentary primary school would qualify to enter the *liceus* only by

completing additional instruction in the primary–elementary school and then passing the entrance examination. This bureaucratic process was heightened by other obstacles, such as the difficulty of mastering a foreign language, the uninteresting Eurocentric nature of the curriculum, restrictive regulations, age limitations and a lack of space in the rural elementary school. Primary education for Europeans, *militares* and *assimilados* was compulsory from age seven to age eleven.

Curriculum policy and practice

The colonial curriculum policy and practice was determined by the following factors: the ideal of “Portuguesation” of Africans so that they could accept Portuguese rule with little resistance; the centralisation policy, justified by the assumption that Mozambique was not just a Portuguese colony but a “province” of the Portuguese territory; the claim that Africans could be diverted from their cultural traditions and be assimilated into the Portuguese nation and culture; and Caetano’s belief that the promotion of miscegenation between Europeans and Africans under systematic exposure to the Euro-tropical ideology would at least result in a Brazil-type mixed society (see Hedges, 1982; Mondlane, 1983: 50–4). Consequently, the curriculum, syllabuses and textbooks were either the same as or similar to those used in Portugal, with few modifications to meet local concerns. For this purpose, the teaching staff had to be predominantly of Portuguese origin and nationality. The use of the Portuguese language as both the official and the instructional language became compulsory in all education matters except the teaching of religion (Mawema, 1981: 174). The use of African languages was banned from school grounds.

In the rudimentary schools African children received training in arithmetic, the sciences, drawing, manual work, religion, physical and musical education. Girls received “female education”, which instructed them in sewing, embroidery and cookery. After three years of “adaptive instruction”, African children were given an examination in order to pass to Grade Three of the primary school if they were under the age of thirteen.

As the colonial economy grew, emphasis was placed on manual training in the mission schools, and on vocational, technical and professional education in commercial and industrial schools. Only the *letras* retained their elite and academic orientation. Commercial and technical schools offered a preparatory two-year cycle common to all pupils, followed by vocational training over three years with separate courses in skills such as commerce, woodwork and mechanics. There were also agricultural schools that trained farmers through practical courses lasting three or four years (Duffy, 1959: 315; Mawema, 1981: 180).

Most of the teachers in government schools were trained in Portugal. However, a *magnífico primário* (teachers’ college programme) was established,

under which assistant primary teachers were prepared for local certification. Catholic missions also ran classes to train teachers exclusively for African rudimentary and primary schools. Protestant missions were not allowed to operate teacher-training institutions.

Crisis and reformism in the 1960s

The late 1950s and the 1960s were characterised by the adoption of a more flexible policy by the colonial state in response to the rapidly expanding anti-colonial movement, African nationalism and the armed struggle proclaimed by FRELIMO in 1964. A new colonial strategy began to emerge, which involved: restructuring the colonial economy, opening the doors to and establishing a firm alliance with foreign capital; reinforcement of economic integration into the southern African economic sub-system; formal abolition of the regime of forced labour and compulsory cash crop production; recognition of full citizenship and franchise for all; a constitutional reform which gave Mozambique the formal status of “state” (Shimo, 1970); and promotion of more social and economic opportunities for Africans, a policy determined by the need to promote a co-opted African elite.

The notion of education for leadership designed to build up a conformist middle class appeared attractive to the reformist politicians. Hastening the promotion of the African middle class came to be seen as the safest way of averting a revolutionary change. For this purpose, more education opportunities were allowed to Africans, particularly after the abolition of the Native Statute and the recognition of full citizenship. The distinction between the so-called assimilated and non-assimilated Africans ceased. The September 1964 Educational Reform Decree eliminated the separation between the system of adaptation and normal primary school education. Theoretically, primary education became compulsory and available to all children between six and twelve years of age, irrespective of race or degree of “civilisation.” With these reforms, education for Africans no longer had to depend on missionary activity alone.

Most of the education reforms of the 1960s were concentrated on the primary education level and on the political platform. These have been examined elsewhere (see Cross, 1987). Much less was done in secondary and higher education and at the level of the curriculum. The curriculum retained its Eurocentric bias. In post-primary education, priority was given mainly to technical and occupational skills aimed at producing many lower-skilled Africans. Figures for 1966–7 show that about 70 per cent of Africans at the secondary level attended technical or occupational schools and that only about 2.8 per cent attended academic schools, whereas most Europeans attended academic schools.⁴

The challenge of national reconstruction: The constraints

FRELIMO inherited a legacy of economic and social underdevelopment, characterised by a lack of investment capital and the underdevelopment of productive forces, except in the plantations, farm pockets and main urban areas, and in the commercial infrastructure designed to stimulate peasant cash crop production (railways, roads and stores); unequal development between rural and urban areas; and a railway network – where the most significant portion of capital was invested – determined by and subordinated to the interests of the neighbouring countries.

The underdevelopment of the economy produced a typical colonial social structure. Within the white colonial community, a powerful bureaucracy, whose role was to protect Portuguese interests in the colony and safeguard loyalty to the metropolis, conflicted with a small class of Portuguese farmers. A number of Portuguese traders scattered around the country competed with relatively strong pockets of Indian merchants. Among Africans, a very small and weak élite of mission-educated Africans, *miulatos* and *assimilados* occupied lower positions in the colonial economy such as clerks, interpreters, mission-school teachers and labour *capatazes* (overseers). In general, all the skilled and semi-skilled positions in the colonial economy, and in political and social institutions, were reserved for expatriates to meet the pressures of unemployment in Portugal and were to be filled by Europeans, most of whom left the country soon after independence.⁵

The virtual lack of African participation in positions of economic and political leadership reveals the failure of the Portuguese policies of assimilation and miscegenation in producing a weighty African middle class. For example, in 1950, out of a population of over six million, there were no more than 4 555 *assimilados*, and only a few of their children attended secondary school.⁶ By 1960, *miulatos* constituted only about 0.5 per cent of the population. Their importance was qualitative rather than quantitative (Mondlane, 1983: 51). They were urbanised and better educated than the *assimilados*, although their status did not in practice involve much racial equality. The present-day FRELIMO leadership reflects this colonial distortion.

The curriculum model reflected this social and economic pattern of development. The core curriculum remained extremely Eurocentric and prescriptive in spite of minor changes introduced in the 1960s. The abolition of the distinction between the system of adaptation and the normal primary school education did not include significant curriculum modifications. By its nature the curriculum restricted access to higher levels of schooling. Only those pupils whose class background and survival strategies embodied the colonial ethos which guided the teaching-learning process – memorisation and regurgitation of the subjects, conformism and disrespect for African

linguistic and cultural traditions – could succeed in progressing to higher levels of schooling.

While the absence of a strong élite facilitated FRELIMO's revolutionary commitments, it also created almost insurmountable obstacles to economic development in Mozambique. FRELIMO found itself in the situation of choosing whether to reproduce, at least for a while, the inherited exploitative system of economic development while creating conditions and resources for deeper social change or, for the sake of political freedom and legitimacy, to undermine and immediately dismantle the inherited system and build a new social, economic and political order. The latter option seems to have been the one chosen. This was a development that accompanied the metamorphoses undergone by FRELIMO within the liberated zones during the struggle for national liberation: within these areas African nationalism began to assume a more revolutionary perspective. Consequently, FRELIMO had to expand the education infrastructure, train and educate a new leadership, prepare the working class for control of the economy and so forth, without an adequate social base and without material and financial resources.

The emergence of a new culture of education in the liberated zones, 1962–1974

Those areas that fell under the control of FRELIMO during the war of national liberation became known as "liberated zones". A salient feature of these areas is the fact that they symbolised the creative potential of a new type of liberation movement. The demands and contradictions of the armed struggle, as manifested by the conflicts at the FRELIMO secondary school in Dar-es-Salaam, and the political struggles over the form and content of the organisation of society in the liberated zones, made possible the development of a new culture of education and new concepts around the banner "educate man to win the war, create a new society and develop our country". As such, liberated zones represented the laboratory of FRELIMO's education policies.

The experience of the liberated zones gave rise to: the idea of education as a primary tool for serving the people and the liberation work; the conception of schools as democratic centres where colonial distinctions between mental and manual work, and the barriers between teacher and pupils, the intellectual and the illiterate, were eliminated; the development of a spirit of self-reliance; and the value of criticism and self-criticism in recognising and correcting errors. According to these concepts and principles, anyone who had knowledge should communicate it and put it at the service of the masses. As President Machel (1976) put it, "if the seed is locked in the drawer we can never harvest the fruit". The recognition of the symbiotic relationship between study and physical work, theory and practice, represented by the slogan

"Study, Produce and Fight", provided a basis for the struggle against intellectual elitism.

The methods and programmes were geared at replacing a colonial-capitalist, individualist and competitive mentality with a revolutionary mentality based on the practice of collective work and study, democratic participation and the working out of new kinds of social relations between people. Old ideas and negative traditional values such as the oppression of women by men, tribalism, superstition and all those cultural practices that in the light of FRELIMO's revolutionary ideals had come to be seen as "culturally non-acceptable" were also to be eliminated.

Although the schools within the liberated zones suffered materially from all the ills of a war situation and an extremely poor social environment — lack of buildings, shortage of desks and textbooks, unqualified teachers — they developed the necessary political, social and ideological conditions in the teachers and students for experimentation with new educational policies. These had far-reaching implications for post-colonial development. All colonial curricula and textbooks were replaced by the new curricula drawn up in the process of the liberation struggle. For the first time school pupils and the guerrilla warriors had the opportunity to study the history of Mozambique and FRELIMO in the context of the African continent. It is important, however, to note that the new curriculum was determined by the specific needs of the liberation struggle. Thus it emphasised the importance of production, the link between theory and practice, and manual and mental work, political and ideological values such as internationalism and solidarity with the oppressed, national unity and the role of the peasants and the working class in the liberation struggle. However, with the exception of history and literacy, there were no textbooks for the various subjects. This peculiar education culture, which characterised the uniqueness of FRELIMO as a liberation movement, constituted the basis for the formulation of Mozambique's national education policy.

Methodologically, the experience of the liberated zones constituted a radical departure from any other experience in Africa. Although FRELIMO had never openly declared its adherence to Marxism-Leninism, it claimed that its practice was based on a dialectical understanding of the realities and the challenges of the struggle. Marxism was used not only as an ideology but extensively as a method of social enquiry and social practice. Through criticism and self-criticism FRELIMO consolidated its revolutionary principles and relationships with the masses in the liberated zones. It will be argued that some of the problems in the post-independence period were caused by the inability of FRELIMO to keep and develop this culture of education of the liberated zones to meet the challenges of national reconstruction. In several cases the practice of criticism and self-criticism used to negotiate new principles and values was replaced by authoritarianism and bureaucratic practices.

Ready-made formulas from the liberated zones gradually replaced FRELIMO's dialectic.

Towards a curriculum for socialist transition, 1975-1983

One of the challenges experienced by African countries in the post-colonial era has been the need to develop an alternative to the colonial systems based on racial and cultural segregation and assimilation. FRELIMO responded to this challenge by adopting a strategy of national unification. Thus the education policy concentrated on global or national rather than local, regional or ethnic concerns. By so doing, FRELIMO hoped to create a unified sense of nationhood through the school system, using Portuguese as a national language of instruction and centrally prescribed textbooks and curricula.⁷ The fact that the Portuguese colonial policy was based on the ideology of assimilation and had resulted in an apparent acceptance of Portuguese by the Mozambican elite as the only cross-ethnic communication medium seems to have fuelled a great deal of enthusiasm among FRELIMO leaders, who saw it as a solid basis for nation building. It soon became clear that this approach underestimated the complexity of the Mozambican socio-cultural reality.

Based on the ideology of Marxism and Leninism and guided by socialist principles and values, the education system was expected to precipitate a "cultural revolution", which would alter the mentality of the people in order to eradicate negative traditional cultural practices (superstition, fetishism, obscurantism and magic) and colonial cultural practices (racism, tribalism, regionalism, individualism and elitism). What was unique in this experience was the challenge to negative forms of traditional culture. This was based on the assumption that, in traditional societies, given the low level of knowledge that characterises them, superstition and similar practices take the place of science and block any scientific analysis of the material and social milieu in favour of the supernatural. Thus for FRELIMO, traditional education creates the belief in the infallibility of the older generations personified in the elders. It also tries to justify historically women's submission to men and other sexist values. Education was to promote a new culture, based on positive traditional forms together with new content dictated by the ideals of socialism. By adopting this education strategy, FRELIMO hoped to create what has been referred to as "the New Man", that is, someone with a working-class consciousness and a scientific, materialist and dialectical outlook, fully devoted to the creation of a new collective society.

In his address to the Second Meeting of the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1979, Vieira defined the values enshrined in the creation of the "New Man" as: equality, work, science and scientific knowledge, unity, sense of collectivity, the spirit of initiative, the spirit of responsibility, balance and

love.⁸ As Johnston has correctly pointed out, the problem of attributing the aim of creating the New Man to the school is that "it tends to cast the system in the role of a factory for the production of idealised (male?) individuals, rather than a site of struggle" (Johnston, 1989: 136). Schools were to inculcate new values, relations and attitudes to individuals in society who would transform it, and then ensure that its new collective form is reproduced. Certainly, this conception suffers from a great deal of idealism.

The strategy of national unification had dramatic consequences for FRELIMO. Teachers were to promote a new culture and, for this purpose, they had to undergo a process of *revizagem* (re-education) and socialisation into the desired ideal society and values. The educational, ideological and political framework had to guide the creation and development of the prospective socio-economic base. The curriculum, syllabuses and methods had to be integrated and based on old and new value systems, chiefly the latter, and a core language – Portuguese – was adopted as the only medium of instruction at all levels of education. Schematically, the model could be represented as $A+B+C+D = E$, where E represents the national culture of the "New Man" or "New Society", which in FRELIMO's view had begun to emerge in the liberated zones. The task of the new education authorities was that of extending this culture to the rest of the country, that is, to apply at a macro-level what had been generated in a very peculiar micro-world.

However, the implementation of an education and curriculum model based on the simplicity of the microcosm of the liberated zones soon proved to be a far from simple task. Severe constraints were imposed by the breakdown of Portuguese colonialism, including the effects of the crisis on the settler community and generalised sabotage of the economy and national services. Having failed to engineer a neo-colonial settlement and to force a UDI-type solution in an abortive coup attempt after the Lusaka agreements between Portugal and FRELIMO, Portuguese settlers engaged in a massive emigration from Mozambique, which led to an almost total collapse of important economic sectors and services. It is estimated that 40 000 settlers left Mozambique between 1971 and 1973, another 100 000 between the coup and the proclamation of independence in June 1975, and more than 100 000 of the remaining settlers in the first year of independence (Johnston, 1989: 41). This exodus had a detrimental effect on the economy and particularly on the education system, which was almost exclusively dependent on Portuguese teachers and bureaucracy.

The first national education conference took place in Beira (the Beira Seminar) in January 1975, and brought primary and secondary teachers and university staff from all parts of the country into contact with FRELIMO cadres for the first time for ten days of intense discussion. The experience of FRELIMO's schools came to be seen as a model for teacher training, syllabus design and the organisation and management of schooling (Maximiano and

de Assis, 1991: 2). The leading role of the liberated zones as sources of political inspiration was reasserted. Their schools came to be seen as models of the "new school" in the rest of the country and had the role of training *construtores*, that is, those who would carry on the revolutionary struggle when the current generation passed on.

In the light of FRELIMO's experience, the participants came to an agreement on key policy issues: a critical approach to the entire colonial syllabus and all the textbooks that had been in use; the introduction of new history and geography courses; and the need for political and ideological education for both students and teachers as well as new cultural activities to promote and assert the Mozambican personality and patriotism. All school activities were to be guided by the principle of unity between theory and practice through the link between study and production (Marshall, 1985: 166). The Beira Seminar was an opportunity to question the values, bias and stereotypes entrenched in the curriculum and the minds of all those involved in the education field. As a result of the conference, preliminary changes were made. These involved: the abolition of religion as a school subject; the replacement of the history of Portugal with the history of Mozambique as a compulsory subject in 1975 for all levels of schooling; the extension and standardisation of physical education to include girls; the suspension of most colonial textbooks; an attempt to train new teachers, the *monitores* (teachers without formal teaching qualifications); and the improvisation of new teaching methods.

These changes, effected without enough time for transformation and systematic research and at a time of political convulsion, had important pedagogical implications for the teaching and learning process. In the absence of textbooks or teaching aids, teachers acquired overwhelming power over their students. They dictated the content or wrote almost everything on the board. Most of these teachers were not well prepared, nor did they have enough time to experiment with new methods. Consequently, pupils were very often forced to play a passive role. Political education (particulate education brief upgrading workshops. As a result, it never captured the interest of the pupils. At university level, Marxism–Leninism, taught in a dogmatic way, led to a controversy which culminated in the closure of the Faculty of Marxism by Machad⁹.

Although the nationalisation of schools in June 1975 created a favourable political context for more profound curricular changes, it imposed, however, insurmountable pressures on the education sector – an increase of the school population, a sharp drop in the numbers of qualified teachers and increasing dependence on foreign staff. For example, in the primary schools, where the crisis assumed substantial proportions, the number of students increased from 695 885 in 1974/75 to 1 276 500 in 1976, while the number of teachers increased only from 10 281 to 15 000, which corresponds to a teacher:pupil

ratio of 1:85 in 1976 from 1:67 in 1975,¹⁰ Mozambique had neither the material nor human resources to cope with these pressures. This limitation was later recognised by the former Minister of Education and Culture, who said: "If, on the one hand, the process of nationalisation signified a major victory, on the other the effective and immediate control of the education process necessitated enormous efforts for which we had insufficient resources, either human or material" (Machel, 1979: 13).

The state tried to minimise the problem of staff shortages through a programme of massive recruitment of foreigners from a wide variety of countries. These were known as *cooperantes* (co-operators). However, not only was the recruitment of *cooperantes* an expensive endeavour for a weak economy, but it also had serious political and pedagogical implications. First, the diversity of experience among *cooperantes* made it difficult to implement the curricula according to the newly set education objectives. More importantly, it created tensions between them and the Mozambican teachers because of huge salary disparities. A large section of the highly assimilated Mozambican elite came to see the status of *cooperantes* as economically and socially more desirable than their own status of citizens. Consequently, increasing numbers of skilled and semi-skilled Mozambicans renounced their citizenship and adopted Portuguese citizenship to be employed as *cooperantes*. The state responded vigorously through the so-called *24/20 (buzir gwa/mbuzine)* rule, whereby all those who had renounced their citizenship were given twenty-four hours and 20 kilograms of luggage to leave the country. Several thousand Mozambicans were expelled from Mozambique, which represented a considerable loss for an economy already faced with an increasing shortage of skilled labour.

Despite these obstacles, FRELIMO had begun to score meaningful political and pedagogical victories, manifested in a generalised culture of learning throughout the country. Machel formalised this in the 1978 slogan "Let's make the entire country a school where everybody learns and everybody teaches".¹¹ The most important features included: a national literacy campaign; the conversion of the schools into centres of "people's power", links with the productive sector and attempts at democratic organisation and practice; and the introduction of a new curriculum, syllabuses and school textbooks. The diversity of national languages and the adoption of Portuguese as the teaching medium made literacy difficult in the rural areas.¹² Literacy enrolments increased from 260 000 in 1978/9 to 325 000 in 1980, and declined to 100 000 in 1985, while the numbers of graduates declined from 140 000 to 10 000 in 1985 (see Johnson, 1989: 153).

Changing the schools into centres of people's power had a particular significance in the context of the Mozambican revolution. Literally, it meant the set of activities and practices that would change the colonial school into "a democratic centre, where new types of relations between pupils and teacher

should evolve" (MFC, 1977). Priority was given to those activities aimed at training, upgrading or "re-educating" teachers in the system, and new democratic practices and "correct relationships among the workers of the school", productive activities, political mobilisation and organisation of the school community under the slogan "Unity, Work and Vigilance".¹³ The post of school principal was replaced by a school council representing the different sectors of the school community (workers, pupils and teachers) led by a management commission (the executive) and the school *Grupo Dinamizador*, 1989: 101-2; Marshall, 1985: 176-80). It was hoped that these changes would lay the foundations for a "new school", which would be a model for the relations, values and skills to be developed in the new society. For this purpose, the state, and particularly FRELIMO, would take exclusive responsibility for creating that model.

The nationalisation of the means of production and services in 1975 was to be followed by a systematic process of socialisation whereby the workers and the peasants would exercise effective control over the economy and the whole society. For this purpose, the Third Congress of FRELIMO, held in Maputo in February 1977, defined a general strategy and the necessary system to cater for workers and their children at all levels, the development of an education system at the service of society, the economy and the worker-peasant alliance, the political and ideological training of teachers and students, and the breakdown of the barriers between theory and practice or study and production. The education strategy outlined by the Third Congress was to be implemented under considerable economic and political constraints, including the profound crisis of capital accumulation that faced Mozambique; the effects of the recession caused by the world energy crisis; the hostility of the neighbouring minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa; the tiny amount of international aid that Mozambique received; and the emergence of a bureaucratic voluntarism, characterised by uncontrolled and counter-productive bureaucratic decisions and practices in the name of democratic centralism. "Bureaucratic voluntarism" is a tendency to replace persuasion with enforcement. It eclipsed the organisational concerns and the initiative of the masses. Bureaucratic voluntarism was partly due to the fact that FRELIMO adopted a strategy of accumulation which demanded sacrifices from the masses. The drastic curbing of the patterns and levels of consumption meant that material incentives for production and productivity were also reduced. This economic strategy soon proved counter-productive, particularly at the level of mass mobilisation for the tasks of national reconstruction. It created a contradiction between the level of political consciousness achieved by the masses and the increasing deterioration of their material conditions of exist-

ence. The well-celebrated principle that the country should produce to export in order to import machinery for national development began to be viewed with suspicion by those who expected immediate rewards from their economic efforts.

These developments were accompanied by the increasing decline of the liberated zones as sources of inspiration. This was due to several factors. FRELIMO seems to have overestimated the role of the liberated zones as laboratories of future socialist policies, while underestimating the complexity of the apparatus inherited from the colonial education system. The vast reality and diversity of Mozambique posed new questions to which the experience of the liberated zones had no answers, for example the question of citizenship and traditional institutions. The cadres trained in the liberated zones either became overwhelmed by the bureaucracy inherited from the colonial apparatus or found themselves a tiny minority, unable to provide an effective leadership to such a large population. In many cases, the practices of criticism and self-criticism, which had made possible the education of trustworthy revolutionary cadres, degenerated in the face of the autocratic culture of the colonial bureaucracy. FRELIMO hoped to minimise this trend by creating *escolas experimentais* (special Party schools) for children of FRELIMO members, guided by the FRELIMO ethos. Similarly, FRELIMO created a Faculty for the Combatants and Vanguard Workers in 1983 at the University of Eduardo Mondlane. Its task was to provide higher education to FRELIMO combatants, the working class and the peasantry. By 1988, it had 663 students (see Partido FRELIMO, 1989:219). These initiatives were also subjected to severe criticism from several circles (Ministro da Educaçáo, 1989: 23-4).

Under these circumstances, the changes of syllabus did not assume major significance. They were largely limited to the replacement of some topics according to the new curriculum objectives. In 1977, the full primary school programmes were made available in three volumes. By 1978, manuals for literary teachers and Portuguese readers had been produced for secondary schools (see IFEPA, 1989: 217). The same year the newly founded National Institute for Education Development (INDE) assumed the task of producing school textbooks. A variety of individuals formed subject groups, many of them often without sufficient experience or knowledge about the new learning targets and teaching methods. These initial changes were generally characterised by emphasis on political and ideological objectives and a somewhat mechanistic or dogmatic approach to social subjects, particularly analyses based on historical and dialectical materialism.

The introduction of the new education system

In what was publicised as a major innovation in Mozambican education, the National Education System approved in 1982 began to be implemented in

1983, one grade per year. Its main objectives and principles included: educating the 'New Man' for the tasks of socialist development; eradicating illiteracy; introducing a system of free and compulsory education; training highly qualified specialists for national economic and social development; disseminating through schooling the use of the Portuguese language in order to consolidate national unity; developing a sense of aesthetics, art and appreciation of beauty among the youth; and turning learning institutions into bases of consolidation of people's power (see República Popular de Moçambique, 1985:7). These objectives came under fire at FRELIMO's Fifth Congress in 1989, which marked the end of FRELIMO's socialist policies. The National Education System, which was presented as a major departure from the colonial education system, consisted of five sub-systems: general education, teacher training, professional/technical training, adult education and higher education. Structurally, its distinctive features were the extension of primary education from four to five years of schooling and thus the extension of pre-university schooling to twelve years, the transfer of professional-technical training from the Ministry of Labour to the Ministry of Education and the incorporation of adult education into formal education (see IFEPA, 1989: 59).

The introduction of the National Education System marked the beginning of a more systematic reformulation of the syllabuses. This task was again undertaken by INDE. Of particular importance is the methodology followed by INDE. This included definition of the general objectives of the National Education System, definition of the objectives of each sub-system by the respective department, establishment of subject groups, the outlining of the content, means and methods to be applied, practical testing and subsequent revision of the material produced and production of textbooks and teachers' guides. The whole process was informed and based on the general principles and aims of the National Education System.

Destabilisation, counter-revolution and the crisis in Mozambican education, 1977-1990

Education in any society represents an important ideological apparatus with a crucial role in both the reproduction and transformation of the dominant relations of production. If society in Mozambique in the late 1970s, given its underdeveloped nature, was not yet characterised by genuine socialist practices, neither was it dominated by capitalist practices. Mozambique contained a developing mixed economy, with a considerable state and co-operative sector and the social features of a developing socialist country (see for example Wuyts, 1989). The production process in many sectors had assumed collective forms. Co-operatives and communal villages in the countryside had become important forces of socialisation. The education system and the new curriculum were

designed to ensure that the emerging social relations of production were consolidated, and prevailed over colonial and traditional practices.

The process of education transformation was not without costs and struggles. Very soon, the Mozambican revolution found itself under attack from different fronts: the international imperialist movement, through the neighbouring minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and the growing internal counter-revolutionary movement (RENAMO), direct military aggression from South Africa and undeclared economic sanctions against the Mozambican government. FRELIMO has also to blame itself for assuming that social transformation could be carried out without opposition. This was a fallacy that militated against FRELIMO's strategic goals. History has demonstrated that there can be no revolution without struggle, resistance and political opposition. This miscalculation made it impossible to accommodate internal oppositional forces and resulted in the development of counter-revolutionary groups which, with the help of imperialist forces, undermined the Mozambican revolution. These factors led the economy and social services to an almost total collapse, with serious implications for the education system: general degradation of the schooling system; the deterioration of teachers' working conditions; and substantial exodus of teachers from the teaching profession to more profitable jobs including the informal sector of small business, well known as *canalanga* and, most recently, as *demibanzangas*. Sexual harassment, "marketing" of examination papers and certificates and other forms of corruption increased. Teachers became hostile towards *cooperatives* (in many cases for legitimate reasons). Undistributed book stockpiles were discovered in several offices. Complaints about unpaid salaries, and the victimisation and intimidation of successful teachers were common. These patterns of behaviour were represented by the image of *xionboz* (which personalities anti-revolutionary and reactionary behaviour). This crisis culminated in the extensive class and school boycotts of 1989-90. As a consequence of the crisis, many teachers have been physically, psychologically, morally and intellectually traumatised, thus reducing their ability to perform their duties successfully.

As the curricula reflected the political and ideological line of FRELIMO, schools were targeted as major factors of destabilisation by RENAMO. The report of the Central Committee of FRELIMO to the Fifth Congress in 1989 indicates that more than 2 655 schools, 45 per cent of the primary school network, had been closed or destroyed (Partido FRELIMO, 1989: 212). The migration of people from the countryside to the towns because of the war makes the deterioration of the schooling system uncontrollable. The possibilities of enrolment in the towns are very limited in spite of the double or triple shift system (see Elias, 1989b: 16). In 1980, it was estimated that 59 per cent of children between seven and ten years of age were not at school (Elias, 1989a: 25). Currently, the picture in the field of literacy and adult education

is even more dramatic and led the Minister of Education, A. dos Muchangos, to recognise that literacy and adult education programmes had come to a total standstill and Mozambique was again faced with an increasing illiteracy rate (Elias, 1989c: 19).

The crisis in Mozambican education should also be understood with reference to the World Bank programme of structural adjustment, the *Programa de Reabilitação Económica* (Programme of Economic Rehabilitation), known as PRE. Introduced in 1987, it envisaged increasing the GNP by recovering productivity. In education it targeted the development of human resources for economic growth, improvement in the quality of education and elimination of the social conditions that militated against effective teaching and learning (see Ministério da Educação, 1990: 8). It privileged the improvement of secondary and higher education and selective expansion of primary education. However, PRE did not include an adequate policy for the education sector. First, priority was given to the economic sector. Social services, including education, were accorded secondary importance. Second, PRE was accompanied by a drastic devaluation of the metical (Mozambican currency), which had detrimental effects on the working conditions of teachers. Third, the education budget had been declining from about 12 per cent in 1980 to 4 per cent of the national budget in 1987, which created a considerable financial crisis in education (see Ministério da Educação, 1990: 2). Salaries declined in real terms and, with this, the motivation of teachers.

The first major manifestation of the school crisis in Mozambique was the class boycott in 1989 by the students at the University of Eduardo Mondlane. Their grievances included the need for student involvement in curriculum development and evaluation, more government support for newly graduated teachers and the creation of a university students' representative council (AIMA, 1989: 10). The dissatisfaction in the teaching profession also culminated in a nation-wide protest and strike of teachers from 19 February to 7 March 1990 (see Elias, 1990: 15). The teachers demanded a 100 per cent salary increase, state subsidies for teachers working in war zones and rationalisation of some departments in the Ministry of Education to raise funds for teachers' salaries (Elias, 1990: 15).

Mozambican education: What future?

The Fifth Congress of FRELIMO in 1989 recognised deteriorating conditions in education, principally the lack of financial resources and other factors, as preventing effective implementation of free and compulsory education. It was decided to invite the private sector – co-operatives, church and welfare organisations, cultural, recreational and sports associations – to build and administer private and community schools. These were to be run privately, subject to state supervision on matters concerning the curriculum, syllabuses

and principles of organisation. Private tuition, which had been abolished, was also restored. Another important shift was the recognition of the need for a bilingual approach to literacy programmes and adult education. It is difficult to predict what the effects of the new policy will be. It seems however that, as a consequence of the political shift made by the Fifth Congress, schooling will take place within a framework that is neither socialist nor rigidly determined by FRELIMO's political line. The shift from mono-party politics to multi-party politics, as reflected in the new constitution, will have far-reaching implications for education and curriculum policies. The private sector and community and religious organisations will have considerable participation in addressing the crisis in Mozambican education.

The introduction of a new constitution, which has dissociated public institutions, including those concerned with education, from party politics, has rendered important sections of the core curriculum and school syllabus out of date. There seems to be a great need for conceptual, theoretical and methodological reformulations in the light of the changing geo-political environment in Mozambique. Some of the questions currently under discussion in major education circles such as the university, the Instituto Pedagógico and INDE, following the rejection of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, are: What criteria should govern curricular selection? Should the curriculum be bound by a particular political force or should it remain relatively neutral and thus suffer minimal changes with the changes of government, to the Right or to the Left (Maximiano and de Assis, 1991: 7)? What role should the curriculum play in the new political and economic context? What should a curriculum of national reconciliation incorporate? Obviously, these questions may lead to new principles and conceptual frameworks, and new curricula, syllabuses, textbooks and classroom interactions.

Concerned educationists at INDE are tentatively talking about the need for a curriculum for national reconciliation or national unity, for building a Mozambican nation as opposed to a curriculum for socialist transformation, which, they argue, privileged only one sector of the nation, namely the working class and FRELIMO's leadership. According to this view, social, cultural, economic, ethnic and linguistic diversity should be embodied in the national curriculum.¹⁴ Along these lines, there has been an attempt to reconceptualise the concept of the "New Man". About this, a leading educationist said the following:

The concept of "New Man" was a static concept, an unachievable abstraction developed on a Marxist-Leninist basis. Its starting point was a unified and united country from Koyumba to Maputo irrespective of their

national objectives, the interests of other forces should be accommodated and there should be an attempt to value our national culture in its diversity (interview with Zafelino Martins, director of the Instituto Nacional Desenvolvimento da Educação, 16 September 1991).

Attached to the concept of "Mozambican Man" is the idea of "national reconciliation", which is seen as a primary issue for the curriculum. This is advocated as a reaction to the curriculum during the First Congress, which, it is argued, stressed national unity rooted in a peasant-world as deliberated by the Third Congress of FRELIMO in 1977. The main reasons why this approach did not succeed. First, the curriculum accommodate social tensions created by colonial rule, including the ethnic and linguistic diversity of Mozambican society. Second, the tension between the peasantry and the working class was embryonic and extent, artificial. Third, the economic policies implemented before FRELIMO Congress (held in April 1983) and consequent dynamic tended to undermine this alliance. As the Congress recognised, the main reason for the failure of the peasantry was the undermining of the peasantry, who constitute more than 85 per cent of the population.

I would like to conclude this article with four main points, which have some relevance to a progressive project aimed at curricular reconceptualisation in South Africa. First, Marxism-Leninism as adopted by FRELIMO in Mozambique has an interesting analysis of these limitations, which I am mentioning. He argues (1991) that there are three major ways of Marxism: Marxism as an ethical basis for distribution, Marxism as a method for development and Marxism as a methodology of analysis. Although, recent developments in Eastern Europe have not discredited the last. They have, however, discredited the second. Further, the tension between Marxism and the Russian Revolution, which added to the need for a lead the revolution, reinforcing the tendency to one-party monopoly centralised role for the state and the promotion of personality cult. Mozambican revolution could not avoid these contradictions. The main expression of which included the tendency to overlook the criticism and self-criticism in favour of bureaucratic decisions and the use of Marxism as a methodology of analysis (de Bruijn, 1988).

Second, the use of Marxism as a methodology of analysis is or was most popular among progressive forces - of trying to come to grips with reality to be transformed. There could be other ways. In any case

inter alia, the need to examine and assess the nature of the colonial legacy, to negotiate the principles and frameworks for new curricula, to define new education objectives and aims suited to the Mozambican revolutionary goals, to define the values, skills and knowledge to be incorporated in the new curricula, to determine variables that would regulate the transition and to prepare the appropriate objective and subjective conditions for the transition. Mozambique lacked the necessary human and economic resources to perform these tasks effectively. For this reason, Martins, the Director of the National Institute for the Development of Education, characterises the crisis in education as an "external crisis", that is, a crisis determined by the economic depression and the war (interview with Zefetino Martins, 15 September 1991). There is thus a need to evaluate curriculum models not only with reference to their political and ideological goals but also with reference to the material and human resources available for their implementation.

Third, the fact that the process of nation building unwittingly initiated by the colonial administration was based on an assimilationist model might have some bearing on the way transitional policies were implemented in the rest of the country. The curriculum for the development of the "New Man" was by definition an assimilation tool. The curriculum incorporated universal socialist values and accounts of the experiences in the liberated zones, which were to be extended to and assimilated by the whole nation. However, these did not necessarily match the complex cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity of Mozambican society. As a consequence, in some cases they were met with indifference or regarded as alien to the prevailing cultural or "traditional" setting, particularly when the curriculum was translated into highly abstract or inaccessible terms by inexperienced teachers.

Related to this is the centrality of curriculum policies in minimising social tensions and conflicts that have dominated past history in African politics. Within the traditional socialist movement the concept of class struggle was seen as the driving force in history and in nation building. Curriculum policies were conceptualised and shaped with reference to class stratification in society and the course of class struggle. The Mozambican experience, read in the light of the changes in Eastern Europe, motivates for a review of these traditional conceptions, the need to recognise the principle of national reconciliation and embodiment of the principles of non-racism, non-sexism and democracy in our future curriculum policies.

Finally, in Mozambique, free and compulsory education is something that the Mozambican people still have to fight for, not a gift from independence. This is so for several reasons. First, material and financial constraints put serious pressure on the programme for education development and change. Second, it became practically impossible to integrate the whole missionary and church school network into the state school system after 1975. The

areas. Other constraints were related to shortage of books, schools, equipment and teachers (in spite of the tremendous effort undertaken by FRELIMO in teacher training) and problems of sub-nutrition. The war also resulted in a massive migration of people to the main urban centres, where a three-shift system was introduced, which reduced the school day from five hours to three hours and left no room for extra-curricular activities (interview with Zefetino Martins, 17 September 1991). What the Mozambican experience illustrates is that FRELIMO failed to establish a realistic balance between desirability and possibility, that is between the desirability of its education project and its possibilities in real terms. What is desirable is not necessarily what is possible.¹⁶

Notes

1. I am grateful to the Ernest Openheimer Institute for Portuguese Studies for the funds provided for this project.
2. This is the emerging tendency in South Africa, for example. Surprisingly, Jan Halles and Jolke Oppewal (1989) arrive at similar conclusions after surveying opinions from a wide range of *opponents* who worked in Mozambique for several years. These include Guido van Heeksen, Marc Wuyts, Barry Munslow, Michael Cohen and others.
3. For more details on the Colonial Act of 1930, see Curiano (1951: 275-6).
4. Based on statistics compiled by Lisboa (1970: 276-333). See also Mawema (1981: 231-2).
5. Quoted by Mawema (1981: 209).
6. Mondlane (1983: 50). For more details on "adapted education", see Dube (1983) and Ruddle (1982).
7. For detailed discussion of this model, see Cross (forthcoming).
8. For a systematic conceptualisation of the "New Man", see Vieira (1979).
9. A very good analysis of these contradictions is de Bragança and Dreyflich (1986).
10. Adapted from Marshall (1985: 171).
11. The title of a speech which launched the first national literacy campaign on 3 July 1978.
12. For details, see Jind (1988).
13. This policy was outlined in the following documents: MEC (1975); MEC (1976); MEC (1977); MEC (1978).
14. See for example Tides (1991); Hylleusman (1991); Capela (1991); Loforte (1991); Maximiano and de Assis (1991). Of particular importance is Halles and Oppewal (1989), which discusses the same issue from within and without a socialist framework.
15. This is commonly used to refer to the period after the introduction of the new constitution.
16. This is an important concept to the staff of the newly formed Instituto Superior Pedagógico.

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