

“The struggle for survival”<sup>1</sup>: Last years of Adams College, 1953-1956

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Now a Christian person, or a Christian school, may find it repugnant to Christian belief to accept apartheid as the supreme moral and religious value. I use the word *may*, because our Christian Nationalists find no difficulty in accepting it. Adams College, however, could not accept it and therefore it had to go.<sup>2</sup>

Alan Paton, 1957

This is how politician and writer Alan Paton commented on the 1956 closure of the missionary founded Adams College by the government’s Department of Native Affairs (DNA). This very strong denunciation of apartheid, from a Christian-Protestant ‘moralistic’ standpoint, appears in the Foreword of the autobiographical *The Jack Grant Story* by Jack Grant, the last Principal of Adams College which has a section detailing events leading up to what he described as ‘the liquidation’ of the College. Paton’s sentiments found resonance amongst many ‘liberal’ Christians involved with mission schools. What the administrators of Adams referred to as a ‘take over’ was facilitated by the passing of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. The objectives of the Act and the system of apartheid as a whole were denounced as a ‘perversion’ and misinterpretation of Christianity and Protestantism by the ‘Christian nationalists’ at the helm of the new administration. Grant’s description of the ‘take over’ as ‘The ‘liquidation of Adams College’ was a literal explanation of the event. Operating as an Association, registered under the Companies Act, when it closed down, the College had to transfer its assets and officially cease to exist.

Three generations of African learners were victims of the Bantu Education Act. They were subjected to an education system whose aim, as per the words of its main proponents, saw them enter the job market with just adequate skills required by the reacialised capitalist economy. The then Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor—granddaughter of Z.K. Mathews—commented in 2004 on the sinister capitalist implications of Bantu Education. She stated “The aim of the Bantu Education Act was to destroy the education that black people enjoyed. The aim was to educate black children for the labour needs of the apartheid state.”<sup>3</sup> Bantu Education also manifested itself in inadequate provision of learning and teaching resources to African schools. This policy became a source of constant protest by the student movement throughout the years of apartheid; and African education, as a basic necessity, became a central issue within liberation politics. While the events of June 1976 were triggered by the use of Afrikaans—the language of the oppressor—as the medium of instruction in black schools, they should also be located within this much broader context. In the post apartheid era, eradicating the legacy of racially based past education policies has been prioritised, at least in government policy documents. So has the issue of ‘skills

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<sup>1</sup> Jack Grant, ‘The Liquidation of Adams College’, Killie Campbell Africana Library (KCAL), Adams College Papers MS 65, 7.

<sup>2</sup> David Copeland ‘Jack’ Grant, *The Jack Grant Story: educator, cricketer, missionary, 1907-1978* (Lutterworth, 1980), ix.

<sup>3</sup> Ministerial Address at the hand-over and celebrations at Tiger Kloof Educational Institution in September 2004.

development' in line with the demands of a transforming globalised South African economy. Thus, in its very first socio-economic developmental agenda, the 'democratic government' prioritised education. This included dealing with what has been identified as a 'crisis' at mainly township and rural schools.<sup>4</sup>

Half a century after Bantu Education was introduced, the *Mail & Guardian (M&G) Online* reported on a project initiated by the post apartheid government's Departments of Arts and Culture and Education aimed at 'reviving' some former mission schools.<sup>5</sup> Former Anglican Church Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane- alumnus of Lovedale College<sup>6</sup> was appointed by former Arts and Culture Minister Dr Pallo Jordan to head the project dubbed the 'Historic Schools Restoration Project' (HSRP). Ndungane was clearly excited about his involvement in the project; and his perception of former mission schools is clear from the *M&G's* report: "When Bantu Education was introduced during the apartheid years, these wonderful schools, which were the breeding ground for the black intelligentsia and many of our struggle leaders, were sidelined or taken over by the government.... We want to restore and preserve these schools for future generations."<sup>7</sup> Amongst these schools, is Adams College in the South of Durban—founded by the American Board Mission (ABM) in 1853. Adams was taken over by the newly formed Department of Bantu Education following a three year long campaign to remain an 'independent school', spearheaded by the Principal, George Copeland Grant, affectionately known as 'Jack', and leading members of the College's Association and Council of Governors. The campaign to retain 'independence' was premised on two main points. The 'liberal' Protestant administration believed the century old tradition of 'liberal Christian education' and the associated 'assimilationist' conception of the South African society should be continued. Furthermore, they were adamant the 'nationalist Christianity' of the officials promoted political ideas contrary to the 'genuine' message in the teachings of 'Christ.' This point of view is implicit in the archives, including minutes of meetings, personal accounts and correspondence between the various protagonists in the closure of Adams College, in its heydays, combining a High School, Music School, Industrial School and a Teacher Training College.

After more than a century of existence, on 2 December 1956, Adams College held its final assembly as a mission school. When it reopened at the beginning of the 1957 school year, it had been renamed, as a result of an arrangement between the government, the College's Governing Council and the American Board, 'Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College', and was now under the control of the newly established subdivision of the Department of Native Affairs: the Bantu Education Department. The closure of Adams came with the advent of the infamous Bantu Education Act of 1953, arguably, one of the most loathed legislations of the apartheid-era. It was not only Adams that was affected. The majority of missionary run education institutions, at the time the main provider of what was very minimal schooling to

<sup>4</sup> O' Marley: the heart of hope, 'The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document' (1994), <http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/031v02039/041v02103/051v02120/061v02126.htm>, accessed 14 November 2009.

<sup>5</sup> Archbishop takes interest in historic SA schools', *Mail & Guardian Online*, <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-03-20-archbishop-takes-interest-in-historic-sa-schools>, accessed 15 November 2007.

<sup>6</sup> Lovedale College is a former mission school in the Eastern Cape. Alumni of Lovedale include former South African President Thabo Mbeki and the celebrated late South African Communist Party (SACP) Secretary General Thembisile Martin 'Chris' Hani.

<sup>7</sup> 'Archbishop takes interest in historic SA schools', *Mail & Guardian Online*: <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2007-03-20-archbishop-takes-interest-in-historic-sa-schools>, accessed 15 November 2007.

black people<sup>8</sup>, suffered the same doomed fate. On the role played by missionaries in black education, Afrikaner academic, Hermann Giliomee, states “By 1920, with the help of state subsidies, church or mission schools provided almost all the education for black and coloured.”<sup>9</sup> By the end of the 1950s, nonetheless, most of these schools had been forced to shut their doors or were forcefully ‘taken over’. Charles Villa-Vicencio’s description sums it all up “The Bantu Education Act brought to an end a proud but not an unambiguous history of the involvement by the English-speaking churches in black education.”<sup>10</sup>

Crucial to acknowledge, though, is that the Bantu Education Act did not stipulate that mission schools should be shut down, *per se*, but its provisions made it almost impossible for such schools to be administered and operate as they had for many decades. The three types of schools for blacks that were ‘legitimate’ under the Act were the so-called Bantu Community schools, State-aided schools, including mission schools, and government schools.<sup>11</sup> The Act had been passed in accordance with the recommendations of the 1949 Eiselen Commission<sup>12</sup> and it provided for the centralisation of African education under the national DNA and its political head, at the time, Dr. Hendrik F. Verwoerd who later became Prime Minister of South Africa. The government would also assume sole responsibility for the training of African teachers. Hitherto, this had also been largely conducted within missionary establishments. This meant that mission institutions, for more than a century the main source of primary and secondary education for the few black people lucky enough to afford being at school, would have to relinquish their control of black education.

It would be an understatement to say that the Council of Governors at Adams College did not like these developments. The looming “take over” of the College, which held its centenary celebrations in 1953,<sup>13</sup> was abhorred by many members of the Council, and the Principal Jack Grant.<sup>14</sup> With the knowledge that financial support, once the government cut off its subsidy, would be available from benevolent Christian institutions abroad, Adams College was destined to remain independent. And the new Act, although with a lot of red tape, provided for this. As a result of the belief that Adams “could and should provide an education which was Christian and Liberal rather than Christian-Nationalist”, the Council of Governors “was determined to seek permission in terms of the Act to run Adams as a private school.”<sup>15</sup> Representations detailing the reasons for choosing ‘independence’ over ‘incorporation’ were forwarded to the Native Affairs Commission at the Union Buildings. Additionally, as per the advice of the Under Secretary for Bantu Education, Mr. F.J. de Villiers<sup>16</sup>, a memorandum was forwarded to the Department of Bantu Education.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people* (Cape Town: Tafelberg Publishers, 2003), 507.

<sup>9</sup> Hermann Giliomee, *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people*, 456.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid* (New York: Orbis Books, 1988), 95.

<sup>11</sup> Pam Christie, *The Right to Learn: The struggle for Education in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994), 85.

<sup>12</sup> The Commission was constituted in 1949 to look into the issue of Native Education. Its findings were announced in 1951. Its Chairperson was W.W.M. Eiselen who was also the Secretary for Native Affairs.

<sup>13</sup> The *Natal Daily News* of Saturday October 10 reported on the event. Amongst the dignitaries present were Dr Edgar Brookes, Mr. John Reuling of the American Board, Boston, W.J. Gallman, American Ambassador to South Africa and Mr. C. Murray Booysen, Director of Education in Natal.

<sup>14</sup> George Copeland Grant, affectionately known as ‘Jack’, first arrived at Adams at the beginning of 1949 with his family from Trinidad.

<sup>15</sup> There were serious financial repercussions of this, including the forfeiture of vast amounts of government subsidy. See Jack Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 103

<sup>16</sup> Grant reveals that, ironically, de Villiers had been offered the post of Principal at Adams before his arrival. See Grant, ‘The Liquidation of Adams College’, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Grant, ‘The Liquidation of Adams College’, 7.

Whilst founded by the ABM, in 1940, the administrative control of Adams was handed over to a local Council of Governors. The College's movable and immovable assets were placed under the custodian of an association known as the Adams College Incorporated (Inc.), registered in terms of Section 21 of the Companies Act.<sup>18</sup> Members of the Association and Council obliged to abide by the terms and conditions of 'The Memorandum and Articles of Association.' According to this document, "The Main and paramount object for which the Association is established is to acquire control of Adams College in order thereby to maintain and thereafter continue the same in perpetuity as a Christian educational institution for the Bantu people of South Africa and elsewhere..."<sup>19</sup> The Council<sup>20</sup> which was appointed by members of the Adams Inc., at the time of the closure included blacks and whites. They were described as being above twenty one and paying an annual registration fee. Amongst them were former scholars and staff members of Adams; "members and missionaries of the American Board resident in south Africa plus any four other persons nominated by the American Board."<sup>21</sup>

The 1940 transfer did not result in the severance of ties with the American Board. In addition to having representatives on the Council, they continued to provide financial support, including paying the remuneration of the Principal and missionary teachers.<sup>22</sup> This continued support rested on, amongst others, condition that Adams did not divert from the age old missionary methods of education and evangelisation. The Chairman of Adams College Inc., Mr. D. Calvert McDonald, says the transfer of assets to a local Board "was naturally conditional upon the maintenance of certain board objects and ideas."<sup>23</sup> One of these conditions was that the College should continue to be used as a "Christian educational institution for the Bantu of South Africa and adjacent territories."<sup>24</sup>

Suffice is to say the Bantu Education Act posed a serious threat to the 'noble' missionary intentions. It is apt then that the resistance of Bantu education by the administrators of Adams College should be seen as an attempt to safeguard and preserve the missionary tradition as articulated by early missionaries from New England. This became quite prominent in the midst of a three year long "struggle for survival", according to the Principal.<sup>25</sup> from 1953-1956. During the week long centenary celebrations dubbed "Adams Week", which were accompanied by a public appeal for a R50, 000 donation towards repairs and the construction of a new Teacher Training College, a leaflet entitled 'Adams Appeals' was designed describing the College as "the oldest Boarding School in Natal and the first in the Province to celebrate its Centenary" states "It (Adams) was founded in 1853 by missionaries of the American Board. Since 1941 it has been under the control of a South African Governing

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<sup>18</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 16.

<sup>19</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 16.

<sup>20</sup> The Governing Council was made up of very prominent South Africans. It included Mr. Edgar S. Henochsberg, Q.C (Chairman), Mr. G.C. Grant, M.A. (Principal), the Rev. W.R. Booth, Dr. Edgar Brookes, the Rev. A.F. Christofersen, Mr. A.L. Luthuli, Miss Sibusisiwe Makanya, Dr. E.G. Malherbe, Mr. D. Rubenstein, Miss L. Scott, Dr. A.B. Taylor, Mr. Maurice Webb, Mr. Owen Townley-Williams, M.P., and Mr. C.A. Woods.

<sup>21</sup> See Grant, "The Liquidation of Adams College, 17.

<sup>22</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 86-87.

<sup>23</sup> *Daily News* 'Adams College: Minister refuses application', 23 July 1956.

<sup>24</sup> Ida Grant, 'A tragic happening: Adams sacrificed to apartheid', *Ilanga Lase Natali*, 15 September 1956.

<sup>25</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 06.

Council...Its aim is to provide post-primary education for as many as possible and above all it seeks to train its students in the understanding and practice of the Christian faith.”<sup>26</sup>

Speaking at the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in September 1954, in the midst of the resistance against the Bantu Education Act, Grant did not mince his words when he stated that, amongst other things, the College opposed the “take over” because of the belief that what the apartheid government was doing was not only wrong, but also sinful. He appealed to those present “in view of the religious challenge” that the looming state take over presented, to oppose the transfer of mission schools.<sup>27</sup> These views on The Bantu Education Act were shared by most English speaking churches who saw the Act as “evil and insidious.”<sup>28</sup>

As far as Grant was concerned, it was the duty of those who regarded themselves as ‘genuine’ Christians to oppose the ‘un-Christian’ ideas of the National Party, in this instant manifesting themselves in the Bantu Education Act. He asserted:

“We see so many of our folk indifferent to racial discrimination, much less aware of its scandal and sin. Here we are presented in this Bantu Education with a direct challenge to our Christian insight. Are we to be obedient to the heavenly vision, or are we to approve of the transfer in principle? Right now we, as a Church and as individual Christians, are challenged to find a more excellent way. In this educational crisis, we need the boldness and the readiness to tread the path of Christian discipleship regardless of the cost. Much as we desire faithfully to serve the African people, and ready as we are loyally to cooperate with our government, we dare not compromise on or abandon our principles of Christian love.”<sup>29</sup>

While Adams ultimately lost the battle for ‘independence’ and was forced to surrender to Bantu Education at the end of 1956, following the refusal by the Department of Native Affairs to allow the College to register as a private school, fierce attempts to avoid this, within the confines of the Bantu Education Act, were made. In this article, I discuss the nature and the main reasons behind this ‘campaign’ against the incorporation into the Department of Bantu Education. I advance the argument that the attempts to avoid the takeover were informed by, *inter alia*, the liberal interpretation of Protestantism by the administrators of the College. This contrasted sharply with the neo-Calvinist Afrikaner ‘nationalist’ Protestantism. For the Council of Governors and members of Adams Incorporated, apartheid and the associated policies, including the Bantu Education Act, was a distortion of Christianity, as per the view of the ‘assimilationist’ liberal Protestants at Adams.

There was also a general feeling of anger that the apartheid government had not shown appreciation towards mission schools and the missionaries for the ‘valuable’ contribution towards educating and civilising Africans in South Africa. In addition to educational

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<sup>26</sup> KCC, Adam Appeals, 1953.

<sup>27</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 103.

<sup>28</sup> Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, 95.

<sup>29</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 102.

activities, Albert Luthuli highlights other ‘development’ initiatives involving missionaries that went unnoticed by Verwoerd:

“The thing which disgusted us most was the Minister’s glaring refusal to say one word of thanks to the group responsible for initiating all social services among Africans, the missionaries. It was they who started education, health services, social training institutions, the training of nurses, and who were first behind the training of Africans as doctors.”<sup>30</sup>

According to Austin Zajiji, a student who first arrived at Adams in 1949, everyone was angered by the government’s plan to “take over our school”, and amongst the reasons why people objected to this was, “We wanted the school to be independent, because we wanted our children and our children’s children to go to Adams College, like we too, we went to Adams College because our brothers, our fathers were there, our sisters were there”<sup>31</sup> From this, it is clear to note that the anger was also informed by the belief that the “take over of our school” by the government would rob future generations of this opportunity to be able to attend schooling at Adams. Not everyone though, even by Zajiji’s own admission, managed to afford the ‘quality’ missionary education offered at Adams. The school fees in the 1950s stood at 48 pounds sterling and this “was a lot of money, because most schools did not pay more than £ 30 a year.”<sup>32</sup>

Newspaper articles emanating from the time of the passing of the Act and around the period of the closure of Adams reveal a lot about the feeling of some corners of the South African society. As a very popular education institution not only in Southern Africa, but maybe the world-over, there are quite a few newspaper reports on the last days of this ‘great’ institution. Also giving Adams the prominence it enjoyed was that it had a very strong prominence amongst many people, mainly with a liberal political and social orientation, both black and white. The College had strong ties with many notable figures in South Africa. Amongst the luminaries connected to Adams College”, was Chief Albert Luthuli, former Headmaster and the first black member of staff at Adams and African National Congress (ANC) President at the time of its banning in 1961, who according to Austin Zajiji, who was in matric in 1956 “used to come there quite often”, Z.K.Mathews, one time ANC President, Alan Paton, one of the founding members of the South African Liberal Party, Edgar Brookes, one time Chairman of the Liberal Party, and many more. Its alumni included Herbert Dhlomo, a prominent African playwright, Anton Lembede, one of the founding members of the ANC Youth League and its first President, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Milton Obote, two times former Prime Minister of Uganda (first term 1966-1971, second term 1980-1985) and many more. Without a doubt, therefore, the closure of such an institution with such a rich history and connections, made news headlines. I include in the latter parts of this chapter some newspaper reports and opinions on the closure of Adams.

The mainly Protestant Council of Governors attempted, invoking Christianity and the associated moral values, to fight off the takeover by the equally Protestant Afrikaner nationalists, the new rulers of South Africa following the 1948 white only election. What this episode in the history of South Africa represents is a manifestation of serious differences in

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<sup>30</sup> Albert Luthuli, *Let my people go* (Cape Town: Tafelberg publishers, 2006), 36.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Zajiji, 27 May 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Zajiji, 27 May 2007.

the interpretation of the Christian faith by apartheid legislators and liberals, black and white within mission establishments. And at the centre of the conflict was the issue of education of the so-called 'Bantu.' Unlike the liberal 'assimilationist' administrators at Adams, who saw the 'segregationist' policy of apartheid as "a denial of the Christian Gospel"<sup>33</sup>, the Christian nationalists favoured a kind of Christianisation and education that, whilst promoting 'civilisation' did not encourage the converts to abandon their culture and tradition, and hope they could compete on an equal footing with Europeans. The Commission appointed to look into the issue of 'Bantu Education', on whose recommendations the Bantu Education Act was formulated, had suggested that a new system of education "instead of imitating English culture had to inculcate in the *volkseie* – the history, customs, habits, character and mentality of a people."<sup>34</sup> This, together with the recommendation, later to be adopted in the Bantu Education Act, that vernacular languages as a medium of instruction should be used in the first year of schooling was seen by Luthuli as aimed at "cutting our children off deliberately and violently from access to outside influences and ideas", hence "isolating" blacks from "Western learning and culture."<sup>35</sup>

What Luthuli attests to he is very much in accordance with the intentions of nineteenth century Zulu Mission missionaries. The nineteenth century New England missionaries had a particular idea of what constituted an authentic Zulu convert. He/She was not only characterised by his/her abandoning of all customs deemed 'heathen' and 'barbaric', but also by his/her embrace of Western civilisation and lifestyle, including language and dress code. Unfortunately, as the provisions of the Bantu Education Act stipulate, this is precisely what the neo-Calvinist Christian Nationalist Broederbonders saw as 'undesirable.' And no one else made this as crystal clear as Verwoerd, in the numerous public statements he made as the Minister of Native Affairs.

Alan Paton's Foreword to Grant's autobiography is without doubt that one of the main reasons Adams College "had to go" was because, "Although it was a black college, its Council of Governors could not accept apartheid as a Christian doctrine."<sup>36</sup> The "take over" of Adams, however, was not a simple affair as this statement may wrongfully suggest. As already stated, inspired by Grant and some members of the school Board of Governors, and some "friends of Adams College", the College embarked on a campaign, using provisions in the Act, to avoid being incorporated into the Bantu Education Department, and appealing for public support at numerous public platforms. This campaign, which Grant, whose family in Trinidad had donated 1000 pound sterling towards the centenary appeal, saw as "the struggle for survival" was pursued with a strong belief of those people connected to Adams that their version of Protestantism was the 'desired' one.

The irony of it all was that the doctrine of apartheid itself, declared a "crime against humanity" by the United Nations in the 1970s, two decades after Adams College was forced to close down, was justified by its leading proponents on religious grounds. By and large, the people at the helm of the implementation of apartheid policies, including the Bantu Education Act, Dr. Verwoerd, the bureaucrats and ordinary civil servants, professed to be committed 'God fearing' Protestants, like the missionaries, such as Dr. Newton Adams who founded

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<sup>33</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 99.

<sup>34</sup> Giliomee, *The Afrikaners*, 508.

<sup>35</sup> Luthuli, *Let my people go*, 35.

<sup>36</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, ix.

Adams Mission in 1835 as part of the American Board Mission's 'divine' duty to convert and civilise, through education, the Zulu people. Amanzimtoti Institute was renamed Adams College in the 1930s as a tribute to Dr Adams.

The Afrikaner nationalists, now holding the political power, saw the assimilation and the adoption of a Western culture by African converts, and the behaviour of missionary educated Africans, as being in direct conflict with the apartheid ideology. The widely quoted pronouncement by Verwoerd sums it all up "There is no place for (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. It is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim, absorption in the European community."<sup>37</sup> In a speech delivered on June 7 1954, Verwoerd argues that mission schools "created a class of educated and semi-educated persons without the corresponding socio-economic development which should accompany it. This is a class which has to believe that it is above its own people and feels that its spiritual, economic and political home is among the civilised community of South Africa, i.e. the Europeans, and feels frustrated because its wishes have not been realised."<sup>38</sup>

Two years later, following a meeting with a delegation from the Christian Council of South Africa, Verwoerd, in a report by *Ilanga*, while invoking the most famous defence of the Bantu Education Act that "in the first year of the operation of schools under the Bantu Education, 200,000 more Native children had been placed in schools than ever before, stresses that "Mission schools had developed "away from the Bantu community." It would be essential that the Bantu should be educated to serve their own community", and one of the aims of Bantu Education was to provide "Schooling as near home as possible."<sup>39</sup>

Writing a few years after the takeover of Adams, in what he describes as an attempt to prevent Africans from "grazing in white pastures", quoted from one of Verwoerd's statements on the intentions of the Bantu Education Act, Luthuli, a very prominent "friend of Adams College" on the Bantu Education Act and other policies of the Christian National Party said, "I do not agree that white South Africa...is displaying at present the high virtues of civilisation, and it is doing a good deal to discredit in African eyes the Christianity which many of its members profess."<sup>40</sup> Whilst the missionaries were opposing the Bantu Education Act, conversely, "the Dutch Reformed Churches (DRC) were solidly behind the scheme for transfer of the schools to Government."<sup>41</sup>

As alluded to above, what the closure of Adams in 1956, therefore, highlights was a serious clash in the interpretation of the Scriptures and the very understanding of the gospel between the Christian government of Afrikaner nationalists and the authorities at Adams College and other missionary institutions of education. For the latter, racial cooperation, prevalent at Adams College and at other mission establishments, did not constitute a 'crisis'; whilst for the former with religiously grounded ideas of Nationalist-Christian education, propagating for "separate development", it was not only anathema but could also be described as 'unGodly'. These paradoxical sentiments within missionary communities and the Afrikaners

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<sup>37</sup> Charles Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, 95.

<sup>38</sup> Speech delivered by Verwoerd on 7 June 1954 quoted from Rose and Turner in Villa-Vicencio's *Trapped in Apartheid*, 97.

<sup>39</sup> *Ilanga laseNatali*, 'No place for Private Bantu School', 25 April 1956.

<sup>40</sup> Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, 33.

<sup>41</sup> H.W. Shepherd, *The South African Bantu Education Act*, 141.

have their origin in much earlier centuries. With the changing political context, post 1948, they were forced out into the surface, and a serious confrontation ensued.

For Grant the forced take over amounted to nothing but ‘thievery’ and daylight ‘robbery.’ At the meeting of the Presbyterian Church mentioned above he said:

“Suppose, Mr. Moderator that you had inherited a goodly estate from your forebears-an estate which had been in your family for 100 years or more. Suppose, too, that in your lifetime you had worked hard, spent considerable capital, made many improvements, and looked forward to handing it over to your next of kin. And then along came a covetous Ahab and a cunning Jezebel, who cast longing eyes on your estate, and who forthwith proceed to use their royal seal to transfer it to themselves-would you be able to approve of the transfer of your estate?. The government is holding veritable pistol at our heads in the Act. It is literally telling us ‘hand over your schools or you take the consequences.’”<sup>42</sup>

Such defiant public statements rendered Grant an ‘enemy’ of the state during what was an era of intense government paranoia. At one point, during the confrontation with the apartheid regime, his house and office at the Mission were searched by the police who claimed to have ‘reasonable information’ that warranted such action. When this “injustice”, as Grant puts it was reported to the Minister of Justice, he seemed not to be bothered. And for Grant, there could be only one conclusion that “Adams College in general and its Principal in particular were marked down for special attention, and as far as he was concerned this meant, “the struggle for survival had began.”<sup>43</sup>

The year 1954 had begun on a very positive note for Adams, the American Board had committed a further \$10, 000, 00 (ten thousand dollars). Additionally, the British Council of Churches had urged support on behalf of Mission schools, like Adams, once government subsidies ceased. Paragraph two, a clear reference to Adams College, of “The Report of a Special Group” prepared by the British Council of Churches after visiting South Africa at the beginning of 1954 states:

“The running of Private Schools without any Government subsidy at all is a generally thought to be too expensive and uncertain a gesture to be justified on any large scale. Nevertheless there are those who hold strongly that some at least should so be run, in order to maintain the principle of the place of the voluntary agencies in education and to demonstrate the special quality of the avowedly Christian School... We would stress that all Christians have a special duty towards people who make this kind of costly venture of faith.”<sup>44</sup>

It was these developments that encouraged Grant and the Governing Council to insist in their endeavours to secure from the government ‘independence’ for Adams.

The Secretary of the Adams College Council of Governors in a letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, W.W.M. Eiselen, on the college’s intentions to use the provisions of the Bantu Education Act to register as a private school stated:

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<sup>42</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant story*, 100.

<sup>43</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 14.

<sup>44</sup> Grant, *Liquidation of Adams College*, 18.

“I have been further instructed by my Council to assure you that the decision that the College has taken in regard to its future have not been taken because the College has the desire to challenge Government policy. The College has an honest and sincere belief-even if the belief is mistaken-that, if it continues to carry on its school, it can make a contribution for the benefit of the Bantu people.”<sup>45</sup>

As already stated, the Act provided for registration of certain schools as private institutions, but with serious conditions, including the Minister’s power to close down those schools deemed not to be acting “in the interest of the Bantu people.” In other words, all schools had to subject themselves to the teaching of Bantu Education, not seen to be ideal by the missionaries. And because of these unreasonable restrictions “for all practical purposes”, as Charles Villa-Vicencio argues “the era of mission education was dead.”<sup>46</sup>

On the Bantu Education Bill, precursor to the Act, the Johannesburg based Education League stated:

“The most alarming feature of the new Bill is that the Minister of Native Affairs is given powers to make regulations for almost every aspect of Bantu Education... It gives him unrestricted powers to decide such vital matters as teachers’ conditions of service, the content of education, the registration and establishment of schools, the monies to be allocated to particular schools and the language medium in schools and teacher training colleges. We do not consider this tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the Minister to be in the interests of education.”<sup>47</sup>

Grant also had very strong objections to the “powers which were little more than arbitrary”<sup>48</sup> given to the Minister of Native Affairs. Speaking to the Durban based newspaper, *The Mercury*, he highlighted, “The Minister of Education at his pleasure will be able to appropriate our land. We shall therefore, if the Bill becomes law, be doing our work on sufferance rather than as a right. This is a state which will be intolerable to us.”<sup>49</sup>

On the question of mission schools and their valuable contribution in the education of blacks, the Education League which called on all educationists to oppose the Bill states:

“For this reason strongly deprecate the recommendations of the Commission (Eiselen Commission) and the obvious determination of the Government, under the powers vested in the Minister under the Bill, to bring under control or to close down, by arbitrary decree, existing mission schools and other private schools. Mission schools, fully equipped, with trained and specialised staff, with a high standard of academic achievement may, by a stroke of the Ministerial pen, be legislated out of existence.”<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 21.

<sup>46</sup> Villa-Vicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, 98.

<sup>47</sup> KCC, *The Bantu Education Bill and the future of Bantu Education* published by the Education League, Johannesburg, 18 September 1953, 1.

<sup>48</sup> Grant, *Liquidation of Adams College*, 3.

<sup>49</sup> *The Mercury*, ‘Adams College: New Bill Alarms’, 11 September 1953.

<sup>50</sup> *The Bantu Education Bill and the future of Bantu Education*, 9.

There was no doubt amongst the Council of Governors about the wonderful and essential contribution Adams College had, and continued to make towards the education and Christianisation of the 'Bantu'. "The Council of Governors believe", stated the memorandum to the Department of Native Affairs, "it is urgently necessary for the welfare of the Bantu peoples, and of the country as a whole, that the Bantu leaders of the future should be imbued with a motivation for selfless service to the community and nation. They realise that such motives are not easily inculcated. It is their conviction that the best way to implant strong motives for service is by integrating Christian faith with education. To do this has always been the aim of Adams College, and it is our intention to continue to serve the country by educating future leaders in this spirit."<sup>51</sup> This is a clear example of mission schools continuing where the early missionaries, including Dr. Newton Adams, the founder of the college, left off: converting and educating Africans. And this was viewed as one of the key reasons the College should be allowed to register as a private school. In the end, three applications to the Department of Bantu Education were submitted. The first two, one submitted before the stipulated deadline of June 20 1955, and another dated 11 August 1955 delivered personally by Principal Grant to the Regional Director in Pietermaritzburg, mysteriously disappeared. It could be reasonable to suggest that the 'disappearance' of the first two applications was intentional, with the sole aim of frustrating the authorities at Adams. Grant insists that putting together an application was quite a daunting task. "The procedure in making such an application, I should add, requires plans not only of the Campus itself, but of each building, with floor space, window space, types of materials, etc. clearly indicated. To prepare this data meant, among other things, considerable overtime work. Yet the plans were prepared and forwarded well within the prescribed limit."<sup>52</sup>

That the College in the end had to go through this process three times shows the extent of the determination to remain an independent private Mission school that would continue the education tradition set by Adams and other missionaries. And as Grant puts it, the memorandum and Annexure were prepared "with one objective-namely, obtaining from the Government permission to be registered as a private schools."<sup>53</sup> And one of the arguments put forward for this was that "Adams College, by virtue of the fact that it is an essentially Christian organisation and independent of any particular Church, it is ideal type of institution to be recognised as a private school under the Act."<sup>54</sup>

Therefore, when the Department refused Adams permission to register as a private institution, one can only agree with views that from the beginning the government had no intention to let Adams College continue implanting the idea that "the African, as for the European, the treasures of the world's past have been piled up, and that if the White man received the treasures of Greece, Rome and Judea and has added to them, these things are for African also."<sup>55</sup> Unwelcome under the policies of apartheid would also be such phenomena as the friendship that Adams had established with Michaelhouse, a private Anglican white school for boys in Natal. The relationship which Brookes saw as another "vital" contribution by Adams towards "inter-racial" activity, between Michaelhouse and Adams had been established during his Principalship (1934-1945), and was continued throughout the years of

<sup>51</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 33.

<sup>52</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 25.

<sup>53</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 28.

<sup>54</sup> Memorandum to the Native Affairs Commission in Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 31. And Villavicencio, *Trapped in Apartheid*, 98.

<sup>55</sup> *Ilanga laseNatali*, 1 September 1956.

the College's existence. Boys from Michaelhouse would spend the weekend at Adams and boys at Adams would also spend some time at Michaelhouse.

For Brookes this was another example of how Adams was also used as a meeting place for white and black student.<sup>56</sup> Grant also saw this 'student exchange' programme "as but one small attempt to bridge the gap which so effectively divided the races in South Africa."<sup>57</sup> While the likes of Brookes saw Adams a "vital" centre of racial integration, clearly the apartheid regime had a different point of view regarding the racial co-operation that Adams tolerated, and avowedly promoted. Speaking at the annual speech and prize giving day at Adams attended by, amongst others, the Mayor of Durban, Brookes was very clear on the Christian education the College was providing to their students "Give the Bantu a chance to progress and which they deserve, then I think, it will be better for South Africa."<sup>58</sup>

As early as 1949, the year the Commission was established, the vocal Natal African Teachers Association was highly critical of CNE which was viewed as tribalist and even pagan. Of this, the editorial of *Inkundla Yabantu* stated: "Mr D.G.S Mtimkulu rendered our course noteworthy service in Maritzburg when at the annual conference of the Natal African Teachers Association, of which he is President, he warned that tribalism has no place in the society that we are building up. What had killed it, he said, was the industrialisation of the country...At the moment the country is full of talk about a certain type of pagan education which passes by the name of Christian National Education. The idea behind it is to produce myopics who have an incurable failing that they are being persecuted by everybody else who does not think as they do. The African teachers conference at Maritzburg did well not to mince words when they condemned Christian National Education."<sup>59</sup>

As early as during the era of Brookes—the first South African and non missionary Principal of Adams, a position he held from 1934-1945.<sup>60</sup> This was continued during Grant's Principalship. Brookes states that Adams College through maintaining close links with white schools "used to be a meeting place for white and black students. These schools included Maritzburg College for boys where Alan Paton was a teacher and Michaelhouse, the famous diocesan school of the Anglican Diocese of Natal."<sup>61</sup> Dan Ngcobo, a student in 1936, upon returning from a visit to Michaelhouse, two decades before the College was forced to shut down, because of the warm reception shown by the students, felt that education was the key "to open the doors that bar them (the Bantu) from European society."<sup>62</sup> This is a practical example of what Verwoerd meant by 'false expectations' that mission education created amongst black people. And such expectations created amongst the Natives, especially post 1948, were way out of line with the policies of the new government. And what other better way to deal with the problem of the 'Dan Ngcobos' than the source where it was emanating from, Mission schools.

Two Commissioners from the Native Affairs Commission visited the College on December 01 1955 to listen to representations arguing in favour of Adams College registering as a

<sup>56</sup> Edgar Brookes, *A South African Pilgrimage* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1977), 67.

<sup>57</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 91.

<sup>58</sup> *Ilanga LaseNatali*, 2 December 1939.

<sup>59</sup> *Inkundla Yabantu*, 16 July 1949.

<sup>60</sup> Brookes was the first South African and non-missionary principal of Adams.

<sup>61</sup> Brookes, *A South African Pilgrimage*, 67.

<sup>62</sup> *Ilanga laseNatali*, 23 June 1936.

private school.<sup>63</sup> While “Charming, able, even idealistic”, says Grant of the Commissioners, “but their idealism was combined with the dedication of the Nazi.”<sup>64</sup> This is a contrast of the ideology of apartheid to Nazism. “On arrival the Commissioners were presented to the College representatives and shook hands with each of the Europeans, but could not bring themselves to do the same with the two African representatives present.”<sup>65</sup> Not only this behaviour defined the attitude of the visitors towards people of other races, but when they were later invited to lunch, after the College had presented their case they informed the Principal that “they would not be able to have lunch at my home if the African representatives of the College were present, as it was against Government policy for them to do so.”<sup>66</sup>

Amongst the question asked by the Commissioners was whether the “the Mr A. Luthuli on our Governing Council was the former Chief Luthuli.”<sup>67</sup> Mr W.A. Maree, a member of parliament and one of the Commissioners, enquired about was a letter circulated by a Mr. M.T. Moerane claiming to be President of Adams College Alumni Association stating “Adams College stood for important matters of faith, one which was that all men are brothers regardless of race and colour and should live as such.”<sup>68</sup> While the representatives of the college at the meeting disassociated themselves with this circular, these are precisely the views that many at the College, including the Principal, held. The belief in the ‘brotherhood’ of man and equality before the Lord is what made Adams a ‘bad example’ to apartheid legislators. Grant and his family who had embarked on missionary work across the globe, including in the West Indies and Zanzibar were soon to realise that in South Africa “We had to stand up to and at times work against a Government whose views of God and man were different from ours.”<sup>69</sup>

After having done everything by the book in attempting to preserve the independence of Adams as a private mission school, it was a sombre occasion when in July 1955, the Department of Native Affairs, having turned down the request, officially proclaimed the school a State owned Bantu school. The American Board realised that running the College again would be extremely impossible when the correspondence from the Minister “made it clear that he intended constructing a Training College there, for which we were later informed, there would be created a large new building. That building would be Government property, and the Government would insist on terms of occupation which would prevent the building from becoming the property of the American Board as owners of the land.”<sup>70</sup>

Under the circumstances, amongst the most likely options available to the American Board and Adams Inc, the legal owners of Adams property, was to sell the College’s assets, including the site on which it stood and “use the money elsewhere, where we have opportunities to advance the Christian evangelical purposes for which Adams was

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<sup>63</sup> Already, the College’s Training College, as part of the dictates of the Bantu Education Act had fallen on the hands of the government in 1954.

<sup>64</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 88.

<sup>65</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 27.

<sup>66</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 40.

<sup>67</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 37.

<sup>68</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 38.

<sup>69</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant story*, 99.

<sup>70</sup> KCAL, Adams College Papers, 56/11 American Board Mission statement to Adams College, 19 October 1956.

founded.”<sup>71</sup> As sad as this was, it is precisely what the Native Affairs Department had long suggested in a letter to the Principal a year earlier “The Department was, as you know, prepared to consider proposals in regard to the conversion of Adams into a Departmental institution, with full control of the existing schools and hostels, subject to mutually satisfactory financial arrangement.”<sup>72</sup>

An article appearing in the local *Amanzimtoti Observer* which also included a brief history of the College said, “At the close of this year the Adams College which we know ceases to be, and in its place a Government Bantu School will be established. How is it that a college with a history extending over a hundred years-indeed, the oldest educational institution in Natal-is to come to such a sudden end?”<sup>73</sup> For Grant it was “unbelievable that a supposedly Christian Government should be so ruthless as to close a Christian College with a long and honourable record of service.”<sup>74</sup> The government argued very strongly that it aimed to build a Training College for teachers at the site where Adams was situated. In the end it was not so much about what Adams stood for, but what the policies of the government entailed. At the meeting with the Commissioners it was made crystal clear that the pre-requisite for any school to be considered for registration would be what the government considered appropriate. By *inter alia*, having blacks as part of the delegation, and the general view towards racial relations of people at Adams College, the college did not qualify for consideration.

Grant asserts, for the Commissioners, of crucial importance was not so much the memorandum and the points presented in it, but “misdeeds” such as “having Chief Luthuli on our Governing council, or the effrontery of the Principal in criticising the Bantu Education Act, or the stupidity of anyone thinking that all men are brothers regardless of race or colour.”<sup>75</sup> Therefore, the “struggle for survival” was not lost because it was not waged with determination and vigour, but because the National Party and apartheid bureaucrats had a pre-determined decision, emanating from their practised Protestantism that saw schools such as Adams College as a stumbling block in the design of the grand plan of apartheid.

The looming closure of Adams College was well covered in the press. The ‘liberal’ English and African publications tended to adopt a sympathetic stance in reporting on the matter. “The Department of Native Affairs will take over Adams College, the well known Native educational institution in Natal, from January 1, 1957”<sup>76</sup>, is how the *Daily News* reported on the Minister’s refusal to consider the College’s request. The sad news had reached the College during winter vacations. And to many, including Zajiji, this came as a huge shock since “nobody ever visualised that the government would ever take over the school.” He vividly remembers the ‘wonderful farewell concert’ which was filled with music and speeches. Many “friends of Adams College” came from faraway places including Pietermaritzburg and Johannesburg.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>71</sup> KCAL, Adams College Papers, 56/11 American Board Mission statement to Adams College, 19 October 1956.

<sup>72</sup> Letter to the Principal signed by W.W.M. Eiselen, 26 May 1956.

<sup>73</sup> *Amanzimtoti Observer*, September 1956.

<sup>74</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant story*, 105.

<sup>75</sup> Grant, *The Liquidation of Adams College*, 41.

<sup>76</sup> *Daily News* 24 July 1956.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Zajiji, 1 April 2007.

The extremely sad and emotional final assembly held in the College Chapel on December 02 1956 was attended by many people and “Every friend of Adams College.”<sup>78</sup> A *Daily News* report said of the very emotional final service:

At a solemn moving ceremony in a tiny church nesting in the Rolling Hills some 25 miles from Durban, Adams College, the well-known Native education institute with a century of tradition behind it, held its last service yesterday, before handing over to the Department of Native Affairs...The small corrugated iron-roofed building was filled to capacity yesterday with old friends of the college, teachers and students. And when the final hymn, “God be with you until we meet again,” was sung by the choir and congregation, there were tears in the eyes of teachers, students and friends alike<sup>79</sup>

In the three minute address which Grant gave he felt the need to stress that the interpretation of the scriptures by the nationalists, regarding racial integration and cooperation was flawed. As the missionary administration was about to hand over control to the government “we shall continue to pray for the conversion of those in authority; that they may in racial matters see the truth as it is in Jesus Christ; and that seeing this truth they will follow it in preference to the traditional policy of the country.”<sup>80</sup>

In her article, Mrs Grant, Jack’s wife, also speaks of the “inter racial” harmony that had been in existence for many years at Adams, and the Christian education provided to Africans, which were now to be “sacrificed” to the “Moloch of apartheid” with the refusal of the government to allow the College to register as a private institution.<sup>81</sup> The article by Mrs Grant, published in two editions of *Ilanga lase Natali* also applauds Adams for being the first Mission school to appoint Africans into positions of responsibility with white people as juniors. In 1925 ZK Mathews, President of the African National Congress<sup>82</sup> was appointed head of Adams High School. As Reverend Alphaeus Zulu, who later became Anglican Bishop of Zululand and Vice President of the World Council of churches, noted “At that particular time, for example the late Chief Albert Luthuli and the late Mr Robbins Guma were on the staff of Adams Training College, as the only black people on training college staffs in all Natal.”<sup>83</sup> It was widely expected that the new administrators would not continue with this tradition of showing ‘confidence’ in the capabilities of the blacks, instead, with the takeover by the government it was envisaged that “Adams College will now, together with other famous schools in this country, give an education which will fix the position of the African in the state, fix his attitude towards the White man and deny him the need for self assertion.”<sup>84</sup>

The *Daily News* reported:

“After a century of private control, Adams Mission (sic.) re-opens on January 24 for the first time as a Government Bantu School...A spokesperson of the Bantu Education Section of the Department in Maritzburg told me today that,

<sup>78</sup> Interview with Austin Zajiji, 1 April 2007.

<sup>79</sup> *Daily News*, 3 December 1956.

<sup>80</sup> Grant, *The Jack Grant Story*, 110.

<sup>81</sup> *Ilanga Lase Natali*, 15 September 1956.

<sup>82</sup> The ANC instituted a not so well coordinated ‘Schools boycott’ campaign in 1955 in the wake of the Bantu Education Act.

<sup>83</sup> Z.K Mathews, *Freedom for my people* (London: Rex Collings Ltd, 1981), 218.

<sup>84</sup> *Ilanga Lase Natali*, 1 September 1956.

despite the change in staff and control, it was intended to carry on Adams Mission in the same way as in the past...New teaching staff has been appointed for Adams by the Native Affairs Department, which is negotiating for the purchase of the mission-owned land around the college.”<sup>85</sup>

Incompatible interpretations of the Christian/Protestant philosophy by the Afrikaners and the American Board missionaries reached boiling point with the coming into power of the former in 1948, and the result were very severe. It signalled the complete end of more than a century of missionary involvement in African education in South Africa. Brookes admits “The take-over everywhere represented the victory of apartheid.” And this “victory” was over the liberal Christian views espoused by missionary run educational institutions, such as Adams, whose origins can be traced back to the first missionaries of the American Zulu Mission who arrived in Natal and Zululand in the first half of the nineteenth century. And, indeed, as Brookes and John Reuling, Secretary of the Mission Board, sat with their apartheid government ‘enemies’ to negotiate the ‘hand-over’ and the reluctant selling of the College premises and property, they must have felt really defeated. The only conciliation was that the College and Mission representatives managed to convince the government that the “name of Adams should not be used in connection with the new Government school that was to be set up”, hence the new name ‘Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College.’ On the day of the final assembly, saddened people could not believe what was happening. “The locals”, says Zajiji, “and the students felt, the Boers are taking over our school and are going to bring apartheid to it.” At the beginning of 1957, upon reading a newspaper and learning about the renaming, he knew “they had taken it over. They won.”<sup>86</sup> The democratically elected government has pledged to overturn this ‘victory’ by apartheid over African education which was felt by no less than three generations of learners. It has been far from being an easy task. More than a decade since the achievement of political freedom, the spectre of Bantu Education looms large over the now unified Department of Education; and connections have been made between this and what many education activists and pundits have dubbed a ‘crisis.’

### Postscript

The Historic Schools Restoration Project (HSRP) was officially launched at Adams College on Saturday 03 November 2007. According to a newspaper report, in his address Archbishop Ndungane stated ““We desire our schools to be centres not only of educational, but of cultural excellence. As we look to the future, we know that South Africa will always be a multi-racial, multi-cultural, multi-lingual nation”.<sup>87</sup> On its website, the HSRP describes its vision and mission as:

“To produce values-based, transformational, Afro-centric leaders, able to meet the critical demands of community and country...To recapture the heritage and transform historic schools into sustainable, inspirational, African institutions of educational and cultural excellence.”<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> *Daily News*, 16 January 1957

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Zajiji, 1 April 2007.

<sup>87</sup> ‘School project aims to preserve heritage’, *Independent Online*, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/school-project-aims-to-preserve-heritage-1.377510>, accessed 19 November 2007. 5 November 2007.

<sup>88</sup> Historical Schools Restoration Project (HSRP) website: <http://www.historicschools.org.za>, accessed 10 November 2007.

On hearing of the ‘revival’ project headed by the Archbishop, Zajiji was thrilled and he shared Ndungane’s sentiments regarding the excellent work done by the former mission schools. He commented “these schools have got history and they have produced real leaders in South Africa.”<sup>89</sup> Indeed, many in South Africa and in other parts of the continent who became part of the resistance against colonialism and apartheid were missionary educated. After all, their schooling years coincided with a period where mission schools were the main centres of African education—a situation which changed after 1953. The ‘revival’ of former mission schools does amount to an exciting development. The excitement, however, should not divert attention from the overall post apartheid context. The question that needs to be asked is whether, once revived, the old mission schools will cater for everyone in the spirit of the 1955 Freedom Charter, the undisputed developmental blueprint for a post apartheid South Africa during the struggle years. Will the former mission schools cater for all learners, regardless of their socio-economic status? This question is necessary, particularly, within the context of what some critics have referred to as the ‘new apartheid’ not based on race but class which has seen many victims of past policies denied access to now commodified basic necessities including education.

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<sup>89</sup> Interview with Austin Zajiji, 1 April 2007.