

“Waterford ‘Kamhlaba’, Swaziland: A history of the first anti-apartheid multiracial school in exile, 1963-2000”

by

Alban Gambe

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SUPERVISOR: DR G. NCUBE

Abstract

This thesis presents an alternative history of a non-mainstream case of resistance to apartheid by exploring the institutional response of a multiracial school in exile, Waterford Kamhlaba,¹ established in 1963, in the Kingdom of Swaziland.² With apartheid policy attacking the core of life of South Africans, and particularly educational opportunities for blacks, a group of expatriate teachers decided to fight the system by establishing an educational initiative based on multiracial and human rights. Led by Michael Stern, an expatriate British educator, the group left South Africa and crossed into the Kingdom of Swaziland where they established the first multiracial school in Africa, Waterford Kamhlaba. With a committed and liberal-minded staff, the school became a forerunner to the new South African dispensation that anti-apartheid activists were fighting for.

Starting with an analysis of apartheid education policy, the thesis proceeds to look into the establishment of the school, its growth, the curriculum it offered and the ways in which it sought to project itself as a bastion of anti-apartheid resistance, before remodelling itself as part of a global education movement. The thesis draws its findings from a relatively rich collection of evidence including school magazines, newsletters, annual school reports, photographs, and interviews, published and unpublished books.

The main argument of this work is that, as one of the first multiracial schools in Africa, Waterford Kamhlaba was not a typical institution; among other things, it illustrates that, for all its past and current ambiguities, liberalism³ was at some point in history the most progressive force of its time-and it overlapped with and aided radical mass-nationalism. This

¹ Kamhlaba”, was the name given to Waterford by His Majesty King Sobhuza II of Swaziland in reference to its multiracialism which means “the earth, the world” in Siswati as it represented all racial groups.

² This thesis will be using the name Swaziland as it covers the time that name was used although the name of the country was changed to Eswatini by His Majesty King Mswati III in 2018.

³ Liberalism here stands for the ideals that were held by Waterford founders that were meant to promote individual rights, civil liberties, concept of democracy and free enterprise as they questioned the policies of the segregationist apartheid state.

history of Waterford seeks to widen the narrative of the popular ANC/UmMkonto We Sizwe exile story, as well as the equally dominant story of the Western based anti-apartheid movements. The thesis is, therefore, an attempt to widen the “exile” historiography of apartheid resistance. Waterford also acted as a transitional model from the old type colonial missionary schooling to a new type of schooling founded through missionary labour but functioning through multi-racial human rights.

Dedication

I am most grateful to my late father, Reuben Mugoda Gambe, who encouraged me to pursue education. I also wish to express thanks to my mother, Clodia Gambe, for her love and encouragement over the years, which I appreciate deeply. Her encouragement made it possible for my dream to come true. This journey would not have been a success without the support and sacrifice of my wife, Linda Gambe. It is my prayer that she too will successfully follow in my footsteps. I hope that this study will inspire my children, Panashe, Yvonne and Busi, to excel at school. Lastly, Uncle Mike Masarirambi's influence regarding this project is as much acknowledged as it is appreciated.

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After reading Tony Hatton's, "Phoenix rising: A memoir of Waterford Kamhlaba's early years", I was greatly motivated by the statement made by Hatton in his conclusion where he hoped someone would carry on from where he left on about the Waterford story. I am happy to have carried on with the Waterford story that he started and I am grateful to the wonderful insight that I got from his work, which gave valuable background to my work.

I would also want to acknowledge the support I got from the Waterford school's library staff, Mr Pontuti and Mr Dlamini, I am forever thankful for your support even after your working hours. The Waterford Advancement Office, I do not know how I would have known about all the valuable information on the school's history that changed the direction of my work.

I would also want to give special acknowledgment to my family and friends for the support on this journey. You were able to keep encouraging me to soldier on and I am forever grateful.

I would also want to state that I bear full responsibility for the arguments, errors, omissions, shortcomings, opinions and the conclusions made in this work.

List of Abbreviations

AI	Amnesty International
ANC	African National Congress
“A” Level	Advanced Level
AZAPO	Azania People’s Organisation
BPC	Black People’s Convention
CI	Christian Institute of Southern Africa
CR	Community of Resurrection
CODESA	Convention for Democratic South Africa
HEARD	Health and Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division
IBDP	International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme
IB	International Baccalaureate
ICLB	International Campaign to ban Landmines
IGCSE	International General Certificate of Secondary Education
IIE	Institute for Industrial Education
IRA	Irish Republican Army
MK	Umkhonto We Sizwe
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NP	National Party
OBE	Order of the British Empire
“O” Level	Ordinary Level
PAC	Pan African Congress
PFP	Progressive Federal Party

RIC	Royal Irish Constabulary
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAIRR	South Africa Institute of Race Relations.
SAMAFCO	Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College
SASM	South African Students Movement
UBLS	University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland
UNISCOP	United Nations Special Commission on Palestine
UWC	United World Colleges
WK	Waterford Kamhlaba

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

Despite the growing body of literature on the multi-stakeholder fight against apartheid in South Africa, gaps still linger. Scholars have analysed the role of passive protests, the influence of radical thinkers and other significant leaders, the contribution of African countries, violent protest and defiance campaigns, the armed struggle and the contribution of the international community.⁴ All these works are extremely valuable as they offer valuable insights into this unforgettable period in South African history.

However, there has been a historiographical neglect of the role of institutions, particularly educational institutions, which sought to offer another possibility and worldview that challenged the main tenets of South Africa's apartheid system. While the ANC established its own educational institution in Tanzania, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, this only offered education to black children mostly connected to the struggle for a new South Africa. Other institutions of note to question apartheid were the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and the Institute for Industrial Education.

⁴ To explore these themes, see for instance the works of Christopher Culpin, 2000, *South Africa since 1948*, London, Hodder Education and F.Meli, 1998, *A History of the ANC: South Africa belongs to us*, Harare, Zimbabwe Publishing House, J. Ferguson, 1996, *Stephen Biko's rhetorical vision of Black Consciousness*, USA, Oregon State University, P. C. Kentworthy, 2007, *Bikosim or Mbekism : The role of Black Consciousness in Mbeki South Africa*, M.A Thesis, University of Roskilde, and Steve Biko, 1978, *I write what I like*, Chicago, Chicago Publishing Press, R. Kasrils, 1993, *Armed and Dangerous: From undercover struggle to freedom*, Cape Town, Jacana Publishers and Mandela, 2010, *Conversations with myself*, London, Macmillan. These works analyse the role played by activists and their organisations in the fight against apartheid in South Africa bringing the conclusion that there was need for unity to conquer the apartheid system. See the various texts on the role played by South African neighbours in fighting apartheid, including M. Ndlovu 2006, *The ANC in exile 1960-1970 in The Road to Democracy*, Vol 1, 1960-1970, p.411-417, E.Masilela 2007, *Number 43 Trelawney Park, KwaMagogo*, Cape Town, New Africa Book, J. D. Omer-Coper, 1987, *A History of Southern Africa*, Cape Town, David Philip, Thula Simpson, 2016, *Umkonto We Sizwe: The ANC armed struggle*, London, Penguin. For further exploration of the role played by international organisations, see for instance, E. S. Reddy, 2012, *The United Nations and the struggle for liberation in South Africa*, <http://www.anc.org.za/docs/misc/1992/roadtodemocracy1.pdf>, accessed 3rd of March 2017.

However, none of these ventured into significant multi-racial educational experiments. This thesis seeks to contribute to the historiography of apartheid by tracing the origins and growth of Waterford Kamhlaba School, a multiracial school established in the Kingdom of Swaziland in 1963 by a group of expatriate anti-apartheid activists, led by Michael Stern. This move, which could be described as radical in the context of the time, showed the failure of the apartheid system to totally impose its worldview. While apartheid schooling divided learners along racial lines, this school envisioned a post-apartheid, non-racial society in which education was provided to students irrespective of the colour of their skin.

The origins of Waterford School are deeply rooted in formal schooling and the missionary educational enterprise in southern Africa. Formal schooling in South Africa has a long history dating back to the arrival of the Dutch in 1652. The Dutch, who reportedly offered formal educational opportunities to the indigenous groups they found in the Cape, are credited with having introduced formal schooling in South Africa. As indicated in Van Riebeeck's diary entry in 1658, they:

Began holding school for the young slaves. To stimulate the slaves to attention while at school, and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they were promised each a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco, when they finish their task.⁵

Education was mainly meant to spread Christianity to slaves in order to make them docile. Jonathan Jansen has stressed that the explicit purpose of schooling for indigenous people during this era was religious instruction.⁶ It was aimed towards inculcating in slaves Christian values deemed essential to their attainment of full church membership. This education was far from secular and has been blamed for retrenching the concept of master-servant relationship.⁷

⁵ Pam Christie, 1985, *The right to learn: The Struggle for education in South Africa*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, p.32.

⁶ J. Jansen, 1990, "Curriculum as a political phenomenon: Historical reflections on black South African education", *Journal of Negro Education*, 59, pp.195-206.

⁷ J. Jansen, 1990, "Curriculum as a political phenomenon, pp.195-206.

The education of Africans was expanded through the establishment of mission schools. The establishment of mission schools dates as far back as 1799. Elliot Ndlovu's work shows that the first mission school for black people was built at King William's Town in the Eastern Cape in 1799 by Dr J. T. van Kemp of the London Missionary Society.⁸ This was expanded in 1821 with another school at Tyume Valley in the Eastern Cape started by agents of the Glasgow Missionary Society. In 1824, Lovedale School was opened in Tyume and later the Lovedale Institution developed to become the most famous school for blacks in South Africa.⁹ With time, missionary educational activities would expand to the Transvaal and the sub-region through the work of such pioneers as David Livingstone and William Edwards both of the London Missionary Society during the mid-nineteenth century. The Hermansburg Missionary Society also started educational work in the Transvaal among the Sotho, the Pedi and the Venda- speaking communities.¹⁰

Of importance to this study was the arrival in South Africa in 1902 of the missionaries from the Community of Resurrection (CR), which established its ministry in Southern Africa. In 1902, William Carter, the then Bishop of Pretoria, invited the CR to help rebuild his diocese after the devastation of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. In response, three brethren travelled from Britain to Johannesburg and founded a house to evangelise African miners and do theological training for local African converts.¹¹ The community undertook the responsibility of St. John's College in the same city four years later. In 1911, the CR opened St Peter's Theological College in the suburb of Rosettenville, Johannesburg. In 1922, schools for black children and teenagers were added to the college. This college had a great influence on the Church of Southern Africa in the second half of the 20th century.¹² The St Peter's Rosettenville School was the first school where Michael Stern, the founder of Waterford, taught in response to Father Trevor Huddleston's call for qualified teachers in 1958. Stern learnt about the evils of the apartheid government while teaching at the college. When the

⁸ Ntshamatiko Boy Elliot Ndlovu, 2002, A historical-educational investigation into missionary education in South Africa with special reference to mission schools in Bushbuckridge, *M.A Thesis*, University of South Africa, p.38

⁹ Ntshamatiko Boy Elliot Ndlovu, 2002, A historical-educational investigation into missionary education, p.38.

¹⁰ Ntshamatiko Boy Elliot Ndlovu, 2002, A historical-educational investigation into missionary education, p.38.

¹¹ <https://mirfield.org.uk/community-of-the-resurrection/our-life-and-work/cr-story/>, accessed 16 January 2018.

¹² <https://mirfield.org.uk/community-of-the-resurrection/our-life-and-work/cr-story/>, accessed 16 January 2018.

government began to close schools that accommodated both blacks and whites, Stern opted to move to Swaziland to establish a new multiracial school, Waterford Kamhlaba.

Beyond adding a potentially new dimension to the history of the struggle against apartheid, this study also contributes to the comparative literature on colonial and 20th century education in general. Numerous works exist on colonial education, these works describe colonial period as being characterised by uneven development of schooling opportunities and struggles over curricular.¹³ These perspectives certainly inform this study. However, this study's uniqueness lies in its effort to unearth an educational experiment whose architects deliberately sought to challenge the established colonial and apartheid order by offering a multiracial education to both black and white pupils.

The key questions that this study asks are: how did Waterford Kamhlaba develop as an alternative educational institution that challenged the apartheid system? How did the school navigate the contextual challenges of the two countries (South Africa and Swaziland)? To what extent was it different from other schools established during the colonial/apartheid era? What was its educational ethos, and who are some of its alumni?

In view of the above questions, the study explores the origins and establishment of Waterford School in Swaziland between 1963 and 1968 as a response to apartheid policy in general, and the apartheid educational system in particular. It also examines the school curriculum and how it differed from the curriculum offered in apartheid South Africa from the time the school was opened. An analysis of the role played by students in light of the clampdown on student protests in South Africa in the wake of the Soweto uprising of the late 1970s is also given. The school's shift from a regional to an international focus and developments at the school after the democratisation of South Africa in the 1990s is also discussed.

¹³ See for instance C. Summers, 2002, *Colonial Lessons: African Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, Portsmouth, Heinemann, M.O. West, 2002, *The rise of an African middle class*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press and D. Aissat and Y. Djafri, 2005, *The Role of Colonial Education in Retrospect: The Gold Coast Case in the Era of Imperialism*, http://research.unileipzig.de/eniugh/congress/fileadmin/eniugh2011/dokumente/Mechanisms-of-British-Imperial-Aissat_and_Djafri-2011-04-15.pdf , accessed 18 May 2017.

The study contributes to the history of resistance against apartheid through focusing on anti-apartheid institutions that have long been ignored in standard textbooks of the broader struggle against apartheid. The fight against apartheid through the setting up of alternative institutions is an important area that needs further exploration. Many institutions or organisations were established to pioneer alternatives to the apartheid institutional set-up. These include the Christian Institute of Southern Africa (1963), the Institute for Industrial Education (1973), the Mamphela Ramphele and the Black Consciousness Movement's Zanempilo Healthcare Centre (1974), and the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College founded in exile in Tanzania, in 1978, by the ANC. However, Waterford Kamhlaba has a unique history as it was the first multiracial educational institution established specifically to oppose apartheid educational policies outside South Africa's borders.

Unlike, for example, the Ramphele's Zanemphilo Health Centre and the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College which respectively offered medical services and education specifically to only blacks, Waterford School opened its doors to all the races. Moreover, although the school was founded on missionary principles of racial equality, it did not become a mission school but developed to be an institution with human rights as the core of its ethos. It not only questioned the abuses of human rights in apartheid South Africa but the world over. The study explains the thinking behind this project as well as its outcomes. Waterford's history is also significant in that it helps spotlight some people who have not been recognised in the mainstream histories of anti-apartheid struggles. Individuals such as Michael Stern, the founder and first principal of the school, and the students who attended the school during and after apartheid have not enjoyed the limelight like the ANC and Umkonto We Sizwe cadres who dominate the historiography of the anti-apartheid struggle. The study also extends our understanding of the influence of Father Trevor Huddleston, one of the main stakeholders behind the founding of the school and an iconic figure in the fight against apartheid. In illuminating the history, contributions and achievements of the people who founded and studied at Waterford, this study breaks the silence in which the school is shrouded. It also adds a new dimension to the historiography of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Apartheid and Education: A Historiographical Overview

This study focuses on the use of education as instrument of resistance to apartheid. It is essential, however, to first review literature on colonial education in order to appreciate the broader context in which Waterford became an active player in the struggle against apartheid. It is also equally vital to analyse the literature on student resistance to apartheid education. This approach enables us to appreciate the contributions of a wide range of educational institutions that were involved in the fight against apartheid through the agency of both students and teaching staff.

Scholarship on colonial education has stressed the negative impact of the colonial pedagogy, contestations over colonial educational hegemony, and the uneven development of schooling systems in sub-Saharan Africa and the continent as a whole. In the specific case of South Africa, Jonathan Jansen has argued that black educational history in the country can be classified into four phases: the traditional education, the mission education, the native education and the Bantu education phases.¹⁴ This study engages the Bantu education phase, as it is within this phase Waterford emerged as a multi-racial school in exile.

Analyses of Bantu Education have mainly focused on reasons for its enactment and African responses to it. Some scholars maintain that Bantu Education was implemented to control the educational development of Africans and to channel them into being cheap labourers for the white communities.¹⁵ As Pam Christie argues, most of the Protestant churches objected to Bantu Education because they believed that it was not only education for subordination but denied blacks the right to participate as equals in areas outside the reserves.¹⁶ Christie notes that schooling in apartheid South Africa was never designed to unite the different population groups together. Instead, it was meant to separate them, in line with the overall social, economic and political plan of grand apartheid.¹⁷ Pam Christie and Colin Collins, further

¹⁴ J. Jansen, 1990, "Curriculum as a political phenomenon: Historical reflections on black South African education", *Journal of Negro Education*, 59, pp.195-206.

¹⁵ See for example the early works of P. A Duminy, 1967, *Trends and challenges in the education of South African Bantu*, Pretoria, J.D. Schaik, and Peter Kallaway, 1984, *Apartheid and education: The education of black South Africans*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press.

¹⁶ Pam Christie, 1985, *The right to learn: The struggle for education in South Africa*, Cape Town, Ravan Press, p.81.

¹⁷ Christie, *The right to Learn*, p.78.

argued that Bantu Education had its basis in the Eiselen Commission recommendations, which crystallised the perpetuation of the development of a race-based class system in which blacks were expected to be drawers of water and hewers of wood for the whites.¹⁸ Basing their argument on the earlier works of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Christie and Collins insist that apartheid schooling was designed and motivated to ensure long-term white dominance and supremacy.¹⁹ To this end, the curriculum was designed to provide superior education to white South Africans so that they occupied high positions and thus that ensured their dominance in the economic, political and social arenas of society. On the other hand, black South Africans were schooled explicitly to take on menial or semi-skilled, inferior positions, particularly in the economy.²⁰ In this way, the Bantu Education system sought to reproduce the apartheid system which reinforced the exploitation of blacks. These views are echoed by Ken Hartshorne who argues that the Bantu Education system sought to relegate the black child to the bottom of South African society.²¹

Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders reached a similar conclusion. They argued that the Bantu Education policy of 1953 was premised on the assumption African minds were inferior. Davenport and Saunders observe that this assumption legitimated the provision of inferior education to blacks that would prepare them for an equally inferior place in society.²² The view resonates with Martin Legassick's argument that, in South Africa, capitalists perpetuated their control of blacks through the labour migration system that required black

¹⁸ P. Christie and C. Collins, 1986, Bantu education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction, in P. Kallaway, (Ed.) *Apartheid and education*, Braamfontein, Ravan Press, pp.160–183.

¹⁹ Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, 1976, *Schooling in capitalist America*, New York, Basic Books. Basing their argument on their correspondence theory, they argued that there is a connection between education and social inequality. The structure of relations in education not only ensures that students are disciplined to align with the workplace environment. They are taught to develop the personal demeanour, modes of self-preservation, self-image and social class identification which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy.

²⁰ P. Christie and C. Collins, 1986, Bantu education: apartheid ideology and labour reproduction, in P. Kallaway, (Ed.) *Apartheid and education*, Braamfontein, Ravan Press, pp.160–183.

²¹ Ken Hartshorne, 1992, *Crisis and challenge: Black education 1910-1990*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, p.41.

²² Rodney Davenport and Christopher Saunders, 2000, *South Africa: A modern history*, Johannesburg, Macmillan, 1987, p.375.

migrants to leave their families in reserves with their poor education facilities.²³ In the same vein, Mervyn Hartwig and Rachel Sharp contend that the development in South Africa's economy fostered capital accumulation and labour reproduction in ways that guaranteed the supply of cheap black labour. Bantu Education was designed to maintain this status quo. These analyses are key to understanding the contests that emerged over Bantu education and they offer a good starting point for understanding the debates central to this study.

Colonial education in South Africa has also been thoroughly examined especially, missionary education. Orthodox writers like George M. Theal and G. Stow were sceptical of missionary education. Theal, for example, dismissed the educational efforts of the London Missionary Society, accusing it of failing to provide school infrastructure accommodation before they started their work. A racist, Theal castigated missionary education as irrelevant to blacks whom he accused of lacking the ability to understand Western pedagogies.²⁴

Liberal historians contributed to the debate on black education in South Africa. These scholars argued from the premise that all humans had basic fundamental rights, irrespective of race, colour or creed. Consequently, liberals were sympathetic towards the indigenous people of South Africa and endorsed the educational endeavours of missionaries in black communities.²⁵ To liberal scholars, missionary education was indispensable to the induction of black pupils into European values with a European model of schooling.²⁶ Thus, they saw mission schools as part and parcel of the Western "civilising mission" in Africa.²⁷ But they often lamented the shortcomings of missionary and Bantu Education such as its focus on practical subjects like agriculture and handwork and the burden put on teachers by

²³ Martin Legassick, 1974, "South Africa: Capital accumulation and violence", *Economy and Society*, Volume 3, p.253-291.

²⁴ G.M. Theal, 1918, *History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795*, London, Swan Sonnenschein, p.310-311.

²⁵ See for instance works of A. Atmore & S.Marks, 1974, "The imperial factor in South Africa in the nineteenth century: towards a reassessment", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, October, III(1):105-139

²⁶ W.G. McConkey, "Bantu Education: a critical survey with illustrations", *Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 38(1), p.1.

²⁷ J.J. Ross, 1967, "Bantu Education in historical perspective", P.A Duminy (ed) *Trends and challenges in the education of the South African Bantu*, Fort Hare University Press, p.21.

overcrowded classes which contributed to the disintegration of the quality of black education.²⁸

The liberal historians were heavily criticised by Afrikaner scholars who were sympathetic to the Afrikaner cause and antagonistic to the British and black people. The Afrikaner school of thought owed its origins to the second British occupation of the Cape and the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer war. This school of thought grew quite phenomenally from the 1920s to the 1940s due to increased Afrikaner nationalism. The likes of Johannes Du Plessis²⁹ and J. C. Coetzee³⁰ were some of the prominent scholars in this camp and believed that every cultural group in South Africa should have their own exclusive schools. They viewed British missionaries as evil instigators of violence and as responsible for several deaths of the Boers due to conflicts between them and the British.

The coming of radical revisionist scholarship in the 1970s changed the overriding perception of the contribution of missionaries to the education of indigenous societies in South Africa. Scholars belonging to this camp saw education as an instrument of power used by the state and the ruling class to exploit labour. An example of a revisionist scholar is Nosipho Majeke who views early missionaries like Dr John Philip as instruments of the capitalist machine that expanded the capitalist mode of production in South Africa and ruthlessly exploited black labour.³¹ Majeke was supported by Shula Marks and Antony Atmore who saw missionaries all over South Africa as agents of territorial and material expansion of colonial power, thus undermining African independence in the interest of progress and civilisation.³² These perspectives meshed well with the views of Marxist scholars who saw Bantu Education as an instrument of colonial exploitation. Liberal historians were also criticised by Steve Biko, “for

²⁸ Cynthia Kros, 1996, Economic, political and intellectual origins of Bantu Education 1926-1951, *Ph.D. Thesis*, University of the Witwatersrand, p.302.

²⁹ See for instance the works of Du Plessis, J. 1965, *A history of Christian missions in South Africa*, Cape Town, C Struik

³⁰ See also J. C. Coetzee, 1941, *Onderwys in die Transvaal, 1838-1937*, Pretoria: JL van Schaik.

³¹ Nosipho Majeke, 1952, *The role of missionaries in conquest*, Society of Young Africa Publishers, p.42.

³² S. Max and A. Atmore, 1973, “The activities of the London Missionary Society in South Africa, 1806-1836: An Assessment”, *African Studies Review*, 16, (3), p.417.

claiming to be black souls wrapped in white skins”.³³ These liberals, Biko argued, claimed that they knew what Africans needed and, as a result, they helped to create for Africans an inferiority complex, which was done through oppression, denigration and derision.³⁴ Biko attacked the religious component of missionary education, emphatically arguing that:

What of the white man’s religion-Christianity? It seems the people involved in imparting Christianity to the black people steadfastly refuse to get rid of the rotten foundation which many of the missionaries created when they came. To this date black people find no message for them in the Bible simply because our ministers are still too busy with moral trivialities. They blow these up as the most important things that Jesus had to say to people.³⁵

Even though some scholars discredited missionary educational endeavours, the establishment of Waterford and many other earlier institutions is testimony to some of the ambiguities that missionary education had on the continent. Christie, for example, has argued that, without mission schools, blacks would have received no education.³⁶ This view is supported by the fact that the earliest schools and colleges for blacks in most parts of Africa were all established by missionaries. In South Africa, these institutions included the Adams College, which despite some periods of regression, during its long 103 years of existence, was noted for providing Africans with opportunities which were unavailable to the majority of African youth elsewhere. Adams College pioneered black co-education and was among the earliest colleges in South Africa to teach Mathematics and Science to Africans, to provide matriculation and post- matriculation courses, and to employ African teachers.³⁷ Like Adams College, Waterford offered similar educational and employment opportunities to blacks.

³³ Steve Biko, 1978, *I write what I like*, Chicago, Chicago Publishing Press, p.24

³⁴ Biko, *I write what I like*, p.30.

³⁵ Biko, *I write what I like*, p.30

³⁶ Christie, *The Right to learn*, p.61.

³⁷ Susan Michelle Du Rand, 1990, “From mission school to Bantu Education: A history of Adams College”, *M.A Thesis*, Durban, University of Natal, <https://researchspace.ukzn.ac.za/handle/10413/394>, accessed 28 March 2018.

A number of scholars informed by the reproduction theory, also assailed missionary and apartheid education. One of the most prominent of these academics was Frank Molteno.³⁸ Molteno, argued that apartheid schools were as much sites of reproduction of the apartheid ideology as they were a locus of the reproduction of resistance against it.³⁹ According to Molteno, black learners and teachers in schools did not automatically or uncritically reproduce apartheid. Rather, they actively and consciously made sense and meaning of what they were subjected to on their own terms, deciding on what strategies to use in their responses to apartheid education.⁴⁰ Molteno was therefore able to show that apartheid schooling was complex and involved many forms of human agency, not unlike Waterford school itself.

Other literature on resistance to apartheid education focused more on student protests in the 1970s which culminated in the Soweto Uprising of 1976. Architects of this scholarship unpacked the causes of the students' protests. Writing in the 1980s, these scholars were obviously close to the events. They emphasised that the long-term conflict between the apartheid state and the people was at the core of the student protest. Allan Brooks and Jeremy Brickwell, for instance, argued that students' disillusionment with the apartheid education was the major reason for the eruption of their protests.⁴¹ They pinpointed overcrowded classrooms, the lack of basic resources in black schools and high dropout rates in them as major factors that enflamed student opposition to Bantu Education.

This perception is supported by John Brewer who stresses that the confrontation between students and police during the anti-apartheid struggle was largely the consequence of the long-term deterioration of black education.⁴² Philip Bonner shared this view. Like Brooks and Brickwell, Bonner attributed the student uprisings in South African schools in the 1960s and 1970s to lack of socio-economic and political opportunities in black communities. According to Bonner, between 1954 and 1960, only 50 000 houses were built in Soweto. The rate of the

³⁸ Molteno, 1987, "Students take control", pp.27–51.

³⁹ Frank Molteno, F., 1987, "Students take control: the 1980 boycott of coloured education in the Cape Peninsula", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 8(1), pp.27–51.

⁴⁰ Molteno, "Students take control", pp. 27-51.

⁴¹ Allan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill, 1980, *Whirlwind before the storm*, South Africa, Mayibuye books, p.52.

⁴² John Brewer, 1986, *After Soweto: An unfinished journey*, Oxford, Clarendon. 69.

building slowed down in the early 1960s and stopped in 1965.⁴³ The government started to restrict and remove some of the few privileges enjoyed by blacks in urban areas as the government now focused on improving the homelands. Because of this, it cut its funding on building new schools. The number of students increased tremendously without a match in the number of schools or teachers. Some schools were forced to accommodate up to 100 students in one class.⁴⁴ This led to increasing black disillusionment over the system of apartheid education.

A related strand of scholarship has stressed the emergence of youth subcultures in secondary schools in Soweto in the 1970s. According to Clive Glaser, poverty in most African families had had far-reaching implications for many children.⁴⁵ Due to this poverty, Glaser observes, boundaries were not drawn clearly between childhood, adolescence and adulthood. In the end, unemployed youth formed groups that became very violent and made substantial demands on the apartheid government.⁴⁶ However, the origins of the Soweto uprising and associated violence seems to have been influenced by political activists in South Africa from the 1950s onward. While acknowledging how the ANC missed a glorious opportunity to help the youth of Soweto during the protests, Oliver Tambo, for example, credits ANC actors for having been active in influencing youth politics in Soweto. In his own words,

An outstanding role in the [youth] uprisings was ... played by those of our comrades who were inside the country, many of them former Robben Island prisoners. Through their contact with the youth, they were able to make the ANC input, however limited, in the conduct of the bloody battles of 1976-1977. Among them we would like to select for special mention the late Comrade Joe Gqabi, former Robben Island prisoner, who was assassinated because they could see how deep the seeds he had planted among the youth in Soweto were.⁴⁷

⁴³ P. Bonner, *The Soweto uprising: A turning points event*, <http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/book-5-people-places-and-apartheid-chapter-2-soweto-uprising-june-1976-turning-points-event>, accessed 28 March 2018.

⁴⁴ P. Bonner, *The Soweto uprising of June 1976: A turning points event*, accessed 28 March 2018.

⁴⁵ C. Glaser, 1998, "We must infiltrate the tsotsis: School politics and youth gangs in Soweto, 1968-1976", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 24, 2, p.301-323

⁴⁶ C. Glaser, 1998, "We must infiltrate the tsotsis", 24, 2, pp.301-323.

⁴⁷ Glaser, 1998, "We must infiltrate the tsotsis", 24, 2, p.301-323.

Scholarship on the role played by apartheid activists' movements has also linked the uprising to the Pan African Congress, in particular the activism of Zeph Mothopeng who was a strong PAC leader. Mothopeng, a teacher in Soweto and a resident of Orlando West is believed to have had underground meetings of the PAC, which later involved students from Soweto schools. He had become in the 1970s one of the core members of the PAC in Soweto.⁴⁸ It is claimed by the PAC that these meetings culminated in the Soweto uprising. However, the Azania People's Organisation (AZAPO) has discredited this, claiming that the uprising of 1976 in Soweto was a result of the works of the South African Students Movement (SASM) and Black People's Convention (BPC). AZAPO further makes a scathing attack on any organisation that claims to have influenced the events of June 1976, stressing that all black organisations that were operating above board during that period were doing so under the broad banner of the Black Consciousness movement.⁴⁹

Another strand of scholarship on education in apartheid South Africa has placed a premium on how some school in Soweto not only managed to navigate and overcome the challenges of apartheid but also to produce some of the most successful professionals of the 1990s. In this regard, Clive Glaser has traced the histories of two major schools in Soweto, Orlando High School and Morris Isaacson High School. Amid the hostile environments, lack of resources and overcrowding offered by the Bantu Education, Glaser shows that the two schools established themselves as credible institutions of learning.⁵⁰ There is also recent work on the role played by tertiary institutions of learning in the combat against the apartheid system. For example, Howard Phillips's study shows the campaign mounted by the University of Cape Town against the institution of the apartheid from 1948 to 1968. Phillips argues that the sit-ins in 1968 at Bremner Building was a students' response to UCT Council's decision to rescind an offer of a teaching post to the anti-apartheid icon Monwabisi Archibold Archie Mafeje in 1968.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, 2011, "The Soweto Uprisings", *The Road to Democracy, 1970-1980*, Vol.2, p.338.

⁴⁹ Azanian people's organisation, 2005, *June 16 1976, background and aftermath*, <http://azapo.org.za>, accessed 23 March 2018.

⁵⁰ Clive Glaser, *Soweto Islands of learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando high schools under Bantu Education, 1958-1975*, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03057070.2015.991573>, accessed 04 March 2020.

⁵¹ Howard Phillip, *UCT under apartheid part 1: From onset to sit in*, <https://rationalstandard.com/history-uct-1948-1968/>, accessed 04 March 2020.

The works discussed above represent important approaches to the analysis of resistance to apartheid education as they offer varying perspectives. However, this study fills a gap by looking at how the establishment of alternative institutions produced other forms of resistance that anticipated a future de-racialized South African society. The history of these alternative institutions and their contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle have hitherto remained silent in historiography of resistance to African education in pre-1994 South Africa.

This study places itself within the larger context of literature on colonial education on the African continent as a whole. As argued by Mark Malisa and Thelma Quardey Missedja:

Colonial education, in many ways, was an important component of colonizing the mind, and the curriculum played an important role. The curriculum, often imported from either Britain or North America, was intentionally designed to produce Africans who would have an inferiority complex when it came to their interaction with Europeans. In addition, such educated Africans were to be content working for Europeans, and when placed in positions of authority, would ensure that other Africans continued to serve the interests of the coloniser.⁵²

In resonance with this observation, Oba Nwanosike and Liverpool Eboh Onyije noted the primary aims of colonial schooling was the extension of foreign domination and economic exploitation of the colony. Nwanosu and Onyije felt that education in the colonies was directed at absorbing colonies into the metropole and not fostering independent development of the colonised in their own society and culture.⁵³ They concluded that this process was an attempt to move the colonised people away from their indigenous learning structures and draw them towards the structures of the colonisers.⁵⁴ Just as the Europeans controlled African participation in the new economic order, they also carefully structured African education so

⁵² Mark Malisa and Thelma Quardey Missedja, 2019, "Schooling for servitude: The education of African children in British colonies, 1910-1990", *Genealogy*, 3(3)40, <https://www.mdpi.com/2313-5778/3/3/40/html>, accessed 25 August 2020.

⁵³ Oba Nwanosike and Liverpool Eboh Onyije, 2011, "Colonialism and education", *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol2, 4, <https://www.richtmann.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/view/10879>, accessed 9 January 2020.

⁵⁴ Nwanosike and Onyije, "Colonialism and education", accessed 9 January 2020

as to perpetuate the underdevelopment and dependency of their colonies. Thus, what Africans were taught was meant to internalize their alleged inferiority and to celebrate the so-called Western civilization. Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, and the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment.⁵⁵

Carol Summers has examined African education in colonial Zimbabwe and asserted that Africans who received mission education in the colony were faced with the challenge of negotiating new identities for themselves and their communities within the confines of racial segregation.⁵⁶ This way, the education offered by missionaries came with ambiguous benefits for blacks. Similarly, Michael West had uncovered the Janus-face of colonial education, stressing that colonial policy in Southern Rhodesia emphasised the mobilisation of labour for the white-dominated industries like mining. However, West maintains that the unintended outcome of the British colonial educational policy was the development of an African middle class who had managed to exploit the few alternate social spaces available to the colonised.⁵⁷

According to Kedmon Hungwe, white settlers in Rhodesia were influenced by a pervasive and deeply-held belief in white supremacy. This resulted in the development of a complex educational policy, which sought to guarantee white privilege, while at the same time promoting limited and segregated African development.⁵⁸ Similarly, Dennis Masaka argues that the colonial curriculum was designed to impose the epistemological paradigm of colonial rulers on the indigenous people. The curriculum thus became a tool of the oppression and subjugation of the indigenous people.⁵⁹ Put in other words, colonial education served the

⁵⁵ Nwanosike and Onyije, “Colonialism and education”, accessed 9 January 2020.

⁵⁶ C. Summers, 2002, *Colonial Lessons: African Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940*, Portsmouth, Heinemann, p.2.

⁵⁷ M. O. West, 2002, *The rise of an African middle class*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p.1.

⁵⁸ Kedmon Hungwe, 1994, “Educational policy in African colonial contexts: The case of instrumental media in Southern Rhodesia, 1930-1980”, *African Study Monographs*, 15(1), 1-36.

⁵⁹ Dennis Masaka, 2016, The impact of western colonial education on Zimbabwe’s traditional and post-colonial educational systems, *PhD Thesis*, University of South Africa, p. 42,

http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/20951/thesis_masaka_d.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, accessed 9 January 2020.

colonisers' socioeconomic and political interests rather than those of the colonised, a point that Chengetai J. M. Zvobgo most poignantly makes in the case of colonial Zimbabwe.⁶⁰

While Zvobgo stresses the hegemonic nature of colonial education on modern Zimbabwe Edwin K. Townsend casts missionary education in a similar mould. In his analysis of the education policy in colonial Botswana, Coles shows that missionary educators in the colony deployed education not so much to educate Africans for their self-improvement but to undermine their religious beliefs and practices and were not much interested in educating them. It is for this reason, Townsend argues that missionaries established such training colleges as the Moffatt Institution and Seminary Institution at Shoshong.⁶¹ According to him, these colleges were to train teacher evangelists whose main purpose was to assist missionaries to supplant indigenous religion with Christianity.⁶² From these standpoints clearly colonial/missionary education was always tied to varying the socio-economic, cultural, and political agendas of colonial master and was thus at best an ambiguous enterprise.

This perspective reinforces Djamila Aissat and Yasmina Djafri's view that the education policy in Ghana (Gold Coast) under British rule bolstered the needs of the coloniser, rather than those of the colonised.⁶³ This policy was calculated to produce a few skilled Africans to ease the exploitation of raw materials by the British in colonial Ghana.⁶⁴ Marie Elizabeth Dunkerley reached similar conclusions in her analysis of Belgian educational policy in the Congo, observing that the policy was also driven by the need to extract raw materials from the colony.⁶⁵ Rebecca Swart concurred with this argument, adding that this policy underlined

⁶⁰ C. J. M. Zvobgo, 1981, "African education in Zimbabwe: The colonial inheritance of the new state, 1899-1979", *A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 11, No. 3/4, pp. 13-16.

⁶¹ E. K. Townsend Coles, 1985, *The history of education in Botswana*, Gaborone, Macmillan, p.56.

⁶² Townsend Coles, *The History of Education in Botswana*, p.56.

⁶³ D.Aissat and Y. Djafila, 2005, "The Role of Colonial Education in Retrospect: The Gold Coast Case in the Era of Imperialism",

http://research.unileipzig.de/eniugh/congress/fileadmin/eniugh2011/dokumente/Mechanisms-of-British-Imperial-Aissat_and_Djafri-2011-04-15.pdf, accessed 18 May 2017.

⁶⁴ Aissat and Djafila, "The Role of Colonial Education in Retrospect", accessed 18 May 2017.

⁶⁵ Marie Elizabeth Dunkerley, 2009, *Education policies and the development of the colonial state in the Belgian Congo, 1916-1939*, <https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/handle/10036/88113>, accessed 18 May 2017.

and guided the introduction and provision of industrial training in apartheid South Africa. To Swart,

Industrial education in [colonial] Natal was both a response to the labour crisis in Natal as well as broader global discourses about the role of “civilising” the working poor in England, emancipated slaves in the West Indies and colonised people in settler colonies. Industrial education became the centrepiece of the notion of adapted education promoted across the colonial world from the beginning to the middle of the twentieth century.⁶⁶

Like Swart, Cagri Mart has also examined the nature of education in pre-independent Kenya. Cagri maintains that the colonial authorities worldwide realised that they would gain strength over colonised nations through not only physical control but also mental control.⁶⁷ This mental control mechanism was carried out through education. Similarly his exploration of education in four African countries (Kenya, Mali, Mozambique and Nigeria), David Woolman observes colonial education was a handmaiden of imperial domination, with a number of undesirable effects, such as economic inequality, social stratification, cultural and intellectual servitude, devaluation of traditional culture, and curricular irrelevant to the real needs of non-Western society.⁶⁸

A number of studies on education in colonial Swaziland have advanced related arguments. Examples of these works include those by two Swazi academics Nhlanhla Dlamini and Hlengiwe Dlamini both of which investigate the imbalance in colonial government expenditure on African and European education. According to N. Dlamini, the colonial government spent far less money on African education as part of its policy of racial segregation, adding even efforts to deracialise schooling in the country after its independence

⁶⁶ Peter Kallaway and Rebecca Swartz, *Empire and education in Africa: The shaping of comparative perspective*,

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/332973225_Empire_and_Education_in_Africa_The_Shaping_of_a_Comparative_Perspective_edited_by_Peter_Kallaway_and_Rebecca_Swartz, accessed 7 February 2021.

⁶⁷ Cagri T. Mart, 2011, “British colonial education policy in Africa”, *International Journal of English and Literature*, Vol 2(9), p.190-194.

⁶⁸ David Woolman, 2001, “Educational Reconstruction and post-colonial curriculum development: A comparative study of four African countries”, *International Educational Journal*, Vol. 2, (5), p.29.

were met with resistance by some whites.⁶⁹ Hlengiwe Dlamini supports this conclusion. In her case study of St. Mark's School of Mbabane, she argues that even though the school enacted a policy of gradual desegregation after 1963, there was much resistance from whites and hence multiracial schooling was not an instant success.⁷⁰ This present study derives invaluable insights from these two works as they both open a window into the impact of colonial policies on the development of education in colonial and post-colonial Swaziland. This helps to put the development of Swazi education into historical context. Intriguingly however, neither of the two Swazi scholars acknowledge the establishment of the first multiracial school in the country.

Another study that has had a strong bearing on this study is a memoir of Tony Hatton, a former teacher and principal at the school under probe. Hatton chronicles the establishment of Waterford and contends that it was the first multiracial school established in Africa in response to the Bantu Education Act of 1953 in South Africa.⁷¹ He discusses the early years of the school highlighting how the school survived the pressure it faced from South Africa, including the banning of school authorities from travelling to South Africa and students from that country being denied entry into Swaziland because of their connection to the school. However, Hatton does not offer a deep analysis of the events of the 1960s. As a former teacher at the school, he was mostly interested in its day-to-day running and how it developed over time through donor funding. Hatton also ends his analysis in 1969 when the school was still in its infancy, hence limiting his analysis to the early years of the school. In spite of the shortcomings of Hatton's work, this study benefits from some of his insights. His study is also invaluable as it contains detailed material regarding the establishment of the school and how its early development was shaped by the repressive policies in South Africa. However, this study is not limited to the early years of Waterford that Hatton's work focuses on. The present study also deals with the school's development over many decades not covered in Hatton's study, thereby giving the former study a long-range perspective.

⁶⁹ Nhlanhla Dlamini, 2007, "The legal abolition of racial Discrimination and its aftermath, the case of study of Swaziland, 1945-1973", *PhD Thesis*, University of the Witwatersrand, p.110.

⁷⁰ Hlengiwe Dlamini, 2012 "From racial segregation to racial integration in the schooling system in Swaziland: The case of St. Marks school, 1908-1968", *M. A Thesis*, University of Swaziland, p.68.

⁷¹ Tony Hatton, 2013, *Phoenix rising: A memoir of Waterford Kamhlaba early years*, Mbabane, Kamhlaba Publications, p.13.

Methodology and sources

This study derives the bulk of its data from documents relating to Waterford school. The school has an archive which was established in the late 1980s. The school's archive consists of numerous documents dating back to the school's establishment in 1963. These documents contain a significant amount of data on the school, quite valuable to my research. The data is in the form of minutes of meetings, newsletters, newspapers, pictures and school magazines. Minutes of meetings reveal the deliberations of the Governing Council of the school, staff discussions and as well as those of some sub-committees concerned with some specific concerns of the school. Annual newsletters produced by the school and distributed to its stakeholders were also a rich mine of data for this project. The school magazines, *The Chameleon*, *The Blue Dart*, *Phoenix*, and *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba* (abbreviated as Kamhlaba news in Siswati) were also valuable resources as they provided an overview of significant annual events at the school.

The Chameleon and *The Blue Dart* were produced by students and *Phoenix* was the school's official magazine. On the other hand, *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba* was published by and for Waterford's former students. Moreover, the school's numerous photographs of different events at Waterford were a useful source giving visual insight into the school's origins and its development. Collectively, these publications and photos informed my understanding of the evolution of the school and its involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle. Thus, this study made use of these archival sources to tell the story of Waterford's contribution to the fight against apartheid. The fact that some of the school's publications were produced by the students and former students made it easy to document their competing views regarding the school. This was possible because the writers freely expressed their sentiments on a variety of topics of interest to Waterford school. The school's magazines, notably the *Phoenix*, shed a great deal of light on students' experiences and their own perspectives over the school. Written by ex-students, *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba* helped me to appreciate the concerns of students who had graduated from the school. As a staff member of the school under study, it was easy for me to access and to contextualise the data in these archival documents.

But archives only provide a passive voice to the story of Waterford school. To overcome this difficulty, I conducted oral interviews to complement the archival documentary evidence.

Oral interviews were conducted with former students of the school, former and current teachers, former governing council members, sponsors, and other Swazis who witnessed the establishment and growth of the school. The informants were selected based on whether they were former students, current or former teachers, governors of the school, or community members. The current staff at the school eased my contacts with former students and teachers. The school's governors and community members were found in the communities close to the learning institution. All these informants helped to identify more participants who had knowledge of the school. They also referred me to other interviewees with information about the school long forgotten by some informants. Interviews with these informants were valuable in that they yielded first-hand information on the school's growth over time as well as informants' life histories.

In-depth interviews with Waterford's former teachers and former students particularly produced detailed data on a wide range of topics relevant to this study, not least of which included former students and teachers' participation in the anti-apartheid struggle. Former students and staff who were no longer in Swaziland at the time of this research were contacted through email and interviewed via skype or WhatsApp calls. However, some former students identified as potential informants were, for a variety of reasons, unable to attend interviews. However, those interviewed offered in-depth insights.

Lastly, this research also gained a great deal of data and insights from secondary sources from the Waterford library, the University of Swaziland library, the University of Pretoria Library and online sources. These included journal articles, books, research projects and any other relevant secondary sources. Data collected from these sources complemented information gleaned from primary sources and interviews.

Structure of the study

The thesis is divided into seven chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 1 provides the introduction to the study and contains the background and aims of the study, historiographical overview, research methodology and outline of chapters. Chapter 2 gives a historical background to the establishment of apartheid in South Africa. It also analyses the apartheid

educational policies and reflects on the different responses to such policies, in order to situate Waterford school in a wider context of resistance to apartheid. The chapter notes the difficulties presented by the Bantu Education Act of 1953 motivated anti-apartheid activists in South Africa to found Waterford school in the Kingdom of Swaziland in 1963.

The third chapter analyses the curriculum introduced at Waterford, juxtaposing it with the curricular used in apartheid South Africa. It evaluates the aims, objectives and outcomes of the curricular from the perspectives of different stakeholders in order to understand the pedagogical underpinnings of the school. The chapter also traces shifts in Waterford's curriculum after the school abandoned its original Cambridge Advanced level curriculum in favour of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in 1981. Chapter 4 extends the discussion on the curriculum to the school's community service, which was an important aspect of the school's teaching and learning strategy. The chapter traces the early development of community service and illustrates how this assisted the school when it later adopted the IB programme with its focus on community service as a component of its curriculum.

Chapter 5 offers insights into Waterford students' political consciousness and the ways in which they engaged with key events in South Africa particularly in light of the Soweto shootings in the 1970s. Student consciousness is also located within the wider regional and international responses to apartheid education and growing repression of Africans at the hands of the apartheid regime in the 1970s and 1980s. Chapter 6 focuses on Waterford's incorporation into the United World College (UWC) in 1981 as the former sought to widen its possibilities while staying true to its founding mission. The chapter shows that with its incorporation into UWC, Waterford positioned itself within the wider international space.

Chapter 7 analyses the developments at Waterford after 1990 when the apartheid system starting giving way to a new democratic dispensation in South Africa. It outlines how the school made efforts to continue aligning itself with events in post-apartheid South Africa, arguing that this was generally a time of reckoning and reflection as former anti-apartheid activists visited the school in solidarity and to pay homage to Waterford for personal and political reasons. The thesis concludes with a review of the role played by alternative institutions in fighting for majority rule in South Africa. It shows the significance of such institutions and the role they played in envisioning a new political dispensation in South Africa and beyond.

Chapter 2: Apartheid and the origins and establishment of Waterford School, 1963-1968

Introduction

It is the contention of this chapter that the emergence of the apartheid system in 1948 did not only bring insurmountable economic and political challenges but also social and cultural difficulties that provoked resistance. Waterford Kamhlaba was a product of institutional resistance to apartheid and grew over the years to become a beacon of hope in the region. The founders of Waterford Kamhlaba were able to promote this school as a bastion of multiracialism and, in the process, received support that led to the growth of this institution. By 1967, when the Swazi King added the “Kamhlaba” suffix to the school’s name, it had established itself as a multiracial educational institution of note. Attempts to frustrate the school authorities by the South African authorities did not deter the founders from further consolidating this project.

Apartheid and the establishment of a school in exile

Although the main focus of this thesis is on the establishment of a non-racial school in Swaziland as a response to apartheid, it might be useful to begin with a historical background to the emergence of apartheid in South Africa as this forms the larger contextual canvas against which the developments discussed here emerged. Apartheid, which literally means “separateness”, was a policy that was the cornerstone of race divisions in South Africa from the early 1950s onwards. The concept of apartheid was developed in South Africa by Afrikaners and, as expounded by J. D. Omer-Cooper:

It was first put forward by a group of Afrikaner intellectuals in the 1930s. It was further elaborated by Afrikaner thinkers during World War II. It owed much to the theological tradition of the Dutch Reformed Churches which had contributed to the ideals of Afrikaner nationalism developed by the Broederbond⁷² and its affiliated

⁷² Broederbond, meaning Afrikaner Brotherhood (AB) was a secret, exclusively male and Afrikaner Calvinist organisation in South Africa dedicated to the advancement of Afrikaner interests. Founded by H. J. Kloppe,

bodies. It was also influenced by the pseudo-scientific racism which was widespread in the interwar period and formed much of the basis of German Nazism. According to the apartheid doctrine each race and nation has its own distinct cultural identity and has been created to fulfil a unique destiny laid down by God. To fulfil its inner potential each nation must be kept pure and allowed to develop freely along racial lines. Excessive contact between races, above all racial interbreeding, would corrupt and destroy the inner potential of both races involved. Fear of racial mixture and white domination to preserve racial purity were of key psychological importance to the appeal of apartheid...⁷³

With a belief system that was so overtly segregationist, it is a surprise that the Afrikaners were able to rise to power in 1948. What made them to become formidable as a group and how did they manage to win an election and implement the apartheid policy?

The growth of Afrikaner nationalism in the late 19th century seemed to be at the core of the emergence of the advocates of racial separation as a force in the 1940s. Even though the Afrikaners formed the majority of whites in South Africa, they had been disunited from the time of the Great Trek. They never really forged national unity, preferring to concentrate on agriculture and other economic activities. Their defeat in the Second Anglo-Boer war in the early twentieth century seemed to change this vision. There was a rise in Afrikaner nationalism, which in turn paved way for the rise of the apartheid state and consequently the implementation of racial laws. As noted by Omer-Cooper, the National Party election victory of 1948 enabled the new Afrikaner state to launch a major reorganisation of South African society in accordance with Afrikaner Nationalist ideals.⁷⁴ This included halting and reversing the trend towards multiracial social improvement which had been evident under the previous government led by progressive leaders in the 1940s. As Saul Dubow argues, the 1940 decade in South Africa had been marked by a general sense of expectancy and optimism that the end of the war would usher in a brave new world. A new world of possibilities was envisioned on all sides. Reform, social and political, was in the air. But in the end, it turned out to be a

H.W. van der Merwe, D. H. du Plessis and Rev. Jozua Naude in 1918, it came to a climax with the rise of apartheid.

⁷³ J.D. Omer-Cooper, 1988, *History of Southern Africa*, London, James Currey, p.190.

⁷⁴ Omer-Coper, *History of Southern Africa*, p.193.

Prague spring, and the kinds of reforms that many envisaged were dealt a death blow, only to be resurrected later with the demise of Afrikaner nationalism.⁷⁵

When the Afrikaners came to power in 1948, they wasted no time to erase all the hope of the 1940s. As such, segregation was to be systematised as never before and applied rigidly and dogmatically in accordance with the theory of apartheid.⁷⁶ The apartheid policy was outlined in the Sauer Report (1947), which had been commissioned under the chairmanship of P. O. Sauer.⁷⁷ The Commission was concerned with the problem of controlling the influx of African people into urban areas. White workers, traders and merchants were concerned that this posed a threat to their jobs and businesses, particularly since African workers would work in semi-skilled positions for lower wages than white workers.⁷⁸ White- owned businesses demanded racially segregated trading zones in order to protect their businesses from competition. The report outlined the segregation of blacks and whites in ways that fortified the theoretical racial perceptions that had been developing in Afrikaner academic corridors.⁷⁹

Starting from 1949, laws were passed segregating blacks and whites, initiating the official policy of apartheid. Nancy L. Clark and William H. Worger argues that although apartheid did not appear in a dictionary until 1950, it really entered the public lexicon in 1947 and in 1948 as the United Party and National Parties competed against each other for electoral support.⁸⁰ As it was used and developed during the course of election campaigning, the word “apartheid” came to stand for support of the physical separation of blacks and whites and this separation was to be achieved by legislative policies and state action. Laws were to define a person’s race and prevent any form of interracial unions. This was outlined in three pieces of

⁷⁵ Saul Dubow and Alan Jeeves, 2005, *South Africa’s 1940s: Worlds of possibilities*, <https://books.google.com/books/about/South Africa s 1940s.html?id=Uj1sFaNSBd8C>, accessed 17 August 2020.

⁷⁶ Omer-Coper, *History of Southern Africa*, p.193.

⁷⁷ Ivan Evans, 1997, *Bureaucracy and race: Native administration in South Africa*, California, California University Press, p.29.

⁷⁸ Evans, *Bureaucracy and race*, p.29.

⁷⁹ Evans, *Bureaucracy and race*, p.30.

⁸⁰ Nancy L. Clark and William H. Worger, 2013, *The rise and fall of apartheid*, Routledge, London, p.35.

legislation, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, the Immorality Act of 1950 and the Population Registration Act of 1950. Under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, marriages between people of different races were made illegal.⁸¹ The Immorality Act, which was an amendment to the Marriage Act, made sexual relations between different races illegal. The Population Registration Act defined the race which every South African belonged to. For the Population Registration Act to be enforced, an Office for Race Classification was set up. Classification into groups was carried out using criteria such as appearance, general acceptance and social standing.⁸²

There were also laws to separate the races in public amenities and transport services. This was spelt out in the Separate Amenities Act of 1953 meant to divide public services and spaces according to race.⁸³ This separated people in parks, beaches, post offices, railway trains, buses, toilets, cinemas, seating areas and sporting events. To separate residential spaces, the Nationalist Party government implemented the Group Areas Act of 1950.⁸⁴ Under this law, each town or city was separated into white, coloured and black areas. David Welsh asserts that, as cruel in its consequences, the Group Areas Act was another fundamental pillar of apartheid.⁸⁵ It subsumed all previous legislation by providing for comprehensive residential and business segregation of different colour groups in every city, town and village.⁸⁶ It was also the law that impacted very negatively on the works of missionaries who had started most of the educational institutions where blacks obtained an education in South Africa. This act was at the heart of the resistance mounted by many in South Africa, including Father Trevor Huddleston.

Directly relevant to this study, apartheid policy also produced the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This Act put the educational development of blacks South Africans under the firm grip of the segregationist policies of the National Party government. In essence, this meant that the

⁸¹ Christopher Culpin, 2000, *A history of South Africa*, London, Hodder, p.46.

⁸² Christopher Culpin, 2000, *A history of South Africa*, p.46.

⁸³ Culpin, *A History of South Africa*, p.47

⁸⁴ Culpin, *A History of South Africa*, p.47.

⁸⁵ David Welsh, 2009, *The rise and fall of apartheid*, Johannesburg, Jonathan Ball Publishers, p.55.

⁸⁶ Welsh, *The rise and fall of apartheid*, p.55.

government now had full control of what was taught in schools, thereby promoting their doctrine of racial separation. It also meant that black South Africans would now only acquire skills that would keep them as a cheap source of labour. This was summed up by the architect of the apartheid policy, Hendrik Verwoerd who noted that, “there would be no place for Africans above the level of certain forms of labour.”⁸⁷

The establishment of Waterford school, was, it can be argued, a direct response to the apartheid policies especially the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act, laws which directly affected the works of missionaries like Father Huddleston. As Tony Hatton shows, Father Huddleston, an Anglican Priest, began to oppose apartheid laws of the Nationalist Party, dismissing them as inimical to the welfare of Africans and the South African society as a whole. In an article entitled “The Church Sleeps” published in the *London Daily Mail*, Father Huddleston challenged the church and the men of faith to combat racial segregation.⁸⁸ Michael Linden, a former teacher (1968-1988) and retired member of the Governing Council at Waterford school sums up the concerns by Father Huddleston, noting:

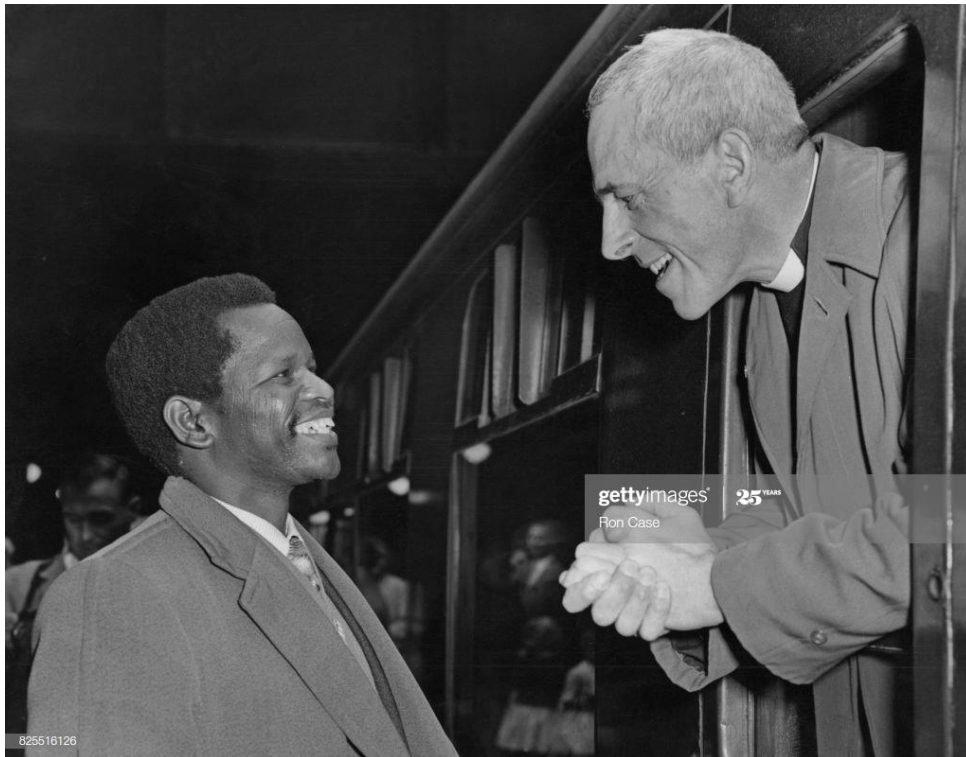
His concerns were in response to the damning indictment of the failure of white South African Christian body to oppose or even to recognise the intrinsic evil of apartheid, and a passionate call to Christians to act. Furthermore, it also sprang from Huddleston’s experience of the suffering, the frustration, the deprivation- physical, educational, social, and political- of his black parishioners. Most immediately, it sprang from his anger and sorrow at the restriction imposed on his close friend, Oliver Tambo [who the priest held in great esteem, See Figure 2.1].⁸⁹

⁸⁷ H. Gilimoe and B. Mbenga, 2007, *New history of South Africa*, Cape Town, NB publishers, p.320.

⁸⁸ Tony Hatton, 2013, *Phoenix rising: A memoir of Waterford Kamhlaba’s early years*, Mbabane, Kamhlaba Publications, p.12.

⁸⁹ Mike Linden, interviewed on 8 March 2018 at Waterford school at the school Archives. Mike Linden and his late wife were teachers at Waterford from 1968-1988. Mike is retired and is a member of the Governing Council of the school.

Figure 2.1: Oliver Tambo with Father Huddleston in the 1950s.



Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=Huddleston+and+Tambo+pictures>, accessed 20 March 2018.

Father Trevor Huddleston and the founding of Waterford

The Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act became the preoccupations of Father Trevor Huddleston, who committed himself to fighting against the apartheid policy. He organised protests along with Mandela and others against forced removals of Africans from Sophiatown. It was his commitment to the lives of the vulnerable and underprivileged in Sophiatown that Huddleston developed into a much-loved priest and respected anti-apartheid activist.⁹⁰ While Huddleston's anti-apartheid crusade is well known, and documented, his role

⁹⁰ Trevor Huddleston, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/father-trevor-huddleston>, accessed on 2 February 2018. As a result of his selfless contribution to fighting apartheid in its early years, the ANC bestowed him the Isitwalandwe award to honour him for his work at the famous Freedom Congress in Kliptown in 1955. Mandela described Huddleston as one of the strong leaders of the opposition to forced removals in the 1950s, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/father-trevor-huddleston>, accessed 2 February 2018.

in influencing a young British educator, Michael Stern, to come to South Africa is less known. But who was Trevor Huddleston?

Trevor Huddleston was the son of Ernest Whiteside Huddleston. He was born and educated in England at Lancing College. He then went on to study theology at Wells Theological College.⁹¹ At a very young age, Huddleston came to see the church as his life's main focus, and he was confirmed at the age of 12. As he later said, "the confirmation was the beginning of what I can only describe as my real life."⁹² He joined an Anglican religious order, the Community of Resurrection (CR), in 1939, taking vows in 1941.⁹³ In September 1940, Huddleston sailed to Cape Town, and in 1943 he went to the CR mission station in Johannesburg. Upon his arrival in Johannesburg, he took over from Father Raymond Raynes, who had done some monumental work including building three churches, seven schools and three nursery schools catering for over 6,000 children. Father Raynes was deeply concerned about who should be appointed to succeed him.⁹⁴ After meeting Huddleston who had been appointed to nurse him while he was in the infirmary, he was convinced that he had found his suitable successor.⁹⁵ Once he had established himself in Johannesburg, Huddleston set out to promote the educational needs of the disadvantaged, mostly black South Africans. However, these initiatives were threatened by the introduction of apartheid.

Father Huddleston's indomitable spirit and efforts to reverse the pernicious effects of apartheid led to the birth of the Waterford project through his contact with Stern. The Community of the Resurrection under Father Huddleston, evangelised in one of the southern suburbs of Johannesburg where it ran St. Peter's School, one of the few secondary schools for Africans in the country. As mentioned earlier, the passing of the Group Areas Act now threatened this school with closure. Stern, the founder and the first Principal of Waterford School read Father Huddleston's articles and was captivated by events in South Africa. He immediately wrote a letter to Father Huddleston expressing his desire to join him in his

⁹¹ Trevor Huddleston, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/father-trevor-huddleston>, accessed on 2 February 2018.

⁹² Robin Denniston, 1999, *Trevor Huddleston: A life*, Oxford, Macmillan, p.3.

⁹³ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/father-trevor-huddleston>, accessed on 2 February 2018.

⁹⁴ Trevor Huddleston, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/father-trevor-huddleston>, accessed 2 February 2018.

⁹⁵ Huddleston, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/father-trevor-huddleston> , accessed on 2 February 2018.

efforts to meet the educational needs of young Africans. Father Huddleston saw this as a direct answer to his prayers as indicated in his reply, written on 16 October 1954:

Your letter of Oct. 11th reached me an hour or two ago and I am answering it at once and briefly because I believe it is a direct answer to prayer! We need you very much indeed, and just as soon as you can come! Owing to recent developments (which I wrote about in the Observer) we are planning to close the school (a Secondary school for Africans-up to Matric standard) in December this year. It is more than probable that our present Headmaster will leave in December this year. Even if he does not we are short staffed, but I think he almost certainly will. I will write, of course, and give you greater details, but I want to say at once that if you could come here for two years (as Head or House-M) I believe that you would be doing a tremendous service in these critical days. And I have no doubt you would find a permanent job (either with our community in Southern Rhodesia or elsewhere). Could you let me have again your teaching qualifications etc. I really am asking you to make an act of faith, resign your present job and get here as soon as you can! I am sure you are the man for us.⁹⁶

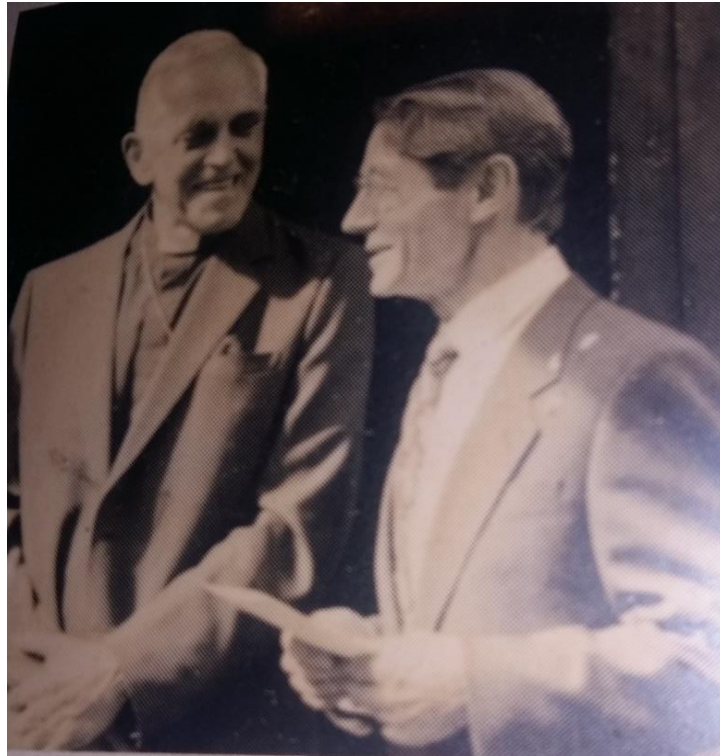
After receiving this letter, Michael Stern started his journey of faith to South Africa as he looked to helping Father Huddleston (Stern and Huddleston are shown in Figure 2.2) to face the challenges that had befallen the country. But what really made Stern venture into a continent that he did not have much knowledge about? Michael Linden offers an answer to this question, arguing:

To those who knew him, there can be no doubt that Michael Stern's values, ideals and actions arose from a devout (if not always completely conventional) Christian faith. So it is not at all surprising that Trevor Huddleston's agonised appeal to Christians moved him so immediately, and so deeply. His family background of missionary work, the influence of his stepfather's passion for social justice, his wartime experiences, his liberal (in the best sense) education and his own natural instincts moved him to a deeply Christian anger at what was being done in the name of

⁹⁶ Hatton, 2013, *Phoenix rising*, p.16.

Christianity in South Africa, and to a deep compassion for the innocent who suffered as a result. From that anger and that compassion, from that intense commitment to justice, Waterford Kamhlaba was eventually born.⁹⁷

Figure 2.2: Father Trevor Huddleston (on the left) and Michael Stern (on the right) in the late 1950s at St. Peter's School.



Source: WK Archives.

Michael Stern: A short biography

Michael Alexander Stern was born on 13 January 1922 in Egypt.⁹⁸ He was born into an imperial-style English family. His father, T. H. Stern, was a British Civil Engineer with a missionary background who was murdered in Iraq in 1931 by an Arab.⁹⁹ It is not clear whether Michael Stern's father's missionary background had an impact on the son's later life. At the age of nine, he found himself living alongside his grandparents and maternal aunts at

⁹⁷ Interview with Linden, 8 March 2018, Waterford School Archives.

⁹⁸ *Michael Stern*, <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11956466.radical-educator-who-taught-mandelas-daughters-michael-stern/>, accessed on 3 February 2018.

⁹⁹ *Stern*, <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11956466.radical-educator-who-taught-mandelas-daughters-michael-stern/>, accessed on 3 February 2018.

Dartmouth. Stern received his education in England, attending Ravenswood Preparatory School in Devon, and Gresham's School in Holt, Norfolk.¹⁰⁰ According to *The Herald*, he showed early promise and enjoyed the new direction given to him by his somewhat flamboyant stepfather, Lieutenant-Colonel Roland Hamilton who became a Labour MP under Clement Atlee's leadership in 1945.¹⁰¹ Stern went to Downing College, Cambridge, where he read English under Fr. Leavis for a year before his studies were interrupted by the Second World War. He served with the Royal Signals in North Africa, Sicily, Italy and Greece. Stern returned to Cambridge as a captain and was addressed as such by porters and some students for years.¹⁰²

He graduated from Downing College in 1947 and then taught at some schools including being a senior English master at Bedales in 1950, later heading Cotswold Approved School in Wiltshire, England, in 1953.¹⁰³ He was inspired by the pioneer of Bedales, J. H. Badley, who had built a school that prided itself on its cultivation of artistic as well as academic excellence and, above all, its emphasis on personal relationships between students and staff. Stern would later introduce these principles at Waterford school. As noted by Hatton, during Waterford's formative years, Bedales was often cited as an example, and on more than one occasion, Stern wrote to the Headmaster of Bedales asking for advice on school policies.¹⁰⁴

Stern's experience at Cotswold was also to have an impact on his thinking, the school itself perhaps providing the model for the school he later established in Swaziland. Cotswold school was established by a group of German Christians who came to England in the 1930s, escaping from the Nazis, much like the founders of Waterford would literally escape from apartheid South Africa prior to opening the school in Swaziland. Stern's experiences at

¹⁰⁰ *Stern*, <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11956466.radical-educator-who-taught-mandelas-daughters-michael-stern/>, accessed on 3 February 2018.

¹⁰¹ *Herald*, 23 July 2002. <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11956466.radical-educator-who-taught-mandelas-daughters-michael-stern/>, accessed on 2 February 2018.

¹⁰² *Herald*, 23 July 2002, <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11956466.radical-educator-who-taught-mandelas-daughters-michael-stern>, accessed on 2 February 2018.

¹⁰³ <https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/11956466.radical-educator-who-taught-mandelas-daughters-michael-stern>, accessed on 2 February 2018.

¹⁰⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p. 14.

Cotswold school, which stuck to its founding ethos seem to have deeply influenced him. All these experiences coupled with those from travelling in Europe made him develop a keen interest in understanding the world around him. It was out of this interest that Stern came into contact with Father Trevor Huddleston, a missionary who changed the former's course of life. Upon his arrival in South Africa in 1955, he taught at St Peter's before being appointed as the headmaster of the new St Martin's School, in Rosettenville, Johannesburg, a predominantly white school. He remained at the school until five years later when it was first designated as an all-white school and subsequently closed under the Group Areas Act legislation that culminated in the physical separation of pupils according to race.

The closure of St Peter's school, where Stern had had first-hand experience teaching both blacks and whites, exasperated him. According to Hatton, Stern perceived the school's closure as a challenge to the welfare of black boys who had been displaced by the Group Areas Act.¹⁰⁵ Stern might also have felt that he had now lost the purpose of his mission in Africa. For two years, Stern had taught intelligent African boys who seldom met whites, and for four years white boys whom he thought had nothing in common with blacks.¹⁰⁶ This was against his convictions, and therefore Stern started thinking of solutions to this challenge, which included starting a new order somewhere. Through attending church workshops in Swaziland organized by the Anglican Church, Stern's ideas took shape. As an Anglican school in South Africa, St Martin's had quite a significant influence through its priests and volunteers on Anglican schools in Swaziland. It was during one of Stern's visits to Swaziland around 1961 that the idea of starting a multiracial school there began to take shape. In his own words, Stern (shown in Figure 2.3) said of this idea:

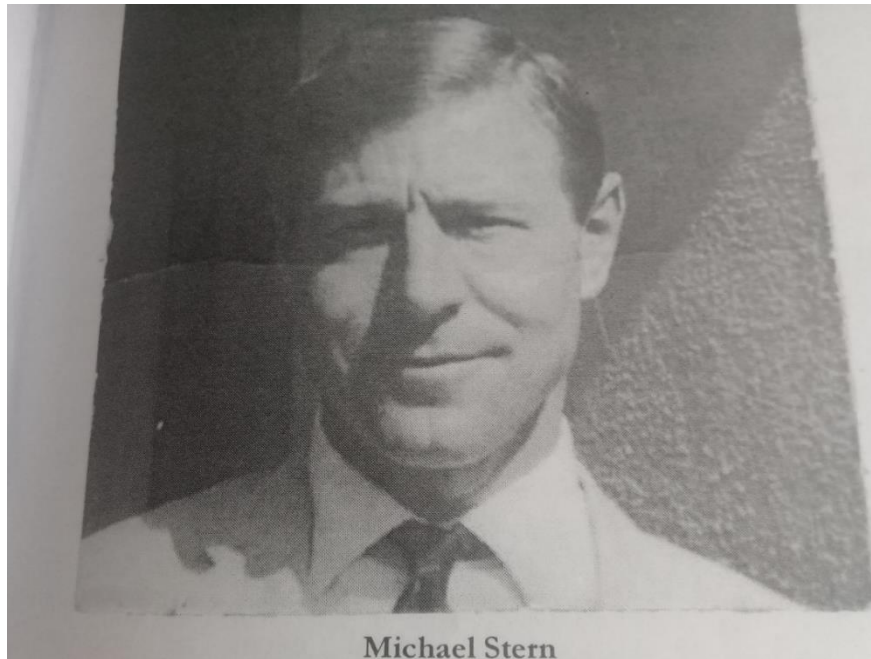
My eyes are fixed on something ahead, an experiment which the law forbids in the Republic [of South Africa]. In Swaziland we can start a small school that is open to all boys on merit, and to me this is now the "sine qua non" of true education. This school is to be multiracial, in the interests of Christian non- racialism. St Peter's was a stimulating introduction to Africa, St Martin's a wonderful experience which I will never forget, and Waterford remains a question mark, an unknown quantity, an

¹⁰⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p. 21.

¹⁰⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p. 21.

exciting adventure for the future, a realistic ideal based on the words of the psalmist
“Behold, how good how pleasant it is for the brethren to dwell together in unity.”¹⁰⁷

Figure 2.3: Michael Stern in 1955.



Source: *Phoenix rising*, p.14.

As one of the earliest teachers to teach at Waterford and being close to Stern, Linden, explained that, Stern was an amazing thinker whose ideas needed someone very knowledgeable to understand.¹⁰⁸ He also added that Michael Stern valued individuals and believed that every human being had something unique to offer. Stern believed that race was not important in any way and did not have to determine social relations.¹⁰⁹ It is clear that Stern was determined to create a new world order in which there would be equal opportunities for all the races. Clearly, the consolidation of racial segregation in 1950s South Africa transformed Stern into an advocate of multiracialism and a relentless campaigner of human rights unacceptable on apartheid South Africa.

¹⁰⁷ Article on a performance in Johannesburg, 1961, Waterford Kamhlaba (WK) Archives.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Linden, 8 March 2018, WK Archives.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Linden, 8 March 2018, WK Archives.

His idea of a multi-racial school was well taken among some influential people such as Oliver Tetley, an Old Etonian and a godson of Lady Dorothy Macmillan.¹¹⁰ Another notable supporter was Gordon Milne, who had shared in the earliest discussions concerning the possibility of opening a multiracial school in Swaziland.¹¹¹ Milne was influential in these early years as he brought in good ideas on the structure of the proposed school. Unlike Stern who had envisaged a very simple school comprising cheap buildings, and monastic living for both students and staff, Milne pointed out that one could not recruit dedicated staff nor find parents who would send their children to a “bush” school. Milne, therefore, proposed a substantially built school where, staff if underpaid, could be adequately housed.¹¹²

The founding of the school in question was also supported by friends of Michael Stern and of Father Huddleston in South Africa, Britain and the United States. Notable among them were the South African-based Clive Menell, and Christopher Newton Thompson, whose wife Phillippa had worked with Stern, where she ran bridging classes at St Martin’s school. Both Thompson and Phillippa knew Gordon Milne with whom they shared mutual friendship.¹¹³ Newton Thompson was to become a very influential member of Waterford school as he was part of its first Governing Council and helped with fundraising for the school. Like Stern, Thompson was a man of faith who laboured to make his vision to come true. For many years, Newton Thompson remained a crucial advisor to Michael Stern with whom he shared a similar vision and ideas.¹¹⁴

Thompson was born in Cape Town on 14 February 1919. His father was a judge of the South African Supreme Court, his mother, Joyce Nettlefold a relative of Joseph and Neville Chamberlain, and the first woman mayor of Cape Town. Thompson was educated at the Diocesan College, in the Rondebosch suburb of Cape Town and subsequently St. John’s,

¹¹⁰ Lord Dorothy Macmillan was wife to the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1957 to 1963. He is well for his “Wind of Change” speech which he gave to South Africa’s parliament in 1960.

¹¹¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.20.

¹¹² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.20.

¹¹³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.20.

¹¹⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.21.

Cambridge, where he studied engineering. He was also a very successful athlete, playing rugby and cricket at a very competitive level.¹¹⁵

Like Stern, Newton Thompson had fought in the Second World War and became a Commander of the squadron tanks. After the war, he moved to Johannesburg, where he was engaged in importing goods from Britain.¹¹⁶ He was against the Nationalist Party's policies and joined the South African Progressive Party which was open to all races.¹¹⁷ Just like Stern, Newton Thompson had a passion for education and they both worked tirelessly to put their ideas into action. The two became inseparable as they worked hard to defy the South African authorities by embarking on a school project that stood against the main tenets of the apartheid system of education.¹¹⁸

The setting up of Waterford School, 1961-1963

Waterford school had its origins in the political events in South Africa. However, the collective British experiences of its founders also had a significant influence on the form that the school took. Of great importance was the model at Cotswold where Stern had taught before. His work there had also brought him into contact with some individuals who later helped in the founding of Waterford.¹¹⁹ Both Gordon Milne and Tony Hatton had met Stern at Cotswold and shared the same beliefs. It was not surprising that the Cotswold ethos of helping boys find meaning in life through their appreciation of their different experiences and backgrounds would help shape the Waterford ethos which was built on non-racialism.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Christopher Newton Thompson, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1388740/Christopher-Newton-Thompson.html>, accessed 14 June 2018. Christopher Newton Thompson died in 2002.

¹¹⁶ Thompson, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1388740/Christopher-Newton-Thompson.html>, accessed 14 June 2018.

¹¹⁷ Thompson, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1388740/Christopher-Newton-Thompson.html>, accessed 14 June 2018.

¹¹⁸ Thompson, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/1388740/Christopher-Newton-Thompson.html>, accessed 14 June 2018.

¹¹⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.15.

¹²⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.15.

In the early 1960s, Stern and his close associates discussed the idea of a multi-racial school extensively with suggestions coming from different circles. Hatton noted that 1962 was as the proposed school's incubation period when the hope became more concrete among its founders.¹²¹ By then, Stern and Milne, both attached to St. Martin's school in Johannesburg, had resigned from the school in order to go and start a new school project in Swaziland. The two pioneers had also made it clear that they would be leaving South Africa and build the school in Swaziland. They wrote to the Parents Association of St. Martins, stating:

You may have heard that at the end of the year the two of us will be leaving St Martin's to open a school in Swaziland; for a long time we have wanted to run a school that is open to all races, faith and creeds. We would very much like to have St Martin's be that school but this, as you know, is not possible in South Africa.¹²²

They also recruited from St Martin's Jim Richardson and his wife who had joined the school in 1958. In the letter, they stressed that both Mr and Mrs Richardson were also going to leave St Martin's and join them in Swaziland.

One of the questions which need to be answered is why the founders chose Swaziland for this project, a country so close to apartheid South Africa. Swaziland was chosen not only because of its huge demand for education, but also because there were no political restrictions in the kingdom hence it was possible for the Anglican Church, which spearheaded the project, to offer education to all races in the country. Moreover, the education system in Swaziland was still mostly under the missionaries. The school that Stern and his co-founders envisaged to start in Swaziland was to also be under a Church, much like most schools in southern Africa and beyond.

Swaziland like most colonies in Africa did not provide good educational opportunities for blacks. Sipho Simelane rightly observes that colonial authorities in Swaziland reserved the bulk of resources for the provision of education for whites at the expense of other races. As

¹²¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.21.

¹²² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.21.

Simelane concludes, this policy was based on racist principles aimed at buttressing white supremacy in Swaziland, much like apartheid did in nearby South Africa.¹²³

As a result of the racial division of the Kingdom of Swaziland, the work of the Education Department fell into three clear cut divisions: European, African and Coloured.¹²⁴ By the mid-1940s, each section of the population had developed its own schools which, in the case of the black and coloured communities, had their origin in and had developed on the foundation provided by voluntary agencies. For the small and scattered European population, the colonial state maintained well-staffed schools. But African education was largely the responsibility of under-capitalised missionary organisations.¹²⁵ The situation in Swaziland therefore resembled the educational set up in South Africa, where black education was mostly the monopoly of missionaries and white education the preserve of the white ruling class.

From this standpoint the opening in Swaziland of Waterford as a multiracial institution was a direct challenge to racial discrimination in education both in Swaziland itself and in South Africa. The school's establishment was motivated by its founders' desire to emulate the educational efforts of missionaries. But, while Waterford owed its establishment to the influence of missionaries, it was never thought of as a mission school; nor was it envisaged to be under government control. The idea was to establish it as a private school. However, unlike the white private schools founded by European business for white children only, Waterford was to be open to all races. The idea of a school for Africans and other races was quite unique. Although Waterford's founders were influenced by missionaries, they aimed to go beyond the missionary ideal. Through their multiracial school, they hoped to use education as a means to promote inter-racial harmony and understanding. .

Structurally, Waterford was initially to be a preparatory school for bigger secondary school. It was to be built on an excellent site measuring twenty four acres in the hills of Mbabane, Swaziland's capital.¹²⁶ Another site at Forbes Reef, on the main Piggs Peak road and located fifteen miles from Mbabane was also identified as suitable for a secondary school. The site measured 900 acres.

¹²³ Dlamini, 2010, "The development of western education in Swaziland, p.54.

¹²⁴ Dlamini, 2010, "The development of western education in Swaziland, 1889-1939", p.54.

¹²⁵ Dlamini, 2010, "The development of western education in Swaziland, 1889-1939", p.54.

¹²⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.24.

Twenty four acres of hillside outside Mbabane was purchased from Pat Tilbury who owned a farm which he had named Waterford Park to commemorate his Irish ancestral home.¹²⁷ The cost of the farm was all put at £2,500 with £, 1000 as a down payment and the remaining £1,500 to be paid through bond arrangements. With the help from Standard Bank, the whole farm – estimated to be over 200 acres – was eventually bought by the founders. This farm had rondavels which were used as the school's first offices and classrooms.¹²⁸ The school was to start in 1962 initially as an institution for boys only and its initial enrolment was put at fifteen boys admitted into Standard IV as full time borders. An annual intake of 15 was to be maintained for the following years until a sound preparatory school had been established. Capital needs for the commencement of the project were put at £20.000 to cover property, buildings and equipment. Fees for the school were pegged at £300 per annum, with a reduced fee of £250 for Swazis. A scholarship system was also arranged to offer bursaries to help needy students.¹²⁹

In January 1962, the founders of the school organized an interface meeting with prospective parents and any interested people at the Tavern Hotel in Mbabane. Hatton noted that nearly fifty people turned up to hear Michael Stern outline the plans for the new school. There was scepticism in some quarters, particularly regarding the feasibility of a mixed boys' only boarding school, but there were also many promises of help and several immediate applications.¹³⁰ Three months later, a similar meeting was held in Johannesburg at the Carlton Hotel, where attendees expressed further interest in the school and promised financial help.¹³¹ By mid-May 1962, the multiracial project had already received more than £45,000. One notable early donor was Harry Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation

¹²⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.24. Waterford is a seaport in Ireland, and is the country's oldest city. Tilbury had come from Ireland and settled in Swaziland and bought land on the mountain hill as you leave the city of Mbabane and called it Waterford in honour of the seaport town, <https://www.ireland.com/en-us/destinations/republic-of-ireland/waterford/waterford-city/>, 17 April 2018.

¹²⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.24.

¹²⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.23.

¹³⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.24.

¹³¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.24.

who donated a cheque of R10, 000.¹³² Offers of help also came in the form of expertise and work in kind.¹³³

Two architects offered their services in designing the school. Arthur Goldreich, who had been informed of the project by Clive Menell, offered to help. Similarly, a Portuguese architect from Lourenco Marques (now Maputo), Amancio Pancho Guedes, offered to design the school free of charge.¹³⁴ At the early stages of the design project, Arthur Goldreich was arrested by the apartheid government. Goldreich was a well-known anti-apartheid activist who together with lawyer Harold Wolpe, had bought Lilisleaf farm in Rivonia, Johannesburg in 1961 to use as headquarters for the South Africa Communist Party.¹³⁵ The farm became the secret headquarters of the Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK). Goldreich and his family provided refuge to ANC freedom fighters up until they were caught and were put on trial in what became the famous Rivonia Trial where the accused, including Nelson Mandela, were sentenced to life imprisonment. Goldreich, along with Wolpe, Mosie Moolla and Abdulhay Jassat escaped from custody in 1963 and found refuge in Swaziland.¹³⁶ As Goldreich went on the run from apartheid authorities, Pancho Guedes designed Waterford school project for free but with a request to enrol at the school his two sons. Guedes visited the site of the new school and was excited by the challenges and possibilities it offered. The offer by Guedes to design the school fostered much hope in the project and his desire to enrol his sons at the school boosted the founders' confidence. This was because the architect was an internationally-renowned designer whose decision to enrol his sons into a new school would boost its image.¹³⁷

Early work on the construction of Waterford's first buildings started in May 1962. Jim Richardson, provided valuable help as he worked with Guedes, who was by now frequenting the school site at the hilltop of Mbabane (Richardson, Stern and Guedes are shown in Figure

¹³² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.25.

¹³³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.24.

¹³⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.25.

¹³⁵ Arthur Goldreich, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/arthur-goldreich>, accessed 13 August 2019.

¹³⁶ Arthur Goldreich, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/arthur-goldreich>, accessed 13 August 2019. The year 1963 when Goldreich and his colleagues escaped into Swaziland was the same year that the school was founded.

¹³⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.27.

2.4). A group of volunteers also came from South Africa and helped with clearing the road to the site.¹³⁸ Guedes also brought a Mozambican bricklayer, Machado, who also did valuable work for two years.¹³⁹

Figure 2.4: Michael Stern (left), Jim Richardson (centre) and Pancho Guedes (right) in the early 1960s discussing the possibilities on the construction of the school.



Source: Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.30.

As there was good progress with construction, Stern took the opportunity to visit England to publicise the school project and also to do further fundraising.¹⁴⁰ His publicity of the school was based on the principle of multiracialism under which the yet-to-be-built school would open its doors to all the races. His visit also saw him recruit more staff, including Tony Hatton who was to become one of the most significant teachers in the early days of the

¹³⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.29.

¹³⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.31.

¹⁴⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.33.

school.¹⁴¹ Hatton taught at the school from 1963 to 1979, when he retired and is shown in Figure 2.5 during his time at Waterford.

Figure 2.5: Tony Hatton, writer of *Phoenix rising*, 1973.¹⁴²



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1973, WK Archives, p.23.

The fundraising and publicity visit by Michael Stern to England yielded many positive results. On the publicity front, three BBC broadcasts were aired and fundraising requests were made to numerous individuals and trusts, such as the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.¹⁴³ The London Trust was also set up under the chairmanship of Eric Symes

¹⁴¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.34.

¹⁴² Tony Hatton passed away in 2015.

¹⁴³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.35. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is a foundation that was established in Portugal in honour of Calouste Gulbenkian who was a businessman and philanthropist from Britain. Throughout

Abbott, the Dean of Westminster on 27 June 1962.¹⁴⁴ The Board of Trustees was made up of some prominent people among them Lady Dorothy Macmillan, wife of Harold Macmillan, Britain's Premier. The Trust aimed to raise funds for the school to sponsor students and any other projects that the school embarked on like erection of buildings.¹⁴⁵ The *Daily Telegraph* also published an article headlined, "Pioneer School". In the article, it reported that there was going to be a new school in the British Protectorate of Swaziland. The school was to allow racial integration and was seen as a new beacon of hope for race relations on the African continent.¹⁴⁶ The article went on to say that the school brought more hope in that it was going to be an institution where both whites and blacks would be afforded equal educational opportunities. Nor was the school enrolment limited to white Europeans and blacks only but it also included Coloureds, Indians and Asians. The school was described as quite unique with similar schools only found in Switzerland. Interestingly, the article's author noted the irony of the founding of a multiracial school on the doorsteps of apartheid South Africa, with its segregated system of education.¹⁴⁷

From its inception the school was seen as a dress rehearsal for racial harmony, envisaged as indispensable to racial harmony in the continent. Hatton summarised this hope with the phrase, "Idealism and realism are united in a project that deserves the fullest support."¹⁴⁸ Idealism is defined as an understanding that reality is fundamentally mentally constructed and, from a perspective of the founders of Waterford, it is strongly related to the priority of ideals, principles, values and goals over concrete realities. Michael Stern was considered an

his life, Gulbenkian was involved with many philanthropic activities including the establishment of schools, hospitals and churches. The foundation was started in 1956 and continues to promote arts, charity, education, and science throughout the world, <https://gulbenkian.pt/uk-branch/about-us/the-foundation/>, accessed 18 April 2018.

¹⁴⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p. 35. The London Trust Deed, 1962, WK Archives. Eric Symes Abbot was an English priest and Dean of Westminster. He was appointed chaplain to King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. He was made Dean of Westminster in 1959, a position he held until 1974. He was also knighted in 1966, <https://www.westminster-abbey.org/events/eric-symes-abbott-memorial-lectures>, accessed 18 April, 2018.

¹⁴⁵ See appendix 1 for the setting up of the London Trust in 1962. From 1962-1971 The London Trust had contributed R4000 towards bursaries (Hatton, 2013, *Phoenix Rising*, p.186). It has continued to be very supportive of the school in various forms over the years.

¹⁴⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.36.

¹⁴⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.36.

¹⁴⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.37.

idealist as he envisioned a different world where race relations would be harmonious. Stern and other founders of Waterford perceived the apartheid regime in South Africa as inimical to this trampling on idealism and realism. Realism, just like idealism, also brings in the idea of trying to have an ideal world which is a concern for the normal. The new school was thus seen as a cry for a normal society hence it represented a future worldview which seemed to be more of a dream than a reality. By bringing racial harmony to the fore the new school was to be a symbol of hope and a clear challenge to the human rights abuses in apartheid South Africa.

Stern and the rest of his team arrived in Swaziland in December 1962 to open the school.¹⁴⁹ Against all odds, its first boarders arrived on 3 February 1963. There was a bit of anxiety and excitement on the part of the students and staff. There were seven white boys, six blacks and two coloured (mixed-race) and one Indian making up sixteen students. Among them were the Swazi student Ephraim Dlamini, Pedro Guedes, the son of Pancho Guedes, Alan McGregor from Southern Rhodesia who became the first head boy, Christopher Sadler from Northern Rhodesia, Richard Frank of Indian origin from South Africa) and several students from South Africa (see Figure 2.6 below).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.37.

¹⁵⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.40.

Figure 2.6: Students, staff, staff children and volunteers in 1963.



Source: Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.39.

From the outset, Waterford presented a racial mix not allowed in South Africa. With its multiracial mix, the school resembled the rainbow nation that South Africa was to become about three decades later. Therefore, from its inception, Waterford became a beacon of hope for racial harmony in the region. Its racial mix was meant to ensure that young children from all races began to celebrate their differences. Thus, the school made no effort to impose on the young students any tradition or cultural practice associated with a particular racial group. Therefore, although Waterford school was founded on Christian values and principles, it allowed the students to practice their religions and traditions. By 1964, the school had two Jews, two Moslems and a Zoroastrian as well as members of six different denominations. This was quite a unique development and was all based on Stern's philosophy of respecting everyone's background and values. This was in line with his desire for a new world order where everyone was respected, enjoyed human rights and had access to education irrespective of one's race. At Waterford, students from different racial backgrounds were encouraged and expected to respect their cultural differences and to embrace one another at a young age.

As noted earlier the school started as a single sex (boys only) education institution. This was probably due to its founders' educational backgrounds. As a young boy, Michael Stern, for one, had attended a single sex education in Britain. And as Alice Sullivan, Heather Joshi and Diana Leonard point out British secondary schools were traditionally single-sex.¹⁵¹ This was what influenced Stern's support for a single-sex school. He was also supported by Linden who believed in the superiority of the educational system in the United Kingdom. However, in the early twentieth, the progressive school movement that stressed the advantage of boys being educated with girls gathered momentum as evidenced by the publication of an influential book on this topic by R.R. Dale in 1959.¹⁵²

Waterford was officially opened on 10 March by Sir John Maud, Britain's High Commissioner to South Africa and to the British High Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.¹⁵³ The opening was attended by more than 250 delegates. Sir Maud described Waterford as an act of faith, faith in the creative value of fellowship among people of different races and creeds; faith in the importance of making a first class education available in Swaziland; and Swaziland's faith in the school.¹⁵⁴ The High Commissioner also highlighted the faith of the Swazis in the school. The *Rand Mail* of South Africa captured the official opening of Waterford, through publishing a picture showing the school's racial mix (see Figure 2.7).

¹⁵¹ Alice Sullivan, Heather Joshi and Diana Leonard, *Single-sex and co-educational - secondary schooling: what are the social and family outcomes, in the short and longer term?*

https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1473710/1/Sullivan_final%20version%20AS.pdf, accessed 17 August, 2020. For more insight into the single sex and co-education debate see the works of R.R Dale 1969,1971,1974, *Mixed or single sex school*, Vol .I, *A research study about pupil-teacher relationships*, Vol. II, *Some social aspects*, Vol. III, London , Routledge & Kegan Paul.

¹⁵² Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, interviewed at the WK Archives.

¹⁵³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.46.

¹⁵⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.46.

Figure 2.7: First students of Waterford in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 1963.



Source: Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.46

Early challenges encountered by the school

The school had a fair share of challenges after it started. Not only was the school chronically short of money but it was also received with some reservation by some local people.

According to Tony Hatton, some locals did not always support the school, their attitudes ranged from enthusiasm through suspicion to outright hostility.¹⁵⁵ While they might have been intrigued by this new institution, many Swazis seemed not to have been aware of its ethos and how it was going to help the country. There were also moments when the school was faced with antagonistic reactions from some whites who called it “a kaffir school.”¹⁵⁶

One of the sad moments for the fledgling school came with the death of Angus Henderson who had enrolled at the school in 1964, joining the form II class.¹⁵⁷ He was described as a cheerful boy who had shown a good understanding of Waterford. He committed suicide at his

¹⁵⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.94.

¹⁵⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.94.

¹⁵⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.92.

family's farm in Manzini.¹⁵⁸ But although accounts showed that Henderson had been a happy boy at the school critics of school portrayed his suicide as an indication that Waterford was as an unhappy place for pupils. Rumours in Mbabane had it that the boy had committed suicide because he could not bear the thought of returning to the "kaffir school."¹⁵⁹ While the school authorities battled with the boy's death, the boy's family showed solidarity with the project donating R2000 and a further R1300 for the building of additional boarding accommodation. This was a mark of great confidence in the future of the school, which prompted the school's Governing Council to propose naming a planned building as "The Angus Henderson House".¹⁶⁰ The Black Sash, a politically active women's group fighting apartheid, where Angus' mother was a member also raised money for the school in honour of Angus, and this was used to buy library books and improve the library.¹⁶¹

Worse was to follow when Michael Stern got into an altercation with one reveller at a night club in Mbabane. The altercation erupted when the reveller (possibly a policeman) referred to Waterford as the "kaffir school."¹⁶² In the aftermath of the altercation, an anonymous letter was distributed in Mbabane which accused Stern of being a bully who terrorised people and caused the death of a student.¹⁶³ The writer also claimed that Stern was a communist who was trying to teach students communism and that this did not go well with some students. The letter ended with threats directed at Michael Stern, demanding his resignation.¹⁶⁴

Labelling of people as communists during the period in question was a strategy that had been started in apartheid South Africa to silence black opposition both internally and externally. After the passage of the Suppression of Communist Act in 1950 in South Africa, it was common for anti-apartheid activists to be labelled Communists, arrested and imprisoned. To label Stern a communist was probably a strategy to provoke the British authorities in Swaziland to look at the school's authorities with suspicion. Similar attempts were also made

¹⁵⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.92.

¹⁵⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.94.

¹⁶⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.93.

¹⁶¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.93.

¹⁶² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.96.

¹⁶³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.96.

¹⁶⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.96.

in 1965 to persuade parents to see Waterford as a political institution where their children were involved in politics. A newsletter perhaps published by the critics of the school spread such information to discourage their children from attending Waterford which had most of its contents reflecting on the developments at the school but aiming to alarm the parents by misinforming them through falsifying some information.

The antagonism of the local black Swazis against the new school might have been due to their inability to send their children to the school. Even though bursaries were given to those in need of financial help, few local children were eligible for admission to the school because of their lack of entry academic qualifications and limited spaces. It seems also that there was scepticism about why the school was operating in Swaziland. For the local white Swazis, Waterford might have been seen in some circles as a threat to what some whites stood for, especially those who supported racialism. These included some white South Africans living in Swaziland and those who had come from new independent African countries, like Kenya, who resented equal educational opportunities.¹⁶⁵

It must be emphasised that not all Swazis were opposed to Waterford. Evidence shows that some of them welcomed the school because they felt it would promote good understanding of race relations in Swaziland. While it might have been quite difficult for many Swazis to enrol at Waterford, some young people who stayed close to the school in the location of Sidwashini, felt Waterford helped the communities in many ways. According to Thembi Khoza, who lived in Sidwashini in the early 1970s, Waterford made the Swazis understand multiracialism better.¹⁶⁶ She recalled that Waterford students were involved in local community projects and that most of the white students participated in them. Khoza further remembered that Waterford buses gave lifts to people going to town, thereby easing their transport problem blues.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.48.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Thembi Khoza, Ekwetsembeni Centre, Mbabane, 25 July 2019. Khoza is the Head teacher of the centre and she has been working at the centre from 1994. She grew in Sidwashini, a location very close to Waterford.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Thembi Khoza, 25 July 2019, Ekwetsembeni Centre, Mbabane.

From its onset, Waterford school faced opposition from the apartheid government in South Africa. In 1963, the South African authorities detained and questioned three of the South African black boys enrolled at Waterford and threatened their parents.¹⁶⁸ This action by the authorities suggests that they saw the multiracial school as a challenge to the apartheid system. The South African government also set border posts on all main roads to Swaziland and barricaded minor ones.¹⁶⁹ While the setting of border control was not really meant to stop South Africans from enrolling their children at Waterford, it obviously had a huge impact on the operations of the school and threatened its future growth. One direct impact of the closure of the border was the failure of some students to return to the newly opened school. Rodney Isaacs and Richard Frank both from South Africa were also prevented from obtaining passports.¹⁷⁰

Worse was to come in the 1970s when both Stern and Hatton were stripped of the privilege of entering South Africa on British passports without a visa. Since no reasons were given for this action, it was clear that the apartheid regime viewed Waterford in a hostile manner.¹⁷¹ These events highlighted the immediate challenges the school faced at the hands of South Africa. Later, South Africa would ban some students from returning to the school in Swaziland. This obviously affected the racial balance of Waterford, making it difficult for the school to effectively reinforce multiracialism. The authorities in South Africa were suspicious that Swaziland was being used as a political base by apartheid activists and did all they could to frustrate black South African students attending Waterford. Consequently, the school lost some of its early recruits some of whom left the school to join the anti-apartheid liberation movement.¹⁷²

However, 1964 seemed to have ushered in some promise for growth as the school. In that year, Waterford opened with an enrolment of 30 boys and by the end of the year the number had gone up to 38. Of these students, ten were Africans, twenty Europeans, four Euro-

¹⁶⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.51.

¹⁶⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.51.

¹⁷⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.52.

¹⁷¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.53.

¹⁷² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.53.

Africans, three Indians and one Chinese.¹⁷³ That there were more students of European origin reflected the ability of their parents to pay fees required by Waterford. To encourage other races to enrol at Waterford, the school made quite a huge effort to secure bursaries for students who passed interviews but were not able to pay.¹⁷⁴ 1964 also saw some important staff changes with the first African teacher Ashby Mpama joining the school. Mpama taught Zulu. The school also welcomed the first white South African teacher, Deon Glover, who had graduated from Wits University and had known Michael Stern through St Martin's.¹⁷⁵

In terms of expansion of the infrastructure, 1964 also saw the completion of the kitchen, a dining room, recreation room, staffroom and a laboratory. These were officially opened by the Resident Commissioner, Sir Brian Marwick on the 28 of March 1964.¹⁷⁶ It was also in 1964 that Michael Stern gave his first comprehensive account of the school's founding ethos. In a speech given at a fundraising dinner held at a Johannesburg hotel in October 1964, Stern used the analogy of a vendor who was selling hydrogen filled balloons to relay his thinking on the subject of multi-racial schooling. He said:

A vendor selling hydrogen filled balloons had left some few to escape in the air, red, yellow, green and a white balloon, all sailed high into the air. A young boy was watching with great interest, and when he spotted a black balloon still tethered to the bunch, the boy remarked, send that one up mister, it won't go as far as the white. The vendor replied, of course it will, it's the stuff inside it that makes them rise.¹⁷⁷

Stern went on saying that:

It is the stuff inside that is the concern of education, which aims to remove those things that prevent people from rising to the limits of their capabilities, education

¹⁷³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.61.

¹⁷⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.61.

¹⁷⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.61.

¹⁷⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.64.

¹⁷⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.81.

again in the words of Professor Lloyd, seeks to promote clear thinking, and kindly feeling towards other people.¹⁷⁸

He further explained that the idea of multiracialism had moved to become a reality. He expressed his earlier anxiety concerning the workings of multiracialism and how that had vanished since the operating of the school. He argued that Waterford was based on the concept of God and brotherhood of his children, of all races and faiths. He quoted the speech by Disraeli who had said the fate of a country depended on the education of its people. Stern insisted that this was true for Africa, which he emphasized needed the goodwill of all races, to learn to live and work together.¹⁷⁹ To Stern, this future was not idealism but realism. Michael Stern saw in blacks the same mental capabilities as in whites and believed there was a need to teach children the concept of unity no matter what their race was. He commented on this saying:

Waterford is based on a very simple and very old concept of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of his children, of all races and faiths because, in the words of Thomas Hardy, all young ones of our time are collectively the children of us all and entitled to our general care.¹⁸⁰

On the controversial subject of politics, Stern emphasised that Waterford's primary concern was education not politics. He commented:

Waterford is in no way a political institution, therefore it has every hope of survival in Africa; black, white or coffee or coloured. We are simply building a small bridge which young people can cross if they wish, and we find they do wish. This is in the interest of education which is colour-blind, in the interest of the present which is not, in the interests of the future which will have to be. It is the future which is the concern of us all. You don't have to agree with all I have said, you don't have to attach the same importance to Waterford as we do. You simply have to agree that it may have an

¹⁷⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.81.

¹⁷⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.85.

¹⁸⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.84.

influence out of proportion to its size, and that there is a place for a small school of this type in this part of the world at this time. On that basis we ask for your interest, your sympathy and your support.¹⁸¹

He believed that education had the potential to change the way people viewed the world. Stern also believed that education should teach young people to appreciate one another. As he remarked in 1965 during a welcome address to Harry Oppenheimer of the Anglo-American Corporation:

In so far as education creates problems, we must plead guilty. But is that an argument against education? Surely it still is better to be a discontented human than a contented cow. Schools must teach people to think about others. Mixing young people helps this, it is not a weakness but a strength. If on leaving Waterford a young man encounters narrower view and more prejudiced attitude when he leaves, is that the fault of education or school? Are we to teach laziness and cruelty and self-interest and materialism just because these are too common in the world outside? That is indeed *reductio ad absurdum*. There are many things wrong with Waterford, many things we hope to improve as the years go by, but teaching people more about each other is not one of them. It is not the bridges in the world that are dangerous but the barriers. I think at Waterford we are learning to live together, so that we can be more useful outside, in a world that must overcome its antagonisms of class and race and nation and religion or perish.¹⁸²

Recruitment, selection of students and life at the new school

According to Hatton, Waterford has always prided itself on its recruitment and admission policy.¹⁸³ The school was founded on the ethos of equal opportunities for all who demonstrated academic excellence. The first boys were to be selected on merit. Merit in this

¹⁸¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.88.

¹⁸² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.104.

¹⁸³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.61.

instance was the ability of the applicants to pass interviews conducted by the school.¹⁸⁴ The first Swazi students to be enrolled at the school were a true testimony to the fairness of this admission criterion. The first Swazi student who is now deceased, Ephraim Dlamini was interviewed at the school and was given a school place and subsequently a bursary (See Figure 2.8).

Figure 2.8: Ephraim Dlamini (left) with David Keet and Richard Frank (standing) in 1964.



Source: Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.87.

Dlamini was to inspire one other Swazi student, Noah Nkambule, now a retired permanent secretary in the Swaziland Ministry of Agriculture, who was also interviewed and started

¹⁸⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.61.

school at Waterford in 1964. Nkambule, with whom Dlamini had earlier attended Mbabane Central School recalled that Waterford attracted much attention from young boys because it was this elite school. He remembered that people used to admire Ephraim Dlamini whenever he visited them wearing his prestigious Waterford uniform.¹⁸⁵ This gave Nkambule and other young boys a strong desire to try his luck at Waterford. Nkambule was interviewed and got a place and was placed on bursary as his family could not afford the fees. To Nkambule, the manner of his admission to Waterford symbolised what the school stood for, namely giving all young people an educational opportunity. The former student further went on to say that his story showed in no uncertain terms that Waterford championed racial equality.¹⁸⁶

Another former Waterford student, Solomon Guramatunhu, now a renowned eye specialist based in Harare, Zimbabwe, echoed Noah Nkambule's sentiments. Guramatunhu was admitted to Waterford in 1973 through a scholarship.¹⁸⁷ He added that the family of Alan McGregor, whose son became the first head boy at Waterford, were friends with the Buffensteins, who had employed his father as a domestic servant. The Buffensteins helped the young boy to get a scholarship to do Advanced Level studies at Waterford.¹⁸⁸ Like other boys, Guramatunhu was attracted to Waterford's principle of multiracialism.¹⁸⁹ "Stern," Guramatunhu recently recall, "taught us the fact that the world belongs to everyone who lives in it and people should aim to leave it better than they found it".¹⁹⁰

Most parents who brought their children to Waterford were opposed to apartheid in South Africa and other forms of racism elsewhere. They therefore shared the vision and ideals that

¹⁸⁵ Interview with Noah Nkambule. Noah Nkambule was interviewed on 14 January 2018 in Mbabane. Noah Nkambule joined Waterford in 1965. He went to study in the United States and came back in 1973 after studying Soil Science and worked in the Swaziland Ministry of Agriculture in various portfolios before he was appointed as the Permanent Secretary. He retired from the Ministry of Agriculture in 2007.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

¹⁸⁷ Interview with Solomon Guramatunhu. Solomon Guramatunhu was interviewed on 18 November 2019 via email, he attended Waterford from 1973 to 1974. He is now a renowned optician based in Zimbabwe.

¹⁸⁸ Email correspondence with Guramatunhu, 18 November 2019.

¹⁸⁹ Email correspondence with Guramatunhu, 18 November 2019.

¹⁹⁰ Email correspondence with Guramatunhu, 18 November 2019.

Michael Stern stood for. Quinton Reissmann, a Waterford alumnus (1966-1973) reminisced that his:

parents had emigrated from Germany protesting against Nazism in Germany to South Africa. They were to get even more disappointed when they realized the way the Nationalist government in South Africa was treating Africans. They could see similarities and a sort of a continuation of the Nazi's treatment of Jews. Due to this, we then immigrated to Swaziland and my parents were very much aware of the new multiracial school in Swaziland which they enrolled me into Form 1.”¹⁹¹

As many historians have noted, there were striking similarities between Nazism and the apartheid system and some have commented that the two systems had such strong connections that it would appear one influenced the other. In Reissmann's view, there were similarities between Nazism and apartheid as both segregated races and were based on the need to exploit their victims. Parents that enrolled their children at Waterford were opposed to racism and seem to have had a remarkable understanding of its founding principles and values. In enrolling their children at the school, these parents, therefore joined the chorus of protest against apartheid education in South Africa and saw Michael Stern as the champion of the movement towards multiracial schooling.¹⁹² Catherine Hunter, another student who also attended Waterford from 1971 to 1977, argued that as a white South African she had the opportunity to go to a good white South African school but her parents sent her to Waterford

¹⁹¹ Quinton Reissmann was interviewed on 16 March 2018 at the WK Science office. He did his schooling at Waterford after his parents had emigrated from Germany to South Africa after WWII. Arriving in South Africa they were appalled by the new regime of the Nationalist party that also seemed to resemble the Nazis that they thought they had left in Germany. They then migrated to Swaziland around 1963 and having heard about the new multi-racial school he was enrolled and was at the school from 1966-73. He graduated and worked in South Africa before he joined the school as teacher. He is currently teaching Science at the school.

¹⁹² See for instance Benjamin W. Goosen, 2016, “Measuring mennonitism: Racial categorization in Nazi Germany and beyond”, *Journal of Mennonite Studies*, Vol.34, M. Rogers & Clinton, P. Clinton, 2015, *Rights and protests: The origins of apartheid*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 14, the two authors looked at the separate amenities that the two regimes implemented.

as they shared its founding principles. The fact that her parents sent her and her brother to Waterford was an indictment against apartheid education.¹⁹³

It was also an endorsement of multiracial culture opposed by the apartheid government system in South Africa. Most parents who sent their children to Waterford were resisting the social and physical separation of races enforced by legislation in South Africa. They welcomed that at Waterford there was no racial segregation. According to Nkambule, boys from different races shared hostels. This was a novel experience for him as he had lived all his life without sharing physical and social spaces with whites before. Noah Nkambule argued that it was Waterford school that taught most of the students of his time the idea of racial mixing and understanding (see Figure 2.9).¹⁹⁴ This experience brought into bolder relief the inequities of racism in the South African society. Indeed, most black students were really touched by the passion with which Michael and his staff valued racial equality in diversity.¹⁹⁵

Hatton supports this perspective, noting that the boys at Waterford did virtually all their domestic work - sweeping dormitories, classrooms and dining room, laying of tables and serving of food. This was in sharp contrast to the situation in South Africa and in other parts of colonial southern Africa, where menial work was mostly done by blacks for the benefit of whites. In ensuring that boys shared chores, the school sought to break down racial divisions and foster racial equality. Moreover, it could ill-afford to pay labourers to do the chores.¹⁹⁶ Nkambule even remarked that it was at first queer to see white boys partaking in cleaning up work at the school.¹⁹⁷ But this culture became acceptable among most of the students.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹³ Catherine Hunter was interviewed on the 14 January 2018 via Skype. She was a student at Waterford from 1971-1977. Catherine now works as an Educational consultant in South Africa.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

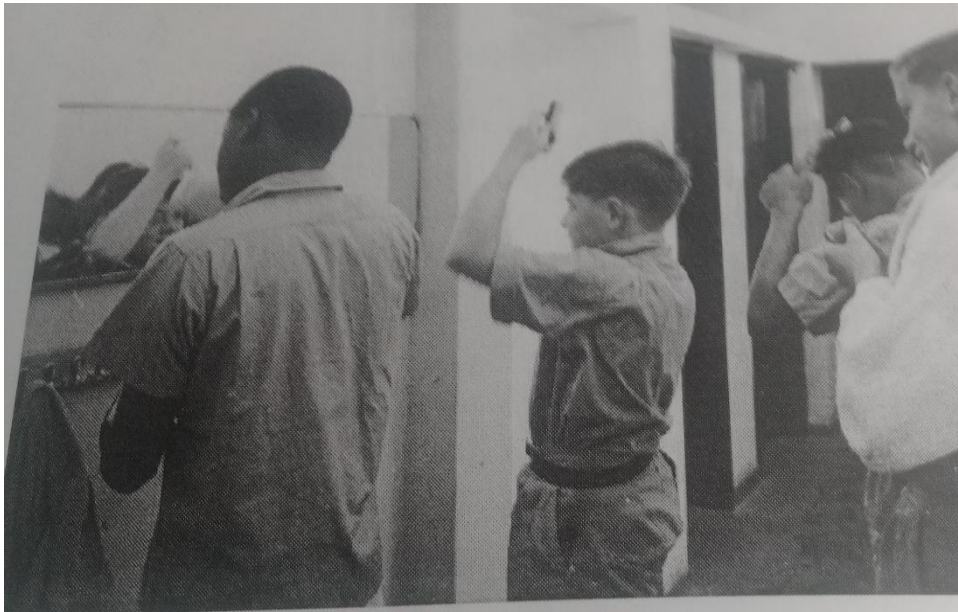
¹⁹⁵ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

¹⁹⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.43.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January, Mbabane.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January, Mbabane.

Figure 2.9: Students in the bathroom preparing to start the day in 1964.



Source: *Hatton, Phoenix rising*, p.85.

The setting up of the Governing Council and the move towards co-education

The school's first Governing Council was set up in 1965 and this was to become one of the most important entities overseeing the running of the school.¹⁹⁹ The Governing Council took over the responsibilities of the Johannesburg Executive Committee which had played an important role in the development of the school. Indeed it was the Johannesburg Committee that had drawn up the school's constitution and a Notarial Deed of Trust constituting the Governing Council of Waterford.²⁰⁰ The first council's meeting was held at the school on 23 February 1965 under the chairmanship of Rt. Rev. Thomas Savage, the Bishop of Zululand and Swaziland, who had nominated other council members. Members of the Council included Athel Long, the Chief Secretary in the Swazi Government, Priscilla Mndiniso, a senior nurse at the Mbabane Hospital, A.T. Habedi, a Salesian Headmaster, S.T. Sukati, a clerk in the Swaziland Legislative Council, Dr. David Hynd, the Director of the Leper Hospital, Archdeacon Arden, the Director of Usuthu Mission and Rev. John Tibbs, Rector of

¹⁹⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.98

²⁰⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.98.

Mbabane.²⁰¹ It was at the Governing Council that most decisions affecting the school were deliberated.

In 1966, the President of Botswana sent his eldest son Ian Khama to the school, causing much excitement.²⁰² But a controversy soon erupted at Waterford over the issue of co-education. The controversy was sparked by the admission to the school of the daughter of Pancho Guedes. Guedes, it may be recalled, had voluntarily earlier designed the school. As such, when he asked for a place for his daughter there was no resistance especially from Stern.²⁰³ Guedes's daughter, Lonka, had expressed her displeasure at her current boarding school and the father thought that Waterford where her brother was a student would be the best option. Waterford admitted Lonka in appreciation of the tremendous help that her father had given to the school.

There was no official position regarding turning Waterford into a co-educational institution and the Governing Council was only informed of the decision to enrol Lonka Guedes after she had started school.²⁰⁴ When Christopher Newton-Thompson enquired about the presence of a girl at the school, he was told that admission was simply a gesture of appreciation of her father's earlier assistance to the school. But Newton Thompson was a strong advocate of single sex education as he believed that boys could not study well with girls. He was thus critical of any move in that direction.²⁰⁵ At the same time, the Waterford's Executive Committee made it very clear that the school was to remain a boys' institution. The school authorities obliged but Lonka was allowed to remain at the school until she finished her studies.

²⁰¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.98.

²⁰² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.119. Ian Khama finished school at Waterford and qualified as pilot and attended Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, where the British Army trains its officers. He entered politics and served as Vice-President of Botswana from 1998 to 2008, then succeeded Festus Mogae as President on 1 April 2008. He retired in March 2018.

²⁰³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.132.

²⁰⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.133.

²⁰⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.166.

But this did not put an end to the controversy. Some members of the Governing Council continued pushing for co-education. It was finally agreed that girls were to be enrolled in the school only as day scholars. This was done for two main reasons, one being financial and the second being the change in education thought in the late 1960s, when co-education came to be seen as indisputably beneficial to both girls and boys.²⁰⁶ Thus when the school admitted 130 students in 1968, four of them were girls who lived on campus with a staff family. A full and lengthy staff meeting in the same year was devoted to the subject of co-education and the general consensus was that the number of girls be increased, perhaps up to about 40 or 50.²⁰⁷ Most stakeholders felt that co-education was the best way to go. With agreement reached on the issue in 1969, the number of girls increased to sixteen. The number was to rise to forty by 1971.²⁰⁸

King Sobhuza and the Swazi Royal recognition of the school

The position of the monarchy regarding Waterford school remained unknown after its inception. This was probably because the school's establishment was a response responding to developments in South Africa. This caused anxiety for the school authorities as the establishment of the school in Swaziland may have been seen as jeopardising regional relations. It is against this background that the school authorities were keen to forge good relations with the Swazi monarchy. But when the King announced his visit to the school in 1967, there were mixed feelings among the school authorities. While some were pessimistic that they would receive a lashing from the royal, Stern was optimistic that King Sobhuza II would bless the school.²⁰⁹ Mixed feelings emanated from the fact that, as a school they had never been quite sure about the real attitude of the Swazis towards the school.

The colonial state, on the other hand, had endorsed the school as shown in its willingness to assist in fundraising for the school.²¹⁰ The colonial administrator in charge of education, Donald Day, had spoken well of the new school. He had remarked that Waterford would

²⁰⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.157.

²⁰⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.157.

²⁰⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.164.

²⁰⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.140.

²¹⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.140.

become not only one of the best known secondary schools in Swaziland but also one held in highest esteem by Government and the Swazi nation.²¹¹ He had further praised the school laboratories as the best in the country and referred to Waterford as a whole as the only school offering courses up to Advanced level of General Certificate of Education. From Day's perspective, Waterford, therefore, had a significant role to play in the future as it would produce graduates indispensable to the process of localization of high and middle level appointments in government, commerce and industry. He remarked:

Although Waterford's contribution to formal education in Swaziland will be significant, I feel its greatest contribution to the future happiness of the people will be towards the creation of happy race relations through removal of race consciousness in the multiracial scrap of Africa.²¹²

Clearly, colonial government was receptive to the Waterford project but it was still unclear what the Swazi monarchy felt about the school on the mountain. It was therefore great relief to the school authorities when, during his visit to the school on 27 October 1967, King Sobhuza II appreciated the educational efforts of the school and named it the Swazi language Kamhlaba in recognition of its inter-racial mix (see Figure 2.10). The king explained:

You live in it whatever your colour, whatever your religion, whatever your race. You live in it and it does not try to ostracize you or show any difference as to what you are. And this is the meaning of Kamhlaba.²¹³

²¹¹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.140.

²¹² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.140.

²¹³ *Times of Swaziland*, 3 November, 1967.

Figure 2.10: Michael Stern and King Sobhuza II in 1967 at Waterford.



Source: Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.142.

Sobhuza II felt that schools like Waterford were needed not only in Swaziland but in other countries to promote racial harmony. He was impressed to see students of different races together -different in many respects but one in spirit and in their aim. He felt happy that the students of Waterford, having lived together, would go out into the world and help put it right. He also had an important message to the students, stressing:

It is for you now to go and put in practice what you have seen and what you have lived and seen here at this school. When you go out into the world do practice what you have seen at this school.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.142.

But King Sobhuza's visit to Waterford was not without a moment of awkwardness as he likened the school to a snake.²¹⁵ This brought a moment of silence and anxiety to the people gathered, especially the staff. The King was however quick to explain that there were good and bad snakes and Waterford was considered a good one by the Swazi Nation. As Lungile Sihlongonyane, a Siswati teacher at Waterford, explained good snakes in Swazi mythology are rare and seldom come out in the open.²¹⁶ What the king meant, then, was that Waterford was exceptional in striving to build a society of people of goodwill.²¹⁷

King Sobhuza congratulated Michael Stern and his staff for the wonderful project. Stern responded outlining how the project had evolved. He remarked that at times after they had started the school, it seemed impossible that the school would survive but its founders had remained inspired by the warm response from friends of the school. He thanked all the people who supported the venture. He continued:

But as I look at the buildings and even more at the boys, and at our friends gathered here today, and when I think of others all over the world who have helped us with their time and money, sympathy, interest and support, of the many big gifts and the hundreds and hundreds of smaller ones, I realize clearly that something has emerged, something which I hope is permanent which could never have grown to this size and this comparative stability without the faith and support of a very large number of people here and elsewhere - boys and staff, architect and donors, Governing Council and trustees , a friendly group now exceeding 2000 - who have between them over a period of six years raised over R250,000, to make the school begin.²¹⁸

It is worth noting that on the first anniversary of Waterford Michael Stern again singled out staff, architect, donors and boys for special praise. This was an indication of the enormous contributions they had made towards the well-being of the school. The staff mostly worked

²¹⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.144.

²¹⁶ Interview with Lungile Sihlongonyane. She was interviewed on the 24th of January 2020 at Waterford. She is a Siswati teacher at Waterford.

²¹⁷ Interview with Sihlongonyane, 24 January 2020, WK Humanities Office.

²¹⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.142-143.

on a voluntary basis and those that were paid received little salaries. Stern also praised the students because they too had been involved in the construction of the school due to its financial challenges. Noah Nkambule recalled that students helped in the mixing of cement and carrying the mortar for the builders.²¹⁹

The positive reaction of King Sobhuza to the establishment of Waterford can be analysed from a duo perspective. King Sobhuza was the first Swazi monarch to have attended school first at Swazi National High School and later in South Africa. He therefore understood the power of education to improve people's lives. Sobhuza II shared Regent Labotsibeni LaMdluli's belief that modern education would elevate the standing of Swaziland in the eyes of other countries. Labotsibeni had therefore been instrumental in the establishment of Swazi National High, where she had sent Sobhuza as a young boy and later to a high school at Lovedale. Simelane believes that the regent held that once Sobhuza had learnt to read and write he could handle the complex documents generated by the British colonial administration.²²⁰

Sobhuza's time at Lovedale had linked him to progressive black political leadership in South Africa and might have shaped his thinking around education and colonial hegemony. Lovedale was established in 1841 and became one of the best missionary schools in South Africa. The school at Lovedale provided education to mixed races until 1878 when it became an all black school. It is estimated to have seen through its doors more than 2000 black students and groomed the first activist against South Africa's Union Government and its policies. It was at the Lovedale school where such prominent people like Tiyo Soga, Sol Plaatje, Z.K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela had received their education. Sobhuza having attended Lovedale might have been inspired by these people. It is no surprise, then, that King Sobhuza was keen to open schools and even universities in the country.²²¹

²¹⁹ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

²²⁰ Hamilton S. Simelane, "Colonial administrators, indigenous leaders, and missionaries: Contesting the education of the Swazi child, 1921-1939", <https://dspace.nwu.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10394/31474/No-80-%282018%29-1-Simelane-HS.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, accessed 29 January 2020.

²²¹ H. Gilimomee and B Mbenga, 2007, *New history of South Africa*, Cape Town, Tafelberg, p.191.

King Sobhuza's visit to Waterford should be viewed from the perspective of his good understanding of education and his strong sentiments against racial segregation. P. H Bischoff argues that the Swazi monarch was opposed to apartheid as he had established a multiracial kingdom.²²² He also had strong links with the African National Congress and during his reign his Kingdom provided refuge to many ANC exiles.²²³ This was tricky for the country as Swaziland's economy was dependent on South Africa. King Sobhuza was forced to maintain a delicate balance between opposing apartheid and being economically reliant on South Africa at the same time.²²⁴

Swaziland was granted independence on 6 September 1968. Hatton observes that many visitors, including VIPs took this opportunity to visit Waterford.²²⁵ One of the visitors was King Moshoeshoe II of Lesotho as well as George Thomson, the British Government's representative who had handed the Instruments of Independence to King Sobhuza II. Harry Oppenheimer visited Waterford too, promising to donate to the school further assistance to the tune R20, 000.²²⁶ Some of the staff and students of the school acted as guides to the visitors. The school choir was also commissioned to record the Swazi National anthem after the Johannesburg choir had failed to produce a good tune.²²⁷ By 1970, Waterford had become well-known and established multiracial school. Henceforth and as the next chapter shows, curriculum issues began taking centre- stage as the school's founders now turned their efforts to producing the best students in sub-Saharan Africa.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the establishment of Waterford has been outlined. The works of a missionary, Father Trevor Huddleston, influenced Michael Stern to leave his teaching post in England to

²²² P.H. Bischoff, 1988, 'Why Swaziland is Different?' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol 26, No 3, p 473.

²²³ H. Kuper, *Sobhuza II, Ngwenyama and King of Swaziland: The story of a hereditary ruler and his country*, New York, Africana Publishing Company, pp 46-47. See also R Levin, 1997, *When the sleeping grass awakens*, Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand Press, p 168.

²²⁴ Thula Simpson, 2009, "The bay and the ocean", *African Historical Review*, Vol 41, No. 3, 2009, p.94-95.

²²⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.160.

²²⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.160.

²²⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.160.

come and teach in South Africa. His experience of the effects of apartheid policies on education led him to cross the border into Swaziland and to establish a school in exile. The chapter also analyses the growth of the school attributing the school's development to the fiscal and material support Waterford received from local and international donors. The school went from strength to strength and in as much as it faced some challenges, it prevailed. Although Waterford's attempt at co-education were initially resisted, the enrolment of the school's architect's daughter paved the way for enrolment of girls at the school. It was the school's multiracialism that struck King Sobhuza II to name the school, *Kamhlaba*.

Chapter 3: Charting an alternative curriculum at Waterford

Introduction

This chapter explores the curriculum offered by Waterford's founding fathers. It argues that there was a response to the segregated curriculum offered to the non-whites in apartheid South Africa. A comparison is made of the two curriculum models and the challenges that were faced by Waterford's founders in charting a decolonized curriculum. From the onset, the school's policy was to offer a desegregated, multiracial education to both non-whites and whites that would expose them to a broader international worldview. The chapter also analyses teaching conditions, enrolment and student-teacher ratios from a comparative perspective. The change from Cambridge "A Level" to the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme is also analysed to illustrate Waterford's goal to offer students a pre-university diploma that made it easy for them to adapt to tertiary education.

The Bantu curriculum versus the Waterfordian philosophy of education

As already been noted earlier in this study, when the National Party government came to power in 1948, they implemented racial segregation under their policy of apartheid. This was extended to education based on the findings of Dr W.W.M. Eiselen who in the early 1950s had led a Commission whose task was to look into the provision of separate education for Africans. As summarised by Christie, the terms of reference of his Commission (which became known as Eiselen Commission) included "the formulation of the principles and aims of education for the Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration."²²⁸ The Eiselen Commission had recommended that education for Africans should be "an integral part of a carefully planned policy of segregated socio-economic development for the black people".²²⁹

²²⁸ Pam Christie and Collins, 1982, "Apartheid ideology or labour reproduction", *Journal of Comparative Education*, Vol. 18, 1, 1982, pp.59-75.

²²⁹ Johannes Seroto, 2013, *A revisionist view of the contributions of Dr. Eiselen to South African education: New perspectives*, Department of Education Foundations, University of South Africa,

Moreover, it emphasised black schools were to be a means for the transmission and development of black cultural heritage.

To this end, the Eiselen Commission made a number of other far-reaching recommendations, including a radical reorganisation of African education. Under this recommendation, Bantu Education was to be brought under the direct control of the apartheid regime.²³⁰ The commission's findings resulted in the passing of the Bantu Education Act of 1953.²³¹ Under the Bantu Education Act, there were to be three types of schools, viz Bantu Community Schools, private and state-aided schools including mission schools to continue providing education to Africans on the explicit permission of the Minister of Education. Such mission schools were not to be a hindrance to the establishment of community and government schools. In 1955, the state passed further legislation to further restrict the operations of mission schools on the basis that they were misleading Africans. As Christie shows, Hendrik Verwoerd, the chief architect of apartheid and Native Affairs Minister, reduced the number of mission schools significantly and introduced Bantu Education in mission schools that survived his onslaught.²³² Most mission schools came under intense pressure and had to choose between either abiding by the new requirements or closing down entirely.

The move towards the Bantu Education system was opposed by the English-speaking population in general, and more particularly, by the English-speaking missionaries who controlled and owned most black schools (despite the government subsidies that they received, mostly by way of teacher salaries).²³³ As noted in the last chapter Father Trevor Huddleston was one of the missionary figures who placed themselves at the forefront of this resistance. In August 1954, when Mission Superintendents in South Africa received the first of a number of official circulars stating how they had to handover their schools to the state, Father Huddleston and his St Peter's community had already discussed their plan of action.

http://www.scielo.org/za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2223-03862013000100006, accessed 15 January 2018.

²³⁰ Pam Christie, 1985, *The right to learn: The struggle for education in South Africa*, Cape Town, Ravan Press, p.78.

²³¹ Pam Christie and Collins, 1982, 'Apartheid ideology or Labour reproduction', *Journal of Comparative Education*, Vol. 18, 1, 1982, pp.59-75.

²³² Christie and Collins, "Apartheid ideology" p.65.

²³³ Christie and Collins, "Apartheid ideology" p.65.

They were to close the school rather than surrender it to the apartheid state. As Huddleston put it himself:

We were fully aware of what we were doing and of the hardships and sufferings it would involve for many of our children and teachers. Yet we believed that only by demonstrating in a clear and unmistakable fashion our opposition to the whole basis of the Act could we best continue to serve the African people. We could neither accept the principle of apartheid education, nor assist in its implementation in any way.²³⁴

Father Huddleston believed that blacks had the same abilities and capabilities as whites and hence they needed to be given the same educational opportunities. This was the main reason why he closed St Peter's School in Johannesburg. For black students who had graduated from St. Peters School, its closure was similarly as much a big blow as it was to those who aspired to get a good education to meet the demands of the world. As one of the graduates of the school, J. A. Maimane, noted:

For all the ex-students of this great pillar of learning, the announcement that their alma mater would close down in two years was a sad blow. A blow that will bring back many memories of the diligent studying to keep up with the school's high standard; of the easy, happy, disciplined life that prepared them to meet the outside world, proudly and without fear.²³⁵

Under the Bantu Education Act, Black Education was to be directed to meet black needs as defined by the racist regime. It was also to be centrally controlled and financed under the Native Affairs Minister. As Native Affairs Minister, Hendrik Verwoerd outlined this policy as follows:

My Department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the Reserves (i.e. Bantustans) and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu Society... the basis of the provision and organisation of education in a Bantu Community should, where

²³⁴ Trevor Huddleston, 1957, *Naughty for your comfort*, London, Fountain Books, p.128.

²³⁵ Christie, *The right to learn*, p.83.

possible, be the tribal organisation. Moreover, there is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. ... until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.²³⁶

Phillip Bonner has rightly asserted that the aims of the Bantu Education was designed to produce cheap labour for South Africa's industries. Thus its curriculum was meant to produce semi-skilled African labourers to run in factories.²³⁷ Under the apartheid curriculum, African students were to have only four hours of schooling. This was deemed as enough to prepare them for manual labour in industry. A Regional Director of Bantu Education, J. Dugard, explained this thinking, saying that the government's "first aim was to promote literacy by making it possible for as many children as possible to complete the first four years of school."²³⁸ With the challenges in the township, most parents placed their children in the Bantu Schools to keep them safe. Some parents felt that a tremendous opportunity was suddenly being offered for everyone to get an education.²³⁹ The rapid increase in enrolment served to reinforce this idea. It was only those that understood the school system and its faulty philosophical underpinning that realized that they were being duped.²⁴⁰ Bantu Education was never going to help their children. As outlined by Angela Goebel, Bantu Education's purpose:

Was to teach the children the proper way to behave. In school they are expected to behave as they will once they enter the wider society. Children's lives at school are highly controlled. For instance, they are told to wear uniforms, to be prompt, and polite. Thus, their appearance and behaviour is dictated to them. After spending a

²³⁶ Andrew Leone, 1965, "The development of Bantu Education in South Africa, 1652-1954", *PhD Thesis*, Montana, Montana State College, <https://scholarworks.montana.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1/4364/31762100108784.pdf?sequence=1>, accessed 20 October 2018.

²³⁷ Philip Bonner, Peter Delius and Deborah Posel, 1993, *Apartheid genesis: 1935-1962*, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Press, p.401

²³⁸ Bonner, Delius and Posel, *Apartheid genesis*, p.410.

²³⁹ Bonner, Delius and Posel, *Apartheid genesis*, p.410.

²⁴⁰ Bonner, Delius and Posel, *Apartheid genesis*, p.410.

number of years at school, they are likely to expect and accept additional control over their lives from the authorities on the job when they leave. The rules of good behaviour are very similar to positive attitudes of labourers. Their respect for rules of morality and civic consciousness actually mean respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of order established by class domination.²⁴¹

In essence, the introduction of Bantu Education to the black South African people served no meaningful purpose beyond the needs of a hyper-racist state and its broader constituency. As the then Minister of Agriculture, J. N. le Roux, revealed, “We should not give the Natives an academic education. If we do this, we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and Non-Europeans and who is going to do the manual labour in this country?”²⁴² What is eminently clear from this pronouncement by le Roux is that Bantu Education was a tool used to maintain the status quo so as to serve the demands of the bourgeois class.²⁴³ Education was thus used to make the oppressed masses in South Africa so dependent on their masters that they did not have the capacity to see themselves as able in any way to do better for their lives. Stern had realised this in his brief stay in South Africa and hence he sought to provide an education that not only respected race and colour but also taught young people to respect each other. This way it can be deduced from Stern’s thinking that he wanted to challenge not only the Bantu Education but colonial education in general. He looked at offering an equal education for all races and hence teach students to respect one another thereby promoting an education that promoted the rights of all. Stern’s philosophy was based on the progressive power of education to transform the world as he endeavoured to provide an environment where both blacks and whites would have similar opportunities. To him this was not an experiment but the reality that needed to be followed. He commented:

Those of us who are building and running this school, and our many friends and supporters all over the world, don’t believe that it is right to segregate the races. We believe that what we are doing is right and natural and that the real experiment

²⁴¹ Angela Goebel, 1992, “Inequalities in the Educational system in South Africa, Honours Project, Paper 22, http://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/polisci_honproj/22, accessed 20 October 2018.

²⁴² Christie, *The right to learn*, p.58.

²⁴³ See for instance, Fredrick Johnstone, 1977, *Class, race and gold: A study of class relations and racial discrimination in South Africa*, University Press of America and Harold Wolpe, 1987, “Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa: From segregation to apartheid”, *Journal of Economy and Society*, Vol1, 4.

(enforced segregation) is taking place across the border, where it is bound eventually and painfully to fail. We believe in bridges, not barriers, and we believe that the best way of training young people to face the future in a multiracial world, is to allow them to mix, to offer them bridges which they may cross if they wish.²⁴⁴

Stern therefore believed that young people were supposed to be given a chance and opportunity to develop their own understanding of the world without being prejudiced. To promote independent thinking and intellectual growth, Waterford therefore adopted the Cambridge curriculum.

The choice of the Cambridge curriculum

To bridge the gap that was found within the Bantu Education system, Waterford adopted the Cambridge curriculum. Cambridge was chosen mainly because it offered several options after completing either form five or six. As defined on the Cambridge website, the Cambridge Ordinary level is an internationally recognised qualification equivalent to Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) and UK GCSE.²⁴⁵ It provides learners with preparation for academic progression to Cambridge Advanced Level as well as other progression routes. It is designed for an international student body and is sensitive to the needs of different countries, including learners whose first language may not be English.²⁴⁶ It allows schools to choose from more than 40 subjects in any combination. It also emphasises broad and balanced study across a wide range of subjects. Furthermore, it aims to develop learner's skills in creative thinking, enquiry and problem solving and is structured so that they build practical skills and theoretical knowledge. The skills that it can

²⁴⁴ *The Chameleon Magazine*, 1964, WK Archives, no page numbers.

²⁴⁵ <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/>, accessed 27 April 2018.

²⁴⁶ Cambridge, <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/>, accessed 27 April 2018.

broadly develop in the learner include intellectual enquiry, flexibility and responsiveness to change, cultural awareness and being able to influence outcomes among others.²⁴⁷

The Advanced Level curriculum develops from the Ordinary Level one and is geared towards preparing students for easy entry into tertiary education. It is also internationally recognised by all universities the world over. It aims to develop learners' knowledge, understanding and skills; in-depth subject content, independent thinking, applying knowledge and understanding to new as well as familiar situations, handling and evaluating different types of information, thinking logically and presenting ordered and coherent arguments, making judgements, recommendations decisions, presenting reasoned explanations, understanding implications and communicating logically and clearly. It offers a choice of fifty five subjects and schools have the option of offering these subjects in any combination. This flexibility means schools can build individualised curriculum and learners are able to choose and specialise in a particular subject area that can be the basis for their tertiary studies.²⁴⁸

Waterford offered an international curriculum to both whites and non-whites. Former students who were interviewed were commonly of the view that what Stern was doing was really to challenge what apartheid education was doing in South Africa. As remarked by one former student, Noah Nkambule, Stern and the co-founders were interested in seeing the students getting a curriculum that challenged what apartheid offered and gave young people opportunities in world renowned universities.²⁴⁹ Waterford offered hope to the future of race relations and education in general. Most graduates from Waterford seem to agree that Stern wanted to give both blacks and whites a good education so that they could show to the world that multi-racial schooling and multi-racialism as a concept was possible and could produce better outcomes. Reissmann (WK 1966-1973), remarked that his experience at Waterford opened for him doors to do better in tertiary education as the curriculum offered was tailor-

²⁴⁷ Cambridge, <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/>, accessed 27 April 2018.

²⁴⁸ Cambridge, <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/http://www.cambridgeinternational.>, accessed 27 April 2018.

²⁴⁹ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January 2019, Mbabane.

made to make an easy entry into tertiary institutions the world over.²⁵⁰ What the Cambridge curriculum seemed to be so clear about and a good reason why Stern chose it was the fact that it prepared students for the needs of any country.

Subjects that were offered for the Cambridge ‘O’ level curriculum included Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, IsiZulu, French, Latin, Woodwork, and Music. At ‘A’ level students were required to choose three subjects of their choice and could choose from categories like Science, Arts and Commercials. This was in stark contrast to the apartheid offerings to black learners in South Africa. Pippa Davies, a current teacher at Waterford who spent some time teaching under the Bantu Education system in Lebowa, revealed in an interview that when she came to Waterford she was relieved to find both whites and non-whites getting the same education on an equal footing.²⁵¹

The apartheid Bantu Education vs the Waterford Cambridge Curriculum

Under the Bantu Education system there was a deliberate attempt to make sure that black students could not achieve critical thinking and worldview understanding and appreciation of events. As outlined by Curtis Nkondo, there was a constant reminder to teachers to always emphasise to students the importance of following and abiding by legislation for harmony to supposedly prevail. Bantu Education therefore made sure that the teacher must realise that laws are necessary to the people of any community for harmonious living. Consequently, teaching should lead the child to do naturally and therefore willingly what society has presented as correct, good and commendable.²⁵² Michael Stern however believed that education should be a gateway to critical thinking. Even the curriculum that he introduced at Waterford reflected this as Cambridge stressed the need to make learners independent

²⁵⁰ Interview with Quinton Reisemann. He was interviewed on 16 March 2018 at his office at Waterford. Quinton graduated from Waterford in 1973 and came back to teach at the school. He teaches Science.

²⁵¹ Interview with Pippa Davies. Pippa Davies was interviewed on 6 August 2018 at Waterford school in the History office. She is currently teaching at Waterford and she teaches English and Drama. She has been at Waterford since 1992. She had the opportunity to teach during the Bantu education phase and also at Waterford.

²⁵² C. Nkondo, *Comparisons of the syllabus of the Bantu education department with that of the Transvaal education department and other related matters*, http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/rejul79.8.pdf, accessed 18 July 2018.

thinkers. This was outlined in the main aims and objectives of the syllabi of the different subjects offered.

English and English Literature

Under the Bantu Education system, English Literature teachers were given a choice of books to use and all of them were from European writers. No books by African writers were prescribed. Besides the fact that there were a number of renowned African writers on the continent there was no attempt to use their books. As one teacher under the Bantu system remarked:

Most of the books are totally useless –irrelevant. Some are just fairy tales and you wonder why they are prescribed to begin with. The children neither enjoy nor develop their minds from reading these books. What makes things worse is that we are forced to teach books written overseas, like Shakespeare, while we have our own Shakespeares in Africa. I mean, I wish I could teach books by African writers, writers who describe how dust smells when rain falls after a long hot day, rather than read books that describe how white the snow looks on the ground after a heavy snowstorm, something I will not see before going to the grave.²⁵³

Waterford's English syllabus was aimed at developing the learner's ability to communicate clearly, accurately and effectively when speaking and writing English. Students were taught skills to use a wide variety of vocabulary, correct grammar, spelling and punctuation. There was also a strong emphasis on developing a personal style and awareness of the audience being addressed. Although there were challenges, there were also opportunities in mapping out a new curriculum. As remarked by Mike Linden, one of the former teachers of Waterford:

It was however a big challenge to really bring a decolonised English language and literature curriculum to the school. As the school had chosen Cambridge it had to abide by that curriculum especially for Ordinary and Advanced Level. We were tied down by the curriculum requirements of Cambridge "O" and "A" Level. Moreover

²⁵³ Nombuso Dlamini, 1990, "Critical thinking under the Bantu Education system", *M.A Thesis*, St Mary University, Canada, p.62, http://www.library2.smu.ca/bitstream/handle/01/22208/dlamini_s_nombuso_masters_1990.PDF?sequence=1, accessed 18 July 2018.

none of us (the teachers) were curriculum experts anyway! It was only around 1979 when I came back from my study leave in London that I found a new teacher, Robin Malan, who was now the Head of English that there were some changes in the books studied for literature. Apparently, Malan had somehow convinced Cambridge to let him design a new English literature course and he did it. 8% of the new course was now African literature. How he did it, up to now I don't know.²⁵⁴

Robin Malan joined Waterford in 1978 as an English, Arts and History teacher having worked at Space Theatre, University of Stellenbosch among other institutions in South Africa. He is also a renowned editor and author and has written books, including *Rebel Angel*, *The Sound of New Wings*, *The Story of Lucky Simelane*, among others. He was very influential in helping students at Waterford in expressing themselves on a variety of issues affecting South Africa especially human rights abuses and this is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. When Malan was asked about his engagement with Cambridge authorities over the use of African writers, he revealed that:

A couple of years into my term as Head of English, we felt there were many students from both Southern Africa and outside the region who weren't getting to know the wonderful literature that was coming out of SA in those years. Also, the prescribed texts in the Cambridge O-levels did not resonate too strongly with our students and their background. So, I developed a nicely balanced genre-course (I think it was 1 novel, x-number of short stories, a play and a mini-anthology of poems), and then just took a chance and wrote to Cambridge. To most people's surprise, it was very sympathetically received, and they appointed a special examiner to oversee our annual selections (we proposed the prescribed texts) and to set and mark the exams. For the years until I left, it proved a very satisfactory situation for both students and staff from very different backgrounds. In the days since Facebook I have heard from very many

²⁵⁴ Mike Linden, interviewed on 8 March 2018 at Waterford school at the school archives. Mike Linden and his late wife were teachers at Waterford in the 1970s. Mike is retired and is a member of the Governing council of the school.

ex-WK students and have been pleased to hear from non-Southern African students how much they appreciated becoming acquainted with Southern African literature.²⁵⁵

Malan (Figure 3.1) stressed that it was the determination of the founders and some of the teachers that led to Waterford being able to push for the use of African literature in English and this had a positive impact on the education that was provided as this gave students a new outlook on Africa.²⁵⁶

Figure 3.1: Robin Malan in this file picture.



Photo courtesy of Robin Malan

African literature books that they introduced included Alex la Guam's *A Walk in the Night*, Nadine Gordimer's *Some Monday for Sure*, Dorris Lessing's *This was the Chief's Country*,

²⁵⁵ Interview with Robin Malan. Malan was interviewed on 28 November via email. Malan taught at Waterford from 1978 to the 90s and he is now retired but still active in the Arts.

²⁵⁶ Email correspondence with Robin Malan, 28 November 2018.

Athol Fugard's *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*, Robin Malan's *Compilation of Southern African poems*, Luis Bernado Honwana's *We Killed Mangy Dog*, Charles Mungoshi's *Waiting for the Rain* and Chinua Achebe's *No Longer at Ease*. It was interesting that some of these books had themes of colonial history and apartheid and were meant to raise awareness about the ills of colonialism and apartheid. For instance Alex La Guma's *A Walk in the Night* covers his personal experiences and those of non-whites under the apartheid system; and La Guma himself was also involved in the struggle against apartheid as he became leader of the South African Coloured People's Organisation. Lessing writes on the effects of colonisation on Africa, while Fugard describes his personal experiences of identity in the apartheid state. As non-whites were required to carry an identity document, Fugard's experience as a Law Clerk made him see the repercussions of these pass laws on non-whites. Honwana looks at the effects of Portuguese rule on Mozambique. These books were a direct attack on colonial history and the Bantu system that had instilled a sense of inferiority in students to an extent that they lost any belief in Africa and its people.

Science

Science was also an important subject in the curriculum of Waterford which was also challenging what was being taught to non-whites and particularly black students in South Africa. Hendrik Verwoerd had seen no need for blacks to be taught Science as this was supposedly not of any use to the future of the black student who was consigned to servanthood. As alluded to by Angela Goebel, legislation mandated that African children were to be instructed in the vernacular at the primary level, and Mathematics and Science were to be specifically de-emphasised.²⁵⁷ As a response to this setback for students, Waterford endeavoured to offer a curriculum that helped students to have a good understanding of the Sciences. The Cambridge Science curriculum which was adopted at Waterford aimed to develop learners' basic abilities in Physics, Chemistry and Biology. The students were expected to develop a knowledge and understanding of basic scientific concepts and principles as well as the ability to handle information and solve problems. The syllabus also aimed to equip learners with a general understanding of science and provided an ideal basis for further study of pure or applied science, or alternatively for science-focused vocational

²⁵⁷ Angela Goebel, 1992, *Inequality in the Educational System in South Africa*, https://digitalcommons.iwu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1004&context=polisci_honproj, accessed 20 October 2018.

training. The provision of scientific knowledge to learners at that young age would help with the development of scientific knowledge in the future.

To boost the study of the sciences, the school made an early move to build science laboratories. Two years after the official opening of the school, this became the main focus of the school management as far as learning infrastructure was concerned. This work was made possible by a R30, 000 donation from Anglo-American for the construction of the laboratories. By the end of 1965, the school had three good laboratories and hence the following year's focus was to find a graduate teacher to teach and head the Science Department. This need was fulfilled when Colin Park, a graduate teacher from Manchester, arrived the following year.²⁵⁸ The Science Department also started a Science Fair that was held in conjunction with other schools in Swaziland to encourage students to do some research in the Sciences. Several sponsors were approached and by 1968 the Science Fair was up and running. In 1972, it was reported that the Fair had become a popular attraction, with sixteen schools participating.²⁵⁹ The standard of the Fair was improving with the display of project material seen to be better than the earlier years. Guy Bullen-Smith of Waterford won the best topic and project on Innovation in Science in that year.²⁶⁰ In 1975, the Science Fair was held at Manzini and Waterford had the highest number of entries with 23 students out of the 88 students from the whole of the country.²⁶¹

Geography

In Geography, under Bantu Education, Africans were taught minute details about topography of their areas and not exposed to anything outside of their communities. This was in direct contrast to what was taught to white students in whites-only schools. In whites-only schools, the students were taught worldview issues and the application of knowledge.²⁶² Geography was thus designed under the Bantu curriculum to domesticate the African child. As argued by

²⁵⁸ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.107.

²⁵⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1972, WK archives, p.17.

²⁶⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1972, WK archives, p.18.

²⁶¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1975, WK Archives, p.22.

²⁶² C. Nkondo, 1996, *Comparisons of the syllabus of the Bantu education department with that of the Transvaal education department and other related matters*, http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/rejul79.8.pdf, accessed 18 July 2018.

Nkondo, the Geography syllabus for Bantu Education had the following scope: to teach the African learner his socio-economic, natural and physical environment since these aspects made up the world in which he lives and moves.²⁶³ A deliberate attempt was made to make sure that the African learner was not given an opportunity to explore the world through geographical study as everything was limited to his village. As Nkondo further noted, the teachers were expected to abide by the demands of the syllabus and in no way were they allowed deviating from the syllabus. Consequently, teaching should lead the child to do naturally, and therefore willingly, what society has presented as correct, good and commendable.²⁶⁴ In a way, teachers were expected to indoctrinate the students with what was stipulated by the National Party government.

Waterford looked at the Cambridge Geography syllabus that aimed at producing inquisitive students. Through the Cambridge syllabus, learners were to develop a sense of place by looking at the world around them on a local, regional and global scale.²⁶⁵ Learners also examined a range of natural and man-made environments, and studied some of the processes which affected their development.²⁶⁶ An important aspect of the syllabus was that it taught students the ways in which people interact with their environment and the opportunities and challenges an environment can present, thereby gaining deeper insight into the different communities and cultures that exist around the world. Noah Nkambule, one of the early students to attend Waterford School, underscored the notion of a holistic and practical orientation of the Geography curriculum offered at Waterford. He emphasised that (with regards to the Geography curriculum):

²⁶³ C. Nkondo, 1996, *Comparisons of the syllabus of the Bantu education department with that of the Transvaal education department and other related matters*, http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/rejul79.8.pdf, accessed 18 July 2018.

²⁶⁴ C. Nkondo, 1996, *Comparisons of the syllabus of the Bantu education department with that of the Transvaal education department and other related matters*, http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/rejul79.8.pdf, accessed 18 July 2018.

²⁶⁵ Cambridge, <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/>, accessed 27 April 2018.

²⁶⁶ Cambridge, <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/>, accessed 27 April 2018.

We were doing practical work relating to Geography and we did case studies of the whole world. Our case studies included a study of Europe, USA, Africa and other continents. We were introduced to the different ways in which people interact with the environment and this was not limited to the African continent but beyond. When I went to the USA in my first year, doing my postgraduate, I was more knowledgeable of the USA than some of my peers who were Americans. Our teacher also emphasised South African Geography mainly because he was from South Africa. I am grateful to the Geography that I started at Waterford because it was what shaped my tertiary education as I went into Soil Science because of the understanding of the earth I found in Geography.²⁶⁷

Students who attended Waterford and studied Geography were also given numerous opportunities to visit places of interest in the region to understand their environment. This was done mostly at “A” Level Geography. Another student, Monwabisi Fandesio (WK 1971-1977) who is now serves as the non-executive director of ABSA and SABSA Holdings limited, had this to say:

While I did not do Geography at “A” level I remember very well that my friends who took the subject at “A” level visited Tanzania, Mozambique and Malawi among other countries. These trips were in line with the demands of the subject.²⁶⁸

These trips were particularly important because they allowed students to better understand the theoretical elements that they would have learnt in class. Nkambule also remembers a trip that they took to Mount Kilimanjaro in 1968 (see Figure 3.2). As most of Africa was still under colonial rule and segregated racially, Nkambule remembers an incident in Southern Rhodesia (present day Zimbabwe) when he and the other black boys on a trip were thrown

²⁶⁷ Interview with Noah Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

²⁶⁸ Interview with Monwabisi Fandesio. He was interviewed on 16 September 2018, via Skype. He was a student at Waterford from 1971-1977. He now works in South Africa as the non-executive director of ABSA and SABSA Holdings.

out from a restaurant because of the colour of their skin. Stern was furious of this that he commanded the entire tour group to leave the restaurant.

Figure 3.2: Noah Nkambule and classmates on the Mount Kilimanjaro trip in 1968



Waterford tour group to Mount Kilimanjaro

Source: Noah Nkambule, 2017, *Swazi gospel singers: Pioneers of gospel music in Swaziland*, p.76.

The school also established a Geographical Society which aimed to make sure that there was a way to make the subject more interesting.²⁶⁹ Established in 1972, the society had done a lot for the Geography students by 1975. In 1972, the Society undertook a trip through South Africa, Rhodesia, Zambia and finally to Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania. In 1973, members of the Society visited Malawi, Lesotho (1974), and Botswana (1975).²⁷⁰ Local trips were also organised such as the one organised in 1975, to visit the Ngwenya iron-ore mine. Lectures were also organised with some specialists in the subject invited to the school. In 1975 alone, two lecturers visited the school, and these were Dr Sparrow of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (UBLS) who came to the school and presented on the study of slopes,

²⁶⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1975, WK Archives, p.24.

²⁷⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1975, WK Archives, p.24.

and then Dr Schming came to lecture on methods of detecting natural resources and the use of aerial photography.²⁷¹

History

The Bantu Education History syllabus was analysed by Jonas Rehman who concluded that there was an attempt to downplay the history of African people so that they would look at themselves as inferior. Education as a tool was used to reproduce the old political order of exploitation. Analysing school textbooks that were used in History under the Bantu curriculum, Rehman realised that African history was absent from the syllabus. For example, one of the textbooks, *Legacy of the Past*, which was used from 1966 when Waterford was 3 years old, had a picture of a large Dutch East Indian company sailing ship on its cover which suggested that it addressed the history of the Dutch and other settlers in South Africa.²⁷² Most of the chapters addressed European history at the expense of African history. South African history starts with George Grey, who according to the text came to South Africa to solve the Xhosa frontier problem in 1854.²⁷³ Ken Hartshorne has added to this arguing that in the syllabus for history and the textbooks based on this syllabus, there was also a more general, insidious influence, particularly in the section on South African history. This, he further outlines, was what was termed by Max du Preez, the master symbols which were found in the syllabuses and textbooks, which placed whites, and especially Afrikaners, in a superior light and blacks in an inferior light.²⁷⁴

The Cambridge History syllabus adopted by Waterford, however, brought a wider focus. It aimed to develop learners' interest in and enthusiasm for modern history. It also offered learners the opportunity to study major international issues in the modern world, as well as looking in greater depth at the history of a particular region. Through exploration of historical concepts such as cause and consequence, continuity and change and similarity and differences, students were enabled to develop analytical skills and the ability to explain

²⁷¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1975, WK Archives, p.24.

²⁷² Jonas Rehman, 2008, *From Bantu Education to Social Sciences: A minor field study of History teaching in South Africa*, <http://www.diva-portal.se/smash/get/diva2:199435> , accessed 15 October 2018.

²⁷³ Sir George Grey was the Governor of the Cape Colony from 1854-1861.

²⁷⁴ Ken Hartshorne, 1992, *Crisis and challenge: Black education 1910-1990*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, p.41.

historical issues and events. One crucial aim of the syllabus was also to develop skills in historical sources and interpreting historical evidence which was important to help the future generation understand the history they are exposed to in terms of who wrote it, why and when it was written.²⁷⁵ Some of the former students who attended the school and did History were appreciative of the curriculum and how the teachers delivered it. As one of the students, Duma Gqubule, (WK 1976-1979) now a renowned economist in South Africa, said:

Waterford had teachers who made sure that they applied the content to what was happening around us. The History teachers we had, made regular connections of the history we did with what was happening in South Africa and many other African countries. Our History teacher Mr. Govindjee was very influential in influencing us in following up the events of the world and realising how African figures were also influential. He was the one who made us realise that we needed to act on the events in South Africa. We were introduced to books by Frere and Biko which made us realise the effects of colonialism.²⁷⁶

Malan, who also taught History, remembers clearly what he had to do when he started teaching Form 4 History. He reminisced:

With the Form 4 History, I was required to handle two broad themes: the Arab-Israeli conflict; and Apartheid South Africa. For the first, I decided to turn the History class into what we called ‘UNSCOP’, a UN Special Commission on Palestine: with Wellington Sukati (Swaziland, now dead) the Head of the UN staff; Simon Watson (UK) leading the Israelis and Leon Rajah (SA), an absolutely brilliant student, as the firebrand leader of the Palestinian contingent. Classes became open sessions in the senior common room (other students could attend), there was a daily newspaper,

²⁷⁵ <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/>, accessed 27 April 2018.

²⁷⁶ Interview with Duma Gqubule on 13 October 2018 via WhatsApp call. Duma Gqubule was a student at Waterford from 1976-1979 and is now an Economist in South Africa.

posters and polemic littered the notice boards. It was exciting stuff – especially when Leon led a Palestinian walk-out and threw Wellington and the UN into a total tizz, not knowing what to do. When the UN came to ask me what to do, all I did was talk about lobbying and ‘in the corridors’ etc., and then, over the course of one long prep-session and well beyond ‘lights out’, they persuaded the Palestinians to return. Everyone knew a lot about the Arab-Israeli situation by the end of it all – and about a few other things as well. It may have looked as if we were ‘wasting’ a lot of class time, but of course we weren’t.²⁷⁷

Mathematics

Under the Bantu system subjects like Mathematics were in most schools excluded from the curriculum. The teaching of Mathematics was almost non-existent and those schools that taught Mathematics did it secretly.²⁷⁸ Mathematics was cut out off from the Bantu Education curriculum due to the Verwoerdian philosophy of education described earlier in the chapter. As he had scornfully asked, “What is the use of teaching the Bantu child Mathematics when he cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd.”²⁷⁹

At Waterford, students were taught the development of mathematical knowledge as a key life skill and a basis for more advanced study. The syllabus highlighted the need to build learners’ confidence by helping them develop a feel for numbers, patterns and relationships and it placed an emphasis on solving problems, presenting and interpreting results.²⁸⁰ This was what the Verwoerdian system aimed to only provide for the white students in South Africa. After studying Mathematics, all learners gained an understanding of how to communicate and reason using mathematical concepts, a skill that is required in life. Waterford came with a different approach and gave both whites and non-whites an opportunity to study Mathematics

²⁷⁷ Email correspondence with Malan, 28 November 2018.

²⁷⁸ Email correspondence with Malan, 28 November 2018.

²⁷⁹ Jonas Rehman, 2008, *From Bantu Education to Social Sciences: A minor field study of History teaching in South Africa*, <http://www.diva-portal.se/smash/get/diva2:199435>, accessed 15 October 2018.

²⁸⁰ Cambridge, <http://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-secondary-2/cambridge-o-level/curriculum/>, accessed 27 April 2018.

and this was not something based on career requirements but the belief that Maths helps problem solving and the presentation and interpretation of data.

Languages

The Bantu Education system did not allow any foreign languages other than Afrikaans and English in their schools. The language issue was at the centre of controversy in South Africa from the time the British arrived at the Cape and it is language that changed the whole resistance landscape in South Africa. With regard to language issues, the high apartheid years (1948-1990) were characterized by the NP government's preoccupation with the dispute between Afrikaans and English in education.²⁸¹ In 1975, learners were expected to make a change from mother tongue learning to a split between English and Afrikaans in grade seven. In other words, half of the subjects would be taught in English and the other half in Afrikaans. Amongst the host of inequalities and oppression of the apartheid system, this policy functioned as a major contributory factor to the Soweto uprising of 1976, in direct protest against the enforcement of Afrikaans as the language of instruction.²⁸²

For Waterford subjects that needed to be done in English that way were done. The school also introduced other foreign languages to be learnt. These included languages such as French, IsiZulu and Latin. These were introduced to the school with the aim of teaching them as foreign languages. Students were taught to develop an ability to use the language effectively for purposes of practical communication. Skills included the abilities of listening, speaking and writing. The students were also offered an insight into the culture and civilisation of countries where French is spoken, thus encouraging positive attitudes towards language learning and towards speakers of foreign languages.

What was of importance on these languages was that students were given an option to choose two of these languages. Under Bantu Education, students were not given options to learn different languages. They were also forced to do most of their subjects in their local language which made it difficult for them to master some very crucial concepts that needed English to

²⁸¹ Neville Alexander, 1989, *Language policy and national unity in South Africa*, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/alexander/language-policy-and-national-unity.pdf>, accessed 14 September 2020.

²⁸² N. Alexander, *Language policy and national unity in South Africa*, accessed 14 September 2020.

be able to master them. All the Bantu schools were also run on an ethnic basis. Seven African languages were recognised and the children of each particular tribal group were taught through the medium of their mother tongue and for this a limited number of textbooks were provided. This ensured divisions among the African children and in this way the apartheid state was employing the strategy of “divide and rule”. The schools were also not permitted to lend these books to the students nor to sell them. So children relied entirely on the sessions that were done at school. This obviously put a burden on the teacher who was also supposed to ensure the upkeep of these books, hygiene of the classrooms and general welfare of the children.

From this discussion it can be noted that the content that was taught at Waterford was meant to empower both whites and non-whites with opportunities to believe in themselves. Teachers were at the forefront of imparting knowledge that made it easier for the students to take risks, make mistakes and learn from all these experiences, something that was to make them more responsible in their decision making processes. More so, Waterford made it easier for both whites and non-whites to realise that they were equal and that they could achieve their dreams through hard work. Bantu Education tended to make non-whites and blacks students in particular to be docile and not question the established order of inequalities. In a way the Bantu curriculum was based on racism as it made the blacks feel inferior to their white counterparts. As put by Ngugi waThiongo:

The colonial education in South Africa was overtly racist. The geography, history, languages, names and all gods of Europe became the centre of academic universe of the African child. Racism as a doctrine had left its hiding place in between the hard covers and was now being paraded as academic brilliance in the colonial classroom.²⁸³

Age and enrolment during the Bantu Education years

Problems with Bantu Education started from the entry of students into school. The Bantu Education Department stipulated that the child must be at least seven years old before he/she

²⁸³ Ngugi waThiongo, 1993, *Moving the centre: The struggle for cultural freedoms*, Portsmouth, Heinemann, p.130.

is admitted to school while a white child could be admitted to a Transvaal Education Department School when he/she is five years old provided that he/she turns six before 30th June of that same year.²⁸⁴ In effect, this meant that a white child born on 30 March 1970 will be able to enter grade 1 in January 1976. His/her African counterpart born on the same day will only be able to go to school in 1978. School readiness and maturity of the child were not considered in either case, but studies have shown that most children are ready for school at the age of five years or six years and that they are receptive to the new stimuli at school and learn quickly and easily at that age.²⁸⁵ The black child was forced to waste two of the most receptive years of his/her life waiting until the required age was reached.

Besides frustrating the child, the system also cultivated an inferiority complex in the African child as he/she will not finish school at the same age as his/her white counterpart. White pupils therefore, had at least two years advantage over their black counterparts. With Waterford, age was not really considered an issue as the school made sure that those students who were able to pass their interview were given priority. Even if they could not afford to pay they were given an opportunity to get a good education through bursaries.

Hendrik Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs from 1950-58, boasted of how his government had managed to expand the enrolment in South Africa after they had taken control of education from the missionaries. This was obviously true as between 1955 and 1965, the number of students in South African schools doubled, rising from one million to two million.²⁸⁶ Christie noted that there was a rise in school enrolment from 2 738 564 in 1970 to 5 313 016 by 1982.²⁸⁷ This was a huge increase over that decade but to call the schools, schools, was perhaps a euphemism for some of them were halls, tents, stoeps, ramshackle buildings, in fact any structure with a shelter where children could be accommodated.

²⁸⁴ C. Nkondo, 1996, *Comparisons of the syllabus of the Bantu education department with that of the Transvaal education department and other related matters*, http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/rejul79.8.pdf, accessed 18 July 2018.

²⁸⁵ Nkondo, *Comparisons of the syllabus of the Bantu education department with that of the Transvaal education department and other related matters*, http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/rejul79.8.pdf, accessed 18 July 2018.

²⁸⁶ Andrew Phillip, *Bantu Education*, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/48615514.pdf>, accessed 2 April, 2018.

²⁸⁷ Christie, *The right to learn*, p.104.

These schools were manned by 28000 teachers of whom 500 were white. The general average in every class was around 70 children.²⁸⁸ Of concern was however the fact that, out of the two million children who were accessing school about, 10 000 African children were reported to be roaming the streets around this same time. With children up to 70 in a class the question that comes to mind is how much education these children were able to access. The enrolment of children in 1950 was carefully tabulated and their progress followed through to matriculation. Out of the 200,000 children enrolled in Sub A in 1950, only 968 reached Form 5 and 362 passed matric.²⁸⁹ This translated to one child out of more than 500 children who passed matric and was ready to enter university. *The Rand Daily Mail* also reported that one per cent of African children reached matriculation.²⁹⁰ *The Sunday Times* went even as far as to state that the actual percentage of passes in matric had dropped to 0.06 in 1965.²⁹¹ This therefore meant that three children out of every 10 000 enrolled were able to get a pass in their matric exams.

While it would be unrealistic to compare the success of the retention rate of students between Bantu Education and Waterford as the two systems were modelled very differently and impacted on two quite different systems, the Bantu system was collapsing rapidly. It was failing to offer non-whites and more especially black students any meaningful opportunities once they finished high school. Waterford made sure that students who were enrolled were taken care of to ensure that students excelled in their high school and these students were ready for tertiary education.

The Bantu education system was also faced with high tertiary dropouts. This was clearly seen when the number of dropouts at Universities were tabulated. In 1954 for example, *The Daily Despatch* reported a rock bottom plummeting of graduates at Fort Hare, South Africa's oldest black tertiary institution.²⁹² It stated that, 374 students had enrolled and close to 300 took

²⁸⁸ Jane Gool, 1966, *The Crimes of Bantu Education in South Africa*, South Africa, Unity Movement Publications, pg.1.

²⁸⁹ Gool, *Crimes of Bantu Education*, p.1.

²⁹⁰ *The Rand Daily Mail*, 10 April, 1965.

²⁹¹ *The Sunday Times*, 23 May, 1965.

²⁹² *The Daily Despatch*, 6 January, 1965

degree courses. In 1954, there were 113 learners doing first year, 92 doing second year and 85 were in the third year. Of these 50 passed the B.A and B.Sc. courses. In 1964, a decade after, the enrolment had dropped to 274, a hundred fewer. Out of these 274, 63 wrote English in first year and 44 failed which meant a 70% failure rate.²⁹³ With Waterford progress was seen with most of the graduates from the school finishing their ‘A’ Level and getting into universities around the world. Noah Nkambule, one of the early students to attend Waterford went on to study Soil Science in the United Kingdom. Asked whether he was not the only lucky one, he remarked, “We all made it.”²⁹⁴ The curriculum equipped students with an education that helped them to get into the university system and do well in their tertiary education.

There were also disparities when it came to government funding for black and white children under the Bantu Education system. While education for whites was free and obligatory up to the age of 16 years with free books but for the African child not much was done to help him/her succeed. More so, the African parent was heavily taxed to provide his/her children with this inferior education. Surprisingly, most of the revenue that came to the treasury was based on the taxation arising from profits in industrial projects, mining and property to which the Africans contributed so much in terms of labour. In terms of financing per child table 3.1 below shows how the funding was done per child in 1953:

Table 3.1: Amount of money spent on education for children of different races in South Africa in 1955

Race	Amount spend per child
White	R63.92
Coloured and Asian	R20.91
Black	R8.99

Source: Christopher Culpin, 2000, *A history of South Africa*, p.49.

²⁹³ *The Daily Despatch*, 6 January, 1965.

²⁹⁴ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

As shown on Table 3.1 above, less money was spent on black children than any other population group. Almost double was spent on coloured and Asian and a lot more money was spent on whites. This was obviously meant to give a sub-standard education to black children thereby making it difficult for them to reach their potential. Due to the financial difficulties that afflicted most African families, when Stern established Waterford, there was a need to address the problem with school fees. Most of the African children that were enrolled at Waterford were in need of financial assistance. Stern and his co-founders were quick to realise this huge setback and hence started mobilising funds to help these students. As indicated by Hatton, funding for bursaries for needy students had reached R142, 000 in the years 1962-1971.²⁹⁵

Another huge setback for the black child under the Bantu education system were the conditions in the classroom. Schools were not only overcrowded but they could not satisfy demand. Mamelodi, one of the African townships in South Africa with a population of about 90,000 people had one high school and 14 primary schools in the 1960s.²⁹⁶ Due to this, the schools were forced to do “hot seating” whereby for the young learners, lessons started at 7.30am. At 10.30am, they would then be joined by second session pupils and overflow third session started at 1.30pm. When the two first sessions were put together, the teachers were faced with up to 100 pupils in a class.²⁹⁷

Coupled with that, books were in short supply and up to ten students were required to share one textbook. In most of the schools furniture was also lacking and hence students were forced to sit on concrete floors and at times they had to kneel, to write on the floor and most of the environment was filthy, cold and obviously disorderly.²⁹⁸ Teachers could not access all their students as it was difficult to move around the classroom to pay attention to slow learners. The timetable was also made in such a way that it was difficult to get through most of the content and skills needed as a subject was only given 20 minutes. It is clear that it must have been difficult to impart a decent education in such conditions.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.185.

²⁹⁶ *The Rand Daily Mail*, 22 May, 1965.

²⁹⁷ *The Rand Daily Mail*, 22 May, 1965.

²⁹⁸ *The Rand Daily Mail*, 22 May, 1965.

²⁹⁹ *The Rand Daily Mail*, 22 May, 1965.

Waterford offered a conducive environment for its students to excel, with classes having a maximum of ten students who each got an opportunity to access a teacher when help was needed. There was also enough furniture availed to the students so that they could feel secure in the class. Commenting on the classrooms and number of students in a class, Nkambule said, “We were privileged as we got all the requirements needed for us to excel from the furniture to the books needed to do your work. During our time each class had less than ten students and the teachers gave us maximum attention”.³⁰⁰

The conditions of teachers under the Bantu system were deplorable. Teachers were underpaid and their profession deteriorated greatly. This prompted Gool to say, “Nowhere in the world has any teacher been subjected to such barbaric conditions of service as under Bantu education. The African teacher, no less than the African parent and child has to endure the same set of ruthless degrading regulations.”³⁰¹ A teacher’s position under Bantu Education therefore lost status. Formerly a teacher had occupied a respected position; he was both esteemed and respected as an example to the community to be emulated by the youth. More so, the government was not willing to train teachers especially for the Bantu schools hence most of the teachers had no qualifications. In table 3.2 below Christie was able to show how teacher qualification looked like by 1979 for the different races.

Table 3.2: Teacher qualifications in South Africa, 1979.

Highest qualification	African	Coloured	Indian	White
University degree	2.3%	4.2%	19.4%	32.0%
Standard 10	15.5%	26.3%	65.3%	68.0%
Below Standard 10	82.2%	69.5%	15.3%	-

Source: Christie, *The right to learn*, p.118.

What is clear from Table 3.2 is that even though the Bantu Education started in 1953 nothing much was done to train teachers especially for black students in Bantu schools hence two

³⁰⁰ Interview with Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

³⁰¹ Gool, *The crimes of Bantu Education*, p. 18.

decades after the introduction of this system there were still very few qualified teachers. It is clear from the table where much emphasis was put as is shown that by 1979 there were no white teachers without a matric-level qualification.

At Waterford the staff who were recruited were mostly qualified teachers who knew and supported the school's ethos. They were staff whom Stern respected, knew and were ready to work and deliver his vision. Stern had started the school with close friends who more than anything else worked on a volunteer basis as they did not look into how much they would get but what they produced. They shared his vision and were keen to make a difference. Mike Linden who joined the school in 1968 as an English teacher was impressed with the staff that he found at Waterford. He said of the staff:

I was quite impressed by the dedication of the staff. The founding staff were sharing Michael's vision and we earned for some time £5 per month. We were, however, provided food and accommodation. The £5 was pocket money and no one complained about it. Even when our salaries went up and were on a par with the Swazi government teachers, we used to donate half of it to the school.³⁰²

Teaching and learning material was also a challenge under the Bantu system as there was a deliberate move to skew its distribution for the benefit of the government. Isaac B. Tabata stated that:

The old textbooks on science, history and even languages were being declared taboo. New ones considered suitable for Bantu schools were being written by servants of the Native Department. Hack writers and people who, judging by the standards of the Education Department, would be regarded as philistines, are manufacturing books for Bantu schools? One can be certain that the books churned out by these literary hacks have as their sole qualification the propagation of Nazi education which is the Nationalist concept of education.³⁰³

³⁰² Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

³⁰³ I. B. Tabata, 1980, *Education for barbarism: Bantu (apartheid) education in South Africa*, Unity Movement of South Africa, p.14.

Stern therefore devised a plan of setting up a school that would respect the students and give them opportunities to learn all subjects that would help in shaping them for the future. The curriculum was tailored to address the needs of the students, both blacks and whites. Teachers were at liberty to choose material that they deemed necessary to use as they equipped the students with analytical thinking. As alluded to by Malan, teachers were given the topics to teach at junior level and, for the senior school, there was an attempt to get material that helped.³⁰⁴ Zola Maseko (WK 1981-83, 1986) who is now a renowned film director in South Africa supported this, saying the education that he got at Waterford allowed him and other students to explore the world and it gave them a future that they wished for.³⁰⁵

Lesson time at Waterford was also designed to give students enough time to explore content in the different subjects. This was quite different from Bantu Education as subjects were taught for only thirty minutes per week. The Bantu Education Department stipulated that half an hour per week is allotted to subjects like History and Geography and most of the time the children were taught about their culture and the discipline that is needed to be a good citizen in your homeland.³⁰⁶ For Waterford, lessons started at eight o'clock in the morning with six, 35 minute periods before lunch³⁰⁷. This offered students an opportunity to master the requirements of the subjects and to have the flexibility to explore different subject matter effectively. After lunch students had a rest period on beds where reading, sleeping or thinking were the permitted options. After rest, there were games, service or hobbies.

Another aspect had to do with independent research for students. Under the Bantu system, libraries were also closed down and turned into workshops for agriculture and woodwork. The African child was left with nowhere to get an understanding of the world around him/her. As Gool remarked, “the shocking failure of English was a clear testimony to the lack of opportunities to study and the fact that English was also neglected in the primary schools”.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁴ Email correspondence with Malan, 28 November 2018.

³⁰⁵ Interview with Zola Maseko. Zola was interviewed on 16 January 2019 via WhatsApp call. Maseko completed his form 1-3 at Waterford from 1981-83 then left for Tanzania where he did his Form 4 and Form 5 before returning back to do ‘A’ level at Waterford in 1986 before he left to join the Umkhonto We Sizwe.

³⁰⁶ Gool, *Crimes of the Bantu Education*, p.47.

³⁰⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.42.

³⁰⁸ Gool, *The crimes of Bantu education*, p. 10.

The famous school for blacks at Lovedale which had for many decades proved an inspiration to generations of students was summarily closed in 1955 and its books were sold. By 1960, it housed shovels and picks a fitting symbol of the National Party's deeper fear of culture and education and their narrow concept of the kind of education the black child should receive.³⁰⁹

Waterford was in part, a response to the bottlenecks put by the apartheid government for the further research by students. A library was established at Waterford as soon as the school opened in 1963 at the rondavels where the students stayed. In 1965 it was moved from the rondavels into the new classroom block that had been constructed. It received numerous donations of books from former students, parents and friends of Waterford. It was mainly a makeshift library as the school was not a good position to finance for it. Hatton commented on this, saying:

We were not as yet able to allocate school funds to the library, but a kind donation from Mr Bernstein of Johannesburg of 75pounds a year, which continued for some years, enabled us to start choosing what we needed. In 1965 Mr Bernstein also gave a substantial gift from his own library. In addition we were delighted and grateful to receive crates of books sent by the Ranfurley Library of the English speaking Union.³¹⁰

It is clear from this that, very early in the school's life, a library was seen as central to the education of the students.

Another aspect of the Bantu system that made critical thinking impossible was the pressure that was put on teachers to teach according to the stipulations of the system, with teachers who disagreed with the new curriculum at the danger of dismissal or detention. If one wanted to continue with his/her teaching career he/she had to make sure he/she was not involved in any politics of what was happening. *The Daily Despatch*, reported the case of Mr C.M.C. Ndamse, who was a senior lecturer at the University College of Fort Hare, who taught Anthropology, who was dismissed from his post in 1965. Ndamse was dismissed because he

³⁰⁹ Gool, *The crimes of Bantu education*, p. 10.

³¹⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.66.

had presented a paper at the invitation of the Study Committee of the Department of African Studies of the University of South Africa. His paper, which was entitled, “The problem of teaching Native Administration in the new tribal colleges”, was considered dangerous and he was charged for serious misconduct. Mr Ndamse was reported to the Council of the Institution for a serious breach of discipline, for insubordination and for having behaved in a manner which was academically and professionally reprehensible.³¹¹

Waterford gave its staff an opportunity to influence students in the right values and principles. Duma Gqubule, one of the former students, remembered how one of the History teachers made sure that the students read about South American History and were introduced to the works of Paulo Freire, “*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*”. Freire’s work delves into the ideas of education and how it is used to oppress or enhance learner’s thinking. Where education is used to oppress people teachers attempt to control thinking and action of students, a feature of the Bantu Education system. Waterford therefore promoted education as a way to express and uphold people’s freedoms which fits well with education that also promotes the rights of people. Malan is also remembered by some students as one of the most influential teachers of his time as he taught the students to realise the wrongs of the world.³¹² It was Malan who helped students question the human rights abuses under the apartheid government as he made sure that the topic of South Africa was always talked about in different forums in the school.

Above all, in the words of Maseko, “Waterford offered an education which was unparalleled compared to any system”³¹³. He added that, the fact that students were able to interact with different nationalities offered students an international flair that was not present in most Southern African institutions in the 1950s-1980s, and probably now.³¹⁴ He remarked:

During our time we had many nationalities and it was no surprise that King Sobhuza called it Kamhlaba (the earth). Where in the world would you find this? What we learnt in class, though important, was overshadowed by the relations we developed. Most of the friends I have today are those from Waterford and these are spread all

³¹¹ *The Daily Despatch*, 22 April, 1965.

³¹² Email correspondence with Malan, 28 November 2018.

³¹³ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

³¹⁴ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call

over the world. You learnt to respect each other's culture, religion, you name it. It was mostly when we came out of Waterford that we realised how the world was still racist, unfair, corrupt, etc.³¹⁵

Challenges with the Cambridge curriculum for Waterford

Since Waterford adopted a British model curriculum that offered a variety of options for the students, it did not entirely answer to the needs of the continent. As observed by Linden, the image of a new school up on the Mbabane hill offering a European-based curriculum was not exactly the image that Waterford wanted to project. In as much as there was no other option to follow, Linden argued that there was always something that told them deep down they were not doing the best for Africa.³¹⁶ The school resembled, as he said, a British school in Africa and hence was seen by most locals as an elite school that did not have any place in the development of the region. Even efforts that were made earlier to look at something more inclusive were not successful.

What Linden was cognisant of was the fact that there were very limited options and seemingly the curriculum adopted suited the times they were in and catered for the needs of the students better. The founders had also gone through this system and they trusted it. Stern himself had been through the British school system and had taught in British schools. Christopher Newton Thompson had also gone through the British system having also attended St John's, Cambridge in 1937 to study Engineering.³¹⁷ However, there were discussions about looking for more options for the future.

Discussions looked at changing the curriculum especially the Advanced level in the 1970s. While some members of staff felt comfortable with the Advanced level curriculum there were some who felt that it was too limited. It was noted that a student was required at Advanced level to choose three subjects that were to determine his/her career choices. This was seen to be too early for most of the students and this produced graduates that were not very strong for tertiary education. For the middle levels (Form 4 and 5), it seems there was no big issue but

³¹⁵ Interview with, Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

³¹⁶ Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, Waterford.

³¹⁷ Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, Waterford.

for the junior level teachers there was more that could be done. Due to these deliberations the school decided to make some changes where it could. This then saw the school altering the junior school curriculum (Form 1-3) which did not have any board controlling what students learnt. As Linden added, there was therefore an attempt to incorporate African History in the junior History course and in Geography some African and South American content. He said of this, “This move made us feel better and left us with a good conscience.”³¹⁸

Figure 3.3: Mike Linden in this file picture taken in 2012.



Photo courtesy of Mike Linden.

For the limitations in the Advanced level curriculum discussions became directed more towards the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme. This was what Stern started thinking of and he tasked Dick Eyeington to research more on this curriculum. Eyeington commented on this development later in 1981:

³¹⁸ Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

My association with IB goes back to 1974 when I was asked by Michael Stern to contact Geneva and explore with them the possibilities of introducing the system here. I remember that the staff's original reaction to the programme was in favour in principle but when it came to the actual syllabuses for particular subjects feelings were fairly uniformly against. I even count myself as one of the opposition, as the Geography syllabus at the time was comparable in terms of content and conceptual ideas to Cambridge 'A' Levels. However, this was not to be the end of the tale as the feeling was still strong in our minds that an examination programme which was more related to an international student body would be more applicable; and many staff were still aware of the premature specialisation imposed on students by the 'A' Levels. The impetus to embark upon the IB exercise again came with our contact with the United World College movement, and our association with the organisation required us to explore the feasibility of the introduction of the IB to Waterford once again.³¹⁹

The information that talks around offering IB at Waterford started in the 1970s was also supported by Mike Linden. Linden highlighted that the move to adopt IB was started in the early 1970s discussions as there were reservations on the opportunities that were presented by the Advanced Level curriculum.³²⁰

The introduction of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

With curriculum change consideration taking centre stage in the 1970s, the end of that decade saw progress and Waterford successfully adopted the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP) in 1981 to replace the Cambridge Advanced level course. Eyeington further outlined the processes that were involved in the introduction of IB in the school. He stressed that the process proved to be drawn-out and detailed, including questions around comparability with 'A' Levels; acceptability to UK/USA universities and increased staff requirements. Out of that a sub-committee appointed by the Governing Council came with

³¹⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1981, WK Archives, p.16.

³²⁰ Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

recommendations for the adoption of the IB at the school. This led to the decision to begin IB in January 1981 with the first examinations in 1982.³²¹

The IB was founded in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1968 and as alluded to by Peterson, discussions had been underway to find a pre-university qualification from the 1950s.³²² The first programme offered by the IB was the Diploma Programme (DP) and this was the only IB programme in existence until 1994 when the Middle Years Programme (MYP) was developed. This was followed by the Primary Years Programme (PYP) in 1997 and more recently the Careers-related Certificate, introduced in 2011. In her 1948 work, *Educational Techniques for Peace, Do They Exist?* Thérèse Maurette created the framework for what would eventually become the International Baccalaureate Programme (IBDP).³²³

In the mid-1960s, a group of teachers from the International School of Geneva (Ecolint) created the International Schools Examinations Syndicate (ISES), which would later become the International Baccalaureate Office (IBO), followed by the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) and then the International Baccalaureate (IB).³²⁴ The visionaries of the IB Diploma Programme created the programme for internationally mobile families with children who needed to prepare for university and couldn't necessarily do so through studying the local curriculum. The early programme consisted of a common pre-university curriculum and common external examinations for students studying in schools worldwide. At the heart of the programme has always been the motive to provide high-quality, international education for a better world.³²⁵

³²¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.25.

³²² Alec Peterson, *Schools across frontiers*, Chicago, Open Court. p.17.

³²³ Elisabeth Fox (2001). "The Emergence of the International Baccalaureate as an Impetus to Curriculum Reform", in Mary Hayden and Jeff Thompson, *International Education: Principles and Practice* (2nd ed.). Routledge. p. 141.

³²⁴ Elisabeth Fox (2001). "The Emergence of the International Baccalaureate", p. 141.

³²⁵ <https://www.ugdsb.ca/ib-gcvi/what-is-ib/history-of-ib/>, accessed 19 March 2019.

As was presented in the Waterford *Phoenix Magazine* of 1982, the IB programme assumed that education at upper secondary level should encompass the development of all the powers of the mind through which one interprets, modifies and enjoys the environment. Every IB student is required to become proficient in languages and mathematics, to become familiar with at least one subject that exemplifies the study of scientific enquiry and to develop an acquaintance with aesthetic and moral values.³²⁶ The diploma had and still has six subjects, which are:

1. Language A (first language, generally the student's native language - this include the study of World Literature in translation from at least two geographical areas and two language areas.
2. Language B (second modern language distinguished from language A in not requiring the same depth and breadth of understanding of the cultural and historical contexts of language), or a second language.
3. Study of Man; one of the following options: history, geography, economics, philosophy, psychology, social anthropology, business studies.
4. Experimental Sciences : one of the following options: biology, chemistry, physics, physical science, scientific studies
5. Mathematics
6. One of the following: art, music, classical language, a second language B, an additional option from 3or 4, further mathematics, a special syllabus developed by the school.

Three of the six subjects must be offered at Higher Level and three at Standard Level. All diploma candidates must also follow an interdisciplinary course of Theory of Knowledge, submit an Extended Essay in one of the six subjects studied and undertake Creative, Aesthetic or Social Service Activity (CASS). A visit to the IB website in 2019 revealed that there was not much change to the curriculum as it still offered six subjects. It was still made up of the three required components, the DP core which aims to broaden students' educational experience and challenge them to apply their knowledge and skills. The only change was that

³²⁶*Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.25.

CASS had changed to CAS but still having the same concepts of creativity, activity and service.³²⁷

Students choose courses from the following subject groups: studies in language and literature; language acquisition; individuals and societies; sciences; mathematics; and the arts. Students may opt to study an additional science, individuals and societies, or languages course, instead of a course in the arts. Students will take some subjects at higher level (HL) and some at standard level (SL). HL and SL courses differ in scope but are measured according to the same grade descriptors, with students expected to demonstrate a greater body of knowledge, understanding and skills at higher level. Each student takes at least three (but not more than four) subjects at higher level, and the remaining at standard level. Standard level subjects take up 150 teaching hours. Higher level comprises 240 teaching hours.³²⁸

The change to the IB diploma was a significant change for the school as well as the students who were still in Forms 1-5. For the school, it meant helping teachers adapt to the options given by the IB and also making sure requirements of the IB examinations requirements were met. For the students, it meant that those who were still in Form 4 and 5 had to change their mind set from thinking that they would do three or four subjects that they had planned to do at Advanced level to nine at IB. In 1981, when IB was introduced, it started with the first group that had just finished Form 5 and there was therefore still an Advanced Level group that was finishing their last year. Linden remembered how these two groups were so different. The new group had more work to do and seemed to have been busy most of the time but the 'A' levels seemed more relaxed. However with time there was a good understanding of the new curriculum.

Several teachers who started teaching IB in 1981 commented on the new curriculum. Guntant Govindejee who taught History remarked of the new curriculum that the syllabus was more interesting and challenging than 'A' Level syllabus and it looked at themes rather than

³²⁷ <https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum>, accessed 18 March 2019.

³²⁸ <https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum>, accessed 18 March 2019.

regions. He also commented that under IB, History was seen as an interdisciplinary subject - Sociology, Political Science, Political Philosophy, Impact of Technology on Society, and Religion; all very pertinent to an understanding of historical development.³²⁹ The syllabus also included African history. This was different as well from the Bantu Education curriculum that tried to limit the black students to history that glorified white heroes and traditions and concealing the achievements of African heroes.

Enid Eyeington who supervised Community Service and was also helping students with Amnesty International saw IB as demanding in terms of workload and said of it:

A demanding workload, yet the majority have really got stuck into at least one aspect of Community Service. I think I can count on one hand those who have tried to avoid Community Service or have been anti-any involvement at all. And they have some real results to show: a fenced (almost) nature reserve, literally hundreds of local primary school children been vision tested, work camps completed, and many Hospital, Ekwetsembeni and preschool children's lives been made richer and happier.³³⁰

The Science Department was seemingly excited about the new course. Judith O'Byrne, one of the Science teachers, was positive about the new challenge. She felt the course was well designed commenting:

I have heard several comments that since the advent of the IB, IB students have isolated themselves from the rest of the school - understandable in part because of their workload, but unfortunate nonetheless. Course wise, both the Subsid Physics and

³²⁹*Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.26.

³³⁰*Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.26.

Chemistry courses are well designed, though I wish I could say the same for the exams!! I wish the students would get their assignments in on time more often.³³¹

While seeing IB as a step in the right direction, Simon Studo, an IB teacher, also agreed with O'Byrne that it was demanding on students. He summarised his thinking thus:

I think that viewed as a whole, which I believe it has to be, the IB is an excellent course which stretches and extends students far more than the more traditional 6th form courses (i.e. 'A' Levels). It must *ipso facto* be more demanding on students' time but does lead to a balanced education, a good point in its favour.³³²

For Martin Baker who taught Physical Education, IB was a disappointment as it lacked a physical element. He expressed his disappointment:

I believe the IB to be a worthwhile step towards education and away from training young people to pass exams. However, I am very disappointed that the physical aspect of education has been completely ignored in the requirements for IB. I think this is a bad move.³³³

Robin Malan welcomed the new challenge and saw it as a huge improvement in the students as well as the subject that he taught, English. He remarked that while English had been given a wide ranging outlook, this was not overwhelming. He was happy that most of the students had worked excellently and had remained committed. He also saw the IB English curriculum giving students an opportunity to explore and try out risk.³³⁴ This was mainly because of the

³³¹Phoenix Magazine, 1982, WK Archives, p.26.

³³²Phoenix Magazine, 1982, WK Archives, p.27.

³³³Phoenix Magazine, 1982, WK Archives, p.26.

³³⁴Phoenix Magazine, 1982, WK Archives, p.27.

choices that students had with regards to the variety of texts that they could choose from including African writers. As Malan was also responsible for the IB hostel, he shared that he was happy with how the students' hostel life was progressing and saw some of them being role models. Malan went on to stress that he was not aware of any students who saw IB as too challenging as he had realised that the students had actually tried to give their best. In his opinion the group that were the first to be introduced to IB were the best as they had embraced it in all its aspects.³³⁵

Helen Studo who taught Spanish remarked of the move to IB that, "The IB language B course is very demanding; it seems a shame that people who get no enjoyment from learning language have to complete a course in second language to obtain a full diploma."³³⁶ Clare Davidson, who taught French, said that, "There is possibility for those with a real life flair for a language to develop their linguistic skills in a way that is not possible to the same extent with an exam like the A level, which still addresses very traditional methods of examining linguistic competence."³³⁷ Ilsa Boswell, who taught Art had a short comment on the move and said, "I would really like to do the IB Art course myself - it is so exciting and offers students such opportunities. I am jealous!"³³⁸

However, The Languages Department took a practical approach to the teaching of French in IB. They invited Christine Mabile from UWC Atlantic for one term to help advise the French and Spanish IB members of staff. Mabile had been teaching Spanish and French at IB level for seven years. At Atlantic, Mabile had helped organise a trip to Paris where they had spent the whole duration of the trip talking French. She thus helped Linda Fisher, French teacher at Waterford, to take IB French students to a farm in Piggs Peak in Swaziland where they spent a whole week speaking in French.

³³⁵*Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.27.

³³⁶*Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.28.

³³⁷*Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.28

³³⁸*Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.28.

For Afrikaans, Alta Schumyn was sceptical about the gap between Form 5 curriculum and IB as she stressed that:

The Afrikaans IB course covers a tremendously wide and interesting field, and therefore offers the students a challenge to develop their own views on current events and to adapt to new situations. Imagination plays an important aspect in the syllabus as often topics appear which have no direct bearing on current events; and the student must therefore fabricate intelligently. This is why it is seriously suggested and expected that students read as much as they possibly can, especially from newspapers and other literary works of the period.³³⁹

Rod De Vletter, a teacher in the English Department who had studied Cambridge 'A' Level, remarked that the school he went to in Switzerland instilled in him a typically British sense of superiority and made students feel that their system was naturally better than the Swiss one. When he considered his friends who were doing IB he was daunted by the idea of doing nine subjects. He only realised when he went to College that IB was better as at university he was expected to consider the multi-disciplinary approach to learning. He considered this a modern trend to learning. He said of the IB, "The IB approach towards education reflects this modern trend, and I believe that this system will develop increasingly along the lines of interesting knowledge."³⁴⁰ Peter Shepherd who taught Economics was excited about the Theory of Knowledge aspect of the IB and felt that more training was needed so that teachers could embrace this aspect in all the subjects.

One of the pioneers of the IB in 1981, Andy Foose (WK 1978-1982), had a positive disposition towards the new curriculum. He commented:

³³⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.28.

³⁴⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.28.

It was a blessing to me, I enjoyed having to do subjects across the spectrum. If I had to choose to do three subjects at sixteen years, for me it would have been a real struggle. IB was great for me. I think for the vast majority of the students it was a welcome development.³⁴¹

However, Foose said for some parents changing the curriculum was a big scare due to their prior exposure to the Advanced Level curriculum. The 'A' Level was and is still considered one of the best high school examining board and it attracted a lot of support from parents the world over. What Foose considered a complaint from his student cohort was the language requirement. The IB requires students to do one second language and for most students this was a demanding task.³⁴²

Another former student who with the benefit of hindsight saw the benefits of the IB programme was Aidan Eyakuze. He was full of praise for the programme, saying:

The IB gave me (and almost everyone I have spoken to) an incomparable intellectual and social foundation for tertiary education. After doing an Extended Essay and surviving the mind-bending questions posed in Theory of Knowledge, those papers in the first year of university felt easy. Because of the IB grounding, I recall spending minimal time in my first year of university worrying about the academics (and I scored 90%+ marks in all my first and second year courses), and focused on imbibing the Canadian culture I found myself in.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Interview with Andrew Foose. He was interviewed on the 20 September 2018. Andrew Foose was a student at Waterford from 1978 to 1982. He helps the school in numerous capacities for example fundraising for the school. He is lawyer by profession and is also a member of the school's Governing Council.

³⁴² Interview with Foose, 20 September 2018, Waterford.

³⁴³ Interview with Eyakuze, 29 March 2019, via Email.

While the IB was welcomed as a new beginning for the school, the change came with some challenges for both staff and students. One of the pioneers of the programme at the school, Lucinda Bride, commented on the challenges she faced:

I think the impression I got changing from ‘A’ level to IB was one in which teachers were caught in between the old and the new. I remember coming back from the January holidays in 1982 to IB2 and finding out that I had to write my History exam in May as IB History Standard exams were only written in May. We had to make some very crucial adjustments. Our History teacher Mr Gunvant Govindjee, probably a South African exile, was so interested in events in South Africa that he would be emphasizing this in lessons and not covering the aspects of IB History.³⁴⁴

Even the then Academic Coordinator, Dick Eyeington, was aware of the challenges that came with introducing IB but was dismissive of their impact. He alluded to some of the challenges, saying:

... in spite of the administrative hassles that have occurred, I personally have felt these more than anyone else. I have been in the middle, often receiving criticism from staff and students and the examinations offices in Geneva or Southampton or London. However, I feel that these are teething problems, the result of a new system getting to know us and us getting to know it.³⁴⁵

Good news came with the first IB results in 1983. Table 3.3 below shows a summary of the results.

³⁴⁴ Interview with Lucinda Bride, 23 April 2018, Waterford Science office. She was a student at Waterford from 1981-1982. She is now a Biology teacher at Waterford.

³⁴⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.25.

Table 3.3: The first IB results in 1983.

Diploma Candidates	Diploma Awarded	% of Diplomas Awarded	Certificates Candidates	Students with 35-37 points
Year 1982 : 29	25	86.2	2	5
Total Points 24-0	25-2, 26-2,27-1	28-5,29-0,30-1	32-2,33-2,34-2	35-3,36-1,37-1

Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, p.11.

As shown in the table, out of the 29 students who sat for the diploma, 25 were awarded the diploma, 2 got a certificate and only 2 failed. With 86.2 per cent of the candidates being awarded the diploma, IB had started on a high note. While Waterford was enjoying the fruits of the change in curriculum, Bantu Education was seeing major setbacks with most black learners failing from this system. As noted by Ken Hartshorne, the 4,305 students who finished matric in 1989 were not able to score an A aggregate symbol; 0, 6 per cent got a B symbol, 5, 7 per cent got a C and 37, 5 a D. Of the 12 977 who gained senior certificates, about 80 per cent did so at the lowest possible level of an F aggregate symbol.³⁴⁶

For some international students who only joined the school to do IB, the orientation programme offered by the school seemed to minimise the challenges of settling. One such student, Kai Bauer was happy with the orientation that they received getting into IB.³⁴⁷ The orientation programme for the IB students was structured in such a way that students arrived in the last term of the year before they started the following year. They had a very wide

³⁴⁶ Ken Hartshorne, 1992, *Crisis and challenge: Black education 1910-1990*, Cape Town, Oxford University Press, p.83.

³⁴⁷ Interview with Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

ranging orientation that saw them being introduced to IB and had an opportunity to choose their subjects.³⁴⁸ They were also able to meet with fellow students who were starting IB.

He ended up choosing History, English and Biology at Higher Level and Maths, German and Geography at Standard Level. For him this was quite significant as this gave him an opportunity to learn some subjects in more detail than he had been exposed to before. He specifically enjoyed History where he got a good experience of African History as he had not done it before. While the IB syllabus was a bit challenging for him due to the work involved he was happy that it taught him some beneficial life lessons. He said of the IB, “The curriculum was a huge challenge. There was need to get support from teachers and fellow students. We used to drink a lot of coffee so that we could do more work.”³⁴⁹

With Waterford looking at the changing times and global shifts in the educational curriculums South Africa seems to also have been responding to changes in curriculum requirements for the black people of South Africa. The changes that Waterford implemented in the curriculum, especially the change from ‘A’ level to IB, was through a process of research into what was supposedly considered a well-rounded curriculum. While the apartheid state seemed to have also made changes to the Bantu Education in the late 1970s, it seems this was a response to the pressure mounting on the government. As M. B Mhlauli, E Salani and R Mokotedi have postulated, the Soweto uprising forced the government to reconsider its policy on black education.³⁵⁰ In 1979 the government passed the Education and Training Act in which more flexibility in language instruction was introduced and was started at high school. This shift did not yield much as introducing black pupils to English instruction when they are in high school meant that most of them would struggle with subjects that required a good grasp of English like Science.³⁵¹

³⁴⁸ Interview with Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

³⁴⁹ Interview with Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

³⁵⁰ M.B. Mhlauli, E. Slani and R. Moktedi, 2015, “Understanding apartheid South Africa through the racial contract”, *International Journal of Asian Sciences*, Vol. 4, p.203-219.

³⁵¹ M.B. Mhlauli, E. Slani and R. Moktedi, 2015, “Understanding apartheid South Africa”, p.203-219.

Extracurricular activities

One of the important aspects of education is extracurricular activities. In as much as they help in building resilience and self-esteem, extracurricular activities help refresh the body and mind. Studies on the benefits of extracurricular have emphasised their role in helping students concentrate more and how they also help in improving school performance. Nikki Wilson in her research into the impact of extracurricular activities concluded that students who participate in extracurricular activities generally benefit from the many opportunities afforded them.³⁵² Benefits of participating in extracurricular activities include having better grades, having higher standardized test scores and higher educational attainment, attending school more regularly, and having a higher self-concept.

Participation in out-of-school activities also led to learning skills such as teamwork and leadership while decreasing the likelihood of alcohol use and illicit drug use and related problem behaviours.³⁵³ Wilson also noted that those who participated in out-of-school activities often had higher grade point averages, a decrease in absenteeism, and an increased connectedness to the school.³⁵⁴ Under the Bantu Education Africans were not afforded the opportunity to participate in extracurricular activities but their white counterparts had good opportunities to get involved in extracurricular activities including sports.

At Waterford sport was seen as the one of the most important aspects of the learning process. After a busy morning students were encouraged to engage in sporting activities in the afternoon. Sports including cricket, soccer, basketball and tennis were done. While sport was not done very competitively, it was done to make sure that there was an understanding of the need to also take care of your physical being. In some sports like cricket, students played against teachers and this seemed to have had a good effect on the relations between the students and teachers. There was also a move towards competing with other schools starting from 1964 as the enrolment increased. Hatton remembered how in 1964 some competitive

³⁵² Nikki Wilson, 2009, "Impact of extracurricular activities on students", M.A Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Stout, Nikki Wilson, <https://www2.uwstout.edu/content/lib/thesis/2009/2009wilsonn.pdf>, accessed 26 April 2018.

³⁵³ Wilson, 2009, "Impact of extracurricular activities on students", p. II.

³⁵⁴ Wilson, 2009, "Impact of extracurricular activities on students", p. II.

sport started. Waterford won their first cricket match (under 15) against St Mark's but lost their first soccer match against Mbabane Central.³⁵⁵ Whites and non-whites were part of these sporting teams.

There were also some clubs and these included a Natural History club and a Stamp Collection club. Natural Historians were reported to have been the busiest in 1963. They classified snakes and rocks. Then there were other clubs like gardening and the gardeners attended their own plots and there were plans to develop the school gardens and future orchards. There were also modellers who produced aircraft, racing cars and hot-rods. Carpenters made bookshelves for home and some study benches.³⁵⁶

There was also the first summit scout camp. The Chief Scout, Sir Charles Maclean, visited Waterford and promised support but he could not join the Scout Summit Camp but it was a success. The students seemed to have enjoyed themselves.³⁵⁷ All these activities not only gave the students a sense of belonging but also helped to destroy barriers to racial harmony. By sharing physical spaces out of the academic environment students were able to interact and realise their potential which was what Stern envisaged when he established the school. His idea of racial harmony was meant to be achieved mostly through interaction in the shared spaces in the school which was not allowed under the Group Areas Act and Bantu Education Act.

Jenni Karlsson who analysed Bantu curriculum from the perspective of the hidden curriculum argued that the curriculum emphasised social difference and stratification, which privileged the minority white learners over others in a variety of ways. This hidden curriculum was conveyed through racially, linguistically and culturally segregated school spaces, as well as the skewed provision of financial, human and material resources that enabled acute differences in spatial conditions to characterise racialized schools.³⁵⁸ This was to the detriment of the blacks students in South Africa who grew up thinking it was normal to be given an inferior education.

³⁵⁵ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.44.

³⁵⁶ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.44.

³⁵⁷ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.44.

³⁵⁸ Jenni Karlsson, 2004, "Schooling Space: where South Africans learnt to position themselves within the hierarchy of apartheid society", *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, Volume 12, 3, p.3.

Conclusion

This chapter has done a comparative analysis of the Bantu Education and the curriculum that was offered by Waterford. The curriculum offered at Waterford was that of Cambridge which offered students an opportunity to develop their intellectual capacity independently which was a challenge to the Bantu Education curriculum that was meant to prepare blacks South Africans for their role as servants to the white South Africans. It was however highlighted that the founding fathers found it quite challenging to offer a curriculum that was Africanised and fitting with the continent. This was mainly a result of the absence of such a curriculum and hence some of the teachers worked tirelessly to bridge this gap by engaging Cambridge to help decolonise some of the contents of the curriculum. The school founders also started considering the option of changing from the Cambridge Advanced Level curriculum to the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme. This was introduced to the school in 1981. Both students and staff had mixed opinions on the new curriculum but with time there was a good understanding of the new offering and an appreciation of the opportunities it offered.

The curriculum was also explored in other ways such as the extracurricular activities that were offered. Extracurricular activities were an opportunity to offer students an outlet to express themselves physically and mentally and this boosted their confidence, a thing that was not well articulated under the Bantu Education.

Chapter 4: Education through Community Service

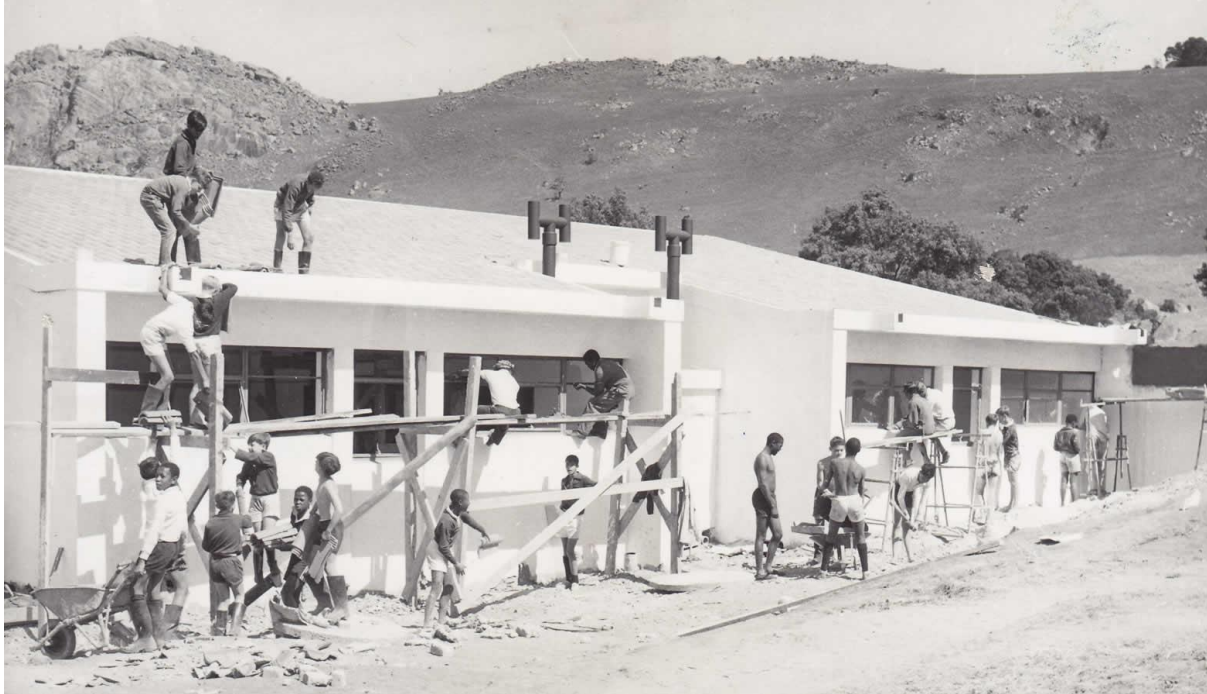
Introduction

This chapter picks from the previous chapter as it discusses learning through community service, which Waterford developed as a core feature of the school's curriculum. It is the argument of this chapter that when the school was established in 1963, the founders felt indebted to the Swazi community for allowing them to establish the school. Therefore, to honour the acceptance and hospitality that they received from the communities around the school, the school embarked on community service projects that saw students being taken away from their comfort zones to different communities where they gained practical skills while servicing the community. This was seen as a way of giving students opportunities to experience the world while contributing to the betterment of people's livelihoods. With the introduction of the IB Diploma Programme, community service became a major component of the IB curriculum. This not only led to the expansion of the community service projects that were offered but also led to the whole school getting involved, making it a major feature of the school's future history.

Early years and service to the communities

One of the main bedrocks of Waterford's curriculum history is community service. In this sphere, students have been mobilised to contribute to the development of projects that helped the communities around them. From the very beginning of the school, Michael Stern involved learners in school development projects. Students were divided into three groups, that is, engineers, builders and foresters, which helped in the construction of the school. The engineers dug drains, the builders whitewashed walls and the foresters cut down trees and sawed them up for firewood. As shown in Fig 4.1, students actively participated in the construction of the school from the outset.

Figure 4.1: Students helping in the construction of the school as part of their community service in the 1960s



Source: WK Archives.

As can be seen from the photograph, all the students worked together in the school building project as mandated by the school leadership. Back home in South Africa during the 1960s it was unheard of to see the races mingling together while doing the same community development work. No doubt at Waterford this assisted in teaching the students at a young age that all people were equal and that blacks and whites could cooperate and work towards a common goal.

This interracial cooperation was also promoted in the hostels where whites and non-whites were encouraged to work together to do the cleaning. The idea was to make sure that the boys were able to do things for their own development and growth while also inculcating interracial harmony. According to Hatton, the boys also did virtually all their own domestic work, that is, sweeping of dormitories, classroom and dining hall, laying of tables and serving

of food.³⁵⁹ What seems to have been of importance was how this was linked to service and hence it honoured the philosophy of trying to break the perceived notions around domestic labour in Africa. Service was therefore started at school and then nearby communities.

Stern sought to anchor Waterford within the wider community by using community service as a ligament to connect the institution. He revealed this in 1973, when he said “one of our commitments is to Swaziland-greater involvement in the life of the local community and a greater number of Swazis at the school.”³⁶⁰ He spearheaded the involvement of students in helping nearby communities, especially Sidwashini which was very close to the school. Work camps were therefore done for the community to help in the areas where there was need. Students were also encouraged to visit local play centres and the government hospital to help in any way possible. During the 1970s, Waterford students were also actively involved in the building of one of the primary schools close to the school.

The primary school, Qedusizi, (see figure 4.2) which means “end the misery” in SiSwati, was established in 1973 for the nearby community of Sidwashini which is a location where most poor blacks working in Mbabane reside. One of the long serving members of the school, Mathabiso Nxumalo, confirmed that Waterford students were the ones who started the school and they were grateful for the help from Waterford which has continued up to now.³⁶¹ Netta Nkambule also corroborated Nxumalo’s testimony about the establishment of Qedusizi, saying the community of Sidwashini worked together with Waterford students to build the school. As Nkambule said, “We helped with ferrying water and sand to the builders and the students from Waterford worked with us. It was amazing to see young white kids coming to work with us and they even tried to talk in Siswati”. She added that, the money for building was also donated by Waterford.³⁶²

³⁵⁹ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.43.

³⁶⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1973, WK Archives, p.16.

³⁶¹ Interview with Mathabiso Nxumalo. She was interviewed on 27 November 2018 at Qedusizi primary school. She is the school secretary and has been at the school for two decades.

³⁶² Interview with Netta Nkambule. She was interviewed on the 14 November 2019 at her home in Sidwashini. She is an elderly member of the community who is now 74 years old. She has been staying in Sidwashini since she was fifteen years old.

Figure 4.2: Qedusizi primary school which was built by Waterford students around 1973.



Photo taken by the author.

Another community service project was an academic support initiative called Head Start. A brainchild of Dick Eyeington, this was started in 1978. The project was meant to help upgrade Mathematics and English for local Swazi children. Children were chosen from four local primary schools, including Mater Dolorosa, Mbabane Central, John Wesley and Qedusizi. Four students from each school came to Waterford every Saturday morning from 8-10am. They were also helped with preparation for Waterford entrance testing. In 1983, the Head Start tutoring programme was extended to computer literacy.

The idea of community service, as Linden put it, was not only to help the communities but to make sure the students appreciated the world around them by making them aware that there were people who were disadvantaged which helped to nurture a culture of giving back.³⁶³ Linden commented on how students benefitted, particularly those from privileged backgrounds who might not have had the opportunity to experience some of the hardships that were experienced by the disadvantaged people around them. So a curriculum that included this element made sure that students were able to learn not only from each other but

³⁶³ Interview with Mike Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

also from the communities around them. This was different from the Bantu Education system which was cultivating a culture of one race being superior to others. Although community service was thriving at Waterford by the 1970s, the initiative received a major boost with the introduction of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP/IB) in 1981.

IBDP and the expansion of the community service programme

The move to IB impacted on the community service work that was undertaken in the school in a significant way. With IBDP, students were now required to fulfil a creativity, action and service function as part of their community service portfolio. However, for the school this was an easy transition as community service had always been the bedrock of the Waterford founding ethos. Mike Linden was tasked with the responsibility of overseeing the process of mainstreaming the community service for the IBDP requirements. While on sabbatical leave in the UK, he was able to observe what other schools were doing in the way of service to the community, to investigate the principles and practise of Waterford's own project, to reflect on and assess the successes and failures of the last years and to plan for the future. To gain in-depth knowledge, he had to read widely around the subjects:

I wish I could send you a picture of my desk which is littered with piles of books - just looking at the top book on each pile, I see 'School and Community', 'The Concept of Community', 'Education for Change', 'Community Service and the Curriculum', 'Cultural Action for Freedom'....³⁶⁴

He realised that there were some worries with implementing a community service for IB students, especially expecting students to fit into different community service projects, as it was now compulsory to do so. He was therefore worried about the structure, especially whether staff would accept it and participate. He was also worried about student reaction, particularly whether anyone would turn up for particular sessions. There were also worries about the popularity of some projects, and the unpopularity of others. There was also the

³⁶⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.51.

danger of some of the programmes being misunderstood by the communities as they may think that the school was trying to patronise or take over the responsibility of the communities. In all this, one positive thing was that Waterford had already tried community service and there were good results.³⁶⁵ Teachers had also shown positive energy about it.

It was due to the need to expand and involve more students in community service that Mike Linden set up the Community Service Committee in 1982. The committee was meant to enable students to participate more in the running of the programme. Meetings were to be held two or three times a term in order to discuss and organise the various community service projects. Teachers supervised the various community service projects, most of which were put on the school timetable. Students were however expected to be in charge of the planning and execution of the projects.³⁶⁶ It was noted that by 1985 there was a marked interest in the community service projects.³⁶⁷ Below is an overview of some of the projects.

Qedusizi Community Service Projects

As there was already a link between Waterford and Qedusizi Primary School, a number of projects were started with this school from 1981. Work was done to improve the school's surroundings through work camps and these had been in existence to help the school surroundings. In 1985 for example Waterford students were involved in the construction of a foot bridge to help children from Sidwashini attending the school to cross.³⁶⁸ Nonhlanhla Williams, one of the Waterford students who was part of this initiative reported that the bridge was well on its way to completion by the end of Term 2 before the starting of the rainy season.³⁶⁹ Another project that was also started with Qedusizi primary school was teaching. Those involved in teaching worked hand in hand with teachers to help the younger students with their Maths and Science subjects.³⁷⁰ The Waterford students were however, grateful for

³⁶⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.51.

³⁶⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.52.

³⁶⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1985, WK Archives, p.36.

³⁶⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1985, WK Archives, p.39.

³⁶⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1985, WK Archives, p.39.

³⁷⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.39.

the understanding that they got from the children. That same year they were also able to start a library.

There was also Qedusizi Sports and Waterford students in charge of the community service went down to the school and picked up kids using the Waterford school buses and transported them to Waterford to do sports. Sports played included netball and soccer. In an interview with one of the former students of Qedusizi, the relationship between Waterford and Qedusizi assisted many disadvantaged learners to learn new sports.³⁷¹ He pointed out that since there were no playing grounds at the primary school, Waterford played a huge role in making sure that they accessed some sports facilities.³⁷² What was interesting for him was that Waterford students introduced to them a number of sports that they did not know about. He still remembers how he was introduced to javelin which he had never known. While soccer was the main sport, Waterford students tried to bring variety.³⁷³ In 1990 the students from Waterford were also asked to help with Physical Education as the school did not have a teacher to cater for that. In 1990 Zama and Zoe, two Waterford students, introduced hockey to the children from the primary school. There were also attempts to introduce softball but this was not very popular with the students at Qedusizi.³⁷⁴

For Waterford students who were actively involved in the Qedusizi Sports Community Service, 1991 was a year of jubilation and fun as they were tasked with preparing the Qedusizi students for the Inter Primary Schools Competition.³⁷⁵ Based on this assistance, Qedusizi was able to win the Southern Hhoho Inter Primary Schools Competition – a cause for much jubilation among the Waterford students involved. Sonia Shamwana who did the Sport Community Service in 1996 believed that she and her group had made a big contribution to the life of the students at the school.³⁷⁶ In addition to sport, there was also the

³⁷¹ Interview with Zakhele Ngwenya done on the 30 July 2019. He was interviewed at Waterford. Zakhele attended Waterford preschool before being enrolled at Qedusizi where he did his primary school.

³⁷² Interview with Zakhele Ngwenya, 30 July 2019, Waterford.

³⁷³ Interview with Zakhele Ngwenya, 30 July 2019, Waterford.

³⁷⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.29.

³⁷⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1991, WK Archives, p.17.

³⁷⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.14.

introduction of Qedusizi Art and Craft which was meant to help students aimed to help young people at the school to venture into art and craft work.. Students who did this Community Service highlighted the challenges they faced. They noted that there were language barriers hence some of the instructions they gave were not well understood. However, different mediums of communication were used to reach out to the children.

Preschool Community Services

The 1980s also saw the establishment of the Waterford Preschool Community Service, which was Mike Linden's brainchild. Linden launched the project mostly to cater for children of Waterford maintenance staff and the abandoned and orphaned children at the Government Hospital, who would be brought to a facility run by Waterford every day.³⁷⁷ However, by the beginning of 1982 the abandoned and orphaned children at the Government Hospital had found placements, so the first intake was solely for Waterford workers' children. The old Model Room at Elangeni Hostel was chosen for the project.³⁷⁸

IB students were the ones who painted the place and put in new tiles. Mrs Cherry Baker and Mrs Bridget Nkambule were appointed as teachers.³⁷⁹ From the start the emphasis was on making sure that children heard and learned English. Flora Dlamini-Hlatshwayo who is currently the head of the preschool and has been employed at the preschool from 1984, says:

When the project was started in the 1980s it was meant to help non-academic staff at Waterford and the abandoned students from the hospital but it ended up catering only for Waterford staff. It was a big convenience for the staff as they would come with

³⁷⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.53.

³⁷⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.53

³⁷⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.53.

their children in the morning and take them after work. This meant that they did not need to worry when they are at work about their children.³⁸⁰

Thirty students were registered for the preschool community service during the first term of 1982, and students were encouraged to go to the preschool to join in the fun games and learning that took place there.³⁸¹ Most of the learning was done through play, so the main role of those running the school was to set up and organise learning situations and then be available for encouragement, praise, guidance and non-directive help. Bridget Nkambule and Flora Dlamini-Hlatshwayo who helped with some activities at the preschool were observed to have been doing well with the children as they played, sung and read stories with the children.³⁸² Enid Eyeington, wife to Dick Eyeington, who was Head of Community Service at the school remarked:

One of my favourite things is to go to the preschool during free time and just sit and watch how involved and happy children become as they play in the house corner with the cloth dolls tied to their backs, checking their dressing up attire in the mirror, or lying in the mat playing with the wooden blocks and anything with wheels, or making plastic models, often of a cow with magnificent horns. Some of them will notice me and might come over to show me something or just sit beside me for a while, but the majority are far too busily involved in the intensely exciting learning through play.³⁸³

Flora Dlamini-Hlatshwayo was also grateful for the work that the Waterford students did at the preschool, especially playing with the preschool children. She remarked that the socialisation that happened at the preschool had over time helped some of the students to

³⁸⁰ Interview with Flora Dlamini-Hlatshwayo, She was interviewed on 16 July 2019 at the Waterford school preschool. She has been working at the preschool from 1984. She is now the Head of the Preschool and runs it as her own project after it was given to her to run by Waterford.

³⁸¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.53.

³⁸² *Phoenix magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.53.

³⁸³ *Phoenix magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.53.

understand English and thereby gaining confidence in speaking it.³⁸⁴ One of the preschool students at the time of the opening of the preschool, Zakhele Ngwenya, remembers how the Waterford students came to the preschool every Monday and Friday and took them to the Waterford playing grounds and played with them.³⁸⁵ He also remarked that they came at times with colouring books and helped them with drawing and colouring. He believes that the preschool did have a huge impact on his primary school as he got a head-start in things that he later met in primary and he was able to excel in them due to this strong foundation.³⁸⁶

Nkosingiphile Fakudze, who attended the preschool from 1981-82, was happy with the way the preschool made it easier for her to make a good start to her primary. She remarked that, Waterford students would come to play with them and while most of the preschool students were not able to speak in English it was amazing how they were able to use sign language or just follow what the Waterford students did.³⁸⁷ She remembered how she started swimming at a young age and feels that if she had found better schools after preschool, maybe she could have been a competitive swimmer. For the Waterford students getting an opportunity to be with young and disadvantaged children helped them to learn some useful life lessons. As Sheena O’Connell noted in 1984, “the children have taught us to free the little person in each of us...”³⁸⁸

In 1984, another community service initiative was launched to help with the creation of a preschool playground. Dick Eyeington found some volunteers in Form 5 who helped in clearing the place and coming up with a safe playground for the school kids. By the 1990s there was always a group of students who enjoyed the Preschool Community Service be it in IB or in Form 5(as shown in Figure 4.3). In 1996, Simphiwe Hlophe who was in Form 5 joined this community service with seven other students.³⁸⁹ She remarked that it was an

³⁸⁴ Interview with Flora Dlamini-Hlatshwayo, 16 July 2019, Waterford Preschool.

³⁸⁵ Interview with Zakhele Ngwenya, 30 July 2019, Waterford.

³⁸⁶ Interview with Zakhele Ngwenya, 30 July 2019, Waterford Maintenance office.

³⁸⁷ Interview with Nkosingiphile Fakudze. She was interviewed on the 1st of August 2019 at her home in Makolokolo, Mbabane. She attended Waterford Preschool from 1981-82.

³⁸⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.50.

³⁸⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.14.

exciting session for the group and they felt great to see the little smiles on the kids' faces. She was content at the end that they had managed to help the younger kids learn numbers, colours, alphabet and songs and the children were also able to remember their names.³⁹⁰

Figure 4.3: Some of the Waterford students with children from the preschool, 1995



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.19.

Another preschool community service that was also started in the 1980s was the Msunduzi Crèche, located in Mbabane. The students who did the community service visited the preschool and played with the children. Silas Wong, one of the Waterford students who did this community in 1983 shared that he enjoyed the fact that the children at the preschool were cooperative and active. He said that they used to divide the pre-schoolers into two main groups, one outside and one for indoor games. The outdoor group played soccer and other games, while the indoor group cut pictures from magazines and stuck them on blank paper, played with play dough and folded paper.³⁹¹

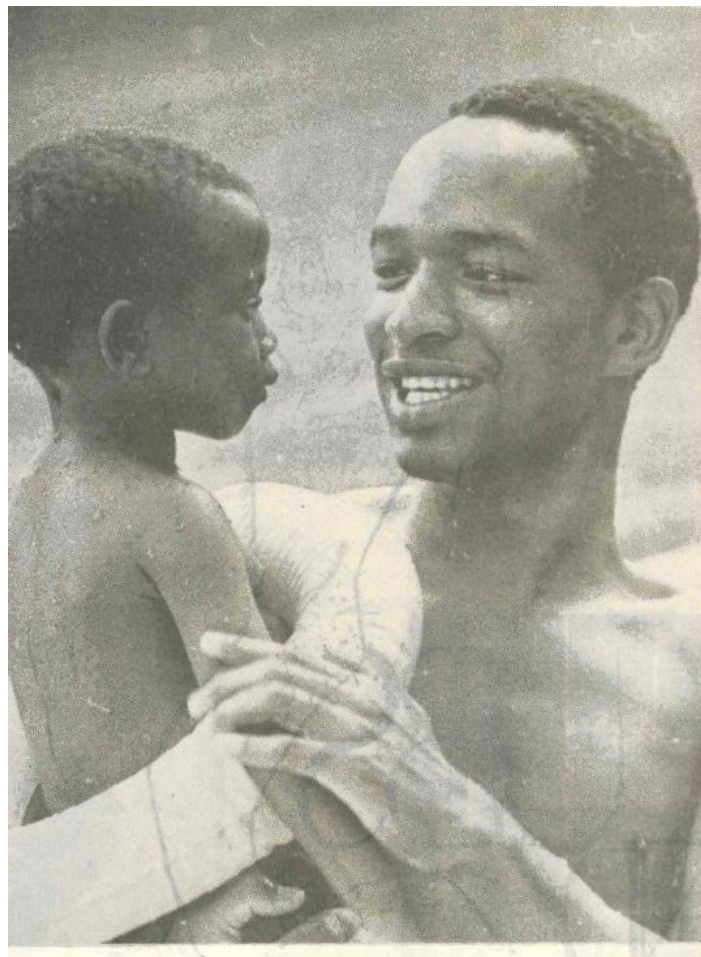
³⁹⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.14.

³⁹¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.44.

Mbabane Government Hospital Community Service Projects

Of significance as well in the 1980s was the establishment of a strong working relationship between Waterford and the Mbabane Government Hospital. This led to the implementation of several community service projects at the hospital especially with Ward 8 which housed abandoned sickly children. These projects were started despite the other visits that were done and the help given by the school to the hospital. Projects for students included: visiting the hospital to teach patients, taking child patients to the Hot Springs (see Figure 4.4) and playing games with children.

Figure 4.4: One of the Waterford students with a child from the hospital at the Hot Spring, 1982.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.61.

There was also later a project related to edutainment whereby students visited the hospital carrying magazines and newspapers for the patients to find something to read.³⁹² Gerald Dube, one of the Waterford students involved in the project in the 1980s, observed that, “Life in hospitals can be extremely unpleasant at times. Imagine those wounds, crying out for help, those limbs aching, loneliness can cause considerable frustration. Loneliness is what students are campaigning against every Tuesday from 3.15-5pm.”³⁹³ Children from the hospital were also taken to the Hot Spring every Wednesday. Many of the children were paralysed and had to be carried to and from the bus and into the springs.

In 1983, Linda Fisher who was part of the Hospital Community Service noted that their experiences with children at the Hot Spring while unique, at times came with challenges. She gave the example of one of the Wednesdays when one of the children called Nkulukuze who was 12 years and epileptic had left the springs without notifying anyone only to be found on his way back to Mbabane.³⁹⁴ On another Wednesday a five year old, Phile, decided to swim unaided and that almost ended in disaster.³⁹⁵ Waterford also helped with blood donation from 1983.

The Hospital Community Service Projects were extended beyond IB as was seen in 1984 when Form 2 drama students were taken to the Mbabane Government Hospital Ward 8. This drama class performed for the patients at the hospital. By 1987, the hospital visits were opened up to all forms. Taziona Chaponda, who was in Form 1, wrote about his visit to the hospital and described how touching the experience was for him.”³⁹⁶ He also observed how the children had become attached to them. Quite often when they left, the children would follow all the way to the bus and some would even jump into the bus thinking they could come back with them.³⁹⁷

³⁹² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.42.

³⁹³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.42.

³⁹⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

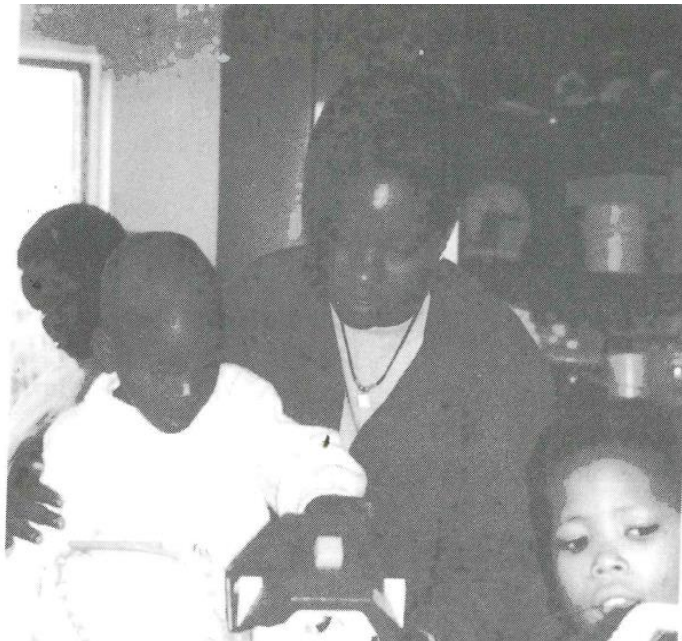
³⁹⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

³⁹⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.39.

³⁹⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.39.

By 1990, students who did the Hospital Community Service were putting more focus towards learning through play.³⁹⁸ As reported by Karen Jung who was involved in the project, they enjoyed the community service project as it taught them to deal with young children, to build relationships with the children and to test their own capabilities to contain and control little, hyperactive, lively children. For Lisa Grekul who did the community service in 1991, the purpose of going to the hospital was not to cure the kids or educate them into a better future but to relieve the children in Ward 8 of their melancholy.³⁹⁹ As shown in Figure 4.5 below, the hospital community service was an intimate encounter that mutually benefitted both parties.

Figure 4.5: One of the Waterford students playing with the children from Ward 8, 1995.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, WK Archives, 1995, p.14.

Wakhesive Dlamini who was in Form 5 in 1996 was also involved in this community service and she remarked that, “as one went into the ward, one looked around trying to find someone

³⁹⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.26.

³⁹⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1991, WK Archives, p.26.

to teach and at times one could become attached to one patient for weeks.⁴⁰⁰ If the patient was there for a long time this meant that you could actually develop a relatively long term closer relationship”. She also noted that the community service helped her to understand the different challenges that people undergo, something she could not have ordinarily been taught sufficiently in class.⁴⁰¹ Bongani Dlamini, who works at the Theatre Section at Mbabane Government Hospital and who saw the work of the Waterford students in 1999, commented:

Sometimes the students would come play with Ward 8 children. At times they would paint the ward and at times they took the children away with them. The younger kids would be carried around and they enjoyed it. It was good to see Waterford doing a positive thing as part of their social responsibility. It was good for the kids to go out and experience a new environment.⁴⁰²

Dlamini’s testimony indicates that the hospital took note of the work done by Waterford students at the hospital. Clearly, the little things such as spending time with a sick person did make a huge difference.⁴⁰³

Ekwetsembeni School Community Service

The Waterford community service was also extended to another vulnerable group of people, the mentally challenged people. In 1982, the school launched an initiative to cater for Ekwetsembeni home for the mentally challenged. “Ekwetsembeni” is the Siswati word for “hope” and the name was given to this centre as it provided hope to this population group. The centre was opened to help mentally challenged children so that they could be supported in all their needs, which could not be offered by struggling families. The children came up to

⁴⁰⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.13.

⁴⁰¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.13.

⁴⁰² Interview with Bongani Dlamini on 20 April 2019 at the Mbabane Government Hospital at the Theatre section. He started working at the hospital in 1999 and is still working at the hospital.

⁴⁰³ Interview with Bongani Dlamini, 20 April 2019, Mbabane Government Hospital, Mbabane.

Waterford on Tuesday mornings from 8-10am. They were then taken through sporting activities including soccer, netball and swimming.

In 1983, one of the Waterford students who was involved in this project noted that when she heard about working with mentally retarded children she felt it was going to be a daunting task.⁴⁰⁴ Stereotyped images of insane people had flooded her head, but after several sessions with the kids her negative notions were dispelled. She realised that most of the children were either slow learners or had psychological problems, and the majority seemed to be just average children.⁴⁰⁵ For Stella Mutaboyerwa, “the community service was rewarding and enjoyable, once you have crossed the initial barrier of apprehension, it is great fun!”⁴⁰⁶ Nhlanhla Msomi who was doing the community service in 1986 also noted that the children were appreciative of the sports that they came to do at Waterford. Some of the children were even able to remember the names of the Waterford students after meeting each other for a week. He noted, however, that most Waterford students were not very keen to do this project that year and there were only four students doing that community service.⁴⁰⁷

John Kagwa who took part in the community service in 1987 was happy with the progress that had been made over the years with this community service.⁴⁰⁸ He noted that in 1987, they organised a trip for the children to visit Mlilwane Game Reserve, a Game Park located close to Mbabane in Swaziland. He shared that he was going to miss this community service as he was finishing his IB programme that year. In 1992, the Waterford students organised a trip for the Ekwetsembeni children to visit Malolotja Camp Park in Swaziland. Figure 4.6 below shows Waterford students intermingling with and taking care of the Ekwetsembeni children at the Malolotja Camp Site. According to Tormod Slettemeas, a Waterford student, these outings were organised and funded by the students.⁴⁰⁹ They would make contributions or do

⁴⁰⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

⁴⁰⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

⁴⁰⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

⁴⁰⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1986, WK Archives, p.30.

⁴⁰⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.36.

⁴⁰⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK Archives, p.23.

some fundraising activities to raise money for these trips, an indication of the commitment that Waterford students had to their community service projects.

Figure 4.6: Some of the Waterford students with Ekwetsembeni children at Malolotja Campsite, 1992.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK Archives, p.23.

In 1996 the Ekwetsembeni community service was still popular and Suma Lungu, who was in IB2, noted that there was a huge appreciation from the children when they came to do sports at Waterford as they were exposed to different games and sports. In an interview with the Head Teacher of the school, Thembi Khoza, it was clear that the children at the centre enjoyed the interaction with Waterford students. She commented:

All our students enjoy going to Waterford to play. From the time this community service started we have had fewer absences as children think that Waterford students might come anytime even though they only come on Thursday morning. I am grateful

for the opportunity the students from Ekwetsembeni get as they get to experience a change of environment and also get supported emotionally, something that can be overwhelming for us. In the late 1990s one of the groups from Waterford organised a trip for our children to visit Richards Bay in South Africa and this was very fulfilling for everyone at the Centre. We also had some groups who would organise an end of year party at different places in Swaziland like Mantenga Lodge.⁴¹⁰

Her sentiments were echoed by the Deputy Head Teacher, Zanele Maphalala, who recalled that it was always a challenge to control students when the Waterford bus came to pick them up. Even though they put the students into groups as Waterford could not have them all, some would try to go when it was not their turn. She was also grateful that whenever the students visited Waterford they were also given breakfast which helped the children a lot as some came to school without having eaten breakfast.⁴¹¹ One of the former students from Ekwetsembeni, Mlungisi Nkambule, who graduated from the school in 2011 remembers the time that he used to go to Waterford to play sports. He was able to take part in his favourite sport, soccer, and was happy to get this opportunity. He also shared that all the students from Ekwetsembeni were free to choose the sports they wanted to do on their visits to Waterford. He will always cherish the times that he went to Waterford as he got an opportunity to play his favourite sport and the Waterford students always understood their needs.⁴¹²

Work Camps

Waterford also reached out to different communities in Swaziland through work camps. This was work done for different communities after a needs assessment by the school. The aims were not only to reach out to needy communities but to make students connect with their surroundings. Work done included clean-up campaigns, construction and nature conservation

⁴¹⁰ Thembi Khoza was interviewed on 25 July 2019 at Ekwetsembeni centre and is the Head teacher of the centre. She has been working at the centre from 1994 up to now.

⁴¹¹ Zanele Maphalala was interviewed on 19 July 2019 at Ekwetsembeni centre. She is the Deputy Head of the Centre and has been working at the Centre from 2005. She used to also come with the students to Waterford for sports.

⁴¹² Mlungisi Nkambule was interviewed on 25 July 2019 at Ekwetsembeni Centre 2019 and he is now working at the Centre as a groundsman. He graduated from the school in 2011.

among others. One such camp was at held in Malandzela where students and teachers helped in the construction of a teacher's house and a bridge in 1982. Students also played with the children from the community. Another work camp was organised to visit the Millers Falls to do some cleaning around the falls that same year.⁴¹³

Work camps in 1983 covered numerous areas. In February, forty IB students went to Matsapha Mental Hospital and painted the dining hall and also did crafts with some female patients, and soccer with male patients.⁴¹⁴ In April the same year there was a follow up visit to Matsapha Mental Hospital to finish painting the dining hall and the kitchen.⁴¹⁵ This was followed by a visit in June to the Mbabane Government Hospital by about twenty students to set up a playground outside Ward 8 which the school was also supporting. Then in July all IB students went to Ezulwini to build a house for a paraplegic man.⁴¹⁶

In 1984, work camps went down to the Lowveld of Swaziland at a school called Malindza Community School (see Figure 4.7).⁴¹⁷ IB students took the first six days of the second term holiday to help rebuild staff houses and classrooms at the primary school.⁴¹⁸ Students plastered the walls of the houses and floored the classrooms. By the time the students left for the holidays they felt some sense of achievement.⁴¹⁹ During that same year rains destroyed a makeshift bridge on the road to Mpolonjeni School, so the work camp built a footbridge.

⁴¹³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1982, WK Archives, p.56.

⁴¹⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

⁴¹⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

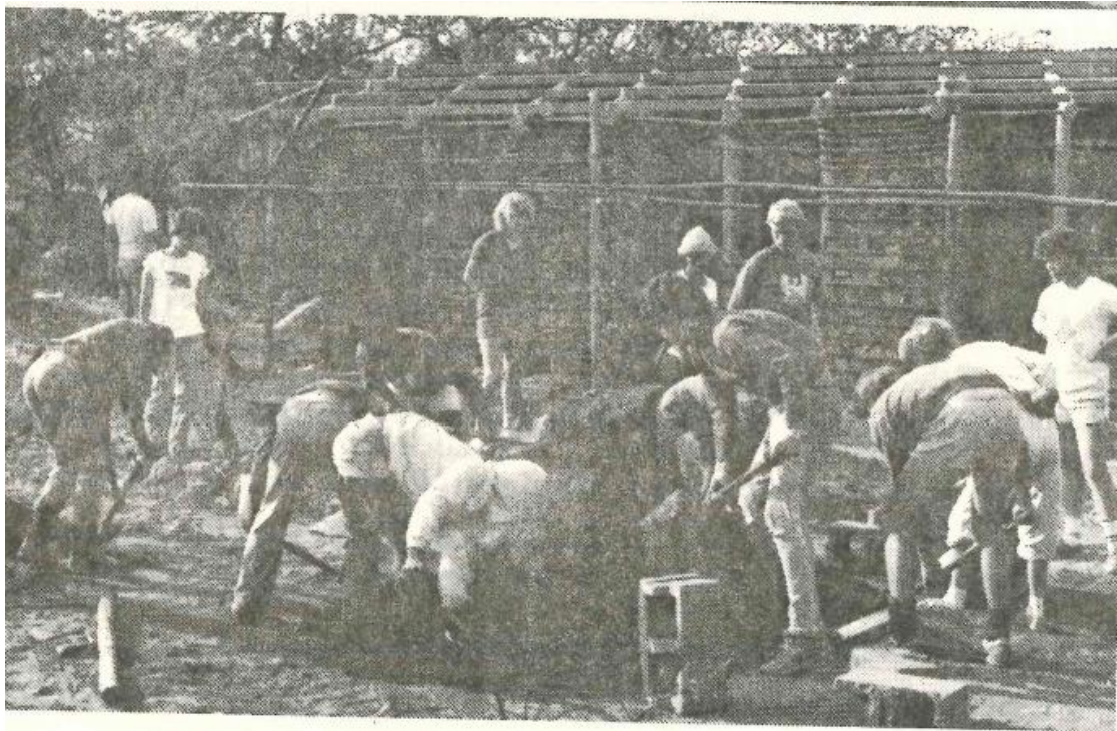
⁴¹⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1983, WK Archives, p.45.

⁴¹⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.54.

⁴¹⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.54.

⁴¹⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.54.

Figure 4.7: Waterford students working at Malindza Community School, 1984



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.54.

There were however, some concerns raised with the work camps in 1985, for example around lack of community involvement, the discipline of students while on the camps and the overloading of a few people with responsibilities. It was agreed that more consultation was needed.⁴²⁰ Some of the challenges that were faced with the work camps did not deter the students from continuing with the community service project and in 1994, it was taken to Piggs Peak on the northern part of Swaziland at Emkhuzweni Preschool where students from Waterford spent two days helping to build a playground for the preschool.⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1985, WK Archives, p.36.

⁴²¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK Archives, p.54.

Refugee Community Service

In 1987 the community service planning committee started the Refugee Community Service to raise awareness and help refugee centres in Swaziland.⁴²² It was noted that not many people were aware of the refugee situation in Swaziland. There were two main refugee reception centres in the country, Malindza and Ndzevane and in the past few years the number of refugees streaming into Swaziland mainly from Mozambique and South Africa had increased. This was due to the civil war in Mozambique and the repression of citizens by the apartheid regime. Some of the challenges faced by these reception centres included overcrowding and lack of toiletries.⁴²³ In 1987 the work done targeted Ndzevane Refugee Camp. At the centre there was a clinic, workshop, a school and other administration buildings. That year, Pernille Hansen who was doing the community service noted that they had collected stationery for the school and also increased awareness by talking to the *Times of Swaziland* to enlighten the public about the issue of refugees in Swaziland.⁴²⁴

The 1990s and the move to expand the community service projects further

In the 1990s there was a move to look into the future of community service in the school. This involved wider consultation and there was agreement to widen the scope and have a good idea of what was happening on the ground. New projects were proposed as both students and staff were always encouraged to keep on thinking of new ideas so as to make the community service more inclusive. Some of the projects that were introduced in the 1990s included The Oral History Project. This project aimed at recording the oral history of a community very close to Waterford, Sidwashini, so as to escape the traditional interpretation of history being made by great men.⁴²⁵

⁴²² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.34.

⁴²³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.34.

⁴²⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.34.

⁴²⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1993, WK Archives, p.7.

In other community service projects collaborations were also done with the other UWC schools. In 1994, for example, a group of Singaporean students visited Waterford and undertook a community service to help build Mpolonjeni School. There were also efforts to make visits to some areas where the school was helping. In 1994 for instance, the Community Service Committee visited St Joseph School for the Handicapped. They went there to deliver books and pay school fees for some of the students at the school. The teachers at St Joseph School for the Handicapped, Zama Centre, revealed that it was a huge task to keep the centre running as they did not get funding from the government. The teachers also lamented the fact that some Swazis saw the handicapped children as inferior to the rest of their able-bodied society. This had the effect of making Swazis reluctant to support the initiative. At the centre the Waterford students were given a talk by one of the teachers, Sibongile, on the causes of mental health in children. She said that this in some instances, was due to women taking drugs during pregnancy. She also lamented the fact that in some rural communities most families concealed the existence of a mentally challenged child due to the fear of being stigmatised by society and hence it was a big challenge for the mentally challenged people to get help. Waterford made a commitment to help the centre with stationery and to do some games for children every term, initiatives that would be maintained over many years.

The effects of the HIV/AIDs epidemic in the country led some WK students to start the AIDS Awareness Community Service Project in 1994. Its main objective was to make youth aware of the epidemic through education, with the main target being students around Mbabane schools. In 1995 the AIDS Awareness Community Service organised to join with the rest of Swaziland in AIDS awareness sponsored walk from Mbabane to Somhlolo Stadium, the main stadium in the country.⁴²⁶ That same year the community service also did awareness in schools through skits. These were done at SOS, St Marks and Qedusizi Schools in Mbabane. There were also discussions around sex education.

Other projects that were launched in the 1990s included the Performance Art Community Service dubbed the KEY Community Service Project that was meant to promote Art among

⁴²⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.13.

students around Mbabane and the Drop-In Centre Community Service. The acronym KEY was used which in this instance meant that the students were being given a key to unlock their talents in the arts, including music and dance, and to inculcate these skills among students around Mbabane. The community service project was started by a group of students who were doing the IB diploma programme. In 1995, students involved in the KEY Community Service articulated what their community service aimed to achieve into three concepts. These concepts were: the oneness of all people, the equality of men and women and the dignity of the individual. These concepts were relayed to young people through drama, song and dance. KEY was therefore meant to provide the “key” to young people to the next phase in an ever advancing civilisation.⁴²⁷ In 1996, the group of students who were in charge of KEY mainly concentrated on drama as in the previous year it was dance. In the first term they did a performance on the theme of gender equality relating to the impact that family and especially parents have on this subject. In one of the plays only the female members of KEY participated, emphasising the need for women to uplift one another in order to assert their equality.⁴²⁸

KEY plays also brought to the fore issues of gender inequality. One of the plays showcased how relationships progressed, with some characterised by abuse. Such relationships could be dangerous and women were exhorted to stand up for their rights.⁴²⁹ Such plays were showcased at three schools in Mbabane, including St Francis, St Marks and SOS. The other community service, Drop-in Centre, was meant to help homeless children in Mbabane. The children came up to Waterford every Tuesday and Thursday. On Tuesdays they were met by 1B2s and Thursdays by the IB1s. In 1996, Milika Kalyati and Chimwemwe Lungu, both IB1s, noted that they divided their time with the kids into two shifts. On one of the shifts they concentrated on creativity which they hoped enhanced the children’s learning abilities. The other shift involved a lot of sporting activities, games and even dancing at times. After this the children were then moved to the Community Service room, where they were given some food.⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.11.

⁴²⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.13.

⁴²⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.11.

⁴³⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.12.

In 1995 there was an opportunity to reflect on the role of Community Service at the school. Miss Brownyn Davis who was now head of Community Service wrote an article in the *Phoenix Magazine* outlining her insights into the Community Service projects of the school.⁴³¹ She noted the importance of Community Service as she saw it as being a valuable component in the development of the individual. She, however, admitted that some community service projects were easier than others, but remarked that they all relied on student initiative, motivation, awareness and skills to succeed. She also lamented the language barrier that made some projects challenging for some of the Siswati non-speakers. She was however happy with the launching of two new projects that year, which were the Drop In Centre and Performance Art Community Services.⁴³² She concluded her reflection by thanking the teachers who had given their effort and time to make sure the projects succeeded. She also encouraged students to think of new projects that they felt were important in helping communities.⁴³³

The idea to have students involved in starting community service projects was important in that it made students feel as significant stakeholders of the programmes and in a way made them enjoy the community service projects more. It was also in line with Michael Stern's idea of giving the students an opportunity to be part of the decision making processes. As the school was also part of the UWC movement which valued decision making and taking risk by young people, this helped to show the uniqueness of the school when compared to what was happening under the Bantu Education where, as put by Ivan Raymond Wills, Bantu Education was intended to produce subservient individuals with the skills needed to minister to the needs of the white economy rather than develop critical thinkers. Its aim was to maintain, if not create, a state of intellectual underdevelopment and dependency.⁴³⁴

⁴³¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.11.

⁴³² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.11.

⁴³³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.11.

⁴³⁴ Ivan Raymond Wills, 2011, "The history of the Bantu Education: 1948-1994", *PhD Thesis*, Australian Catholic University, <https://researchbank.acu.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1377&context=theses>, accessed 21 August 2020.

Another aspect that came with Waterford community service was the practice of fundraising. There were various efforts made towards this initiative. In 1987, it was reported that the Waterford Kamhlaba student body was sponsoring six students at St. Joseph's School for the Handicapped and two sons of a handicapped man at another school.⁴³⁵ The Community Service Committee also received requests from handicapped people in Swaziland for financial assistance to purchase blankets, a wheel chair and enrolling in a sewing course. The school therefore organised different activities to raise money. The activities included raffles, cake sales, book sales, fete and the WK Challenge among others. The fundraising for 1987 stood as follows (see Table 4.1):

Table 4.1: Fundraising for Community Service, 1987.

Form	Amount raised in Emalangeni (E) (Swazi currency, emalangeni)
Form 1s	E511.92
Form 2s	E523.00
Form 3s	E496.07
Form 4	E333.99
Form 5	E700.00
IBs	E1325.98
Total	E3,890.96

Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, p.31.

⁴³⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.31.

The Swaziland Social Welfare Department also worked with Waterford in the 1990s and in 1990 it was reported that a wheelchair had been sourced for a four year old cerebral palsy patient and another for Sibonelo Shongwe, a deaf man residing in Ezulwini, outside of Mbabane.⁴³⁶ These people were cases that were working with the Swaziland Social Welfare Department. This showed the partnerships that the school was making with government. A total of E485 (Emalangen; one emalangen is equivalent to one rand) was therefore raised for Shongwe to start up a small business in upholstery in order to raise some income.⁴³⁷

The Community Service Fete was also held that year to raise money for Community Service and E1011.77 was raised.⁴³⁸ In 1991 the fundraising effort raised over E5000.00 towards Community Service.⁴³⁹ Support to the Swaziland Society for the Handicapped continued and for the year 1991 the Waterford Community service was paying for boarding and school fees for six children at St Joseph, school fees for two children at Ekwetsembeni School for the mentally challenged, school fees for a student at Ntondozi, fees for a handicapped student at Mpaka Vocational Centre, fees for one for a dressmaking course, two pairs of spectacles, five wheelchairs and six hearing kits. Fundraising for community service became important this way and it was done annually. It included sponsored walks, cake sales at the school and, with time, community service fete and the 24 hour run. The fete and 24 hour run have now become the major fundraising events of the school for community service and in 2019 the 24 hour run raised R140 000 (South African currency).⁴⁴⁰

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the way Waterford reached out to communities in Swaziland from the time of its establishment. This was made part of the curriculum as students were expected to take part and the founders of the school expected students to get a good

⁴³⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.25.

⁴³⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.25.

⁴³⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.27.

⁴³⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1991, WK Archives, p.17.

⁴⁴⁰ Fiona Mills, interviewed on 24 May 2020, via WhatsApp. Fiona Mills is the Head of Community Service at Waterford.

understanding of the need to be part of the wider Swazi community. The chapter has also showed how the change to the International Baccalaureate (IB) impacted on the community service as it made it mandatory that students who were doing the IB diploma programme do community service. This led to the school expanding its community service, resulting in more outreaches being done among Swazi communities. By the late 1980s various community service projects had been rolled out and they had a positive impact on the people that were reached out to.

Testimonies have been given of the life-changing experiences by recipients of the community service projects and how they valued the support they got from Waterford. This had the effect of making people understand the school better and appreciate its aims and objectives in Swaziland. On the part of the Waterford students, community service was an important aspect of their experience at the school and most of the students who shared their experiences testified that community service was a life changing experience for them.

By the 1990s more ideas were brought forward and new community service projects were also started and some of them like the HIV/AIDS community were in response to the times as HIV/AIDS became a major global pandemic impacting mostly developing countries like Swaziland. It was also noted in this chapter that some of the projects were student initiated; illustrating the ethos of the school of trying to challenge the students and make them take responsibility in the development of their communities. This was not mainstream under the Bantu Education system. Community service was therefore embedded in the school ethos and has remained a strong element of the school's outreach educational efforts.

Chapter 5: “Senzeni Na?” Waterford’s response to key political events in South Africa

Introduction

This chapter explores the interplay of political events and student activism witnessed at Waterford from 1976 to the 1990s. The chapter aims to analyse students’ engagement with some of the major events that unfolded in South Africa as part of Waterford’s fight against apartheid. The two major events that stood out and found expression mostly from South African students at Waterford were the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and the Soweto uprising of 1976. The Sharpeville massacre marked the first violent response by the apartheid government to mass protest and is still remembered as one of the most tragic events in South African history. The Soweto uprising of 1976 marked a turning point in the struggle for a de-racialised education in South Africa.

These two events found expression among students and staff at Waterford and impacted heavily on the future of some of the students’ political life later. It was because of these two events that students became more involved in the struggle for South Africa in various ways. Some students joined the Umkhonto We Sizwe while others began to actively follow the developments in South Africa. The chapter also highlights the reaction of students to the imprisonment of activists, their inhuman treatment and in some instances murder by the apartheid state which shows the school’s involvement in the fight for upholding human rights which was inoculated in students’ lives. The students’ use of arts, clubs and other activities as a way to protest against the injustices of the apartheid system will also be analysed.

The Sharpeville massacre commemorations at Waterford

Sharpeville is a township located to the west of Vereeniging, a small town on the south of Johannesburg. It was built in the early 1940s to accommodate workers, mainly migrants, to service the nearby iron and steel industry. It was set up as a model labour migrant

community, who would travel to work in nearby cities. Due to the Group Areas Act, residents of the nearby black town of Topville - seen by the government as too close to white suburbs - were forced to relocate to Sharpeville.⁴⁴¹ As noted by Tom Lodge, despite its size, proximity to Johannesburg and industrial importance, Vereeniging had never been an important centre of political activity among Africans.⁴⁴² However by the end of the 1950s, for a variety of reasons, unemployment, influx control, and poverty and police activity were having a peculiarly forceful impact on the Vereeniging African population.

Sharpeville's population comprised nearly 21000 children, nearly 7000 adult women and 8600 men. In the 1950s youth unemployment was increasing and more so in 1959 there was not enough high school places for the youth. Coupled with influx control which made it difficult for young men to look for employment, the pass protests of 1960 easily found support. It was because of this pass protest that the town witnessed the brutal force of the police on its residents. The official casualty figures were sixty nine killed, of whom eight were women and ten children; and 180 wounded, of whom fifty were women and children. Of the casualties, 70% were shot in the back - in itself a grave indictment of the police action.⁴⁴³

Numerous accounts have been given to explain what actually happened at Sharpeville. The records of the events at Sharpeville at Waterford have followed the liberation movement narrative. Other perspectives given to "try and save the face of the apartheid movement", were not considered by the students at the school as this was seen as insulting the struggle being fought by Africans in the South African townships. According to the liberation movement's narrative, a group of people were engaged in a peaceful protest against the hated pass laws, and in so doing were asserting their human rights.⁴⁴⁴ Although the protesters were noisy, even festive, with women ululating, there was no violent intent. This version also

⁴⁴¹ Paul Maylam, "A tragic turning-point: remembering Sharpeville fifty years on", Talk given at the Faculty of Humanities Rhodes University 23 March 2010 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, <https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/ruhome/documents/Sharpeville%202010%20Prof%20Paul%20Maylam.pdf>, accessed 24 June 2018.

⁴⁴² Tom Lodge, 2001, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, p.207.

⁴⁴³ Martin, *Justice ignited*, accessed 24 June 2018.

⁴⁴⁴ Martin, *Justice ignited*, accessed 24 June 2018.

suggests premeditation on the part of the police.⁴⁴⁵ This view was also the one that came from an eyewitness, Humphrey Tyler, assistant editor of *Drum*, who said that protestors were chanting “Izwe Lethu” which means “Our land” in IsiZulu, or gave the thumbs up freedom salute and shouted “Afrika”.⁴⁴⁶ There were plenty of police who were armed. A Pan-Africanist leader is also believed to have approached the protestors and implored them to be peaceful as his organisation was against violence.⁴⁴⁷ When the marchers were in the middle of the march, they suddenly heard a rattling of a volley of machine guns.

The massacre is presented as a calculated act by the apartheid security agents who callously mowed down peaceful protesters in order to silence opponents of the state. One retired police commissioner later stated that the police “knew there would be trouble, but wanted the radicals to fully expose themselves before the net was cast”.⁴⁴⁸ Commemorations of the Sharpeville massacre were therefore undertaken at the school with a major focus being the need to prove that accounts given by the apartheid government to justify the massacre were questionable. Students tried by all means to make it known that Sharpeville was never a mistake but a deliberate attempt by the apartheid government to silence black protestors.

The Sharpeville massacre therefore became one of the events that were commemorated at Waterford school even though it had happened before the school was established. Assemblies were conducted annually in commemoration of the event and students coming from countries other than South Africa were also educated about this massacre. Former students interviewed remembered that the Sharpeville massacre was commemorated through talks on how the apartheid system was trying to silence black South Africans.

While there is not much information on what really transpired on the day of commemorations of the Sharpeville massacre like it was with the Soweto uprisings, the Sharpeville massacre lived in the memories of many.⁴⁴⁹ Commemorations were done for example through special assemblies as was the case in 1993 when a group of students commemorated the event and

⁴⁴⁵ Martin, *Justice ignited*, accessed 24 June 2018.

⁴⁴⁶ Mark Rogers and Peter Clinton, 2015, *Right and protest*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p.66.

⁴⁴⁷ Rogers and Clinton, *Rights and protests*, p.66.

⁴⁴⁸ Rogers and Clinton, *Rights and protests*, p.66.

⁴⁴⁹ Zola Maseko and Duma Gqubule pointed to the commemoration of the Sharpeville massacre.

dedicated the assembly to this event. As outlined in a report on the event, a group of students organised the commemoration of an event which had happened many years before any of them were born, but which still made many thousands of people sad and angry.⁴⁵⁰ The report also gave an overview of massacres the world over. The writer who was a student from Scotland was inspired by events in his own country where they had experienced the Glencoe massacre in 1692 in which the McDonalds welcomed a group of soldiers to their village and ate and talked stories with them. Unbeknown to the McDonalds was that the soldiers had orders to kill them. Out of nowhere the soldiers started firing on their hosts and massacred them to send a message to all those who were supporting the rebellion against the King of England.⁴⁵¹

Closer to Swaziland, the Makonde massacre in Mozambique of 1960 was also used as an example of mass killings. This saw the massacre of Makonde people by the Portuguese colonisers as they protested against colonial rule.⁴⁵² Other massacres also discussed included the massacre of people in two little villages in Belgium in 1942 where the people had courageously been hiding Jews from the Nazis, to save them from the extermination camps.⁴⁵³ Ireland also had its story told of Bloody Sunday of 1972 where soldiers surrounded a football field. Supposedly they had been sent to search for Irish Republican Army (IRA) men, but the soldiers opened fire on the crowd and the players. In total, 32 people were killed. Elsewhere, in 1920, during the Irish war of independence people were killed for protesting in what became known as Bloody Sunday in Dublin.⁴⁵⁴ Then there was very close to Swaziland the Sharpeville massacre.

With these examples, the writer went on to ask some questions concerning massacres. He commented:

⁴⁵⁰ Sharpeville Assembly, 22 March 1993, WK Archives.

⁴⁵¹ Sharpeville Assembly, 22 March 1993, WK Archives.

⁴⁵² Sharpeville Assembly, 22 March 1993, WK Archives.

⁴⁵³ Sharpeville Assembly, 22 March 1993, WK Archives.

⁴⁵⁴ <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/bloody-sunday-in-northern-ireland>, accessed 13 August 2018.

Why do we remember these events? Why do we people get sad and angry about these deaths of people we never knew? Because we hate what happened so much that we feel we have to try to make sure, not only that it never happens again but that the deaths make a difference. The disturbing thing noted from all these events was that the man with the gun is a human being. The person who gets shot is also a human being, but the man with the gun forgets that, denies that. He shoots, even though the other person has no weapon, is not expecting an attack, is running, is a little child, was just passing by. To forget, to deny, another's humanity is a terrible thing, and yet we do behave like this too often.⁴⁵⁵

The student also asked at what moments did these massacres happen and his answer was that, they seem to happen when people have been treated for too long as if they were not, in fact, human beings. He went to say:

This was very true for both the Sharpeville massacre and the Makonde uprising in Mozambique. In South Africa, Sharpeville led to increased protests both locally and internationally. Liberations movements, both the PAC and ANC went underground and became more aggressive as they came with the idea of armed resistance. In Mozambique Frelimo became more aggressive and trained young men to take up arms leading to the independence of the country.⁴⁵⁶

From the report, it seems the writer also tried to educate the students on the impacts of these events and inform those who had not heard about these massacres which had occurred due to political protest. By 1993, there were quite a number of both local and international students attending the school who might not have been aware of these events as they had not happened in their own countries. As a result of that, the writer concluded saying:

Is it possible for you to understand why people need to remember these horrible things? Can we all try to understand what is meant by crimes against humanity? And

⁴⁵⁵ Sharpeville Assembly, 22 March 1993, WK Archives.

⁴⁵⁶ Sharpeville Assembly, 22 March 1993, WK Archives.

why it needs all of us to try to prevent any more? Can we all see that when a crowd of innocent people is killed, something very important always manages to survive? That is the idea to get justice. So in honour of all these men, women and children wrongly killed in all those other massacres all over the world, let us remember what happened in Sharpeville, South Africa on 21 March 1960.⁴⁵⁷

This way the students remembered all the world massacres through Sharpeville. The Sharpeville massacre was therefore used by the Waterford students to condemn massacres across the whole world and to show that these injustices were a feature the whole world. It is clear that Stern's idea of promoting education that allowed independent thinking and social justice was taking shape as students could express themselves freely and could point out at injustices of the past.

The Soweto uprising

The Soweto uprising was a series of protests led by black school children that began on the morning of 16 June 1976 in South Africa. The protests were a result of the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in local schools. It is estimated that 20,000 students took part in the protests and were met with fierce police brutality.⁴⁵⁸ The number of protesters killed by police is usually given as 176, but estimates of up to 700 have been made by some.⁴⁵⁹

The news of the massacre seems to have caused racial tensions at Waterford as some black students felt the white students, particularly, white South African students were also to blame for what was happening in South Africa. Catherine Hunter (WK 1971-1977), who is a former student from Waterford, still remembers the altercation she had with some black South African girls who came to her with the picture of Hector Pieterse picture that had come out in the newspaper. As shown in Figure 5.1, the lifeless body of Hector Pieterse was captured by the media and became world news as people questioned the brutality of the apartheid state.

⁴⁵⁷ Sharpeville Assembly, 22 March 1993, WK Archives.

⁴⁵⁸ Christopher Culpin, 2000, *South Africa since 1948*, London, Hodder Education, p.87.

⁴⁵⁹ Culpin, 2000, *South Africa*, p. 87.

Hunter remembers that two black students at Waterford stormed her room with a newspaper that carried the picture and threw it at her saying, “See what your people have done.”⁴⁶⁰

Figure 5.1: The Picture of Hector Pieterse that was on a newspaper brought to Hunter.



Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=hector+pieterse+picture&tbm=isch&source>, accessed 7 July 2018.

To young Catherine, who was sixteen years at the time, this was scaring and shocking. As a young South African who had grown up with her family in Lesotho and had never witnessed the segregation that was happening in South Africa, she had limited or no first-hand experience of the evils of the apartheid. What she knew was that there was a bad government in South Africa that was ill-treating the people but she was not aware of how it was unfolding. Her parents had also raised her quite differently as she never realised the issue of race and colour; to her all people were equal and the same. The incident changed everything for her as she now realised how some black students viewed whites in the school. She was

⁴⁶⁰ Skype interview with Catherine Hunter, 14 January 2018. Hunter was a student at Waterford from 1971 to 1977. She is now a specialist in organisational and leadership development. She is also a Governing Council member of the school.

scared to move from her room that day and missed her meals as she reflected on what she had witnessed. She remarked, “It gave me an identity awareness which I had never thought of before.”⁴⁶¹ While the Soweto uprising awakened in some white South Africans a new identity, it also raised awareness among most of the young students as they saw students their age being involved in protest and standing for their rights.

Couched within the anti-apartheid protest action in general and student activism in particular, the 1976 Soweto uprising is considered a turning point in the history of resistance to apartheid in South Africa and has seen numerous commemorations the world over. Waterford was also involved in commemorating this day as part of its fight against apartheid and it became part of the school calendar from 1977. With marches, night vigils and assemblies, the commemorations led to the rise of serious activism in the school.

When the news of the Soweto massacre first reached Swaziland in 1976, Waterford students organised a march to the Oshoek border post to hand a petition to the authorities.⁴⁶² The border is approximately fifteen kilometres from Waterford and for people walking to the border it can take at least three hours. Duma Gqubule, one of the former students, remembers that he had been part of the discussion about the march to Oshoek but because he was still young, doing Form One at that time, he was not allowed by the senior students to take part so he stayed behind.⁴⁶³ He knows one of his older friends, Gandhi Maseko⁴⁶⁴ (now deceased) who took part in the march but does not remember the event clearly.

After the march, Gqubule remembers that there was a call to fast in solidarity with students in South Africa probably done the following year. The money from the fasting was sent to the Rev. Desmond Tutu for distribution in Soweto.⁴⁶⁵ These commemorations resembled the way the commemorations were done in South Africa in Soweto in the 1980s as they took the form of expression of grief, loss and the will to continue pursuing the liberation project in South

⁴⁶¹ Interview with Catherine Hunter. She was interviewed on the 14th of January 2018 via Skype.

⁴⁶² Interview with Duma Gqubule, 20 September 2018, via WhatsApp call. Oshoek border post is the main border post between South Africa and Swaziland. The area on the Swaziland side of the border is known as Ngwenya, and the road leads directly to Mbabane, the Swazi capital city.

⁴⁶³ Interview with Duma Gqubule, 20 September 2018, via WhatsApp call.

⁴⁶⁴ Gandhi Maseko was a child to one of the ANC activists who sought refuge in Swaziland in the 1970s running away from the apartheid authorities. He and his brother Zola also attended Waterford.

⁴⁶⁵ Interview with Duma Gqubule, 20 September 2018, via WhatsApp call.

Africa.⁴⁶⁶ This saw students singing and reciting poems to honour those students who had died in 1976.

The year 1986 could be described as the turning point in the Waterford commemorations as more students became aware of the events surrounding the Soweto uprising. Under the leadership of Zola Maseko, the commemorations were taken to another level. He asked the school if the Soweto uprising commemorations could be put on the school calendar. Maseko had left Waterford when he was in Form 3 to attend Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) where his father was one of the teachers and was now back at Waterford.⁴⁶⁷ SOMAFCO was an educational institution established by the ANC in 1978 for young people who had fled South Africa in the aftermath of the Soweto uprising. The school was established at Mazimbu in Tanzania. As argued by Sean Morrow, Brown Maaba and Loyiso Phumulani, at SOMAFCO were gathered young people and their teachers, who had been obliged to flee a country whose regime had attempted to mis-educate its youth and then turned viciously on them when they resisted.⁴⁶⁸

Back at Waterford in 1986, Maseko was instrumental in bringing the ideas of the protest movement in South Africa to Swaziland. He was the one responsible for compiling and directing the stage presentation for the 1986 commemoration of the Soweto uprising. As alluded to by Malan who helped with the planning of the commemorations:

There was a South African family staying in Swaziland – the Maseko family – who sent their children to WK. I will mention just two of them: Leon Gandhi Maseko (now dead) and his young brother Zola Maseko. At one point, Mr and Mrs Maseko left Swaziland to teach at the famed ANC Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College (SOMAFCO) in Tanzania; and we were sorry to see young Zola leave WK to join

⁴⁶⁶ Ali Khangela Hlongwane, 2008, “Commemoration, memory and liberation: The South African experience”, *Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol. 2, 4, p1.

⁴⁶⁷ After a land donation from the Tanzanian government, the ANC established its educational centre, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom School. It was named after one of the ANC struggle stalwarts, Solomon Mahlangu who died in 1979 in police custody awaiting a death sentence, <https://somafcotrust.org.za/about-the-trust-2/solomon-mahlangu/>, accessed 7 July 2018.

⁴⁶⁸ Sean Morrow, Brown Maaba and Loyiso Phumulani, *Education in Exile: SOMFAFCO, the ANC School in Tanzania, 1978 to 1992*, <https://www.hsrbpress.ac.za/books/education-in-exile>, accessed on 4 February 2021.

them. But it was to prove a blessing: two years later Zola returned to WK to do the two-year IB course. In his IB1 year he came to me and said that he and a few students wanted to commemorate June 16 and would I just look after them? So, the idea okayed by the Head, at an assembly we asked for anyone interested to join a committee to research June 16 and plan a commemoration to meet at break. What was really great was to have several of the overseas UWC students take up the invitation. Week after week this group met and talked and read and planned. After a full-school assembly that focused on the events of June 16, Staff allowed any senior students who wished to, plus more junior Southern African students, to miss classes and climb up the hillside to spend the morning together, usually dressed in black and white.⁴⁶⁹

Figure 5.2: Zola Maseko at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania in 1984.



Photo courtesy of Zola Maseko.

Commenting on the performance, one of the teachers said, “with an authenticity that was stunning, the students re-enacted the events of 16 June, and celebrated in song and dance and in poems the sufferings and more so, the strengths of the people”.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁹ Email correspondence with Robin Malan, 28 November 2018.

⁴⁷⁰ Minutes of the Soweto commemorations planning meeting, 1989, WK Archives.

Asked about his role and contributions to the Soweto commemorations, Zola was a bit modest at first, saying it was all a team effort. But when further probed he was very clear that his years in Tanzania were the reason why he became sufficiently politically conscious to be able to lead in the commemorations. He argued that his experience in Tanzania had shaped his later life, saying:

When I went to attend SOMAFCO, we were taught South African history from an African perspective. Since it was an ANC school we commemorated ANC important days. ANC comrades would now and again come to address us. I remember the likes of Oliver Tambo, Thabo Mbeki and many others who came to the school. We also had cultural evenings where we sang liberation songs, among other things. So when I came back to Waterford in 1986, I was very much inspired and ready to fight for my country.⁴⁷¹

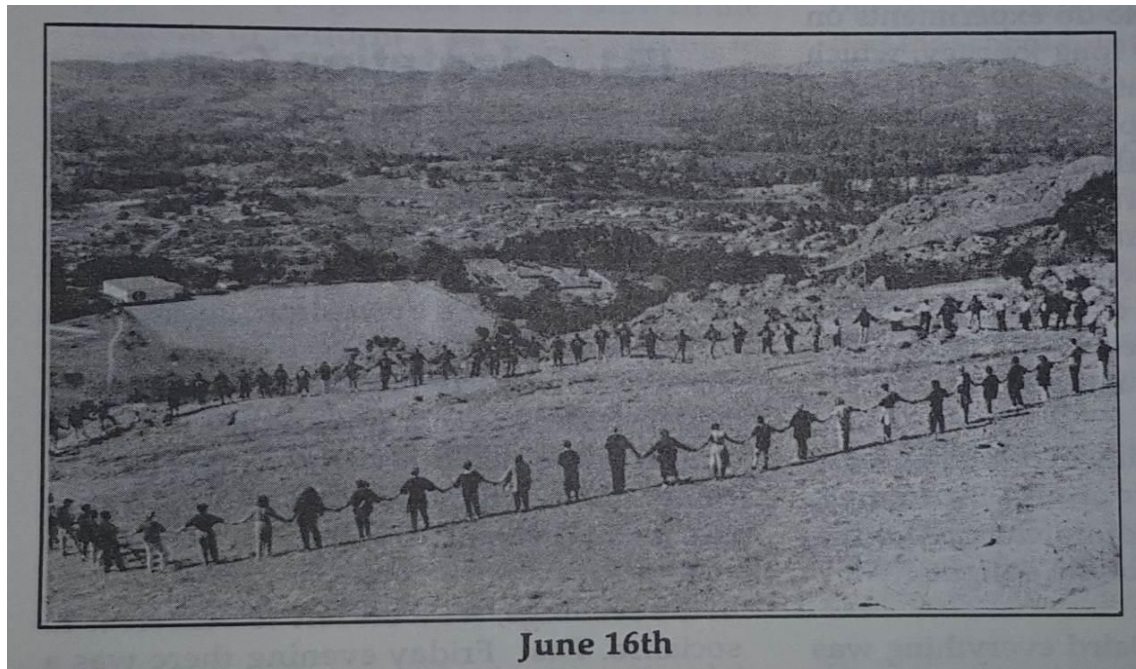
When Zola came back to Waterford, he stressed that he introduced the same culture of activism that he had witnessed in Tanzania. He also said that he was the one who introduced the cultural evenings at the Soweto commemorations at Waterford.⁴⁷²

Such commemorations would from that year be done every year. On the day, a number of students, mostly South African, would not attend classes as they continued with the commemorations. They would go onto the Waterford hill, known as Tom, and gather together to sing freedom songs as a sign of respect for those who had suffered and died in South Africa. As shown in Figure 5.3, students would form a circle holding hands as a sign of solidarity to the youth around the world to fight injustices like the apartheid system.

⁴⁷¹ Interview with Zola Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁴⁷² Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

Figure 5.3: Students commemorating the Soweto uprising on Mount Tom, 1992.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK Archives, p.7.

They would be dressed in black, making an impressive sight sitting on the rocks at the top of the hill, and the sound of their singing could be heard coming down to the campus giving a chilling and beautiful feeling to the day.⁴⁷³ The 1986 commemoration attracted the attention of the Swaziland Police Special Branch who came to the school and had a discussion with the Principal. Malan still has memories of the visit by the police and said:

It's true, too, that, that first serious commemoration drew the attention of the Royal Swazi Police who saw the people up there on the hillside and heard their singing, and came to ask; Athol⁴⁷⁴ gave them some placatory explanation; in succeeding years, the students went up the hillside away from that facing Mbabane.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷³ Soweto uprising planning minutes, June 1986, WK Archives.

⁴⁷⁴ Athol Jennings was the Principal of the school at that time.

⁴⁷⁵ Email correspondence with Malan, 28 November 2018.

Zola also confirmed the incident that the Special Branch of the Swazi Police came to the school. He remembered how they were accompanied by some journalist from one of the Swazi newspapers and the photographer took some photos of the students protesting against the apartheid government. One of the students, Nonhlanhla, grabbed the camera from the photographers and took the film and destroyed the photographs that had been taken.⁴⁷⁶ For Zola Maseko, these photographs would have been dangerous, he commented:

Some of us came from Soweto and it was dangerous to have your photographs taken as it would easily end up in South Africa and you would be declared a terrorist and have your home and family tortured. There was even a risk of being arrested as you tried to cross back into South Africa. When the Principal tried to talk us into apologising we were not ready for that because we felt the photographer had invaded our privacy.⁴⁷⁷

That year was to be the last year for Maseko at Waterford as he went on to join Umkhonto We Sizwe in Angola for military training. He was happy to leave Waterford as he knew that the students were ready to continue with the struggle.⁴⁷⁸

Commemorations would continue the following year in 1987. The minutes of the planning meeting for the June 1987 commemorations show that Malan had suggested a 24-hour fast.⁴⁷⁹ While Malan's ideas were popular among students, there were some who doubted his sincerity. This was mainly due to his race and surname. His surname was probably the most controversial as the first apartheid Prime Minister had been a Malan. One of the former students, Gqubule, shared that on one of the weekends when Malan was away for the weekend, they broke into his house as they suspected him to be an informer. The mission did not yield anything that confirmed their suspicions as they were able to find only some jazz music cassettes.⁴⁸⁰ It was from that day that the doubting students started accepting and

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Zola Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with Zola Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Zola Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁴⁷⁹ Soweto uprising Planning minutes, 1987, WK Archives. Robin Malan was a very influential teacher at the school and he was behind most of the activities that students did in expressing their thoughts on the events in South Africa. He is now retired and lives in Cape Town.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with Duma Gqubule, 20 September 2018, via WhatsApp call.

understanding him. Malan said that, he was not aware that the students had thought of him like that and this was a big surprise for him. For him, most of the students had been quite understanding but he remembers that there was an incident (which he got to know about later) when a parent of one of the British day students sent the boy to the school to spread a rumour that he was an apartheid spy. The then Principal, Athol Jennings, intervened on the matter but only shared this with Malan years after the incident.⁴⁸¹

Indeed, Malan remembers that he did not encounter any open hostility and suspicion from students. Most students therefore supported his ideas such that when he proposed in 1987 a longer fasting period than had been done in the previous years, there were few who disagreed. Some students proposed that it should be from June 15 midnight to June 16 midnight. With no conclusion being reached initially, the matter was left to be discussed in a follow up meeting. There was also a suggestion of painting on walls and one proposition was painting the wall near the tuck-shop, while some people suggested the library wall.

Malan however expressed concern about the permanence of the painting on the walls as this would get a backlash from the administration. Another teacher, Mrs Flyn, further suggested the watching of a movie as one of the activities, and her suggestion was embraced by everyone.⁴⁸² For the assembly, there were suggestions for a drama which would show the effects of the June 16 event particularly on the youth and their present day contributions to the struggle. There was a further suggestion to showcase the experience of photographers and media personalities especially the iconic case of Sam Nzima who took the picture of Hector Pieterse that became the rallying point behind international attention on apartheid.⁴⁸³ There was a strong feeling from all the students present that events of June 16 should form the core of the play. Songs and poems were also proposed for the day. The iconic song, *Senzeni Na?* (translated, what wrong have we done in Zulu) was proposed. This song had become a very popular freedom song in South Africa from the late 1970s.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸¹ Email correspondence with Malan, 28 November 2018, via Email.

⁴⁸² Soweto uprising planning minutes, 1987, WK Archives.

⁴⁸³ Soweto uprising planning minutes, 1987, WK Archives.

From there, it was suggested that a memorial would follow and then everyone would move up the hill. On the day of commemorations students were also encouraged to fast. Fasting information showed that this was done on a volunteer basis as there was a form that was given to the students which asked them whether they wanted to fast in solidarity with Soweto uprising or not. Figure 5.4 below shows how it was done. Students had an option to be exempted from fasting, fast for 24 hours or fast for 36 hours hence fasting was not forced on students.

Figure 5.4: Fasting for the June 16 commemoration, June 1987.

Circle: BOARDING or DAY

Place an "X" in the ONE box that applies to you:

On THURSDAY 16 June :

I DO NOT WANT TO FAST & SO WILL ATTEND ALL MEALS	
I WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE 24-HOUR FAST & SO WILL NOT ATTEND BREAKFAST AND LUNCH	
I WANT TO FAST FOR THE WHOLE OF 16 JUNE (ie 36 hours from ~~WEDNESDAY~~ supper to FRIDAY breakfast) & SO WILL NOT ATTEND BREAKFAST, LUNCH OR SUPPER	

Source: WK Archives.

Minutes of the planning meeting for the 1988 June 16 commemorations showed that students had planned a special assembly with an extract from the book by Allan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill, *Dawn to Dusk in Whirlwind before the Storm*, to describe the events of 16 June. The book looks into the Soweto uprising and gives warning to the apartheid government of the impending troubles for the government, in the words of John Vorster (South African Prime Minister from 1966-1978), “the storm had not yet struck but they were only experiencing the whirlwind before the storm.” Singers were to come from *Khuluma* and some of these were to form a core for the assembly choir. Candles were to be lit in commemoration of the day and workshops were to be discussed at *Khuluma*.⁴⁸⁵

There was also a plan to make posters and these were to be put up around the school as well as newspaper cuttings. Students Wendy and Thabo and teacher Malan were tasked with providing historical material. Other students, including Thabang, Nolene and Alexandra were to organise poetry to be read at assembly. Jabu, Alister, Nicky and Dumisani were tasked with lunch time discussion sessions. Nolene and Alex were to provide videos. Malan was to explore ideas that had an educational dimension.⁴⁸⁶ Maseko reiterated that it was common practice for the commemorations to have students lead most of the events of the day, “but we were always lucky to have teachers like Malan who helped in a variety of ways.”⁴⁸⁷ Malan acknowledged that students were always willing to organise the events of the commemorations and never required much from teachers. He also added that the planned events for the celebrations were always a success as the students were dedicated to the commemorations, as for some it was an opportunity to find closure on the events in South Africa.⁴⁸⁸

The minutes of the commemorations of 1989 show that once again coordinators had been appointed for the event and different students were given a variety of responsibilities. Assembly was to be overseen by a student Ivan, breaks and music were given to Jabu, hill

⁴⁸⁵ Minutes of planning meeting, 6 June 88, WK Archives. Khuluma was a debating club that was started by students in the 1970s. It was an avenue for students to express their opinions on issues facing the world.

⁴⁸⁶ Minutes of planning meeting, 6 June 1988, WK Archives.

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with Zola Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁴⁸⁸ Email correspondence with Malan, 28 November 2018.

programme was assigned to Thabo and there were suggestions to have it with a more specific theme. Videos were to be shown at lunch from 13h00-13h30 and this was assigned to Ben O'Connor, one of the teachers. Poetry reading was also proposed for lunch. From 15h10 to 17h10 workshops were to be done under the coordination of Thabo. There was a call to have Form 3 and 4 learners excused from class periods 7 and 8 so that they could join others in watching the videos. There was also a need to negotiate with the administration to allow for the evening study time to be used to watch a movie "*Cry Freedom*" written by John Briley and directed by Richard Attenborough.⁴⁸⁹ The movie delves into the ideas of discrimination, political corruption, and the repercussions of violence.

What was clear by 1989 was that, though getting support from some of the teachers like Malan, the commemorations were a student led initiative. They were led by students mostly from South Africa and they started with an assembly and lessons would be cancelled for those who wanted to take part in the proceedings. Students were required to wear black either on its own or in some combination with white or grey, a sign to show that they were in mourning.⁴⁹⁰ As it was a student led initiative, students were to coordinate the activities of the day. At assembly, plays were performed to showcase how the uprising had unfolded.⁴⁹¹

In 1990, the programme for the commemoration also showed that there was a planning committee in place which had come up with a programme for the day.⁴⁹² It started with a call to wear black, then a commemoration assembly. The assembly would be marked by awareness sessions on the importance of the day.⁴⁹³ At break time, freedom songs would be sang in the quad. At lunchtime there were recitation of poems in the quad. There were also workshops and these were student led. The workshops that were offered included presentations on the ANC by two students, Jeremy and Warren. "An overview of education in

⁴⁸⁹ Minutes of the planning committee, June 1998, WK Archives. *Cry Freedom*, is a 1987 British-South African epic drama film directed by Richard Attenborough, set in late-1970s apartheid era South Africa. The film centres on the real-life events involving black activist Steve Biko and his friend Donald Woods.

⁴⁹⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1989, WK Archives, p.7.

⁴⁹¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK archives, p.11.

⁴⁹² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK archives. p.11.

⁴⁹³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK archives, p.11.

South Africa” to be presented by another student, Thabo.⁴⁹⁴ The issues of the “Death penalty” was presented by Romeo and “sanctions in South Africa” which was presented by Ivan. The day ended with the students watching a video and on that year they repeated, “*Cry Freedom*”. Moreover, students took some time to remember Steve Bantu Biko.⁴⁹⁵

Some of the students involved in the late 1980s include the Tutu and Mandela children. Zola Maseko also noted that Trevor Tutu, son of Anglican Reverend Desmond Tutu, was also very instrumental in the school’s commemorations of the events in South Africa in the 1970s and 80s.⁴⁹⁶ The Mandela daughters, Zenani and Zindzile (Zindzi) Mandela were also actively involved in Waterford student political activities.⁴⁹⁷ Zindzi Mandela, shown below in Figure 5.5 in 1985 when she was reading her father’s response to P.W. Botha’s offer of conditional release of Mandela, continued to be very active in liberation struggle politics after finishing school at Waterford.

⁴⁹⁴ Minutes of planning meeting, 1989, WK Archives.

⁴⁹⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.11.

⁴⁹⁶ Interview with Mike Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

⁴⁹⁷ Interview with Zola Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

Figure 5.5: Zindzile Mandela⁴⁹⁸ addressing a crowd in Soweto

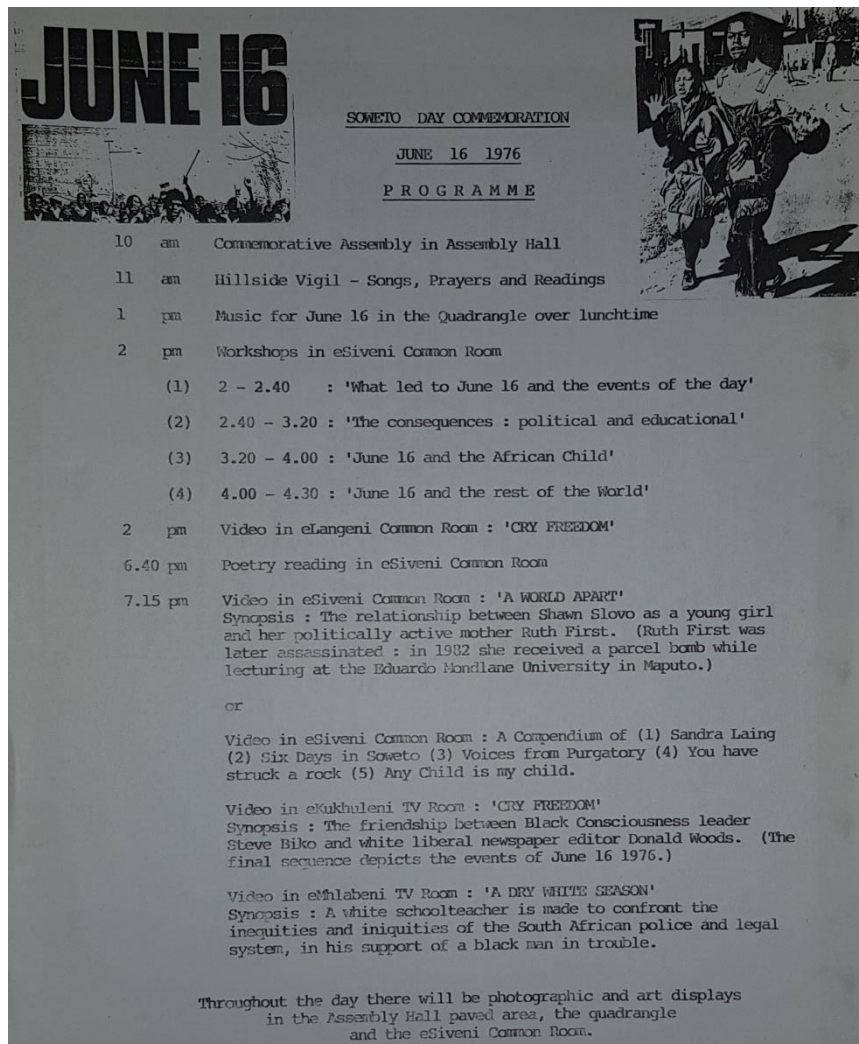


Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=zindzi+mandela+pictures&tbm=isch&source>,
accessed 28 May 2020.

Soweto Day commemorations had well designed programmes (see Figure 5.6). It is clear that Soweto uprising commemorations were important to the students and they were a full day programme. The commemorations started as a whole school event and as the day progressed most of the events were voluntary as there were a variety of forums to attend.

⁴⁹⁸ Zindzile Mandela passed away in 2020.

Figure 5.6: Soweto Day Commemoration programme, 1986.



Source: WK Archives.

Controversy around the Waterford Soweto uprising commemorations

In October 1992, one of the organising teachers of the Soweto commemorations was asked to give a full report on the Soweto commemorations to the Governing Council. The teacher, Malan, gave an account of the commemorations outlining some of the challenges that had been encountered over the years. This was done to allow the Governing Council to review the event and see whether it was still appropriate for the school. Zola Maseko was noted to have led the first serious official commemorations. It was also noted that this was a student led

initiative officially started in 1986, a decade after the Soweto uprising.⁴⁹⁹ In subsequent years, the Principal felt it more appropriate for the June 16 commemoration to have official school backing and to be part of the official school calendar.

However, it seemed there were some sections of the student body that were not in support of the commemorations and felt students were being pressured to take part. As a result, in 1991 the Headmaster's Administration Group reviewed the event. At the review, one of the members of the Administration Group who was a former student, parent and member of the Governing Council, Dr Xolile Guma, urged the planning committee to listen carefully to what the students were saying and to take their views into account.⁵⁰⁰ As a result of these deliberations, the June 16 commemorations were not done that year.

The issue was raised again in September 1991, where students claimed that they had not been consulted about the commemorations claiming that the proposals offered at the Administration Group were not representative of student opinion. Out of this, the Student Representative Council decided to run an opinion poll. The poll reflected the divisions among students, with one third voting that June 16 commemorations and other South African commemorations be continued as official school events, another one third voted that they should not and the last third claimed they did not mind or know.⁵⁰¹

As result of these disparities in student opinions, in 1992, after a close Governing Council vote, it was decided that 16 June be a day without lessons, downtown visits or home visits and that a programme of events would be planned for the day for those who wished to attend them.⁵⁰² A planning committee was reinstated and Malan was tasked with chairing it. The committee was made up of staff and students, some of whom were South Africans, some of whom were non-South Africans. The committee had always had some challenges in the planning of the event. One notable challenge had been witnessed in 1990, when students on

⁴⁹⁹ Robin Malan, 1992, Report on the Soweto Commemorations, WK Archives.

⁵⁰⁰ Malan, 1992, Report on the Soweto Commemorations, WK Archives.

⁵⁰¹ Malan, 1992, Report on the Soweto Commemorations, WK Archives.

⁵⁰² Malan, 1992, Report on the Soweto Commemorations, WK Archives.

the committee fought over issues of ideology, which manifested into wider issues around political thinking between students who were members of the Black Consciousness Movement and the African National Congress. Mediation was required in order to ameliorate these tensions.⁵⁰³

The issue of the school mostly focusing on events in South Africa was also featured in one of the school's magazines, *The Blue Dart*. This was a magazine that was run and directed by the students and in some of the editions, the school policies came under scrutiny. Some of the students felt that apartheid South Africa was the main focus of school events and commemorations at the expense of broader global issues. Commemorations of the Soweto uprising had become part of the school calendar and most of the talks that were done at the school were focused on apartheid South Africa. The headmaster, Mr Richard G. Eyeington, responded to these concerns explaining the school's stance on the issues. He wrote:

My third objection relates to the complaint (although the author in the letter seems to indicate that a fair majority of students feel this way too) that Waterford is too South Africa politically saturated. I am afraid that if the author means that the school places some importance on enlightening our student body on the political situation in South Africa, then he is certainly going to live with this. It is fundamental and basic to our very existence in Southern Africa and will continue to be until such a time as real and meaningful change is forthcoming in apartheid. However, I do object to the comment that blinkers are put on us that we only see South Africa. Blinkers as I am sure the author is aware, are used for animals to make sure they are not distracted by what is going on, around them. No one prevents students from reading, listening or seeing virtually anything they wish...⁵⁰⁴

Criticisms were also levelled against the June 16 commemorations concerning the way students were made to be part of the activities. A section of the student body felt that they were forced to commemorate the day. This, Maseko, said in an interview, was a small group

⁵⁰³ Robin Malan, 1992, Report on the Soweto Commemorations, WK Archives.

⁵⁰⁴ *The Blue Dart Chronicle*, 1987, WK Archives, p.9.

of students who were not very knowledgeable about South African history. They comprised mainly new students who were new to the continent.⁵⁰⁵ For Maseko, some new students would come to Waterford without any idea of what was happening around the world.⁵⁰⁶ As a response, the chairperson said that the only event that was ever a whole school event was the morning commemorative assembly of 20-30 minutes. Thereafter, all events on the programme were voluntary, whether during class time or free time. From then on, the planning committee made sure that all the advertising was addressed only to those who wished to attend.⁵⁰⁷

There were also students who complained that they were forced to fast on the day of the Soweto commemorations. For a couple of years, the planning committee felt the need to take action and hence thought it worthwhile to skip some meals and make sure that the money saved by not eating in the school dining room would be donated to South African struggle funds. As there was pressure from the bursar who deducted the money from students, there was need to make sure that everything was done accurately and hence the committee emphasised commitment from the students willing to fast and this might have been interpreted as intimidation or pressure by students who were not willing to partake. This led to the whole idea being scrapped from the commemorations.⁵⁰⁸

On the argument that some of the students felt that the commemorations were too parochial and should be more internationally focused, a decision was taken to include international issues. This was immediately implemented. For example, in 1989 one of the South African students, Ivan Mofokeng from Daveyton, made connections between the Soweto uprising and the Tiananmen Square events that had just occurred in China.⁵⁰⁹ In 1990, Art teacher, Ramila Patel, gave an account of how the television coverage of Soweto in 1976 had spotlighted the political awareness of her generation in the United Kingdom, and how the actions of the Soweto students had given them new hope in dealing with their encounters with the racist

⁵⁰⁵ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁵⁰⁶ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁵⁰⁷ Malan, 1992, Report on the Soweto commemorations, WK Archives.

⁵⁰⁸ Malan, 1992, Report on the Soweto commemorations, WK Archives.

⁵⁰⁹ Minutes of the Soweto Commemorations Indaba, 1989, WK Archives.

National Front.⁵¹⁰ As will be discussed in the next chapter, it seemed the move by the school to join the United World College movement in the early 1980s brought about new thinking amongst all the stakeholders on the need for the school to embrace world events.

South African students were also perceived to be making the June 16 commemorations too militant. In the 1980s and 1990s, the British were sponsoring a number of South African students to study at Waterford. As a result of this, there was a surge in the number of South African students enrolling to learn at Waterford. In 1988 and 1989, some of the students had actually been in Soweto at the time of the massacre and had some memories of it. This had the effect of making the commemorations more significant as some of these students recounted their memories of the events.

One incident that was used to explain the issue of militancy by some students was a case of one student from Soweto (Thabo Ngubeni) who was involved in an incident in which he hit an Italian boy (Maurillo). Even though Thabo had been violent on this particular instance, he was considered one of the most reserved and respectful boys from the South African townships.⁵¹¹ The altercation came as a result of the misunderstanding between Maurillo and Thabo on why Thabo who was supposed to be fasting was drinking milk at break time. Thabo who was sick with ulcers always observed a partial fast which Maurillo could not understand. Maurillo allegedly pointed a finger in the face of Thabo and threatened to kill him and in response Thabo hit him in the face. In his account, Malan suggests that Maurillo was a trouble maker. The issue of race and identity comes out in Malan's account of the events. He said of the incident:

The most important element arose when this big white boy pointed a finger in the face of this smaller black boy who had spent the entire morning remembering the day he had experienced 12 years before, and the white boy said to the black boy, I will kill you! It seemed distinctly odd, in these circumstances, that it was the township student who was accused of provoking violence.⁵¹²

⁵¹⁰ Minutes of the events of the 1989 Soweto Commemorations indaba, WK Archives.

⁵¹¹ Minutes of the events of the 1989 Soweto Commemorations indaba, WK Archives.

⁵¹² Minutes of the events of the 1989 Soweto Commemorations indaba, June 1989, WK archives.

This issue divided staff and students as some staff felt that Thabo needed to be put through a disciplinary hearing with his parents involved while others felt his past had put scars in his life that he had not overcome yet. Having witnessed the violence in the 1970s at the age of eleven, it was felt that he needed support to get out of this. In a number of correspondences between the school Principal and some of the staff members there were mixed feelings on the reactions of Thabo.

Malan strongly felt that the boy needed support as he had arrived at Waterford with so much hope for the future. He referred to one of Thabo's personal accounts in *Phoenix*, the school magazine, which captured the life stories of students. In this magazine Thabo had expressed his appreciation for coming to a place like Waterford where there was peace and happiness very different from his home place in Soweto where there was violence all the time.⁵¹³ This as Malan remarked was an obvious sign that Thabo was very much aware of his background and needed some closure. This helps to show how Waterford in a way tried to support victims of the apartheid state but obviously facing some challenges. It was clear therefore that for some people the fight against apartheid might not have been seen clearly outside of South African borders. In the end there was agreement to support Thabo emotionally.

Another criticism of the Soweto uprising commemorations related to the songs that were sung by students. Most of the songs had slogans such as, "Down with Verwoerd", "One settler one bullet" and "Let us go and kill them". These slogans seemed to have been seen by some of the students to have been provocative and to be against the whole idea of racial unity and harmony among students in the school. Students from South Africa who had witnessed the impacts of apartheid rule had very strong views about the fight against apartheid and for some who came from far afield this might not have made a lot sense. Even though some students felt that the South African Waterford students were becoming provocative and militant, the atmosphere of activism had taken over even on the international scene on the human rights abuses by the apartheid state. Waterford students were not the only ones becoming more involved. While there were these concerns in the school, the school authorities felt it was part and parcel of the commemorations.

⁵¹³ Minutes of the events of the 1989 Soweto Commemorations indaba, June 1989, WK archives.

On the international scene, student activism against apartheid also took centre stage in schools and universities the world over. The study of the policies of apartheid South Africa was responsible for rejuvenating student organizations and action on college and university campuses across the United States. An editorial appearing in the *New York Times* on 2 April 1978, said: "The campuses are astir again and the issue is South Africa. Students and teachers want to attack that nation's racist policies through the power of the American corporations doing business there."⁵¹⁴ As put by George M. Houser, almost overnight, campaigns began springing up on campuses shortly after the Soweto uprising to pressure the universities and colleges to divest themselves of stockholding in corporations doing business in South Africa.⁵¹⁵

Campaigns included the one at Princeton University, where the People's Front for the Liberation of Southern Africa was set up. The South Africa Support Committee was also organized at Amherst, Massachusetts.⁵¹⁶ At Stanford University the Stanford Committee for a Responsible Investment Policy led the effort. A South African Catalyst Project was also set up to help initiate and co-ordinate efforts on a large number of campuses in the western part of the United States.⁵¹⁷ A North East coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa was organized in the past. Demonstrations, mass meetings, leaflet distribution, confrontation tactics with university administrators and trustees were actively pursued.⁵¹⁸ It is thus clear that the protest mounted at Waterford was witnessed the world over and had the same message to the apartheid government calling for an end to the massacres of innocent people.

⁵¹⁴ George M. Houser, 1982, *International impact of the South African struggle for liberation*, <http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000562>, accessed 30 January 2019.

⁵¹⁵ Houser, 1982, *International impact of the South African struggle for liberation*, <http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000562>, accessed 30 January 2019.

⁵¹⁶ . Houser, 1982, *International impact of the South African struggle for liberation*, <http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000562>, accessed 30 January 2019.

⁵¹⁷ . Houser, 1982, *International impact of the South African struggle for liberation*, <http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000562>, accessed 30 January 2019.

⁵¹⁸ Houser, 1982, *International impact of the South African struggle for liberation*, <http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000562>, accessed 30 January 2019.

Remembering apartheid activists and heroes

Waterford also honoured apartheid activists who were detained or murdered by the apartheid state. One murdered activist who was honoured in the late 1970s was Steve Bantu Biko. Biko became known around the world after his death at the hands of the apartheid police in 1977. He was the Black Consciousness leader who stood for the human rights of the oppressed black people in South Africa. As explained by his colleague Malusi Mpumlwana, Biko realised that a new psychological climate had to be created if the liberation of his country was to come about.⁵¹⁹ He aimed to awaken the people as to who they are by getting them to state their identity. His philosophy was grounded on African humanism, affirmation of black identity and psychological emancipation.

Material on Steve Biko was also found in the school archive, which showed that students had looked into the life and death of Biko. The movie *Biko Inquest* by Jon Blair and Norman Fenton was watched by students. The movie looks into the suspicious death of Steve Biko based on the official transcripts of the investigation into his death.⁵²⁰ In the 1987 commemoration of Biko's death, a play was done during school assembly showing how Biko was killed. Ben O' Connor, a retired teacher at Waterford who was part of that play, still remembers how the play was performed to illustrate in practice the atrocities of the South African apartheid system. He was acting the role of the police officer who took Biko into custody. He said of his role, "I was acting as one of the police officers and I remember going to where Biko was addressing a crowd and arresting Biko saying, "I am arresting you for undermining the government and causing trouble in the county".⁵²¹ The students who performed the play had read about the Biko arrest and his subsequent death and made the play closely resemble the events leading to the death of Biko. Malan directed the play and also played a part in the acting.

⁵¹⁹ Vuyisile Msila, 2013, "Stephen Biko's philosophy and its pedagogical implications", *Journal of Creative Education*, Vol.4,

8,https://www.researchgate.net/publication/253651048_Stephen_Biko's_Philosophy_and_Its_Pedagogical_Implications_in_South_Africa, accessed 4 February 2021.

⁵²⁰ <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0086966/>, accessed 1 September 2020.

⁵²¹ Ben O'Connor was interviewed on 19 September 2018 at Waterford in the foyer of the classroom block. He was a teacher at Waterford and he taught Spanish and French before his retirement in 2019.

The film *Cry Freedom* also became very popular in the school after it came out in 1987. Students used this movie as one of their main afternoon activities to showcase the issues that were affecting South Africa during their commemorations. Another apartheid struggle icon who was also remembered was Nelson Mandela who was in Robben Island prison at the time. A booklet detailing the Nelson Mandela Rivonia trial speech was given to students after its publication in 1988. This was used to also garner support for the Free Mandela Campaign. The Mandela arrest and trial was also showcased in numerous plays at the school. This was a very difficult time for the Mandela sisters who attended the school at this time.

Waterford also witnessed protest illuminating through theatre and art. Cristiana Olcese has noted that one set of voices commonly neglected in the mainstream social movements' literature is that of artists: producers and performers of music, street performances, art projects and other creative expressions.⁵²² She thus commented:

On the strength of ethnography's ability to capture the full complexity of a contentious event—its polyphony and multiple forms of communication... art in protests is not only instrumental to movement leaders' political agenda but also makes important unique contributions to social change.⁵²³

Malan was instrumental in directing some theatre art plays with students that also had themes relating to the challenges in South Africa. These fit very well under the genre of protest art. In the 1980s and 1990s several plays were done including, "Little Malcolm and His struggle against the Eunuchs" by David Halliwell, "Inhlupheko ye Ndoda" (A man's life struggles) by Charles Vusi Magubane and Vincent Liu's "To tell the truth... in the matter of J Oppenheimer", "The Chicago conspiracy", "Black man in white court: Nelson Mandela" and The Saso /BPC trial: Steve Biko. Theatre also looked at the Biko inquest by John Blair and

⁵²² Cristiana Olcese, *Ethnography of conflict: Art vs. politics in protests*, <https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/media/livacuk/schoolofmanagement/docs/abstracts/ethnography2009/Olcese.pdf>, accessed 9 January 2019.

⁵²³ Cristiana Olcese, *Ethnography of conflict: Art vs. politics in protests*, <https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/media/livacuk/schoolofmanagement/docs/abstracts/ethnography2009/Olcese.pdf>, accessed 9 January 2019.

Norman Fenton. Art was also used as a form of resistance as more reference was made to the struggle in South Africa. An art impression by one student, Mamakgabo Sibindi, titled “Mother Africa”, showcased the struggles faced by the Church in South Africa and the story was based on Sue Williamson’s, “Resistance Art in South Africa”. Arts festivals were held every year and most of the themes in the 1970s and 1980s revolved around apartheid South Africa. The one in 1988 for example showcased Township Boy based on the well-known South African theme, “Township Life”. Commenting on the festival performance on Township Life, Bertram Fakudze, who had been invited to the festival, remarked that the Arts performance managed to entertain while delivering a message only Botha fails to hear.⁵²⁴ In this way it can be argued that Waterford stood as a symbol of anti-apartheid protest.

Impacts of the Commemorations

The commemorations of the important events that had happened in South Africa had numerous consequences for Waterford. While some students became radicalised and went on to join the liberation movements, there were some who decided to continue protesting at the school. The fact that some students went on to join the liberation speaks volumes about how the school contributed to the apartheid fight in a direct way. Although there is no actual figure of how many students might have joined Umkhonto We Sizwe at this time, it was clear that student activism at Waterford had gone beyond the confines of the school. A very significant aspect of Waterford was its relationship with MK. The Umkhonto We Sizwe had strong connections with Swaziland and set up bases in the country. Thula Simpson, a historian who has done extensive work on the MK operations in countries neighbouring South Africa, has pointed out that by 1974 there was significant activism related to the ANC and MK in Swaziland as there were some student activists from Soweto who were studying in Swaziland. These were to be joined by MK operatives who came to set up bases in Swaziland.⁵²⁵ These bases were used to coordinate their military activities in the region.

⁵²⁴ Cristiana Olcese, *Ethnography of conflict: Art vs. politics in protests*, accessed 9 January 2019.

⁵²⁵ See for instance Thula Simpson, 2009, “The bay in the ocean: A history of the ANC in Swaziland, 1960-1979”, *African Historical Review*, Vol, 41.

The close proximity of the liberation movement to Waterford school had an impact on the political activities in the school. With the active commemorations in remembrance of the Soweto uprising some students felt the need to be part of the wider liberation movement. Therefore, while some students were content with being active at the school expressing their views against the apartheid government, there were some students who felt that they needed to be more involved, and so they went to join the MK. Catherine Hunter remembers well how one day in the 1970s they woke up to the news that one of the boys had left to join the liberation movement. The boy, Víctor Moche, had gone to bed in the normal way but by the next day he had disappeared. He is believed to have left the school in the middle of the night and walked through the mountains to join MK.⁵²⁶ Although there was no clear official message from the school on his whereabouts, there was a strong understanding within the student body that he had gone to join MK. Hunter believes that it was not only Moche who left but there were more students who disappeared to join MK.

Hunter, however, remarked that although there was never a formal connection between the ANC and the school she was sure that the school authorities and some students might have had some very strong connection and there was always some anxiety on the part of some staff who were against the idea of the school becoming a target of the apartheid government. For example, she remembers how in 1984 when she came back to Swaziland after having put herself into semi exile when her brother was facing prosecution for his involvement in protest against the apartheid government that there was concern when she visited the school.⁵²⁷ Some of the staff felt that she was going to bring unnecessary attention to the school and confront the school with some political challenges. She therefore decided to stay in town but kept a strong connection with some of the teachers and students at the school.⁵²⁸

Mandi Mzimba who also attended Waterford in the late 1970s also remembers that there were some students who were very active in liberation struggle politics who left the school to join MK. She particularly remembers Muziwakhe Ngwenya (who became known by his struggle

⁵²⁶ Interview with Hunter, 14 January 2018, via Skype call.

⁵²⁷ Interview with Hunter, 14 January 2018, via Skype call.

⁵²⁸ Interview with Hunter, 14 January 2018, via Skype call.

name Thami Zulu (TZ)) who she believes joined Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) around 1976.⁵²⁹ Mzimba further went on to share that Muziwakhe was two streams ahead of her and she believes he must have left Waterford and gone straight to join Umkhonto We Sizwe and this was later confirmed when she heard that he had been killed at an MK base in Zambia.⁵³⁰ According to the SABC Truth and Reconciliation report, Thami Zulu rose through the MK ranks and by 1983 he was head of the MK's Natal underground machinery and a senior official of the Communist Party.⁵³¹ In 1988 one of his senior comrades confessed that he was a spy. Zulu was detained with no trial. He became very ill in detention and shortly after his release in November 1989, he died. No satisfactory explanation for his death has been given up to now.⁵³² However, his parents believe that he was killed by poisoning. Testifying at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Zulu's father argued that there had been bad blood between Zulu and some ANC officials when Zulu was appointed MK commander in the KwaZulu Natal region.⁵³³ He further said that post mortem results showed that his son had died due to poison he ingested two days before his release from detention.⁵³⁴

Another student to also join the struggle was Zola Maseko. He shared that he went on to join the MK as a result of his strong connection to the ANC through his family. He shared his experiences at Waterford and their constant exposure to events in South Africa especially through the media and movies that they watched at the school. Before his departure from Waterford he remembers that he had watched a movie that showed the abuses faced by blacks in South Africa under apartheid. The movie made him so emotional that he felt the need to execute his plan to escape from school and join the MK. He said, of this experience:

⁵²⁹ Mandi Mzimba was interviewed on the 17 October 2019 at Waterford, at the Mandela Bust. Mzimba was a student at Waterford in the late 1970s. She now works at Discovery Health Insurance in South Africa. She also has a son who is currently attending Waterford.

⁵³⁰ Interview with Mzimba, 17 October 2019, at Waterford.

⁵³¹ <http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/tvseries/episode12/section3/transcript1.htm?tab=victims>, accessed 23 October 2019.

⁵³² <http://sabctrc.saha.org.za/tvseries/episode12/section3/transcript1.htm?tab=victims>, accessed 23 October 2019).

⁵³³ <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1996/9607/s960726c.htm>, accessed 23 October 2019.

⁵³⁴ <http://www.justice.gov.za/trc/media/1996/9607/s960726c.htm>, accessed 23 October 2019.

I was boiling; I wanted to stop everyone on our way to the hostel. I felt the need to act so that I could stop the horrors being faced by my people. I went to bed feeling that I was betraying my country. Then that week I met Deamian Delang in town (Swaziland), an MK guerrilla, whom I had met earlier in Tanzania. We talked about the struggle in South Africa and I told him of how I was thinking of leaving school to join the struggle and he advised me to go join the MK training mission in Angola. When I went to Tanzania, where my parents were working, for the school holiday, I decided to skip into Angola. I never returned to school and never looked back.⁵³⁵

Zola then went and joined MK and never returned to finish his IB Diploma. He is happy about this move and in his opinion he had fulfilled his desire to fight for his country. He received his military training and was moved from country to country as they fought apartheid.⁵³⁶ While his family background (his father was an active ANC member) obviously had a huge influence on his decision to be part of the MK comrades, there is no doubt that the Waterford experience played a significant part in him joining MK.

Some of the students who had attended Waterford and became active in challenging the apartheid state in the 1980s included Roland Hunter (WK 1969-1975), Firoz Cachalia (WK 1974-1977), Karabo Motlane (WK 1971-1977), Charles Bill (WK 1973-1978), Catherine Hunter (WK 1971-1977) and Duma Gqubule (WK 1976-1980).⁵³⁷ The *Phoenix Magazine* of 1983 gave an account of the arrest of Duma Gqubule and Roland Hunter.⁵³⁸ Roland Hunter was detained on 13th December 1983 in Pretoria under Section 29 of the South African Internal Security Act. At the time of his arrest he was a clerk in the South African military intelligence.⁵³⁹ He was arrested with two accomplices Derek and Patricia Hanekom and their two day trial began on 24 September 1984 in the Pretoria Supreme Court.⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁵ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁵³⁶ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

⁵³⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.33.

⁵³⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.33.

⁵³⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.33.

⁵⁴⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives. p.33.

On 27 September Hunter was sentenced to five years in jail under the Defence Act, for disclosing sensitive military information regarding the evidence of the South African government's role in financing and training of Mozambican and Zimbabwean nationals to destabilise their governments.⁵⁴¹ The disclosing of sensitive information emanated from Hunter's discovery that he was supposed to service rebel movements from South Africa's neighbours.⁵⁴² This was a large operation and unknown to the South African public because their government denied any such intervention, claiming that these were opposition movements thrown up by conditions in their countries.⁵⁴³ The activities of these groups included sabotage and attacks on civilian targets such as buses. Hunter was faced with a crisis of conscience and he decided to pass out the information to the states concerned through Patricia and Derek Hanekom who passed that information to the African National Congress (ANC), the outlawed South African liberation movement. Out of that they were caught and charged with treason for trying to overthrow the South African government.⁵⁴⁴

The story of Duma Gqubule

Another outcome of the activism at the school which also showed Waterford's contribution to the apartheid fight was also expressed in the solidarity that took shape with students and the liberation movement as a whole. Waterford had a very close network of activists who worked closely with the ANC. Former student, Andrew Foose, echoed earlier suspicions that there was definitely something going on in the school or maybe out of the school with the struggle

⁵⁴¹ http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AG1977/AG1977-A11-6-8-001-jpeg.pdf, accessed 7 April, 2020. Derek Hanekom was appointed Minister of Agriculture under the Mandela administration in 1994 and also served as minister in the Mbeki and Zuma administration. He is currently serving as a presidential envoy for South Africa mandated to promote investment with a focus on tourism, <https://www.gov.za/about-government/contact-directory/derek-andre-hanekom-mr-0>, accessed 7 April 2020.

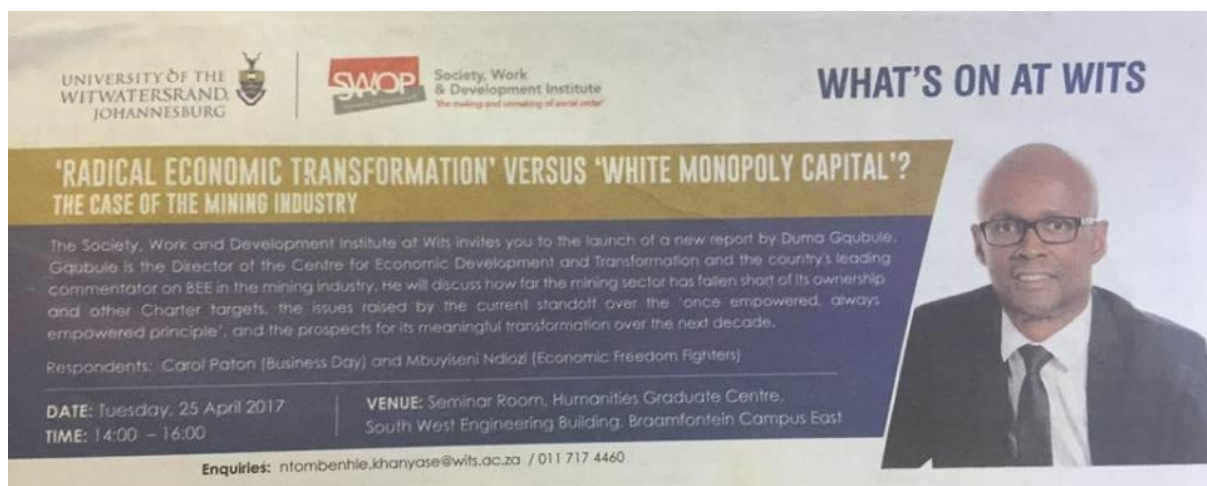
⁵⁴² http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AG1977/AG1977-A11-6-8-001-jpeg.pdf, accessed 7 April 2020.

⁵⁴³ http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AG1977/AG1977-A11-6-8-001-jpeg.pdf, accessed 7 April 2020.

⁵⁴⁴ http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AG1977/AG1977-A11-6-8-001-jpeg.pdf, accessed 7 April 2020.

in South Africa.⁵⁴⁵ While he himself was not involved in any serious activism, he was positive that there were some students who might have had contact with ANC activists in Swaziland and this was kept underground. He remembers one of the boys, Duma Gqubule (WK 1976-1980), whom he suspected to have been part of the ANC branch in Swaziland.⁵⁴⁶ A search for Gqubule led me to this man who is now an Independent Economist, (see Figure 5.7) who has worked in the government and also in the media industry in South Africa after finishing his education.

Figure 5.7: Duma Gqubule shown in this seminar poster.



Source: <https://www.thecedt.com>, accessed 20 September 2018.

Gqubule shared that his family were members of the same church as the Tutus and they were told of this multiracial school in Swaziland, by the Tutus.⁵⁴⁷ So he came for an interview and got a place to study at Waterford at the age of 11. He met with a person he only remembers as Gandhi Maseko who was older doing Form 2 at the time, and they became friends.⁵⁴⁸ It was the interest that his friend showed in the events in South Africa that inspired him. Gandhi then took him to his home in Malkerns the following week and that is where he was to learn

⁵⁴⁵ Interview with Foose, 20 September 2018, Waterford.

⁵⁴⁶ Interview with Foose, 20 September 2018, Waterford.

⁵⁴⁷ Interview with Duma Gqubule. Duma Gqubule was interviewed on the 20th of September 2018. He was interviewed via WhatsApp call. Duma is now an independent economist after having worked in media and the government in South Africa.

⁵⁴⁸ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, WhatsApp call.

that Gandhi's family, (the Masekos)⁵⁴⁹ were exiles from South Africa and had skipped the country due to their activism in South Africa. He was warned not to share this information with anyone. As time went on, he met a man that he only remembers as Comrade Slice who used to come to visit Gandhi's family. He remembers how Gandhi would spend a lot of time outside the house talking to Cde Slice. He later learnt that Comrade Slice was using Gandhi's parents' house as an ANC recruitment centre and after some time he remembers that they had opened an ANC cell in Malkerns.⁵⁵⁰

When Gqubule was in Form 4 he was given the task of transporting ANC literature to his hometown in Pietermaritzburg where there was an ANC cell. He remembers that he did it for some time and was never caught and in his opinion it was something he had to do. While he was always anxious about it, he never realised the danger this entailed. He remarked:

I was not very sure what I was doing and never comprehended the danger that I might get into. To me this was something that I had to do and really enjoyed it. It never occurred to me that I was doing something that could potentially get me into serious trouble.

He remembers that when he had finished his exams he was shocked to learn that the Pietermaritzburg cell where he was distributing ANC literature to, had been uncovered and that the police were now hunting for him. Gqubule remembers how he felt anxious as he had to travel home knowing that he was now a wanted man. He decided to stay at his friend's house in Sidwashini, a location in Mbabane, as Malkerns had now become unsafe. His friend was also part of the Malkerns cell.⁵⁵¹ Gandhi also joined them and the three young ANC cadres stayed in Sidwashini. He missed his family so much that after two weeks he decided to travel back home.⁵⁵² As he said, at that time it was easy to postpone a flight especially the local ones so he had postponed his flight until further notice. He boarded the flight from

⁵⁴⁹ The Masekos were the family of Zola Maseko and Gandhi was Zola's older brother.

⁵⁵⁰ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, via WhatsApp call.

⁵⁵¹ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, via WhatsApp call.

⁵⁵² Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, via WhatsApp call.

Matsapha and arrived at Durban airport and found his parents waiting for him worried about what was happening as they did not know his underground activities. He remembers that before he could explain anything, two policemen came and asked for his name and he was immediately arrested.⁵⁵³ For him, this was unbelievable as he was just an innocent fifteen year old who was just transporting information and nothing more. He was taken to prison and was put into solitary confinement.⁵⁵⁴

He remembers that one morning his parents came and he was released. Although he was not tortured in the cell, he remembers that it was a difficult time as he was forced to reveal all his activities in Swaziland.⁵⁵⁵ He said he tried to resist talking about his activities as he was afraid that he would jeopardise the work that was being done in Swaziland, but it was a traumatic time as he was threatened by the police who told him that they would shoot him. He had to reveal the information that he thought was not going to have a big impact on the Swazi operation and that's how he was released into the care of his parents.⁵⁵⁶ Gqubule's involvement in the struggle against apartheid was also recorded in the Waterford *Phoenix Magazine* where it was noted that he had been detained in 1980, 1982 and 1983. He was put on trial on 21 May 1984 and was given a sentence of 30 months (conditionally suspended for 5years) by the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court for participating in ANC activities.

Gqubule recalls as well that movement between Swaziland and South Africa also became difficult as the South African authorities were very concerned with Waterford's influence. It was because of this, he recalls, that the South African authorities decided to put an official border between the two countries since until that time it was just an exit/entrance into South Africa manned by some few policemen. Due to this it was easy to get into and out of South Africa but now people crossing into South Africa went through rigorous customs searches.⁵⁵⁷ One of the long serving teaching staff at Waterford, Ben O'Connor supported this saying:

⁵⁵³ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, WhatsApp call.

⁵⁵⁴ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, WhatsApp call.

⁵⁵⁵ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, WhatsApp call.

⁵⁵⁶ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, WhatsApp call.

⁵⁵⁷ Interview with Gqubule, 20 September 2018, WhatsApp call.

Waterford was the reason a border post was constructed at Oshoek, because the South African government was worried about the increasing success Waterford was having in mixed education and wanted to control the comings and goings of the school between Swaziland and RSA. Waterford was founded five years before the cessation of British rule in Swaziland and this platform gave good exposure for the school in London in particular where the anti-apartheid movement was very active. It was an irritant to the SA government, but a significant-irritant in that many other threads of activity – political, economic, cultural and social came together to put apartheid to death.⁵⁵⁸

Sporting contact with South Africa

Another effect of the activism in the school was the politicisation of some of the activities of the school which was also expressed in the global movement against apartheid. This was seen through cultural and economic boycotts against South Africa. As noted by Matt Bersell, foreign governments, multinational corporations, churches, the media, campaign groups, and individuals increasingly condemned apartheid and joined international actions against the South African government through organized boycotts, sanctions, and embargoes.⁵⁵⁹ One specific form of international solidarity was the movement against apartheid sport, which resulted in South Africa's suspension from the 1964 and 1968 Olympic Games and its eventual expulsion from the premier international athletic competition in 1970. As a result of its commitment to racial segregation in sport and the exclusion of blacks from international competition, South Africa was not allowed to participate at the Olympic Games until 1992.⁵⁶⁰ This was seen in the worldwide sporting boycott campaigns against South African teams.

Waterford was also part of this global movement to fight apartheid through sport boycotts. While Waterford prided itself in its variety of sporting activities and the various competitions

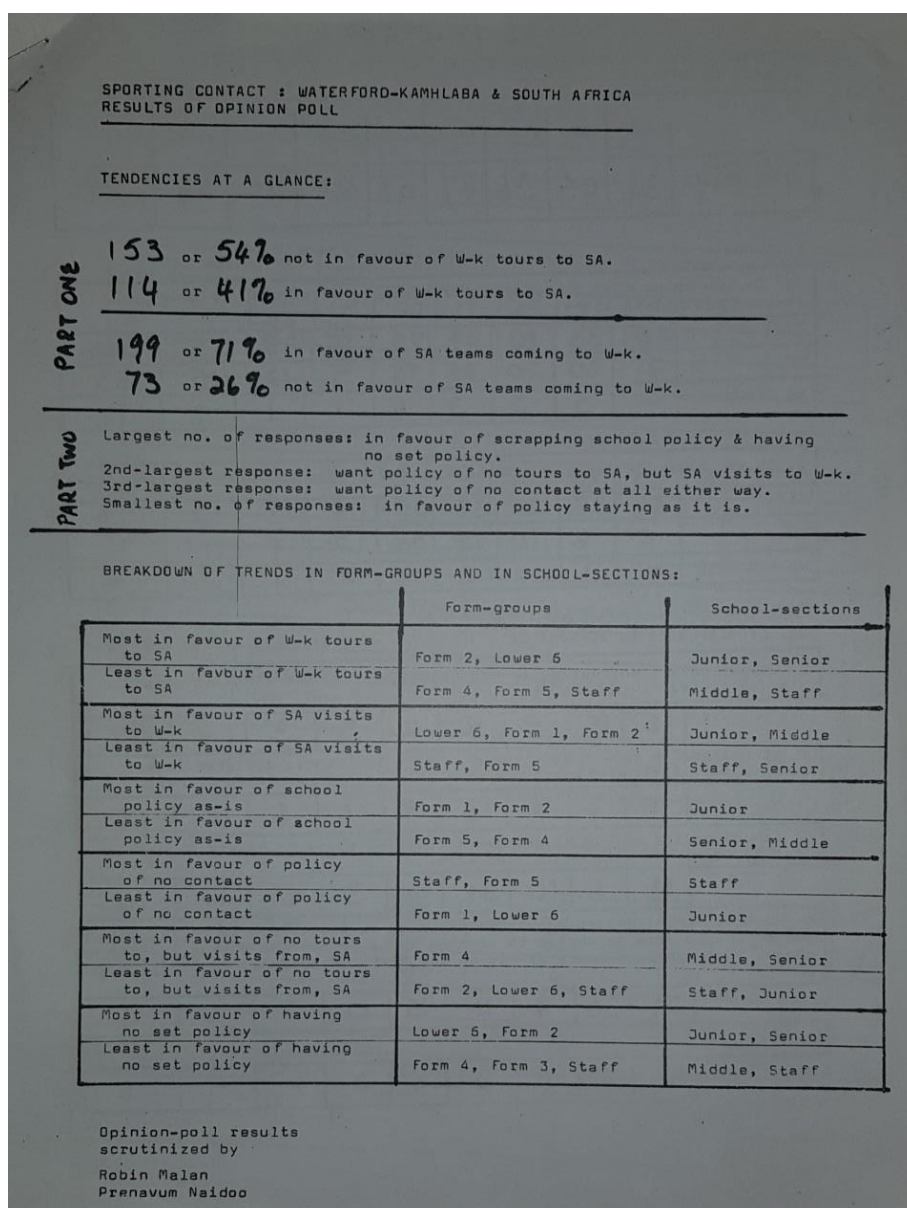
⁵⁵⁸ Interview with Ben O'Connor. He was interviewed on 3 April 2018 via email. He joined Waterford in 1986 and was teaching French and Spanish before his retirement in 2019. By the time of his retirement he was the longest serving member of staff.

⁵⁵⁹ Matt Bersell, 2017, "Sport, race and politics: The Olympic boycott of apartheid sport", *Western Illinois Historical Review*, Volume VIII, p.2.

⁵⁶⁰ Bersell, 2017, "Sport, race and politics", p2.

with schools in Swaziland and South Africa, its contact with South African schools became a controversial issue among students and staff. Beginning in the late 1970s, and especially with the massacres in the Soweto uprising, there was a strong call to look into the contact with South African schools in sports. Two teachers, mostly with help from the students, decided to take a poll on the matter. Four motions were proposed. These were those not in favour of WK tours to SA, those in favour of WK tours to SA, those in favour of SA teams coming to WK, and lastly those not in favour of SA teams coming to WK. Figures 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10 below show the statistics.

Figure 5.8: Sporting contact: Waterford & South Africa, Opinion poll, 1979.



Source: WK Archives.

Figure 5.9: Sporting Contact: Waterford and South Africa Results of Opinion Poll, 1979.

SPORTING CONTACT : WATERFORD-KAMHLABA & SOUTH AFRICA
RESULTS OF OPINION POLL

	FORM 1	FORM 2	FORM 3	FORM 4	FORM 5	LOWER 6	UPPER 6	STAFF	TOTAL
TOTAL NO. OF RESPONSES	36	45	36	47	51	21	21	24	281

Part One

1. Do you think that W-k sports teams should be allowed to tour to SA to play against SA teams?

YES	15	33	14	9	12	15	8	8	114 ¹¹
NO	21	10	20	35	35	5	12	15	153
NO RESPONSE	-	2	2	3	4	1	1	1	14

2. Do you think SA teams should be allowed to come and play us here at W-k?

YES	31	38	25	33	28	19	13	12	199 ¹¹
NO	5	6	10	12	20	2	7	11	73
NO RESPONSE	-	1	1	2	3	-	1	1	9

Part Two

NO. OF RESPONSES IN SUPPORT OF : (clearly some students marked more than one response)

1 School policy on touring to and having visits from SA teams should stay as it is.

	15	15	8	5	2	3	3	4	55
--	----	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

2 School policy should be changed so that the school declares itself against any sporting contact with any SA teams either there or here.

	1	7	9	13	19	1	6	10	66
--	---	---	---	----	----	---	---	----	----

3 School policy should be changed so that no tours to SA are undertaken but SA teams are welcome to come here.

	13	6	10	21	14	3	5	4	76
--	----	---	----	----	----	---	---	---	----

4 Present school policy should be scrapped so that there is no set policy and anyone is free to choose to arrange tours or not and anyone is free to choose to go on such tours or not on the basis of personal and individual choice.

	21	30	9	11	15	12	7	6	111 ¹¹²
--	----	----	---	----	----	----	---	---	--------------------

No response.

	-	-	1	2	3	2	-	-	8
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Source: WK Archives

Figure 5.10: Sporting Contact: Waterford & South Africa results of Opinion poll, 1979.

PERCENTAGES

SPORTING CONTACT : WATERFORD-KAMHLABA & SOUTH AFRICA
RESULTS OF OPINION POLL

	FORM 1	FORM 2	FORM 3	FORM 4	FORM 5	LOWER 6	UPPER 6	STAFF	TOTAL
--	--------	--------	--------	--------	--------	---------	---------	-------	-------

Part One

1. Do you think that W-k sports teams should be allowed to tour to SA to play against SA teams?

YES	42	73	39	19	23	71	38	33	41
NO	58	22	56	75	69	24	57	63	54
NO RESPONSE	-	5	5	6	8	5	5	4	5

2. Do you think SA teams should be allowed to come and play us here at W-k?

YES	86	85	69	70	55	90	62	50	71
NO	14	13	28	26	39	10	33	46	26
NO RESPONSE	-	2	3	4	6	-	5	4	3

BREAKDOWN IN SECTIONS-OF-SCHOOL:

	JUNIOR		MIDDLE		SENIOR				
	FORM 1	FORM 2	FORM 3	FORM 4	FORM 5	LOWER 6	UPPER 6	STAFF	TOTAL
TOTAL NO. OF RESPONSES	81		83		93			24	281

Part One

1. Do you think that W-k sports teams should be allowed to tour to SA to play against SA teams?

YES	59	28	38	33	
NO	38	66	56	63	
NO RESPONSE	3	6	6	4	

2. Do you think SA teams should be allowed to come and play us here at W-k?

YES	85	70	65	50	
NO	14	27	31	46	
NO RESPONSE	1	3	4	4	

Source: WK Archives.

As seen from the results from the polls it was clear that majority of the students felt that they needed South African teams to come to Waterford for sports. Table 5.1 gives a breakdown of the results.

Table 5.1: Responses from the poll on Sporting contact with South Africa, 1979.

Reaction to sporting contact	Number of people	Percentage %
In favour of Waterford tours to South Africa	153	54%
Not in favour of Waterford tours to South Africa	114	41%
In favour of South African teams coming to Waterford	199	71%
Not in favour of South African teams coming to Waterford	73	26%

Source: Sporting contact: Waterford Kamhlaba and South Africa, 1979, WK Archives.

Foose, a former student who was at the school at the time the opinion poll was done, was asked in an interview why there were such mixed responses and why most students felt the need to have South African teams coming to Waterford. He remarked:

The reason why most students felt it was fine for the South African schools to visit Waterford was based on the idea that the students felt that denying fellow students who were in most instances not aware of what was really happening in their country was not going to work for Waterford. Waterford was founded on the need to show the world that multiracialism was possible and helpful. So, this was an opportunity for the students from South Africa to visit Waterford and see how this idea was working.⁵⁶¹

His remarks were based on the feeling among most students, especially seniors who he argued had a good understanding of Waterford's ethos. There was a need, it was felt to make sure that students from South Africa realise that blacks and whites can be not only in the same team but could share all the spaces that they were not allowed to mix in, in South Africa. It is because of this understanding that Waterford allowed South African schools to

⁵⁶¹ Interview with Foose, 20 September 2018, Waterford.

come and play sport with Waterford. The issue of sporting contact with South Africa was quite a contentious issue such that, when a Canadian staff member took an athletics team to compete in SA, he was faced with student uproar as students felt the teacher had gone against the school's ethos.⁵⁶²

What is significant about the idea to have polls to decide such critical issues which the school administration could have just decided on is that students were given an opportunity to express themselves from Form 1-6. These were issues that concerned them and it was seen important to make sure that they take part. Above all it also showed how Waterford as an institution was born out of respect for rights of all.

Clubs and social groups

Due to the prevailing situation in South Africa, students also established clubs and social groups that helped to shine the spotlight on world issues and South Africa in particular. This was due to two main factors; firstly, the close proximity of South Africa to the school and secondly was the fact that the school owed its legacy to the liberation struggle for South Africa. The students at Waterford established Amnesty International as a club to look into issues affecting the region and the world in general. Amnesty International (commonly known as Amnesty or AI)⁵⁶³ is a London-based non-profit making organisation which focuses on human rights issues. Students looked into the injustices around the world and, as AI, would label those as human rights abuses and work towards alerting the whole world. They also would rank the countries in terms of human rights abuses and at this time South Africa was ranked by the students as the worst.⁵⁶⁴ Students met on a weekly basis to discuss global issues. Matters that topped the 1970s and 1980s included the struggle against apartheid South Africa, the conflict in the Middle East, and the liberation wars in Southern Africa among others. Fandeso, a student at the time, remarked that there was a strong sense of activism among students and matters that were brought to Amnesty International forums were

⁵⁶² Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

⁵⁶³ Amnesty International has its mission to campaign for "a world in which every person enjoys all of the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments. It was founded in London in 1961, <https://www.amnesty.org.uk/>, accessed 10 February 2021.

⁵⁶⁴ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp call.

discussed from all perspectives. This was a platform to have students reflect on what was being faced in the world.⁵⁶⁵

Another club/social group that also became very instrumental in helping students move forward with the activism was *Khuluma*. The club was used by students to air their views on what was happening around the world but it mainly focused on the events in apartheid South Africa. It functioned more as a debating club which had discussions on these issues too. On Sunday nights there were forums with guest speakers where topical issues were discussed. The idea to get guest speakers as Maseko pointed out was due to the need to get inspiration.⁵⁶⁶ For example in the 1980s guest speakers included renowned poet and anti-apartheid activist Don Mattera; and other political activists such as Helen Suzman, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Barney Pityana. These speakers were chosen due to their involvement in the struggle against apartheid South Africa. They shared their experiences and also encouraged students to be aware of the issues affecting South African politics. Barney Pityana was one of the founding members of the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) and also a member of the African National Congress Youth League. As a poet, Mattera talked about the need for young people to get more involved in poetry and writing. He also shared his thoughts on the future of South Africa as he felt political repression was not going to lead the nation anywhere.⁵⁶⁷

Suzman addressed the students on her worries about where South Africa was going and what young people needed to do. She welcomed the initiative of students coming together to talk about these issues.⁵⁶⁸ Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert was a political analyst, businessman and politician best known for having been the leader of the official opposition in South Africa, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). He was in the House of Assembly from 1979 to 1986. At the *Khuluma* talks he shared his experiences in South African politics and expressed his worries about the problems facing South Africa at the time especially opposition politics.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁵ Fandeso was interviewed on 16 September 2018 via Skype.

⁵⁶⁶ Interview with Maseko, 16 January 2019, via WhatsApp.

⁵⁶⁷ *Khuluma Desk*, 1990, WK Archives.

⁵⁶⁸ *Khuluma Desk*, 1990, WK Archives.

⁵⁶⁹ *Khuluma Desk*, 1990, WK Archives.

It was from these discussions that students became more informed not only about the issues in South Africa but the world at large. In this way one can see how the school was instrumental in inspiring students to fight for their rights and the rights of others. As Stern had said of education that, it must teach young people to cross the bridges that have been made by humankind, the school was making a huge effort through the various activities that were being done to cross the bridges.

Conclusion

From this chapter one can clearly see that Waterford was actively involved in the struggle against apartheid not only through its alternative tuition, but also through activities that had a direct political inclination. While both staff and students might have wanted to distance themselves from getting directly involved in events in South Africa, the fact that the school was established in protest against the education being offered in South Africa and apartheid policies at large made it imperative to get involved in the politics of that country and subsequently in the fight against that system from every front as this chapter has shown. The student activism covered so far is testimony to the involvement of the institution in the politics of the time. Even though Stern might have tried to distance the school from active politics, it was always going to be a challenge. As he had argued in the *Daily Telegraph* in 1962 on his visit to England:

Politics, thank goodness, do not enter into this enterprise. Yet there is a political significance, in the widest sense, in the decision to found the pioneering school in Swaziland, almost encircled by the apartheid land of South Africa-where, it is hoped, some of the pupils will be drawn. Here, then, could be a shop window for racial harmony, which offers the only hopeful future for Africa...⁵⁷⁰

While Stern might have had a strong belief in mixing the races and offering a better curriculum to all races, there was no doubt that apartheid's policies were a concern for the

⁵⁷⁰ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.37.

young people at Waterford and hence they felt the needed to fight as was outlined in this chapter.

This chapter has therefore highlighted the student activism that was witnessed at Waterford as a reaction to the major developments in South African apartheid history. This showed how the school was involved in the fight against apartheid. The Sharpeville massacre, Soweto uprising and the death of Steve Bantu Biko were analysed in as much as they were commemorated by Waterford students in solidarity with South African students and activists. The impact these events had on students were evaluated and it was clear from the analysis that Waterford was also at the centre of apartheid resistance. The chapter also explored the impacts of the commemorations and protests by students including the move by some Waterford students to get involved directly in the struggle for a democratic South Africa. Students protest action was also analysed in the various forms that it took including theatre arts and clubs.

Chapter 6: Building International Partnerships: Waterford and the United World Colleges Movement

Introduction

This chapter discusses a strategic move taken by Waterford in the 1980s. This was the decision taken by the school founders to join the United World Colleges (UWC) movement. This decision can be explained from two perspectives. One had to do with the school's founding ethos. As the school was founded as a counter to apartheid Bantu Education in 1963, another global education movement, the UWC movement, was also unfolding in the 1960s, to ostensibly prevent another World War. With some members of the staff at Waterford having been exposed to this global education movement, it was no surprise that Waterford was pulled towards the UWC as it was a natural ally of this movement in Africa without being a member. Of importance was also the fact that the founders of the school began exploring options about the future of the school post-apartheid, and joining the UWC movement seemed an appropriate direction to take.

The chapter also takes a closer look at the efforts that were made by the school in trying to respond to the opportunities presented by joining the UWC movement. By 1990, it is noted that progress had been made and those that had doubted the new direction that the school embarked on were gradually being convinced of the benefits of the new focus. While the school benefited from this shift, the UWC movement also benefited from the move as it secured a very important partner on African soil, which allowed for a focus on other forms of world challenges.

Becoming a global player: Waterford becomes the fourth UWC

One of the newly emerging preoccupations of Waterford during the 1980s was the joining of the United World Colleges (UWC) movement. The UWC movement is a global educational movement with a mission to make education a force to unite people, nations and cultures for

peace and sustainable futures.⁵⁷¹ The UWC movement was started by Kurt Hahn (see Figure 6.1), a German Jewish educator whose philosophies are considered internationally influential.

Figure 6.1: Kurt Hahn in this file picture



Source:

<https://www.google.com/search?safe=strict&ei=uIJDx6iNM5L1xgO2t6KABQ&q=kurt+hahn+images>, accessed 8 April 2019.

As argued by David Sutcliffe, when asked about the relationship between Atlantic College (the pioneer UWC School) and Kurt Hahn, “Without him we would not have been born; without him we could not have survived”.⁵⁷² Hahn education career started with the

⁵⁷¹ <https://www.uwc.org/about>, accessed 7 May 2018.

⁵⁷² David Sutcliffe, 2012, *Kurt Hahn and the United World Colleges with other founding figures*, Italy, UWC Adriatic,, p.97.

establishment of Salem school in Germany in 1920 where he formulated his educational ideals. These became known as the Salem Laws which involved giving children opportunities for self-discovery, stimulating the children's imagination and freeing sons of the wealthy and powerful from an enervating sense of privilege among others.⁵⁷³ This thinking had also been the basis upon which Stern pushed students who joined Waterford from privileged backgrounds to be part of the community engagement that he started with Waterford.

With the rise of the Nazis, Hahn became disillusioned with their rule and became a big critique. He then publicly criticised Hitler after a young communist had been killed by Nazi Stormtroopers. Due to this, he was arrested and imprisoned but only served for five days as the British Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, in 1933 challenged his sentence. Fearing for his life, he left Germany in July of that year and moved to Britain.⁵⁷⁴ While in exile in the UK, he founded Gordonstoun School in Scotland, based on the four pillars of internationalism, challenge, responsibility and service. As argued by Sutcliffe, influential friends and their vast family connections made it possible.⁵⁷⁵

Kurt Hahn developed the idea of the UWC movement during his lecture visit to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's Defence College in Paris in 1955. At the Defence College, he met with Air Marshal Sir Lawrence Darvall, Commandant, of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation Defence College in Paris.⁵⁷⁶ The Defence College had given Darvall first-hand experience of a community which succeeded in reconciling national differences amongst its officers. Its success was a source of inspiration to him and Hahn. Together they conceived of colleges that would provide an opportunity for youth of different nationalities to learn together and gain an understanding of their common heritage.⁵⁷⁷ This prompted Hahn to remark, (of the NATO College):

⁵⁷³ Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.97.

⁵⁷⁴ Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.97. p.100.

⁵⁷⁵ Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.101.

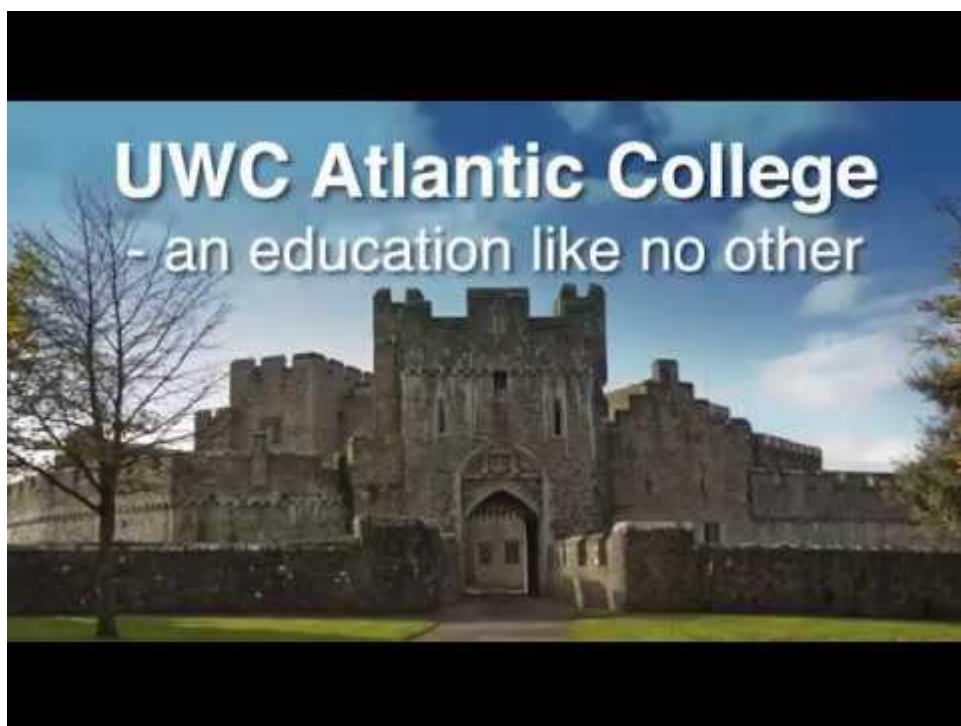
⁵⁷⁶ Felicity Anne Rawlings, 1999, "Globalisation, curriculum and international student community: A case study of the United World College of the Atlantic", *PhD Thesis*, University of London, p.17, <https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10006617/>, accessed 7 May 2018.

⁵⁷⁷ Rawlings, "Globalisation, curriculum and international student community", p.17.

If we can plant the germ of new loyalties in mature men, how much deeper are the roots we could sink in the youth of the Atlantic Community if, at their most impressionable period, we could gather them together in residential colleges...⁵⁷⁸

This and his relationship with Darvall, the NATO Commandant, led to the concept of a school in Britain. This idea eventually developed into the opening of Atlantic College, the pioneer UWC School, (shown in Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Atlantic College the first UWC.



Source:

<https://www.google.com/search?q=UWC+Atlantic+college+in+pictures&tbm=isch&source>, accessed 21 August 2019.

The ideas of Hahn were embraced by many individuals, among them, Desmond Hoare and Lord Mountbatten, two men who had distinguished themselves in the military. Lord Mountbatten, like Hoare, was an ex-military man having also worked in the British Navy and after retiring devoted his life to international affairs. He shared Hahn's vision and, with him,

⁵⁷⁸ David Sutcliffe, 2012, *Kurt Hahn*, p.28

they grew the UWC movement. What made Mountbatten closer to the Atlantic College was his connection to NATO where he was chairman for a year. With the collective efforts of these men the Atlantic College was opened in 1962. After establishing Atlantic College and seeing that the move was embraced by many, there was a move to establish more such colleges. Led by Mountbatten, (see Figure 6.3), the idea grew the Atlantic College into an international movement.

Figure 6.3: Lord Mountbatten with Atlantic College students in the 1970s.



Source: <https://www.uwc.org/news/?pid=22&nid=23&storyid=435> accessed 21 August 2019.

With the same mind set of multi racialism and multi culturalism as Michael Stern, Mountbatten also brought his vision and devotion which led to the growth of the ideal of a United College to the whole world. He lobbied for the enrolment of students from Soviet Union and China in the early 1970s at a time when there was much tension between the USA and its Western allies on one hand and the Soviet Union, China and their allies on the other. As remarked by Sutcliffe, leading the British delegation to the Soviet Union in 1975 to celebrate the end of Second World War, Mountbatten persuaded the Soviet Union to allow

the first ever Soviet students and their Soviet teacher to join Atlantic College the following September.⁵⁷⁹ He also persuaded the Chinese ambassador in 1973 to explore the idea of sending some Chinese students down to the Atlantic College, which they did by sending 12 students.⁵⁸⁰ The students at Atlantic College welcomed the new Chinese but the move did not go down well with chairman of one of the European National Committee who wrote:

The thoroughness of their training could not be surprising, for a government which does not allow any of its subjects to leave the country without permission, and shoots those who try to escape ... the National Committee hopes that those who took this decision will try at least to get rid of this national tutor as soon as possible and in addition will instruct the Headmaster to present a frank report.”⁵⁸¹

As noted by Sutcliffe, Mountbatten was not one man who would miss an opportunity to get progress on his endeavours. He had no doubt that this was a bridge to be crossed and he was able to give the project an international profile beyond that achievable by any other person.⁵⁸² The form of education that they were to give comprised an international pre-university course, with all the added features developed at Atlantic College. They were to depend largely on provision of scholarships to the students and students were to be enrolled on merit. As outlined in the International Council’s guidelines:

A UWC should provide a significantly international student body and teaching staff, with entry open to all students and teachers, irrespective of race, nationality and religion, who accept and support the ideas of the UWC movement. Selection of students to be from the widest possible range of social and cultural background based on merit alone and irrespective of the family’s financial resources.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷⁹ This was in the midst of the Cold War when the Soviet Union and USA were not on good terms and threatening each other with nuclear weapons. So his idea was that if young people become tolerant to one another through education they would be in better position to change the world.

⁵⁸⁰ Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.42.

⁵⁸¹ Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.42.

⁵⁸² Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.42.

⁵⁸³ Peterson, *Schools across frontiers*, Chicago, Open Court, p.107.

As argued by Alec Peterson, in adopting a policy of scholarships in a similar pattern to that commonly found among private schools in England, it seems that the United World College was initially trying to open entry to all social classes, but later sought to use their scholarships policy to emphasise that they were not private schools, but in some way part of a new world system of public education.⁵⁸⁴ Interestingly, Waterford was already sponsoring some of its students so as to give opportunities to students who were not able to get a good education because of financial challenges.

It was Hoare who in 1970 embraced the pioneering of the concept of an all-age international school in Singapore with a scholarship entry to the sixth form. In this manner, the British Chamber of Commerce School of St. John's in Singapore became by stages the United World College of South East Asia, shown in Figure 6.4.⁵⁸⁵ Hoare was by now also trying a similar school in India.

Figure 6.4: UWC South East Asia, the second UWC



Source:

<https://www.google.com/search?q=united+world+college+of+south+east+asia+images&tbm,>
accessed 21 August 2019.

While Hoare was busy in Asia, plans were afoot in Canada to expand the movement. This came with the death in 1972 of Lester Pearson,⁵⁸⁶ the Canadian Prime Minister, as his friends

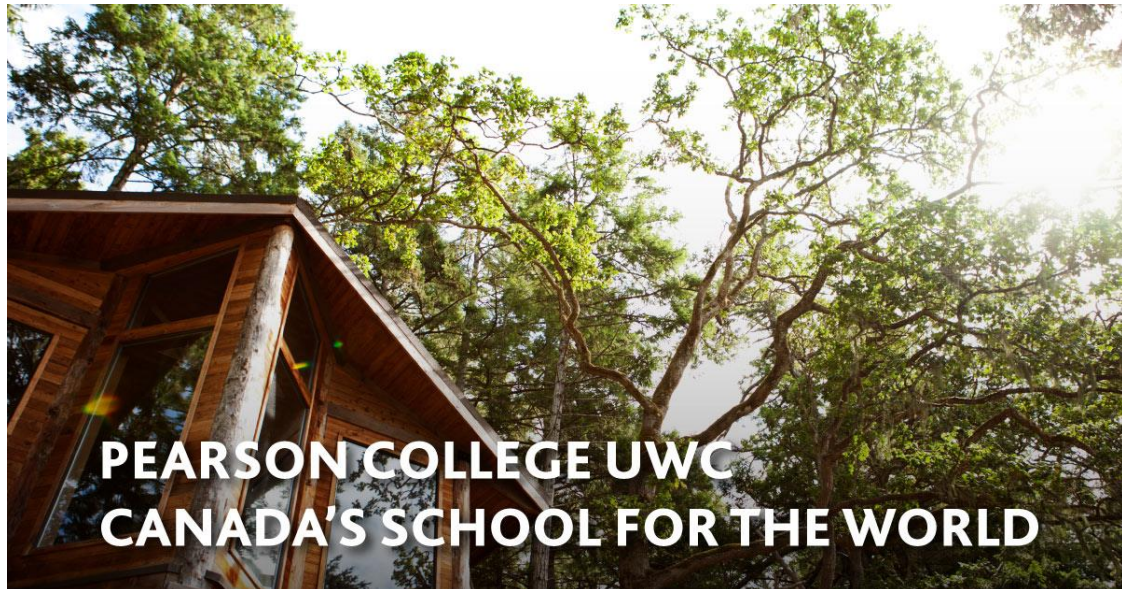
⁵⁸⁴ Peterson, *Schools across frontiers*, p.106.

⁵⁸⁵ Peterson, *Schools across frontiers*, p.106.

⁵⁸⁶ Lester Bowles Pearson was Canadian Prime Minister and Canada's only Nobel Peace Laureate. He was the 14th Prime Minister of Canada from 1963 to 1968. He was instrumental in his drive to promote peace and

thought of honouring him by starting a college in his name and that way Pearson College, Figure 6.5, was established in 1974.⁵⁸⁷

Figure 6.5: Pearson College, the third UWC.



Source:

<https://www.google.com/search?q=UWC+pearson+college+pictures&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir>, accessed 21 August 2019.

Waterford joins the UWC movement.

The story of Waterford and the UWC movement is a rather unique one. Unlike other UWCs that were established from scratch as part of the expanding the movement, Waterford joined the movement as a fully-fledged UWC school, becoming the fourth college. One may argue that the school already served as a United World College as it had been like the Atlantic College, bringing young people from different backgrounds together to be united by education. Another intriguing aspect of Waterford is the fact that it was established in the

understanding in the World through his ground-breaking work at the United Nations. It was due to his drive towards a good education that he visited the Atlantic College twice. He showed great interest in the Atlantic College and on his second visit he introduced his wife to the UWC concept. It was therefore befitting to name the UWC in Canada, Pearson College. He is well known for his speech which almost became a UWC motto, “How can there be peace without people understanding each other?”

<https://biography.yourdictionary.com/lester-bowles-pearson>, accessed 21 August 2019.

⁵⁸⁷ Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.43.

same years that the Atlantic College was established and it also has a history of pure idealism that was a feature of the personality of Kurt Hahn. The founder of Waterford, Michael Stern, seemed to have been holding the same principles as Kurt Hahn, that is a strong belief in the ability of young people to bring the best outcomes in the future of nations. Having been established in 1963, Waterford had been on the rise in the 1970s and had gone from strength to strength. But how was Waterford recognised by the movement?

The answer is an intriguing story of connections and networking in the same way that the Atlantic College came into being. One of the former teachers Deon Glover, had joined the Atlantic College staff in 1974 as a Geography teacher. Glover shared his experience at Waterford and proposed to Sutcliffe such partnership and subsequently the joining of Waterford into the movement. From then on, events moved swiftly towards that. The history of Waterford was seen by most UWC champions to fit very well with the UWC ethos.

Mike Linden has further given insight into the move to join the UWC movement as he remembers that it was the brainchild of Athol Jennings, the Principal of Waterford who took over from Michael Stern in 1974, and Deon Glover. Linden indicated that Jennings made a twofold realisation on the future of Waterford; firstly that apartheid was not going to last forever and that opposition to it could only be enhanced by a wider commitment to justice and peace worldwide, such as motivated by UWC.⁵⁸⁸ Another realisation was that Waterford's continued existence was by no means a certainty. With the school in a state of financial crisis when he inherited it, the UWC link could bring the much needed stability. Jennings was not interested in ending WK's South African focus but in integrating it into a wider vision. A very strong motivation for Jennings's decision to pursue the UWC connection came through Deon Glover, former teacher at WK who had moved to Atlantic College. Glover and Jennings had become very close after Stern had left. It was this relationship that led Jennings to know more about Atlantic college.⁵⁸⁹ Linden thus concludes of the move to join UWC:

⁵⁸⁸ Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

⁵⁸⁹ Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

Deon and Athol certainly got to know one another quite well over the transition period. They developed a mutual liking and respect and I have no doubt that they talked about Atlantic and UWC. On Athol's first trip as Head to the UK, he visited Deon and Georgina (Deon's wife) and saw Atlantic in operation which surely increased his enthusiasm for the link. Deon, of course, was then instrumental, with Ian Gourlay, the UWC Director General, and David Sutcliffe, Atlantic's second head, in bringing the link to actuality... I think, therefore, that it's completely true that the move was initiated and driven - as Waterford itself had been in the beginning - by a relatively few committed and enthusiastic personalities who were able to win the general support.⁵⁹⁰

Figure 6.6: Deon Glover during his days at Waterford, early 1970s.⁵⁹¹



Source: Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.63.

It seems, however, that there were reservations about this move mostly from the school community of Waterford considering its history. Sutcliffe wondered whether the school would lose its identity. Would its regional role be lost in a more amorphous international context?⁵⁹² These questions were really challenging for an institution like Waterford.

⁵⁹⁰ Interview with Linden, 7 March 2018, WK Archives.

⁵⁹¹ I later learnt from David Sutcliffe that Deon Glover had passed on.

⁵⁹² Sutcliffe, *Kurt Hahn*, p.45.

Founded as an alternative institution to offer an alternative to apartheid Bantu Education in South Africa, how could this aspect of Waterford be kept alive? Apartheid was still in operation in 1981 and probably in its most crucial years, and critics wondered whether this was the best time to join an international movement like UWC.

Nothing serious seemed to have really stopped the processes of Waterford becoming a UWC as the Director General of UWC International Office, Ian Gourlay, and David Sutcliffe visited the school in 1976. Sutcliffe emphasised that the move was also made smooth by the presence of Christopher Newton Thompson, a long-time fundraiser for the school. As Sutcliffe stressed, he did not think that Waterford could have survived without Newton Thompson.⁵⁹³ He also argued that there was a good rapport among Thompson, Gourley and himself. Then, more importantly, the ideas were accepted by Mountbatten who was always keen on expansion and took up the cause of Waterford with great enthusiasm.⁵⁹⁴ Mark Sylvester, a former Physics teacher at Waterford who is now at UWC Adriatic, remembers also that the process of becoming a UWC started with Waterford being an associate UWC college in the late 1970s.⁵⁹⁵ This, he argued was probably to assess what needed to be done to become a full UWC. Sylvester felt that Waterford was the most representative of a typical UWC college because of its rich history and hence its joining was a wise move.⁵⁹⁶

As a result of all the aforementioned, Waterford, shown in Figure 6.7, was admitted into the UWC movement as a full member in 1981.⁵⁹⁷ At a meeting of the International Board of Directors of the United World Colleges held in London on Friday 6 November 1981, Waterford Kamhlaba was formally admitted as the fourth United World College. Pym

⁵⁹³ Email correspondence with David Sutcliffe, 21 March 2019 via email. He is the former Head of UWC Atlantic College and UWC Adriatic and cofounder of UWC Mostar. He was also instrumental in the joining of Waterford Kamhlaba to the UWC movement in the late 1970s. Sutcliffe is also the author of the book, *Kurt Hahn and the United World Colleges with other founding figures*.

⁵⁹⁴ Interview with Sutcliffe, 21 March 2019, via email.

⁵⁹⁵ Mark Sylvester, interviewed on 2 April 2019 via WhatsApp call. He was a Physics teacher at Waterford from 1976-1983 before he went to join the UWC Adriatic in Italy. He also helped in the founding of the UWC Mostar in Bosnia.

⁵⁹⁶ Interview with Sylvester, 2 April 2019, WhatsApp video call.

⁵⁹⁷ Interview with Sylvester, 2 April 2019, WhatsApp video call.

Dlamini, the then Chairman of the Governing Council, put the case for Waterford's acceptance as a full UWC member, after Michael Stern and Newton Thompson, the founding Headmaster and the main fundraiser respectively, had spoken of the original ideals of the school. The proposal was warmly received by members of the Board and another milestone in the history of the school was reached.⁵⁹⁸

Figure 6.7: Waterford Kamhlaba, the fourth UWC



Source:

<https://www.google.com/search?q=Waterford+UWC+pictures&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir>, accessed 21 August 2019.

As Waterford was undergoing change in the 1980s, Bantu Education was also undergoing change. Linda Chisholm explained that from 1973, when nation-wide strikes and the plunging oil price hit South Africa hard, secondary school enrolments skyrocketed. At least one of the structural features accounting for the 1976 Soweto youth uprising was a squeeze

⁵⁹⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1981, WK Archives, p.11.

on the limited secondary school resources in urban areas.⁵⁹⁹ This squeeze occurred in a context of both a growing number of students demanding secondary education and pressures from industry on the state to meet its needs, in the urban areas, for skilled labour. An expanded building programme in urban areas since 1976 did not keep pace with need or demand.⁶⁰⁰

Between 1960 and 1975, the numbers of blacks in high schools increased seven-fold. Between 1975 and 1985, they trebled again. The numbers going through to matriculation (the highest school-leaving standard) increased even more startlingly. Between 1960 and 1984 there was more than a hundredfold increase.⁶⁰¹ However these changes did not bring any positive outcomes for the black people in South Africa as education was not well funded. With frustrations growing due to the continued deterioration in the education sector, schools became sites of active resistance hence even though there were shifts in government policy it did not benefit the black people of South Africa. So as South Africa was battling with the challenges brought by the Bantu Education system, Waterford in Swaziland was looking at what was best for the school in the 1980s.

Was joining the UWC the right move for Waterford?

Even though there were reservations from some quarters within the school community, what was clear from the onset was that Waterford Kamhlaba was similar in nature to the UWC movement in general and Atlantic College in particular. Events in Europe a decade before the establishment of Waterford almost resembled what was happening in South Africa from the 1950s. In Europe, the Second World War had ended disastrously for the Western powers. As argued by Martin McCauley, relations between the USSR and the Western Allies in 1945 were good, but in 1946 they had been strained and during and after 1947 they were bad. There were many reasons for this, one being that from early 1946 the Western Allies became

⁵⁹⁹ Linda Chisholm, Apartheid education legacies and new directions in post-apartheid South Africa, <http://www.storiadelledonne.it/wp-content/uploads/2009/03/chisholm2012.pdf>, accessed 05 March 2020.

⁶⁰⁰ Linda Chisholm, Apartheid education legacies and new directions in post-apartheid South Africa accessed 05 March 2020.

⁶⁰¹ Linda Chisholm, Apartheid education legacies and new directions in post-apartheid South Africa, accessed 05 March 2020.

concerned about the expanding Soviet power.⁶⁰² This led to a separation of western and eastern European countries which was described by the then British leader, Winston Churchill, as an iron curtain. This led to time of tension and the world seemed to be on the verge of nuclear war.⁶⁰³ It was these challenges that seemed to have been behind the minds of the founding fathers of the Atlantic College. Both Hahn and Mountbatten had very vivid memories of the World Wars and, for them, cultivating new values and principles of unity and understanding seemed to be the answer to international issues.

Similarly, Waterford had been founded to counter to the apartheid system. With the rise of the Afrikaner party in 1948 racial segregation took root in South Africa moulded on a similar concept of the purity of another race as in Nazi Germany. As argued by Mark Rogers and Peter Clinton, apartheid resembled the various social Darwinist philosophies (such as Nazism) that were popular during the 20th Century.⁶⁰⁴ In South Africa these ideas were to lead to the alienation of an entire population, the black people of country, something that Stern sought to fight. Stern looked at education as the future bridge to issues like race. The system that had evolved in South Africa led many young black children to lose belief in themselves and education could be the answer. Looking at this as a worldwide phenomenon, Stern envisaged the idea of a school that would help the world to see the possibilities.

Michael Stern, just like Kurt Hahn, strongly believed that education had the ability to empower young people to realise their potential and overcome racial differences. The move by Waterford to join the UWC movement was therefore seen by many as a huge positive step for the school, with some anticipating positive results. However, for students at the time, it seems this did not mean anything much. Andy Foose, one of the students who witnessed this transition in 1981, remarked that for the students, the move did not bring any major changes. He pointed out that what probably made the transition relatively easy was that most of the values of the UWC movement were already embedded in the Waterford founding ethos.⁶⁰⁵ As

⁶⁰² Martin McCauley, 1995, *Stalin and Stalinism*, London, Longman, p.73.

⁶⁰³ Norman Lowe, 2005, *Modern World History*, New York, Macmillan, p.138.

⁶⁰⁴ Mark Rogers and Peter Clinton, 2015, *Rights and Protests*, p. 14.

⁶⁰⁵ Interview with Andy Foose, 20 September 2018, Waterford Advancement Office.

a global education movement, UWC was started with the aim of making education a force to unite people, nations and cultures for peace and a sustainable future.⁶⁰⁶ As its logo shows, (see Figure 6.8 below), the movement aims to foster world peace and stability as it brings the different continents together to overcome the boundaries that are put by humanity like racism.

Figure 6.8: UWC logo



Source:

<https://www.google.com/search?safe=strict&source=univ&tbm=isch&q=UWC+colleges>

Central to the ethos of UWC are core values that are seen as the answer to world problems. These values are: international and intercultural understanding; celebration of difference; personal responsibility and integrity; mutual responsibility and respect; compassion and service; respect for the environment; a sense of idealism; personal challenge; action and personal example.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁶ <https://www.google.com/search?source=univ&tbm=isch&q=UWC+logo&sa=X&ved>, accessed 7 May 2018.

⁶⁰⁷ UWC website, www.uwc.org, accessed 7 May 2018.

According to Foose, these values were already embedded in the Waterford Kamhlaba ethos.⁶⁰⁸ As a multi-racial school founded to fight apartheid, it already had as its core ethos, the celebration of racial and cultural difference. As noted by Noah Nkambule (WK1965-68) students at Waterford were made to appreciate different races, cultures, religions and traditions.⁶⁰⁹ Even if one looks at the school stance on religion, while it was based on the Christian principles, other religions were also respected. This therefore meant that for Waterford joining the UWC movement was the fulfilment of a journey it had travelled from the time of its establishment. It should be noted that Stern had started the school to fight for the rights of young people in all aspects of their lives something that was not possible in apartheid South Africa.

However, according to former student and retired Governing Council member, Alan Whiteside, there are some questions that can still be asked. Whiteside said of the move to become a UWC, “I think we were a very good school. The big question is whether we contribute more to the UWC movement than the movement does to us”? For Whiteside this is one of the pertinent questions that should be discussed now and again.⁶¹⁰ In trying to answer this question, a number of former Waterford teachers and students who were interviewed seemed to have a positive perception of the move to join the UWC movement. For Ben O’Connor, a former teacher at Waterford who joined the school in 1986, the move was a right one. In hindsight he argued that:

Given the developments in South Africa over the past 12 years, I think it was good thing that WK joined the UWC movement, because the antics of the African National Congress government over the period have made it clear that they have completely forgotten about any kind of political solidarity or support action and work that was

⁶⁰⁸ Interview with Foose, 20 September 2018, Waterford.

⁶⁰⁹ Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane.

⁶¹⁰ Interview with Alan Whiteside. He was interviewed on 11 January 2018 via Skype call. He attended Waterford from 1969-1979. He is now the Director of Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

being done by places like WK. If we had stayed just as WK, we will have had no way of diversifying our commitments as we have had with UWC.⁶¹¹

Former students interviewed also feel that the move was a significant one. One of these students was Kai Bauer, from Germany, who came to join the school in 1990. He said that he had selected Waterford as his first choice and was happy to hear that he had passed the aptitude test which meant that he could be admitted to do his IB at the school.⁶¹² He remembers his journey from Germany to South Africa where he arrived with another student from Germany. When they arrived at Johannesburg airport they were not able to get a flight to Swaziland as there was only one morning flight. He remembered how they met a South African family who invited them to their home in Soweto.⁶¹³ The family lived close to the Mandela and Tutu residences in Soweto. They stayed for the night and the next day they flew to Swaziland where they were met by some IB German National Committee students. For Bauer, this was the start of a new relationship and he is forever thankful to the UWC movement for according him this rare opportunity.⁶¹⁴

He also commented on the decision to join the UWC movement. He was pleased that this had given an African experience to the movement. Firstly, for him and other international students, it gave them an opportunity to get an experience of Africa which they might not have had in their life. Having attended German schools for most of his young life, coming to Waterford was a completely new experience that shaped his life. Secondly, he felt that joining the movement also gave Waterford a new and important focus.⁶¹⁵ The history of Waterford testifies to the need to look into global issues. For him, the anti-apartheid history of Waterford never faded after joining the UWC movement. He remarked that, before coming to Waterford he had no knowledge of the history of South Africa but he was exposed to it

⁶¹¹ Email correspondence with Ben O'Connor, 14 March 2019, via Email.

⁶¹² Kai Bauer, interviewed on 2 March 2019 at Waterford at the Ekukhuleni Hostel office. Kai Bauer was a National Committee student from Germany and he did his IB at Waterford from 1990-1991.

⁶¹³ Interview with Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

⁶¹⁴ Interview with Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

⁶¹⁵ Interview with Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

there and was able to take that with him. He remembers the developments at the school when Nelson Mandela was released from prison. There was a ‘Welcome Mandela’ concert in the Multi-Purpose Hall where students celebrated the release of Nelson Mandela.⁶¹⁶ In a way he felt that the objectives of the school, mainly to fight for a free South Africa, lived on even after the school joined the UWC movement as there was still a focus on the problems and developments in South Africa.

Another student who saw the UWC experience as a worthwhile experience during his time at Waterford was Makubetse Sekhonyane who attended Waterford from 1990-1991. He remembered how the school embraced world events like the release of Nelson Mandela and the fall of the Berlin Wall. He remarked of the fall of the Berlin wall that, “Ms Rachael McGinn requested me to join students from Germany and other countries that were experiencing this global change”.⁶¹⁷ He also commented on the Waterford-UWC partnership, saying, “I could never find fault with the movement - at least during my time. I still think it is relevant today but it needs to embrace issues of climate change, global terrorism and extractive transnational companies in particular in South America, Africa and Asia”.⁶¹⁸

Aidan Eyakuze, a former Waterford student (1981-1987) was also in great support of the move to join the UWC movement, saying:

It was an extension of WK’s founding mission - a world in miniature - but extended to a global stage and on more global issues (equality, climate change, human rights more broadly). Joining the UWC boosted WK’s contemporaneous relevance regionally and globally.... It provided WK with an ongoing ‘living’ legacy by making it relevant beyond the fight for a non-racial South Africa. After apartheid ended in the ‘90s, WK

⁶¹⁶ Interview with Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

⁶¹⁷ Email correspondence with Makubetse Sekhonyane, 27 March 2019. He was a South African student at Waterford from 1990 to 1991. He is now working for the Gauteng Department of Education.

⁶¹⁸ Email correspondence with Sekhonyane, 27 March 2019.

retained and continues to retain its global relevance by taking the same ethos and applying it to broader challenges of human society.⁶¹⁹

Waterford and the hosting of UWC 25th anniversary celebrations

The move to be part of the UWC movement also opened up new possibilities for Waterford to be central to the events of the movement and gaining national and international recognition. The 25th anniversary of the UWC movement and UWC International Board meeting were held at the school in 1987. The Prince of Wales, Prince Charles, in his capacity as the head of the UWC Board visited Swaziland and Waterford to attend the anniversary celebrations.⁶²⁰ During his visit he met the Swazi Royal family and it was on that occasion that the Swazi Royal Family praised the work that Waterford had done over the years. Minister of Education, Prince Khuzulwandle, remarked that Waterford's position in the Ministry of Education was significant and went on to say, "considering its isolated location, one would easily think that the college is divorced from the main stream of Swaziland but the college record shows involvement at all levels".⁶²¹ He went on to thank the people who had made the Waterford dream come true. He particularly mentioned Sir Robert Birley, one time headmaster of Eton and, later, visiting Professor of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand. On that he said, "Certainly it was Sir Birley's inspirational perceptiveness and vision combined with incisiveness of Lord Mountbatten which brought the UWC movement and Waterford Kamhlaba together".⁶²² He also thanked Michael Stern and his staff for having started this project:

Mr Stern and his staff created a school which not only acted as a beacon of educational understanding and tolerance in this region, but had achieved even wider

⁶¹⁹ Aidan Eyakuze was interviewed on 29 March 2019 via email. Aidan was a student from Kenya who was at Waterford for six years (1981-87) and was very instrumental in leading a number of activities like editing the school magazine and fundraising activities for Community service. He was also head of the school student union when he was in IB.

⁶²⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.6.

⁶²¹ BhekiMabuza, *The Swazi Observer*, Sunday March 29-30, 1987.

⁶²² BhekiMabuza, *The Swazi Observer*, Sunday March 29-30, 1987.

international standing and reputation to be part of the United World Colleges movement.⁶²³

He explained why his late Father, King Sobhuza II had given it the name Kamhlaba and he called it a prophecy:

King Sobhuza surely showed prophetic wisdom and foresight when in 1967 he bestowed upon the school the additional Siswati title of “Kamhlaba”, meaning, of the world, a world in miniature, and of the earth, without discrimination.⁶²⁴

Prince Charles’ visit was also reported in the South African *Sunday Times* where it was further indicated that he met with King Mswati III, first at Waterford as shown in Figure 6.9 (below), and then at Somhlolo Stadium where the Prince was treated to some Swazi cultural dances.⁶²⁵

⁶²³ BhekiMabuza, *The Swazi Observer*, Sunday March 29-30, 1987.

⁶²⁴ BhekiMabuza, *The Swazi Observer*, Sunday March 29-30, 1987.

⁶²⁵ Ezra Mantini and Cas St Leger, *The Sunday Times*, 29 March 1987.

Figure 6.9: Prince Charles and the young King Mswati III of Swaziland, 1987



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, p.6.

For students, the visit was a fulfilling moment where they realised the important position that the school came to occupy in the world scene by joining the UWC movement. Some of the students were privileged to get a very close contact with the young King Mswati III and Prince Charles of England. This was the case with Aidan Eyakuze who was asked to take the King and the Prince on a tour of the school. He confessed that some might have been surprised when he was given this opportunity:

Most of you may have wondered about how I managed to get myself to the Royal Entourage when Prince Charles and His Majesty the King went on a tour of the school. Well, it all happened like this: I was sitting in an English class on that Saturday morning when in came Mrs Richardson and told me that Mr Malan wanted to see me. I had seen Mr Malan so many times during the previous week (and I almost always ended up taking some visiting somebody on a tour of the campus as a result) that I thought this would be another one of those send-offs. Well, I trudged off to his office, clambered over huge cardboard boxes of commemorative T-shirts and *mahiya* (Swazi decorated cloth) and black plastics bags and saw him. He handed me a

bombshell. These were his exact words: “Mr Eyeington has decided that he would like you to accompany him when he takes the Prince and His Majesty around the campus.”⁶²⁶

The King and the Prince were taken on a tour around the campus and were able to also see some of the classes in session. Students were well dressed in Swazi regalia which gave a colourful representation of the country, Swaziland.

Prince Charles was very happy with the way the he was welcomed in Swaziland and at Waterford in particular and thanked the Principal, Mr Eyeington. A letter of gratitude was sent on 27 March 1987 from the Prince’s office:

Dear Dick,

The Prince of Wales has asked me to send you his warmest thanks for all you did to ensure the success of his visit to Swaziland. His Royal Highness greatly enjoyed his visit to Waterford Kamhlaba College and is very proud to be associated with such a worthwhile organisation. He was most impressed by all that he saw during his tour of the campus and was delighted to be able to meet and talk to so many of the students. The spirit of the United World College movement is present in great strength in Waterford.⁶²⁷

The visit of the Prince and His Majesty to the school seems to have helped allay some of the fears and reservations that former students, staff and Governing council members had felt on the decision to join the UWC movement. Former student Alan McGregor, who is now Professor of Medicine in London, said:

My enthusiasm for working for the kind of school that you have now produced is enormous...congratulations on having concepts that are so dear to Michael Stern but

⁶²⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.16.

⁶²⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.17.

also the many new ideas and characteristics which are so clearly yours and which enhance so much more the school as I know it.⁶²⁸

Xolile P. Guma, a Governing Council Member, who was also a former student also commented on this occasion:

Two aspects of the celebrations were particularly appealing to me: first, and most obviously, the exposure which WK got as a consequence of the presence of HRH the Prince of Wales and other distinguished guests. Second, and in my view equally important, was the interaction of the many ex-UWC students from colleges outside Africa with the WK group. Many of the former now have a better understanding of what WK has always stood for. At the same time, many of the WK ex-students who left the school before it became a UWC movement had their fears, that WK had been forced to compromise on basic principles upon joining the movement allayed.⁶²⁹

Some people who had no knowledge of Waterford before the visit were able to get a better understanding of the school and its ethos. One of them, Naomi Hoare, wife of Desmond Hoare, founding headmaster of Atlantic College, was also full of praise:

Before I left my rural retreat in Ireland, I read everything I could lay hands on about Waterford. It was pitifully little, so I was totally unprepared for the shattering impact it made upon me. It is easy to say it was the most profoundly disturbing experience of my whole life, but I promise you that is the absolute truth. I blithely imagined I was without prejudice and understood the South African situation. I had not a clue! Having met and talked to so many highly intelligent and utterly charming black people, the gross unfairness of the situation is hard to come to terms with. My admiration for the sheer courage of Waterford and its aims is beyond expression.

⁶²⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.17.

⁶²⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.18.

Mind you, I do have a sneaking envy for you both. Starting the Atlantic College was a real challenge, but you are faced daily with a far more fearsome task.⁶³⁰

The Waterford experience was also described as unique when compared to the other UWC schools by Director General of the UWC, Sir Ian Gourley (1975-1990) who commented:

It was a smash hit! Well done indeed! Waterford excelled itself last week and to none of your visitors was that more thrilling or more to be expected than it was for me. UWC as a whole is the better and the winner for the visit... Waterford is in the front line of interracial relationships. While our other Colleges talk about these things and are sheltered from racial strife, your own school lives in a tension area or very close to it and the issues are alive and ever-present. The days with you all at Waterford will be remembered for the spirit of celebration and the human contacts, the commonality of our interests and purpose and the sense of family. ...It was an inspired idea to stage SOPHIATOWN!⁶³¹

Chairman of the United World Colleges at the time, Kingman Brewster saw the Swazi King's visit as one of the major highlights:

You must have sensed a great feeling of delight and admiration engendered by the Waterford meeting. The fact that the young King visited was a great tribute to you and the College. Most important was the fact that the Board members were completely converted and were eager to meet the challenge of the Third World College.⁶³²

For Stern, who was now retired and a member of the Governing Council of the school, the events of 1987 stood out to all the people associated with the UWC movement as he said,

⁶³⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK archives, p.18.

⁶³¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK archives, p.18.

⁶³² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.18.

“Many UWC people say their visit was so memorable that they will never feel or think the same again!”⁶³³

Of historical importance to Waterford and South Africa was the appointment of Nelson Mandela to the position of President of the UWC movement in 1995. Mandela, who had his two daughters and grandchildren attend Waterford, was appointed to this position due his politics of reconciliation and dialogue in place of revenge after the fall of apartheid. He was the joint president with Queen Noor of Jordan.⁶³⁴ Queen Noor is well known for having said this of the UWC movement:

We do not simply want to produce educated young people. We hope to nurture and educate activists and future leaders who can identify and help resolve the challenges within their own societies and contribute to stability, peace and justice in the wider world.⁶³⁵

In accepting the position, Nelson Mandela acknowledged his long-standing ties with Waterford through his children and grandchildren who had attended the Waterford during his imprisonment on Robben Island.⁶³⁶ Mandela is shown in Figure 6.10 accepting the presidency of the UWC movement in 1995.

⁶³³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1987, WK Archives, p.18.

⁶³⁴ <https://www.uwc.org/news/?pid=5&nid=52&storyid=438>, accessed 19 March 2019.

⁶³⁵ <https://globaled.gse.harvard.edu/united-world-colleges>, accessed 19 March 2019.

⁶³⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.58.

Figure 6.10: Nelson Mandela accepting the position of the UWC presidency at Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, 1995.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, p.57.

The inauguration ceremony was held in central Johannesburg at the then famous Carlton Hotel. 70 students from Waterford joined in the festivities. The students were able to perform some Swazi dances for the gathered guests as shown in Figure 6.11 below.

Figure 6.11: Waterford students performing at Carlton hotel in Johannesburg at the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the joint President of the UWC Movement, 1995.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, p.57.

Another important aspect for Waterford becoming a UWC was the concept of celebrating differences which is a core value of the movement. This is celebrated annually by the movement through UWC Day where students in the different colleges showcase their cultures and traditions and celebrate the differences inherent among them. In 1984 for example, it was decided that all UWC celebrate the day during the last week of September, each in its own way, to mark the common ideals and hopes that the college share.⁶³⁷ At Waterford it was thought that the ideal was expressed quite clearly through its community service model. It was therefore decided to mark UWC day by suspending classes for the day and concentrating on community service. The day saw community service being done in different areas in and out of the school.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.43.

⁶³⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.43.

Figure 6.12: Waterford students entertaining children at WK preschool on UWC Day in 1984



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1984, WK Archives, p.43.

The UWC movement also brought a diverse student body to Waterford and other UWCs through the National Committees. The committees were and are still used to select students who are then enrolled in various UWC schools worldwide. To select these students, UWC depends on the dedication and expertise of a network of volunteers to find and select students in more than 155 countries worldwide. A wide variety of individuals make up UWC national committees, including: UWC alumni, parents of alumni, education professionals, and community leaders who have embraced the UWC values.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁹ <https://www.uwc.org/nationalcommittees>, accessed 19 March 2019.

John Storer, the current head of admission at Waterford, noted that the National Committee programme was one of the significant ways in which Waterford maintained the diversity that has remained the mainstay of the school.⁶⁴⁰ He outlined the processes that have always been involved in the recruitment of students from the National Committees. Every year the UWC office in London calls on UWC schools to make offers for that year on how many students they are willing to take. Waterford Kamhlaba makes sure that it looks for National Committee students from beyond the African continent with the main target being those committees that can sponsor their students. For Africa these students are selected by their respective national committees and Waterford gives them full scholarships.⁶⁴¹

Conclusion

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, a major shift was taken by the school, that is, Waterford becoming a UWC college mainly because of its history in the fight against apartheid. The move to join the UWC was an easy one as the school was already practising the expectations of the movement. Even those who felt at first that Waterford focus was going to be diluted were quick to see the benefits from this move and a recreation of the ideals of the founding fathers. The multiracialism that was behind the founding of the school was clearly one of the bedrocks of the UWC movement's values, "deliberate diversity" which needed to be appreciated and cherished. The school had made strides after its inception in fostering a community where differences were experienced and appreciated.

One of the other major aspects of the UWC movement was help to others which was seen through community service and as shown in 1984 Waterford celebrated UWC day through its community service. At the heart of the school was a very vibrant community service that had spanned the two decades of its establishment hence it was noble to celebrate this aspect.

⁶⁴⁰ Interview with John Storer. John Storer was interviewed on 28 March 2019 at Waterford in his office. He is the Director of Admissions at the school and has worked at Waterford for 10 years.

⁶⁴¹ Interview with Storer, 28 March, Admissions office, Waterford.

Considering all these factors it was therefore a wise move for Waterford to join the UWC movement as it ushered in a new era for the school.

Chapter 7: Developments at Waterford in the aftermath of democratisation in South Africa

Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the developments at Waterford after the fall of apartheid rule in South Africa. As the school was founded as a response to apartheid, it risked losing purpose when apartheid ended, so the democratisation of South Africa meant that the school had to continue to be relevant to the issues affecting South Africa and the region in general. It is argued that from 1990 when the last white South African president F. W. de Klerk started dismantling apartheid and unbanning the anti-apartheid organisation like the ANC, Waterford had already shifted its focus from a regional African focus to a global focus when it was welcomed into the United College Movement in the 1980s. Thanks to the vision of the school leadership in constantly finding ways of recalibrating the strategic vision and ethos of Waterford, this move was smooth.

The fact that South Africa achieved democratisation when Waterford was already part of the global education movement Waterford did not negate its original South African focus. This was seen with the visits of anti-apartheid activists and the continuation of work that aligned with the school's strategic position in relation to the developments in South Africa. There was also a move to focus on global issues and this was greatly complemented by the values that the UWC movement inculcated in the students. The chapter also tracks and traces Waterford's former students with the view of highlighting the schools' overall contribution to education in the region and globally. The careers that some of the former students went on to pursue are an indicator of the school's contribution to their life-long experiences.

The democratisation of South Africa and its impact on Waterford

As stated in the beginning, when Waterford was founded in 1963 its main focus was on challenging apartheid South Africa by offering an alternative multi-racial school system. The apartheid regime in South Africa had prohibited multiracialism in different spheres of life particularly in education, which was to be Michael Stern's focus. He had said of his ideal

school, “Multi-racial it will be in the fullest sense, for this is not to be an English school where a few places are provided for Africans, but an institution in which European boys may actually be in a minority.”⁶⁴² The move to end apartheid came as result of the resignation of P W Botha in 1989. The National Party leader who replaced him was F W de Klerk. Even though most observers expected him to continue Botha's defence of apartheid, de Klerk decided to end the policy due to both internal and external pressures. He was aware that growing ethnic animosity and violence was leading South Africa into a fully-fledged racial civil war. As Christopher Culpin noted, as soon as he came to power, de Klerk unbanned the ANC, the PAC and the SACP; he also announced the release of Nelson Mandela and his fellow prisoners and promised to work towards equal rights for all South Africans.⁶⁴³

The release of Nelson Mandela in 1990 signalled the last moments of the apartheid state and the ushering of a new era. Waterford joined the whole world in welcoming Nelson Mandela after a long time in incarceration. The celebrations for the release of Nelson Mandela were held in 1990 at one of the morning assemblies at Waterford with students giving speeches. Mandela's grandson, Mandla, is recorded to have recited a poem.⁶⁴⁴ One of the students who was present at the celebrations (see Figure 7.1), Anna Williams who as in Form 3, commented:

I felt good. I felt right, as I chanted words of freedom. Could it be I, the person who did not seem to care, could it be I, who did not really think about it, could it be I who felt the joy and excitement? I remember, as I will always remember, the 12th of February, when we felt, when we sang about the release of Nelson Mandela. It was great as we danced in the late afternoon. I could feel, I felt what I have never felt before; belonging, hopefulness and joy. As we danced in circles, circles of hope for the future, I felt it.⁶⁴⁵

⁶⁴² Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.36.

⁶⁴³ Culpin, *South Africa since 1948*, p.122.

⁶⁴⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.5.

⁶⁴⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.6.

Another Form 3 student, Anna Hundsdorfer, from Germany, recounted the events of the day, saying:

After we sang the African anthem together, I realised that this event was more important for me than the pulling down of the Berlin Wall in Germany even though I am German. When the Berlin Wall was demolished, I thought, Oh, how wonderful, man. That's really brilliant. When we went on holidays in Germany in December I thought and talked a bit more about it because our relatives who lived in East Germany came to visit us. But it did not have half as much effect on me as the celebrations on 12 February 1990 did.⁶⁴⁶

Figure 7.1 : WK Students dancing to the news of the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.5.

There was also an extended assembly held for the release of Nelson Mandela. The Assembly commenced with the Swaziland National Anthem then, *Nkosi Sikelele Africa*. The first part of

⁶⁴⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.5.

the assembly was conducted by Headmaster Dick Eyeington, who recounted how together with his wife, Enid, had spent 27 years committed to education in Africa (first in Tanzania and then in Swaziland). While they were raising a family here and enjoying all that Africa offers, Mr Mandela was denied these things, he said.⁶⁴⁷ Students then took the next part of the assembly reciting poems, personal accounts of the significance of the release, and singing and dancing.⁶⁴⁸

As Malan remarked, very soon all 500 students and staff, from forty-six different nationalities, had been drawn into the spirit of rejoicing. The school hall reverberated with the chanting and food stamping. Then at lunchtime, the Newton Thompson Multipurpose Hall had been set for a special lunch enjoyed by the 450 students, and academic staff, the domestic, catering and maintenance staff, as well as the thirty odd preschool children who were part of the school's vigorous community service programme.⁶⁴⁹ The lunch was accompanied by the video of the *Free Mandela Festival Concert* and this spilled over into a party that lasted the whole afternoon with more poems, songs and dancing. Art students produced wall decorations that ranged from a huge portrait of Nelson Mandela to posters celebrating the unbanned organisations and remembering those still detained. More striking, according to Malan, was a banner that was put beside Mandela's photograph and de Klerk's.⁶⁵⁰

Also of importance in 1990 was the celebration on 21 March of the independence of Namibia. 21 March was already a special day in the school as students had been for years honouring the day in respect of the lives lost at Sharpeville.⁶⁵¹ The two events were therefore merged into one with poems, and an extract of the *Welcome Home Rally* speech by Walter Sisulu at Soccer City being played and the assembly concluded with the *BBC* news announcement of the moment of independence of Namibia which was celebrated as shown in

⁶⁴⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.6.

⁶⁴⁸ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK archives, p.6.

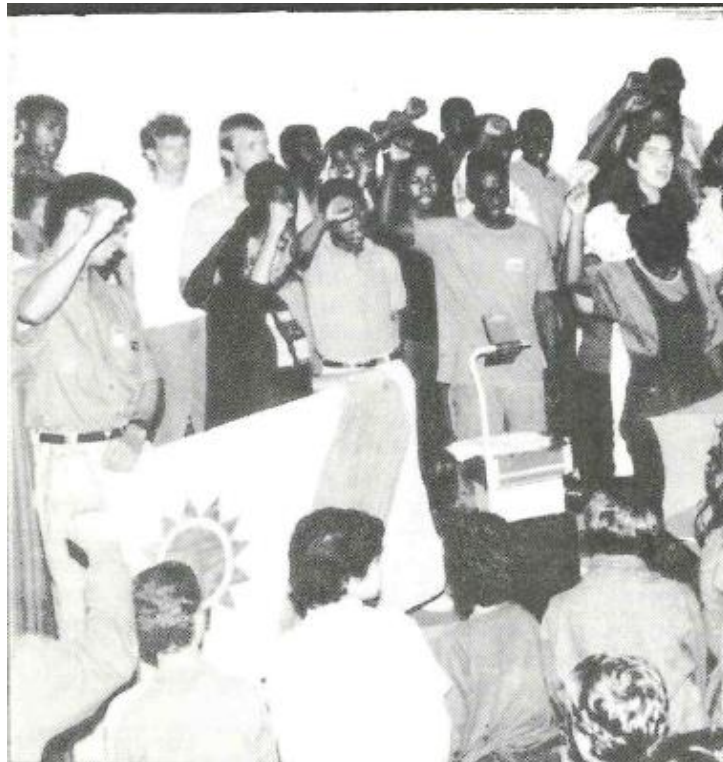
⁶⁴⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK archives, p.6.

⁶⁵⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.6.

⁶⁵¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK archives, p.6.

Figure 7.2 below. Two Namibian students recited poems and expressed their personal hopes for progress of their country as it went through a reformation.⁶⁵²

Figure 7.2: A section of the students celebrating Namibian independence, 1990.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, p.7.

A timeline was also given on the History of South Africa and Namibia. This was a moment of great change for Southern Africa and particularly for South Africa and Namibia. It is also interesting to note that South Africa and Namibia shared some important dates in their struggle for majority rule as shown in Figure 7.3 below:

⁶⁵² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK archives, p.7.

Figure 7.3: South Africa and Namibia's timelines on their colonial history.

THE SHARPEVILLE COMMEMORATION AND THE CELEBRATION OF NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE	
SOUTH AFRICA	NAMIBIA
1910 - UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA	1915 - SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES TAKE OVER NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA) FROM THE GERMANS
1912 - SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE NATIONAL CONGRESS (SANNC - FORERUNNER OF THE ANC) FORMED	
1950s - CONGRESS ALLIANCE	1958 - OVAMBOLAND PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION (OPO - FORERUNNER OF SWAPO) FORMED
1960 - SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE ANC & PAC BANNED	1959 - WINDHOEK MASSACRE
1961 - ARMED STRUGGLE LAUNCHED	1966 - UN DECLARES SA RULE ILLEGAL ARMED STRUGGLE LAUNCHED
1963-4 - RIVONIA TRIAL - ANC LEADERS (NELSON MANDELA, WALTER SISULU etc) IMPRISONED	1967 - PRETORIA TRIAL - SWAPO LEADERS (ANDIMBA JA TOIVO, JOHN YA OTTO etc) IMPRISONED
1976 - SOWETO UPRISING	1978 - KASSINGA MASSACRE
OCT 1989 - ANC LEADERS FREED	NOV 1988 - SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTS RESOLUTION 435
2 FEB 1990 - ANC, PAC, SACP UNBANNED	
11 FEB 1990 - NELSON MANDELA FREED	21 MAR 1990 - NAMIBIA INDEPENDENT - SAM NUJOMA INSTALLED AS PRESIDENT - NELSON MANDELA & FW DE KLERK ATTEND CELEBRATIONS
DEPENDENCE	
h a new baby was born - Namibia. me of joy and independence, an end unjust and evil forces which had ving the Namibian people of their ough Namibia is free at last, till some problems to be solved, Walvis Bay issue, and for Namibia totally independent of South	Africa. At the moment we have to work for reconciliation, to bring all Namibians together as one nation. To me as a student I think that the youth of Namibia is the only solution to most of Namibia's problems. I wish President Nujoma good luck in his position as the Father of the Nation.
sponsored by BERNADETT for SARAH HALL AND LEBO GIULIA for RONEN - WITH LOVE	
Edmund STAMISS	

Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.8.

The 1990 Soweto uprising commemorations were also celebrated and Robin Malan led a discussion on the nature of independent education in South Africa, especially with the

democratisation of South Africa looming. The talk involved both students and staff members such as Jo-Anne who reflected on the difficulties, hopes and achievements of those genuinely non-racial schools, unconcerned about government subsidies and firm in their admissions policy of entry on academic merit and no other criteria.⁶⁵³ Different students shared their experiences in their primary schools, arguing that there was very little acceptance of non-whites in predominantly white independent schools. The white children did better, learnt more easily and had better opportunities of excelling.⁶⁵⁴ From this, there was a reflection on how Waterford had progressed on these issues. The new developments in South Africa meant a new discussion on the future of Waterford.

With all these developments in South Africa, the question that was in the minds of most stakeholders around this time was what role Waterford would play post-apartheid. Several Waterford stakeholders came up with possibilities for Waterford. For departing teacher Gunvant Govindjee who had arrived at Waterford in 1976, the future for Waterford post-apartheid was simply to uphold the ideals of the founders of the school who stood up against injustice and oppression. He gave a farewell speech in 1990 where he shared his experiences during the past holiday.⁶⁵⁵ He had met a student from St Martin's School in Johannesburg who had just matriculated and asked him whether he knew that St. Martin's used to be St Peter's School, which then morphed into Waterford Kamhlaba in Swaziland.⁶⁵⁶ The student was unaware, as he had not been told of his school's origins. From this story, Govindjee gave a brief history of the founding of the school, outlining how Stern was disillusioned by the Bantu Education system and so he opted to move to Swaziland to found a school where race, colour and religion would not be criteria for entry. In concluding his farewell speech, he affirmed, "In expressing our strong opposition to apartheid and injustice in South Africa, we honour our founders, and commit ourselves to a South Africa that is free and democratic. And we aim to educate our students to become socially involved and responsible."⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.9.

⁶⁵⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.10.

⁶⁵⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.18.

⁶⁵⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.18.

⁶⁵⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1990, WK Archives, p.18.

The future of Waterford after apartheid seemed to have continued to resonate in most people's minds. Writing in 1992, Avrum Vinick a former student at Atlantic College (1967-1969), the first UWC, remarked that it would seem that WK had reached a stage in its development when it must establish its position in a changing environment.⁶⁵⁸ As the school was founded, largely, as a response to the apartheid system of education, its role was evolving even as South Africa's political system was changing. His advice was to make sure that the Waterford school community discussed these issues at length.⁶⁵⁹ Grahame Lindop, chairman of the South Africa Untied World College Trust, was however confident of the role of the school after apartheid, arguing that the emerging new South Africa needed well educated men and women and the UWC movement certainly was an ideal environment in which to educate young South Africans who for decades were deprived of international contact. He then challenged all the people associated with Waterford to come out of isolation and act.⁶⁶⁰

For Lindop, the situation in South Africa was in the process of undergoing much needed fundamental and far-reaching change; Waterford Kamhlaba was inevitably supposed to be part of this, and hence there was need to examine its role and relevance in a changing situation. He also said there was need for the Waterford community to reflect on the direction being taken and look at ways in which everyone can offer experience and knowledge to the considerable needs of the education process evolving in South Africa.⁶⁶¹

As Waterford was still grappling with what the future meant for the school, one of the longest serving members of the school, Malan, retired in 1992. Malan as mentioned earlier had been very central in helping students understand and get closely involved in the struggle for a free South Africa from 1978 when he joined the school. Describing him, the Principal Dick Eyeington said:

⁶⁵⁸ *Tindzaba TaKamhlaba*, 1992, WK Archives, p.4.

⁶⁵⁹ *Tindzaba TaKamhlaba*, 1992, WK Archives, p.4.

⁶⁶⁰ *Tindzaba TaKamhlaba*, 1992, WK Archives, p.5.

⁶⁶¹ *Tindzaba TaKamhlaba*, 1992, WK Archives, p.5.

He spent 15 years of his life trying “to affect the framework of SA society from within” and left because he had become increasingly disillusioned with this idea. In a school publication produced in the early days of WK, he wrote, “I feel I might be allowed a little self-indulgence in seeing what it is like to breathe a different kind of air in a different framework”. I am sure Robin would question now whether this was really self-indulgence, but in any case, Waterford Kamhlaba has gained tremendously from whatever it was.⁶⁶²

Interviewed on why he left Waterford at this special moment in the history of the school and with all the work he had put into the anti-apartheid fight at the school, Malan remarked:

It was the right time for me to go. I was at odds with the anti-SA feeling / pro-internationalism feeling among the ‘international’ teachers, and even some students. And I was definitely working too hard - hence the heart attack. I suffered a severe heart attack in February of 1992. I was advised by Dr John Stephens to stop teaching/administration.⁶⁶³

Malan also alluded to the fact that way back in 1964 he had bought a house in Cape Town for four of his aunts to live in. Gradually they had died, and just a month after his heart attack, the second-last aunt died, leaving just one 86 year old aunt alone in the house. He therefore decided that he had to join her. Both of these reasons meant leaving WK and Swaziland.⁶⁶⁴

With the 1994 elections in South Africa cementing the position of Mandela and the ANC in South Africa, reflections on the effect of this development on Waterford continued. The 1994 *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba* carried a section entitled “Winds of change, your thoughts on the

⁶⁶² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK archives, p.54.

⁶⁶³ Email correspondence with Malan, 11 June 2019.

⁶⁶⁴ Email correspondence with Malan, 11 June 2019.

South African election.” Former students expressed their hopes for the future of South Africa and also tried to analyse what this meant for Waterford. For Neo Moikangoa (WK 1967-1967), former student from South Africa who attended Waterford in 1967, there was need to quickly overcome divisions, conflict and the chronically impoverished and dehumanising past before it would poison the present and jeopardise the future.⁶⁶⁵ Greg Lebona (WK 1969-1970), former Waterford student from Lesotho, outlined how the school had, for 32 years, maintained a tradition of opposition to apartheid by educating South African students whose previous education had been impaired by this pernicious ideology. For him, Waterford had done much as it brought together different people from around the world and promoted tolerance of beliefs and cultures in order to attain international understanding. More so, after joining the UWC movement, Waterford intensified its support for social justice in South Africa without prejudicing its position as an educational institution and without contravening the aims of the movement.⁶⁶⁶

For some, the new developments were good if they were used by Waterford to prompt reflection. Chris Davies, in an article entitled, “The Road Forward”, offered his insights on the issue, saying:

It seems to me that there is an urgent need at this time to reassess the whole reason for Waterford. Formerly a South African school outside its mother country, it held its head as a non-racial institution. In post-apartheid South Africa, this role alone is no longer adequate and we look for something else. My feeling is that, if we study the unique qualities that Waterford has developed over the years, then it is upon these that we should build a future.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁵ *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1994, WK Archives.p.3.

⁶⁶⁶ *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1994, WK Archives, p.3.

⁶⁶⁷ Article on the road forward, 1995, WK Archives.

He therefore concluded that the only way for the school to remain relevant was to use its UWC element to fight for peace and justice in Africa.⁶⁶⁸

For the Principal, Dick Eyeington, Waterford had already seen the need to broaden its focus and attention. Gross inadequacies in the education systems elsewhere in the region also needed to be addressed. The colonial and civil wars in Angola and Mozambique had severely disrupted their educational progress. He applauded the move that Waterford had taken in bringing students from these countries into an extended International Baccalaureate programme. He was convinced that:

As a consequence of this, the college has been enriched by the talents and cultural consequence of its Mozambican and Angolan students. This development work has taken place in the context of Waterford Kamhlaba's membership of the UWC movement. We have also provided for students from all over the world the opportunity to experience and immensely gain from their interaction with Southern Africa. And our Southern African students have, in turn, gained from their encounter and friendship with students from all the other countries. Now the way forward for Waterford Kamhlaba lies in moving further into this educational adventure, in strengthening and consolidating this union of the international and the African focus.⁶⁶⁹

Moreover, Eyeington shared the mood the school was in after the democratisation of South Africa:

Friends of Waterford will no doubt be reading in this issue of *Tindzaba TaKamhlaba* of the reactions of many people regarding the exciting and momentous changes which are taking place in South Africa. The students, staff and Governing Council of the College joined with all other well-wishers of South Africa in celebrating the

⁶⁶⁸ Article on the road forward, 1995, WK Archives.

⁶⁶⁹ *Tindzaba TeKamlaba*, 1994, WK Archives, p.2.

beginning of a new society. The changes which have taken place since the release of Mr Mandela have been truly amazing and his towering influence in shaping the future of the diverse people of this region cannot be underestimated. Waterford is privileged to have been involved in the education of Mr Mandela's daughters, Zenani and Zindzi, and his grandson Mandla, particularly during the despondence and despair of the long years of his incarceration.⁶⁷⁰

The future of Waterford continued to be a topical issue in the 1990s. In 1994, the visiting London benefactors to the school, Lord Richard and Sheila Attenborough remarked that the future looked promising. Lord Attenborough had supported the school from its infancy and sponsored the building of the Art Centre and the Richard and Sheila Attenborough Visual Arts Centre (see Figure 7.4 on the official opening of the Arts Centre, 1994).

Figure 7.4: The Attenboroughs officially opening the Fine Arts Centre, 1994



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK Archives, p.42.

The visit of the Attenboroughs coincided with the school's celebration of Africa Day and Lord Attenborough took the opportunity to engage with International Baccalaureate students. He commented on the fall of apartheid, which was the school's focus when it opened, and

⁶⁷⁰ Tindzaba TeKamhlaba, 1994, WK archives, p.2.

said that the original reason for Waterford's existence had been removed and students were now supposed to redefine what the future held for Waterford.⁶⁷¹ It was on this occasion that Lord Attenborough took the opportunity to reflect on the developments in South Africa, remarking:

The College was born out of the challenge presented by the inequity of apartheid, and so the miracle of the new South Africa brings new and exciting challenges and compels us to examine carefully and respond relevantly to the needs of the region, as well as maintaining our global perspective through the United World Colleges.⁶⁷²

A striking fact that was also outlined in the *Phoenix Magazine* of 1994 was that Lord Attenborough was the director of films, including *Cry Freedom*, *Gandhi* and many more. These two movies speak to the inhuman treatment of individuals fighting for the rights of their fellow citizens. *Cry Freedom* looks at the life of South African struggle icon, Steve Biko while *Gandhi*, which Lord Attenborough regarded as his best movie, focuses on the life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. *Cry Freedom* was one of the popular movies at the school during the Soweto Commemorations. It is not surprising that Lord Attenborough was a benefactor to Waterford and was also concerned about the events in South Africa. To the IB students who came to him to ask about his thoughts at the time, Attenborough said, "Waterford is going through a rejuvenation of attitudes and principles. If Waterford in any way becomes redundant because the reason for its genesis is gone, it must rethink its whole concept".⁶⁷³ As shown in Figure 7.5 Attenborough was happy to chat with students and get to hear their ideas.

⁶⁷¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK archives, p.44.

⁶⁷² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK archives, p.45.

⁶⁷³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK Archives, p.44.

Figure 7.5: Lord Attenborough with some guests, the school administration and some IB students, 1994.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK Archives, p.44.

Probably his liberal thinking was what might have struck students, as he believed that students should take a more active role in the affairs of the school as he seemed to have lobbied for the involvement of the students in the Governing Council meetings. As highlighted by two IB students, Jeniffer and Naomi, Lord Attenborough had been asked by students what role students should play in the governance of the school to which he stressed, “a very active role.”⁶⁷⁴ What seemed to have surprised students was that when he was asked about the developments in the Governing Council that was to take place he assured the students that they were not going to be disappointed and the Principal later announced that for the first time in WK history, students and staff would have full membership on the Governing Council.⁶⁷⁵ His last words to the Waterford community on the day was to challenge everyone saying, “Wherever you witness injustice, brutality, hypocrisy, stand up! Do something! If Waterford has not instilled this in you, then Waterford has failed.”⁶⁷⁶

⁶⁷⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK Archives, p.44.

⁶⁷⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK Archives, p.44.

⁶⁷⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK Archives, p.45.

While the 1990s brought hope for new dawn for South Africa the period was marked by black against black violence. The violence was between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC which saw black on black violence as negotiations for the democratisation of South Africa People took place. This violence was to affect the Waterford Community as one former student, Vusi Charles Magubane, was murdered in these violent times. Magubane was the son of renowned prize winning photographer for the *Times Magazine*, Peter Magubane.⁶⁷⁷ Peter reported that his son's body was found with a gunshot wound in the head and hack wounds. Police reported that they had found the body lying near a men's hostel that served as a stronghold of the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. His father concluded that it was the work of the Inkatha, the ANC's bitter rival.⁶⁷⁸

For the Waterford community, Vusi was still fresh in the memories of most of the staff. In the memory of Malan, Vusi was a good boy who loved Theatre Arts. He said of the times of Vusi at Waterford:

I was once visited by (Vusi) Charles, who wanted to 'write' a play but knew he couldn't just sit down and write it. So, I gathered interested students, and we workshopped the play: Charles would tell us stories (some as a direct result of his accompanying his father on photo-shoots) and then the group would improvise the scene, and we would shape it and ultimately settle it in the final 'script'. Charles's play was called *Inhlupeko yeNdoda / A man's suffering (Zulu translation)* and was very successfully staged for a number of performances. It almost wasn't, because a day or so before the play, Charles broke his leg during a soccer practice. Nothing daunted, he slit the seams of one trouser-leg of all his costumes, and careened around the stage on crutches – hilariously as a mine 'baasboy' trying desperately to get his raw recruits to form 'one layini! one layini!. It was devastating one morning several

⁶⁷⁷ David B. Ottaway, 15 June 1992, "At Soweto funeral, upheaval seems near", *Washington Post*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/06/15/at-soweto-funeral-upheaval-seems-near/cecb9773-fcf4-4f17->, accessed 19/06/2019.

⁶⁷⁸ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1992/06/15/at-soweto-funeral-upheaval-seems-near/cecb9773-fcf4-4f17->, accessed 19/06/2019.

years after Vusi left WK to hear on the *BBC World Service* in an interview with his father that Vusi had been found murdered, close to a hostel frequented by the IFP vigilantes bent on violent disruption; hacked so viciously that his face was unrecognisable plus multiple stab wounds.⁶⁷⁹

Visits by anti-apartheid activists

The democratisation of South Africa also brought with it the open recognition of the school by anti-apartheid figures. Some of the anti-apartheid activists visited the school in honour of its role in the fight for the democratisation of South Africa. A year after his release from prison, in 1991, Nelson Mandela visited the school to show his appreciation for its role as an institution that contributed to the fight for a deracialised society in South Africa. With his children and grandchild having attended the school, it was an honour to have the iconic Mandela visit the school.

Recalling the visit, which was not well documented in the school's literature, Ben O'Connor, said that it was on a Wednesday afternoon when most teachers and students had left the school early (as classes finish at one in the afternoon), that he went to the staff-room and, to his surprise, found Mandela standing by one of the walls close to the tea area. He could not believe what he was seeing but remembers very well that Mandela stayed for a short time (maybe one hour) and left with his entourage.⁶⁸⁰ The only other evidence of Mandela's visit to the school is a record in the *Phoenix Magazine* in which the principal of the school at the time, Eyeington, thanked Mandela for his visit. He wrote, "It was certainly a wonderful experience when Mr Mandela was able to visit the college, one wet thunderous afternoon almost two years ago and hear him humbly and sincerely express and acknowledge the role Waterford Kamhlaba had played in the formative years of his children and the struggle for multiracialism."⁶⁸¹

⁶⁷⁹ Interview with Malan, 11 June 2019, via Email.

⁶⁸⁰ Interview with Ben 'O' Cononr, 14 June 2019, Waterford Staff room.

⁶⁸¹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK Archives, p.33.

The events of the 1990s helped align Waterford with its legacy of helping fight apartheid. In 1991 the school was graced with the visits from several significant anti-apartheid heroes from South Africa. These included Walter and Albertina Sisulu, Nadine Gordimer, Wally Serote and Malangatana Ngwenya (Figure 7.6 shows the Sisulus with some of the Waterford students). Dick Eyeington, the principal, thanked the visitors for their individual unique contributions to the Art and Literacy education of the Waterford Kamhlaba community.

Figure 7.6: The Sisulus on their visit to Waterford in 1991



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1991, WK Archives, p.14.

Walter and Albertina were both strong anti-apartheid activists and Walter was among the activists caught and imprisoned after the Rivonia trial of 1964. Their children were also educated at Waterford. One of their daughters, Lindiwe Sisulu, an alumna of Waterford, has held different ministerial positions in South Africa's post-apartheid administrations to date. Nadine Gordimer was a South African writer, was an anti-apartheid activist and recipient of the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize in Literature. She was recognized as a woman "who through her magnificent epic writing has been of very great benefit to humanity."⁶⁸²

⁶⁸² <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/literature/1991/gordimer/facts/>, accessed 4 February 2021.

Wally Serote a South African poet and writer became involved in political resistance to the apartheid system by joining the African National Congress (ANC). In 1969, he was arrested and detained for several months without trial.⁶⁸³ Malangatana Ngwenya was a Mozambican painter and poet.⁶⁸⁴ Remarking on the visit of all these luminaries, the principal asked rhetorically, “Did all these amazing people really come together on our hill in Swaziland?” He also congratulated Ms Gordimer for her outstanding Nobel Literature award.⁶⁸⁵ About the Sisulus, the principal said:

Your warmth and generosity flowed out to all who came in contact with you. Your characters manifested to all of us of the power of good over evil and love over hate. I hope you found in the students and the staff kindred spirits who were seeking to reciprocate your sentiments. We certainly look forward to you being with us again in the not too distant future.⁶⁸⁶

The year 1992 saw the United World Colleges regional conference being hosted by Waterford Kamhlaba, and of great importance were the panel discussions that were held on the day. Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert addressed the contemporary political scene in South Africa and there was also talk on the forecast and predictions of the “New South Africa” from Neo Moikangoa. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert discussed the role opposition parties needed to

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<https://www.google.com/search?q=wally+serote&oq=Wa&aqs=chrome.2.69i59j69i57j69i59j69i60l3.1874j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>, accessed 25/06/2019.

Serote also visited Waterford in 2019 and was the guest speaker on UWC day.

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<https://www.google.com/search?q=malangatana+ngwenya&oq=Malangatana+Ngwenya&aqs=chrome.0.0l6.6290j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>, accessed 25/06/2019.

Malangatana Ngwenya died in 2011.

⁶⁸⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK archives, p.33.

⁶⁸⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK archives, p.33.

play going forward. Neo Moikanga was also part of the presenters as he was now the ANC representative in the USA after graduating from Waterford.⁶⁸⁷

There was understanding and appreciation within the school administration that the future of the school must reflect its history of fighting apartheid. In 1995, South African poet and activist, Don Mattera, visited the school. Mattera is a known apartheid activist who became a member of Western Areas Student Association which worked with the ANC.⁶⁸⁸ Mattera, shown in figure 7.7 below with some of the students, opened the Arts exhibition at the school and was able to share his life and some poems with the students. These included poems on the liberation movement and some humorous ones.⁶⁸⁹

Figure 7.7: Don Mattera at the WK Arts Festival in 1995.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1985, WK Archives, p.37.

It was also in 1995 that the school was visited by Queen Noor of Jordan who had been appointed as the joint President of the International Council of the UWC. The Queen was joined by the Swaziland Royal family on her tour of the school. The Queen and the Swazi royal family were entertained by numerous student performances, including the *sibhaca dance* (a Swazi dance).⁶⁹⁰ It was very unfortunate that the Queen had to cut her visit short as

⁶⁸⁷ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1992, WK Archives, p.33.

⁶⁸⁸ Interview with Don Mattera, <http://liberationafrica.seinterview>, accessed 26 May 2019.

⁶⁸⁹ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.37.

⁶⁹⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p. 59

she received the news of the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin.⁶⁹¹ The Queen had to return home as sign of respect to their Middle East friend, Israel. The two countries had just signed a treaty in October of 1994 promising to work together. Figure 7.8 shows Queen Noor and King Mswati III of Swaziland on their visit to Waterford in 1995.

Figure 7.8: Queen Noor with King Mswati III of Swaziland in 1995 at Waterford Kamhlaba.



Source: *Phoenix Magazine*, 1995, WK Archives, p.59.

British sculptor, John Doubleday, also honoured the school by donating a Mandela bust in 1996 (Fig. 7.9 below). The bronze bust of Nelson Mandela was placed next to the school library and remains a symbol of the values that Mandela upheld. Accepting the donation, the principal, Mr P J McDermott,⁶⁹² acknowledged the school's association with the Mandela family. He remarked:

⁶⁹¹ Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated on 4 November 1995 at the end a rally in support of the Oslo Accords. His assassination was a direct protest to his peace initiative.

⁶⁹² P. J. McDermott took over from Dick Eyeington who left to join in 1995 (having worked at Waterford from 1971) SOS children villages and was instrumental in expanding the SOS villages in Swaziland. Dick and his wife Enid were passionate anti-apartheid campaigners and in September they moved to Somaliland to take on

The association of the school with the President had been a long one, both as a parent and currently as joint President of the UWC International Council. The sculpture will long stand among us as a challenge and an inspiration.⁶⁹³

Figure 7.9: Mandela Bust.



Photo taken by the author.

In 1997, the school continued to keep the South African past active as it invited Jürgen Schadeberg, who was in Swaziland at a media workshop in Mbabane. Schadeberg was invited to the school to show one of his documentary films and thereafter have a discussion with students.⁶⁹⁴ Jürgen Schadeberg was born in Germany, in 1931 and in 1950 he moved to South Africa where he worked for *Drum magazine* as an official photographer and layout artist. As one of the few white photographers who photographed daily life among black communities, he became knowledgeable about black life and culture. He is renowned for having captured events like the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the Treason Trial of 1956, the

the SOS Sheikh Secondary School, which is situated near Sheikh in a remote part of the central Somaliland. They were brutally murdered in October 2003 by Islamic fundamentalist linked to al-Quida.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2005/nov/15/rosiecowan.mainsection>, accessed 28 May 2019.

⁶⁹³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.3.

⁶⁹⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1997, WK archives, p.4.

Sophiatown removals of 1955, the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, and the life of apartheid activists including Nelson Mandela and Albert Sisulu.⁶⁹⁵ On his Waterford visit, Schadeberg shared with the students his journey from Berlin as he tried to get away from post-Fascist Germany with a keen interest to make an impact as a photographer.⁶⁹⁶

The late 1990s also saw Waterford being involved with continental issues and one of them was a celebration of Julius Kambarage Nyerere's life when he passed on in 1999. Tanzanian students organised the event, starting with a morning assembly in memory of the first black president of independent Tanzania.⁶⁹⁷ Affectionately known as Mwalimu (teacher), Nyerere, passed away on 14 October 1999. Nyerere was known for his respect for African values and customs. Commenting on Nyerere and his relevance to Waterford, Modetsa Mahiga, a student from Tanzania, noted that President Nyerere was respected because he conducted his life allowing for equal rights and opportunities for all.⁶⁹⁸ He added that Nyerere led a humble and austere lifestyle and with his leadership Tanzania did avoid the extremes of wealth and poverty found in Africa. This aligned with the ethics Waterford was founded on and fits well with the UWC ethos of peace, justice, understanding and cooperation. Tanzania it should be noted played a significant role in helping in the fight against apartheid and as mentioned earlier in this work it helped in establishing the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

The celebration of Nyerere's life in 1999 coincided with the honouring of Michael Stern by the University of Sussex in recognition of his contributions to humanity. The University Chancellor at the time was Lord Richard Attenborough, a long time benefactor of Waterford. Conferring the degrees, Professor William Lamont gave a brief background of Stern's life, especially his call to move to South Africa to help Father Huddleston, which led to the founding of Waterford. He described Waterford as a shining beacon in a dark period of South Africa history. He also remarked that it was Stern's services of education that led to him to being awarded an Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1968 in honour of his service to the needy. He further commended Stern for his commitment to working with vulnerable children

⁶⁹⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2020/sep/17/jurgen-schadeberg-obituary>, 28/05/2019.

⁶⁹⁶ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1997, WK archives, p.4.

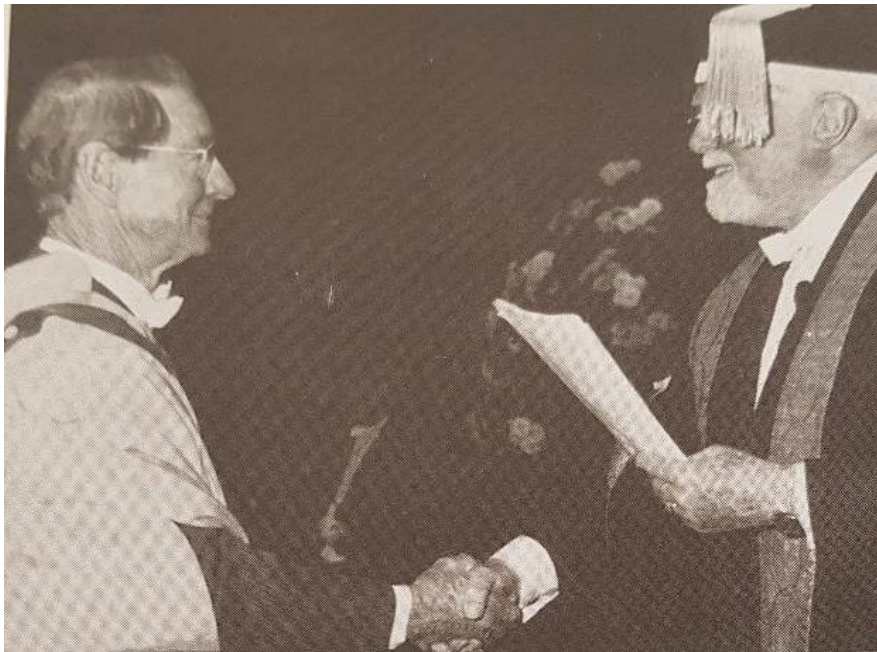
⁶⁹⁷ *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1999, WK Archives, p.10.

⁶⁹⁸ *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1999, WK Archives, p.10.

even after leaving Waterford as he went back to the United Kingdom in the 1970s and took up work with vulnerable children in various institutions. Lamont concluded by calling the life of Stern, “an inspiring record of dedication to humanity.”⁶⁹⁹

In accepting the honour, Stern thanked Lord Attenborough and the University of Sussex for honouring the work that he had done. He said of the award, “My Lord and Chancellor, I feel particularly honoured and flattered to have conferred upon me now an Honorary Doctorate of Letters which I do not think I really deserve.”⁷⁰⁰ He thanked Lord Attenborough for the support he had given to Waterford by first joining the Waterford Trustees in 1965 and becoming chair in 1977 and concluded that, “without him the school might not have grown to its stature.”⁷⁰¹

Figure 7.10: Michael Stern receiving an honorary degree from Lord Attenborough, 1999.



Source: *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1999, WK Archives, p17.

⁶⁹⁹ *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1999, WK Archives, p.17.

⁷⁰⁰ *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1999, WK Archives, p.17.

⁷⁰¹ *Tindzaba TeKamhlaba*, 1999, WK Archives, p.17.

Advocacy and lobbying for regional and global issues

Another way in which Waterford played a role after the ending of apartheid was in advocacy and lobbying for regional and global issues. Waterford students heeded the exhortation of Sir Richard Attenborough in his 1994 speech, in which he said, “Wherever you witness injustice, brutality, hypocrisy, stand up!”⁷⁰² Students were seen helping in the greater good of the region and the world. As already been noted in the previous chapter, in 1994 some Waterford students had started the AIDS Awareness Community Service as they tried to respond to the effects of the epidemic on Swaziland and the region.⁷⁰³

In 1996, Waterford students took up the issue of landmines in war-torn zones in the region. There was a fundraising event done through the twenty-four hour run to raise awareness of the effects of landmines on communities. In respect of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL), Waterford took up their annual fundraising to deal with this issue.⁷⁰⁴ The writer of the article that featured in the 1996 *Phoenix Magazine*, himself a victim of landmines, described how on the day there were presentations on the impact of landmines on communities, especially war-torn ones. He thanked all the people who had contributed towards this event saying:

I am personally grateful to all those who ran and raised money because some of it is being spent on my medical treatment. I was a victim of a landmine explosion, and know from first-hand experience how landmines injure innocent people. As a landmine victim, I endorse the twenty four hour run theme and am pleased that it brought about a greater awareness in the minds of our students, some of whom may be able to make important decisions concerning this issue.⁷⁰⁵

To tackle global issues the students also set up the International Affairs Committee club in 1996. The club was started to tackle global issues by inviting some experts to present on the

⁷⁰² *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK archives, p.45.

⁷⁰³ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1994, WK archives, p.10.

⁷⁰⁴ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.1.

⁷⁰⁵ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1996, WK Archives, p.1.

different topics of interest.⁷⁰⁶ In 1997 the principal helped with the invitation of some special guests. The invited experts were the Honorary Cypriot, Basil Atheinides, who presented some insights into the conflict in Cyprus. He outlined the origins of the conflict outlining how the Turkish invasion of Cyprus had led to 150 000 people being displaced in 1974 and a further 60 000 in 1975.⁷⁰⁷

Also invited to the school by the International Affairs Committee was Ken Coates, an expert on World Minorities from Waikato University in New Zealand. He gave a talk on the situation of indigenous culture in the world.⁷⁰⁸ Coates is a historian who focuses on Canadian and North and Aboriginal rights history and he was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 2015.⁷⁰⁹ Students also took the opportunity to make presentations on different topics including post-apartheid South Africa, The Peruvian Hostage Crisis and the UK general elections.⁷¹⁰

In 1997, the school also established the Model United Nations in order to focus and debate on global issues. Besides helping students develop public speaking and debating skills, it also helped students to understand global issues. In 1997 the debates centred on two resolutions: Mozambique's call for the world to declare a multilateral ban on landmines throughout the world and the Democratic Republic of Congo's call for countries to repatriate refugees to their countries of origin.⁷¹¹ The issue of refugees was also debated with most countries explaining why refugees leave their countries of origin and a lobby for the DRC to be considerate of the situations that refugees find themselves in.⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁶ Phoenix Magazine, 1996, WK Archives, p.4.

⁷⁰⁷ Phoenix Magazine, 1997, WK Archives, p.15.

⁷⁰⁸ Phoenix Magazine, 1997, WK Archives, p.15.

⁷⁰⁹ <http://kencoates.ca/about/bio/>, accessed 28 May/2019.

⁷¹⁰ Phoenix Magazine, 1997, WK archives, p.15.

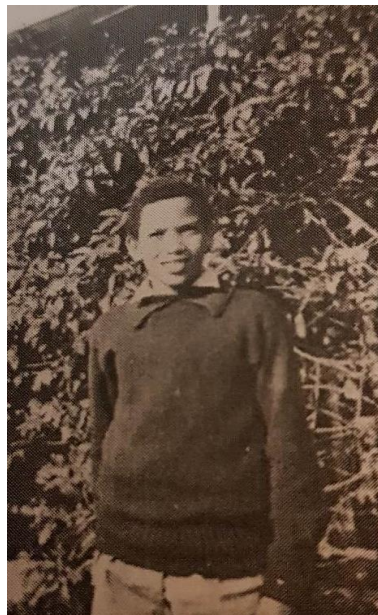
⁷¹¹ Phoenix Magazine, 1997, WK Archives, p.8.

⁷¹² Phoenix Magazine, 1997, WK Archives, p.8.

Selected Waterford Alumni

The 1990s were also a time to see the impact that Waterford was having in the region and on the international scene as most of its graduates were becoming established in various fields. On the political front, some notable examples included Ian Khama of Botswana who became the President of Botswana in 2008. Described by Hatton, “as possessing some natural friendliness, he acquired dignity without a trace of conceit.”⁷¹³ He joined Waterford in 1966 and, as argued by Hatton, he was immediately popular with other students who gave him the nickname “Bushy”, named after the San inhabitants of his country.⁷¹⁴ As if to show the impact of his Waterford education on his understanding of diversity he commented in 1999, “My Government’s position is that our arts, culture and heritage must be celebrated nationwide so that we can all truly enjoy our unity in diversity.”⁷¹⁵

Figure 7.11: Ian Khama at Waterford in 1966.



Source: Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.119.

⁷¹³ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.119.

⁷¹⁴ Hatton, *Phoenix rising*, p.119.

⁷¹⁵ Lydia Nyati-Ramahobo, *Minority tribes in Botswana: The politics of recognition*, <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/496dc0c82.pdf>, accessed 30/05/2019.

Another notable former Waterford student to be involved in politics was Fernando Honwana, who became a trusted assistant to President Samora Machel of Mozambique.⁷¹⁶ He attended Waterford from 1964-1969 and was awarded a scholarship to study at York University, where he graduated in 1973. As argued by Allen Isaacman, unlike a number of other Mozambicans studying in the West who chose to remain abroad after completing their education, Fernando underwent military and political training at Nechingwe in Tanzania.⁷¹⁷ Honwana dedicated his life to the Mozambican people and was committed to the revolution.⁷¹⁸ Sadly, Honwana was killed together with Machel of Mozambique when their plane crashed near the Mozambican border with South Africa in 1986.⁷¹⁹ On his death, a memorial assembly was held at Waterford and Mike Linden likened Honwana to Nobel Prize winner, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for his selflessness. He commented:

Many of us at WK this year treasure the experience of meeting, however briefly, two men whose simple goodness was immediately, tremendously, and joyfully recognisable – Michael Gruber and Desmond Tutu. Fernando had that same quality of simple goodness and it came from the same source: there was very little of self in his life. He lived so much for others: for the people of Mozambique, the people of Southern Africa. In this way I see him as representing almost ideally what Waterford Kamhlaba is about, as fulfilling the ideal that motivated this school's founders.⁷²⁰

716

http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/history/mbuzini/8_victims/19861200_isaacman_on_fernando_honwana.pdf, accessed 30 May 2019.

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http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/history/mbuzini/8_victims/19861200_isaacman_on_fernando_honwana.pdf, accessed 30 May 2019..

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http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/history/mbuzini/8_victims/19861200_isaacman_on_fernando_honwana.pdf, accessed 30 May 2019.

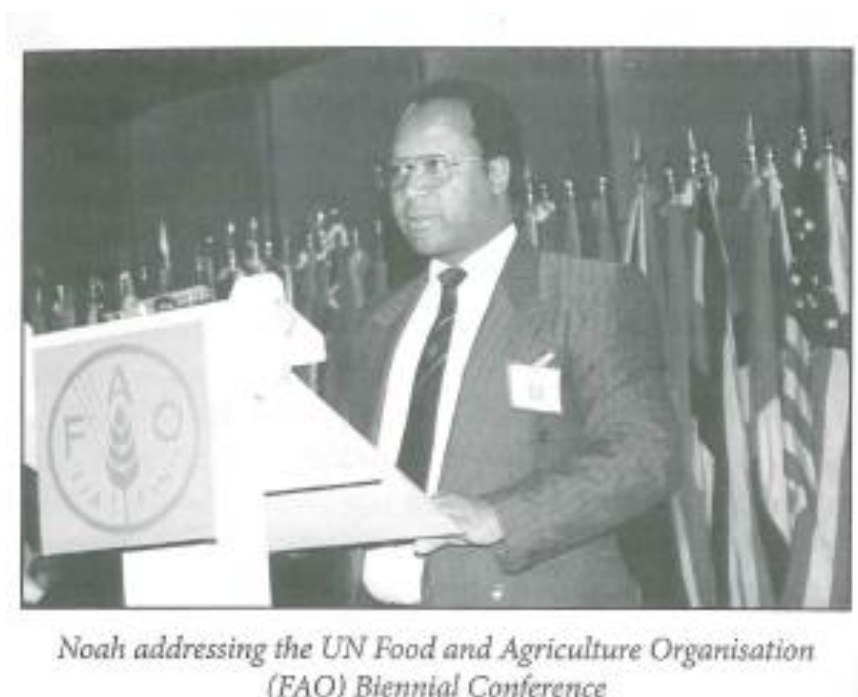
719

http://www.mozambiquehistory.net/history/mbuzini/8_victims/19861200_isaacman_on_fernando_honwana.pdf, accessed 30 May 2019.

⁷²⁰ *Phoenix Magazine*, 1986, WK Archives, p.8.

In Swaziland, Noah Nkambule, a Swazi alumnus was also to become a prominent politician, being appointed the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture in the 1990s. After finishing school at Waterford, Nkambule went on to study for a Bachelor's Degree in Soil Science at the University of Reading in the UK and a Masters in Land Resources from the University of Wisconsin in the USA.

Figure 7.12: Noah Nkambule during his time as Permanent Secretary addressing the UN.



Source: Nkambule, *Swazi Gospel Singers*, p.72.

Another prominent former Waterford student is Jabulile Mashwama who attended Waterford from 1984-1988. Mashwama also joined politics becoming minister for Natural Resources and Energy in Swaziland from 2016-2018 before she was appointed Managing Director of the Swaziland Water Services Corporation in 2018, a position she currently holds⁷²¹

⁷²¹ <http://www.times.co.sz/news/121193-ex-minister-mashwama-is-ewsc-md.html>, accessed 28 October 2020.

In South Africa, former Waterford students to become politicians include, Lindiwe Sisulu, daughter to Walter and Albertina Sisulu. Lindiwe received a BA degree, Diploma in Education and BA Honours in History from the University of Swaziland after completing her high school at Waterford Kamhlaba in 1973.⁷²² She also received an MA in History in 1989 and an MPhil from the Centre of Southern African Studies at the University of York. She has been a member of parliament from 1994 to 2004, before becoming Minister of Housing from 2004-2009, Minister of Defence and Military Veterans from 2009-2012, Minister of Public Service and Administration from 2012-2014 and she is currently (2020) Minister of Human settlements.⁷²³ There were also the Mandela sisters, Zenani and Zindzi. Zenani studied Science at Boston University. She was appointed ambassador for South Africa to Argentina in July 2012, becoming the first of Mandela's children to enter public office. She served in this position until 2017, when she was appointed South African high commissioner to Mauritius.⁷²⁴ Her young sister was also an alumna from Waterford Kamhlaba, was also appointed ambassador of South Africa to Denmark before her death in 2020.

Firoz Cachalia is also an influential politician to emerge from Waterford. He attended Waterford in the late 1970s and became a very influential anti-apartheid activist in the 1980s. He studied law and is currently a professor at the University of the Witwatersrand, School of Law. He did his Law Degree at the University of Michigan in 1996.⁷²⁵ Before obtaining his tertiary qualification, Firoz and his brother Azhar, were actively involved in the anti-apartheid fight and in 1978 they were arrested for distributing pamphlets commemorating the Soweto uprising of 1976.⁷²⁶ The two brothers were again arrested for political activities in 1981. They were detained for just over three weeks and then they were banned under the Internal Security Act.⁷²⁷ Firoz Cachalia also held various leadership positions in organisations that fought apartheid and played a leading role in CODESA I and CODESA II (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) negotiations. He also worked with the committee that drafted the first versions of South Africa's democratic Constitutional

⁷²² <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/lindiwe-nonceba-sisulu>, accessed 22 June 2019.

⁷²³ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/lindiwe-nonceba-sisulu>, accessed 22 June 2019.

⁷²⁴ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/lindiwe-nonceba-sisulu>, accessed 22 June 2019.

⁷²⁵ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/firoz-cachalia>, accessed 23 June 2019.

⁷²⁶ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/firoz-cachalia>, accessed 23 June 2019.

⁷²⁷ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/firoz-cachalia>, accessed 23 June 2019.

Principles. During the Codesa negotiations, Firoz Cachalia was representing the Transvaal Indian Congress.⁷²⁸ He has also held a number of positions in the Gauteng Provincial Legislature.⁷²⁹

Also significant in politics is Matthew Parris who after finishing high school at Waterford went to Clare College in Cambridge and finished with a first class degree in law⁷³⁰ He also studies international Relations at Yale. He served as the Conservative MP for the parliamentary seat of West Derbyshire in the UK from 1976-1986 and he is well known for his support for gay rights during his tenure.⁷³¹

In business and finance, a number of notables have graduated from Waterford over the years including Monwabisi Fandeso. Fandeso graduated from Waterford, went on to study Mechanical Engineering in Wales, after which he did a Masters' in Business Administration at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania. He has worked in various sectors including manufacturing, banking, tourism and mining. He has served as country chair at Shell South Africa, and Chief Executive Officer of the Land Bank and the Thebe Tourism Group. He currently serves as a non-executive director on the board of South Africa Business Schools Association.⁷³²

Another notable businessperson is Jeremy Lock. After leaving Waterford, Jeremy embarked on a career in hospitality, beginning at The Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, South Africa. From there, he went on to found a conference centre, a restaurant and, later, a tourism marketing consulting company and tour operator for the luxury travel market – a business he

⁷²⁸ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/firoz-cachalia>, accessed 23 June 2019.

⁷²⁹ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/firoz-cachalia>, accessed 23 June 2019.

⁷³⁰

<https://www.google.com/search?q=Matthew+Paris&oq=mat&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i57j69i60l2j0l2.3261j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>, accessed 23 June/2019.

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<https://www.google.com/search?q=Matthew+Paris&oq=mat&aqs=chrome.0.69i59j69i57j69i60l2j0l2.3261j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>, accessed 23/06/2019.

⁷³² <http://www.inceconnect.co.za/sens-view/1945>, accessed 23 June 2019.

continues to run today.⁷³³ He served as a member of the Waterford school's Governing Council for 22 years. He also helps on the South African National Committee where he helps with student selection.⁷³⁴

Another alumnus in business is Mandi Shumikazi Mzimba who attended Waterford from 1970-1976 and went on to study for a BSc, MSc, PhD and MBA and she is the Deputy General Manager of Policy and Regulatory Affairs for Discovery Health (Pty) Limited.⁷³⁵ In an interview, Mzimba shared that she left Waterford ready to go and join the struggle against apartheid but the news about the conditions of some of the liberation war camps made her uncomfortable and hence she decided to pursue her tertiary education. She and her partner, whom she eventually married, met at Waterford and the two decided to go and study in Nigeria where she finished her studies at Ibadan University and her partner at University of Lagos.⁷³⁶ From Lagos, she went to the UK where she did her MSc. She remarked that they worked with the ANC during their tertiary years. In the UK, she was involved in student activism and they had a South African students organisation that addressed different issues among them justice and peace.⁷³⁷

On her experience at the work place, she believes that Waterford helped her understand the diversity that exists in the world.⁷³⁸ She also remarked that most people that she has come across in her working experience struggle to understand some of the differences that exist in humankind and most of the time they quickly go into racial talk which she thinks might not be necessary.⁷³⁹ For her the Waterford experience taught her to accept and appreciate the differences that exist amongst people and practically embrace them. Talking about education, Mzimba feels that Waterford and other UWCs, unlike most other educational institutions

⁷³³ <https://www.waterford.sz/media/newsletters/read.php?nguyiphi=30>, accessed 20 June 2019.

⁷³⁴ <https://www.waterford.sz/media/newsletters/read.php?nguyiphi=30>, accessed 20 June 2019.

⁷³⁵ <https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=22930792&privcapId=83037141>, accessed 21 June 2019.

⁷³⁶ Interview with Mzimba, 17 October 2019 at Waterford, outside the school library next to the Mandela Bust.

⁷³⁷ Interview with Mzimba, 17 October 2019 at Waterford, outside the school library next to the Mandela Bust.

⁷³⁸ Interview with Mzimba, 17 October 2019 at Waterford, outside the school library next to the Mandela Bust.

⁷³⁹ Interview with Mzimba, 17 October 2019 at Waterford, outside the school library next to the Mandela Bust.

across the world, endeavour to nurture the students from their own experiences while the other institutions strive to change individuals to fit the world.⁷⁴⁰

Then there is also in the business field Kuben Pillay who attended Waterford from 1972 to 1976 before studying for a Bachelor of Business Science and Post Graduate Diploma in Accounting at the University of Cape Town. He became a fully qualified Chartered Accountant after completing articles at Deloitte where he became a manager at Deloitte advisory division. He also ventured into the non profit sector working for the National Association of Child Care. Remembering his school days, he remarked that, “in the very difficult years for a young South African, 1972 to 1976, my parents through much personal sacrifice, ensured that I escaped the segregated ‘apartheid education’ of my home country.”⁷⁴¹ Pillay was so motivated by the education that he received from the school that in 2013 he and his family decided to sponsor a student to also get a Waterford education.

Another notable businessperson is Gloria Mamba who attended Waterford graduating in 1982 before obtaining among other qualifications a Bachelors of Arts Degree from Barnard College and Master’s Degree from the Thunderbird School of International Management in the United States.⁷⁴² She spent over 20 years in financial services in Southern and Eastern Africa.⁷⁴³ Then there Kristina Bouweiri (see Figure 7.13) who became the chief executive officer of the largest limousine and Bus Company in Washington DC, Reston Limousine. After finishing at Waterford in 1977 she went on to study and graduated with a degree in International Relations from George Washington University. She is also the founder of Sterling Women, a monthly networking lunch for women, and co-founder of the Northern Virginia Business Women’s Conference and a board member of Enterprising Women Magazine. Remarking about her business experience she said, “I have been invited to speak

⁷⁴⁰ Interview with Mzimba, interviewed on 17 October 2019 at Waterford outside the school library next to the Mandela Bust.

⁷⁴¹ <https://waterford.sz/contribute/why/>, accessed 13 October 2019.

⁷⁴² <https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=206660130&privcapId=12503266>, 13 October 2019.

⁷⁴³ <https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/person.asp?personId=206660130&privcapId=12503266>, 13 October 2019.

at the Global Women's Business Summit in China, Turkey and Greece and I am proud to have served as a mentor to International Women in Business including a woman who owns a bus company in Rwanda".⁷⁴⁴ She also believes that Waterford shaped her in so many ways and it is her experience at Waterford that makes her insist on diversity in whatever she does.⁷⁴⁵

Figure 7.13: Kristina Bouweiri at her Limousine Depot in Washington DC.



Source: <https://www.restonlimo.com/about-us/our-team/management/kristina-bouweiri/>, accessed 26 June 2019.

In the arts the name Richard E. Grant, an English actor, is well known. A former Waterford Kamhlaba student, Grant has produced many movies. He made his film debut as Withnail in the comedy *Whitnail and I* (1987). He has appeared in other films including *Hudson Hawk* (1991) and *Logan* (2017). He won several awards in his field.⁷⁴⁶ Another film director is Zola Maseko (see Figure 7.14) who in 1998 directed the film *The Life and Times of Sarah*

⁷⁴⁴ <https://www.waterford.sz/alumni/profiles/view.php?ngubani=31>, accessed 11 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁵ <https://www.waterford.sz/alumni/profiles/view.php?ngubani=31>, accessed 11 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁶ <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0001290/>, accessed 11 June 2019.

Baartman, which chronicles the impacts of imperial racism and sexism.⁷⁴⁷ The movie garnered many awards including Best African Documentary and the Milan African Film Festival best movie and in 2001 won at the African Literature Association Conference Film Festival.⁷⁴⁸

Figure 7.14: Zola Maseko receiving an award for best *Meilleur Décor*, *Drum*, 2005.



Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=zola+maseko>, accessed 23 June 2019.

Maseko's first feature film was *Drum*, a 2004 production that is set in 1950s in the city of Johannesburg and chronicles the life of Henry Nxumalo a *Drum magazine* journalist fighting apartheid.⁷⁴⁹ Another alumnus also in the arts is David Dennis who is best known for his role as Sol in the SABC1 TV series *Soul City*. He also featured in the TV series *Charlie Jade*.⁷⁵⁰ Dennis now teaches acting at the Tswane University of Technology.⁷⁵¹ The late

⁷⁴⁷ <https://www.africanfilmny.org/2013/zola-maseko/>, accessed 11 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁸ <https://www.africanfilmny.org/2013/zola-maseko/>, accessed 11 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁹ <https://www.google.com/search?q=zola+maseko>, accessed 23 June 2019.

⁷⁵⁰ <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0219141/bio>, accessed 23 June 2019.

⁷⁵¹ <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0219141/bio>, accessed 23 June 2019.

Mexican writer Ignacio Padilla also attended Waterford. Padilla is well for establishing the Crack Movement that helps upcoming Mexican artists.⁷⁵²

The medical field also benefitted from graduates of Waterford Kamhlaba. After finishing his high school at Waterford, Solomon Guramatunhu went on to study for an undergraduate degree at the University of Zimbabwe and postgraduate qualifications in ophthalmology from the Royal College of Surgeons of England and the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.⁷⁵³ He went on to establish eye surgeries in Zimbabwe where he is currently based.

Figure 7.15: Solomon Guramatunhu.



Source: <https://www.google.com/search?q=solomon+guramatunhu>, accessed 16 October 2019.

⁷⁵² <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/Mexican-writer-Ignacio-Padilla-killed-in-car-accident/article14581912.ece>, accessed 23 June 2019.

⁷⁵³ Interview with Solomon Guramatunhu on 18 November 2019, He was interviewed via email. Guramatunhu is a former student of Waterford and was at Waterford from 1973-1974. He is an optician based in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Guramatunhu believes the Waterford experience shaped his life immensely. He thus said of the experience,

I abhor racism and discrimination of any kind. Waterford gave me confidence to embrace myself especially my race, my roots. WK taught me to contribute, to make a difference, to make this world a better place for others.⁷⁵⁴

Another notable ex-Waterford student in the Health and Social Sciences sector is Alan Whiteside. After finishing at Waterford, he went on to study for bachelors and master's degrees in the School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia in the UK, and then returned to Southern Africa.⁷⁵⁵ He joined the University of Natal as a researcher in 1983, founding the Health and Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) in 1998. Whiteside was also honoured with the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 2015, based on his service to science and strategic interventions to curb HIV/AIDS.⁷⁵⁶

The year 2015 marked another successful year for Waterford through the appointment of one of its former students, Matshidiso Rebecca Moeti (WK 1970-1972), as the first woman to be elected as World Health Organisation Director for Africa. Moeti holds a degree in medicine and a master's in public health. She joined the WHO regional office for Africa in 1999 and served as Deputy Director among other roles before her appointment as Director for Africa in 2015. She also played a significant role in the fight against HIV/AIDS.

⁷⁵⁴ Interview with Solomon Guramatunhu on 18 November 2019, He was interviewed via email. Guramatunhu is a former student of Waterford and was at Waterford from 1973-1974. He is an optician based in Harare, Zimbabwe.

⁷⁵⁵ Retiring Governing Council Members, 13 July 2018, Waterford Kamhlaba Newsletter, <https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/h/1wyp5wfdgvwre/?&th=164940d19065c318&q=Alan+Whiteside&v=c&s=q>(accessed 18 June 2019).

⁷⁵⁶ Retiring Governing Council Members, 13 July 2018, Waterford Kamhlaba Newsletter, <https://mail.google.com/mail/u/0/h/1wyp5wfdgvwre/?&th=164940d19065c318&q=Alan+Whiteside&v=c&s=q>(accessed 18 June 2019).

Figure 7.16: Matshidiso Rebecca Moeti, World Health Organisation Director for Africa.



Source: <https://www.lshtm.ac.uk/research/research-action/women-leaders-global-health/insights-women-leaders/dr-moeti>, accessed 25 May 2020.

In journalism, names like Itumeleng Mahabane, an award-winning financial journalist, come to mind. He has written for the *Mail and Guardian*, the *Sunday Times*, the *Business Times*, the *Financial Mail* and *Business Day*.⁷⁵⁷ Commenting on his Waterford experience, he said, “Life at Waterford Kamhlaba was the crucible of my becoming. This was a place and a people that created a safe haven to develop and unfurl values, a love of learning and reading, a love of the outdoors and of course, life-long friendships”.⁷⁵⁸

In education, some notable individuals who studied at Waterford include Steve Walker, now a Professor in New York and Thomas Ward, a Senior Lecturer at the University of East Anglia. Catherine Hunter is also an educator who graduated with BA Education Honours degree and become an Education Consultant in South Africa. In 2009, she became the Regional Director of Youth Presidents Organisation, an international business and social

⁷⁵⁷ <https://za.linkedin.com/in/itumelengmahabane>, accessed 11 June 2019.

⁷⁵⁸ <https://www.waterford.sz/contribute/why/index.php>, accessed 11 June 2019.

networking organisation for young CEOs.⁷⁵⁹ Waterford was also to celebrate when one of its former students was appointed the Regional IB Regional Manager for schools in Africa, Europe and Middle East. Proserpina Dlamini-Fisher attended Waterford Kamhlaba from 1979 - 1983. After finishing school at Waterford, Proserpina went on to do a BA in Social Sciences at the University of Swaziland, a BA in Humanities from Université de Stendahl-Grenoble, France and Université de la Sorbonne, and a Masters in International Education from the College of New Jersey in the USA.”⁷⁶⁰ She is now a renowned international educator and school leader having worked in international schools and the UWC movement.⁷⁶¹

Figure 7.17: Proserpina Dlamini-Fisher facilitating some training.



Source: <https://www.waterford.sz/alumni/profiles/view.php?ngubani=7>, accessed 11 June 2019.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that when apartheid came to an end in the 1990s, Waterford had to reflect on its past and future. This saw a number of Waterford stakeholders bringing different

⁷⁵⁹ <http://cathisa.co.za/files/Download/CV%20-%20Catherine%20B%20Hunter%202012.pdf>, accessed 11 June 2019

⁷⁶⁰ <https://www.waterford.sz/alumni/profiles/view.php?ngubani=7>, accessed 11 June 2019

⁷⁶¹ <https://www.waterford.sz/alumni/profiles/view.php?ngubani=7>, accessed 11 June 2019

suggestions with most of them feeling that joining the UWC movement was an important direction the school had taken. The chapter also explored how Waterford maintained a close connection with South Africa through inviting anti-apartheid heroes to the school. These anti-apartheid heroes, including Mandela and Sisulu had a strong connection with the school and they made an effort after 1990 to come and pay tribute to the school.

The school also looked at global issues and this had been something that the founders had realised hence the joining of the United World College movement in the 1980s. This helped to make the school relevant even after the fall of apartheid, which it had been established to offer an alternative to. The 1990s also saw some of the students getting involved in the region and abroad in various capacities thereby testifying to the fact that education had been a “force to change the world”, as said in the UWC mission statement.

Conclusion of the study

This dissertation has examined the origins and development of Waterford Kamhlaba as a multi-racial educational institutional alternative to apartheid education in South Africa. Started in 1963, the school was a direct response to the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which segregated education and thereby offered fewer opportunities to non-whites, especially black students. The study shows that Waterford's founding fathers led by Stern moved from South Africa after the rise of the apartheid state and started the school that stood as a symbol of resistance to apartheid. In essence, Waterford encapsulated the tenets of the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress and carried the wishes and dreams of the numerous anti-apartheid activists yearning for a non-racial society. The school presented itself as a dress rehearsal for a future, post-apartheid South Africa school system. Moreover, it cemented its place in the history of the struggle against apartheid by opening its doors to the children of exiled anti-apartheid actors. The fact that Waterford's education system was recognised by activists as ideal for their children is a clear case of the solidarity the school shared with the struggle against apartheid. It is not surprising then, that the children of Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu and Walter and Albertina Sisulu all studied at Waterford Kamhlaba. So did Ian Khama, Botswana's former president.

As noted in Chapter 2 of this work, the school was started as a missionary enterprise. Disillusioned with apartheid education that discriminated against blacks in South Africa Father Huddleston, an Anglican priest, called for people of faith to come to the rescue of blacks, thereby capturing the attention of a British educationist, Michael Stern, who came to South Africa and had first-hand experience of the injustices of the apartheid system. The experiences of Stern led him to recruit a number of friends and cross into the British protectorate of Swaziland to found a multiracial school in opposition to segregated education in South Africa. While Stern's school was influenced by the work of missionaries like Father Huddleston, it did not, however, become a missionary school. Waterford instead became more of an institution that advocated the rights of young people from all races and a thorn in the flesh for authorities in apartheid South Africa.

After overcoming some initial challenges, the school emerged and quickly developed its profile and identity, with the icing on the cake being the high-profile visit by the King of Swaziland, Sobhuza II, in 1968 and his royal blessing of the school by calling it “Kamhlaba”. This name was befitting for an institution that had embraced a number of nationalities and set itself as a beacon of hope for racial harmony in the southern African region.

The third chapter of this study shows that, as a response to the racist Bantu Education curriculum, the school initially offered an internationally- recognised Cambridge curriculum to all races, in stark contrast to racially-segregated curriculum in South Africa. The limited opportunities to use a different or a locally-designed curriculum made the choice of the Cambridge curriculum the only logical choice. However, it is interesting that some of the teachers at Waterford tried hard, with some success, to foster academic diversity through incorporating into the Cambridge curriculum local content. This was successfully done in subjects like English Literature and History.

Waterford’s founders exposed pupils of all races to similar experiences. Besides sharing accommodation and chores, the students participated in sporting activities irrespective of their race. Such experiences seem to have encouraged a sense of camaraderie among the students. Former students of Waterford remember the time they spent there as a period when they constructed life-long relations race.

Chapter 3 also captured the school’s transition from the Cambridge Advanced level curriculum to the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in 1981. This move initially seemed to have not augured well with some sections of the staff and students, but a year later, most school stakeholders were satisfied with the move.

A major focus of the Waterford curriculum was its community service embedded in its pedagogy. This, as shown in chapter 4, was started when the school was established and all students were expected to participate in community service. They helped in the building of the school infrastructure and assisted the local community as part of their community service.

Giving back to Swaziland in general and communities around Mbabane in particular was made a high priority in tandem with the thinking of the school's founders. A major turning point to the community service offering in the school came when the school introduced the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in 1981 under which community service became a compulsory component of the school curriculum.

With the repressive rule in South Africa becoming more aggressive as the anti-apartheid combat intensified, Waterford joined hands with groups and individuals, local and international, who fought to put an end to the increasingly repressive regime in South Africa. Indeed, events such as the Sharpeville and Soweto massacres in the 1960s and 1970s radicalised students at Waterford, with the massacres being commemorated at the school. As shown in Chapter 5, this radicalisation of students led some of them to join the anti-apartheid movements, a development that altered their life in very profound ways. By 1990, Waterford students had formed a variety of forums where they deployed art, poetry, music, art, dance and drama to articulate their anti-apartheid sentiments and to express solidarity with liberation movements in South Africa and beyond.

The students' growing political consciousness was the result of the fact that from the 1980s onward, Waterford had been re-strategising and repositioning itself within the broader worldwide movement opposed to apartheid and committed to multiracialism. In this context, it was easy for Waterford to enlist in the global educational movement led by the United World College (UWC) which championed human rights worldwide. The move to join the UWC movement was initiated by Waterford which became the fourth UWC in 1981, despite some reservations from some circles within the school community. Joining UWC thrust the school on to the international stage as the first member of UWC in Africa with its founding ethos being kept alive.

As the pressure on the apartheid state mounted in the 1980s, it was clear that the apartheid state was losing its grip. This raised the question of Waterford's future. Chapter 7 explores the major debates that came with the democratisation of South Africa on the direction Waterford had to follow. Before the emergence of the New South Africa in the 1990s, the

school had already made major strides in finding new focus, as Chapter 6 has shown. The school remained alive to events in post-apartheid South Africa through inviting icons of the anti-apartheid struggle. These included visits by Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu among other, as well as annual commemorations of South Africa's anti-apartheid events like the Sharpsville massacre. The visits by the anti-apartheid activists naturally raised the international profile of the school, more so because some of the visitors lauded Waterford for having remained faithful to its founding ethos and for its contribution to the production of educated manpower in different fields (including law, business and politics) for southern Africa and the world over.

Waterford's story was a success story. Founded at the height of the fight against the inequities of apartheid the school boosted the struggle and gave hope to many people opposed to racism. The fight against apartheid was therefore not limited to individuals and organisations that challenged apartheid policy in various ways. It should be acknowledge that institutions of education including Waterford made an equally important contribution to the struggle. When the founder of Waterford, Michael Stern died in an accident aged 80 in 2002, the school had already firmly established itself in the annals of multiracialism and struggles for human rights and dignity.

Appendix 1:

Waterford, London Trust Deed, 1962.

 General Trust for Education or Investment	THIS TRUST DEED is made the Twenty-seventh day of June One thousand nine hundred and sixty two By RUTH MACK SMITH of 2 Selvoir Terrace Cambridge MARTIN HAROLD BAYER c/o Birkbeck Julius Sabarn & Broad Roman House Wood Street London E.C.2. JOHN WINDHAM STANTON of 35 Spring Gardens London S.W.1. DR. ROBERT BIRLEY, C.M.G., Eton College, Eton, Bucks ERIC SYMES ARBOTT, D.D., THE VERY REVEREND THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, of The Deanery, Westminster, S.W.1. SIR JOHN MAUD, C.B.E., of University College, Oxford. LADY DOROTHY MACMILLAN, Birch Grove House, Chelwood Gate, Haywards Heath, Sussex. THE RIGHT HON THE EARL OF ANTRIM, Glenarn Castle, Glenarn, Ballymena, Co. Antrim, Northern Ireland. LORD PONSOMBY OF SHULBREDE, Shulbrede Priory, Haslemere, Surrey. JIMSON-PARSONS, Garden Cottage, Ditton Park, Langley, Bucks. MARTIN KENYON, 11 Gloucester Mansions, Harrington Gardens, London, S.W.7 PROFESSOR W.O. BRADWICK, Selwyn College, Cambridge. THE EARL OF WEMYSS, Gosford House, Longniddry, East Lothian (hereinafter called "the Trustees" which expression shall where the context admits include the survivors or survivor of them and the executors or administrators of the last survivor of other the Trustees or Trustees for the time being of this Deed) <u>WHEREAS</u> Waterford School is founded to provide higher education for boys of all races regardless of colour or creed and is to be carried on at Waterford near Mbabane in the protectorate of Swaziland <u>AND WHEREAS</u> a Fund has been raised and it is likely that further moneys or property may be paid or transferred to the Trustees on the trusts of this Deed <u>AND WHEREAS</u> the Trustees are desirous that the trusts upon which the said moneys and fund are to be held by them should now be declared in manner hereinafter appearing <u>NOW THIS DEED WITNESSETH</u> as follows :- The Trustees shall hold the cash and any property or investments which may now or hereafter be transferred to them upon the trusts of this Deed upon trust to retain the same in their existing state of investment for so long as the Trustees in their discretion think fit without being liable for loss thereby arising or at the direction of the Trustees to realise the same as and when the Trustees may think fit and to invest the net proceeds of sale and any moneys which may hereafter be paid to them upon the trusts hereof or any special trusts in any manner of investment hereby authorised with power from time
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Oral Interviews

Interview with Alan Whiteside, 11 January 2018, Skype interview.

Interview with Noah Nkambule, 14 January 2018, Mbabane

Interview with Catherine Hunter, 14 January 2018, Skype interview.

Interview with Michael Linden, 7 March 2018, Waterford.

Interview with Quinton Reisseman, 16 March 2018, Waterford.

Interview with Ben 'O' Conor, 3 April 2018, Waterford.

Interview with Lucinda Bride, 23 April 2018, Waterford Science Office.

Interview with Pippa Davies, 6 August 2018, History Office.

Interview with Monwabisi Fandeso, 16 September 2018, Skype interview.

Interview with Andrew Foose 20 September 2018, Waterford Kamhlaba Development Office.

Interview with Duma Gqubule, 20 September 2018, WhatsApp call.

Interview with Mandi Mzimba, 17 October 2018, Waterford.

Interview with Mathabiso Nxumalo, 27 November 2018, Qedusizi Primary school, Mbabane.

Interview with Robin Malan, 28 November 2018, Email correspondence.

Interview with Zola Maseko, 16 January 2019, WhatsApp call.

Interview with Kai Bauer, 2 March 2019, Waterford.

Interview with David Sutcliffe, 21 March 2019, Email correspondence.

Interview with Makubetse Sekhonyane, 27 March 2019, Email correspondence.

Interview with John Storer, 28 March 2019, interviewed at Waterford.

Interview with Aidan Eyakuze, 29 March 2019, Email correspondence.

Interview with Zakhele Ngwenya, 30 March 2019, Waterford.

Interview with Mark Sylvester, 2 April 2019, via WhatsApp video call.

Interview with Bongani Dlamini, 20 April 2019, Mbabane Government Hospital, Mbabane.

Interview with Flora Hlatshwayo, 16 July 2019, Waterford Preschool.

Interview with Zanele Maphalala, 19 July 2019, Ekwetsembeni Centre, Mbabane.

Interview with Thembi Khoza, 25 July 2019, Ekwetsembeni Centre, Mbabane.

Interview with Mlungisi Nkambule, 25 July 2019, Ekwetsembeni Centre, Mbabane.

Interview with Nkosingiphile Fakudze, 1 August 2019, Mbabane.

Interview with Netta Nkambule, 27 August 2019, Mbabane.

Interview with Solomon Guramatunhu, 18 November 2019, interviewed via email.

Interview with Lungile Sihlongonyane, 24 January 2020, Waterford Humanities Office.

Interview with Fiona Mills, 24 April 2020, interviewed via WhatsApp.