

THE ALFRED AND WINIFRED HOERNLÉ
MEMORIAL LECTURE 1977

EDUCATION IS THE KEY
TO CHANGE IN
SOUTH AFRICA

by

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South African Institute of Race Relations

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A lecture entitled the Alfred and Winifred Hoernlé Memorial Lecture (in memory of Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé, President of the South African Institute of Race Relations from 1934 to 1943, and his wife, Winifred Hoernlé, President of the Institute from 1948 to 1950, and again from 1953 to 1954), is delivered under the auspices of the Institute. Invitations to deliver the lecture are extended to people having special knowledge and experience of racial problems in Africa and elsewhere.

It is hoped that the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture provides a platform for constructive and helpful contributions to thought and action. While the lecturers are entirely free to express their own views, which may not be those of the Institute as expressed in its formal decisions, it is hoped that lecturers will be guided by the Institute's declaration of policy that "scientific study and research must be allied with the fullest recognition of the human reactions to changing racial situations; that respectful regard must be paid to the traditions and usages of various national, racial and tribal groups which comprise the population; and due account must be taken of opposing views earnestly held".

List of previous lecturers:

- The Rt. Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, *Christian Principles and Race Problems*
- Dr. E. G. Malherbe, *Race Attitudes and Education*
- Prof. I. D. MacCrone, *Group Conflicts and Race Prejudices*
- Prof. W. M. Macmillan, *Africa Beyond the Union*
- Dr. the Hon. E. H. Brookes, *We Come of Age*
- Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Penal Reform and Race Relations*
- Dr. H. J. van Eck, *Some Aspects of the Industrial Revolution*
- Prof. S. Herbert Frankel, *Some Reflections on Civilisation in Africa*
- Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Outlook for Africa*
- Dr. Emory Ross, *Colour and Christian Community*
- Vice-Chancellor T. B. Davie, *Education and Race Relations in South Africa*
- Prof. Gordon W. Allport, *Prejudice in Modern Perspective*
- Prof. B. B. Keet, *The Ethics of Apartheid*
- Dr. David Thomson, *The Government of Divided Communities*
- Dr. Simon Biesheuvel, *Race, Culture and Personality*
- Dr. C. W. de Kiewiet, *Can Africa Come of Age?*
- Prof. D. V. Cowen, *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—Today*
- The Most Rev. Denis E. Hurley, Archbishop of Durban, *Apartheid: A Crisis of the Christian Conscience*
- Prof. Gwendolen M. Carter, *Separate Development: The Challenge of the Transkei*
- Sir Keith Hancock, *Are There South Africans?*
- Prof. Meyer Fortes, *The Plural Society in Africa*
- Prof. D. Hobart Houghton, *Enlightened Self-Interest and the Liberal Spirit*
- Prof. A. S. Mathews, *Freedom and State Security in the South African Plural Society*
- Prof. Philip Mayer, *Urban Africans and the Bantustans*
- Alan Pifer, *The Higher Education of Blacks in the United States*
- Chief M. Gatsha Buthelezi, *White and Black Nationalism, Ethnicity and the Future of the Homelands*
- Prof. Monica Wilson, "... So Truth be in the Field ..."
- Prof. Marshall W. Murphree, *Education, Development and Change in Africa*

Education is the key to change in South Africa

Two previous Hoernlé Memorial Lectures have been concerned with education: that by Dr. E. G. Malherbe in 1946 and that by Dr. T. B. Davie in 1955, and both of these gentlemen were principals of universities. I had hoped to find another lecture by a university principal in the field of education in the 1960s to spread the picture, but this was not to be, and so my piece comes after a 21-year interval, an interval during which one would expect some changes in the educational pattern and attitudes to have been introduced.

Undoubtedly there have been changes, and of two kinds. The first of these has been the introduction from time to time of new philosophies or operational systems — different methods of teaching children how to read and write, the new mathematics, the separation of the school-leaving requirements and the university entrance requirements, changes in the number of matriculation subjects, the differentiated matriculation, the three-term year, and the like. Each of these has been studied in advance, the impact on children estimated and with more or less caution, as the case may be, introduced on a provincial or national level. Some have succeeded, others have not been marked by conspicuous success. One might call these positive changes and they represent the kind of change to be expected in the strictly professional area of teaching.

If all things had been equal before these changes were introduced, one might have accepted that these were the only kind of changes that were needed. But things were not equal. Education was overwhelmingly pointed towards white South Africa, with a fair measure of involvement in brown South Africa, and a minimum of support for black South Africa.

It was in this environment that the second kind of change took place, the change brought about by the Extension of Universities Act of 1958, an Act which deprived black South Africans of the right of admission to the existing residential universities and forced them to attend the new centres of tertiary education, now the six ethnic universities. This was the negative change, the establishment of a situation which could only worsen the relations between white and black, and could only build up a mistrust between the races. This is the system under which the universities have been required to operate since 1959, and a system against which all the English-medium universities have constantly protested and to which students at English-medium universities have

continually objected. Instead of steady changes which would bring about better race relationships, there was the one dramatic change which is helping to destroy them.

In 1946, Dr. Malherbe¹ set out to stress the dynamic rôle of public attitudes and valuations and 'to indicate in general terms the way in which education (in the broadest sense) can accelerate in such attitudes the change which may lead to progress'. Herein lies the key to progress and hence the title of my lecture.

Dr. Malherbe discussed some change in the attitudes of soldiers and aimed to capitalize on whatever progressive attitudes the South African ex-servicemen would bring back with them to civilian life. He ascribed this change of attitude correctly to the fact that soldiers had had the experience of living with our own blacks and with North African blacks as persons — he described the change as one from 'blind prejudice to one of understanding and tolerance'. He found what he called a 'cautiously liberal attitude' amongst these soldiers, but he emphasized again and again the essential need to build up on the changed attitudes of South Africans who through the experiences of living and working alongside blacks, had noticeably softened their attitude.

At this time, 1946, while the English universities maintained a reasonably 'open' attitude towards the admission of black and brown students, schools were, of course, completely segregated. However, Dr. Malherbe was able to remark that, 'The increase during the last few years in the numbers of (Africans) receiving high school and university education has been phenomenal. We have today over 17 000 (Africans) in the four upper classes of the high school and over 700 are studying at our university institutions'.

Nine years later Dr. Davie² was able to comment on the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and in so doing he drew attention to the situation regarding schools for Africans, observing that the total number of schools in and out of the reserves was quite inadequate. He went on to say, 'Only about 25 per cent of the African children ever see the inside of a schoolroom, i.e. about three-quarters of the African children will reach puberty and adult life without any schooling as we know it. Of those who are in schools at any one time, fifty per cent are in the sub-standards A and B and only twenty-five per cent are in classes above Standard II. Of every thousand children who enter Standard I, only four reach the matriculation classes. The total number of all (blacks) in universities today is just over one thousand, of which a little more than half are Africans'. Dr. Davie also commented that it was possible that to provide even primary school education on

a compulsory basis for all African children would be more than the economy at the time could carry, and he advocated new or increased taxation to remedy what he described as 'such an inexcusable state of affairs'.

The Bantu Education Act sought to remedy matters by reducing the length of the school day (from four hours to three hours) for each pupil and introducing two sessions per day, thereby doubling the utilization of school buildings. The Act also insisted upon the mother tongue as the medium of instruction, coupled with the teaching of the elements of both English and Afrikaans. Dr. Davie went on to comment that he had little doubt that it was the intention of the framers of the Act that the education of the African child should be different from that of the white. While he foresaw the advantages of the tendency towards technical schooling at the high school stage, and towards practical handicrafts and commercial and agricultural training before that, he believed that the university outlook for the African student was much more uncertain.

I would like now to turn the clock on seventeen years and find what changes have been introduced in the field of black education, leaving out for the time being the Extension of Universities Act of 1958. In my Presidential Address³ to the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in 1972, I quoted certain statistics derived from publications of your Institute and proposed a scheme of providing education for all races on an equal basis. At that time, 23 per cent of whites were at school, 27 per cent of the Indians were at school, 27 per cent of the coloured population were at school, and 18,3 of the Africans, this latter representing 2,74 million children. The pupil-teacher ratios in schools for whites, Indians and coloureds were 30, 28 and 32 to one respectively, while for Africans the ratio was 57 to one. The distribution of children between the two grades and the ten standards varied markedly. In white schools 48 per cent of the children were in Standard III or lower, while the figures for Indians and coloured children were 52,5 per cent and 72 per cent respectively, and for African children the figure was 75 per cent.

To achieve parity with whites and Indians in school places for African children, and also to achieve the same distribution between the standards, it would have been necessary to build 1 200 secondary schools of 1 000 pupils each, and to train about 40 000 teachers. Because most of the African children were in Standard III or lower, the need for high schools and the teachers for them was not immediate, but could have been met over a seven-year

period (Standard III to Standard X). Nearly four have elapsed already. The cost of these schools at the 1972 prices was about R250 million.

It is also interesting to see the position in 1975 as published in a recent article⁴ by Dr. K. B. H. Hartshorne. The number of African pupils at school in the Republic was 3 731 455, representing 21 per cent of the African population, a figure which is very close to that applying to whites, and the overall pupil-teacher ratio for Africans was 54 to one. Of these children, 8,5 per cent were in secondary schools and 9 009 in Standard X; 3 200 of them matriculated and could therefore enter a university.

Obviously the number of school places provided in the last four or five years is such as to ensure some schooling to many more African children, but two facts are apparent. Firstly, the pupil-teacher ratio has not improved appreciably, secondly, although the number of matriculants is about three times as great as it was five years ago, the great majority of children still have not progressed beyond the primary school.

These then are the changes that are taking place in education for Africans. They have gone a long way towards meeting the demand for primary schooling and to that extent, the problem of a rapidly growing population is also being met. But although the numbers matriculating each year have grown very markedly, the overall quality of the education has advanced very little, to judge by the pupil-teacher ratio and the number of schools. In Dr. Hartshorne's figures, a pupil increase of 12,7 per cent has been met by an increase in the number of schools of 10 per cent, and an increase in the number of teachers of 18,5 per cent. There is clearly a great deal to be done before anything like parity is even in sight.

This is part of the background against which recent events in our country must be viewed. The pupil demonstrations in Soweto which escalated into the devastating riots that spread over all parts of South Africa began as a protest against an instruction that half the subjects were to be taught in Afrikaans and the remaining half in English. Such a scheme would confront African pupils with a far more difficult school programme than is the case for white children, who study virtually all their subjects in one language only, which, in addition, is their home language. To be faced with the necessity of studying in two different foreign languages is surely never demanded of even highly sophisticated children with generations of education in their family history. To expect it of African children, most of whom come from homes in which the parents have had virtually no education, is palpably

unfair and unacceptable.

But one must acknowledge that far more lay behind the protests and riots than this particular issue, however grave it might be. One hears continually of poor school buildings, of poorly qualified teachers, of crowded conditions and of inferior equipment. In fact, I have regularly received requests for school furniture and any kind of equipment for science laboratories from headmasters of secondary schools in Soweto. Pupils at ill-equipped, crowded and understaffed schools cannot help but believe that schools for whites are infinitely better provided for, and it is not to be wondered at that they will resent receiving what looks like an inferior education.

The first and most urgent change needed in education is clearly the provision of proper schools, enough and properly qualified teachers, good school furniture and science teaching equipment, and what appears to be totally lacking at present, satisfactory amenities for sport and recreation. This is, of course, an enormous task — a far greater task than that of providing all these necessary things for white children — four and a half times the task, if one were to account only for conducting an equally lavish system for four and a half times as many pupils. Far greater still, in fact, because of the great backlog of everything, the high rate of population growth and the undoubted problems of educating children of largely illiterate parents. The Department of Bantu Education has a far bigger, more complex and more difficult job to do than the Department of National Education. It should clearly have enormous sums of money to spend and a large, lively and well trained staff to run such a gigantic operation.

Let us assume that the money were to be voted, the necessary complement of departmental officers were to be appointed, the teacher training colleges were built and equipped and staffed, the schools were similarly equipped and staffed, and 5 per cent of the school enrolment reached Standard X each year. Further, that an appropriate number of the matriculants entered a black university each year. Let us also assume that school leavers and university graduates could all find gainful, dignified and satisfactory employment — an average of a number of assessments³ of the cost of creating a job in 1972 was R5 000 — and that they could all expect to have decent homes to live in. Would that solve the problem?

I do not believe that even if all these necessary things were done, and they must be done, the problem would be solved. Even if the education were to be equal in every respect to that offered to whites, there would remain in the minds of the black pupils

and students a conviction that what they have been given is different and second-rate. It stems from the very basic matter of separation — or apartheid — and as long as apartheid is the policy, the resentment will flourish and grow.

What then, is the answer?

It would be valuable and instructive to see what has been taking place in other countries with racial problems in education and of these, the American scene has been well documented and at one time resembled the South African scene closely. One has been aware of the building up of segregated schools and colleges in the Southern States, of the moves towards integration of schools by law, of the various attempts made in most of the States to include in the universities a representative enrolment of negro students and students of other minority groups, and similar steps over the past 20 years or so. In 1960, while the segregated high schools for blacks were of a good standard, the pupils nevertheless believed that they were inferior to those for whites, and they had of course no means of comparing them directly because the black school leavers went to the universities for blacks, where again comparison with whites could not readily be made. Assumptions and suspicions were, however, widespread, and dissatisfaction was equally widespread.

The ultimate test would lie, in the comparison of the ultimate product in each case — the school leaver at high school level and the graduate at university level. But black and white graduates from segregated universities can only be compared if they have access to the same jobs and compete for the same promotional ranks, and this can only happen in a fully integrated society.

However, since 1960 the degree of integration in the United States has increased very greatly and comparisons of this kind have been possible for some years. Integration within schools has also developed throughout the country, and the first effect of this is to allay the suspicions and reduce the dissatisfaction which was prevalent. The position today is that any US negro can expect to be admissible to virtually any institution of higher learning on academic grounds, though he may well find it impossible to enter some of the prestigious private universities for whites for economic reasons. This, however, is also the problem facing poorer students of any race, and however disappointing it may be for a young and able black to be unable to afford to go to an 'ivy league' university, at least it is not his race or his colour that has prevented him from entering.

It is very interesting to see what has happened in the USA today. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, established

in 1967 under the chairmanship of Dr. Clark Kerr, was charged with examining American colleges and universities and suggesting guidelines for planning for the 1970s and the remainder of the twentieth century. By 1973 some fifty documents had been produced and these have been presented in condensed form by Professor Lewis B. Mayhew in his critical analysis of these reports and recommendations. A very interesting remark appears on page 19, viz, '(The Commission) . . . favours increased support and expansion of predominantly Negro institutions, although the literature on the subject is split, with some authors . . . urging the Commission point of view and with . . . a member of the Commission recommending that at least the weaker predominantly Negro institutions be allowed to die'.

During the recent visit to South Africa by Dr. Clark Kerr, I seized the opportunity of discussing this statement with him. Dr. Kerr explained that, as one would expect, the removal of the colour bar from admissions to universities worked both ways, and that not only had black students enrolled in white universities, but that white students had enrolled in black universities. For the most part, the previously white universities had now become *predominantly white* universities and the erstwhile black universities had become *predominantly black* universities. It is this latter group to which the remark I quoted applies. In explanation of the remark, Dr. Kerr stated that once the black students were no longer forced to attend only black institutions, their attitude towards these black institutions had changed radically. Instead of regarding them with suspicion and assuming that they were inferior to those for whites, they were able to judge them fairly, and had become intensely proud of them. This is one of the reasons why they have remained predominantly black and they are now preferred by many black students because it is believed that they understand the financial, social and psychological problems of the black family better and pay proper attention to the difficulties experienced by black students.

The members of the Commission were somewhat divided on this issue, for the very reason that a pride has developed amongst the black students for their institutions. Some Commissioners believed that only the better institutions should be permitted to exist, in order to justify this pride — but the majority felt that they should all be granted the opportunity of becoming institutions of stature.

This reaction has some very important lessons for South Africans and points the direction in which education should

change. The first change should take the form of the recommendation of the American President's Commission on Higher Education, set up by President Truman after World War II, that government and the private sector remove the serious barriers of race, religion, economic status and residence, so that at least 50 per cent of high school graduates could receive a higher education.

Long before this recommendation was made, the evil effects of segregating schools had been described in the United States. Professor Julius Lewin⁷ quotes two important court cases. The first deals with the admission of a negro to a white law school, and the Court required that he be treated like all other students, referring to 'his ability to study, to engage in discussions and exchange views with other students and in general to learn his profession'. The second was the finding by a Kansas court that 'Segregation of white and coloured children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon coloured children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation, with the sanction of the law, therefore has a tendency to (retard) the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system'.

The removal of these barriers at school level has, as we know, been proceeded with in the United States and one must now ask oneself whether this could happen in South Africa.

There is no doubt that if left to themselves, small children have no difficulty whatever in playing together regardless of their race or colour, and on this basis integration in schools could most naturally begin in the grades. But there is also no doubt that in a racially prejudiced white South African society, any attempt to bring this about would meet with the fiercest opposition, exemplifying what Jan H. Hofmeyr called 'the tyranny of prejudice' in 1946.⁶ It could not happen at present and if one is seeking an answer that could be implemented *now* with little or no disturbance, then integration in education should begin at the other end of the scale. At the university graduate end, one is dealing only with the intellectual élite who have been filtered out by the system of higher education and small though the scale may be, there already is ample proof that the 'tyranny of prejudice' does not exist, by and large, in postgraduate areas of study in South Africa. Virtually all the white residential universities have some black graduate students in one or other discipline.

What about the undergraduate domain in the universities?

At least three of the white residential universities have appreciable numbers of African or brown undergraduates. At my own university, of the 483 students not of European descent, 52 are African and 48 of them are undergraduates. However, each of the 483 has had to go through the procedure of making special application to his relevant Minister of State for specific permission to be accepted into a university for whites. Once admitted, he forms one of the community of students and his race ceases to have any significance within the academic and social life of the university. He is just a student like any other.

My university has been at this for long enough to observe how completely satisfactorily students of all races in South Africa work and play together. There is simply no doubt whatever about the ease with which it happens and continues to operate year after year.

I believe that a vital and most important step towards the creation of satisfactory relations between the races, and particularly between black and white, would be to remove the restrictions placed upon black students who wish to study at universities for whites; that is to say to remove all racial barriers at the undergraduate level. There would, of course, be an appreciable increase in the number of black students at white universities which were so opened, and if black universities were also opened in the same way, there would be a trickle of whites entering the black universities.

I have no doubt whatever that what happened in America would be repeated here, that the mistrust generated by a system of segregated universities would be replaced, in time, by pride for those same institutions by their own students, and that amongst that relatively small but very important group in an emerging society, the university graduate, the racial attitudes can only improve.

Having briefly described what I would refer to as the first change in the educational system, I would like now to consider in greater detail how this step could be embarked upon and its implications. The first step would be to open all universities in South Africa to all students without regard to race. Before considering the effects of such a step it is instructive to compare the overall numbers involved in three countries — South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. In the case of the United States there are well over 2 000 institutions for tertiary education of all kinds and sizes, many of which are teacher

training institutions and junior colleges. Probably about half of them could be classified as degree-awarding university institutions in the accepted sense, but fewer are accredited nationally. I do know that less than 200 are accredited as engineering schools but it is exceedingly difficult to decide how many university institutions could be regarded as full universities in the international sense. Guessing a figure of 500, this would mean that there is one full university for roughly each half million of population, but it must be remembered that many hundreds of other institutions are available for tertiary education.

In the United Kingdom there are somewhat less than 50 universities for roughly 60 million people, a ratio of one university for each 1,2 million people. In South Africa there are, today, 17 universities, one of which is the University of South Africa, and another the new Medical University of South Africa, MEDUNSA, at GaRankuwa. This gives a ratio of one university to every 1,4 million of population. Considering that many millions of black South Africans, through the existing school system and because of the scattered rural population, cannot be regarded as potential students for many years, the effective South African ratio probably lies somewhere between the highly favourable American figure of half a million and the reasonably good British figure of 1,2 million.

Clearly the number of existing universities is about right for the current available student population, and each one needs only to grow somewhat to accommodate the expected increase over a considerable number of years.

It will immediately be argued by those who do not favour such a move that the universities for whites would be flooded, and those for blacks denuded of good students. I cannot see this happening for a variety of reasons. I am sure, as I said earlier, that the mere fact of all universities being open to any student would remove feelings of resentment by black students against their own institutions, and the process of building up a loyalty to and a regard for them would begin immediately, particularly if the principal of each of the black universities was not necessarily a white person, but simply the best and most acceptable person for the post. A further factor which would work strongly in this same direction would be the composition of the councils of the black universities, which should be composed of persons not necessarily of any particular race, but those whose interest and experience would fit them best for appointment.

There are geographical and financing factors which would also militate against a wholesale move from presently black to

presently white universities, although from this point of view it is somewhat unfortunate that certain of the former have been sited in areas which offer no worthwhile intellectual environment for students outside of the confines of their campus.

Finally, there is the important factor of academic admissibility to a presently white university. This is a very basic, very important and difficult problem in the short and medium terms, but could disappear in the long term. Black matriculants are handicapped by shortcomings in the schools they attend, and although increasing numbers matriculate at a sufficiently high level to ensure their success in competition with more fortunate whites whose schools are better staffed and equipped, there are many who would need a substantial amount of post-school supplementary teaching and experience before taking their places in the existing white universities. This need will exist until the schools for blacks can be raised to the requisite level of excellence, or until schools are themselves integrated.

It would be unrealistic, however, to believe that all schools for blacks, or for that matter, all schools for whites throughout the country, could be expected to deliver matriculants whose preparation for the university is adequate in every case. In fact, there is evidence to show that matriculants with very much the same order of symbols differ widely in their approach to and readiness to embark upon university studies. There is a growing tendency to provide a transition platform prior to entry to the university, upon which the matriculant who needs to can rest for a period and build up skills and attitudes which he will need as a student. This platform is exemplified in the United States by the widespread system of Junior Colleges, where a school leaver can spend one or two years preparing for university or simply building up his education to a more satisfactory level than his school was able to provide. I believe that a scheme similar to this could prove of the greatest possible benefit to South Africa in the immediate and middle distant future at least.

Some South African universities have moved somewhat in this direction by instituting pre-university 'schools' where intending students can, for a period of some weeks, enjoy the benefit of an introduction to university methods of study and attitudes. Such systems can readily be expanded both in time and in scope and I foresee great potential for them.

There are other important implications of the open university that relate to the economic, social and recreational environment of the black student moving from an apartheid society with severe

financial and recreational limitations, to an integrated academic society with very different facilities and objectives. These problems cannot be properly solved until the black schools themselves provide the kind of environment which white South Africa has come to regard as essential for its sons and daughters. The problems will be less intense if the white universities themselves are aware of the possibility of resentment and withdrawal on the part of the black students injected into their student body. I can say from experience that this problem has not proved insoluble or even difficult in the running of an integrated campus.

The second step, which should be coincident with the first, is an assurance that black graduates can expect to find satisfying and rewarding employment with the same ease as white graduates. This is both an economic and a political matter and must be tackled on a national scale by both public and private sectors. I am aware of changes in this direction that have taken place and of a gradual move along this road, but I am certain that a more complete and large scale change is absolutely essential before the full benefit of developing an increasing proportion of the potential of our country can be enjoyed.

What is the likely end point of such a step? Some will picture sixteen (or more) universities, each of whose student body will be composed of about 71 per cent African, 17 per cent white, 9 per cent coloured and 3 per cent Indian students.⁸ I am convinced that this will not be the average situation at all. I believe that the American pattern is likely to be reproduced and that there will be certain 'predominantly black' universities and certain 'predominantly white' universities in exactly the same way as there are certain universities populated predominantly by students who are Afrikaans-speaking, and others populated predominantly by students who are English-speaking. For example, in a city like Johannesburg-Soweto, a university located, like mine, in the centre of the city within easy reach of suburbs whose population is almost entirely white, will remain a predominantly white university. A new university near, say, Soweto, will develop as a predominantly black university. The exception will, of course, be the University of South Africa, whose student distribution is very likely to become 71:17:9:3. This is the American pattern described earlier.

I have expressed views on education and have outlined the changes I consider should essentially be brought about in our educational system, changes which I regard as the key to our peaceful future. Dr. E. G. Malherbe was well aware of the importance of education and I can do no better than to repeat a

quotation from his 1946 address to this Institute, ascribed to Dr. J. J. van der Leeuw on his visit to South Africa in 1934, thus: 'We must ask ourselves what we, as educators, can do in this . . . crisis. The general feeling is that the educator is powerless, that he can do nothing, and that action in such a crisis must come from those who, along legislative or revolutionary ways, can effect a change.

'Yet, neither legislation nor revolution is creative, man alone is creative. Laws only confirm, they too do not create. Revolutions do but remove obstacles, they too do not create. In law, a man may say what he *intends* to do, by a revolution he may gain the *power* of acting, but it is always man who has to do the creative work; behind all political changes, all economic reconstruction, stands living man.

'Here lies the tremendous power of the educator. It is exactly with these living beings that he deals, not with the humanity of the present, but with the living human beings of the future, who carry that future in themselves, without whom it cannot be'.⁹

If the objective is to bring about a peaceful future for South Africa, 'the power of the educator' can be used to bring it about, but he must be given the conditions under which to work. Segregated schools and universities will not permit him to use his power, but will and do generate hostile, not peaceful situations. Malherbe foresaw this as long ago as 1957 when he wrote¹⁰ in connection with the segregated universities: 'Die neiging bestaan by so 'n geïsoleerde groep om 'n gegriefdheid op te krop sodat daar op die een of ander okkasie, wanneer daar iets voorval, 'n uitbarsting kom wat noodlottige gevolge kan hê. Hierdie mense . . . (kan) maklik, soos die ervaring geleer het, hulle eie inrigtings afbrand . . . In so 'n beperkte omgewing is daar geen geleentheid vir hulle om aan hulle opgekropte gevoelens lug te gee nie . . . Dit kan bewys word dat in hierdie aparte, geïsoleerde inrigtings in die verlede meer fanatiese anti-blanke agiteerders uitgebroei het as in die gemengde universiteite'.

These were prophetic words in the light of recent events in South Africa. Those of us who believe ardently that peaceful change in South Africa is urgently necessary should see education with dignity, equality and understanding for all races as the key to both the peace and the change.

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- ¹⁰ *Die Outonomie van ons Universiteite en Apartheid*, Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Booklet, University of Natal 1957