

into unemployment in Pietermaritzburg revealed the terrible waste of talent which the building recession has inflicted on the Coloured community.

We must get people to stand up for their rights, both black and white people. Black South Africans have been subjected to a system of white supremacy for so long that many of them accept humiliations without question. White South Africans have in many cases been drained of the will to oppose anything the Government does.

Finally, we must build a growing and organised following committed to the non-violent defeat of apartheid. We must develop techniques of resistance which can be used under the increasing difficulties with which we expect to be met in the future. Non-violence must be regarded not simply as a negative rejection of violence but as the only positive way to put an end to apartheid, while laying foundations for a nonracial future.

**T**HE following Liberal Party office-bearers were elected

- (a) at the National Congress:  
National President: **Alan Paton.**  
National Vice - Presidents: **Jordan Ngubane, Jack Unterhalter, and Jean van Riet.**
- (b) at the National Committee meeting following the Congress:  
National Chairman: **Peter Brown.**  
National Deputy-Chairmen: **David Craighead and Randolph Vigne.**  
National Treasurer: **Elliot Mngadi.**

## The Lost Generation

By Professor Leo Kuper

(Former Chairman of Natal Coastal Region  
of the Liberal Party)

**A**FRICAN education in South Africa has now collapsed. Few African students qualify from the schools for admission to the African tribal universities, and the tribal universities

themselves are a travesty of academic training.

All this was predicted by the critics of the Government's Bantu Education policy. The consequences were so obvious that it is difficult to believe they were not intended. Still, motives are difficult to analyse. In some circles an equality of education between whites and Africans was deeply repugnant, indeed almost sacrilegious.

In other circles, there was no doubt a sincere belief that Africans could be educated within the framework of apartheid policy. Or the policy itself was rationalised in many ways—that it is frustrating to educate Africans for positions which are not available; that in the present stage of African education, literacy for the masses is more important than the quality of higher education. In any event, whatever the motives, the system of apartheid education was an essential element in the blueprint for white domination.

The necessity arises from the disproportion in number between the Afrikaners and the Africans. If Africans could be fragmented into tribal groups, then the Afrikaners would be the largest group and invulnerable, holding as they do the command positions in state bureaucracy and army.

Tribal fragmentation is attempted under the system of Bantu Authorities. This involves the revival, at the level of propaganda, of the powers of the chief. The local authority is built round the chief, and local authorities are linked into regional and territorial authorities. An elaborate comic opera is staged in this process.

Beneath the superficial comedy lies the deep tragedy of Bantu Authorities. The powers of the chiefs are illusory. They are assimilated to the lower levels of the civil service, a sort of *lumpen* bureaucracy. If they oppose the Government, they face exile and destitution. If they act as agents for the Government in implementing the hated policies of apartheid, then they arouse the anger of their fellow tribesmen.

Much of the fragmentation into tribal groups rests ultimately on force, and some of the repression applied in such rural areas as Zeerust, Sekhukuniland and Pondoland dwarfs, in its horror, the more dramatic violence of Sharpeville. This is one aspect of the implementation of policy.

The other aspect is an attempt to mould consent to tribal idealisation and fragmentation through the educational system. It is for this reason that the school population is based on a separate tribal entity, taught through the vernacular, and that the tribal universities are based on different linguistic groups. The teaching of social studies in the schools is so designed as to indoctrinate African children in obedience to authority and to mould them into tribal petrification.

Fortunately, the Government has quite a false conception of the possibilities of indoctrination. It is one thing to indoctrinate white children in an ideology of domination, quite another to indoctrinate subordination. And the many disturbances in the schools testify to the failure of the policy, but also impede education.

There is a second major reason for the imposition of apartheid in the educational system. At the open universities there was a free contact not only between Africans of different tribes but also between Africans and members of other racial groups. Here lay the possibility of non-white unity, or of an interracial opposition to the Government. Moreover, white and non-white met on a basis of equality, and in this equal meeting was a threat to domination, since it undermined the sense of colour and of racial superiority.

### **Masquerading as universities**

In this context, educational apartheid must be seen as one aspect of a series of laws designed to ensure that white and non-white should not meet as equals. Systematically, every social situation has been subjected to control. Laws, enforced by criminal penalties, govern marriage, sex relations, contact between neighbours and traders, education, trade union activity. Powers have been assumed to prevent, if the Government so desires, interracial partaking of refreshments, common interracial worship involving Africans, interracial welfare organisations, clubs and so on.

Since a change had to be made in the system of education for ideological reasons, it was inevitable that the sacrifices should be demanded from the non-whites. And now Africans, Coloureds and Indians are relegated to moulding

centres in the shape of elementary training colleges masquerading as universities.

The final reason for the imposition of educational apartheid is that the Government's ideology is of a totalitarian type. All aspects must be integrated so that they support Afrikaner domination. This involves control of educational opportunities and, above all, the control of ideas. African education in particular rested upon the work of missionaries, and mostly English missionaries. Africans were trained as free persons and exposed to a universal system of ideas. Against the background of the education they received from these schools, they could only react to the ideology of apartheid as a reversion to Neanderthal man. Inevitably they were contemptuous of the men who propagated the concept of apartheid, and the minions who disseminated it more widely. Moreover, they were attuned to English culture.

The destruction of the English mission schools was a high priority for the Afrikaner nationalists, and in eight years they have destroyed institutions built with great sacrifice and devotion over generations. In theory, there is now an equal emphasis on English and Afrikaans in the African schools. In practice, Afrikaans is replacing English. Regrettably, Afrikaans cuts off the students from access to a world literature and a world civilisation. And censorship is designed to insulate them from ideas incompatible with apartheid, which is to say from many ennobling ideas.

It is a debasing process, debasing both to the whites who impose it, and the Africans who suffer the deprivation. And nothing could have been more stupidly designed, even to achieve the purpose of indoctrination in apartheid. But if the policy has failed in its objectives, it has succeeded all too well in depriving Africans of education. Even if the Government fell tomorrow, at least one generation of African students would have been denied fulfilment through education. Indeed, it would be poetic justice if it were this generation, indoctrinated in apartheid, which brought about the downfall of the system.

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