African Awakening and the Universities

At the outset I must pay a word of thanks to the Prof. Hull and the Committee of the Students' Visiting Lecturers Organization for the signal honor they have done me in inviting me to deliver the third T. B. Davie Memorial Lecture. I regard this invitation not only as a honor to me personally but as an honor to the non-white university students whose right of admission to any university preferred to reserve them on equal terms with white students be defended so vigorously during his lifetime. The non-white university students of this country articulate are not a particularly homogeneous group. For them the privilege of university is so rich and rare that when they are engaged on the university study they get on with the business on hand and leave such talking as needs to be done to the more privileged white university students. The reticence of the non-white university student might even in some quarters be mistaken for a lack of sense of gratitude for the benefits they have enjoyed as a result of the efforts of those who have espoused their cause of higher education for non-whites. On behalf of I am sure that all the non-white students who have had the benefit of a university education will join me in placing on record here and now their indebtedness and their deep appreciation of all those who at various times and in different ways have defended their right of admission to academic circles without regard to their pigmentation, and among them they would give pride of place to the late lamented Vice Chancellor of the University of the Town.
In this connection it is well for us to remember that Dr. Davie
was very much a South African. He was born and bred in
this country. He was no stranger to the traditions of South
African which in some quarters are regarded as so unique
as to be superior to non-South African human experience
elsewhere. I did not know Dr. Davie very well personally but
on one occasion when I had a fairly lengthy conversation
with him he explained to me his theory of how he
had grown up in this country with all the usual prejudices of
the white man about non-white people. However, this
resulted from his scientific training and his experience of men and affairs.
He had come to realise that individual merit was the only
and permanent
sound basis on which human beings ought to be treated. He
thought it particularly ridiculous that white South Africans
should benefit so much from universities abroad in
which the work of universities in other parts of the world
should want to make the closed university their special
contribution to modern higher education. It is a peculiarly
South African form of academic selfishness that the same man
who is prepared to go and study on one of the great open
universities of the world and to rub shoulders and makes them
with teachers and students drawn from all racial groups
should when he returns to his country forever lock the
broadening experiences he has had and work for the
shutting up of university students in practically watertight
university fraternals — anti-Semites for the English-speaking, kudos
for the Africans, speaking, kudos for the Pontius, kudos for the
souls of the kudos for brains. Nothing is more contrary
to university tradition and practice than this broad mentality which has been forced upon us all by our all-wise legislators.

In the letter inviting me to deliver this lecture I was informed that the lecture could deal with any topic which has some bearing on academic freedom. In an address which he delivered to the students of this university, Dr. T. B. Dave defined the academic freedom as involving four essential freedoms—namely, the freedom to determine for itself on academic grounds who may teach, what may be taught, how it shall be taught and who may be admitted to study. These are the basic freedoms without which a university cannot fulfill to its proper functions in the society which it seeks to serve—

the right to appoint its staff; to decide on its courses and syllabuses; to determine its methods of work and to determine in the conditions of admission of its students—all without dictation from outside and on strictly academic grounds.

Now as I cause differences in the ways in which these freedoms are exercised by different universities is a result of such practice. Each university develops a character of its own, but all universities are at one in fervently guarding their academic freedom from outside interference. This because it is only to the extent that the universities preserve their freedom from outside interference that they can provide that atmosphere which is most conducive to speculation, experiment and creation which is the hallmark of university life.
In the first T. B. Davie Memorial Lecture the Chancellor of this University deals fairly extensively with the expert contribution of Dr. Davie to the debate on academic freedom which preceded recent legislation affecting the autonomy of the South African universities.
It is not my object to make present here an apologia for the academic freedom of the university. That is a task which for us in South Africa has recently been performed by some of our ablest academicians in the publication "The Open Universities in South Africa", and in the widespread discussions which took place when the South African universities fought and temporarily lost the battle for academic freedom in South Africa. I use the word temporarily advisedly because I am convinced that sooner or later the South African universities will recover the autonomy of which they have been deprived. The history of the universities has not been without onslaught on their autonomy but in various countries under very different kinds of regimes but the spirit of free inquiry has reasserted itself again and again to the benefit of mankind. South Africa will prove no exception.

The title I have chosen for my address is "African Problems and the Universities". My object is to have decided to consider with you briefly the task of the university in changing Africa and the contribution which the South African universities can make to a solution of its problems.

We have heard so much about the word of change and its effects on African society that we are in danger of becoming either sceptical or cynical about the whole process. And yet the fact of the rapid social, economic and political changes taking place in Africa is obvious for all to see. New political entities have arisen or are arising all over the continent; new boundaries are being drawn...
African Awakenings.

A decade ago a book on the subject of the nature and significance of contemporary problems in Africa opened with the arresting sentence: "Africa staggered the imagination." If that was the position then it would be difficult to find words to describe what happens today to the imagination of those who reflect on the problems of Africa today.

The reasons why our minds are assailed by a mass of conflicting impressions when we consider Africa as it is today or as it is likely to be a few years hence are not for today. We are confronted here with problems which will test the ingenuity of the most profound economic, social, and political thinkers. The giant of Africa will not be easily forced into the corner of the room, no matter how much effort and determination is exerted by the men and women who work to illustrate the fact that Africa is not a continent from which the optimistic and the pessimistic can see what is likely to happen.

Now is the challenge of Africa less formidable when turned aside from the purely physical aspect of the matter, we consider the problem of the vast majority of the people who have not been able to participate in the progress of the continent. The solution to this problem lies in the hands of the leaders who have the responsibility of guiding the masses towards a better future.
of human relations forced by this vast land
mass and its inhabitants: by the stress,
and strains arising out of the close
juxtaposition of peoples of different racial
stocks, with varying cultural backgrounds,
at different levels of social, economic
and development, living under different economic
and political systems, to say nothing of the
conflicting faiths and ideologies to which
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While others live in mortal dread of the upward drift whose inevitability they feel powerless to avert, and in which the hand of everyone will be lifted up against that of his neighbour. Tension, conflict, frustration, aggression, boycott, riots, states of emergency, police swoops, bombing, dawn arrests, terrorists, rebels - these are the words which have the 'inestimable currency among those who are genuine critics of the present situation in Africa. But as President Macmillan has reminded us, Africa is too often theierted for the fearful: "Africa is too difficult a continent, it is too difficult a continent for the fearful, to give any hope of a future for too complex to give any hope of a fair solution to those who are set to work with a spirit of fear and distrust or of mere prejudice." In other words, the greatest demand of Africa today is for calm and patient study and research and reflection, patient study and research and reflection, patient study and research and reflection, patient study and research and reflection, patient study and research and reflection, patient study and research and reflection, patient study and research and reflection, patient study and research and reflection. And from these men of emerge resolve, action, and vision, of faith and work, who are
determined to be overwhelmed by the situation and will steadfastly resist the temptation to take refuge in facile solutions based on popular slogans or the market-place, or the negative application of brute force or the sacrifice of principle on the altar of expediency, who will bear in mind the oft-unheeded yet undiminished lesson of human history that moral issues which are inseparable from the problems of human relations can never be permanently settled by resort to immoral or so-called amoral means.

From considering the problems of Africa, the point cannot be overemphasised that the most important aspect of the matter is that of human relations. The people of Africa are of human relations. The people of Africa are of great significance than the natural resources, a fact which can easily be overlooked in a materialistic view of the world, and the earth, in which place a man in orbit is regarded as a more spectacular event than safeguarding his interests on terra firma.
A characteristic of modern Africa is that it inhabitants—
include not only Africans who constitute the vast
majority, but also a significant number of
immigrants—from Europe and Asians from
Asia, who have made Africa their home, albeit in varying degrees. Part of the
total population in different territories. The close
proximity of these racial groups has also led
to the emergence of a few, generally named black
populations of mixed descent who form a
significantly high proportion of the
people. This is one of the main
distinct groups, the other
members of the African
group under the name of
nations with common
ideals dedicated to the pursuit of the common objectives
of human rights and fundamental freedom
for all.

For generations in most areas in Africa,
the whites have constituted the dominant group,
the black people were the underprivileged, "colored",
and the "natives" under the white's privileged status.
In the social, economic, and political ladder,
the view was that this situation had been accepted for so long that
this arrangement was divine and ordained. In recent years, however,
especially among Africans that has been awakening in Africa which is breathtaking in its dimensions and in its rapidity. The whites who have dominated the whole continent for so long are finding in one area after another that they can no longer take it for granted that their position of special privilege and authority will remain unchallenged. Even many of the systems of government which seemed to be stable and inviolate a few years ago have been subjected to attack and criticism. The wind of change has been blowing for a time and forces which cannot be ignored, voices which set in motion forces which cannot be ignored, voices which are so strong that we cannot help hearing them. These forces represent a challenge and the question which they pose relates to the way in which this challenge is to be met.
and new continuations of territories are giving rise to renewed 
hostility. The opening of southern Africa to freedom and independence is becoming 
irresistible, and international concern regarding the problems 
of Africa has developed to a high degree. — Insert 5 + 6.

The continent of Africa is a large piece of the world 
and in terms of human and natural resources as an area which 
can no longer be ignored — whatever the position may have 
been in the past. The peace and security of the modern world 
that the problems of the emerging Africa emergent should be 
tackled with energy and determination and that all the skill, 
the ingenuity and the collective wisdom of all interested should 
be brought to bear on the situation.

In dealing with the situation in Africa it would be able 
to expect that problems in Africa will assume the same forms 
and be expected to have solutions which have proved useful 
elsewhere. This is not to suggest that Africa 
can learn from the benefit from the experience of the 
rest of the world. On the contrary in the modern world in 
which the isolation of any group of peoples from one another has largely 
become a thing of the past, it would be difficult of not impossible for us 
to avoid being influenced by the experiences of others, and in the 
mean time that influence may even be beneficial. But what I want to 
emphasise in dealing with the problems of emerging Africa would be 
more fatal than to take refuge in slogans and eloquent 
and to fail to do the hard thinking required for the 
critical examination of all suggested nostrums the panaceas 
for Africa's ills that are being peddled up and down the country. 
Apartheid, Integration, Nationalism, 'One man one vote', 'government in
responsible hands, race federation, white leadership with justice, nationalism black or white — all these and more are suggested in the plural sense. Nostalgia which engenders more hate than light. They are all put forward with varying degrees of sincerity, and it may even be that there is a grain of truth in them all. But at the same time there is a strong suspicion that they are all of the have-your-cake-and-eat-it variety, or what we have come to hold variety. For that reason none of them commend themselves to their own advocates. The main reason why these suggested solutions are not acceptable to those for whom they are intended is that they are advanced by people who have an axe to grind — politicians who are more interested in vote-catching than in serving the interests of all the people in the countries concerned. White leaders who are finding it difficult to face a future in which white superiority or supremacy will be a thing of the past, black leaders who cannot see why a black majority which has been dominant for so long by a white minority should not work for a future in which the tables will be reversed.

In a situation such as this there is a special need for a dispassionate examination of all the issues involved in any proposed reforms. The examination should be done by people who are trained in the matter of investigation, in the weighing up of pros and cons, who are prepared to look facts in the face, whether they be pleasant or unpleasant. People who are not afraid to make known the results of their investigation to the public. When one looks for the institutions which are fitted both by tradition and their equipment to discharge this important function of dealing with the problems of societies
If we agree that the universities are the best institutions to help us meet the challenge of the new Africa, the question may be asked as to which are the best universities to undertake this task.

It is common knowledge that universities in Europe and America are facing with me and the question of programmes of African studies. In the United States where a few years ago not more than one or two universities pay much attention to African studies, to say the number of programmes that has increased to such an extent that a society of Africanists - specialists in African studies - has been established.
which are undergoing changes so rapid as those confronting
African societies today it seems to me that the universities
are the obvious bodies to meet this challenge.

The universities are by tradition the institutions entrusted
with the task of the pursuit of truth. In universities worthy
of the name the spirit of free inquiry is expected to be given
free rein. Here ideas are subjected to close scrutiny
so that self-truths are exposed for what they are and all
premises and presumptions are challenged to see if they can
survive the test of reality. In the university nothing should
be taken for granted. Every scheme which purports to be
intended for the benefit of either a part or the whole country
or of a section or the whole of the population should be subjected
exactly to critical examination and be freely discussed
from the point of view of every school of thought. It is only to the
extent that this is done freely that the cause of truth by which
alone we can be made free can be advanced.

But if the universities are to perform this important
task of free speculation, experimental inquiry and
creative thinking, they must themselves be free. No
institutions which themselves are unfree subject to
control and direction can live up to the ideal of
academic freedom. Once the universities lose their
freedom they cease to be academic in the true
sense of the word. Once the universities accept certain
premises as axiomatic, then they cannot but
degenerate into instruments of official pleading, propaganda
and indoctrination rather than of research and teaching.
There are numerous services which universities can render to the new Africa, and it would be impossible to deal exhaustively with them within the compass of a single address. I will content myself with mentioning one or two which in my opinion are worthy of serious consideration.

I think that pride of place ought to be given to the training of leaders for the new Africa. It can probably be said that never was a time when there was a greater need for sound leadership among Africans than there is today. Until recently Africans were content to have things done for them by others. Whether in the field of education or in the civil administrative service, or in the political sphere, it was the white man who provided the leadership and therefore required the training. The various territories in Africa, and got along with a minimum of trained leaders. Then as systems of higher education were built up within these territories, until a few years ago, university institutions in Africa were of the name only. Outside South Africa could be counted on the fingers of one hand. With the rapid increase in the number of territories in Africa which have achieved independence, and the consequent rationalisation of services, the demand for trained personnel has increased supply. The territories concerned are dealing with this problem by sending hundreds of students to overseas countries to undergo various forms of training likely to be of use to these countries. On their return home, what these countries are able to do in this regard is supplemented by the offer of scholarships by overseas countries to African students.
The United States and Russia are vying with one another in welcoming the attitude of African students to different kinds of institutions. Other countries both in this and on the other side of the Iron Curtain are doing the same to a lesser extent. The idea if these countries appears to be that whatever we like it or not, the time has come for Africans to do things for themselves in their own countries. If that is so it is better for both for the Africans themselves and for the rest of the world that leadership in every possible field should be in the hands of well-trained people. In this respect performing this task of providing trained personnel it far Africa it seems to me to be a tragedy that the universities which can lay some sort of claim to a better acquaintance with African conditions than others are not in a position to share in this work because of government policy. I refer of course to the South African universities. For over 300 years the continent of Africa has been exposed to Western influence and some within that is it not known as the Republic of South Africa an educational system has been developed which comparatively compares favorably with systems in countries of similar age elsewhere. Universities have been established here having regard to their resources both human and material have made a valuable contribution to providing South Africa with trained personnel for the white section of the population, and without saying disparaging about Western universities which have always provided men with leadership and inspiration in various fields of learning and research, the South African
universities measure up well in commonly accepted standards
of university work.

These universities had begun to prove in this respect not
only whites from beyond our borders but also African students.
In spite of our unpopular racial policies, students from other
territories in Africa were willing and anxious to take advantage
of the facilities offered by our universities, thus the
non-white students who came her went to the University
College of Fort Hare and we at first were very proud of
the service which we were able to render to students from
the High Commission Territories, the Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika,
Kenya and Uganda. Most of the students we trained from
these territories are now holding positions of great responsibility
in their own countries and unbeknown, they remember with
gratitude what they owe to South Africa for their training.
Apart from coming to Fort Hare a few were able to find
their way to the other universities. We think that it was
only right and proper that the most highly developed
country on the continent should place its facilities
at the disposal of its less highly developed neighbours.
What greater and practical demonstration of our
neighbourliness could we give than to open our
universities to the future leaders of neighbouring
states in Africa. If we have faith in our way of
life as being the most suitable for conditions in Africa
what better way could we have of proving this
than by letting future leaders from different territories
experience this superior way of life at our highest educational
institutions.
It might be argued that many of the individuals who hold or are destined to hold positions of leadership in Africa do not possess the necessary qualifications for admission to university, and that even if the universities were permitted to admit them, they would not do so with profit. In this connection universities might give serious consideration to the establishment of adult education courses to which persons of native age who did not have the benefit of primary education in their youth might be admitted. What such persons might lack in youth and in formal education might be made up for by their enthusiasm and by singleness of purpose. As persons holding responsible positions they would be more likely to take their studies seriously, and thus might be given courses in literature, economics, history, general education, with perhaps a bias towards government and administration of the country and the social sciences generally. This is something in which the two or more universities might cooperate, and the idea of
ammunition schools which have been used to such good effect in the United States to extend the benefits of higher education to persons who might otherwise not have been able to get these advantages and be usefully adopted in this regard. The newer universities, colleges, in West Africa such as in the Sudan in Nigeria and the University of Ghana are doing a great deal in this connection to take higher education to adult forms. Is it not mature age in their territories, cooperatively, necessary with their own African universities with their longerperience of higher education in larger, wider, emprise of higher education in available their facilities as centres of such centres make if they were to establish leadership for the leaders of the new Africa.
President Kennedy of the United States has 
equilibrated the minds of many in Africa with 
his idea of a Peace Corps—a body of well 
trained men and women who will go to 
different parts of the underdeveloped areas 
of the world, not to go and conquer on 
missions of conquest as might have 
been the case in an earlier generation 
but on missions of peace to place 
their technical and scientific knowledge 
at the disposal of the peoples of the area 
at which they go—to fight not men but 
ignorance, disease, poverty, ill will and 
misunderstanding between men and men, to help to 
bring order where there is chaos and stability and 
where these elements are lacking or absent. The 
call of the Peace Corps is being responded to 
by university men and women who wish to make 
a positive contribution to a solution of the world’s 
problems. Their contribution may not be spectacular 
or even extensive. They are not being asked to spend 
a lifetime in these areas, but to give a few
of the last years of their lives to a great cause — the cause of peace and friendship between the highly developed and the underdeveloped peoples of the world.

This is not the first time that university men and women have been captivated by a call to serve in difficult places, where the previously unknown continent had been opened by the pioneering efforts of intrepid explorers, as Livingstone pointed out. "The end of the geographical feat" became "the beginning of the missionary enterprise." As he said: "I take the latter term in its most extended signification, and include every effort made for the amelioration of our race.

This call to bring civilization and health in the form of an agency that uplifts and saves rather than in the form of an agency that exploits and destroys led to the establishment among some of the universities mission to Central Africa. The call then was to a continent and to peoples who had been ravaged by the "open sore" of the slave trade, and who subsequently became subjects
A very different Africa. Today the call is to foster its new-found freedom and independence. African cooperation for a new society of equal cooperation among the countries of the world. A challenge which offers up vast possibilities for co-operation between peoples of different races and cultures, each contributing knowledge and experience. This is a call, a challenge, which comes not only to universities in the west, but also to the universities of South Africa. And if they can respond to it in the right spirit, they will be making a more positive contribution to the development of nations and the preservation of the legacy of African people's past. Cooperation.
Another service which the universities can render to African
continent is the study of the problems of government in under-
developed countries. The peoples of Africa have decided that
they want to govern themselves. They are no longer prepared to
heed the warnings and admonitions of those who say they are not
yet ready to govern themselves and will make a mess of
that job. Some of them in their eagerness to achieve self-
determination go so far as to say that self-government
however bad it may be is better than good government
governed by others. It does not look as if we are going to be
able to reverse this trend in Africa thought and determination.

The best that those who have the welfare of the continent
and its peoples at heart can do in the circumstances is to help Africans to achieve good government. The cry
for self-determination does not solve the problems of
government. Once that self-determination has been
obtained, the business of government has got to be undertaken.
Government in Africa raises many acute problems which
require patient study and research. There is the problem
for example of how true democracy can be achieved among
peoples. Many of these have looked to the system
of chieftainship for stable government. This is not to suggest
that under a system of chieftainship the voice of the
people remained unheard. The voice of the people made
itself felt in different ways which may not be
appropriate in this day and generation and the problem
that emerges is: How this system can be made to fit
into the conditions of today. In some cases it might be
be found that chieftainship can be readily supplanted by modern means of techniques of government or it may
it might not. In some areas there is the abuse of the system
of chieftainship by their former rulers might have proceeded so
far that the people are not in the habit to tolerate it retention in
any form. All these are problems which cannot be settled by
the waving of a wand or by emotional appeals to people to
develop along their own lines or to keep what is their own. The
special conditions of each area have to be brought to light
and the extent of the people as a whole used as a yardstick
with which to measure suggested schemes.

Another problem that poses itself is that of democracy and
nationalism. Another problem that poses itself is that of the multi-racial
character of not a few African countries. It is being argued that although
we may be admited that Africans may be able to rule themselves, the question whether
they will be able to rule from Africans on their merit. The problem of the
the legitimate rights of different racial groups can be safeguarded in
a multi-racial society is one that requires careful study
examination. It is to the universities we must look to examine
these problems and to see us possible ways of preserving the
foundations of freedom in the emergent states of Africa. Here
again I subscribe that the part that universities can play
as institutions which have developed in a multi-racial society
and their role in that respect will be better prepared to analyse
and lay bare the complex problems of adjustment that arise in
such a society.

Finally, reference must be made to the problem of
nationalism, whether it be black nationalism or white nationalism.
Another problem on which many students of government and politics is that of the one man—one vote principle. The one man one vote has become a battle cry throughout the entire of Africa among peoples who, although they form systems of government based on the one man, one vote, did not practice it in their mechanics of government.

This principle was brought to Africa by the representatives of Western democracies. It was the white man who taught the African that everyone has an inalienable possession the vote, his legitimate right to be represented. In trying to apply this principle to the African, he has been met with resistance at nearly every point. The individual who exercises this right, through his vote, has enjoyed a qualified franchise, if any, and did not receive the same solicitude. Yet, by every government, whether the individual who exercises this right, through his vote, has enjoyed a qualified franchise, if any, he did not receive the same solicitude. This has been brought home to the African in so many ways that he has come to regard the one man—one vote, as a right he has come to regard it. The one man—one vote principle in a principle that the one man—one vote principle is a principle that the one man—one vote principle is a principle that the African more than any other principle which will do the African more harm than good. As far as the African is concerned, his spirit of resistance is upon those who contend the application of this principle to African conditions to demonstrate the one man—one vote principle in African conditions to demonstrate the principles of their objections as well as to show that the one man—one vote principle is a principle that will do the African more harm than good.
can be equally effectively protected by the application of a different principle. The British Colonial Secretary has tried to do this for Northern Rhodesia but his effort has met with widespread condemnation on the ground that its implications and of doubt as to whether it will safeguard the interests of all sections of the population. In Southern Rhodesia a possibility has been discussed which is different to the interests of the white population judging by the results of the recent referendum, but which has left the Union of the recent referendum but which has left the Union of the recent referendum but which has left the Union.
We have in South Africa been acquainted with the adoption of an another principle which seemed simple and just when it was adopted but which in practice has not proved as beneficial to the native community as was at first hoped. I refer to the "one man - one lot" principle in land distribution on the reserves. This was an attempt to democratise the holding of land on the reserves so that every man was to make it possible for every adult man to have a piece of land which he might call his own. The result of the adoption of this principle has been the substitution of land into economic units which make economic self-sufficiency impossible, leading to poverty for all, and the universal desire to return to our land which makes rehabilitation schemes for the solution of complex social problems must be carefully examined - the premises on which they are based, the methods of giving effect to them, the practical results of their application, must be laid bare so that the truth of one or both of these might be based on enlightened rational knowledge rather than on mass hysteria of either of the old color line, or on either of both. As long as no effective substitute for it or both. Furthermore, the white will continue to cling to the "one man - one lot" principle, and responsible leaders will have to give serious attention to the search for an effective substitute.
ENTRENCHED RIGHTS

One of the problems facing multi-racial societies in Africa is that of ensuring that no one section of the population will dominate any of the other sections of the population. It has been suggested that this eventually might be frustrated by the adoption of rigid constitutions which restrict the rights of political minority groups and protect them from entrenched power, particularly by the white minority groups which have held positions of power and privilege in the territories which have been the permanent homes for generations. For the African who has been at the receiving end of domination for so long, the possibility of the table being turned is naturally not one which can be welcomed with any enthusiasm. One might even say that it is a humbling prospect. One species might even say that it is a humiliating prospect. One species might even say that it is a humbling prospect. One species might even say that it is a humbling prospect. 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One species might even say that it is a humbling prospect. One species might even say that it is a humbling prospect. One species might even say that it is a humbling prospect. One species might even say that it is a humbling prospect.
Another way in which the universities might meet the challenge of the new Africa is through the establishment of cultural relations between the better developed countries and the newly independent states of Africa. Contact between and exchange of persons working in the same field in universities in Africa would undoubtedly prove of mutual benefit. Here again the American foundations have made the way. American foundations have made it possible for many persons from African countries to visit the United States and for Americans to go to Africa.

As Professor Herskovits has pointed out, "Under the International Educational Exchange Program, 111 Americans and 271 persons from 17 African countries were recipients of exchange grants from 1947 through the 1957-58 academic year. In the fiscal year 1960, 57 Americans are to go to Africa and 173 persons from there are to come to the United States. Nine hundred and twenty-one American experts have since 1930 worked in seven African countries, and 251 African participants in these projects have been trained in the United States. The number of African students in American universities is indicated, African students in American universities increased from 114 in 1946-47 to 1109 in 1960, and is being increased from 114 in 1946-47 by the United Kingdom, the Nordic countries such as the United Kingdom, and other countries such as France, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Russia and other countries behind the Iron Curtain."
The basic assumption underlying these exchanges is that good relations between the countries concerned are furthered by formal contacts and by more intimate knowledge of each other's way of life. If countries so far remote from Africa find it necessary to embark on such programmes it seems rather short of tragic that the most advanced country on the continent of Africa should not act on similar schemes to improve the relations between itself and the rest of the independent states of Africa.
Nationalism is a dynamic force which has played an important
role in human history. It has caused its heel in Africa and is giving
rise to bitter controversy as to whether it is a wholesome or a destructive
force. How the legitimate aspirations of various nationalisms can
be reconciled is a matter which calls not for vituperation and abuse
but for sympathetic consideration and patient study. It is not enough
merely to have stigmatized every black nationalist as a terrorist
and every white nationalist as a patriot. We must examine the
claims of each type of nationalist object as objectively as possible
and endeavor to find the common ground between them on which
it might be possible to bring them together in peace and harmony.
Sufficient has been said to indicate that the Africa with which we have to deal today is one which is full of new attitudes to old practices and new types of reactions to previously existing systems. The central factor in the African awakening is the emergence of new ideas, strange men and other minds. It is in the minds of Africans that revolutions are taking place which are rocking the foundations of African societies.

In such a situation it is not surprising that we are all looking for ways out of the dilemmas with which we are beset on every side. Some seek for a solution in a resort to force to suppress those strange notions that are affecting the solvency of Africans so adversely. Others pin their faith on attempts to turn the clock back by extolling the virtues of cultures which on the of bygone days whose have been irrevocably undermined by modern conditions, social and economic conditions.
Some seek to give existing systems a new lease of life by dressing old policies in new look garments such as trusteeship, partnership, peer-partnership (or separate development) or the paramountcy of the interests of the inhabitants.

Finally there are those who seek refuge in an attempt to isolate themselves from the rest of the continent of which they are an integral part and who forget that Africa must be considered as a whole if its problems are to be in the proper perspective. Partial approaches can only lead to results in partial insights, leading to distorted views of an area which is much more of a unity than is indicated by the balkanisation to which it was subjected by foreign rule. They forget that ideas not only have legs but possess wings with which they can scale the highest walls and the most opaque curtains.
I suggest that in this perplexing situation among the agencies which may be set up to cope with the complex problems of the new Africa, the universities have an important role to play. The scrutiny of ideas old and new is their special field. Their calling is the pursuit of truth; to separate the false from the true is the object of their study and research. The South African programmes of study and research. The universities are no exception in this regard. They share the same ideas and traditions, indeed they are the same community of universities also belong to an international community of universities. As the continent of Africa it would appear to be their plain duty to take the lead in dealing with the urgent problems which must be solved if Africa is to be a safe place for all to live in, and to the universities must be free to carry out their functions without interference. This brings us back to the question of academic freedom. Recent legislation activities without outside interference. This brings us back to the question of academic freedom. Recent legislation
our universities again take their proper place in the vanguard of progress in the spirit of today.

What Toynbee has said with regard to the impact of western civilization upon the world in general applies with particular force to Africa, says Toynbee.

"Future historians will say, I think, that the peak of the twentieth century was the impact of western civilization upon all the other living societies of the world. That day, they will say, of the impact that it was so powerful and so pervasive that it turned the lives of all its victims upside down and inside out—and all its actions outside down and inside out—effecting the behaviour, outlook, feelings and beliefs affecting the lives of individual men, women and children in an intimate way, touching chords in human souls, however remote and terrifying.

Free universities can make a valuable contribution to meeting the impact of western civilization upon other peoples. They can be the means of adjustment among peoples of Africa in the process of adjustment among other societies.