

AFRICAN AWAKENING AND THE UNIVERSITIES

At the outset I must say a word of thanks to the Prof. Hull and the Committee of the Students' Visiting Lecturers Organisation for the signal honour they have done me in inviting me to deliver the third T. B. Davie Memorial Lecture.

I regard this invitation not only as a honour to me personally but as an honour to the non-white university students whose right of admission to any university prepared to receive them on equal terms with white students ^{Dr Davie} be defended so vigorously during his life time. The non-white university students of this country are not a particularly ^{articulate} ~~vociferous~~ group. For them the ~~business~~ privilege of university ^{study} 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 a 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 ^{the efforts 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 Cape ~~University~~ ^{the University of} Cape Town.

In this connection it is well for us to remember that Dr Davie was every inch a South African. He was born and bred in this country. He was no stranger to the traditions of South Africa which in some quarters are regarded as so unique as to be impervious to ~~non South African~~ human experience elsewhere. I did not know Dr Davie very well personally but on the one occasion when I had a fairly lengthy conversation with him he ~~explained~~ took pains to explain me how he had grown up in this country with all the usual prejudices of the white man about ~~men~~ people of colour but how as a result of his scientific training and his experience of men ^{at home and abroad} 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 ludicrous that white South Africans ^{whose universities} ~~had~~ benefitted so much from ^{them} ~~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 in one of the great open universities of the world and to rub shoulders and minds there with teachers and students drawn from all racial groups should when he returns to his country forswear the broadening experiences he has had and work for the shutting up of university students in practically watertight university kraals - ~~not~~ kraals for the English speaking, kraals for the Afrikaans speaking, kraals for the Dutch speaking, kraals for the coloureds and kraals for Asians. 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 Insert A.

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 ~~and~~ ^{former} address which ~~he~~ he delivered to the students of this university, Dr T. B. Davie defined the academic freedom ^{of a university} 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 fulfil its proper functions in the society which it seeks to serve - the right to appoint its staff, to decide on its courses and syllabuses, ~~on its~~ to determine its methods of work and to ^{rights to be exercised} determine on the conditions of admission of its students - all without dictation from outside and ~~on~~ on strictly academic grounds. There are of course differences in the ways in which these freedoms are ~~exercised~~ ^{given effect to} by different universities. As a result of such ^{practice} ~~exercise~~ each university develops a character of its own, ^{of which it may be proud.} but all universities ^{worthy of the name} are at one in jealously 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 post ^AT. B. Davie Memorial Lecture
the Chancellor of this university deals fairly
extensively with the superb 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 ~~offer~~ present here an apologia for the academic freedom ~~of~~ of the university. That is a task which for us in South Africa has recently been ~~done~~ ^{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 onslaughts on their autonomy ~~but~~ ~~not~~ in various countries under ~~various~~ different kinds of regimes but the spirit of free inquiry has re-asserted 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 Awakening and the Universities". My object is

I have decided to consider with you briefly the task of the university in changing Africa and the contribution ~~of~~ which the South African universities ^{in particular could make} to a solution of its problems of modern Africa. ~~The title I have chosen for this address is "African Awakening and~~ insert pages 1, 2 + 3 + 4

We have heard so much about the wind 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 ^{run} changes taking place in Africa is obvious for all ~~you~~ ~~who~~ ~~have~~ ~~eyes~~ ~~to~~ ~~see~~ ^{read}. New political entities have arisen or are arising all over the continent; new boundaries are being drawn

~~Abstract~~ book Over a decade ago a book on the subject of the nature and significance of contemporary problems in Africa opened with the arresting sentence: "Africa staggers the imagination". ~~But~~ If that was the position then it would be difficult to find words to describe what happens ^{today} to the imaginations of those who ^{seek to} reflect on the problems of Africa today.

The reasons why our minds are assailed by a mass of conflicting conjectures when we consider Africa as it is today or as it is likely to be are not far to seek. We are confronted here with problems which will test the ingenuity, the capacity for sustained effort and the ability of men & women to work together for the common good, to the utmost. ^{In Africa} The locust alone have thus far proved almost more than a match even ~~more than~~ ^{for modern science and technology.}

~~a match~~ for modern science and technology. Now is the challenge of Africa less formidable when, turning aside from the purely physical aspect of the matter, we consider the problems

of human relations posed by this vast land
 mass and its inhabitants; by the stresses
 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
 they subscribe or which are striving for the
 mastery among them. So imposing do
 the problems of modern Spain appear that
 many people, ~~both~~ both among its
 inhabitants and elsewhere, have become
 despondent and are inclined to doubt
 whether ~~Spain~~ ^{this continent} will be able to find a happy
 issue out of its numerous afflictions. Hence
 some have developed or adopted a defeatist
 attitude with regard to its future, ~~while~~ and
~~others~~ therefore depart from it for pastures new,

While others live in mortal dread of the impending disaster 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, boycotts, riots, states of emergency, police swoops, ~~down~~ dawn arrests, terrorists, rebels - these are the words which have the indelible currency among those who are giving serious thought to the present situation in Africa.

But as Professor Macmillan has reminded the fainthearted & the fearful: "Africa is too difficult a continent, its physical conditions are too intractable, its human relationships far too complex, to give any hope of a good issue to those who 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 reflection, patient study and research and resolute action by men & women of courage and vision, of faith and work, who are

unwilling to be overawed by the situation and will steadfastly resist the temptation to take refuge in facile solutions based on popular slogans of 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 undisputed 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.

For in considering the problems of Africa the point cannot be over-emphasised that the most important aspect of the matter is that of human relations. The peoples of Africa are of greater significance than of natural resources, a fact which can easily be overlooked in a materialistic ^{era} such as the one in which we live, in which placing a man in orbit ^{around the earth} is regarded as a more spectacular event than safeguarding his interests on terra firma.

A characteristic of modern Spain is that its inhabitants include not only Spaniards who constitute the vast majority, but also a ~~significant~~ ^{fair} number of immigrants, whites from Europe and Asians from Asia, who have made ~~the~~ Spain their permanent home, albeit in varying ~~degrees~~ proportions of the total population in different territories. The close juxtaposition of these racial groups has also led to the emergence of a group generally termed Colored signifying persons of mixed descent who form a distinct group of their own. The crux of the Spanish problem is how these different groups can be welded together into societies or nations with common ideals dedicated to the pursuit of the common objectives of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

For generations in most areas in Spain the whites have constituted the dominant group and the non-whites the underprivileged "sociological minority groups", with the Spaniards at the bottom of the social economic and political ladder, in spite of their overwhelming numerical superiority. This set up had been accepted for so long that some people had begun to think that it was divinely ordained. In ~~the~~ recent years, however

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6 especially among Africans
there has been awakening in Africa, which is breath-taking
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 forever.
Systems of government which seemed to ~~be stable~~ ^{satisfy those subject to them} and
policies which appeared to meet the situation a few years
ago are now being subjected to ~~stark~~ critical examination
and attack. The wind of change ~~seems to~~ has let loose
set in motion forces which cannot be ignored, voices which
are so strident that we cannot help hearing them. These
forces represent a challenge and the question which they
pose relates to the way or ways in which this challenge
is to ~~be~~ be met.

and new combinations of territories are giving rise to new power blocs. The ~~concept~~ ^{demand for} 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 slice of the world and in terms of human and natural resources is an area which can no longer be ignored ~~now~~ whatever the position may have ^{remained} been in the past. The peace and security of the modern world ^{demands} 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. ↓ 5/6

In dealing with the situation in Africa it would be idle to expect that problems in Africa will assume the same forms as elsewhere, ^{need we expect} nor that solutions which have proved useful ^{necessarily} will provide an answer here. This is not to suggest that Africa cannot 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~~ peoples from one another has largely become a thing of the past, ~~it~~ it would be difficult if not impossible for us to avoid being influenced by the experiences of others, and in the main that influence may even be beneficial. But what I want to emphasise in dealing with the problems of emerging ^{Africa is that} ~~nothing~~ would be more fatal than to take refuge in slogans and claptrap 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, Partnership, "one man one vote", "government in

responsible heads, ^{national conventions} race federation, white leadership with justice, nationalism black or white — all these and more are suggested nostrums ^{in the political sphere} which engender more heat than light. These are all put forward ^{by their proponents} 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 ^{the} what-we-have-we-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 ^{appear to be} more interested in vote-catching than in serving the interests of all the people on 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 ~~how~~ why a black majority which has been dominated 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 ~~real~~ special need for a dispassionate ^{and} ^{of leaders} examination of all the issues involved in any proposals for reform. The examination should be done by people who are trained in the ~~to~~ ^{the} matters 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 and who are not afraid to make known the results of their ^{of} investigation when one looks ^{must} for the institutions which are ^{best} 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 ~~not~~ 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 vying with one another in establishing programmes of African studies. In the United States where a few years ago not more than one or two universities paid much attention to African studies, to say the number of programmes has increased to such an extent that a society of Africanists - specialists in African studies - has been established.

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 might to be given to the training of leaders for the new Africa. It can probably be said that ~~was~~ 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 ~~and~~ administrative services or in the political sphere it was the white man who provided the leadership and therefore required the training. The various territories in Africa could get along with a minimum of trained leaders. There are systems of higher education were built up ~~within~~ ^{ago} within these territories. Until a few years ~~ago~~ outside South Africa could be counted in the fingers of one hand. With the rapid increase in the number of territories in Africa which have achieved independence, ~~the~~ and the consequent Africanisation of services the demand for trained personnel has exceeded 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 their 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 of these countries appears to be that whether 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~~ performing this task of providing trained personnel ~~it~~ for 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 southern tip of the continent of Africa has been exposed to western influence and ~~some~~ within what is ~~it~~ now known as the Republic of South Africa an educational system has been developed which ~~empirically~~ compares favourably with systems in countries of similar size 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 overseas universities which have always provided ours 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 serve 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. Most of the non-white students who come here went to the University College of Fort Hare and we at Fort Hare were very proud of the service which we were able to render to students from the High Commission Territories, the Rhodesias, 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 undoubtedly 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 open 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 evidence of 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 could not do so with profit. In this connection universities might give serious consideration to the establishment of adult education courses to which persons of mature age who did not have the benefit of a ^{normal} secondary education in their youth might be admitted. What such persons might lack in youth and in formal education ~~would~~ ^{might} be made up for by their enthusiasm and by singleness of purpose. As persons holding or likely to hold responsible ~~positions~~ positions they would be more likely to take their studies seriously. Such persons might be given courses in ~~politics, economics, history~~ general education with perhaps a bias towards government and ^{public} administration, economics and the social sciences generally. This is something in which ~~the two~~ two or more universities might co-operate, and the idea of

summer schools which ~~has~~ has been used to
 such good effect in the United States to ~~spread~~ ^{extend}
 the benefits of higher education to persons
 who might otherwise not have been able
 to ~~get~~ get these advantages and be useful
 adopted in this regard. No newer university
 colleges in West Africa such as ~~in~~ the Ibadan
 in Nigeria and the University of Ghana
 are doing a great deal in this connection to
 take higher education to ~~adult~~ persons of
 comparatively mature age in their territories.
 The South African universities with their
 long wider experience of higher education in
 Africa could perform an invaluable service
 to the African leaders of today and tomorrow
 if they were to ~~establish such centres~~ make
 available their facilities as centres of
 adult education for the leaders of the
 new Africa.

President Kennedy of the United States has captivated the minds of many in Spain 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 areas to which they go - to fight not men but ignorance, disease, poverty, ill will and misunderstanding between men and man, to help to bring order where there is chaos and stability and ^{progress} 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 life-time in these areas, but to give a few

of the best years of their [✓] lives to a great Cause²¹
- the cause of peace & friendship between the highly
developed and the underdeveloped peoples of the
world.

This is not the first time that ^{the hearts of} university
men and women have been captivated by a call
to service in difficult places. Where the
previously unknown continent had been opened
by the pioneering efforts of ~~some~~ intrepid
explorers, as ~~the~~ Livingston 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 ^{Western} civilization ~~and~~ in
the form of an agency that uplifts and saves
rather than in the form of an agency ~~was~~ that
exploits and destroys led to the establishment,
among others, of the Universities Mission to
Central Africa. The call then was to a
continent and to peoples who had been
ravaged by the "open soul" of the ~~the~~ slave
trade, and who subsequently became subjects

of various colonial powers. Today the call is to
 a different kind of Africa, to an awakened and
 vigilant Africa which does not want to
 barter its new found freedom and independence
~~for~~ for a mess of imperialistic potage,
 an Africa which wants not new masters
 but new co-workers for the amelioration
 of the lot of the human race as a whole.
 It is a glorious challenge which opens up vast
 possibilities for co-operation between peoples
 of different racial groups with different kinds
 of mutually experienced + knowledge which they
 might exchange for their mutual benefit.
 This is a call, a challenge which comes not
 only to universities in other parts of the world
 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
~~the~~ contribution to the development of neighbourly
 relations between the independent states of Africa
 than defence pacts and other outmoded
 forms of international ~~agreements~~ co-operation.

Another service which the universities can render the 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 ~~bad~~ mess of that job. Some of them in their impetuosity to achieve self-determination go so far as to say that self-government however bad it may be is better than ~~good government~~ ^{being} governed by others. It does not look as if we are going to be able to reverse this trend in African 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} countries which for centuries 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 unheeded. 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 that system can be made to fit into the conditions of today. In some areas it might be

be found that chieftainship can be readily supplanted by modern ~~means~~ techniques of government, in others it might not. In some areas the abuse of the system of chieftainship ^{and of tribal applications} by their former rulers might have proceeded so far that the people are not willing to tolerate its 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 interests 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 tribalism~~ Another problem that poses itself is that of the multi-racial character of not a few Spanish colonies. It is being argued that although it may be admitted that Spaniards may be able to rule themselves, the question whether they will be able to rule ^{non} Spaniards on their midst. The problem of how the legitimate rights of different racial groups can be safeguarded in a multi-racial society is one that requires careful study and examination. It is to the universities we must look to examine these problems and to show us possible ways of preserving the foundations of freedom in the emergent states of Spain. Here again I submit that ^{there is a vital role that} the South Spanish universities can play ~~They are~~ ^{As} institutions which have developed in a multi-racial society and they ought on that account to be better prepared to analyze and lay bare the complex problems of adjustment that arise in such a society.

Finally ~~brief~~ reference must be made to the problem of nationalism, whether it be black nationalism or white nationalism.

Another problem on which ~~we~~ ^{many} would appreciate the guidance of students of government and politics is that of the one man-one vote principle. 'One man, one vote' has become a battle-cry throughout the continent of Africa among peoples who although their former systems of government were based on the vox populi (voice of the people) did not ~~practice~~ include the one-man-one-vote in their mechanisms of government. This principle ~~has~~ was brought to Africa by the representatives of western democracies. It was the white man who taught the African that unless an individual possessed the vote, his legitimate interests ^{in the state to which he belonged} would not be safeguarded. In territory after the territory the African experienced the fact that the white man who enjoyed the benefit of the one man-one vote principle was wooed and flattered by every political party & by every government, whereas the ^{individual who} ~~individual who~~ either had no vote or enjoyed a qualified franchise, if any, did not receive the same solicitude. This has been ~~drawn~~ brought home to the African in so many ways that he has come to regard the 'one-man-one-vote' as a panacea for all his ills. Imagine his surprise when he finds the same white man who ^{has} entrenched his position in Africa through the vote now advances the theory that the one-man-one-vote principle is a pernicious principle which will do the African more harm than good if applied to him. As far as the African is concerned the onus is upon those who condemn the application of this principle ^{under African conditions} ~~to demonstrate why the~~ ^{not only} to demonstrate ~~why the~~ the validity of their objections but also to show that the legitimate interests of ~~these~~ all sections of the population

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can be equally effectually protected by the application of
a different principle. The British Colonial Secretary has
tried to do this for Northern Rhodesia ~~but~~ in the new
constitution for that territory but his effort has met with
widespread condemnation on the ground both of its complexity
and of doubts as to whether it will, ^{in fact} safeguard the interests
of all sections of the population. In Southern Rhodesia a similar
constitution has been devised which ~~is~~ apparently ~~satisfies~~
~~the interests~~ of the white population judging by the results
of the recent referendum, but which has left the ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Spanish~~
population leaders apprehensive about the future of their
peoples. Conditions in Spain are complex and call
for flexibility of approach, ^{and} for experimentation and not
assertions about doctrines or principles which are
inconsistent with the realities of the situation.
It is in this connection that we need the
assistance of the universities to examine and explore
the possibilities of various systems of government with
a view to discovering by scientific inquiry and objective
study their merits and demerits from the point of
view of the protection and the promotion of the interests
of all sections of the population. Slogans like
'one man - one vote' may be ~~seen~~ ^{seen} by their simplicity
be deceptive, but at the same time they may
contain elements of truth which must not be glossed
over, and ways and means must be found for giving
effect to the valid elements of the principle and wiping its dangers
if any.

We here in South Africa are 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 African community as was at first hoped. I refer to the "one-man-one vote" principle in land distribution in the Reserves. This was an attempt to democratise the holding of land in the Reserves so ~~that every man~~ as 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 subdivision of land into uneconomic units which make economic self-sufficiency impossible leading to poverty for all, and the universal desire to own land which makes rehabilitation ^{and land reclamation} schemes difficult if not impossible. The moral is that the implications of these ~~simple~~ facile formulae for the solution of complex social problems must be carefully examined - the premises on which they are based, the ~~consequences~~ ^{methodness} ~~of~~ ^{giving effect to them} ~~in~~ ^{to} ~~which~~ they might and the practical results of their application must be laid bare so that ~~an~~ ^{the} ~~choice~~ ^{adoption} of one or other of them might be based on ~~substantiated~~ rational knowledge rather than on ~~no~~ mass hysteria or both. As long as no effective substitute for it is forthcoming, Africans will continue to cling to the "one man - one vote" principle, and responsible leaders will have to give serious attention to the search for an effective substitute.

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 eventuality might be averted by the adoption of rigid constitutions ^{which} the rights of political minority groups might be protected by ironclad ^{enforce} entrenchments. This is a protection which is sought ~~perfectly~~ long particularly by the white minority groups which have held positions of power and privilege in the territories which have been their permanent homes for generations. For the African who has been at the receiving end of domination ~~for so long~~ ^{hitherto} the possibility of the tables being turned ~~is~~ ^{is} naturally ~~not~~ ^{appears} as such a horrifying prospect. Some opinions might even say that it has come as a surprise to them to learn that the European regards the domination of one group by another as an evil. They welcome this realisation by the white man of a fact which has been common place among them. If we have all advanced to the extent of wishing to banish domination of all sorts from our midst, ^{disruption} ^{adequate steps to long} I feel sure that the Africans will be the last to complain about the achievement of that objective. The question that arises is how this banishment of domination is to be achieved. The entrenchment of a bill of rights in the constitution is one suggested solution. Having regard to this experience with the entrenched clauses of the South African Act, Africans can hardly be expected to have much faith in entrenched clauses. Nor is their faith in rigid constitutions increased by the experience of the Negroes in the United States. The Africans I am confident have no desire to dominate anyone. They have had enough of domination not to wish anyone to experience what they have endured for so long. If anyone can come forward with a constitution which will make domination a thing of the past, they will hail such a person as a Hero of Africa. What they will not tolerate is the use of devices such as entrenched Bills of Rights ~~and~~ as techniques for perpetuating the inequalities from which they have suffered for so long.

Another way in which the universities might meet the challenge of the new Spain is through the establishment of cultural relations between the better developed countries and the newly independent states of Spain. Contacts between and exchange of persons ~~are~~ working in the same field in ~~the~~ universities in Spain would undoubtedly prove of mutual benefit. Here again the Americans have led the way. American Foundations have made it possible for many persons from Spanish countries to visit the United States and for Americans to go to Spain.

As Professor Herskovits has pointed out "Under the International Educational Exchange Service (of America), 111 Americans and 271 persons from 17 Spanish 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 Spain and 173 persons from these are to come to the United States. Nine hundred and twenty ICA American experts have since 1950 worked in seven Spanish countries and 252 Spanish participants in these projects have received training in the United States. The number of Spanish students in American universities as indicated, has increased from 114 in 1946-47 to its present 1109"

What is being done by Americans is being done by other countries such as the United Kingdom, Russia, 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 personal contacts and by more intimate knowledge of each other's way of life. If countries so far ~~so~~ remote from Open find it necessary to embark on such programmes it seems nothing short of tragic that the most advanced country on the Continent of Africa should not set in motion such schemes to improve the relations between South Africa and the rest of the independent states of Africa.

Nationalism is a dynamic force which has ^{occupied} played an important place in human history. It has caused its best in Africa and is giving rise to bitter controversy as to whether it is a wholesome or a destructive force. How the legitimate ^{claims} ~~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 ~~char~~ stigmatise 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 endeavour to ^{discover} ~~find~~ the common ground between them on which it might be possible to ~~bring~~ ^{make} them ^{live} 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~~ ^{types} and new to ~~parts~~ ^{types} of reactions to previously existing systems. The central factor in the African awakening is the emergence of new ideas, strange men 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~~ on every side. Some seek for a solution in a resort to force to suppress these strange notions that are ~~spoiling~~ ^{affecting} ~~the~~ the docility of Africans so adversely.

Others pin their faith on attempts to turn the clock back by extolling the virtues of cultures ~~which are the~~ ^{foundations} of bygone days whose ~~bases~~ have been irretrievably undermined by modern ~~conditions~~ social and economic conditions.

Some seek to give ~~old~~ outworn systems a new lease of life by dressing old policies in new look garments such as trusteeship, partnership, ~~para-parallel~~ ~~development~~ 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 their proper perspective. Partial approaches can only ~~lead to~~ result 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

our universities again take the their proper place in the vanguard of progress in the Orient of today.

What Toynbee has said with regard to the impact of western civilization on the world in general applies with particular force to India. 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 of 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 - affecting the behaviour, outlook, feelings and beliefs of individual men, women and children in an intimate way, touching chords in human souls that are not touched by mere external forces - however ponderous and terrifying"

Free universities can make a valuable contribution to ~~making the impact~~ the task of helping the peoples of India in the process of adjustment arising out of the impact of western civilization upon Indian societies