

DR. HOERNLÉ MEMORIAL LECTURE, 1955



EDUCATION

AND

RACE RELATIONS

IN

SOUTH AFRICA

T. B. DAVIE



SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

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The Eleventh Hoernlé Memorial Lecture

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IN
SOUTH AFRICA

*The Interaction
of Educational Policies
and Race Relations
in
South Africa*

By

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THE HOERNLÉ MEMORIAL LECTURE

A lecture, entitled the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture (in memory of the late Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé, President of the Institute from 1934 to 1943), will be delivered once a year under the auspices of the South African Institute of Race Relations. An invitation to deliver the lecture will be extended each year to some person having special knowledge and experience of racial problems in Africa or elsewhere.

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

Previous lecturers have been the Rt Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr (Christian Principles and Race Problems), Dr E. G. Malherbe (Race Attitudes and Education), Prof. W. M. Macmillan (Africa beyond the Union), Sen. Dr the Hon. E. H. Brookes (We Come of Age), Prof. I. D. MacCrone (Group Conflicts and Race Prejudices), Mrs A. W. Hoernlé (Penal Reform and Race Relations), Dr H. J. van Eck (Some Aspects of the South African Industrial Revolution), Prof. S. Herbert Frankel (Some Reflections on Civilization in Africa), Prof. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (Outlook for Africa), Dr Emory Ross (Colour and Christian Community).

Marcus Aurelius: *“For it is the truth that I seek after, by which I am sure that never any man was hurt; and as sure that he is hurt that continueth in any error, or ignorance whatsoever.”*

Education and Race Relations in South Africa

Race relationships a problem for 300 years

Race relations have been prominent in South Africa as a subject for discourse, debate, or public address for very many years — probably since the very beginning of Van Riebeeck's settlement. Throughout the whole of the last three hundred years the relationship between the growing, land-hungry community of white European settlers and the indigenous Native inhabitants has been the main theme in these considerations; but at various times in our history the relationship between the major sections of the white communities has assumed even greater importance and has influenced all the other race relationships to some extent.

Inter-white friction

Among such periods in our history when inter-white racial differences have created legislative, administrative, or political problems, can be cited the period following the settlement of the Huguenots in the Cape in 1689, the period following the annexation of the Cape in 1802, the period which led up to and followed the Great Trek of 1836, the years immediately preceding and following the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, the quinquennium following the outbreak of the first world war with its local rebellion in South Africa in 1914, and the present period which dates from the outbreak of the second world war in 1939. All these periods of strained race relations, except the first, have arisen from differences of outlook and policy between the Afrikaans-speaking and the English-speaking sections of the community. This unfortunate conflict between the two groups who today lay claim to "South African" nationality has on occasion very nearly disappeared, but for various reasons has recurred in bitter form throughout the last one hundred and fifty years, and is probably about as bad now as it has ever been. In many ways, in fact, it is worse than it was immediately after the Anglo-Boer War, because then there was certainly a very widespread effort on both sides to avoid conflict and to seek mutual understanding, while today there is all too little evidence of such conciliatory activities.

These recurrent exacerbations of national differences have inevitably influenced political and social policies and practices and have left their indelible mark also on the educational system not only of the white population, but also of the non-white groups. In this respect the present period is more fraught with discord than any in our history because it is unfortunately true that one of the major political issues of our times, viz., that of **apartheid**, is very largely (though not by any means entirely) linked with the English **versus** the Afrikaner point of view. However much we attempt to avoid acknowledging the political influences at work in educational fields, there can be little doubt that the divergence of policies regarding the provision of university education for Non-Europeans is directly linked with the differences of aims and ideals of the two groups of universities in the country, viz., the Afrikaans-medium universities of Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein, and Potchefstroom on the one hand, and those of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Natal, and Rhodes on the other.

Higher education: influenced by racial or national policies

It is in the awareness of this unfortunate state of affairs that I propose to examine the interaction of race relationships and higher education today in South Africa and to seek a solution to some of the many national problems which face us in this field. I shall attempt to deal with this subject as an educationist, but it is inevitable that opinions when expressed on questions of policy and principle can be regarded as voicing political views. This danger one must face, or run the greater risk of being regarded as devoid of plan, policy, or principle — in fact, of being without a personality.

In discussing higher education I shall confine myself to that which is provided by the universities. To a very large extent the interaction as seen in the universities between racial relations and higher educational policy and practice is similar to that in other institutions in which education or training beyond the school stage is provided, e.g., teacher-training colleges, theological seminaries, technical colleges, agricultural colleges, and business colleges. It will be recognized, too, that in South Africa many of these aspects of specialist training are in fact provided within the universities so that these institutions do represent higher education as a whole

to a much greater degree than do the universities of Europe and North America.

Functions of a university

In order to determine whether higher education in universities is being affected by the relations between white and non-white, between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking, it is essential that we should have a clear concept of the functions and ideals of universities in general.

According to the concepts prevalent in our western democracies, a university is essentially a gathering or collection of persons whose object is the search for the truth. It aims at the pursuit, preservation, and dissemination of learning, and it seeks knowledge for its own sake irrespective of its apparent usefulness or otherwise. It demands of all who foregather under its wing absolute intellectual integrity; it prizes scholarship and research as the major requirements of those who work within its walls and it fights at all times to secure the fullest measure possible of academic freedom, in the atmosphere of which, experience has shown, that learning flourishes best.

The "universality" of the university is in general regarded as one of its basic requirements. Its doors should at all times be open to everyone who can benefit by or contribute to its teaching. Its desire for freedom from interference is primarily directed to what is taught, but is inextricably bound up also with who shall teach and who shall be taught.

The modern university is, however, not divorced from the realities of the modern state, as it might well be if it aimed at achieving its aims within the ivory towers of isolation away from the disturbing maelstrom of industry and commerce, the professions, the public service, etc. Its own requirements for enquiry and research are such that it spends annually large sums of money in order to be able to function efficiently. This money cannot be expected entirely from the students who come seeking knowledge, and it must therefore be obtained from other private or state sources. In return for this financial support the university undertakes to safeguard the state in providing the training for and ensuring the intellectual standards of the men and women who

enter the learned professions or undertake the higher levels of its public service. The universities therefore undertake a large amount of formal instruction in the theory and principles of, and provide a good deal of the technological training for, the professions, usually with the assistance of the professions themselves through their associations or institutes.

The university's responsibility to the state

This responsibility to the state is taken seriously and has generally been found satisfactory in most of the countries of the continent of Europe, and in North America, in fact generally in those countries where the political set-up is that referred to as western democracy. In these countries the state avoids interference with the policies and practice of the universities directed towards the ideals expressed above. This, however, is not true of all other countries, nor yet is it always entirely true even in countries which have obviously adopted the ideals of western democracy. In Germany under Hitler the universities ceased claiming their right to academic freedom and instead acquiesced (apparently willingly at the time) in state control of staff, admissions, and curriculum. Staff and students whose antecedents failed to evince the pure Nordic line of descent were excluded from the universities and a gruesome phase of indoctrination in the policy of the **Herrenvolk** was inaugurated which completely altered the content of the teaching and the standard of the education of the universities. Similarly, in Russia today the political tenets of communism are imprinted by indoctrination on all the young men and women who pass through the Russian universities. In these countries, and this is probably true also of many other countries, including all behind the Iron Curtain, the main function of the university was changed from that of the search for truth to one of training for the state. The ideals of academic freedom and intellectual integrity were rejected in favour of inculcating the concept of the over-riding claims of the state and the blind submission of the individual to its ideologies.

The South African universities — what is their aim?

Where do the South African universities stand? Are they ranged on the side of those whose aim is the search for truth for

its own sake and who base their practices on the ideals of complete academic freedom and an open door, or have they adopted as their aim the training of youth for service to the state and is their practice in respect of staff, students, and curricula governed by this ideal? This is a fundamental question.

It is undoubtedly true that there is a great difference of opinion between the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking sections on the educational policy generally, and while it is generally true that these differences of viewpoint are essentially between two groups of whites or Europeans, there can be little doubt that they have already affected the race relations between Europeans and Non-Europeans and are today influencing more strongly than ever before the policy of the country towards the Non-Europeans in general. It is desirable, therefore, that there should be a clear understanding of the educational aspects of the problem under discussion. As was said earlier, it is almost inevitable that the issues considered can and may be given political and even party-political value; but it will be my earnest endeavour to avoid the attitude of the party politician and to restrict the discussion to its paedagogic terrain.

The two opposed "functions" of a university

It must be made clear from the outset that there is nothing inviolably virtuous in the one ideal of the functions of a university as compared with the other. Training for service to the state is not *per se* a function inferior to the search for truth; nor can it be claimed for those who maintain the open door policy and seek to maintain complete academic freedom in all its aspects, that their universities are therefore better than others in which discrimination is exercised in admission and where sacrifices of academic freedom have been made in the interests of other factors affecting the financial, social, or political status of the university. Nevertheless, the differences between the concepts of the function and of the related policy of our universities cannot in fact be dismissed thus lightly even if we must continue to keep in mind that there is nothing sacrosanct to either side: it is in the working out of these ideals and policies that the potentialities for good or evil are evinced.

The search for truth for its own sake is a high ideal. It can, however, only too easily lead to the inculcation of an attitude of divorcement from the realities of life against which can only be set the high sense of responsibility the university is called upon to exercise in meeting its debt to the people and to the state. Training for service to the state is no mean ideal. Service to God, to the community, to fellow man — all these are upheld as laudable in the highest sense. Why not, then, “service to the state”? The “state”, however, can and often does come to be interpreted as the organization designed to further the interests of that section of the people which for the time being is politically in power, rather than the organization which works for the welfare of all its people by ensuring the rights and liberties of each of its individuals. Whenever there is reason to believe that service to the state means service to a sectional ideology, then the acceptance of training for such service as the ideal of function of the university is fraught with risks of a serious nature.

The open door or restricted admission?

The policy of maintaining the open door to staff, students, and ideas, i.e., the acceptance of the ideal of the universality of a university with all it implies of freedom from interference in respect of appointment of staff, admission of students, methods of instruction, and content of curricula, can theoretically be maintained and even practised under the banner of an over-all, proclaimed function of training for service to the state. But in practice this has apparently never been the case; and the human element being what it is, it would appear to be impossible in the stage of civic and social development to which civilization has thus far brought us.

Wherever universities have adopted training for service to the state as their policy or function, there have been found discriminations against persons (staff and students) on grounds associated with ideologies and there have appeared, too, perversions of the truth in content of teaching which possibly at first were no more than undue stresses of sectionally significant aspects, but which have often developed into gross and flagrant exercises of indoctrination for palpably ideological interests.

The state in relation to South African universities

We return now to the question: "Where do the universities stand?" The answer is not an obvious or simple one and any attempt to provide this answer must admittedly be restricted in value by the absence of any general enunciation of policy or ideals by the universities.

There are at present nine institutions which rank as universities and one university college (Fort Hare Native College). If, from the list of nine, we exclude the non-residential and largely "correspondence" institution, the University of South Africa, we have eight, equally divided between Afrikaans-medium (Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Orange Free State, and Potchefstroom) and English-medium (Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Natal, and Rhodes). All eight are state-aided, which today means that, while they are financed from three sources — treasury grant, student fees, and private income from bequests, donations, etc. — in all cases more than fifty per cent. of their income comes directly from the state.

Differences between the two groups of universities

The English-medium and the Afrikaans-medium universities differ in more than the language of instruction. In the first place, the location of the universities has largely determined the racial groups of the student body. The mainly English-speaking populations of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and the Eastern Province on the one hand, and the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking people of Pretoria and of the country districts of the Western Province and of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal on the other, have not only determined the medium of instruction in their respective centres, but have also largely determined the ethnic, social, and geographical groupings of the students attending these individual institutions. Thus it comes about that the students in these two groups of universities show quite a well-marked division not only in racial origin and home language, but also in religion, in political background, and in their degree of urbanization. In the Afrikaans-medium universities there is a larger proportion of students from farms, villages, and small towns than there is in the English-medium universities, and the majority are adherents of the Calvinistic Protestantism of the Dutch Reformed Churches, as opposed to the episcopalian,

Free Church, and Jewish religious backgrounds of the majority of students in the English universities.

In the second place, the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction places a restriction on the supply of lecturing staff. Fortunately the Afrikaner is a great believer in the value of higher education, and the pool of university trained men and women on which these universities draw has in recent years grown rapidly. Nevertheless, there is a risk of inbreeding, especially as the overseas supply of staff suitably equipped linguistically is today almost entirely limited to Hollanders and Flemish-speaking Belgians. The English-medium universities on the other hand do not suffer from this disadvantage; such limitation as has occurred in the flow of teachers from Great Britain, America, or the Dominions has been occasioned by other factors, economic and political. The staffs, therefore, of the two groups of universities are apt to show striking differences. In general it will be found that in the English-medium universities the ideals are those of Great Britain in respect of the policies of the open door and complete academic freedom, whereas neither of these aspects of university practice receives similar attention in the Afrikaans-medium institutions.

I make no attempt to assess the rightness or wrongness of the respective attitudes of our two groups of universities, or to evaluate their relative contributions to the welfare of the state. At this stage I am concerned with indicating as clearly as possible that these differences exist, where possible to explain the basis of their origins, to show their influence on race relations in general in our multi-racial society, and ultimately I hope to indicate some ways in which the harmful features of these differences might be minimized.

The results of the differences between our universities

The results of these differences are several, but the most important one relevant to this discussion is the practice in relation to the policy of the open door. It is significant that whereas in the English-medium universities the open door policy in relation to South Africa's Non-Europeans is operative to some extent in each of the four, there is complete and rigid exclusion of the Non-European as staff or student in all four of the Afrikaans-medium universities. This may be nothing more than an expres-

sion of that university autonomy which all universities seek in the management of their finances and administration; but when it is linked, as is the case, with a publicly pronounced, party-political, governmental policy, then it may justifiably be regarded as evidence that these four universities do not regard as essential to their well-being the continual striving towards the ideals of universality, and also that they do not attach to their concept of academic freedom the same desiderata in respect of staff and students as do the English-medium universities.

This is not the time or place to argue the reasons why in our multi-racial society it is the desire of at least some of the universities that the Non-European should be admitted to the academic benefits of university education without any discrimination against him on the grounds of race or colour. The recent government commission of enquiry into the practicability and cost of providing separate training for the Non-Europeans in our universities did, however, give opportunity for the enunciation of views and policies; and there is no doubt that in the memoranda of at least two of the Afrikaans-medium universities the government policy of segregation of the Non-European by discrimination based on colour, with the associated concept of white supremacy, was accepted as university policy as well. The contrary view, that it was in the interests of university education, as also of the country, that there should be no such discrimination in the academic fields, was enunciated with equal force by two at least of the English-medium universities. The report of this commission has not as yet (at the time of writing) been published. One member of the Cabinet has, however, assured his audience at a party congress that the government will proceed to provide separate university training for the Non-European and thus put an end to the mixing of colours in some of the universities. Whether this was an inspired forecast of the Commission's recommendations or merely a repetition of similar promises or threats made at frequent intervals in recent times by leading members of the government, time alone will show.

Student opinion: Similar basis of division among South African universities

This difference of policy in relation to admission of Non-Europeans to our universities is not confined to the Councils,

Senates, and staff associations of the universities: it extends also to the student bodies. As far back as 1924 the students of all the universities and university colleges then in being created, through their representative councils, a National Union of South African Students (N.U.S.A.S.) which for many years operated successfully in the interests of students generally. Since 1933, however, one after the other, the Afrikaans-medium universities have disaffiliated themselves and have joined a new and separate organization, Die Afrikaanse Studentebond (A.S.B.). Repeated efforts on the part of N.U.S.A.S. during the last six or seven years to effect a reconciliation have all broken down eventually on the one point, viz., the demand from the Afrikaans-medium universities that all Non-Europeans should be excluded from membership or at least from all student congresses, though a concession was suggested whereby conferences at the executive level might be attended by Non-Europeans, provided they represented their own race groups only.

Cultural and political divisions as counterpart of educational differences

It is abundantly apparent, therefore, that there are fundamental differences in ideal and policy between the two groups of universities, and there is evidence, too, that these differences, which are at least to some extent linked with the two main European elements in South Africa, viz., those derived from Afrikaner stock and those descended from British, are being manifested also in many other fields of the social, cultural, economic, and political structure of South Africa. In particular, the political differences are today very frequently "racial" in their expression, though this is constantly and still widely denied, and the desire to carry into the academic field some of the political compulsory enactments is liable to become a serious potential cause of dissension and discord within the universities. It is not difficult to understand why or how have arisen these urgent desires for the fulfilment of the Afrikaner's claims not only to complete equality with his English counterpart, but also to the right to dominate and control the internal policies of the Union, especially in respect of Native and other Non-European relationships with the Europeans. But to understand is not necessarily to

agree or even to accept without protest. There are too many grave issues at stake in this schism between the two sections of South Africans, and no ultimate good will come from keeping silent in the hope that everything will eventually work out well. To baulk the issue now by pretending to be unaware of the consequences is to invite disaster even worse than what may follow a frank discussion.

The difference between the ideals and policies of the two groups of universities, and it largely expresses the differences between the ideologies of the two main political groups in South Africa, is serious enough in its possible effects on the universities, but its effects extend much further afield. It determines also the educational policy of the whole country from infant school through primary to secondary and high school, and furthermore does so too in respect of all Non-European, and particularly Native, education. Whether the divergence in aims in the universities is the outcome of the policy of the separation of the English and the Afrikaner in the primary and part of the secondary school, or is itself actually the origin of the policy of the provincial governments towards unilingual schools and the enforcement of the home language principle, is probably of no material significance. What is significant, however, is the fact that from the Afrikaans-medium universities passes out a steady stream of men and women who are imbued with a zealous desire to implement the policy of the nationalist Afrikaner group in relation to the Non-European.

Consequences of educational policy

There are three features of our higher educational policy which might have serious consequences. Firstly, there is an apparent intention on the part of the government and its supporters to enforce certain aspects of their policy on the whole of South Africa. Quite apart from the danger to the unity of structure which compulsion carries as an inherent risk, there is, what should be obvious to the party in power, the psychological damage which is inflicted on themselves by those who force their will on others. Secondly, there is in this educational policy an apparently unequivocal attack on the concept of a South Africanism large enough to embrace both Afrikaner and English-descended elements. And thirdly, there arise from the educational policy, as it affects

the English and the Afrikaans elements, issues which are determining the future education of the Coloured and Native elements in a way which seems to be provocative of embitterment and opposition amongst the Non-Europeans. Further consideration of the first two points will be relevant in later discussions. At this stage I wish to consider further and in some detail the effect on Non-European education of this divergence of views on the functions and purpose of education at the highest (university) level.

Present type of education in European schools

It will, I think, be generally conceded that if the leaders of educational thought, the advisers to the government, and the principal officers in the Union and provincial educational systems are trained in universities in which the main objective is training for service to the state, then it is highly probable that all the educational policies and practices of the country as a whole will to a considerable extent be directed to this aim. Ordinarily education at the primary school level aims at imparting the skills of reading, writing, and reckoning, and of supplying factual information in a number of the facets of the child's environment. From early stages, and more particularly at the secondary school stage, the child is given some instruction of an essentially practical or technical nature in which the use of the hands as well as of the head is developed. In the secondary and high schools the same type of education is continued, broadened and intensified to include scientific, linguistic, literary, and other cultural studies. During the course of these secondary school years the child may be transferred to courses of specialized training in technical or commercial fields, and at the end of the secondary school course the students are given certificates indicating their standard of education according to which they are appraised socially, commercially, or intellectually. Those who have achieved the standard necessary to enable them to benefit by university instruction are accorded matriculation, and it is from these that the universities draw their students. The ideal or aim throughout has been the development of the personality of the child to the full of its capabilities.

Non-European education

Up to the present the schooling of the Non-European in South Africa has followed the same lines as that of the European, with

a greater stress on the practical and handicraft side even in the lowest classes. New legislation, however, is likely to change this completely.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953

There has been much criticism of the government's Bantu Education Act, and opposition to it has come from most of the Christian Churches as well as from the Africans and their sympathizers. These criticisms are based on a variety of factors in the provisions of the Act. The proponents of the Act maintain that the criticisms are unjustified and that the African child will, in future, be better off educationally than he has been in the past. The political and religious aspects of this Act can be left for discussion by others; we shall direct our attention to the paedagogic policy enunciated and examine its practical effects from infant school to university.

The present position

At present the total number of schools in and out of the reserves is quite inadequate. Only about twenty-five per cent. of the African children ever see the inside of a schoolroom, i.e., about three-quarters of the African children will reach puberty and adult life without any schooling as we know it. Of those who are in schools at any one time, fifty per cent. are in the sub-standards A and B and only twenty-five per cent. are in classes above standard II. Of every thousand children who enter standard I, only four reach the matriculation classes. The total number of all Non-Europeans in universities today is just over one thousand, of which a little more than half are Africans.

This is not a very bright picture, but it is not as depressing as some would make out. At least the opportunities for education, according to the ability of the child to benefit by it, are not withheld. True, the economic factor above all else pushes the child into the labour market at the earliest possible moment. The expense to the state of providing schooling is high, and it is possible that to provide even primary school education on a compulsory basis for all African children would be more than the present economy can carry. If this is so, then it behoves us as educationists to ask that attention should be given to the need for

alterations in our economy — new or increased direct or indirect taxation — which will remedy such an inexcusable state of affairs. There may be many explanations of how the situation has arisen, but there can be no excuse for the maintenance of a state of affairs in which no provision is made for the education (even of the simplest type) of so many thousands of African children.

The new Act: increase in numbers of children to be admitted

The present Bantu Education Act can claim as its first merit that it is trying to remedy this great evil to some extent. By some restriction of the length of the school day (from four to three hours) for the pupil, and by introducing two sessions into every teaching day, the number of children who can be admitted to the existing schools is immediately doubled. The restricted daily amount of teaching is a retrogressive step, but its effect need not be so serious if measures can be introduced to induce the child to stay longer at school. At the earliest stages of schooling there will be little difference between a three-hour or a four-hour school day in respect of the amount of knowledge acquired: this will become serious later when the child is old enough to concentrate on the acquisition of factual knowledge. Doubling the classes, once the standards have been reached, will have a serious, restrictive effect on the value of the teaching. Educationally the experiment is worth trying on the grounds of expediency, i.e., in the absence of the money and, more particularly, of the teacher personnel which would be necessary to improve on orthodox lines the present state of affairs; these proposals of the Bantu Education Act are at least capable of being directed towards improving the position to some extent.

Mother tongue and the two official, European languages

The second feature of the Act which calls for paedagogic discussion is the insistence on mother tongue medium of instruction coupled with the teaching of the elements of both the official European languages of the country, English and Afrikaans. On the face of it, there can be no objection to the aims so expressed. The use of the mother tongue for all general education and the teaching of the mother tongue itself are not only justifiable in the case of the African child, but as highly desirable in his case as in that of

his European counterpart. Two factors must, however, be borne in mind in relation to the teaching of the official European languages of South Africa. Firstly, as I have said in another connection, the learning of a language presents no difficulties to young children. At the age of about four to seven, the child's ear picks up a strange language with remarkable ease, its tongue formulates the new sounds without difficulty, and, being without linguistic self-consciousness, the child will attempt to express itself on all matters in the new medium. But all this is dependent on its interest being maintained and on the provision of frequent practice in the "foreign" language. On the other occasion when I spoke of this, we were considering the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking children who could be expected to learn each other's language in a dual-medium or parallel-medium school. In such cases the social and play interests provide all the stimuli necessary. In the case of the African child, there is little likelihood that play interest and social interests will influence the child during school hours towards the easy acquisition of one or both of the European languages. There is, however, another interest which may replace the more natural one of childhood. It has been the experience of all teachers in African schools that the innate desire for learning is so strong and the parental desire for fluency in a European language so potent that the "book interest" in African children is almost a complete compensation for the lack of the personal play interest of the European schools. Teachers and parents have little difficulty in stimulating the children towards maintained exercise of the European language, provided the child is given the appropriate books or other reading matter. I stress this point particularly, as it bears directly on the much criticized postulate of the Act that the instruction in English and Afrikaans must be such as will render intelligible the direction or control which must be imposed on them in order that they might fit into the prescribed social structure of the community.

Bantu education different from European education

There can be little doubt that it is the intention of the framers of the Act that the education of the African child shall be different from that of the European and, further, that this difference shall establish and perpetuate an inferior status in the African in

relation to the European. The education of the child is therefore not intended to stimulate the development of its intellect and character, but to prepare it for a certain service to the state: a service which is primarily that of servant of the Europeans and secondly one which carries with it no promise of advancement towards the eventual social and political status which he covets in order to benefit to the full under western democracy.

Since this trend is to be given to the education of the African child from the time he first enters school, it will obviously affect also the type of education to be provided in the upper standards of the primary school, as well as the curriculum of the high school. The obvious tendency will be towards technical schooling at the high school stage and towards practical handicrafts and commercial and agricultural training before that, and these will not be without great value to the African. The result of his schooling will be of immediate and obvious benefit to him and to his people, but the change of stress will only be justified if the child with the ability and the bent for education in the humanities and sciences as we teach them to the European child, is not thereby deprived of his "right to knowledge". Particularly does this become important for the African child whose intellectual abilities fit him for university education. At present such cases have at least a reasonable chance of entering the College of Fort Hare or the Universities of Natal (Sastri College), Witwatersrand, or Cape Town. The terms of reference of the government commission of 1954 on the training of the Non-European in our universities did at least envisage alternative provision for such university facilities. True, the alternative schemes of education as proposed in some of the memoranda submitted were firmly based on an educational system divorced from that of the European universities and which showed unmistakably the intention to limit the facilities in both the fundamental and the applied or professional faculties to those courses of study which were regarded as suitable for the lower social status of the Non-Europeans.

The university outlook for the African student under the Bantu Education Act is much more uncertain. There is no specific directive concerning scope or content of curriculum, but the chances of fostering that eager zest for knowledge which is the hallmark of the real and best candidates for university education

will be slight indeed. The mentally depressing effect of the atmosphere surrounding the indoctrination of the master-servant relationship cannot but suppress most of the aspirations of the potential scholar and produce a sense of embittered frustration in those who, surviving the primary and high schools, enter the universities with even less hope than now of a recognition of their "right to knowledge and the free use thereof."*

Education of the Coloured, in school and university

The education of the Coloured has up to the present followed the European pattern and, while the proportion of children reaching high school and university has been much smaller than in the case of Europeans, there has nevertheless been a considerable and increasing number who have done so. Their standard of intelligence and their capacity for absorbing a university education have in our experience been in every way equal to those of their European counterparts. Whether the future education of the Coloured children is to remain as now, will probably be decided by the report of the government commission which is at present investigating all aspects of Coloured education. It may, however, be significant that in the memoranda submitted by one of the Afrikaans-medium universities to the commission on separate training for the Non-Europeans in our universities, it was specifically indicated that Coloured, like African, students were to be excluded from all European universities and that they were to be segregated in Non-European institutions, each of which would be under the guardianship of one of the existing European universities. Perhaps of even more significance was the further proposal that the guardian university for the coloured university was to be Stellenbosch and not Cape Town, and for the African-Sotho university, Pretoria and not the Witwatersrand — significant because while at present the Universities of the Witwatersrand and of Cape Town accord full academic equality to European and Non-European students, the Universities of Stellenbosch and of Pretoria have not at any time knowingly admitted a single Non-European student, Coloured, Asian, or African.

*The "theme" of the tercentenary celebrations (1954) of Columbia University, New York.

The outlook for Non-Europeans generally

The educational outlook for the Non-European in South Africa cannot therefore be regarded as other than depressing. Recent legislation and the opinions and projects propounded by those claiming to be in sympathy with the government when giving evidence before commissions investigating educational facilities, practice, and policy, all indicate a desire and determination to provide for the Non-European only such educational facilities as, in the opinion of these paedagogic experts, will fit him for service of the white man in a strictly limited range of industrial and agricultural activities. The promise of opportunities for full development within the boundaries of his tribal or native culture has little or no attraction for the African of today, who sees in this the deliberate withholding from him of the vaunted privileges and benefits of the civilization for which he is supposed to become fitted by education. The future under this form of European tutelage is barren of opportunity and bereft of hope.

The situation is depicted as objectively as possible, but it is recognized that others may interpret present trends in very different ways. There can, however, be little question that the thinking Non-European of South Africa today is in no doubt as to his antagonism to the present and projected educational policy and more so still to the manifest and declared attitude of mind regarding the continuance of the master-servant relationship between European and Non-European. I have indicated that the Non-European point of view meets the greatest degree of opposition in the Afrikaans-medium universities, while it finds some, though a variable, measure of sympathy in the English-medium universities.

Divergence of policies associated with universities

I wish to stress again that the divergence in concept of the function of a university is part and parcel of this clash in policies, a clash which can unfortunately lead to grave dissension between English-medium and Afrikaans-medium universities and university men. It may not be possible to satisfy all people as to which of the two policies is the right or the wrong one; but the effect of the policies can be measured, and the results of their application in the future can be estimated, or at least discussed and forecast.

If the policy of the government in South Africa in respect of Non-European education becomes specifically and avowedly defined as intended to provide an education which will fit him for a place in a society where his social and political status will for all time be inferior in relation to that of the European, then it follows logically that there can be no place for him in the universities to which Europeans are admitted. The concept of academic equality could not be maintained coincidentally with that of a master-servant relationship, and any attempt to do so would introduce a degree of discord and dissension within the universities which would be incompatible with good work. Under such a policy separate and distinct universities, or other institutions for higher education, would be used for training rather than educating the Non-European in those branches of higher learning which could be utilized by him in the limited fields of private enterprise, public service, or professional practice permitted to him. The aims and the standards of these institutions would be geared to the lower requirements of the Non-European, and in the case of the Africans they would further be adapted to develop tribal and native cultures.

The Non-European reaction

The immediate reaction of the Non-European to such a policy will obviously be one of the strongest opposition on the part of those among them who have themselves been students in mixed or European universities. Among the non-academic Non-Europeans there might be some tendency to welcome anything which could improve their chances of higher education through the necessity for establishing new and additional institutions, etc. There can, however, be little doubt that the over-all reaction will be one of the deepest disappointment arising from frustrated hopes. Such is already the reaction of a high proportion of the Non-European students in the segregated colleges of Fort Hare and Sastri (Durban), and this attitude will almost certainly spread if the outcome of the Education Act is the adoption of a university policy which accentuates the segregational features of present university practice.

On the other hand, if the policy adopted is one permitting of the encouragement of an academic education similar to that of the European student and the continuance of the present practice of

permitting certain universities to admit Non-Europeans on a basis of academic equality with all other students, then we must face the fact that the numbers of Non-Europeans seeking and meriting admission to the universities will rise in the easily foreseeable future to an extent which will demand action on an extensive scale. In the first place it will be true that the proportion and numbers of Non-Europeans in the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand will increase, and the question arises whether the excellent, friendly relations between the European and the Non-European student which exist today will continue when the proportion of non-white to white approaches or exceeds equality. I do not believe that anyone can answer that question with any degree of certainty, but experience elsewhere and world trends in race relationships in other countries indicate that these things are taken in their stride by the students, and that there is little or no antipathy among them to such developments. New universities to meet these requirements in new towns and areas, as opposed to extensions of existing universities, would be erected primarily in areas of Non-European concentrations, and, in accordance with the suggestion above for the basis of this picture of the future, each of these would determine its own policy in respect of mixed admissions. The position might thus arise that amongst such new and primarily Non-European universities, some would be mixed with varying though probably small proportions of European students, while others would exclude such admixture altogether and be purely Non-European institutions, in some cases possibly even of one ethnic group only.

“Junior Colleges” of the future

A very real possibility which might arise at any stage in the future provision of additional universities to meet the growing needs of both Europeans and Non-Europeans is the establishment of institutions of a type similar to the “Junior College” of the U.S.A. These institutions meet a particular need in America and could do so in South Africa as well. They are institutions of higher or post-matriculation education limited to two-year courses of instruction. They work in conjunction with some established, full university with whose courses of instruction their own can be integrated and by whom they will then be recognized. Students

proceeding to the junior college are of three groups: (a) those requiring, or at least envisaging, a finishing course of two years of the humanities or of purely cultural studies; (b) those who, desiring to complete a full or ordinary university course, are unable for economic, domestic, medical, or other reasons to proceed immediately to the full university, but expect to be able to do so after completing the first two years in the junior college; and (c) those who attend specially designed applied or professional courses of university standing but of a professional content capable of complete or satisfactory training within the two-year programme. Amongst such courses which come to mind are refrigeration engineering, certain grades of teaching, nursing tutors and other senior nursing posts, medical aides, certain grades of business administration and salesmanship, legal studies for the public service examinations, etc. The possibilities are numerous, and applications for admission to the junior colleges in America exceed vacancies. The success of these institutions is in large part attributed to the fact that admission is voluntary, that there is no direction of students to them, and that there is thus no stigma of inferiority, particularly since at any stage in the two years any student may transfer without loss of time to the full university or college with which his junior college is associated.

In South Africa we do not by any means feed into our universities all the matriculated students whose intellectual equipment fits them for university education. On the other hand, we do receive into our universities many students who are not really fitted intellectually for full university courses of training. For many of these students, who become the lame ducks and often the tragic rejects of the universities, the junior college could be the answer. Even more will there be need for such provision if there is a great increase in the Non-European matriculated applicants for admission to our universities. For many and obvious reasons there will for some time to come be a higher proportion of Non-European than of European students who will just not be able to make the full grade. This proportion will, in my opinion, fall rapidly as the economic, social, and educational background and environment of the future African student assume similarity to or parity with those of the European student; but many years will elapse before that is so generally true as to abolish this aspect of

the need for something like the junior college described above. By that time, in any case, I feel confident that the other reasons for providing the facilities particular to the functions of the junior college will have established these institutions firmly in the educational edifice.

The potentialities of utilizing restricted institutions of this type in the field of higher education might well attract advocates of the policy aiming at a somewhat inferior type of university training for the Non-European. In that form it has no place in this section of this discussion; here it is recommended as a free, voluntary, specialized institution, additional and not alternative to the full college or university and thereby meeting the special needs of a well-defined group of students. No stigma of inferiority can be attached to it if it is to succeed.

Possibilities of alternative educational policy

In the primary schools which provide all the education for the great majority of all African children who attend school, the alternative to a Bantu type of education is obviously a European type possibly modified to make it the more easily assimilable. If the African is to be segregated for all time, if he is not to be integrated in any way into the economic, social, and political structure of the South Africa of the future, then a Bantu type of education taught through the medium of the mother tongue, with Bantu custom and culture as background and a clearcut understanding of the race-relationship vis-à-vis the European, is justified. But if segregation is impossible or is to be partial only, then integration at all levels — economic, political, and social — must be envisaged as a long-term possibility and the educational policy should be directed accordingly. Without going into any detail, it will be obvious that while mother tongue instruction is obviously desirable, particularly in the beginning, it will be necessary to direct much time towards imparting a knowledge of one or both of the official European languages of the country and towards developing a knowledge of the civic and social structure, with an appreciation of the responsibilities and privileges associated with participation in modern, civilized society.

Capacity of universities to meet additional demands

Of those who pass on to the secondary schools, and the number of these will unquestionably increase steadily if not rapidly for many years to come, an increasing proportion will follow the non-technical curricula leading to matriculation and thus become potential university students, which raises the question whether the universities are capable of dealing with this expected increase in the demand for higher education, and, if not, how it is to be provided. The problem is by no means confined to the African; there is good reason to believe that similar though not numerically comparable increases in student numbers can be expected in the Coloured and Indian communities. The over-all total of Non-Europeans seeking higher education at present can be dealt with by the four institutions which make provision of one type or another for their university education and, with possibly some additional buildings of no great expense, the problem of accommodation will not be an urgent one. It must, however, be clearly understood that the limitation to the numbers seeking university education is so largely an economic one that any marked improvement in the earning capacity of the Non-Europeans, especially if associated with enhanced social status, may well lead to a very rapid increase in demands for academic and professional training.

Provision merely for the anticipated increase in numbers is not, however, all that is required; access to an increasing variety of applied and professional courses of study will be necessary. This will undoubtedly produce the first strain. In the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, where there is at present no colour discrimination to academic benefits and few restrictions to admission to the varied courses provided, there will for some time be room to accommodate the applicants to the basic faculties of arts and science and, to a lesser extent, to some of the applied or professional faculties such as education, law, commerce, social science, music, and fine art. It will, however, not be long before any marked increase in numbers in the faculties of medicine, engineering, architecture, and agriculture would create a serious state of overcrowding. The provision in Durban of a medical school specially for the training of Non-Europeans as doctors has eased the pressure to some extent in the medical schools of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, but that school is not at present

capable of dealing with all the Non-European medical students, let alone all the matriculated applicants for medical training, who would seek admission if the doors of Wits. and U.C.T. were closed to them. Both in Natal and Fort Hare the available courses of study are at present largely confined to the faculties of arts and science, and even within these there is at present only a limited range of subjects. Expansion in these two institutions is therefore essential, particularly as they are located in the heart of areas densely populated by Africans and in which the future demands for university education can be expected to rise sharply.

There is, however, also another aspect of provision for the future. There is no doubt at all that if the wishes of the Non-European himself are to be taken into account, then the present provision for his higher education in Natal will not be regarded as satisfactory. The segregational measures there are viewed with strong disfavour and, if in our future policy we proceed on a basis of healthy co-operation between Europeans and Africans, then the restriction of the latter to the buildings of Sastri College and their exclusion from those of Howard College in Durban and the whole portion of the Natal University at Pietermaritzburg will not for long be regarded as acceptable. Similarly the College at Fort Hare, though recognized as having been of the greatest value in meeting the needs of the African for higher education, is already regarded by the younger generation as an anachronism in its elements of segregation, isolation, and restriction of facilities.

There is thus every prospect that before long the government will be called on to consider the provision of additional facilities and in particular additional accommodation for university education to meet the claim for this from the Non-European population. There is little reason to expect, and, be it said with emphasis, no reason to demand or even ask, that these additional facilities will be found in the Afrlkaans-medium universities. Expansion and modifications within the other four institutions could cope with the expected requirements for, say, five to ten years, but sooner or later additional new institutions will be required. The nature and scope of these have been indicated earlier.

Scope of employment of Non-European graduates

Essential to our discussion of the influence of educational policies on our race relations is the question of the outlets and

occupations open to those Non-Europeans who have passed through the universities or even through the secondary and high schools. It must be admitted that today the openings for the educated African are severely limited. Teaching is the one profession into which the university graduate (and even the matriculant) can be absorbed without difficulty. Apart from this, about the only occupation of a professional type into which the Africans do go is the civil service, in which a number of the lower grades are open to him, particularly in the Native reserves and their neighbourhood. With the progress of integration of the African into the economic structure of the community, more and more Non-European professional men and women will be required, and the scope and variety of higher education for them will need to be proportionately widened and increased.

The limitation of suitable outlets for the Non-European university graduate has two important direct effects. The first is psychological and gravely affects our race relationship. The educated African who, with the enthusiasm and idealism of youth, has pursued his studies to a successful conclusion and then finds that there is no place for him in the society into which he seeks entry, not unnaturally experiences a sense of frustration which may turn to embittered opposition to the powers and authorities governing these matters. The fact that, being educated, this disgruntled young man is likely to be more vocal and probably more influential among his people, adds to the ill effects which arise in these cases.

The second effect is educational. The limitation of outlets as at present existing has its effect in the secondary schools where the courses of instruction provided are to some extent governed by the knowledge of the choice available to the matriculant when he enters his university or college. The courses and faculties within the university which are "favoured" by the African are almost entirely determined by the economics of the fields of occupation open to him when graduated. We have pointed out that teaching is the only profession really open to him, and it is thus a sad commentary on our idealism of today that many a graduate in arts, education, or social science finds that he cannot afford to give up his manual labour job because of the poor salaries attaching to most teaching and social service posts.

Urgent need for improvement in race relations

This survey of the interaction of educational policy and practice in South Africa on the one hand and race relationships on the other, brief though it is, must have made us all feel that present conditions and future prospects alike are far from happy or reassuring. Not only is tension rising steadily between Non-European and European, but the relationship between large sections of the English and the Afrikaans sections of our people is deteriorating steadily and rapidly. To what extent these tensions and divergences will involve the country in misfortune or even disaster is a matter of conjecture. Though it will probably be decided on the political field, it is nevertheless to some extent the personal responsibility of every South African. We are probably all convinced or at least hopeful that ultimately everything will work out for the best, but most of us fear that before that hoped-for outcome eventuates South Africa will pass through sad, bitter, and disastrous conflicts. I have made bold to examine these potential sources of conflict in their relation to educational practice and policy, and by virtue of my daily occupation with higher education I have attempted to assess whether or not the universities are measuring up to what may be asked of them under differing conditions and also to determine whether or not they are tending to ease or to aggravate the numerous tensions in our multi-racial society.

I am afraid we must admit that despite the very good intentions of many of the members of the universities, it must be apparent that the divergence of policies between the Afrikaans-medium and English-medium universities is, to say the least, not conducive to any easement of racial tensions. Furthermore, if we are honest with ourselves, we must also admit that these differences are of such fundamental character that there is very little hope of **rapprochement** between the two sections. It is because of this that I recommend that such solution as is sought through education must start at the other end of the scale: in the infant school, not in the universities.

Possible changes in educational practice

Any proposals affecting changes in educational practice in South Africa are sure to arouse fierce opposition from one quarter or

another. A strong and clear justification for such change must therefore be presented. In this case the claim for the consideration of changes is based on two assumptions: firstly, that it is a recognized fact that relations between the Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking sections are bad and appear to be worsening, and secondly, that there is a desire to improve these relations. With the first of these assumptions few will find fault, but there is a large and growing body of opinion that holds that there is no real desire on the part of a large section of the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to co-operate with their political opponents, and in particular with the English-speaking section of the population. Protestations of a desire for co-operation, even from the leaders of these opposing forces, have little significance and less effect. I am convinced that the belief, now widespread amongst the English section, that they are not wanted in South Africa and that their presence here is merely tolerated, must be squarely faced by the Afrikaans section in political power and answered unequivocally. If, as all must devoutly hope, the answer is a sincere negation of the belief, i.e., if these Afrikaners really do desire co-operation in its fullest sense with the English-speaking South Africans, then in the educational field at least certain proposals will deserve immediate and serious consideration as being potentially conducive towards achieving reconciliation, understanding, and true, friendly co-operation.

Change in the infant and primary schools

In the schools today the policy of mother tongue instruction is leading to an increasing number of unilingual schools. There can be little doubt that this separation of the English-speaking from the Afrikaans-speaking children is, more than any other single factor, responsible for keeping alive the animosities and divergencies between the two sections. The young children of our two peoples have no inherent antipathy to each other, and if brought together without previous indoctrination will mix on a basis of absolute equality and mutual acceptance of each other. The unilingual school prevents this mixing and thus not only reduces greatly the opportunities for bilingualism, but also provides the fertile field for misunderstanding.

The fact that the unilingual school can be claimed to have a sound paedagogic and psychological basis is conceded and agreed

all round. But it is well to remember that mother tongue instruction, while obviously desirable, is not therefore necessarily the best in the interests of South Africa. In this land of ours which rightly has two official languages, it might well be claimed that every child has two home languages and, if we acted on this, then dual or parallel-medium schools should be the ideal aimed at. The support recently accorded to the value of the parallel-medium school in the Orange Free State by its Administrator was most heartening in this connection. The importance of the mother tongue medium for communicating with the child when first it enters school at, say, the age of five, cannot be overstressed; but if once the practice in school was directed to treating every child as being entitled to instruction in both languages, there would within a year or two of the start of the plan be no difficulties to face. I predict this because of the fact known to all who have given this matter any consideration, that children of the age of from about three to seven do not have to learn a language, they just speak it. Mix little ones of about five and within a week they will be found jabbering to each other in each other's languages. There is no hardship inflicted and certainly no injustice. Very different would be the picture of demanding the learning of the second language when once this age of natural ability towards acquiring new languages has passed. Within one generation under these compulsory regulations the high schools and universities would be fed by fully bilingual scholars and students, and it would become so manifestly undesirable to be unilingual in South Africa that even the most exclusive of private schools would see to it that all their scholars were instructed through the medium of both languages. This happy state of affairs is not a Utopian dream; it could be achieved at very little extra expense and its beneficial results would be manifest within five years of its introduction if once our politicians were determined to seek full co-operation between the two main sections of South Africans. In such a state of affairs the fact that anyone living in South Africa (whether born here or not) was unilingual would not be a source of irritation to persons of the other language group, but would be regarded as something regrettable. People would feel sorry for the unilingualist as for one who, through some physical defect, misses something worth while.

There is nothing paedagogically unsound or undesirable in this proposition, and the outcome of its adoption, even if slower than has been presumed in these discussions, will be almost un-animously agreed to be conducive to bilingualism and to a restoration of sympathy and understanding of each other's points of view. If this policy was put before the two big political parties, their reaction to it might well be a measure of the sincerity of their claims towards representing, or desiring to represent, the interests of both sections of South Africans.

Earlier I said that the universities really could do little toward relaxing the present state of tension between the two groups. There is, however, something they can do, which might well make a tremendous difference. They could take a stand against all measures of coercion in the educational fields, and they could do this in the knowledge that thereby they would be implementing the recognized policy of universities throughout the western democracies. The imposition of the will of one group on another is apt to be a boomerang in effect, and when the coercive measures affect issues of such fundamental nature as the relationship between racially or nationally (linguistically) different groups, then it will inevitably lead to bitterness and hatred. This danger not only threatens; it is here already. In the universities it is therefore our high duty and solemn responsibility henceforth to inculcate in our students that toleration to ideas which characterizes the really educated man and that ideal of rendering available the whole of knowledge to every one who can benefit by it, which was adopted as the theme for the tercentenary celebrations recently observed by Columbia University of New York — "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use thereof."

The relationships between Afrikaner and English South Africans and between white and non-white have a first priority claim on our sincerest consideration today, and the ultimate hope for their betterment lies in the hands of the children of South Africa. Concord and co-operation among the children will, in my opinion, follow their education in the same schools and their daily mixing on the same playing fields. The educational provision for acquiring bilingualism should be regarded as essential, and all schools in South Africa should be staffed and equipped accordingly. Once this is recognized as part of the educational policy,

it can and should be achieved without any coercion of either side. Public opinion and the economic disadvantages of unilingualism in South Africa should be the spur to acquiring fluency in both languages, and such a conversational fluency could be a **sine qua non** of all public service appointments. The loss of the advantages of fluency in both Afrikaans and English should be its own punishment. The Afrikaner is surely by now well past the stage when he regards the inability to speak Afrikaans as an insult to his Afrikanerdom. Similarly, the English-speaking South African should be aware of the combination of conceit and bad manners which alone prompts the superior attitude towards those who do not speak the King's English with an Oxford accent. As a people we should be growing up.

The early stages of a restored South Africanism having been prepared in the infant and primary schools and carried forward into the high schools, what can be done to further this aim at the university level? The sharp division between the two groups of universities according to the medium of instruction is such that bilingualism in the university is becoming less and less frequent, though a large proportion of students of both groups do make conscious and strenuous efforts to overcome this. The "inter-iversity" activities are today largely confined to sporting and athletic competitions, and in them literally remains what there is of hope for a fuller co-operation and friendlier relationship between the student groups.

Fostering of toleration the key issue

So much of the difference between the English-medium and the Afrikaans-medium universities is based on and centres around the application or rejection of academic equality for Non-European students, that it is in my opinion quite unrealistic at present to hope for any common policy or any approach towards conformity of practice. It is for this reason that it is desirable to recognize that the two streams are firmly entrenched today and that therefore improvement will only follow the exercise of toleration of each group towards the other's point of view. For this it is, perhaps unexpectedly, essential that each group shall enunciate its academic ideals. The desire, or at least the tendency, to enforce the anti-colour discriminatory policy of the Afrikaans-medium

universities on all the English-medium institutions is the direct outcome of confusion based on the unexamined assumption that the universities are similar, with similar aims, and should therefore have similar policies. Once the two sets of aims — both of which, let me reiterate, can be (and are in various parts of the world) defended on academic, political, and national grounds — are recognized, then the next step to be taken is that of deciding and declaring whether there is a future for South Africa in which the two major European groups can live together without any restrictions towards complete inter-mixture and yet be allowed to hold completely divergent views on a great variety of subjects.

It is possible that this two-stream policy of South Africanism will be rejected in fact if not by proclamation. In that case, the future outlook for the English-medium university, and in fact for all English-speaking South Africans, is dark indeed. There is, however, still hope that a majority of those who control the destinies of the Afrikaans-medium section will recognize that such a two-stream policy is not incompatible with the fullest development of Afrikanerdom, and in fact that in such an atmosphere of toleration the true Afrikaner nationalism stands to gain more than now when it has quite unnaturally assumed a rapacious, dominating urge to enforce its ideals on others.

Within the universities I believe that not only is this possible because education, if it means anything at all, should lead to judgments free of bias and, to that extent, productive of toleration, but also because the concept of university autonomy, in respect of finance, practice, and even policy, is common to both types of university, and within that concept each university concedes to all others their inalienable right to adopt whatever line of action they choose within limitations set by the laws of the country. For these reasons and with an optimism which I hope is not merely wishful thinking, I continue to make my two requests concerning the policy of Non-European university education, viz., (a) that each university be allowed to decide on and develop its own policy in relation to the admission and academic privileges of its students, and (b) that when planning for the further university needs of the socially and educationally awakened Non-Europeans of our country, the facilities provided should be additional and not alternative to those now available.