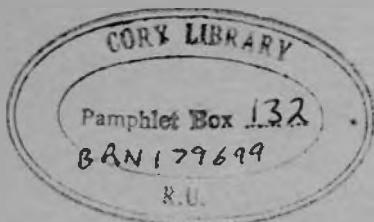


D.C.S. OOSTHUIZEN
MEMORIAL LECTURE



GEOFF BUDLENDER

Rhodes University, Grahamstown

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE NEW FOREIGNERS

It is today widely accepted that the university must serve society. Except for a few antiquarians and purists, we all accept that the university is under an obligation to make a constructive contribution to the development of the community. The dispute is not about the existence of this obligation; rather it is about two related questions: "what is the community?", and "how should we serve it?"

This is the site of the great debate. Three fairly typical attitudes are reflected in the following views:

Professor Gerrit Viljoen, Rector of the Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, sees as the role of the Afrikaans university "to be of service ... to South Africa in particular ... but more specifically to the Afrikaner people".⁽¹⁾ At a recent conference at the University of the Witwatersrand he said that the university should be a "power-station" for the community - again, defined in somewhat similar terms.

At the same conference Mr D A Etheridge, a senior executive of the Anglo-American Corporation, pointed out that while the universities had been very helpful to the gold-mining industry in dealing with technical questions - how to dig into the earth, remove rock from the mines, and extract precious metals from the rock - they had done little to help the industry to work with the 600 000 people it employs. He described a special educational programme at the University of the Witwatersrand, funded by the corporation and designed explicitly to assist his corporation in obtaining qualified black managers.

A third approach is that trenchantly put forward by President Nyerere: ⁽²⁾

"It (university education) is provided at the expense of the community as a whole.... The peasants and workers of a nation feed, clothe, and house both the students and their teachers; they also provide all the educational facilities - the books, test-tubes, machines, and so on. The community provides these things because it expects to benefit - it is making an investment in people. It believes that after their educational opportunities the students will be able to make a much greater contribution to society ... the purpose of learning is the advancement of man. Knowledge which remains isolated from the people, or which is used by a few to exploit others, is therefore a betrayal. It is/particularly vicious kind of theft by false pretences. Students eat the bread and butter of the peasants because they have promised a service in the future. If they are unable or unwilling to provide that service when the time comes, then the students have stolen from the peasants as surely as if they had carried off their sacks of wheat in the night."

The proposition that the university should serve the community therefore raises more questions than it answers. These are questions that the university must face seriously and conscientiously, lest this description by Wolin and Schaar of the American "multiversity" should apply to our universities: "Universities have always in some sense served society. But never has service been so mundanely conceived or so promiscuously offered as by the modern multiversity".⁽³⁾

As is clear from the title of this lecture, I want to talk about the universities' responsibilities to the "new foreigners". That requires me to describe who the "new foreigners" are, which in turn requires a sketch of the evolving political structures of South Africa.

Fundamental to understanding what is happening around us is the government's notion that South Africa is divided into "white" and "black" areas. Before the independence of the Transkei, about 13,7% of the territory of the Republic had been set aside by the 1913 Black Land Act and the 1936 Development Trust and Land Act for occupation by Africans. At that point, approximately 72% of the population of South Africa were African.

It has long been the policy of successive South African governments that Africans should be allowed to remain in the towns only for as long as they are required to minister to the needs of whites. As long ago as 1921 the Native Affairs Commission reported that "it should be understood that the town is a European area in which there is no place for the redundant Native." In the following year the Transvaal local Government Commission (the Stallard Commission) recommended that "it should

be a recognised principle of government that natives... should only be permitted within municipal areas in so far and for so long as their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population."⁽⁴⁾

That policy has been followed and entrenched over the years. It has also been extended to cover all parts of the "white" area, and not just the towns. The 1968 Regulations for Labour Bureaux at Bantu Authorities⁽⁵⁾ effectively prohibited Africans in the reserves from leaving those areas to seek work in the "white" areas. It was provided that Africans could leave the reserves only after having been recruited to work for a specific employer, and that at the end of the contract period (which could not exceed a year) they were required to return to the reserve until again recruited for work.

The necessary implication of this policy is of course that "redundant" Africans should be removed from the "white" areas and sent to the reserves - even if they have no real link with the reserves. And thus was set in motion the policy of resettlement.

There are various forms of resettlement to the reserves, all based on this fundamental division of the country into "white" and "African" areas. The resettlement programme is a colossal piece of social engineering, breathtaking in its size, terrifying in its merciless and inexorable progress, and tragic in its consequences. John Kane-Berman has estimated that the number of Africans resettled or scheduled for resettlement is over three million⁽⁶⁾ - that is, about one out of every six Africans is to be forced by law to move from where he or she is living, by a process over which he or she has no control. Proportionally, the resettlement programme is probably the largest compulsory removal scheme in recorded history.

However, some Africans have over the course of time acquired a right of sorts in terms of Section 10(1)(a), (b) or (c) of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act to remain in the "prescribed" (mainly urban) areas. For a long time these "permanent" Section 10 rights have been under sustained attack from government spokesmen and officials. Three successive government committees recommended that Section 10 rights should be withdrawn or substantially amended.⁽⁷⁾ The head of external services of Radio South Africa said that "A policy of multi-national development is irreconcilable with a separate, permanent urban Bantu population. Today Section 10 has become a factor which is not only anachronistic, contradictory, and confusing, but also has an adverse effect on the Bantu".⁽⁸⁾ And Dr Piet Riekert declared in 1972 that "So-called Section 10 rights (are) in conflict with the accepted policy that every Bantu in South Africa belongs to a people with a political home of his own".⁽⁹⁾

However, it was no simple matter to abolish these rights. As Dr Riekert noted in his Commission Report six years later, "the amendment of the existing provisions of Section 10 may elicit strong political reactions". He therefore recommended that "for the time being it would be better to concentrate on eliminating the problems arising from its practical application".⁽¹⁰⁾

This was a concession he could well afford to make, for the Government had in the interim (between the time of the appointment of his Commission and the submission of his Report) taken a step which would have the effect of systematically destroying Section 10 rights. The first Black Laws Amendment Act of 1978 had amended Section 12 of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act to provide that no citizen of an independent Bantustan, born after the date of independence, could "be, enter or

remain" in a prescribed area without the permission of the Secretary for Plural Relations and Development. The effect of this was that children born to citizens of an independent Bantustan would not qualify by birth for Section 10 rights. Section 10 rights would therefore wither away as more Bantustans acquired constitutional independence.

Dr Connie Mulder had pointed out that "If our policy is taken to its logical conclusion as far as the black people are concerned, there will be not one black man with South African citizenship".⁽¹¹⁾ The necessary implication of this statement (which has never been repudiated by the government) was that in due course there would also "be not one black man" (or woman) with Section 10 rights to remain in a prescribed area. The migrant labour system would thus be expanded until it covered every single African.

This process has of course already started. When Venda acquires constitutional independence on 13 September this year, over 6½ million South Africans will have been stripped of their citizenship over the past 3 years - that is, more than one in every three Africans will have become a foreigner by a process that can only be described as a legal fiction.⁽¹²⁾

In one sense, it is these people who are the "new foreigners". However, it is not only these people who are being cut adrift from the wealth of South Africa. Terminology is always revealing in South African politics - and there is probably no change of terminology more revealing than the government's decision to refer to the non-independent reserves as "Black states". The assumption underlying this terminology is that the inhabitants of these areas may be regarded as foreigners.

with only limited and temporary South African government responsibility for them. The term blurs the distinction between independent and non-independent areas, and in that way finesses the strategy of those Bantustan leaders who do not wish to apply for independence.

You may say that I read too much into a term - but the term is fundamental to understanding certain major developments of the past year: the Riekert Commission Report; the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, which followed on Part 1 of the "Wiehahn Commission" Report; the 99-year leasehold scheme; the increased penalties for employers unlawfully employing African workers; and the apparent drastic increase in pass law arrests in recent months, at least in Johannesburg. As Professor Francis Wilson pointed out earlier this month, "Perhaps the most significant political developments of the year have not been the spectacular consequences of the Information scandal but rather the steps taken to consolidate the boundary between the core* and even those Bantustans which are not, and may never become, politically independent". (14)

"... the system works in such a manner as to increase steadily the capacity of the core to generate jobs and incomes without necessarily having any impact whatsoever on the productive capacity of the sending areas. But it does more than this. It shifts much of the risk of unemployment, the burden of social security, and the hardships of poverty from the shoulders of those living within the economic core of the system to those who, while contributing to its growth, are not allowed to share its full fruits". (15)

*By the "core" he refers to "the mines and factories, the towns and cities of South Africa surrounded by the so-called "white" farming areas".

Meanwhile, the process of resettlement will have to increase in tempo and scope as Section 10 rights disappear. The reserves are already grossly over-crowded to the point where they cannot even begin to support those who live there, let alone those who are meant to live there. In 1970, the average density of the de facto population in the reserves was 119 per square mile. In the rest of the Republic, the average density was 35 per square mile.⁽¹⁶⁾ The situation now is likely to be considerably worse as a result of natural population growth and resettlement - and as resettlement continues, so land-hunger will increase.

"Inescapably", says Kane-Berman, "the logic of apartheid is that on the one hand the Bantustans will remain labour reservoirs from which employers in the Republic will be able to draw at will, while on the other they will provide disposal areas where the unemployed, the old, the sick, and the disabled can be sent when the central economy no longer has any use for them... the inescapable conclusion is that many parts of them will be turned, as Qwa Qwa already has been, into concentrated settlement camps, closely packed with the unemployed, the destitute, and the dispossessed."⁽¹⁷⁾

So when I talk of the "new foreigners" I am referring to all those Africans who are meant to stay in the reserves or "Black states" - whether independent or not - venturing into the "white" areas only on a temporary basis when the whites need their services. In other words, I am talking of all those who are outside the core - all those who do not have Section 10 rights. I am talking of those who are compelled to live in rural areas, whether they want to do so or not. I talk of them in the knowledge that according to government policy, in due course all Africans are to become "foreigners" in this sense and also in the stricter

constitutional sense.

What then is the university's responsibility to the new foreigners and the areas in which they are to live? At the outset I pointed to three different approaches to the university's responsibilities to the community. My own view is that the university owes a duty to all South Africans, and that includes those who by a legal fiction have become foreigners in their own country. As with so many questions, this is largely a matter of personal philosophy, a matter about which one tends to have moral views which one then attempts to buttress with intellectual argument. So let me briefly put up my own buttresses to justify this view.

The first reason is that all the members of a society are entitled to call on that society's ~~resources~~. Every South African, rich or poor, subsidises the University - by direct and indirect taxes, and by labour. It is of course true that the bulk of taxes are paid by companies and the wealthy. In the 1975 tax year the poorest 48% of people paying income tax (the majority of them white) paid only 7% of the total income tax assessed. ⁽¹⁸⁾ But as was pointed out by the Theron Commission, "it is a normal principle in the fiscal policy of all western countries that the lower income groups contribute a relatively smaller amount to public revenue but at the same time draw a relatively greater benefit from the ... services and facilities that are offered by the public authorities than do the relatively wealthier groups." ⁽¹⁹⁾ (I pause to note that South Africa must be one of the few countries in the world where the wealthy pay less for school education than the poor.) More fundamentally, we should remind ourselves that those large profits that yield large personal and company taxes are

generated by workers who sell their labour in such a manner that their labour-power produces more than their wage - for that, after all, is where the profits come from.

Those are arguments based on the rights of individuals. There is also a substantial argument based on the contribution that groups of people have made to building South Africa's wealth. To quote Francis Wilson once more: "Political boundaries within the region which have become increasingly important over the years have operated as a kind of one-way filter which has resulted in productive capital ... being accumulated primarily in a central core, with little going back to develop even basic infrastructure in the peripheral areas, and with much of the population that made that accumulation possible being kept away from the core except and only, when certain people are allowed in to work."⁽²⁰⁾ In other words, the core has been developed at the expense of the periphery - and now to use the poverty of the periphery as a basis for excluding it from the benefits of public expenditure has no moral or ethical basis whatsoever.

As I have argued before,⁽²¹⁾ in a society in which access to and benefits from higher education are limited and unequal, it is precisely those who are deprived of access who subsidise the education of those who have privileged access; for they are paying in labour and taxes for a service which is denied to them.

Given this background, how have our universities performed? My suspicion is that to the extent that the universities have served society, their efforts have been largely restricted to the core. I suspect that

the universities have tended to underline and reinforce the core-periphery imbalance, rather than to spread the benefits which they have to offer. This point was forcibly brought home to me just a few months ago, when I paid a brief visit to Mdukatshani, a community agricultural project just outside Kwa-Zulu. The purpose of the visit was to have a look at the legal problems facing the inhabitants of this area, and to consider ways in which these needs could be met. To my dismay, I found that I could not answer any of the questions that were asked of me. My legal training had taught me virtually nothing about the problems of these people - problems which are no doubt faced by very many of the "new foreigners" in the periphery.

Now it is of course true that in many university courses one tends to learn general principles and techniques rather than technical detail - or at least that is the theory. But these principles and techniques are not taught in a vacuum. They are taught by using particular problems as an example. These problems are seldom if ever those faced by the new foreigners. The point is that what is relevant to high-technology industry is generally not relevant to cottage industries; and what is relevant to large-scale commercial farming is generally not relevant to peasant farming on overcrowded land. (22)

Perhaps the first thing for the university to do is to find out what is actually happening in the reserves. Every now and then we have a glimpse of what is going on. This usually happens in particularly dramatic situations, like the Glenmore resettlement, or when a newspaper really sets about the work of journalism in earnest - that is, it tries to find out what is going on behind the news - and comes out with the sort of shattering exposé carried recently in Sunday Post. (23) But our knowledge of what is happening in the reserves is anec-

dotal and patchy - what institution is better equipped than the university systematically to assemble the facts and interpret them? This of course requires co-ordinated work - we need the combined insights of the economists, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, historians, lawyers, political scientists, African linguists, engineers, agriculturalists, journalists, and many others. These skills are all available in the university. What we need is a combined multi-disciplinary effort, which in turn requires a conscious effort to harness the skills available to break down inter-disciplinary barriers and work as a team.

This is not an easy task. As Orkin has pointed out, academics are generally "appointed on ... liberal-individualist criteria, for their determination to defend their departmental interests against the shared concerns of the university".⁽²⁴⁾ When appointments are made, the tests are, I suggest, primarily individualist: what publications have you written; what research are you doing; what academic qualifications do you have; and (sometimes) how good a teacher are you. The criteria are, I suspect, not those of a commitment to the corporate university; not the willingness to sacrifice selfish Departmental interests to the university's wider interests; not a commitment to the wider society; not an ability to work in a team; and not interests or abilities in other disciplines.

But for all that, our universities have large numbers of people who are prepared and able to work in multi-disciplinary projects. The question is principally how one is to harness this latent energy. This is a point to which I shall return later.

The next thing the university can and should do is teach about what is happening to the new foreigners.

(While it may be logical to describe teaching as the first thing for the university to do, a necessary precondition is information which is presently sadly deficient.) Again, this requires a conscious effort, and again it is often teaching that cannot be done solely in the lecture-hall.

An instructive lesson can be learnt from the increasingly common pattern in third world countries of requiring students (and sometimes staff) to spend a certain period of their vacations working on community projects, whether this be in hospitals, in factories, on farming co-operatives, in schools, in archives, or whatever. One of the purposes of this is often to give students a real understanding of the economic and social problems which ordinary people face. Whatever one thinks of the principle of requiring this form of work during vacations, the educational principle is surely sound. It is by now trite that we learn best by doing, not by listening.

Again, this teaching and learning method can be applied in very many disciplines. It is also a means of conducting research, for students working under supervision in the field can multiply many times a department's ability to collect information and understand it. The use of field-work has multiple benefits: students render a service to the community; they receive a practical training in areas that are of importance to the people; and they (and their teachers) learn a certain humility in dealing with people who are too easily and condescendingly dismissed as "them". I can say from my own experience, working with law students in law clinics in an urban setting, that the field-work approach can work and does bring substantial benefits. I should also mention that in some instances this may be a means of generating vital employment opportunities for students who wish to continue this work when they leave the university.

The mention of urban law clinics raises a point of some importance. While I have argued at some length that the university should be concerned about what is happening in the reserves, that does not provide any reason for ignoring what is happening in our immediate environment. For example, many of the new foreigners are migrant workers spending a substantial part of their lives in the towns. One can only understand the reserves fully when one understands what is happening at the other end of the system. A practical example here is the Advice Offices which are run in various parts of the country by the Black Sash and the S A Institute of Race Relations. These offices render an outstanding service to people who have problems with the pass laws, unemployment, pensions, and much more. Are our universities - and here one thinks particularly of law and social work departments - doing all they could to improve the service rendered, to find out what is happening to people, and to help their students to learn through doing?

At the Wits conference mentioned earlier Professor John Reid of the University of Natal Medical School drew attention to another aspect of the dangers of having only long-range vision. He described how his university had started a literacy campaign aimed at those members of the university who desired literacy training. The campaign has apparently been a great success, with substantial spin-off - a major non-university institution followed the university's example, and the university itself started applying its efforts to a badly-neglected area which had simply never surfaced, namely the need for the university and other libraries to provide reading material for the newly literate. That strikes me as an interesting idea for language, journalism and librarianship departments. The university is now apparently investigating the transport problems of its workers, with

a view to adjusting working hours and travel facilities to their needs. Again, one can expect substantial spin-off.

Two sorts of objections may be raised to the proposals which I have put forward.

It is a necessary implication of these proposals that the university should become involved in intermediate technology instead of high-level technology, and in training people who are skilled at intermediate rather than fully professional or specialised level. The objection may be raised that these and other like activities are not really worthy of a university - they belong more properly to a technical college or a social work agency. The answer, I believe, is that there is no fixed "correct" model of a university. Universities change according to the time, place, and context in which they are situated - or at least they should do so. There is no earthly reason why today's South African university should conform to a model developed for the United Kingdom in the late 19th century. It is time we stopped being embarrassed that our universities are not Oxford or Cambridge.

Professor Asavia Wandira has summed up well the answer to this objection that the demand for a new "relevance" is a demand for the trivial and impermanent, and for lower standards: "Concern for relevance should not be seen as the enemy of excellence, integrity or advancement of knowledge - rather as the reason why these values should be upheld." ⁽²⁵⁾

The second objection is more fundamental, namely that the university should be politically neutral. Now I

would be the first to agree that in many respects the university is in any event structurally incapable of changing direction in a coherent fashion. As Mark Orkin has pointed out when writing of the university Senate, the crucial body on decisions of this sort, "it is hardly empirically likely ... that tetchy academics faced by a welter of conflicting social issues will reach unanimity over anything".⁽²⁶⁾ I think it was Clark Kerr who described the university Senate as a number of individuals united by a common grievance over parking. Perhaps that is in a perverse way one of the more attractive features of the university, in that it tends to protect heterodoxy. I don't know.

But while I will admit that there are real practical problems involved in changing the university's direction, I do not accept that the university is in fact politically neutral. I do not intend to repeat the long argument over this question⁽²⁷⁾, but I will adopt James Moulder's summary of the debate: "the idea of a political neutral university requires immediate qualification; ... it employs a statement of a university ideal which misdescribes what a university is; and ... the clarification which it needs would be difficult to achieve and not very helpful anyway."⁽²⁸⁾ The university, I believe, is not and cannot be politically neutral.

In any event, there are certain things about which the university cannot be neutral if it is to be worthy of the name of a university. What institution can be neutral to these facts: The infant mortality rate for Africans is 6 times as high as that of white infants, and the mortality rate for African children 1 - 4 years of age is 13 times as high as that for white children;⁽²⁹⁾ 87.9% of households in four districts of the Ciskei and Transkei have incomes below the poverty datum line;⁽³⁰⁾

16/...

in the Ngutu area of Kwa-Zulu 85 - 90 000 people live on land that the Tomlinson Commission said could support a population of 13 000 people, if fully developed agriculturally;⁽³¹⁾ almost 20% of the children born after 1968 at Limehill, a resettlement area, died before 1978; the male unemployment rate at Limehill is 34.28%.⁽³²⁾ Sada, a resettlement camp in the Ciskei, has a population of about 30 000 people and has employment for about 800.⁽³³⁾ The liaison officer of the Department of Co-operation and Development, when Sunday Post put to him the claims of resettled people that they are starving, made a comment that will surely go down in history as a monument to inhumanity and cruelty: "It's a habit with the Zulus", he said "to say they are starving".⁽³⁴⁾

I hope that none of the proponents of university neutrality will seriously suggest that the university should remain neutral to facts such as these. I believe that despite its structural problems, the university can with leadership take concerted action to deal with the national scandal and disgrace that in a country as wealthy as ours, people die because they do not have enough to eat.

I would suggest that three preconditions have to be met if programmes of the sort I have outlined are to be effective.

First, the university will have to accept Pierre van den Berghe's point⁽³⁵⁾ that there are really two kinds of "relevance" to which the university ought to aspire. The first kind is the "safe provision of technical answers to limited questions such as how to eradicate sleeping sickness, how to increase yam yields, how to control population growth, or how to provide adequate urban sanitation and housing." This he calls the "conservative, technocratic definition."

17/...

Van den Berghe's second definition is "much wider, more fundamental, and potentially much more radical and dangerous to vested interests. In the social sciences, it consists in studying the basic structure of society (which in last analysis means the differential distribution of privileges power and wealth and all its concomitants) instead of concentrating on piecemeal and trivial aspects of social behaviour" and in "raising basic questions about the desirability and inevitability of the established order."

Of course, these two forms of "relevance" are closely inter-related. A technical answer to the question of how to combat malnutrition in South Africa, for example, will focus on the minimum quantities of various foodstuffs needed to produce a balanced diet, and on the cheapest methods of producing and distributing these foodstuffs. A more fundamental - and, ultimately, more realistic - approach to the problem will indeed involve studying "the differential distribution of privileges, power and wealth and all its concomitants", and "the desirability and mutability of the established order."

The second precondition for success is that these efforts must be institutionalised at the very centre of the university's concern and activities. They require a re-allocation of the university's resources, and not simply the addition of a department or institute. This is something that should concern the whole university, and every department. Without this, success is very unlikely - for the core of my proposal is the utilisation of all the university's skills and resources.

This leads directly to the third precondition: That the university should devote time and energy to looking at itself, and evaluating what it does and how it can be improved. The modern university is rather like a dinosaur, with a body too big, and a brain and nervous system too primitive, for its complex functions. As the Study Commission on "University Governance" at the

University of California (Berkley) pointed out in a slightly different context, "it is vital that the university conduct its own decision-making process with equal dedication to the principles it applies in scholarly context: open inquiry, reasoned justification of conclusions, and the submission of findings to public evaluation and criticism."⁽³⁶⁾

I say that the university needs to examine itself, because if there is no clear setting of direction then the university simply grows at random, in a fashion that is determined not by educational or social priorities but by factors such as the willingness of a particular industry to grant the university funds for a purpose which it (the industry) has determined.

It is obviously vital to involve black South Africans in this process of evaluation. But it is rather too easy to talk to blacks about these problems - that is something that is increasingly common today. What is rather less common than talking to blacks is listening to them - and that is something the university needs to do. The solution to this problem is clearly to have university governing bodies which more clearly reflect the composition of the country's population. Until that point is reached, listening seriously to what blacks say is at least a partial solution.

The university needs to reduce what Professor Reid called its "internal viscosity", the stickiness of its moving parts. The involvement of students in decision-making can play a significant role in this. Students have an impatience with delay, because their time at the university is limited. They also tend to have an idealism which acts as a spur to action - and it is, after all, their future that is at stake. Full participation by students can be justified on a number of grounds - for the moment I restrict myself to the purely practical benefits they will bring to the university's thinking about itself.

A final word. By now you may be asking - but what has this to do with the university. Surely the university's business is education? Yes, the university's business is education. But education that does not teach a student about the world around him is a very poor education indeed. Education that produces a student who is technically competent but morally and ~~emotionally~~ incompetent is not education at all - it is technical training in the narrowest sense of that phrase.

There is a need for commitment on the part of a university. However, there can be no real commitment without passion. It is not "unacademic" to feel passion when one reads of a person in a camp saying "I don't know if we have any hope for the future. I'm just about to die. We live to die." (37) Any person who does not feel passion about a statement like that is less than human - and he is certainly not academic in the better sense of that word. No-one would suggest that Daantjie Oosthuizen was unacademic, yet he was a man with a deep moral passion about justice. Cranford Pratt, first Principal at the Dar es Salaam University College, put it well when he spoke at the opening of that institution:

"Commitment and objectivity are not opposites, are not in contradiction to each other. Rather the best scholarship is often a product of deep commitment." (38)

The challenge facing our universities is whether they are prepared to use their skills, resources and scholarship for a commitment to the people of South Africa. They need academic freedom because without it they cannot do this work properly.

Rhodes University is in the unique situation of having a tradition of valuing academic freedom, and being geographically close to literally millions of people who desperately need the fruits of the creative use of academic freedom. The challenge to Rhodes University is whether it is prepared to make a real commitment to South Africa's new foreigners, thus demonstrating in a practical way that we demand academic

freedom not just in the interests of the universities, but in the interests of all South Africa's people.

G Budlender

GB/CT

16.7.79

REFERENCES

1. G van N Viljoen "The Afrikaans Universities and Particularism" in H W van der Merwe and David Welsh (eds). The Future of the University in Southern Africa. David Philip, Cape Town, 1977, p. 172.
2. Julius K Nyerere "Relevance and Dar es Salaam University" in Freedom and Development: Oxford University Press, London, 1973, p. 195.
3. Sheldon S Wolin and John H Schaar. The Berkeley Rebellion and Beyond. New York Review Books, New York, 1970, p. 113.
4. Quoted in David Welsh. "The Growth of Towns" in Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson (eds). The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol II. Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 187.
5. Proclamation R74 of 1968.
6. John Kane-Berman Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction. Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1978, p. 83.
7. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Legislation Affecting the Utilisation of Manpower (excluding the legislation administered by the Departments of Labour and Mines). RP 32/1979 ("Riekert Commission Report") para 4.192 - 4.195, p. 166.
8. Quoted in John Kane-Berman op cit, p. 234.
9. Ibid.
10. Riekert Commission Report, para 4.204 (p), p. 168.
11. House of Assembly Debates. Col. 579 (7 February 1978).
12. See C J R Dugard, Independent Homelands - Failure of a Fiction. S A Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1979.
13. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation - Part 1.
14. Francis Wilson Towards Economic Justice in South Africa; Paper delivered at the 50th Anniversary Conference of the S A Institute of Race Relations, 4 July 1979, p. 26.

15. Ibid, p. 25
16. Muriel Horrell, The African Homelands of South Africa, S A Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1973, p. 39.
17. John Kane-Berman, op cit, p. 251.
18. Francis Wilson, op cit, p. 13.
19. Quoted in Francis Wilson, op cit, p. 15.
20. Ibid, p. 23.
21. Geoff Budlender, Looking Forward: The University in a Democratic South Africa. University of Cape Town, 1978, p. 10.
22. This point was well made by Mr D A Etheredge at the conference referred to earlier.
23. See Sunday Post, "The Surplus People ; Dying for Change", 8 July 1979.
24. Mark Orkin "Two Concepts of Academic Liberty" in Vol VIII, No. 1, Philosophical Papers, (May 1979), p. 51.
25. Asavia Wandira The African University in Development, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1977, p. 10.
26. Mark Orkin, op cit, p. 40
27. See Alan Montefiore (ed) Neutrality and Impartiality: The University and Political Commitments, Cambridge University Press, 1975; and for a description of the South African situation see Geoff Budlender "The Conservative Bias of South African Universities" pp. 260-267 in H W van der Merwe and David Welsh (eds), op cit.
28. James Moulder "University Neutrality: Some Puzzling Reflections in a South African Mirror" in H W van der Merwe and David Welsh (eds) op cit, p. 251.
29. C H Wyndham and L M Irwig "A Comparison of the Mortality Rates of Various Population Groups in the Republic of South Africa" South African Medical Journal, 12 May 1979, p. 797.

30. Johann Maree and P J de Vos Underemployment, Poverty and Migrant Labour in the Transkei and Ciskei, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1975, p. 22.

31. Liz Clarke, Poverty and Unemployment in Nantu, Development Studies Research Group, University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), 1977, p. 1.

32. Cosmos Desmond, Limehill Revisited: a Case Study of the Longer-term effects of African Resettlement. Development Studies Research Group, University of Natal (Pietermaritzburg), 1978, pp. 8, 12.

33. Sunday Post, 8 July 1979, p. 2.

34. Mr Johan Eyssen in Sunday Post, 8 July 1979, p.2.

35. Pierre L van den Berghe, Power and Privilege at an African University, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973, pp. 12-13.

36. The Culture of the University: The Majority Report of the Study Commission on University Governance, University of California, Berkeley; Foot & Mayer and Associates, San Francisco, 1968, pp. 48-9.

37. Sunday Post, 8 July 1979, p. 3

38. Quoted in Julius K Nyerere "The Role of Universities" in Freedom and Socialism, Oxford University Press, Dar es Salaam, 1968, p. 182.

