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(IX)

It is to be expected that the Government will establish separate university institutions for non-white students. We ought to oppose this, but it is going to be done. It is part of the pattern of apartheid, and it will be carried out.

The difficult question then arises, what should we do then? Should we make suggestions which we think would help these apartheid institutions to operate better? Or should we wash our hands of the whole business?

It is impossible in our apartheid society to wash one's hands of all apartheid arrangements. SACPO demonstrated this by taking part in the Coloured elections. Its attitude was significant, because it is a militant anti-apartheid organisation, and because its members belong to the group most concerned.

To my mind it is important that if we are to have separate university institutions, they should be the best possible under apartheid policy. That means, to put it simply, they should be as like university institutions as possible.

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Some people maintain that the Separate University Education Bill has precisely that intention, namely to make these institutions as like university institutions as possible. They point to section 1, subsection xv of the Bill, which says that "university education" means "education of a standard equivalent to that provided by universities established by Act of Parliament".

I find it impossible to accept this optimistic view. The fact that the Minister will appoint the Principal, that he will appoint the Council, that he will appoint the Senate, that no member of the Senate need be a teaching member of the University College, and that the Senate need not be represented on the Council is to my mind nothing short of ominous.

So also is the fact that the Minister shall define the courses, control the admission of students, and exercise a rigid control over the teachers, even to the extent that they may not make adverse public comment on the policies and practice of any State Department.

All these things do not make a university institution, they merely make a Government Department. It may be said that it will develop in due course into a freer institution, when it shows its ability to assume responsibility. I find this hard to believe. I believe that these provisions were specifically designed to control people's minds.

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If I were asked what is the greatest threat to the human race, I would not say the nuclear bomb, though that is great enough, I would say that the greatest threat is the growing inclination of Authority to control people's minds.

When Authority wants to control people's minds, it uses first a well-tried weapon, the fear of the common enemy. And if that does not work, it uses a second, the fear of itself.

Now Authority in South Africa wants people to think that Apartheid is the only possible solution to our problems. Apartheid is no longer an alternative to be accepted or rejected by the people of South Africa. It has become a policy to be accepted - or else.

The groups in South Africa who are least likely to accept apartheid are for the greater part non-white. They identify Apartheid with Baasskap. They identify it with a state of perpetual subordination. They identify it with an inferior life. Therefore their thinking must be controlled.

There are also white people in South Africa who reject Baasskap, some on moral grounds, some on the grounds that it is an unstable solution, which means, briefly, that it will not and cannot work. Their thinking - and their teaching - are in danger of being controlled too.

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There are many signs that this fear of the common enemy is already affecting white South Africans. This is most clearly to be seen in the policies of the United Party. The emphasis of this Party on white unity is unequivocal and dangerous.

But the fear of Authority is just as clearly to be seen. The Town Clerk of Durban, a servant of the City Council, received information from Authority which he did not disclose to the Council, and he has not been publicly reprimanded. The International Arts League of Youth, an organisation devoted to the cause of international goodwill, has closed its doors for many years to non-white

~~members, even though no law compelled it to do so. The University of Natal has fought well to retain its magnificent Medical School for non-white students, but largely on the grounds that it is an apartheid institution. And the vast majority of white people who are well disposed towards non-white people, base their racial relationships on the safe and non-committal foundations of courtesy, charity, and service.~~

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Of course there must be Authority. A society without Authority would be a mess. But more and more Authority is demanding the sacrifice of individual liberties. The people who feel this least are those who support Apartheid, because their Authority is an Apartheid Authority. But what they fail to grasp is that complete subservience to Authority, even when that Authority does what they want, means the death of freedom, ultimately of theirs as well.

Liberals are often accused of an indifference to Authority. But the truth is that in the modern world it is not the cause of Authority that needs support, but the cause of the individual person.

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The place of the University in the life of a nation is a proud one. It cannot expect to enjoy absolute autonomy, but it can expect to enjoy a measure of freedom equal to that of the home and the church. Each of these institutions has a function that cannot be performed by the State. And the good State will see to it that freedom to perform these functions is preserved inviolate.

The function of the University is to pursue the truth, which is as much of an absolute as there can be in this uncertain world. But to pursue that absolute under direction from the State is unthinkable for any University worthy of the name.

Therefore, if we must have racial University Colleges, let them be controlled by an authority other than the State, in other words, by a university authority.