

## MAIN TOPIC

DISA/Aluka Topic #442: Regional links—Refugee-host country relationships

**Links** should also be made to the following topics

DISA/Aluka Topic #131: Courts, Justice System—Political trials (NUSAS trial, 1976)

DISA/Aluka Topic #244 and 245: Black Consciousness Mvt pre-1977—SASO and Black People's Convention

DISA/Aluka Topic #248: Black Consciousness Mvt pre-1977—Trial of "SASO 9"

DISA/Aluka Topic #243: NUSAS to 1977

**IP rights:** Gwendolen Carter is no longer living. John Daniel lives in Durban and knows about DISA/Aluka. His e-mail is [jdaniel@hsrc.ac.za](mailto:jdaniel@hsrc.ac.za). He should be asked for permission to reproduce, and could be asked to review the transcript to identify if the spelling "Shezi (?)" is correct.

This is a cleaned-up and edited version of a transcript which Gail Gerhart acquired from Thomas Karis many years ago. It does not appear on the Karis-Carter microfilms, but may be in the hardcopy of the collection at Northwestern University library, in the Melville J. Herskovits Africana collection.

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John Daniel

*John Daniel was a student leader at the University of Natal who twice served as president of the National Union of South African Students (1966 and 1968). He then spent 23 years in exile, including over a decade in Swaziland where he taught at the national university in Mbabane. He was interviewed in Mbabane in early June, 1976, by Professor Gwendolen M. Carter of Northwestern University, USA.*

JOHN, WHAT IS YOUR STORY OF WHAT HAPPENED IN THIS ANC [WEAPONS?] BUSINESS IN SWAZILAND? I GATHER IT IS COMING UP AS A CASE NOW.

Yes, there is an article in the paper today. Did you see that previous statement? [The lawyer] has been very well briefed by whoever is briefing him from here.

I think that there were always a number of refugees here from the ANC. Prior to the days of the [April 1974] Portuguese coup, they walked a tightrope and particularly since the suspension of the Constitution in 1973, when any form of political activity was likely to get you into hot water. For example, there was a fellow called Shange(?) who was a PAC man in South Africa who had been in Swaziland for ten years or so. Now apparently he gave the funeral oration at the death of a leading NNLC [Ngwane National Liberatory Congress] man here in Swaziland and that was construed as political activity and he was deported. He was served the deportation order and held until such time as the UN could find a place and he went eventually to Scandinavia.

Now after the [Portuguese] coup, I think there was a good deal of fence-mending on the part of the Swaziland government necessary with the Frelimo authorities, and that was undertaken by Shezi(?) [Simon Nxumalo], who had a long connection with Machel, and who had known Machel right back from 1962 and met him on various occasions throughout Africa. Now, Nxumalo went up to Dar-es-Salaam in about September of 1974 and met Machel. My understanding is that the reception was pretty hot. The Frelimo people were very well informed about all the anti-Frelimo things which had been done by the Swaziland government over the years.

I think as part of the diplomatic fence-mending there was an approach from the South African ANC to establish a presence in Swaziland. Not a mission. I think during the negotiations with the Swaziland government there was also an approach from the ANC with Machel's backing and there was a request to establish a presence here. Not an office, not a mission. Somebody came down and saw the king about that. Now of course the king [Sobhuza II] has this long historic association with the ANC, dating right back to his mother. His mother gave money to the first ANC newspaper back in the early years of the century, 1912-1915 or so. It's in Jack Halpern's book.

So he has always been sympathetic to the ANC. The exact details of what was negotiated I don't know, but a little bit later, towards the end of 1974—no, early in 1975—a Frelimo delegation visited Swaziland. Attached to that delegation was Thabo Mbeki, Max Sisulu, and they came and stayed awhile and made contact, moved about fairly openly with bodyguards, and then they moved out.

#### OUT OF THE COUNTRY?

Out of the country, to Zambia or wherever they were based. But after [Mozambique's] independence [in June 1975], a group started to operate low key, but with the blessing or sanction of the king. Now some of the conditions were that they keep to the eastern end of the country.

I think that they felt that Mbabane was more open to penetration by the Swaziland authorities and it was ten miles from the border and there were kidnappings, etc. But if they kept a low profile, kept out of the pubs, they could operate in Manzini. Now as you know there has been recruitment of potential guerrillas in South Africa for years and some go out through Botswana. Some obviously go out, have been going out, through Swaziland. And this man [Joseph] Mdluli, the man who was killed in Durban [in March 1976] by the special branch [security police], was a recruiter.

#### HOW DO YOU SPELL THAT?

Mdluli. Now he was a recruiter and through the pipeline these people came to Swaziland and I think there has been a fairly steady stream of traffic in the last year into Swaziland and on into Mozambique. I think they cross the border in the [inaudible].

Now exactly when and how these arms got into Swaziland, I don't know. One assumes they came from Mozambique. According to this they were stored nearly a year. I would think they were stored here and then runners as couriers were taking them into South Africa. Now after Mdluli was arrested the three ANC men here, [inaudible] and Mbeki, were taken into custody. We first heard it was protective custody, but a short while later they were served with deportation orders and I believe they were actually taken to the airport and given tickets to Lusaka via Johannesburg. Well, they refused to go and so they were returned to the detention cells and eventually they went to Mozambique.

In addition two ANC officials are reported to have been kidnapped inside Swaziland in the south by South African agents. This coincided with a spate of arrests in South Africa, about 70 arrests, on the reef,

in the towns, and the stories came out openly in the press that these were ANC, that the ANC had established a network which had now been smashed and the network had strong Swazi links. I think the reason they were pushed out is probably that they overstepped the mark in terms of what the agreement was as to what they could do. I think while they maintained a low profile and they were simply recruiting that was fine, but I think the arms thing was beyond. Swaziland has very strong gun control, arms control regulations. Legislation was promulgated by the King and Council making it. I think it always was an offence, but certainly it increased the penalties for possession of explosives, etc.

Now about a month ago a librarian from the University of South Africa, black, was given a passport, a temporary resident permit in Swaziland to work in the library. A graduate of Ngoye went to Springs to pick up a car, crossed the border in the morning, came back that evening and the police were waiting for him and arrested him, detained him. Four or five days later the Swaziland special branch raided his flat which was on campus and his desk in the library and they informed Professor Guma [vice chancellor of the national university] and the librarian that at the time they were investigating a possession of explosives charge. His arrest coincided with the arrest of one or two other people in [inaudible], and northern Natal people in Newcastle, Dundee, etc. We have heard nothing. We don't even know where he has been detained or what his state of health is. [The university] Council has decided that they will brief attorneys to look after his interests in South Africa.

Now I think Mdluli was arrested in South Africa on the South African side of the border. There is no official information. It comes out in bits and pieces and rumors, but obviously the ANC has re-established their presence. There has been a resurgence of activity in South Africa and we don't know exactly where Swaziland fits in. I think here they are correct in stating that they are very anxious to negotiate or establish a neutral position in the impending conflict.

Now, I made this point when Hugh [Macmillan] was talking to you, about Machel coming here and that we had heard one of the things that he was anxious about was the refugees. We know that the news yesterday and the press today has information about the arrival of a huge batch of Portuguese refugees who crossed northern Natal and down into Durban. So the outflow is increasing and this is depriving Mozambique of manpower, skilled technicians, etc. So I think it is not beyond the realms of possibility that he is concerned about this and he was asking Swaziland for help.

The other thing that I mentioned to you which I don't know that it fits in at all with the ANC activity is this deportation of the Basuto lecturer from here. He was a BCP [Basutoland Congress Party] man who went to the Soviet Union in the early 60's for training, returned, was detained, eventually released and seems to have been cleared because he went into the civil service. But after the 1970 uprising he was purged. He joined the university staff. At the time of this university break-up [of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland] last year he left [Lesotho], came here and then in the middle of April was served with this rather odd order to the effect that he must be out of Swaziland by the end of May—May 31, 1976—and stay out for at least a year. Representation from the university was fruitless but they were told it was a matter of state security. I would think that his Moscow training is the millstone around his neck here. But I don't think it ties in with the ANC; I think it sort of ties in with the general, what I think is a shift, a conservative shift.

**DO YOU SEE A SPLIT OF MAJOR PROPORTIONS IN THE CABINET AND RIGHT ON DOWN IN SWAZI SOCIETY?**

I would have thought the cabinet is not that split. I don't think it is so much an ideological division. I would think that they divide on two issues, one the extent to which they're dedicated to the maintenance of the traditional set up, etc. The other, I think, is the group around Shezi(?), which has a more international perspective. They travel abroad a lot more and they come into contact with other African

leaders, and they see things somewhat differently. But I don't think that there is a fundamental ideological division. I am sure that most cabinet meetings pass without any real division.

YOU DON'T THINK THERE IS A DIVISION BETWEEN PRO-MOZAMBIQUE OR PRO-SOUTH AFRICAN? WOULD YOU CONSIDER THAT AN IDEOLOGICAL DIVISION?

Yes, that I would. I would think that there is not that much overt sympathy for Mozambique. I think that there are certainly groups which are closer to South Africa and others who would like to be more distant and neutral, but the ones who are more distant aren't automatically pro-Frelimo, pro-Mozambique.

DO YOU THINK THAT THERE ARE STRAINS OF THAT SAY IN THE YOUTH, IN THE ARMY, IN THE POLICE, IN THE MORE INTELLECTUAL SWAZIS?

Well, the youth I can speak about a little, the students anyway. The students are upset. They are discontented. They think this constitutional crisis has dragged on too long. Even those who are quite conservative would like to see a new constitution, new elections, etc. There is among a certain element in the student body certainly sympathy for Frelimo and for SASO in South Africa. I think Machel is a bit of a folk hero to many among the students, but the level of political activism is not very high.

There has never been a radical tradition in Swaziland. It was never a hotbed of political activity, as Lesotho was, for example. So there is not a high level of political consciousness. There is not a great deal of political activism or experience, sophistication. I think that certainly among the students you will find a strong desire to normalize, but there really is a strong fear of stepping out of line, for fear of detention because of what has happened to Dr. [Ambrose] Zwane.

IS HE BACK IN PRISON AGAIN?

No, no, but he has been a couple of times. I think he retains a strong reservoir of support among students. I think, like Machel, there is a bit of a legend or myth about Zwane and also about his capabilities. He never really impressed me, or the statements that I have read, the activities undertaken. He has been active, to a certain extent, he has suffered the last few years, but every time he suffers then support among some elements grows.

WHAT ABOUT LABOR? THERE WERE SOME PRETTY SEVERE STRIKES AT ONE TIME.

There is certainly labor unrest. There is—you know the rate of inflation has been very high in Swaziland. We import it, don't we, and salaries have not risen that high in the private sector and the labor sector and I think there is a lot of just sheer concern about salaries and [whether] the trade unions can function freely. The trade unions are not restricted, but in terms of the emergency regulations they need permission to meet. They rarely get that. They can negotiate with their employers, but they can't hold public meetings or elections. I think that this frustration among the workers spills over into work stoppages among the railway(?) workers, and they marched on the king's palace in the last year.

REALLY, AND WERE REPELLED?

The king met them, and promised them that the grievances would be looked into. The salaries commission was appointed. There were many statements made during the long proceedings of the salaries commission, to be patient, hold on, freer days are coming, etc.

DID HOPE COME?

Well it certainly did. There has been a salary revision in the public sector and it will have a spill-over effect in the private sector, but I think there is a lot of discontent among the lower levels of the civil service with the nature of the increases. Upper levels always did very well, but the lower level people did not. So I think there is a certain amount of labor dissatisfaction.

You know they set up a provident fund here, a national provident fund; worker deductions and that's the actual implementation here. The fund was ready, the staff was receptive, but the fund didn't come into force until last month. That was because there was a good deal of resistance among workers to this fund and it took a good deal of educating to get them to accept the merits of it. This idea that money will be deducted; they get little enough as it is and in 35 years time you will get it back. Well that is, you know, you have to get a little bit of political education before you can understand the merits of that. The merits of a pension scheme for example. And the king has been very energetic in promoting that, but he has also waited until he has got the go ahead from the workers, and he has now.

ARE THERE GOOD RELATIONS WITH HIM?

He communicates very well; he communicates fantastically well with his people. He has the ability to speak to them clearly, simply, and they respond extremely well. He has addressed many workers' gatherings, in which I think some of them were quite hostile and the hostility is directed often at say ministers or civil servants. But when he speaks they listen and they respond very well. I mean, he has the magic of— When he opened the university a couple of years ago, there was a very dignified, mostly intellectual speech with all the right statements on South Africa. The king got up with an unprepared speech and he talked in riddles, in effect to the people, and they loved it.

HE IS VERY FOND OF DOING THAT?

Yes, he is very clever, very shrewd.

As you probably know, the guerillas have formed their own command structure and there is regular contact between this command structure and this particular fellow in the Zambian prison. Machel is known to support this man for the over-all leadership of Zimbabwe.

REALLY? BUT YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT HIS NAME IS?

No, I could get it— And he is one of the three or four accused of the murder of [Herbert] Chitepo. Now, other people have criticized Mozambique for their interference in the command structure. Let's assume that there is decolonization in Zimbabwe and on the basis of the Algerian precedent, military people come out on top and take political power. Then Mozambique has a very close relationship with Rhodesia. Now if Machel is an international revolutionary then the next place to look is Swaziland, isn't it? The other neighbor—it is conservative and you know if you can get a very revolutionary pro-Mozambique [government] in Swaziland you really begin to penetrate into South Africa and so it very much depends on what his motives are. I think Machel is the key figure and the people around him.

THEY COULD ALSO GO SOUTH INTO ZULULAND IF THEY WANTED TO.

That's the other area, yes. I'm sure [Chief Gatsha] Buthelezi would like to establish ties to establish his credibility or legitimacy.

DO YOU KNOW HOW FAR HE HAS MOVED TOWARD THAT?

According to Hugh he has made very little progress in that. He has been rebuffed, in fact. I am sure that Machel looks more to the BPC [Black People's Convention] Zulu as the real spokesman for the Zulu people.

ARE THEY STRONG IN ZULULAND?

I don't think they are really strong anywhere as an organization, but I certainly think they have the allegiance of huge numbers of open-based individuals of all ethnic groups. I think that the BPC really is the ANC, but under another name. I don't think they started like that, but they are now.

YOU DON'T THINK THEY ARE PAC?

Well, they are in rhetoric and in theology. They do use the term— Someone was telling me that in the townships nobody talks about South Africa anymore; they talk about "Azania". On the other hand there is the recognition that the struggles really have been carried by the ANC and the ANC is more active. The ANC has a great amount of active support. The people on Robben Island who are referred to by many in South Africa as the real leaders are the ANC people. It is a group we have not really talked about. Sobukwe is respected, but he is not in prison anymore. I think that the rhetoric is closer to the PAC, but the real allegiance is to the ANC.

DO YOU FIND LINKS FROM YOUR PERIOD [in student politics] WENT STRAIGHT THROUGH, OR DO YOU THINK THERE WAS THIS HIATUS THAT OCCURRED IN THE MID-'60s?

The mid-'60s was a vacuum, was a very desperate period. That was the time when I was in NUSAS [National Union of SA Students], you know. I was coming out of university at the time of the ARM [African Resistance Movement], Rivonia, the [Braam] Fischer trials. It looked like that was the end of the internal radical resistance and that is what my dissertation said. I was in NUSAS in 1966, 1967, 1968 and there really seemed to be nothing going on. Everybody was either inside completely demoralized or outside. I think that SASO [SA Students' Organisation] was the beginning of the resurgence.

I think what Hugh is suggesting is that when the [Swazi] king dies, the switch might be a very dangerous one. I would think that afterwards there certainly will be jostling, but I think it is an unduly pessimistic view to think that there will be a flare-up of violence. I think that one of the reasons the army was created was to ensure that this doesn't happen. But I think it is wrong to suggest that the army and the police would conflict because there are such linkages, blood relationships among the police, the army. I mean these blood relationships are so strong in Swaziland. Hilda Kuper was making this point when she was out here. It is wrong to think of them as opposing forces. You will find that the officer core of the police and the army know each other well because they are related by blood and so I think that a face-off is unlikely between the two.

YOU DON'T THINK [the army] MEANS PROBLEMS?

I suppose that the police may feel that they have been eclipsed somewhat. They were the security force and now they have to share that role, but of course when there is trouble as there was at the University, for example, eighteen months ago, it was the police mobile unit that came out to campus. It was not the army. The police mobile unit is still responsible for internal security and they are terribly impressive.

I THINK THEY ARE VERY IMPRESSIVE. THEY ARE VERY SMART AND I AM SURE THEY ARE VERY WELL DRILLED. WE GET SUCH DIVERSE REPORTS ABOUT THE ARMY, WHETHER IT IS JUST A RABBLE, RECRUITING THE UNEMPLOYED YOUTH WITHOUT ANY

REAL CORE, OR AS THE ISRAELI-TRAINED YOUNG FARMERS FROM COHESIVE AND RATHER BITTER PROGRESSIVE GROUPS.

I think that the ragtag image is probably the more accurate one. Now I don't think that they are undisciplined rebels by any means, but if there was a face-off I don't think that they would stand up to the police who are highly disciplined and very well trained. The army is growing and the longer they are in existence, the efficiency will rise. I have seen them on ceremonial occasions. It is the only time I have seen them. They are quite good you know. They are smart, they march well, they have good equipment.

BUT THEN WHY ARE THEY LOOKED ON AS THE PROTECTORS OF THE KING?

I think that they are regarded as perhaps an army of the monarchy in that they were created by a special decree issued by the king at a time of suspension of the Constitution and that they are located very closely to the king's residence.

WHICH SIDE ARE THEY ON?

Well, if you are driving towards the mansion they are between the king's college and the king's mansion. If you actually look closely to the right beyond the airport you will see green barracks and that's where they are. They straddle the road actually. You have to pass through an army camp to get to the king's residence at the State House.

NOT LOBAMBO?

No, the other one. And he personally appoints the officer corps. He appointed Metuva. He actually is a man he trusts implicitly. He is the commander-in-chief of the army. I think that people tend to see the police as a more national force whereas the army is at the disposal of the monarchy. Who are they protected from? Well I suppose that at the time the Constitution was suspended you had a royal constitutional commission set up to devise a new constitutional order and that the army was created to insure that there was no trouble then. I think that obviously the new order, whatever form it takes, will attempt to perpetuate the supremacy of the monarchy and I would have thought that if there is any challenge to that supremacy this is what the army is designed to put down.

WHAT'S THE GENERAL FEELING ABOUT SUCCESSION? IS IT ALREADY BEING ESTABLISHED BUT NOT BEING TOLD?

You hear so much, you know. According to custom it is not. You hear one or two names mentioned more frequently than others. Prince Gavin(?) is a name that is heard quite often.

IS HE OFTEN VISIBLE?

Yes, very impressive. [But] we are not going to have any polls.

ARE YOU LOOKING FOR TROUBLE?

I don't expect any. There could be trouble but I don't think that one should assume that at the moment the king dies all hell is going to break loose. Societies don't really work in that way.

DO YOU SEE ANY MAJOR ADVANTAGE FOR MOZAMBIQUE PENETRATING SWAZILAND? IN A SENSE IT IS KIND OF A DAGGERED POSITION.

I have heard this view expressed. Machel is obviously very influential with the guerrillas. He is a personal friend of this man who is on trial for the murder of Chitepo. That fellow, I forget his name now [Josiah Tongogara?]. He is on trial in Zambia, but he was the leading man in the military structure, not in the political structure, and interestingly when Machel started his military training in 1962 they were camp-mates and they have kept very close ever since.

[GOING BACK TO THE TIME OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT], WERE YOU STILL IN NUSAS?

I was out, but I knew that they were talking in these terms. [Steve] Biko I knew very well because he was in Durban when I was in school and for the first three years he was a medical student in Durban I was still in NUSAS and we got on very well. He is a man of great intelligence and a very, very fine speaker. He used to say, "Look, this is a white dominated organization and blacks here are just symbols of non-racialism. Because we don't really affect things; we can't control the policy. The campuses are going too far to the right, and we are going to pull out." Now when they did that in 1969, I was in America. But I had spoken to [Duncan] Innes and Innes had lived with us in Cape Town and Innes' line was that this is a positive development and that NUSAS should have an ideological, not a structural link with SASO. You know we refer to them as the real representatives of South African youth. At the first conference of the South African Students' Movement in Lesotho [inaudible—some whites?] were invited and [inaudible] went with the students and [said?] these [blacks] are the real representatives.

WEREN'T THEY FORCED TO WITHDRAW?

They were under tremendous pressure but they had actually gone intending to if it came to that. This attitude towards SASO was a positive one—one that was shared by most of the [NUSAS] leadership but it wasn't shared by the campuses. It required a good deal of political education of your own constituency before you got that unanimity of position. And then there were various other groups. So I think that the resurgence began with SASO in 1969 and then about 1971-1972 they started breaking into the BPC. I think that last half decade of the '60s was very weak.

Another interesting thing is that these fellows who formed the BPC in SASO initially were very contemptuous of the ANC. They regarded the ANC as making many, many foolish mistakes and while it *had* made many mistakes, they were very contemptuous. Now one of the reasons of course is that these people knew very little about the ANC. I mean, by this time the ANC had been banned for ten years. And I think as the level of consciousness grew that they began to reevaluate or acquire a greater respect for the ANC. That is why I think now the BPC would throw itself behind the ANC.

DO YOU THINK THEY DID NOT HAVE RESPECT FOR PAC? ISN'T IT CLOSER TO THEIR [VIEWS]?

The PAC was never really given a chance to fail as was the ANC.

[WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF THE CURRENT TRIAL OF THE "SASO NINE"?)

I think the arrests now are substantive. They've got substantial charges against these people. This trial [*S v Cooper and others*] is arising out of the pro-Frelimo rallies. What in effect they have done is simply imprison these people. They might as well have been convicted right in the first few weeks of their arrest 18 months ago. The trial is a farce. It drags on and drags on. I think the SASO people have put up an extremely impressive performance. I think this guy [Saths] Cooper was magnificent on the stand. If you can get hold of his testimony which was a week long, it's very good.



## WHO WAS TRANSCRIBING THAT? DO YOU KNOW?

No I don't. [David Soggot] and Nicholson are doing the defense, but I mean, for the first time in a long time, probably since Rivonia [the 1964 Rivonia trial], they had defendants who were getting on top of the prosecutors. For example, Biko, when he was called as a defense witness, there was a sort of dialogue that they engaged in. He would be asked a question and he would make a long speech and then [Attwell], the prosecutor would get up and say, "Your Honor, this man is making a political speech." Biko would come back straight away and say, "Well this is a political trial, isn't it?"

## REALLY SMART!

According to the fellow I talked to who was present, he was just tying up Attwell, making him very angry and incoherent. These guys just put out a line: we don't care, we don't care how long we go to jail for. There is nothing like these guys. I think there is sort of a new breed there.

They got them on several charges and then they were only acquitted on some of these in the end, but the police then served their purpose and they have divided them you see. Some of them turned state witness. A number have. This guy Harri Singh, who was very well thought of, turned state witness so they have succeeded in dividing them and holding them.

## DID THEY TORTURE THEM?

I think they were pretty badly treated, but not the old standing treatment.

I have heard that they have some terribly sharp people now in the security branch. It is a place for international relations [people] and they have been recruiting young fellows from there into the branch because these guys that they put up in the dock, according to Karel Tip, these young research people—I haven't spoken to them, but I have heard reports, [though] they were not the ones interrogated, they were interrogated by guys who knew their Marxism from A to Z. If you had read everything by Lenin or Mao, things like that, they could argue intellectually, Marxism and Maoism, and tie these guys up and they had all their writings and had analyzed them. "That is not quite right; it is a plagiarism of Stokely Carmichael," they would say.

It is a terribly unnerving experience, not just that you are interrogated— Because you do not know how you are going to get beaten up, but you always thought that the police are not always terribly bright. Then you come up against guys who know their material better than you do. It leads to a very quick collapse, you see. I have heard that there are very, very sharp interrogators now.

## TWO THINGS ABOUT NUSAS. ONE WAS ABOUT THESE CHARGES THAT ALAN PATON MADE ABOUT THE SPECIAL LINE THAT THE LEADERS TOOK, AND THE OTHER IS ABOUT THIS TRIAL [OF THE NUSAS LEADERS]. ARE THEY RELATED?

No, they are two separate things. The [NUSAS] trial [*S v Moss and others*] is a lot of nonsense. Paton, I think is talking about being ignored. In a sense, these guys passed Paton by and he complained about the fact that nobody would come to talk to him for a long time and he hadn't been invited to the congress, etc. And he disapproved of the radical statements of these young men. I think they were certainly far to the left of him. In fact, there always was the radical wing.

In my day we were always privately more radical than we publicly allowed ourselves to appear. What has changed? There has been a sort of cultural generation of change. We were the last formal people who wore gowns and conducted meetings according to the procedures. Curtis Neville and these guys came out

with long hair and they haven't worn a tie in 15 years, and they completely overthrew formal structures, etc. and they began to say on the public platforms what they actually believed in private.

It was in 1970-71 that they came out for the boycott of [segregated] parties, the sports boycott which were things that we supported but didn't dare say, didn't think we could carry our constituencies with us. It is these guys who stopped the inter-varsities which have now been restarted. Curtis was a really good fellow, but whereas we used to go and pay our respect to Paton, and listen to him, they don't even talk to him anymore.

I think they did allow themselves to become separated from their constituency excessively. Ian Robertson's line was: we are campus organizations and if you don't hold the campuses, you don't have an organization. Well, they couldn't. In the end they lost the campuses.

This trial I think is related to—well I have heard, this is just one view—that there is the old professional jealousy between BOSS [Bureau of State Security] and the special branch. Now BOSS handled the trial because it had international overtones and BOSS is the international group. They pulled in all these people to testify, Tip and others, and then released them. Now what the special branch is out to do is to see if they can put these guys away, whereas BOSS couldn't or wouldn't. So they have come up with—they framed charges relating to that night in the 1973 campaign to release political prisoners. They have argued in their testimony that they were campaigning for release of known Communists. Therefore, they were furthering the aims of communism and that is a violation of the Suppression of Communist Act. Now, if this was a serious offense, they would have been picked up back in 1973. I think the special branch are looking for a case and have trumped up these charges.