

ADDRESS BY THE THEN PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL UNION,  
JOHN DANIEL IN EARLY 1968 ON THE ROLE AND FUTURE OF  
NUSAS

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## NUSAS

Introduction: This speech has no real title. As I said to you in my brief introductory Address to this Seminar, I described this gathering as a factory of ideas - a place where thoughts on NUSAS can be tested, accepted or rejected today, I want to analyse the student situation in the country, examine where NUSAS is going, analyse future trends and throw out some of the ideas of those who know the organisation well as to where NUSAS should go in the future. All this in relation to the political situation in the country.

This speech is a continuation of the debate amongst NUSAS leaders which has been conducted since Congress last year and almost continually during the past few days as to NUSAS' limited effectiveness in South Africa today and how this can be remedied.

### An Analysis of the South African Student Scene.

#### No. of students in South Africa in 1967.

<u>White</u>	<u>African</u>	<u>Coloured</u>	<u>Indian</u>
67,294	1,880	931	2,294

Total: 72,399                      Total Non-White: 5,105

Of total students undergoing University training in South Africa, only 7% are non-white of 81% of the population 7% are receiving post-graduate education, of 19 of the population, 93% receiving post-graduate education.

There can be nothing anywhere in the world to match those figures is reflecting sheer privilege for a particular group within a society.

Of the 67,294 white students undergoing University education in South Africa, 20,552 are at English Universities affiliated to NUSAS and 24,579 are at Afrikaans Universities affiliated to ASB.

I have excluded 22,000 students at UNISA which is affiliated to neither organisation.

Of the 5,105 non-white students undergoing University education in South Africa, 966 (19%) are at centres affiliated to NUSAS. None are studying at centres affiliated to the ASB.

Of the other centres affiliated to NUSAS, 2,500 are white and 210 are non-white.

#### What are the conclusions to be drawn from these figures?

(1) NUSAS today represents over 23,000 students. Of these 22,000 are white and 1,176 are non-white.

(2) The ASB represents more students than do NUSAS but this does not make them more of a National Union than we are. In fact, it does not in any way alter their status as a sectional organisation. NUSAS still remains the only National Union in South Africa because it represents all sections of the student community and is open to all students. It is also the only South Africa student organisation

accorded international recognition through the ISC.

(3) The great majority of non-white students are neither in NUSAS or ASB and are not represented by any organisation. They are voiceless even in the student sphere.

(4) NUSAS is an organisation which is certainly non-racial in attitude but we must painfully accept the realisation that we are far less multi-racial than we think we are. NUSAS is composed of 22,00 whites and 1176 non-whites. It is therefore a white-dominated organisation; this is reflected in the composition of the executive, only one of the present ten on the exec. is a non-white student. There has never been a non-white President of NUSAS.

(5) Despite what I have said above, NUSAS is still one of the largest non-racial organisations in South Africa though probably no longer the largest non-racial student organisation. This mantle is now probably worn by the U.C.M.

(6) NUSAS has to operate in a situation of overwhelming privilege.

#### Student Organisations in South Africa in 1968

##### (1) Afrikaanse Studente Bond (ASB).

Founded 1933, broke up 1940-45, restructured 1948.

Centres: Afrikaans Universities and Training Colleges.

Numbers: Represent between 1,000 and 29,000 students.

Affiliation: Nationalist Party.

Policy: Christian-National and apartheid, violently - anti-NUSAS.

##### (2) African Students Association (ASA)

Founded: 1960/61, collapsed 1964; restructured 1967.

Centres: Individual enrolment, mainly Joburg school-children: supporters at Fort Hare and UNNE.

Numbers: ± 500

Affiliation: -

Policy: Uni-racial in composition but non-racial in outlook; attitude to NUSAS originally hostile; today more understanding.

##### 3. South African Students Union: (SASU)

Founded: 1967

Centres: UCT, Stellenbosch, P.E. (?)

Numbers: ± 200

Affiliation: UP-Prog

Policy: "Dynamic Moderation"; apposed to extremism of NUSAS and ASB. Open to non-whites.

4. South African Students Organisation: (SASO)

Founded: 1967

Centres: OCS, PE.

Numbers: Very small

Affiliation: Right-wing conservative

Policy: English-Afrikaans relations. Whites only.

5. Federal Students Organisation (FSO)

Founded: 1966

Centres: Wits (attempted)

Numbers: ± 200

Affiliation: United Party

Policy: English-Afrikaans relations; white leadership; open to all races.

6. National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)

Founded: 1924

Centres: English Universities, non-white colleges, Training Colleges branches.

Numbers:

Affiliation: Nil

Policy: Anti-apartheid, non-racial, Declaration of Human Rights; radical in South Africa terms but broadly liberal.

Conclusion:

- 1) NUSAS is most radical of whites and most efficient of all.
- 2) more dynamic though smaller than ASB.
- 3) Various splinter groups are small, powerless and disorganised.
- 4) Main motivation of splinter groups is a) removal of NUSAS to clear field so that they can dominate English student market b) Once this is done, they will drop their open membership clause, adopt a "whites only" tag and move towards a closer affiliation with ASB i.e. white-unity.
- 5) ASB has no real opposition on its campuses.
- 6) NUSAS does have opposition on its campuses which results in tightening up of the organisation and greater effort and efficiency directed to ensuring that NUSAS continues to dominate their campuses.

### The Power Structure of NUSAS.

NUSAS is, as you know, a federation of SRCs and local branches. These 20 SRCs and branches form NUSAS. Policy implementation is left to the SRCs: practical administration to the Local Committees. Congress decides policy and what practical programmes are to be followed. It elects the executive who administer the departments of NUSAS.

Obviously, in this structure, the most powerful individual in the organisation is the President. Though he is really only the chief administrator of the organisation, he is, in fact, its king as well. He can break the organisation and, to a certain extent, make it. He devotes his full-time energies to the organisation and aspirant President and Vice-President require his endorsement if they are to have any hope of success. He is usually well-informed, a reasonable speaker, good social mixer, must be able to survive without any sleep at all. In short, NUSAS must dominate his existence, his private life has to be virtually abandoned and, if he is married, he needs a very tolerant wife.

The next most powerful set of individuals is the SRC Presidents who constitute the Standing Committee. This group meets four times a year; the President is in constant touch with all of them and he relies on them for constant support, direction and information. Next in line, comes the executive. They wield power in that they can dictate the pace: No work from the executive, little on campuses etc. The President is in constant touch with them all, particularly the Vice-President and Vice-President for International Relations.

From the ranks of the exec and Standing Committee the next President invariably emerges. In terms of the centres, where does the power lie? Traditionally, the two central powers in NUSAS have been UCT and Wits; It is UCT and Wits, who have provided the bulk of NUSAS exec members, have given an impetus to NUSAS policy, and have, at times, held policy back.

Between 1962-65 there was a marked change in the power structure with UNP, UNNE, Fort Hare the real leaders of policy.

At Congress in 1964, 10 of the 18 students elected to the executive were from Natal centres.

In 1966, there was a sharp reversion with Wits dominating the leadership positions and with UNNE providing much of the policy direction. In the 1966 executive election, 9 of the 18 students elected to the executive were from Wits. This remains the position today: Wits, UNNE leading. They are likely to continue to lead though there are signs that the dreadful 5 year malaise at UCT is ending. Positive leadership is emerging from UCT and there is an encouraging number of young leaders emerging. Rhodes too, is likely to be far more in the forefront of NUSAS for at least the next year.

### The Present Position of NUSAS.

Let me analyse NUSAS as it stands today.

From the government, hostility is tremendous and undiminishing. This has manifested itself in bannings, deportation and detentions etc. of leaders. Overall, when one considers the events of the past 5 years, NUSAS has proved to a very resilient organisation and is today in a surprisingly powerful position. In many ways, I think it is miraculous that NUSAS has survived the involvement of two former Presidents

(1960, 1961 and 1962) and numerous students in sabotage, the 90-day detention of the 1964 President, banning of 1966 President, deportation of the 1968 President-elect, the banning of other executive members and advisers, constant verbal attacks from the Government and continual security police harassment. To be able in 1968 to organise a protracted leadership campaign, award more loans and scholarships than ever before, etc is a real feather in our caps. But how long can this continue, is the question we must ask ourselves.

Let us look at NUSAS, Centre by Centre

Transvaal

In the Transvaal there are 5 centres affiliated to NUSAS.

- (a) Wits - this is the strongest NUSAS centre and one of the strongest in South Africa. There is a possibility of a conservative swing at the next election, with the conservative groups becoming more efficient and organised. I expect, however, NUSAS to continue to dominate the campus.
- (b) JCE - At JCE there is an active Local Committee and reasonably pro-NUSAS SRC. The campus is, on the whole, conservative, but the leaning appears to be towards NUSAS on the grounds of the many benefits which the organisation provides, and because the more articulate and rational leaders on the campus support the National Union. There are dangers however, to be seen in the organisation of conservative groups on the campus
- (c) and (d) Sached and Johannesburg Correspondence College - The numbers in these branches are small; but support for NUSAS is strong, though the students have very little time to devote to NUSAS activities.
- (e) Pretoria - The branch at Pretoria appears to be quite dead.

Natal

There are 6 centres in Natal affiliated to NUSAS.

- (a) University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg - The situation on the campus is not good. The SRC does, on the whole, support NUSAS though many members are opposed to certain aspects of the policy. The student body is, on the whole, conservative and rather hostile towards the National Union. I think that there is a distinct danger of disaffiliation from NUSAS within the next 18 months.
- (b) University of Natal, Durban - The new SRC has just been elected and there is a good deal of opposition to NUSAS amongst the SRC members. The local committee has been very poor in the last few years though there are signs of an improvement this year. The campus, on the whole, appears to be apathetic towards both NUSAS and student affairs in general and there is great hostility from the administration towards NUSAS. I would say that here, too, there is a danger of disaffiliation within the next 18 months.
- (c) UNNE - This is one of the most "radical" campuses in the country and there is tremendously strong support for NUSAS. Most of the leaders on the campus are pro-NUSAS. The SRC on the campus is not strong. There has been strong opposition to NUSAS on the campus during the last few years. This opposition is from the "left" and not from the "right" as on most white campuses. I would say however, that there is little or no danger what-

soever of a disaffiliation from this centre for some time.

- (d) Natal Training College - NUSAS is weak on this campus. There are a few dedicated individuals who strongly support the National Union but they are up against a strong wall of apathy. Many of these leaders will be leaving shortly, and there is a distinct danger of disaffiliation within the next 2 years.
- (e) SACHED and Dormerton branches - Though small in numbers, the members are keen supporters of NUSAS and work very hard. This is probably the most active SACHED branch in the country.

#### Eastern Cape

There are 4 centres affiliated to NUSAS in the Eastern Cape.

- (a) Rhodes - The SRC at Rhodes is excellent, probably the best SRC in the National Union. There is strong support for NUSAS amongst the SRC members and the local committee is very active. The strongest factor appears to be the mature and sophisticated leadership of the SRC and NUSAS, and this has a great effect on the student body as a whole. There is an element which opposes NUSAS, but they are very much in the minority. The existence of a strong branch of the University Christian Movement is a strong liberalising influence.
- (b) Federal Theological Seminary - Students at the seminary are very busy with their academic courses and have little time to spare for NUSAS activities. However, the seminary is very pro-NUSAS. In addition, the college authorities are sympathetic to the National Union.
- (c) Port Elizabeth Branch - The branch here is in difficulties due to the fact that they cannot operate on their campus. Numbers are small and activity is minimal.
- (d) Fort Hare - There is still good support for NUSAS amongst the Fort Hare student body.

#### Western Cape

There are 4 centres of NUSAS in the Western Cape.

- (a) UCT - I would say this year is a crucial period for NUSAS on the campus. NUSAS has been strong there for many years but in the last 2 or 3 years, we have lost a little ground to the conservative body, the Independent Students Union. This is evidenced by the fact that a number of ISU supporters have been elected to the SRC in recent years. The position appears to have been reversed this year with NUSAS supporters winning 3 of the 4 seats in the recent bye-election. A new factor is the tremendous support for NUSAS from the new principal, Sir Richard Luyt. It appears too, that there are a number young students here emerging as leaders on the campus, and most of these are pro-NUSAS, so I think that NUSAS position will be strengthened during the next year or two.
- (b) Stellenbosch - The branch here is weak due to the fact that like Port Elizabeth, they may not operate on the campus. NUSAS members are few in number.
- (c) SACHED - Students here are very keen supporters of NUSAS. Though they cannot undertake activities on their own, they support all regional functions.
- (d) Game Town Training College - The campus is tremendously apathetic and the members of the local committee find great difficulty in organising functions. I don't think that there is a danger of disaffiliation at this centre; our

major problem is to keep the NUSAS local committee members from losing heart.

That, Mr. Chairman, is my assessment of the various NUSAS centres as they stand at the moment. Now, if NUSAS continues on its present trend one of two things could occur. There will either be disaffiliations within two years from UNP, UUD, NTC and the position being very shaky at JCE or there will be a right-wing swing with the resultant loss of the non-White centres.

Of the two possibilities, the second is the greater because the organisation is white-dominated as I pointed out earlier and I have seen emerge in the last few years of apologetic pro-NUSASISM: A desire to play down policy, play up practical functions and generally compromise to the right. The advocates of this who are strong at UNP claim that this is a tactical move: an attempt to "schlenter" the campus, fool them into supporting NUSAS. This approach I feel is nonsensical, dishonest and disastrous. It does not work.

#### The Role of NUSAS

Mr. Chairman, what I have said up to now should really be regarded as more or less as an introduction to what I am going on to say now:

I want to give you the various views of people on the role of NUSAS, particularly in the future. This has been a constant and continuing debate in recent years, prompted mainly by the deteriorating political situation in South Africa and the following resolution adopted at the central and Southern African Students Seminar in Dar-es-Salaam in January 1964:

"Whereas in various African countries some National Unions of students, notably NUSAS, in the way of their composition hardly reflect the aspirations of the majority of the people of their countries, and whereas up to now these unions have been represented by delegates quite out of touch with the struggles and activities of these people, we here resolve that delegates from such countries be barred from participating in National, Regional and International Student Conferences, Congresses, Seminars and Assemblies, for such unions are not competent to speak on behalf of the majority of the people of these countries."

Let me quote to you now what our representatives at that conference, Martin Legassik, wrote on the role of NUSAS after that Seminar.

"In my personal view, there is no single satisfactory student organisation in South Africa today; and in my view there is no single political organisation capable of liberating South Africa. The two facts should be considered together.

"It is taken almost as axiomatic in the student world of today that the student is an integral part of society.....

"There are two fundamentals for a student movement in South Africa. The first, and obvious, one is that it should represent the aspirations of the majority of the people. The second is that it should be non-racial.....

"Our aim must be to regroup all students in South Africa, and South Africans studying outside, who are with the liberation movement in all the basic aspects of its policy. We must act with a genuine desire for the emergence of a representative student organisation, and



not a desire to preserve NUSAS or ourselves.....

"We will, therefore, continue with the work we have done in providing education (expanded to much wider levels if possible - i.e. secondary literary, technical, etc.) and leadership training. For our other roles, we will have to take roles from the Liberation movement. Our other political task will be to analyse and to criticise, where necessary and from within."

These views I reject.

Let me quote to you the views of another former NUSAS leader written at the same time as Legassik gave his views on the role of NUSAS. The words I am to quote to you are those of Magnus Gunther, a former VPIR, Vice-President of the Wits SRC and one of the only two South Africans to have served on the executive of the ISC

"It must be understood that it is the role of NUSAS internally in South Africa which must be the primary consideration in defining the future of NUSAS. From my point of view, international considerations are strictly secondary, and a consideration and definition of NUSAS's internal role must define the terms of reference of our decision.

"NUSAS's internal role has been defined in a number of ways:

1. It is one of the last remaining vehicles of protest against the fascist government.
2. It is a source of public education and public encouragement in the defence of fundamental freedoms and democracy.
3. It is a source of practical, everyday experience in non-racialism.
4. It is a source, perhaps one of the most effective in the country, for the training of leaders.

"In my view, of all the functions, the core activity is that of training leaders. It is this function which is basic to a consideration of success. As long as NUSAS can continue to carry out this function through all the traditional means, such as seminars, involvement in protests, involvements in the decision-making of the Assembly and international activity, NUSAS should continue in existence."

Those then are the views of two of NUSAS's leaders of the late 1950's and early 60's. I want now to give you the views of two leaders trained by NUSAS at a time when it was more radical, more non-racial in composition and more precariously placed than it is today. These views are in fact those of the last two NUSAS leaders who preserve a link with the NUSAS of the early 1960s. They are John Sprack and myself.

However, before I give you these views I want to emphasise one thing: NUSAS is a democratic organisation, not only that it stands for democracy but in that its decisions are taken democratically. It is not the President, Standing Committee or Executive who takes the decisions but the "Demes" who decide. All that I can do is to give you the facts as clearly as I can. Obviously, my position gives me the privilege of speaking more and arguing harder but I have only one vote and the smallest branch can cancel out my vote at any time.

In addition, any discussion on NUSAS must centre around an understanding

of the present situation in South Africa. The question "what NUSAS should do?" must be related to the question, "what is going to happen in South Africa during the next few years?". To be precise about this is impossible but it can be reasonably stated that we cannot expect change in the present situation for some time. For all the international pressure the internal situation is more favourable to the present system than it has been since 1948.

#### John Sprack on NUSAS

1. Sprack predicts a sharp swing to the centre and the adoption of a "moderate policy", with some SRCs adopting a "students as such position".
2. He maintains that this will occur if the organisation insists on preserving centre-affiliation.

He advocates: (1) an immediate change to individual enrolment.  
 (2) the organisation would then change from a principled 90% white, soft liberal organisation to a determined 50% or more non-white organisation, left-wing operating legally but as radically as possible within the framework of the law but outside the reference of white public opinion.

(3) NUSAS would then have about 2000 individually enrolled members.

(4) In this way NUSAS would retain International support - something of which it cannot be guaranteed at the moment.

(5) NUSAS would not then have to worry about open control of the SRCs but would attempt to assure that its members won most of the key positions.

(6) He advocates the handing over of the "benefit" functions e.g. discounts, vac. employment etc. to the SRCs, thus relieving Head Office of the pressure of non-essential work.

(7) He advocates the handing over of the scholarships programme etc. to either the Standing Committee or a trust consisting of the present members of the Advisory Panel.

(8) In order to finance the organisation a membership fee of about R4 per person would have to be levied.

#### My criticisms of Sprack and Legassik

1. Both overlook what a National Union of Students really is and has to be to retain the right to call itself a National Union. Sprack's NUSAS would, in fact be no more than a nation-wide Human Rights Society.
2. By throwing centre-affiliation overboard one is throwing away campus commitment to NUSAS through centrally affiliated SRCs. One is thereby robbing the organisation of much of its authority.
3. The organisation would, if it adopted Sprack's suggestions, put itself in a position where it could very easily be banned and smashed. The NUSAS which Sprack advocates would not have the protection of the University authorities in a form of the University Principals holding posts such as <sup>63</sup>Honorary Vice-Presidents of the organisation.

4. I very much doubt whether this organisation would be able to control the key-positions on the SRG.

5. The SRCs are already <sup>overloaded</sup> with administrative work and it would not be realistic to expect them to take on the added burden of NUSAS practical work. They could only do this by employing added staff which would result in greater expenses which they would not be able to meet. In addition, if NUSAS was to drop to its practical work it would again rob itself of a great deal of authority and prestige and, in fact, would be neglecting one of a National Union's primary obligations i.e. that of providing benefits for its students.

In short, my criticism of Sprack and Legassik's theories are that they are not fitted to the role which a National Union must perform.

#### John Daniel on NUSAS

I must emphasise here that in fact these are not only my views but are views shared by most of the RC Presidents with whom I have discussed this matter and also by those senior NUSAS leaders who are at this seminar.

Firstly, let me put forward the roles which I see NUSAS as performing in this country:

- a) the Trade Union functions - benefits for students e.g. discounts, loans etc.
- b) A community projects - educational projects, SACHED etc.
- c) An instrument of improved student government - organising of regular conferences on aspects of student affairs, symposia on student government etc.
- d) Leadership training - the training of young leaders in techniques of leadership and who will provide continuity of leadership on the campuses.
- e) As Gunther puts it, "a source of practical, every day experience in non-racialism". That is, an organisation providing a platform where white and non-white can meet and share ideas.
- f) A source of education in the defence of fundamental freedoms and democracy. This involves NUSAS in educating the campuses on the meaning of such concepts as "the rule of law", "academic freedom". This is done through symposia, lectures etc. It also involves NUSAS in protesting against violations of the rights of the individual, violations of academic freedom, infringements of the rule of law etc.
- g) International role - maintaining contact with the world-wide student movement through its affiliation to the International Student Conference.

#### Intuitive Conclusions

1. The above roles can be summarised as follows:

NUSAS must continue to serve its students, serve the community, and prepare for the day when a change will come in South Africa. This brings me on to my main point. A switch in emphasis is required in NUSAS. We must cease to concentrate on isolated political issues and ~~shift~~ our attack to Apartheid itself. We reject apartheid in toto;

we stand for a new society which will be non-racial and democratic. Everything which apartheid involves, must not be a part of the new society which we want to see emerge.

There has in the past few years been too great a tendency for NUSAS to react to a given situation. We have merely concentrated on staying alive and have reacted to such things as banning or deportations with protest and then have settled back and waited for the next time we will have to protest. In short, we have reacted not acted. This must be reversed.

NUSAS must become more aggressive, positive, and militant on the campuses. We must aim to obtain a greater commitment to NUSAS from among its supporters and must strive to ensure that NUSAS's policy remains much the same as it is today. We must work to see that NUSAS remains non-racial.

John Kane-Berman, the President of the Wits SRC, has advanced certain ideas on this theme. These ideas I share and I want to give them to you.

1. Kane-Berman maintains that this new positive approach will require intensive publicity campaigns on the part of NUSAS. The message of NUSAS must be carried to all quarters of the campus. NUSAS talks must be given in the residences, to the faculty council, newspapers, magazines etc on the campus must be used to publicise NUSAS activities and policy. Kane-Berman feels that there should be an annual campaign on each campus culminating in a mass meeting in May of each year at which the student bodies will be asked to express their continued support for NUSAS principles and leadership as they stand at the time.

2. Kane-Berman feels that there has been in the past a tendency to underestimate the students. I agree with him. For example, we did not expect the massive support which the students gave us in our protest against the bannings of Ian Robertson, Dr. Hoffenberg and the deportation of John Sprack. Further more, few expected the students at Wits to give such overwhelming support to the SRC's stand on integrated Rag functions. My point is that if the SRC set out to positively lead their campuses and ask for their support on issues backing them up with sound rational arguments then in 99 cases out of a 100 the students will follow them. This must be the approach which we must adopt in the future.

3. Every effort must be made to ensure that the local committees are highly efficient organisations on the campuses. The local committees must concentrate on efficiently running many and varied programmes so that the campus is made aware of the fact that NUSAS exist/and that it exist/as a dynamic organisation seeking to serve the students. However, the work of the local committees must not be our primary aim. We must not suppress policy and play up activity. Our policy is the most important aspect of the National Union. We must not be ashamed about those things for which we stand. One is never going to obtain commitment to NUSAS's principles by ~~stepped-up baby-sitting campaigns~~. The SRC must be able to take advantage of NUSAS image as a dynamic organisation on the campus and positively advocate NUSAS's policy on all political matters.

4. Kane-Berman, however, makes the point that we must remember that the National Union must to a certain extent take cognisance of student opinion on the campus. We should be prepared to compromise on issues if they are secondary issues. We should not seek to deliberately

alienate the mass of students by taking an obviously unpopular stand on a secondary issue, for example the Olympic question. This type of thing should go by the board and we must concentrate on the fundamental issue i.e. apartheid and racial discrimination.

5. Kane-Berman further states that we must quit deferring, "rationalising" back-peddling and justifying decisions taken at congress merely because it is felt that they will be unpopular on the campuses. Our attitude should rather be that this is what NUSAS stands for, this is why NUSAS has taken the stand, take or leave it.

6. This positive and honest approach involves clinging to centre-affiliation rather than an immediate adoption of individual enrolment. However, we must not be prepared to cling to centre-affiliation at all costs. If through this positive approach we lose the support of SACs, then we must accept the new situation, switch to individual enrolment and continue to advocate our non-racial principles.

7. We must seek to preserve our non-racial composition. We believe in a non-racial and democratic South Africa and if we believe in this we must see to it that our own organisation remains non-racial. We must get used to the idea that we may have to lose certain centres if we adopt this positive approach. We must not compromise on an essential issue in order to keep a right-wing centre in the organisation.

8. Finally, there is one further thing which needs to be said here. It has been said before by other NUSAS leaders such as Jonty Driver but is still very relevant today. That is, if NUSAS does not convert to individual enrolment, it may face increased isolation internationally. We do not want this to happen and you can be sure NUSAS will fight to keep its International position. I quote Jonty Driver: "At the same time, let us be quite clear that the role of NUSAS is primarily in South Africa and not in the International Student Conference. NUSAS must do those things which it believes are right in South Africa and if NUSAS decides to, then one way, what happens internationally is of very minor importance. NUSAS must do all in its power to convince the International Student Movement of its rightness, but its decisions are its decisions alone".

### Final Conclusion

My final words are addressed to you the participants in this Seminar. NUSAS does not and has never sought a ban but, if a banning is the consequence of our positive commitment to our principles we have nothing to be ashamed of. We do not regard a ban as a stigma.

From you, the participants in the Seminar will come the future leadership of the organisation. From you will be required great courage, dedication and integrity. Your duty is clear. It is to return to your campuses, to make use of what you have learnt here. I ask from you practical commitment to NUSAS, not only to its principles, but to its positive programme. We require from you energy, vigilance and dedication. I believe that you will not fail NUSAS.

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