

PRESS DIGEST

GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY

- 1.) THE VAN WYK DE VRIES COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO UNIVERSITIES AND STUDENT AFFAIRS

- 2.) THE PARLIAMENTARY SELECT COMMITTEE/COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS

ATTACKS ON NUSAS - APPENDIX

INFORMATION DIGEST

FREEDOM AND UNITY YEAR

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1. THE VAN WYK DE VRIES COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

A. The Announcement of the Commission

On the 9th of May, 1968, the Minister of National Education, Senator J. de Klerk announced in the Senate that Cabinet sanction had been granted for the appointment of a commission of Inquiry to go into certain matters relating to the universities. He also mentioned that the enquiry could include the question of students activities at the universities about which criticism had been raised. Other suggestions might also be included in the commission's terms of reference.

Senator Dreyer's idea of the Commission

Senator de Klerk was replying to Senator T.F.J. Dreyer (National Party) who had said that he wished to draw attention to the standard of morals, behaviour and attitudes of SOME students at CERTAIN universities. There had been an infiltration of Leftist and Communist elements into universities in South Africa, not ably among former executive members of Nusas. There had been students at the University of Cape Town who had sung 'We shall Overcome' at the departure of Dr. Hoffenberg recently. (1)

Senator W.M. Crook (United Party) said in the same debate that he saw no evidence whatsoever in the reports he had read that riots among students overseas had been instigated by communists as had been suggested by Nationalist Party senators. He had sympathy with students who wanted to improve the form of their education but did not think that they should go to the extent that they had done overseas.

B. Reaction to the Announcement

The Cape Argus in an editorial (May 9th) said that university authorities would welcome the announcement by the minister of National Education that a commission was to be appointed to investigate the financing of university education and the flaw in the selection of students that lead to disproportionately high failure rate in the first year.

1. Dr. Hoffenberg. Member of NUSAS advisory panel.
Senior lecturer - Dept. of Medicine, U.C.T.
Chairman of Defence and Aid Fund.
Banned in August, 1966, - left South Africa thereafter.

'But it would be unfortunate, indeed wrong, for this enquiry to be allowed to degenerate into a political witchhunt or to be side tracked by questions of student behaviour off the campus'.

The Committee of University Principals had asked for the commission of Enquiry. The statement was made by the secretary of the committee, Mr. B.F.J. Van Rensburg. He said further: 'This is to be a very broad enquiry - involving the whole position of the universities in this country'.

University Principals commented as follows:

Prof. H.B. Thom, Rector of the University of Stellenbosch said that he had no objection to differences of opinion amongst the students. But it was essential that their actions conform with the law and that their behaviour remain decent and orderly. If an enquiry into undesirable student activities were to form part of the commissions work every university in South Africa should be investigated to 'Get the whole picture'.

Sir Richard Luyt, Principal of the University of Cape Town, said the universities themselves possessed adequately effective machinery to control their student activities. 'I have never contemplated any machinery other than that which the universities have to control student conduct'. Both emphasised that the main purpose of the enquiry was to investigate the subsidy formula for university expenditure.

Mr. Duncan Innes, President of the S.R.C. at the University of Cape Town and Vice-President of Nusas was guarded in his comments on the announcement of the enquiry. 'The University of Cape Town would welcome an impartial and independent commission of enquiry set up to investigate some specific area of student affairs, however, I fear that any commission set up in the present atmosphere of hysteria cannot begin its investigation in the objective light which such a topic deserves'.

Student petition at U.C.T. A petition circulated on the University of Cape Town campus read ; 'We the undersigned noting recent parliamentary attacks on the Principal and students of U.C.T., believe the attacks stem from the fact that U.C.T. is a living example of integration within an artificially segregated society.

(3)

We therefore wish to condemn these attacks, and wish to reaffirm our abhorrence of the doctrine of apartheid which is responsible for this artificial segregation'.

C. A further announcement by Senator de Klerk

Senator de Klerk announced on the 14th of May, in the Senate that if the activities of university students were included in the terms of reference of the commission of inquiry into university matters, it would apply to all universities and not only the English language universities. He said too, that it was wrong for the opposition to suggest he was interfering in the affairs of the universities. The heads of the universities had approached him and requested him to institute an inquiry into university matters with particular reference to financial matters. He had agreed to this but had told them that there were a number of other matters that he would like to include in the terms of reference. He had no intention to force on the universities anything without their consent. He said further that the older generation had to give guidance and that in present day circumstances this was not easy because things tended to get out of hand and the younger generation were under the influences of foreign ideologies. It was to be hoped that the youth of South Africa would stay on their conservative path.

The Cape Times reacted in an editorial on the 16th May, 1968. The editorial read: "Few people would oppose a responsible investigation of undesirable activities at universities. Nusas itself, which has so often been accused directly or by implication of undesirable activities, has said that it would welcome such an inquiry. But to mix up the sober business of how the universities subsidies shall be calculated with the emotive and debatable question of student morality and politics is surely not practical. In fact there might be a danger that such a hybrid commission would get caught in the quicksand terrain of hairsplitting on what is morality, what is understandable activity, what is patriotism and what is the distinction between youthful exuberance and subversion".

D. The Appointment of the Commission of Inquiry

On the 9th September, 1968 the Commission's final appointment was announced by Sen. De Klerk then Minister of National Education.

He said the commission would consist of Mr. Justice van Wyk de Vries
(Chairman)

Prof. H.J. Bingle
(Principal, Potchefstroom University)

Prof. H.B. Thom
(Principal of Stellenbosch University)

Prof. O.P.F.H. Horwood
(Then Principal of the University of Natal, after nationalist senator, now member of Cabinet)

Prof. G.R. Bozzoli
(Principal of Wits University)

Mr. W.C. Du Plessis
(ex administrator of Namibia)

Mr. I.T. Meyer
(A former controller and auditor-general)

Mr. S.C.M. Naude
(Director of the Technical College of the Witwatersrand.)

Soon afterwards Mr. L.T. Campbell-Pitt was appointed as a member of the commission.

E. The Chairman - Mr. Justice van Wyk de Vries

The following facts concerning the chairman of the commission appeared in the Star on the 12th September, 1968.

Born Pretoria 1915, studied law at Pretoria University. He played a prominent role in Afrikaner activities in Johannesburg for almost 30 years. He first became prominent during the war when he defended or acted as instructing attorney for the defence of a large number of people charged with various acts directed against the country's war effort ranging from high treason to sabotage.

1933 - 1937, he served in the Department of Justice.

1940 started practising as an attorney in Johannesburg.

1951 elected to Witwatersrand Central School Board (His name was submitted by the Skakelkomitee of the Afrikaans Societies of Johannesburg. He was elected and became Vice Chairman, a position he held for a number of years.

(5)

1953 Called to the bar.

1955 appointed to the S.A. Medical and Dental Council

1956. Headed a three man commission to divide the Witwatersrand Central area into constituencies for the election of school board members.

1958 Appointed chairman of Greater Pretoria Commission (a city boundaries commission)

He is a director of several companies and an elder of the Gereformeerde Kerk).

F. Note on other members and the Broederbond.

It is interesting to note that according to reports in the Sunday Times which has at regular intervals uncovered members of the Broederbond; the Afrikaner secret society, at least three members of the commission are members of this organization. (2)

Prof. H.J. Bingle is chairman of the Broederbond's special 'task committee' on education. SCM Naude is an associate member of the same task force. The Sunday Times in a report published on the 28th January, 1973 describes the role of a task force keeping a close watch on every public body and describes its effect as exercising a powerful and significant influence on the decisions and actions of the government in the specific sphere of the task force. Prof. H.J. Bingle is also an executive member of the Broederbond. W.C. Du Plessis is allegedly also a member of the Broederbond.

It has been alleged, also by sources connected with the Sunday Times that the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice J. Van Wyk de Vries is a member of the Broederbond.

G. The Terms of Reference of the Commission

The Terms of reference of the inquiry are as follows:

2. Broederbond:

A secret Afrikaner elite organization which played a major role in the Nationalist rise to power.

TO ENQUIRE INTO AND REPORT IN-SO-FAR AS UNIVERSITIES FOR WHITES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE CONCERNED, ON EDUCATIONAL, ACADEMIC, FINANCING AND DEVELOPMENT ASPECTS OF UNIVERSITIES, AND ON ANY OTHER MATTERS WHICH THE COMMISSION MAY DEEM TO BE OF IMPORTANCE; WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO:

- i. The Steps required to ensure efficient education.
- ii. The range of study and quality of work, undergraduate as well as post-graduate, required for corresponding degrees, diploma and certificates.
- iii. The size of classes, departments and universities.
- iv. The length of the academic year.
- v. The main reasons for, and measures to check, the high failure rate among undergraduate students.
- vi. The facilities required for healthy mental and physical recreation for students.
- vii. Student relations in general, and in particular the role students and student bodies could play, in co-operation with academic authorities, in maintaining a healthy spirit and code of conduct on the campus of modern universities.
- viii. The most effective methods of teaching and research.
- ix. The qualifications which the various grades of university lecturing staff should hold and the extent to which such standards are met at present.
- x. Reciprocal recognition of courses passed by students and the possibility of greater mobility of such students between universities.
- xi. The adjustment of the Holloway formula (as amended from time to time) or the devising of a new formula for the subsidization of universities to meet present-day requirements in respect of current and capital expenditure.
- xii. The salary structure as a determining factor in attracting and retaining lecturing staff.
- xiii. The posts structure and lecturer-student ratio.
- xiv. Bursaries and loans for students.

(7)

- xv. Future policy in connection with the development of universities in the country and in view of the urgency of the matter, to give priority to the financing scheme and, if necessary to submit an interim report on this matter so that the basis of subsidization for 1970 and the succeeding years may be determined.

Comment

The Rand Daily Mail: In an editorial of the 11th September, 1968, the Rand Daily Mail commented on the commission terms of reference as follows:

'Coming as it does in the midsts of the latest and most serious phase of the student unrest at the English-language universities, the announcement will inevitably be related in the public mind to this issue, even though only one of the 15 matters the commission is called upon to examine is concerned with *student affairs - namely "student relations in general and, in particular, the role students and student bodies could play, in co-operation with academic authorities, in maintaining a healthy spirit and code of conduct on the campuses of modern universities."*

It is here that some misgivings arise. What exactly is 'a healthy spirit and code of conduct?' The government and a substantial weight of conservative opinion in this country considers it to be an amalgam of studiousness, docility and respect for the conventional wisdoms. According to this view students, like children (which Mr. Vorster calls them), should be seen and not heard. Majority student opinion at the English-language universities, supported by all liberal minded people, feels very differently about this. The view here is that students have a right and a duty to be concerned about such issues as academic freedom, social justice, race discrimination and so on.

We ourselves believe that students are entirely justified in feeling disturbed about Government interference in the appointment of a lecturer and the mass suspensions of African students at Fort Hare.

- (3) Fort Hare: Students expelled in 1969 following protests which stemmed from the appointment of De Wet as Rector.

We only wish many more people were prepared to speak up about such matters instead of freezing with fear when the government growls. And to those who say that this is encouraging student irresponsibility we would answer that only last month a commission of enquiry under the chairmanship of a judge issued a report on student unrest at the University of Natal which very largely vindicated the students and, by implication, criticised the principal and the university administration for the manner in which students dissatisfaction had been handled.

We sincerely hope that the new commission approaches this delicate part of its task with the same open-mindedness and modernmindedness as the Harcourt Commission displayed in its enquiry in Natal. (4)

Evidence submitted to the Commission by Students

On the 2nd December, 1968 the Commission called for written evidence from organizations and individuals and stated that it would soon arrange for oral evidence to be submitted before the commission.

Nusas Evidence

Nusas was the first organization called to give evidence before the Commission in August, 1971. A deputation of four executive members was led by the Deputy president, Mr. Paul Pretorius. A document submitted by Nusas at the hearing as evidence is included in the appendix. This document outlined the nature and structure of the National Union.

When in evidence submitted, the organization's opposition to the apartheid policy was made clear, the delegation was asked by Mr. W.C. du Plessis whether Nusas would advise its members to fight or not to fight an army attacking South Africa specifically intending to end apartheid. Mr. Pretorius replied that any such decision could not be taken by Nusas as this was obviously illegal. It was a matter which would have to be left to individual members.

Questions were also asked regarding the decision to form the Republic of South Africa and Nusas' non participation in the Republic Day celebrations in 1971.

- (4) Harcourt Commission: In 1967 Horwood, Principal of the University of Natal, banned DOME and suspended the S.R.C. because of disagreements between himself and the student body. The Harcourt Commission was established to investigate these complaints and found the alledged student agitation was amiss.

ASB Evidence

Immediately after the Nusas evidence had been submitted, a delegation from the ASB led by its immediate past president, Mr. Johan Fick, gave evidence. (5) When asked their attitude towards non-violent protest they replied that they accepted the right of a citizen in a democratic country to protest. The ASB accepted non-violent and peaceful protests. In the past their organization had held many such protest gatherings said Mr. Fick.

University of Cape Town S.R.C.

When the SRC delegation from the University of Cape Town arrived in Pretoria to present their evidence they submitted a resolution to the commission objecting to the continued presence of Senator Owen Horwood in the commission. The resolution concerning Senator Horwood was passed at a U.C.T. S.R.C. meeting on August 25th, 1971. It noted that he had been appointed to the commission while he was principal of the University of Natal and that he continued to be a member in spite of his recent appointment to the Senate. It said further that Senator Horwood was thus being bound by Nationalist Party Policy. By his suggested withdrawal of subsidies from Universities unless students ceased political activities 'he has committed himself publicly on the very issues which the commission is at present investigating'.

'Senator Horwood's position on the senate and his public utterances can hardly increase public confidence in the objectivity of this commission's findings.'

After the resolution had been put to the commission the chairman said the commission would adjourn to consider the resolution. When the commission reconvened with the students present they were told by the chairman, Mr. Justice J. van Wyk de Vries that the commission was of the unanimous and considered opinion that the resolution was 'impertinent', lacking in good taste and contemptuous of a judicial commission of inquiry appointed by the State President'.

'It brings discredit on the University of Cape Town and its student community. In these circumstances the commission has decided not to hear you. You may take your leave at once'.

- (5) Afrikaanse Studentebond: Formed in early 1930's when students of Afrikaans Language Universities broke away from Nusas at the rise of Afrikaner Nationalism.

The U.C.T. delegation consisted of the S.R.C. President, Mr. Jan Theron and the two vice presidents, Mr. Deon Irish and Mr. Geoff Budlender.

The S.R.C. of Rhodes University in a letter to the U.C.T. S.R.C. expressed regret at the commission refusal to hear the evidence of the UCT S.R.C. The Statement read: 'The Rhodes S.R.C. notes Senator Horwood's change in status from University Principal to Nationalist senator after his appointment to the commission,' and 'believes that by his suggestions that subsidies be withdrawn from the universities, to combat student protests and political activity, as well as allegations regarding Nusas, he has made public statements on issues the Commission is investigating'.

Attacks on the Universities which have Relevance to the Commission's Work

Mr. Horwood and University subsidies

In the Senate debates on the 4th of June, 1971, Mr. Horwood had the following to say. The statement quoted below, came at the end of a lengthy debate on the activities of Nusas and its current leadership:

'... But what I am saying is that these universities have statutory bodies, they have councils of prominent men and I want to know what are the council of these universities doing when Members of Nusas who are university students, do the things that I have mentioned here and many other things that I have not had time to mention and the many things that they are saying to incite racial unrest in this country, to play into the hands of our enemies outside the country and they do it day by day - what are these authorities doing to stop these nefarious activities?

'You know that I am the last to suggest that we should interfere with universities but let me say this that if it comes to the security of the state and the welfare of this nation and this country, then I want to say that no university stands above or outside the law of this country and it is high time this were understood and under our Universities Act of 1955 as amended, the Minister has the power to do exactly what certain governors of American states have done including the University of Wisconsin, they have reduced the subsidies and they have calls the bluff of those people overnight.

(11)

I put that forward. I am a great champion of academic freedom but not at the cost of anarchy, not at the cost of the security of my country. I want to know what the university authorities are doing in these matters. These are people who are looked up to, they are paid by the state, they are in responsible positions and I think it is high time that we could come out and ask them what precisely is being done to stop once and for all these utterly un-South African activities that are going on in our midst. That is the position.'

Note: The Student stands recorded in the previous pages of this document resulted in the main from the above statement of the senator.

Reactions to the subsidy cut threats

Senator Horwood's threats were strongly attacked by Dr. G.R. Bozzoli, Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand. He said 'To suggest that it should be necessary to 'control' expression of opinion by students in our universities by withholding funds from the university concerned is not only abhorrent, but is the kind of suggestion which shows a complete lack of understanding of the magnitude and range of the activities of a vigorous modern university'.

'It is completely incorrect to compare the actions of the students some years ago on certain of the campuses of the University of California - each of which is smaller than many other campuses, like Ohio and Paris - with the occasional student demonstration in South Africa'.

The Principal of the Rand Afrikaanse Universiteit, Professor G. Viljoen, said that he thought that Senator Horwood was completely correct'. 'Academic freedom cannot be used to disturb the good order of the University'.

Editorials in leading English-language newspapers reacted strongly.
Argus (7/6/71)

"Senator Owen Horwood's suggestion is more than surprising. He knows better than most that without state aid the universities could not possibly function.

Wholesome student participation in politics is as natural as their interest in sport. It is important that it should be encouraged. Part of a university's function is to equip students for a positive role in public life. It is of far less importance what causes students espouse. The vital issue is that they should grow increasingly aware of the problems which face the community".

Daily Dispatch (8/6/71)

"Portentious hints and threats have been uttered against student leaders and their outspokenness and the suggestion has now been made that the government may withhold normal state subsidies to those universities which do not crack down on Nusas .

"The latest student whine comes from that political hybrid mealie, Senator Horwood".

"Briefly Nationalist leaders have for some time implied that certain churchmen and certain students were subversive. Why then, in the name of all that is precious to the volk, do they not charge and try these subversives in a court of law? For years now the only anti-student actions have been raids, searches and threats."

Rand Daily Mail (8/6/71)

"As others have already pointed out, anyone who understands what universities are all about will reject such an idea out of hand. Interestingly enough, Senator Horwood rejected it too, in his academic days. He made a major point in his inaugural speech as Principal of Natal University in 1966 of stressing that a government's financing of a University did not give it the right to interfere in the University's internal affairs. Which suggests that the Senator is now mouthing a party line.

"If so then let the Government take early warning that there will be a great outcry. Our English-language universities and the community they serve cherish their ancient tradition of academic freeodm. And they have a right to demand that a government which is forever proclaiming the sanctity of group traditions should practise what it preaches and keep its hands off this one".

Statement from the Minister of Education

The Minister of National Education, Senator J.P. van der Spuy, made it clear in the Assembly on the 8th June, 1971 that he was not considering action against students who protested on political issues as long as they did not break the law.

(13)

In response to questions from government members as to whether they should not cut down the subsidies of some universities he said:

"This is an extremely important matter. The State spends at least R1,000 per year per student in South Africa out of money the taxpayer had to contribute from his pocket. It is natural that there will be objections to some of their actions - not that you deny their right to protest."

"There is no question of curbing the rights of any citizens to protest politically. At present we have a commission of inquiry into the universities in this country and I think it would only be wise to wait and to see what they find, also with regard to these matters before they take hasty decisions."

The Convocation of the University of Natal and Prof. Stock, University of Natal Principal

The following motion was passed at the annual meeting of the Convocation of the University of Natal. (September, 1971)

"This meeting is completely opposed to any suggestion that State subsidies to universities should be made conditional upon the attitudes or behaviour of any individual student or a group of students."

In a further motion passed by the convocation executive they said:

"...The fact that the Government subsidises universities out of public funds in no way entitles it to impose conditions upon a University other than purely financial ones. The executive reaffirms its belief in the independence and autonomy of the Universities".

The motions followed a reaction by the principal of the University of Natal, Professor Stock, in which he said 'The man who pays the piper calls the tune. The university is dependant on the Government for most of its support, and in the end, the man who provides the support can tell the tune'.

The Free State National Party Congress

A motion was put before the National Party Congress in Bloemfontein in September, 1971, calling for tougher action against Nusas and the suspension if necessary of Government university subsidies. Speaking on the resolution at the congress, Senator van der Spuy said the reduction or suspension of a university subsidy was a drastic move which would amount to punishing the innocent majority because of the attitude of a minority.

"I do not say the Government will never be forced into this, but at the moment the feeling is that we would not like to take this drastic action".

"I want to make it clear that the universities must not see in this a sign of weakness on this Governments part. If they do they are mistaken. Let them make no mistake about it, the Government will do its duty to the Taxpayers of this country".

Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress (October, 1971)

At the Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress a similar motion to the one proposed at the Bloemfontein Congress was placed before the floor. The resolution called for tougher action against sections of the South African student body. It called upon the Government to 'suspend or cut drastically the subsidies to universities which cannot control their students, or prevent them from becoming involved in subversive activities - until such time as these universities succeed in convincing their students that it is a privilege to study and not a right.'

At the congress the Minister of National Education rejected the subsidy cut call but at the same time he told delegates to the Congress that the Militant minority of "Leftist, liberalist and communist agitators" would be ripped out of South Africa's universities "Root and Branch". The minister also warned that the report of the Van Wyk de Vries Commission would be available early the following year and that 'If the government finds that we must take action, then you can rest assured we will take that action'.

"The problem lies only with a small minority at some of the universities - the majority of students do go there to learn. If subsidies to the Universities are reduced then there is the danger of penalizing the innocent as well as the guilty".

"We have told the Universities that we do not want to do it, but the Government expects the Universities to get their houses in order".

It is interesting to note that at the same congress Senator Van der Spuy rejected demands by delegates to take special action against University educationists. He said that in terms of legislation the Government was empowered to take action to prevent the propogating of Communist ideals and "it will take action against any citizen guilty of this, not only lecturers".

(15)

Natal Nationalist Party Congress

At the Congress Senator Horwood, former University of Natal Principal, warned of a 'grave conspiracy' against the country by certain university members, newspapermen and churchmen. He urged the Government to curtail the subsidies of universities where students misbehaved.

In reply the Minister of National Education said that at this stage the Government did not intend to take such drastic action against the universities, as he had said at previous provincial congresses of the National Party. However, on this occasion the Minister added that if some 'undermining activities' at those universities did not abate the government would be compelled to reconsider a 'shelved' Bill in that regard. If the University Authorities were not prepared to 'get their houses in order' very serious consideration would be given to withdrawing or reducing subsidies.'

Further Controversy over Horwood

In May 1972, Nusas announced that its lawyers were considering a supreme court action to have Nationalist Party Senator Owen Horwood removed from the Commission of Inquiry.

Nusas alleged that the senator was too biased in his attitude towards English language universities and students that he should be removed from the commission or excuse himself.

Nusas did not proceed with litigation, however.

Further statements by Senator Van der Spuy

At the 1972 congress of the Free State National Party, the Minister of National Education announced that an urgent interim report of the Van Wyk de Vries Commission on student affairs would soon be ready. This announcement was made on the 7th September, 1972. This report would form the basis of any government legislation. Also taken into account would be findings - if available - of the *Schlebusch Parliamentary Commission into Nusas and three other organizations.*

In his speech the Minister made several points.

- He would not invade university autonomy by screening foreign university staff and students;
- He would not take action against the re-admission to university of demonstrating students who had contravened the law, and
- He again rejected the demand that university subsidies be suspended when no discipline was exercised.

In a later press interview with the Sunday Express (10/9/72) he was questioned as to the likelihood of the Government scrapping its subsidies to South African universities in favour of a subsidy grant to individual students as a means of curbing student unrest. He is reported as saying 'This proposal has definitely not been included in the commission's interim report. It therefore seems unlikely that the Government will at this stage introduce any such measure as a means of reducing unrest on South African campuses. In view of the fact that there are more than 70,000 white students in South Africa, the administration of individual State subsidies would present a mammoth task'.

'However, legislation in connection with students will necessarily be based on the report of the commission.'

An article which appeared in the Sunday Times (29/10/72) stated that the minister was expected to introduce legislation early in the new year (1973), which would lay down that no appointment of a University Principal may be made without government approval.

Interim Report

Towards the end of 1972 Press reports announced that an interim report of the Van Wyk De Vries Commission was in the hands of the State President.

(17)

Sunday Tribune Article - January 7th, 1973

The Sunday Tribune (7/1/73) made several speculative forecasts regarding the report of the Van Wyk De Vries commission into the White Universities, expected to be tabled in Parliament during the 1973 session.

Among the measures listed were:

The declaration of Nusas as a political organization i.e. blocking overseas funds and banning its multi-racial membership.

Government control over the appointment of University principals.

Government power to force universities to withdraw from any 'Inter University organization - like Nusas - deemed undesirable by the Minister of Education.

Power to ban outright any inter-university organization.

A plan to 'fine' university administrations if students or staff are arrested while taking part in anti-government activities such as picketing or pamphleteering.

The report continued. 'Senator Van der Spuy it is believed, would have the right to veto a university nomination - and the government would justify the move by pointing out that the same system is followed in some European countries - like Holland and Germany. But it has been pointed out that neither of these countries has exercised its right to veto appointment of principals - and also that both countries the Government grant to universities is about 97 percent to South Africa's 70 percent.

If student bodies refuse to recognize a ministerial edict that they withdraw support from an inter-university organization like Nusas or the University Christian movement, the Minister will have the power to fine the administration - perhaps 10 times the affiliation fee paid by the students to the organization. If the minister is still not satisfied, he may ban the inter-university organization outright.

University authorities will thus be forced to crack down hard on anti-government students and staff: If they don't, substantial 'fines' will be deducted from the government grant.

Concurrent with measure would be an increase in state grants to the universities, said the report, and it described this measure as the 'sugar on the bitter disciplinary pill'.

It is also believed there will be a revision of the "Holloway Formula" - a system of financing universities abandoned five years ago. The system was operated on a five yearly basis with grants being calculated on a fixed amount for each student. This was abandoned when certain Afrikaans language universities started expanding and complained they needed development funds as well as a student subsidy.

Now it is expected, each student will be subsidised individually on an annual basis. If he does not perform well academically or if he 'neglects his studies' - which is what student protesters have been accused of - the grant could be withdrawn.

II. THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE THE NATIONAL UNION OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS, THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE, THE UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS.

1. The Announcement of the Committee: 4th February, 1972.

At the end of his speech in reply to the Oppositions traditional no confidence debate, on the 4th February, 1972, Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster announced his intention to establish a Select Committee to investigate four organizations, namely NUSAS, the University Christian movement, the C.I. and the S.A.I.R.R. This announcement was preceded by a warning to the whole House on the dangers of international Communism.

The Danger of Communism:

"The years ahead are not merely going to be of very great importance for if we consider what is happening in various parts of the world, if we consider the progress the communists have made, if we consider the chaos, the struggles and the bloodshed occurring in various parts of the world at the present time, then it arouses concern for the period ahead; ... The time has come for one to ask oneself again: What lies behind it all? Against what must we entrench ourselves, and against what must we be on our guard?"

Mr. Vorster quoted at length from Sir Winston Churchill's renowned speech on Communism and then proceeded to say; "I think our Parliament should keep an eye on all organizations and should keep an eye on all trends which may possibly give rise to subversion." This was followed by his proposed intention to appoint a "Select Committee of Parliament to investigate the objectives, activities etc. of the following four organizations: the U.C.M., NUSAS, the Christian Institute and the S.A.I.R.R."

Mr. Vorster said "I do not want to pronounce any judgement on these people at the present moment; I do not want to place them in the dock in anticipation, but in view of the information at my disposal, I would be neglecting my duty if I did not tell Parliament that the information indicates that there is a prima facie case here which needs to be investigated. I believe that Parliament, as the guardian of liberty should undertake that investigation by means of a select committee."

2. Establishment of the Committee: 10th February, 1972.

The actual motion in which the Select Parliamentary Committee was established was proposed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, on the 10th February, wherein he called for an "inquiry into and report upon the objects, organizations, activities, financing and related matters of NUSAS, the SAIRR, the UCM and the Christian Institute of South Africa and their subordinate organizations, the Committee to have power to take evidence and call for papers". The motion was adopted by 86 to 43, the United Party members and the Progressives voting against.

Elaborating on his reasons for urging the House to adopt his motion, Mr. Vorster had the following to say:

"Sir, I have told you that the time has come for Parliament to take stock of these organizations. I want to repeat, with all the responsibility which I possess, that according to information which the competent authorities have at their disposal there is most certainly a prima facie case. I therefore come to Parliament in the knowledge that this is so and that Parliament itself should look into these organizations."

"The time in which we are living - I need not enlarge on this; every honourable member here, is thoroughly aware of it - compel us as far as these organizations are concerned, to see what their objects are, most certainly to see with whom they have liaison, most certainly to ascertain what the motives of these organizations are, most certainly to ascertain by whom they are financed, and what is even more important to me, most certainly to ascertain whom they finance in their turn. Here we four organizations moving in this delicate sphere..... here we have a student organization which has caused many parents in this country endless anxiety, because they do not know where their children are being led by this organization."

Regarding NUSAS leadership, he said: As far as leaders of NUSAS are concerned, I need only refer to the Leftwich and other incidents. One need only refer to statements and to collaboration with South Africa's enemies, as it appears on the face of it. This compels me to say that these organizations must be looked into." (6)

Mr. Vorster noted that NUSAS had called for a three-man judicial commission open to the public" in preference to a select committee, but reminded Parliament of a commission headed by Justice Munnik, which investigated the events leading up to a civil disobedience campaign at Rhodes University, in May last year.

"You will remember from the Press reports on the enquiry with what contempt, with what venom, and with what rudeness that commission was treated by NUSAS. Now it does not become those people to appeal to a judicial commission of enquiry at this stage," Mr. Vorster said.

3. The Opposition's Voice:

Speaking immediately after the Prime Minister, Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the Opposition moved an amendment, later rejected by 86 to 43, calling on

6. Three days before Mr. Vorster announced his intention to establish a Select Committee of Enquiry into Certain Organisations, the Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill was read for a second time. Section 5(i) of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 provides that the Minister of Justice may, by notice in the gazette, prohibit persons who were office bearers, officers or members of an organisation which has been declared to be an unlawful organisation, from participating without consent, in certain ways in the activities of other organisations.
- Mr. Pelsler, the Minister of Justice, went on to explain that "the intention always has been that persons who belonged to the organisation at any time before or after the organisation was declared unlawful, shall be subject to such a prohibition. They were associated with an organisation which engaged in subversive activities, and the danger therefore exists that they may promote the aims of that organisation by means of an innocent lawful organisation. It is in the interests of national safety that there should be control over the activities of these persons in vulnerable lawful organisations."
- He stated that the amendment was necessary in order to clarify the intentions of the Bill as stated above, as there had been several cases where Judges of the Supreme Court had ruled that the Bill was not retrospective and therefore did not apply to people who had been members of an organisation before it had been declared unlawful, but who were no longer members at the time it was declared to be unlawful. The aim of the Amendment is therefore- "to eliminate the uncertainty which has arisen" by stating that the Bill is in fact retrospective.

the government to consider the advisability of appointing a judicial commission for the purpose of an investigation into the four organisations. He claimed that the Prime Minister had not been able to explain what the Select Committee would be investigating, and that at best, Mr. Vorster muttered vaguely about a prima facie case for investigation with no specifications whatever. Giving his reasons for preferring a Judicial Commission of Enquiry in place of a select committee of Parliament, Sir de Villiers Graaff said: "We are politicians, but are we the people to go and form a nice balanced judgement as to the innocence or otherwise of the activities of organizations of that kind? As far as I am concerned, I believe that not only would a judicial commission be a better body for an investigation of this kind, but also that the public would have more confidence in it. It is clear that the organizations concerned will have more confidence in it. In a matter of this kind it is not only sufficient that justice must be done, but that justice must be seen to be done.

Cross examination before a select committee is difficult. Questions have to go through the chair, while in cross examination in a court of law, which is the procedure adopted for a judicial commission, the cross examiner gets a much better opportunity than in a select committee.

It is easier for the counsel to operate before a judicial commission. It is a forum with which he is familiar, and counsel leading evidence can sift the evidence that is to be given to the commission concerned. Nobody will deny that judges have more experience in sifting and weighing up evidence than have ordinary members of Parliament who have never sat on a Bench in their lives.

Before a judicial commission, a witness has certain rights and he need not answer incriminating questions. Before a Select Committee there is no such protection for the witness. As far as I am concerned I believe that a Judicial Commission should be the right body to enter into an inquiry of this kind.

In an interview in the Cape Times (11/2/72) Sir de Villiers Graaff gave his party's reasons for serving on the select committee. These were as follows:

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It was the party's Parliamentary duty.

It gave the party a say in the selection of witnesses.

It enabled the party to evaluate the evidence for itself and to put questions to witnesses.

It was the only way in which the party could enter the final debate on the issue properly informed.

4. Mrs. Helen Suzman's Views:

Mrs. Helen Suzman, sole Progressive Party M.P. asked Mr. Vorster the following question in relation to this; "What is going to be investigated? Is it the patriotism of these organizations that is going to come under the scrutiny of this house, or is the desirability of their continued existence to be considered, or is the Select Committee going to consider redrafting the law so that, in fact, the activities of these organizations become unlawful?"

"Mr. Vorster has told us about the prima facie case but he has not told us what it is. I would like to know what the common denominators are that link these four organizations in his mind. I discern three. The first is that they are all outspokenly critical of the Government's racial policy. The second one is that they are multi-racial, and the third is that they receive financial support from abroad."

"..... the whole exercise is transparently obvious. The reason for it is to distract attention from all the urgent problems that are adding to the ground swell of dissatisfaction with this incompetent Government There is the objective to intimidate critics of the Government, to intimidate them into a submissive silence".

"By agreeing to appoint this Select Committee I believe that the house will be going a long way towards setting up an un-South African Activities Committee, on the lines of McCarthy's un-American Activities Committee and I believe that one day the stage will be reached when protest and criticism questioning research and assessment - all of which I believe to be healthy ingredients of a democratic society - will be equated with subversion and lack of patriotism".

".....it is very difficult to see exactly how the Select Committee is going to operate and how justice will be done since, by his own argument, the Select Committee will not sit in public, it will not hear all the evidence from every witness who asks to be heard - it need not anyway; it need not publish all the evidence and, indeed, the Standing Orders of this House actually preclude it from publishing a minority report, though I do agree that there are ways and means of getting around that." "What also worries me is that so many members who may very well be appointed to the Select Committee have already committed themselves in advance on their views on these organizations. Not only did the Prime Minister commit himself, but much more recently, so did the Hon. Member for Prinsloof. (Mr. J. Kruger)"

"I want to say unequivocally that I will have no part of this Select Committee. I will not serve on this select committee. I say again that I believe that the official opposition is making a parlous mistake in agreeing to serve on this select committee. I believe that we ought to leave it to the Nationalists to sit on this Select Committee. That will make it clear to the whole country just what a farce the whole thing is going to be. I think it is foolishly allowing itself to be co-opted by the Nationalists if it does agree to sit on this committee. I also think it will be lending respectability to the whole idea of this farcical investigation into these four organizations."

5. The Initial Reaction of the Four Organizations:

South African Institute of Race Relations.

Dr. W.F. Nkomo, the President of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said that he was shocked that the Government claimed there was a prima facie case to investigate his organization "while the Prime Minister does not see fit to investigate the death of Mr. Ahmed Timol." The country was also crying out for the truth of the situation in Ovamboland where, he said, the situation was deteriorating daily.

The Christian Institute:

The Rev. C.F. Beyers Naude, director of the Christian Institute, asked "Why does the Government not concentrate on more urgent matters. Since the Prime Ministers announcement to investigate these four organizations, the question has arisen in my mind time and again - why is there no commission of inquiry to probe the really serious issues?"

NUSAS:

In a joint statement, Paul Pretorius, President, and Renfrew Christie, Deputy President, said: "If Mr. Vorster really wants to find the cause of the present situation in our country, let him look far more carefully at the facts of life in South Africa.

"Let him look at -

- * The Migrant Labour System.
- * The fact that 60% of the Africans in the Durban Townships are estimated to live below the breadline.
- * The 643897 people arrested for pass law offences in 1969/70.
- * The 111580 White, Coloured and Indian families whose homes have been disrupted by removals.
- * The 108 cases of alleged assault by members of the South African Police, which are pending in the courts.
- * The Ovambo crisis.
- * The 1108 people whose lives were disrupted under the Immorality Act in the year ended June, 1971.

"Nusas has been the conscience of its country since before most of its present leaders were born. Mr. Vorster knows everything NUSAS does through his Security Police and other henchmen. If we had broken the law, van loads of policemen and dogs would have made sure that we were arrested and charged. But Mr. Vorster knows that he cannot get us that way, so he must try other means. The whole thing looks like an elaborate smoke-screen to blind the public from the real issues. However, if he wishes to investigate us he may."

The University Christian Movement:

The Rev. Basil Moore assistant General Secretary of the University Christian Movement said that "The probe was fine if it gets the monkey off our backs. But I would have thought that a Parliamentary Select Committee would have been better employed investigating such things as the Timol case, police activities, and the general air of police brutality."

6. Joint Statement by the Four Organizations:

Representatives of the four organizations met in Johannesburg on the 6th February. In a joint statement after the meeting, the representatives said they doubted whether a Parliamentary Committee would be as qualified to arrive at an objective conclusion as a public judicial Commission of inquiry. "We wish to make a clear statement that the affairs of each and all of our organizations are open and public.

"We therefore do not consider an Inquiry of any kind to be necessary.

"But if the Government persists in demanding an Inquiry we request the proposed Parliamentary Select Committee be replaced by a judicial commission consisting of three judges of the Supreme Court which would hold its hearings in public."

The request had been conveyed to both the Prime Minister and to the leader of the Opposition.

The statement was signed by the Director of the SAIRR, Mr. F.J. Van Wyk, the Rev. C.J. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute, Mr. Chris Mokoditwa, General Secretary of the UCM and Mr. Paul Pretorius, the NUSAS President.

7. Expressions of support for the Four Organizations:

Labour Party of South Africa: In a statement to the press, Mr. D. Mattera, National Public Relations Officer for the Labour Party of South Africa (Coloured) said that his party doubted whether there would be 'a fair and just inquiry' into the four organizations. The party suggested 'proper means for conducting an Inquiry - but in no way do we agree with the need for one.'

"The four organizations are well known publicly and their conduct has always been open to scrutiny."

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The party says 'the motives' of a select committee 'will be suspect - in that it will be conducted in camera by Government partisans.'

"The public whose interests are concerned, will not be able to justify any suspicions as the genuineness of the named organizations."

"For too long has the general public been neglected in the scheme of things namely: silent arrest: silent release: silent payment of libel and silence on the methods of interrogation. We become automatically adverse to the idea of a select committee investigation."

"The party proposes a proper public investigation, headed by Judges from all four provinces, in which the named organizations can share in the debate and findings."

"We suggest the call for an investigation by the Prime Minister is just another move to crush public bodies which confront the State on the morality of its policies."

"It is yet another move to prevent an open exchange of ideas, scientific analysis of the South African condition, and criticism of the National Party Government."

"Why should the Prime Minister use Parliament to further his own ends, and to bolster his party by using the highest political agency in the land to clamp further controls on public bodies."

Civil Rights League: In a statement of support for the four organizations published in the Cape Times, 10/4/72, the Secretary for the Civil Rights League listed the following objections to the committee of Inquiry:

- * "The members are not all trained in the judicial processes.. No specific charge has been brought against any of the organizations.
- * The hearings are not open, and the four organizations will have no right of access to the evidence brought against them.
- * The organizations will not have the right to confront or cross-examine those who bring such evidence or even to know who they are.
- * The public will have no knowlege of what is going on, except for such report of the committee's proceedings and findings as the Government may, at a later stage publish.

The Civil Rights League places on record its deep disquiet at this form of investigation, and regards it as its duty to keep the matter before the mind of the public.

The South African Students' Congress: The committee of the 2,000 strong predominantly Afrikaans speaking South African Students' Congress scathingly criticised the government's decision to establish a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry to investigate the four organisations.

In a statement issued on the 18th of February, 1972, Sascon said:
"This country has become a police state where a man is not free to speak his mind. We do not agree with everything NUSAS does but the government has gone too far now." (7)

Others: Several other statements of support were made at the time of the announcement of the Select Committee but these were not available at the time this document was compiled. Among these was a statement from the Social Democratic party and some statements from the Churches.

8. Reactions from the South African Press:

Rand Daily Mail Editorial 8/2/72: "The Prime Minister is invariably inflexible in matters of this kind and it was not to be expected that he would accede to even such a reasonable request as was made of him. This request was that,

7. Sascon was formed in 1971 and has a following of approximately 2,000 students at Pretoria University, which is predominantly Afrikaans. The primary aim of the organisation is to breach the language gap between English and Afrikaans.

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if he had to have an Inquiry at all, it should be conducted by an independent judicial commission. For some reason the Prime Minister seems to regard such suggestions as a challenge to his authority.

Sunday Times Editorial. 13/2/72: "Wouldn't it have been nice if the United Party had said under no circumstances would it serve on the Parliamentary Select Committee which will investigate NUSAS, the University Christian Movement, The Christian Institute, and the Institute of Race Relations. "It might have been accused of a dereliction of Parliamentary duty."

"It might also have been smeared as a co-traveller of the four organizations." "But any stink that would have arisen would have been less offensive than the McCarthy-type witchhunt that the Prime Minister is bent on launching.

Cape Argus Editorial. 11/2/72: "The Government's prime concern seems to be with the security of its own political position and political policies. For these four bodies are all multi-racial and stand for the encouragement of contact across the colour line - the kind of contact that the Government has consistently and persistently tried to stop, even to the extent of barring multi-racial political parties."

Die Afrikaner. 18/2/72: In a report in Die Afrikaner, the official organ of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the question is asked of the Prime Minister as to why he set up a Parliamentary Select Committee to investigate NUSAS. It says that a Parliamentary Committee will not be able to find out anything more than the Security police, whose attention NUSAS has enjoyed since Mr. Vorster was Minister of Justice.

The Cape Times. 11/2/72 - 'Vorster's Red Herring':

"Is Mr. Vorster, in calling for a Parliamentary Inquiry, now suggesting that opposition to the Apartheid Philosophy poses some threat to the Safety of the State?"

"Our feeling about Mr. Vorster's proposal is that it is a McCarthyite gimmick with distinctly sinister overtones It is not yet against the law to criticise the Nationalist Government or its racial philosophy".

New Nation: In an editorial in the South African Magazine, New Nation edited by Prof. Dennis Worrall (generally regarded as a conservative in South African politics) the following comments were made:

"The Government's decision to institute an Inquiry is utterly deplorable. Whatever justification there may be for this course, it can only be of a petty party political nature."

"The appointment of Select Committees of Parliament to gather information for legislative purposes is perfectly respectable. But this function is completely distorted where the purpose of the Select Committee is to investigate organizations of a para-political nature, whose activities ostensibly violate no laws but which happen to stand on the opposition side of official policy."

"In a narrow party political sense, Mr. Vorster cannot lose. If it is not to give the Prime Minister a slap in the face, the Nationalist majority on the Select Committee is bound to find against all four bodies. It is likely to recommend the invocation of the clause in the Prohibition of Political Interference Act relating to financial assistance from overseas against the Institute of Race Relations and the Christian Institute, so dealing them what could amount to a death blow, and recommend legislation either banning NUSAS and UCM outright, or severely curtailing their activities. And of-course, Mr. Vorster will also gain a victory of sorts over the U.P., because that party will feel obliged as a matter of democratic scruple to defend all four organizations, knowing full well that two of them are thoroughly unpopular with the White electorate. But when an empty little victory this is when viewed against the cost to democracy at home and the damage abroad."

Die Burger, 11/2/72: "For such a judgement political discernment is necessary in the first place because it concerns the bounds between a permissible and an inadmissible political action."

"Right minded members of the four bodies should welcome the investigation. It could also bring clarity about the controversial organizations in their own minds."

Sunday Express. 6/7/72: In a supportive editorial the Sunday Express described the Parliamentary investigation as 'shocking'.

"Shocking because, in spite of all the tremendous forces of surveillance and prosecution from security police right through to the most oppressive and all embracing statutes, the Government has not been able to charge one of these bodies in a court of law, since it is quite obvious they have not broken a law; yet the Prime Minister now intends to put them on trial so to speak, before a Parliamentary Select Committee."

"Shocking because although he claims that he does not wish to judge or accuse the organizations, he and his government have not hesitated in the past to make the vilest accusations against some, if not all, of these organisations."

"If anyone has prejudged the issue, it is the Government itself.....".

9. Members of the Select Committee and Procedure for the conduction of the Inquiry: (8)

8. After a cabinet reshuffle, Mr. J. Kruger was appointed a Deputy Minister, and therefore recused from the Select Committee. Mr. A.L. Schlebusch was appointed Chairman in his place. In addition, Mr. Janson was also appointed a Deputy Minister, and was therefore replaced, and earlier on Mr. J.C. Heunis was replaced. The three new Nationalist members were Messrs. Engelbrecht, van der Walt, and Dr. Morrison. Mr. R.M. Cadman, a United Party member was replaced by Mr. A. Sutton, and on 2nd February, 1973, Mr. E.M. Malan was appointed by the State President as an additional United Party Member of the Commission. (It is widely held that 2 additional Nationalist M.P.'s will be appointed in the near future, and that the Commission will divide into two groups to examine the Christian Institute and the Institute of Race Relations concurrently.)

a. Members

6 Nationalist and 3 United Party members were appointed on the 15th February, to serve on the committee. They are:-

Mr. R.M. Cadman	(United Party Zululand)
Mr. J.C. Heunis	(Nationalist Party False Bay)
Mr. J.N. Janson	(Nationalist Party Witbank)
Mr. J.T. Kruger	(Nationalist Party Prinshof)
Mr. L. le Grange	(Nationalist Party Potchefstroom)
Mr. L.G. Murray	(United Party Green Point)
Mr. D.J. Nel	(Nationalist Party Pretoria Central)
Mr. A.L. Schiebusch	(Nationalist Party Kroonstad)
Mr. S.J.M. Steyn	(United Party Yeoville)

Mr. J.T. Kruger was appointed Chairman of the Committee.

b. Procedure

i) Legal Aid

Mr. J.T. Kruger gave notice in the Assembly on the 2/3/72, of a motion that stated that witnesses appearing before the Committee would be allowed to be assisted by counsel and/or attorneys, to the extent that the committee deemed fit.

ii) Witnesses

In terms of the notice of motion the name of any witness appearing before the Select Committee will not, in the discretion of the Committee be published in the minutes of proceedings or the evidence of the committee, and his identity will not be divulged in any way.

(These provisions are listed here as they are extensions of the normal procedure prescribed for Parliamentary Select Committees.)

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10. NUSAS' Policy Decision on the Select Committee:

An emergency meeting of the National Council of NUSAS was called soon after the announcement of the Select Committee. (The National Council consists of the S.R.C. Presidents from all the campuses affiliated to NUSAS, and the NUSAS executive.)

It was decided that NUSAS would have nothing to do with the Select Committee unless it was compelled to do so by law.

In a speech delivered to new students at all affiliated campuses, Mr. Paul Pretorius, President of NUSAS, outlined his organisation's policy decision.

"There comes a time in the history of any organization when it has to be astute enough not to allow itself willingly to become a football in a calculated but transparent game - a game in which the rules are made by the Nationalists to suit no one else but themselves.

"There comes a time when we must stand up and say no - where our existence is at stake and let no one underestimate the strength and the motivation of the forces levelled against us.

"NUSAS has stated unequivocally time and again that it is an open and legal organization. We have nothing to hide. In answer to the continual smears levelled against students by the Nationalist Party in the past, we have challenged them to appoint an impartial Committee of Enquiry consisting of judges of the Supreme Court.

"We are confident that such an enquiry would, within a matter of days, reveal the smears against us for what they are worth. Fraudulent attempt to stoke the fires of prejudice - a prejudice on which their power rests.

"Now a tribunal has been set up to judge us. Consisting not of judges of the Supreme Court but consisting of members of the ruling Nationalist elite and its fellow traveller the United Party.

"The United Party says it will have a part in this tribunal - of what use can this participation be, except to lend credibility where we cannot afford to let it be lent.

"Prominent spokesmen in both parties have already made quite clear their opposition to NUSAS and the principles for which it stands. It is Mr. Vorster himself who once said that NUSAS was a cancer that had to be eradicated - there is no evidence to show that he has in any way changed his mind.

"When the proposal of a Parliamentary Committee was first made we rejected it. Now that it has become a fact we reject it again.

"We will have no truck with that Committee.

"We will not give evidence unless we are forced to do so by law.

"This has been decided by the SRC Presidents of those universities affiliated to NUSAS and the NUSAS Executive.

"We have decided that where our existence and the maintenance of our ideals are at stake we cannot compromise and compromise we will not.

"And the ultimate judges of our actions will not be Parliament, the Nationalist and United Parties. Only history can judge our actions and I am not afraid of its verdict.

Jenny Cunningham, President of the University of the Witwatersrand, and a Member of the National Council of NUSAS, said the following in a letter which was published in the Wits Student newspaper:

"The last two weeks have seen the resumption by the members of the South African Government of their vindictive vendetta against students who are affiliated to the NUSAS. The passports of the Nationalist Union's past president, present president, and the vice President have been removed without reason. The Prime Minister has appointed a select Parliamentary Committee - some of whose investigating M.P.'s have publically stated (within the label-proof confines of Parliamentary immunity of course), vitreolic opposition to the existence of the Nationalist Union.

"The Prime Minister and the Nationalist Party have through their statements and actions against students in the National Union implied that they are part of a criminal conspiracy. These statements and actions remain purely insinuations and shed unsubstantiated suspicion on the student organization - the truth can only be established by an impartial judicial commission - one which can transcend sectional interests and evil insinuations."

Mr. Geoff Budlender, President of the SRC at University of Cape Town, later elaborated on the reasons why the NUSAS National Council had decided not to co-operate with the Select Committee.

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"The leader of the Opposition raised the obvious question himself. He asked in the debate on the appointment of this committee: 'We are politicians. Are we the best people to form a nice balanced judgment as to the innocence or otherwise of the activities of organization of that kind?'

Mr. Marias Steyn M.P. said, '... in 99 cases out of 100 we divide on the select Committees according to our political views. We are not trained as judges, but we are well trained as politicians.'

"Whether we like it or not, NUSAS is facing a charge - the exact nature of which is not known. We are to answer for our actions - to prove that we are innocent, in the words of the Prime Minister.

"The fact that it is normal practice for a Select Committee to sit in closed session gives us further cause for concern. While we cannot dispute the necessity for this when select Committees are drafting legislation, we stand totally opposed to a closed investigation into our affairs. How are we to give a full explanation of our activities when we do not have access to evidence given by other witnesses? How can we dispute the accuracy of this evidence if we cannot even be present throughout the committees' proceedings, let alone cross-examine witnesses?

"NUSAS has nothing to hide, but it does have every right to object in the strongest terms to what amounts to a secret hearing, on unspecified charges, with no right to cross-examine witnesses or hear the evidence against it?"

While S.R.C.'s affiliated to NUSAS make decisions jointly through NSA or National Council, these decisions are not binding on the individual S.R.C.'s. In practise where S.R.C.'s disagree with NSA or National Council policy, they may reverse any policy decisions taken by these bodies. This was in fact the case at Rhodes University in Grahamstown where the S.R.C. reversed the decision taken unanimously by the emergency meeting of National Council.

Bruce Gray, an executive member of the Rhodes S.R.C., announced at a Mass Meeting for first year students that the Rhodes S.R.C. had unanimously decided to voluntarily give evidence before the Select Committee, after Paul Pretorius had outlined NUSAS' reasons for not appearing before the Select Committee.

Mr. Gray said the S.R.C. had decided to appear before the Committee "willingly", but that it would stand behind NUSAS against the Government.

The S.R.C.'s decision was later reversed again by a Mass Meeting of Rhodes students who voted overwhelmingly to adopt the original decision taken by the NUSAS National Council. This move came as a result of the banning of Basil Moore, the Director of the University Christian Movement. In a motion proposed by the Rhodes S.R.C. President, Kathy Satchwell and the NUSAS Regional Director for the Eastern Cape, Nicolette Westcott, it was resolved not to give evidence unless forced to do so by law, as the Government had pre-judged the findings of its own Select Committee by banning one of the office-bearers of one of the organizations to be investigated, and by withdrawing the passports of a number of NUSAS office bearers. The Government's arbitrary actions were described as "outrageous". (9)

9. Government Victimization of Members of Organizations to be Investigated.

Shortly after the Government had announced the appointment of the Select Committee into the four organizations concerned, it began a vendetta against Executive Members of the 2 student organizations, namely, NUSAS and University Christian Movement.

At the end of March, two executive members of the U.C.M. had been house arrested and banned, and one was removed from the seminary where he was studying in Alice, to Kimberley, where he is restricted for 5 years under the Suppression of Communism Act. The 2 Executive members are Dr. Basil Moore, Director of the University Christian Movement, and Sabelo Ntwasa, Director of Black Theology.

Government action against members of the NUSAS Executive consisted of the withdrawal of passports, or the refusal to renew applications for passports. All in all 8 members of the NUSAS Executive either present or past, were refused passports.

They are:

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Paul Pretorius
Neville Curtis
Barry Streek
John Frankish
Renfrew Christie
Paula Ensor
John Whitehead
Mark Wolffe

Reasons for the refusal of passports were given only to Barry Streek and Neville Curtis, who were told that they had engaged in un-South African' activities while overseas. The Minister of the Interior declined to supply the reasons for the rest of the passport withdrawals or refusals.

Shortly after the banning of Sabelo Ntwasa, the NUSAS President issued a statement which said in effect that NUSAS would review its decision to give evidence before the Committee even if it was unlawful, if the Government did not cease its programme of victimization against members of the organizations which it was supposed to be impartially investigating.

"We view in a most serious light the actions taken by the government against office bearers of, and people closely associated with University Christian Movement and NUSAS since the announcement of the Select Committee. We would like to make it quite clear to the Government that in the event of any further serious action being taken against NUSAS and its office bearers, we shall be forced to reconsider our decision to give evidence whether the law obliges us to do so or not."

Vice Chancellor of U.C.T. Condemns Select Committee:

At an evening for Freshers' Parents at the beginning of the Academic year, Sir Richard Luyt, the Principal and Vice Chancellor of U.C.T., said he agreed with the main substance of the S.R.C.'s rejection of a Parliamentary Select Committee investigation into NUSAS.

He said his endorsement followed the S.R.C.'s strong preference for a judicial over a Parliamentary Select Committee. This preference he fully agreed with.

Reaction of the English Language Press to NUSAS Policy Decision:

- i) Sunday Times: The decision of NUSAS to have nothing to do with the *Select Committee appointed to inquire into its actions is understandable, but unwise in the circumstances.*

NUSAS, like so many people objects to the mere existence of this Committee but criticising it will not make it go away. This enquiry has to be faced and officials of NUSAS can be forced to appear and answer questions.

So the brave and defiant attitude adopted by the students is really only an empty gesture. They would be much better advised to co-operate willingly and state their case. It may not only be accepted by the Committee, but it should be presented openly and willingly.

Recalcitrance at this stage may seem noble to the students, but it is bad public relations. The students' refusal to co-operate only strengthens the suspicion among their enemies that they may, after all, have something to hide. This may be unjust, but it is the way the world works.

11. Conversion of the Select Committee into a Commission.

The Select Committee was converted into a Commission of Enquiry on the 12th July, 1972, as the Select Committee was unable to complete its enquiry before the end of the Parliamentary session. The conversion into a Commission enables the members to continue with the Inquiry during the Parliamentary recess.

The terms of reference of the Commission were extended to include inquiry into any persons connected with any of the four organisations.

The extended terms of reference of the converted Commission of Inquiry, as published in the Government Gazette are:

- i) To inquire into, and taking into account the evidence, memoranda and exhibits which were submitted to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Certain Organizations, report on -
 - a) The objects, organization and financing of the National Union of South African Students, the SAIRR, the University Christian Movement, The Christian Institute of Southern Africa, and any related organizations, bodies, committees or groups of persons;

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- b) The activities of the afore-mentioned organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons and the direct or indirect results of those activities;
 - c) The activities of persons in or in connection with the aforementioned organizations, bodies, groups of persons and the direct or indirect results or possible results of those activities; and
 - d) Any related matter which comes to the notice of the Commission and which in its view calls for inquiry.
- ii) To make recommendations if, in view of the Commission's findings, it appears to be necessary to do so.

The original terms of reference of the Parliamentary Select Committee were as follows:

"To inquire into and report upon the objects, organization, activities, financing and related matters of NUSAS, the SAIRR, the UCM, and the C.I., and their subordinate organizations, the Committee to have power to take evidence and call for papers".

The Government Gazette goes on to say:

"In order that the Commission may be better able to carry out this Commission, it has been granted full power and authority to interrogate at its discretion all persons who in its opinion are able to furnish information on the subjects mentioned in its terms of reference or on matters relating thereto; to obtain, inspect and make extracts from all books, documents, papers and registers which in its opinion may contain information on the said subjects; and to conduct investigations into the subject matter of this inquiry in any other authorised manner". The regulations applicable to the operation of the Commission have also been published in the Government Gazette, and include the following:

- 5. *No person whose presence at the inquiry is, in the view of the Chairman, not necessary for the performance of the functions of the Commission or is not authorised by these regulations may be present at the inquiry".

7. *"Any witness who appears before the Commission, may only be cross-examined by a person if the Chairman permits it to be done by that person because it is in the Chairman's view necessary in the interests of the functions of the Commission".
8. *"If any person who gave or is giving evidence before the Commission or has been summoned so to give evidence so requests the Commission, no person shall publish in any manner whatsoever the name or address or such person or any information likely to reveal his identity".
9. *"Any witness who appears before the Commission may be assisted by an advocate or attorney only to the extent to which the Chairman permits it".
10. *"No person shall publish in any manner whatsoever or communicate to any other person any proceedings of the commission or any information furnished to the Commission or any part of any proceedings or information, or suffer or permit any other person to have access to any records in the possession or custody of the Commission or any officer or any person referred to in subregulation (1) of regulation 3, except in the performance of his duties in connection with the functions of the Commission or by order of a competent court.
11. *"The Chairman, any member or any officer may, for the purpose of the Inquiry of the Commission, at all reasonable times enter and inspect any premises and demand and seize any document which is or is kept upon such premises".
13. *"No person shall, except in so far as shall be necessary in the execution of the terms of reference of the Commission, publish or furnish the report of the Commission or a copy or part thereof to any other person unless and until the report has been laid on the Tables of the Senate and the House of Assembly".

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14. *"No person may insult, disparage or belittle a member of the Commission or prejudice influence or anticipate the proceedings or findings of the Commission".
12. *"Clause 12 refers to the oath of secrecy of every person employed in carrying out the functions of the Commission with regard to "any matter or information" which may come to his notice".
15. *"Any person who contravenes any provision of regulation 8, 10, 13 or 14 or wilfully hinders, resists or obstructs the Chairman, any member or any officer in the exercise of any power referred to in regulation 11, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R200 or imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

Commenting on the establishment of the Commission and its extended terms of reference, Mrs. Helen Suzman, Progressive M.P. for Houghton said that the Commission was not unlike a McCarthyist witch-hunt. Replying to this criticism, Mr. J.T. Kruger, Chairman of the Commission said: "I object to Mrs. Suzman calling the Commission a McCarthyist witch-hunt, which sounds rather hysterical and is most unfair to the Commission." Mrs. Suzman: "Mr. Kruger ought to know by now that I am seldom hysterical. I certainly felt the strongest reactions to this absolutely unwarranted intrusion into organizations which have been carrying on their activities up to now in a perfectly legal manner. Had they not been acting lawfully, there are many laws on the statute book which could have been used to put a stop to such activities. I am more convinced than ever that the official Opposition committed a parlous error in agreeing in the first instance to serve on the Select Committee of Parliament to which their presence lent an aura of respectability."

Also commenting on the extended terms of reference of the Select Commission was Paul Pretorius, NUSAS President, who said that NUSAS had decided not to co-operate with the Select Committee 'because we knew very well what sort of an investigation it would be. We were attacked by the press for stating we would have nothing to do with the inquiry at the time.

Obviously NUSAS was misunderstood. The original terms of reference had to be altered, as they did not give the Select Committee full access to all anti apartheid activity.

"But the aims of the investigation have not changed."

12. Evidence Given to the Select Committee and the Select Commission:

a) Select Committee:

The report of the Parliamentary Select Committee of Inquiry into Certain Organizations was published on Thursday, 10th August. The report sets out the activities of the Select Committee, but gives no details of any of the evidence thus far submitted to it.

Activities of the Committee may be summarised as follows:

23rd February: Resolved to request the four organizations to submit documents. Resolved to protect identity of witnesses.

6th March: Mr. A. of the Bureau for State Security submitted documents and was examined.

13th March: Ordered that Paul Pretorius, NUSAS President, be summonsed to appear before the Committee. Mr. Bill Deacon, M.P. submitted documents and was examined. Mr. B. of the Bureau for State Security was examined.

16th March: Resolved to allow Counsel and/or attorneys to assist witnesses. Mr. B. was further examined.

20th March: Paul Pretorius was examined.

23rd March: Mr. B. was further examined and submitted Volumes I, II, and III of a Report on NUSAS compiled by the Bureau for State Security with accompanying exhibits.

13th April: Mr. B. was further examined. Paul Pretorius was further examined.

14th April: Mr. A. was further examined.

20th April: Mr. C. of the Bureau for State Security was examined.

21st April: Mr. C. was further examined.

27th April: Mr. D. of the Bureau for State Security was examined.

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- 28th April: Mr. D. was further examined.
- 4th May: Brig. F.D. Aucamp of the Dept. of Prisons was examined.
- 5th May: Mr. D. was further examined, and submitted a copy of the depositions of Miss Alison Joanna Norman and Peter Michael Evans Lombe, witnesses for the accused in the trial the State v. Gonville Aubie French-Breytagh, TPD 1972
- 18th May: Resolved to summonse the SRC Presidents of Rhodes University, University of Natal (Durban) and the University of Cape Town to appear before the Committee.
- 25th May: Mr. B. was further examined.
- 26th May: Mr. B. was further examined.
- 1st June: The SRC Presidents of the above three universities were examined. Resolved that the evidence taken by the Committee not be made public.

At this stage, the Committee submitted its report and requested that the Select Committee be changed into a Commission of Inquiry to continue sitting during the Parliamentary Recess.

b) Select Commission:

The following people were sub-poenaed to appear before the Select Commission:

- Paul Pretorius - President of NUSAS who appeared for a total of 8 days.
 Deon Irish, Past U.C.T. S.R.C.
 Gavin Shreeve, Past U.C.T.
 Bruce Gray, Rhodes
 Pete Bennet, Rhodes
 Brian Draper, Durban.
 Cedric de Beer, Wits
 Owen and Joan O'Leary, Wilgerspruit, and two secretaries from Wilgerspruit.
 Dale White, Wilgerspruit
 Sir Richard Luyt, Principal of U.C.T.
 Prof. H. Holmes, Principal of the Johannesburg College of Education
 John Frankish, Aquarius Secretary-General
 Clive Keegan, past Aquarius Secretary-General
 Philippe le Roux, Aquarius Secretary-General elect.
 Jacques de Vos malan, U.C.T.
 Gail Levy, Wits

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Geoff Dorber, past Durban S.R.C.
Adam Klein, Wits S.R.C. President
Jeanette Curtis, NUSWEL Secretary-General
Dr. Rick Turner, lecturer in Political Science, Durban.
Dr. Francis Wilson, lecturer in economics, U.C.T.
Horst Kleinschmidt, past NUSAS Vice-President
Dr. F.E. Streek, member of the NUSAS Financial Advisory Panel
Dave Adler, past NUSAS Vice President for International Relations
Taffi Adler, past S.R.C. President of Wits.
Clive Nettleton, past Vice-President of NUSAS
John Kane-Berman, past Wits S.R.C. President
Prof. John Dugard, Prof. of Law at Wits.
Josie Adler, who assists with the NUSAS Prison Education Scheme
Barry Streek, NUSED Secretary General
Renfrew Christie, NUSAS Deputy-President
Neville Curtis, past NUSAS President
Sheila Lapinsky, NUSAS General Secretary
Paula Ensor, NUSWEL Secretary-General (elect)
Roy Ainslie, NUSED Secretary-General (elect)
Nicki Westcott, past Regional Director of NUSAS for Eastern Cape
John Whitehead, past Rhodes S.R.C. President
Kathy Satchwell, past Rhodes S.R.C. President
Prof. Colin Webb, History Dept. Pietermaritzburg.
Christopher Wood, past Regional Director of NUSAS for Transvaal

Prof. Colin Web, Roy Ainslie, John Whitehead and Kathy Satchwell have been told by the Commission that they will no longer be required to give evidence.

It is understood that Keith Gottschalk, who was to be summonsed by the Commission is no longer required. Prof. Colin Webb, Roy Ainslie, John Whitehead and Kathy Satchwell have also been told by the Commission that they will no longer be required to give evidence.

Police appeared at the home of Mrs. Curtis with a summons for Chris Wood, past Transvaal Regional Director, but were unable to trace him. The Commission also wanted to summons Duncan Innes and Alex Murray - both are overseas.

NUSAS will Defy:

The following motion was adopted by the National Student Assembly of NUSAS, which met at Rhodes University in December, 1972. (*National Student Assembly consists of voting representatives from all campuses in South Africa affiliated to NUSAS. This body formulates NUSAS policy and governs all the activities of NUSAS)

(45)

That this National Student Assembly

- NOTING (1) That NUSAS will be again in the public eye when the two Government-appointed Commissions of enquiry present their reports.
- (2) In particular that there were threats during 1972 by members of the National Party, even Ministers, to further curtail rights of free association, free speech, and publications;
- (3) That serious violence, which was not vindicated by the findings of the courts, was used against peaceful student protest in June;
- (4) That threats have been made of further action by members of the Government to prevent students from co-operating and acting on a national level;

NOTING FURTHER

That at some time in the future we, as students who purport to uphold and defend our rights, may have to decide whether to defend these in practice;

THEREFORE RESOLVE

As the National Union of South African Students to uphold these rights through *positive and public action, at all times expressly and intentionally peaceful* in the event of attacks on our rights. We express our hope, however, that the law may remain such that we can continue to operate within it;

AND WE FURTHER RESOLVE

That in the event of the removal of the fundamental and unlawful right of the National Union to meet together to discuss and decide on issues and to take what prior to the removal was lawful, action in terms of these decisions in the service of both students and society we shall ignore such removal and take the consequences of such stand.

FOOTNOTES:

1. Dr. Hoffenberg. Page 1.
 2. Broederbond. Page 5.
 3. Fort Hare. Page 7.
 4. Harcourt Commission Page 8.
 5. Afrikaanse Studentebond. Page 9.
 6. Vorster's intention to establish a Select Committee of Inquiry. Page 21.
 7. Sascon. Page 28
 8. Changes in the Composition of the Select Committee. Page 31.
 9. Government Victimization of Members of Organizations to be Investigated
Page 36.
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A P P E N D I X

PRESS DIGEST

GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY

Following the announcement by the Prime Minister, the Honorable B.J. Vorster, that he would ask Parliament to set up a Select Committee to investigate the goals and objects of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
the University Christian Movement (UCM)
the Christian Institute (CI)
and The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR)
this collection of statements - made by present Members of Parliament and Members of the Senate - was gathered.
It is, perhaps understandable why the four organizations have called for a Judicial Inquiry in the place of a Parliamentary Select Committee.

ATTACKS ON NUSAS - APPENDIX

Following the announcement by the Prime Minister, the Honorable, B.J. Vorster, that he would ask Parliament to set up a Select Committee to investigate the goals and objects of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the University Christian Movement (UCM) the Christian Institute (CI) and the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), this collection of statements - made by present Members of Parliament and Members of the Senate - was gathered. It is, perhaps understandable why the four organizations have called for a Judicial Inquiry in the place of a Parliamentary Select Committee.

NUSAS, UCM, CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE, SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
SOME PREVIOUS COMMENTS

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NUSAS, UCM, CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE, S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS :
SOME PREVIOUS COMMENTS

On Friday, February 4, 1972 the Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster announced that he was to ask Parliament to set up a Select Committee to investigate the goals and activities of the four bodies -

- NUSAS
- University Christian Movement
- Christian Institute
- South African Institute of Race Relations

In view of this announcement, and in view of the call for a Judicial Inquiry rather than a Parliamentary Select Committee by the four bodies concerned, it is interesting and relevant to look at the views expressed by members of Parliament on these four bodies. Each body will be handled in turn but it is clear that the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) has borne the brunt of these attacks. It is also clear that Mr. Vorster has been the most prominent Government politician in leading the attacks on these bodies.

NUSAS

Vorster Attacks

At the opening of a Jeugbond Congress in Pretoria on August 31, 1963 the then Minister of Justice, Mr. B.J. Vorster said: "I want to warn these parents - and I have reason to say this - so far as it concerns their children at certain universities, that they should ask what is going on with NUSAS and where it is leading the youth".

"NUSAS is a Cancer"

Two weeks later, on September 14, 1963 Mr. Vorster spoke at Potchefstroom. "If there is a cancer in the country that must be rooted out, it is NUSAS", he said. The Minister said that in the Press he had been challenged by NUSAS, "but I shall settle with them in my own time. (own underlining) I say that NUSAS has become the mouthpiece of the Liberalists in South Africa and the mouthpiece of the Communists. I don't say that every member of NUSAS is a Communist, but every Communist has been a member of NUSAS. As an organisation NUSAS is a place where every Communist is at home. If such people feel at home in this organization, then it is time that something must be done". (Sunday Times September 15, 1963)

Hertzog's support

The then Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. Albert Hertzog now leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party strongly backed Mr. Vorster's attack when he spoke at Wonderboom in October.

(2)

He said "Can our Afrikaner nation any longer allow the erosion and destruction of the soul of the people (Volk)? Has the time not come that every parent should ask himself whether he can afford to send his child to one of those universities?" (Evening Post October 12, 1963)

Clemency

The conviction and involvement of former students in sabotage provided Mr. Vorster with a new weapon to launch into NUSAS although NUSAS had repudiated and condemned these people. Two former NUSAS Presidents were expelled from the organization. Nevertheless in February 1965, Mr. Vorster said in an interview that it had now been demonstrated to his satisfaction that leaders of NUSAS had misled certain young people into taking part in subversive activities. He no longer had any doubt that communists and leftists had infiltrated NUSAS over the years and used the organization as a cloak for their activities. As a result, Mr. Vorster was prepared to grant clemency to some of those students who had been jailed. (Argus February 18, 1965)

Nel attacks Duminy and NUSAS

The then M.P. for Port Elizabeth North and presently M.P. for Krugersdorp, Advocate J.A.F. Nel after taking Dr. J.P. Duminy, then Principal of the University of Cape Town for condemning the detention without trial features of the 90-day law, went on to ask Dr. Duminy to explain how "NUSAS and other foreign elements had obtained such a stronghold particularly on the students at our English language universities" (Burger, October 22, 1964)

The Proverbial Fire

In June 1965, Mr. Vorster warned the leaders of NUSAS that he knew they were again "playing with fire". And he said unless they came to their senses, they, like their predecessors, would burn their fingers. Mr. Vorster condemned NUSAS as a "detestable and damnable organization". He called on all University authorities, where branches of NUSAS existed to look into its activities. Mr. Vorster made these comments in reply to attacks on NUSAS in the debate on the Justice Vote by Mr. Jaap Marais, then M.P. for Innesdaal and now Deputy Leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

"I am surprised that the heads of universities concerned have not taken action in spite of what has happened", Mr. Vorster said. (Natal Mercury June 4, 1965 and Star June 4, 1965)

Judicial Inquiry

At this time, one of the first calls for a Judicial Inquiry into NUSAS was made by the then Chairman of the NUSAS Local Committee at the University of Natal, Durban, Mr. Ian Robertson. "There should be an impartial Commission of Inquiry and the findings must be made public. If NUSAS is so dangerous then the Minister is failing his duty if he does not hold such an inquiry" Mr. Robertson said.

(Rand Daily Mail June 5, 1965) (Ian Robertson as President of NUSAS in 1966 was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, but he was not listed as a Communist, therefore as his banning has now expired and not be re-imposed, he may again be quoted.)

The BOSS starts

Addressing a meeting of graduates of the external section of the University of Pretoria, Major General R.J. van den Bergh, then Inspector General of the South African Police and now head of the Bureau of State Security said that some of South Africa's most active Communists had at one time or another played a leading role in NUSAS. (Burger August 6, 1965)

Parliamentary Impartiality

Mr. J.T. Kruger, Chairman of the Select Committee and at present a Deputy Minister, referred to NUSAS as "A movement which envisages a bloodbath in South Africa and which wants to involve the entire world in it." Mr. Kruger spearheads the impartial enquiry into the affairs of NUSAS. (Hansard Column 4278, October 1966)

Vorster again

Speaking in his home constituency of Nigel in 1967, Mr. Vorster said that regardless of what certain newspapers said, the Government would continue to watch the National Union of South African Students' activities very carefully and to take action against people promoting the aims of communism. (Rand Daily Mail October 17, 1967)

NUSAS Power

The Nationalist member for Prinshof, Mr. J.T. Kruger, told Parliament in April 1968 that there were clear indications that there were other groups besides the Liberal and Progressive Party that would like to take over the Coloured Representative Council. "NUSAS, for instance, will want to do so. It is an organization which is under suspicion, and I shall prove that as well. NUSAS does not hesitate to arouse anti-apartheid feelings in South Africa at any time and I want to tell you Sir, that NUSAS has representation on the National Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement". (House of Assembly debates Column 3688 April 9, 1968)

Loyalty Oath

Not to be outdone, Senator D.G.J. van Rensburg suggested in the Senate that university students should take an oath of allegiance to the Republic before commencing their studies to ensure that they did not engage in subversive activities. One could not lightly dismiss the activities of some students when it was considered that one of the tactics of Communism was to make use of University students to advance its ideology. Students could not challenge the authority placed over them in the way that University of Cape Town students had done on the departure of Dr. Hoffenberg by singing a song which was banned in South Africa. (The students sang "We shall Overcome")

(4)

It had been scandalous of them then to sing Die Stem for a cover for this sort of activity. (Argus May 14, 1968)

Ban NUSAS

NUSAS should be banned as "anti-South African", Mr. Blaar Coetzee, then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and at present Minister of Community Development and Public Works told the Sunday Express in 1968. "It's not my job to ban it - there is a separate ministerial department to deal with such things. But speaking as a private citizen I believe it should be suppressed. I consider it to be an anti-South African organization". Mr. Coetzee was commenting on a speech to a rally at Hankey when he described NUSAS as a leftist organization placing itself at the disposal of any one not well-disposed to South Africa and who wanted to disturb law and order in the country. (Sunday Express July 14, 1968)

"Some of my best friends are Jews"

Shortly after becoming Minister of Police and Interior Mr. S.L. Muller said that although some of his best friends were Jews, Jewish parents should take a stand on the role played by their children in recent student protests. Mr. Muller also named a number of Jews prominent in NUSAS and student politics.

The ringleaders behind the recent demonstration at the University of Cape Town and Witwatersrand were not South Africans but students from overseas who were enjoying South Africa's hospitality. Mr. Muller named ten such students. (Burger August 29, 1968)

Too big for their boots

Addressing a rally of Voortrekkers, the Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster, said at a Carltonville that there were a few young people in South Africa who had become too big for their boots and who would like to cause trouble if they were given half a chance. "But I tell them they will not be given such a chance. The problem is that this small number of young people want to accept responsibilities and make demands before they really know what things are all about," Mr. Vorster said. (Sunday Times October 3, 1968)

Happy New Year

In his 1969 New Year Message, Mr. Vorster referred to student unrest elsewhere in the world and blamed student disturbances in South Africa on a small minority. "This minority section must however, realise that their behaviour is deeply deplored, and they will do well to reconsider the plans they have made for further disturbances this year. Such demonstrations, which lead to a breach of the peace and which prevent other students from pursuing their studies unhindered cannot and will not be tolerated," Mr. Vorster said. (Sunday Express January 5, 1969)

Peace

The Minister of Police and the Interior, Mr. S.L. Muller largely allayed NUSAS fears that the Government regarded its activities as subversive, the student leaders who saw the Minister said in a statement. (Argus February 12, 1969)

"I am pleased to see that the leaders of NUSAS have come to different conclusions following our open conversation", Mr. Muller said. He said that students were apparently under the impression that the Government ruled with an iron fist without taking careful cognisance of the rights of citizens. But this did not mean that he would neglect to do his duty at any time when it was required.

And not so Peaceful

Speaking at an election meeting, at Danhauser in Natal, Mr. Blaar Coetzee, the Minister of Community Development broke the peace when he warned students that they would be "suppressed with the utmost severity" if they attempted irresponsible actions.

Dr. Carel de Wet, the Minister of Planning told students at the University of Stellenbosch that the Government was prepared to use the police and the army to maintain order at South African universities. He said it was not wrong for students to protest but it had to be done in a "clean manner". Protest was a privilege and not a right, he said.

Mr. Muller also told the press that he would deal in public with documentary evidence of NUSAS "strange friends" and gave the public an assurance that irresponsible actions by students would not be tolerated. (Star March 1, 1969)

University Autonomy

Commenting on the State's right to restrict Universities was Dr. Morrison, Nationalist M.P. for Port Elizabeth, and also a member of the current Select Commission of Enquiry into NUSAS and 3 other organisations.

"Because the state in this country contributes plus minus 70% - 75% of the cost of a student at the University, it is obvious that the University's autonomy is, to a degree, subject to certain restrictions." (Hansard 13th March, 1969, Column 2483 - 4.)

After the Muller talks

In June 1969, Mr. Muller said that students did not know anything about the administration of the country, but if the Government did not administer it the way they wanted then they disturbed the peace. Mrs. Suzman did not realise the consequences of student demonstrations. To every action there was a reaction. "She does not see that eventually there will be chaos caused by these people" Mr. Muller said. He accused Mrs. Suzman of being the "champion of NUSAS" and of wanting to see the day "When there will be blood flowing here". Mr. Muller quoted a communist paper as describing NUSAS as a friend. The paper had said "These are the freedom fighters of the communist party in South Africa". (Argus June 4, 1969)

The U.P. joins in

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Tony Hickman, who was then M.P.C. for Pinelands and is now M.P. for Maitland said at a party meeting that "Students had every right to express themselves freely as long as they said or did nothing that would damage the good name of their university and country". (Cape Times June 13, 1969)

Monstrosity

With the attitude shown such as the one shown at the recent NUSAS Congress where delegates had laughed at the flag of the Republic and had acted disparagingly towards Afrikaans, NUSAS had become a monstrosity in South African society, the Minister of Labour and Coloured Affairs, Mr. Marais Viljoen said when opening an Afrikaanse Studentebond week at the University of the Orange Free State. He said people who showed no respect for their country's symbols such as its flag could not dream to make a useful contribution to the country in which they live.

"I see however, that the new President of NUSAS has plans to reform the organization. I hope he succeeds, but if it is not reformed in such a way that it becomes anchored in South Africa. If it does not take the realities of South Africa into account, if it is not reformed to show respect for that which the people of South Africa cherish then it is clear that NUSAS has no message for the English speaking youth of the country. It will then be clear that NUSAS is unable to spur the studying youth to any positive action in the interests of South Africa and it will then be best for all concerned if it disappeared from the scene totally", Mr. Viljoen said. (Rand Daily Mail August 9, 1969)

Protests condemned

All protests whether democratic or otherwise were condemned by the retiring Secretary for Higher Education Mr. M.C. Erasmus in 1970. "I don't think that protests achieve anything. They cause irritation and certain people want to counter demonstrate. Some university students and school pupils seem to have lost all sense of proportion. They think they can go through life without studying and hard work", Mr. Erasmus said. (Cape Times October 1, 1970)

The Fire Again

Returning to the attack after a lull in 1970, the Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster issued a warning to NUSAS leaders when he told Parliament that certain whites were engaged in subversive activities. "I want to issue this warning to a few of the present leaders of NUSAS 'Remember Adrian Leftwich and others, I have summed you up. You cannot hold a candle to him and others. Do not try to play that same game. You are going to run into very great trouble particularly as far as this question of subversion is concerned. There are young people who are playing with fire at the moment. It is in this connection that I want to issue a serious warning. But not only are the young people playing with fire; there are also older people who are playing with fire.

To them I want to say that they will go the same way as the predecessors" (House of Assembly debates column 4978 April 22, 1971)

Arms Sales - or Burning Fingers

Mr. Vause Raw, United Party M.P. for Durban Point took up the attack in Parliament over NUSAS' stand on arms sales. He told Parliament that he wanted "to deal with one group in particular, a South African organization which has appealed to the countries of the world not to supply us with arms. I refer of-course, to the public appeal by NUSAS. I would like to put it on record that I have nothing but the greatest contempt for South Africans who are prepared to appeal to the public and to the friends of South Africa to assist our enemies in that way. We have nothing but total condemnation for this attitude which we regard as despicable." House of Assembly debates column 6015 May 5, 1971)

To which the Minister of Defence, Mr. P.W. Botha said: "I am glad that the Honorable member did this and that he supports me on that score, but I should like to go further tonight and say this. There is a young gentleman who is in charge of NUSAS in this country and who is occupying himself, I think, with matters which he would do better to leave alone and devote his attention to his studies. He is also meddling with Defence Force matters and I want to avail myself of this opportunity tonight to tell him that he must take care he does not burn his fingers I do not want to go into this matter any further but if it becomes necessary, I shall." (House of Assembly debates column 6044 May 5, 1971)

Pigs

A circular letter describing the police as "pigs" and "criminal men enforcing criminal laws" caused a controversy in Parliament when the Minister of Police, Mr. S.L. Muller seemed to suggest that it had been sent out to students by NUSAS. He said that the letter had been sent to students where there was compulsory registration and he assumed that it had been sent out by NUSAS. In reply to interjections from Opposition members of Parliament, the Minister said that he was not certain that it was sent out by NUSAS but that he suspected that it had been "This is a suspicion on my part. I am not quite certain but these are the forces we have to deal with and these are the forces the police must work with..... I sincerely hope that our young people whom we are at present as always just keeping an eye on and who are at the present moment again coming into the public eye to a greater extent than before, we shall have greater success than other countries of the world seem to have had". (Daily Dispatch June 4, 1971 and House of Assembly debates column 8004 and 8005 June 2, 1971)

Communism and Terrorism

Mr. L. le Grange, a member of the Select Commission, said the following about NUSAS in a speech made in Parliament on the 2nd June, 1971.

"I do not want to say that NUSAS is a terrorist movement, I also just want to mention that the Chairman of NUSAS is brave enough to say 'if the Minister thinks NUSAS is Communist, then he must come out and say so - and we will sue the pants off him.' I want to tell him that the day will come when someone else's pants will be sued off him about Communism. It will not be the Ministers'.

One does not need to overdramatise these documents. If one just reads these documents that are distributed by an organization that is not banned, one cannot but tell oneself that here we have the blood brothers of the Communists. What is the difference between a Communist and a terrorist?" (2nd June, 1971 Hansard Column 7978)

Financial Threat

A former Principal and Vice Chancellor of the University of Natal and former Honorary Vice President of NUSAS, Senator O.P.F. Horwood reminded South African university councils that the Government had the power to reduce their subsidies while speaking in the Senate. He said that a minority of South African students was behaving irresponsibly and the question which arose in his mind and in the minds of other responsible South Africans, was how long a responsible and self-respecting government could tolerate such activities. Senator Horwood said that he was not in favour of interference with universities but if the safety and security of the country were at stake then no university stood above the laws of the land. (Rand Daily Mail June 5, 1972 Evening Post June 5, 1972)

Festivals

The attitude of Nusas towards the Republic Festival was so unpatriotic and scandalous that it surprised him that NUSAS should try and justify the Prime Minister Mr. B.J. Vorster told the President of NUSAS, Neville Curtis. A letter from the Prime Minister's Private Secretary said "The Prime Minister regards the attitude of NUSAS to put it mildly as so unpatriotic and so scandalous that it surprises him that you even try to find an excuse for just despicable behaviour. The Prime Minister was very thankful that the attitude of your organization does not represent the views of the majority of our students and young people in whom he has the greatest confidence. Your attention is also drawn to the fact that the nation is taking more offence at the actions of pink liberals in your organization and it will be well if you will take notice of this fact. (Argus June 5, 1971)

Backbenchers

Two government backbenchers, Mr. J.P.A. Reynecke, M.P. for Boksburg and Mr. J.J. Engelbrecht M.P. for Algoa attacked student activities in Parliament. Mr. Reynecke asked whether the time had not come to review the autonomy of universities where leftist activities occurred so that the Government would have greater say in the appointment of lecturers.

Mr. Engelbrecht said the Government subsidised every student to the extent of about R1200 per year. The activities and standards of students should be closely scrutinised. Because the State subsidised students he expected them to apply themselves to study and research. Unfortunately there were large groups today who did not do this. "Unfortunately there are large groups of students at some universities today who do not do so. There are those who occupy themselves with strikes and protest marches. There are those who vociferously indicate their support for terrorist movements against the white nations of Southern Africa. There are those who support arms boycotts against South Africa. There are those who despise and reject our national symbols, for example, our flag and our Republic. There are those who associate themselves with the enemies of our country, and who invite a man like Ramsay Clark to South Africa, a man who is not considered fit to address a group of high school pupils in his own country because of his leftist inclinations. He is brought here by these people. There are those who unashamedly walk out of houses to which they have been invited because the party is not a mixed one, and who then persuade the enemies of South Africa to start an agitation against our country in order to destroy our way of life here. We should pay attention to this type of student and the activities of such students because we cannot subsidise them to occupy themselves at universities with the destruction of the existing order, and the South African way of life." (Sunday Times June 6, 1971 and House of Assembly columns 8277 and 8280 June 4, 1971)

More Complaints

Mr. J.F. le Roux M.P. for Hercules referred to "the conduct of some pink students and Tittle student leaders at NUSAS who had the audacity after they tried to boycott the Republic Festival, and after the Honorable the Prime Minister remarked at the Festival that they did not take part because they had nothing to offer or to give, to ask the Prime Minister to apologise for what he had said there about them. Sir, I regard this as reprehensible and arrogant behaviour." (House of Assembly debate column 8424 June 8, 1971)

Meanwhile Mr. H.J. Coetzee M.P. for Bloemfontein West commenting on Mr. Curtis's statement that "NUSAS will not bow and scrape for Mr. Vorster. We do what we believe is right and will continue to do so", said "we immediately want to tell these young people that meaningful and stimulating argument and criticism about all sorts of things even though the criticism is at times clumsy and illogical, is the students individual right in that way the patterns of thought of those people, who in the foreseeable future will have to shoulder greater responsibility are honed. In the meantime they can undoubtedly have useful and interesting things to say. But there are also factions among the students who endanger matters having nothing to do with the search for knowledge and truth. I am now referring to the continually militant indignation on the part of young men such as Jonty Driver and Clive Keegan and Neville Curtis.

This finds expression in all kinds of statements in which there is the longed-for prospect of the existing order in this country, by nothing but revolution. The boycott of the Republic Festival, the destruction of Festival emblems, the encouragement of arms and trade boycotts and the encouragement of the black power movement are but characteristics of these peoples' ideals. It brands them as nothing but vehicles for anarchism. Such militant interference in State affairs does not accord with the goals and functions of a student To Mr. Curtis and his kindred spirits, we clearly want to say today - "if your conduct is as I have just sketched it you have nothing to contribute to the Republic, and indeed you have made no positive contribution to date. If you, Messrs. Curtis and company are registered students in name, you are robbing the tax payer" the question now is whether the tax payer could feel satisfied about subsidising such students such as Mr. Neville Curtis while he and numerous others are promoting revolution." (House of Assembly debates columns 8426 to 8428 June 8, 1971)

The Minister's Reply

The Minister of National Education, Senator J. van der Spuy made it clear in reply to these arguments that although he found it quite natural that there should be reaction from the members of public in general to the behaviour of some of these students, he was not considering action against students who protested on political issues as long as they did not break the law. "This does not mean that these people want to deprive the students of the right to protest or to differ in the sphere of politics because that is a right which we in this country acknowledge I can understand quite well why certain Honorary members have even advocated the measures they did I maintain that I can understand why people are thinking in this direction. However, I want to add that at the present moment we have a commission inquiring into universities in this country. I think it would be wise to wait and see what the findings of this commission of inquiry are going to be inter alia in regard to these matters as well before we take hasty decisions." (Argus June 9, 1971) (House of Assembly debates columns 8449 to 8451 June 8, 1971)

And the Senators

Senator Dr. J.H. Looek referred to a pamphlet distributed by students throughout the country. He said that "it is this type of pamphlet and literature which is distributed here by the student and the pro-United Party student of Wits and NUSAS and of the Cape University and of Rhodes and elsewhere which is responsible for the racial hatred which exists in this country today." (Debates of the Senate column 3522 June 4, 1971)

Senator O.P.F. Horwood: "We have had an organised campaign which was very substantially instigated from among members of the English speaking Universities and NUSAS, not only to boycott this Republican Festival but indeed to persuade others to do the same, even to the extent of trying to persuade our non white people to do that because they issued some of their pamphlets in Bantu languages? For what purpose? [They were distributed all over the country, many of them in Bantu language as well. I'd say this is a very serious state of affairs."

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Senator J.L. Horak: (United Party) "NUSAS stinks"

Senator Horwood: "But it goes much further, Sir. Let me, if I may, draw your attention."

Senator Horak: "You are now speaking in favour of the resolution".

Senator Horwood: "I am talking of NUSAS".

Senator Horak: "NUSAS Stinks".

Senator Horwood: "I want to ask the Honorable, Senator Henderson, when he replies, of other Honorable Senators, to tell us exactly what their stand-point is in relation to NUSAS and these groups who hold their loyalty to their country so lightly and in such derision. I want to ask for a clear statement of view from the Opposition on that point."

Senator Henderson: (United Party) "On what point?"

Senator Horwood: "On the activities of NUSAS, their un-South African activities."

Senator Horak: "I say that NUSAS stinks."

Senator Horwood: "And certain other student groups, for example the U.C.M. (University Christian Movement) in the universities which have not only tried to boycott the Republican Festival, but went further and tried to obtain permission from the University of Natal to stage their own opposition shown on the campus on May 31st". (Debates of the Senate columns 3551 to 3552 June 4, 1971)

Fifth Column

NUSAS is busy creating a fifth column which will destroy the whole country, Senator B. Muller told the Senate. Senator Muller said that NUSAS not only stank, but there is no difference between the organization and the terrorists on the South African borders. They want to do exactly the same to destroy' the whites in South Africa. "It is one thing to debate these matters. but we must not allow Rome to burn while we sit here and argue. NUSAS wants to set out fatherland, South Africa, on fire. The organization does not care what methods it uses or who helps it. It has contacts throughout the outside world. I say that NUSAS not only stinks, but it is busy setting up a fifth column in South Africa to destroy the land." (Burger June 12 1971)

A letter to Vorster

It was time that the Government made it clear to those who were harrassing the Prime Minister in a way which could only be called outright subversion - "so far and no further" Senator Horwood told the Senate.

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He was referring to letters sent by the NUSAS President and the SRC of the University of the Witwatersrand to the Prime Minister "I can assure the house that the Prime Minister views this turn in the situation in the gravest possible light. Imagine the Prime Minister having to set aside hours of his time a week to deal with this sort of subversion. This is outright subversion - there is no other word for it. I say that the time has come, that our self respecting and responsible government must make it perfectly clear: so far and no further. And in case it is said as I have heard certain people say that these are students and we must not take too much notice of them I wish to say that what is really worrying me are those people who are standing behind the students". (Rand Daily Mail June 17, 1971)

Party Congresses

The Minister of National Education, Senator J.P. van der Spuy, told the Orange Free State Congress of the National Party that the Government may take action against universities which provide an annual platform for overseas speakers who are highly critical of South Africa and who "speak out against law and order and discipline". Senator van der Spuy also said the reduction or suspension of a university subsidy was a drastic move which would amount to punishing the innocent majority because of the attitude of a minority "I do not say that the Government will never be forced into this, but at the moment the feeling is that we would not like to take drastic action. I want to make it clear that the universities must not see in this a sign of weakness on this Government's part. If they do, they are mistaken".. (Daily News September 17, 1971)

Dr. Paul Viljoen, Nationalist M.P. for Newcastle told the Jeugbond, the Youth wing of the National Party that unless university authorities curbed breaches of discipline amongst NUSAS members the Government would withdraw their subsidies. (NUSAS Newsletter September 17, 1971)

Meanwhile at the Transvaal Congress of the National Party, Senator van der Spuy said that the "militant minority" of Leftist Liberal and Communist agitators would have to be ripped out "root and branch" from South Africa. (Daily News October 6, 1971)

And the United Party

A motion calling for a judicial inquiry into the Affairs of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was tabled by the United Party M.P. for Albany, Mr. Bill Deacon at the United party's central congress. The motion referred to "grave doubts in the public mind" over the "political direction of NUSAS" and specifically called on Sir de Villiers Graaff to demand an Inquiry (the motion was never in fact debated). (Sunday Express October 24, 1971)

Horwood again

Speaking at the Natal Congress of the National Party, Senator Horwood said there was a "grave conspiracy" against the country by certain university members, newspapermen and churchmen. "I have information that there is a grave conspiracy of certain people at the university, not only students but certain churchmen and certain newspapermen". In a slashing attack on NUSAS, Senator Horwood supported a resolution which demanded that the Government consider cutting or reducing subsidies to universities which cannot control their students (Natal Daily News October 30, 1971) (Rand Daily Mail October 30, 1971)

One Way Ticket

The United Party M.P. for Albany, Mr. W. Deacon warned NUSAS leaders that they faced a "one-way ticket" out of South Africa if they continued to back radical ideas, at a United Party meeting in East London. "There is a disturbing amount of radical thought among leaders of NUSAS as a result of frustration through the laws of our country but I tell them that if they are going to carry on like this they are going to get a oneway ticket out of South Africa" (Daily Dispatch November 30, 1971)

UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

Speaking at a National Party meeting at Heilbron in August 1968, The Prime Minister Mr. B.J. Vorster warned that he was "busy looking at" the University Christian Movement "It will not be my fault if steps are taken against the movement when I am finished". (Sunday Times September 8, 1968)

Mr. S.L. Muller, Minister of Interior and of Police, speaking at a National Party meeting at Calvinia, said that there was "very little Christianity" in the University Christian Movement. (Cape Times May 16, 1969)

Horwood again

In the Senate, Senator O.P.F. Horwood accused University Christian Movement of not only trying to boycott the Republic Festival, but "Went further and tried to obtain permission from the University of Natal to stage their own opposition show on the campus on May 31". (Debates of the Senate column 3522 June 4, 1971)

Attacks in 1972

In January of this year, the then Minister of the Interior, Mr. Gerdener, refused to renew the passports of Neville Curtis, ex-president and Barry Streek.

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Although it is hardly general practice to furnish reasons for such actions, the Minister concerned did make a statement in which he accused the two NUSAS officials of associating themselves when abroad with people campaigning for the prohibition of the sale of arms to South Africa, for the destruction of sporting ties between South Africa and "Friendly countries" and for the obstruction of foreign investment in the republic. In his reply Barry Streek stated: "The Minister accuses us of supporting the destruction of sporting ties between South Africa and friendly countries. The Minister is wrong of course ... We support sporting ties between South Africa and the rest of the world, provided all the people of our country can represent South Africa in sports teams. The National Party enforces its ideology on sport and then wonders why sportsmen throughout the world object". "As to the accusation that we have obstructed foreign investment in South Africa, the Minister is wrong again. We are strongly opposed to any company or person who uses migratory labour, job reservation, the prohibition of trade unions and other viciously discriminating means to make profits. One hopes however, that foreign companies exercise some semblance of humanity in business".

Countless statements have been made by members of the National Party and security branch officials accusing NUSAS of being part of some International conspiracy, usually communist. Senator Horwood, who is reported to have an academic degree, has adopted this line on numerous occasions. At the National Party Congress in Natal last year, he said he had information of a grave conspiracy involving students, churches and certain newspapermen in this country. He did not elaborate further, but went on to attack Neville Curtis for his arms statement, made almost a year earlier.

In November of last year, the head of the Bureau for State Security (BOSS), General Van Den Bergh, accused student organizations (NUSAS by implication) of being under communist influence. The sheer persistency of the pro apartheid forces in proclaiming the conspiracy theory has not been without effect. It has served to engender among the blind supporters of apartheid (e.g. young policemen) a violent hatred of students and student organizations as being communist, anarchist etc. The perpetrators of the recent bomb attacks smear pamphlets and general right wing terrorism methods feed avariciously on such theories. Such theories, if construed cleverly enough, can also serve to discredit organizations such as NUSAS among those who would normally support them.

Minister of Police accuses NUSAS

The Minister of Police, Mr. S.L. Muller, accused the National Union of South African Students on July 27th 1972, of being "unpatriotic", on the side of the enemies of South Africa", that it wanted confrontation and revolution and that it wanted "to destroy the nation".

Speaking about NUSAS' "un-South African" attitude Mr. Muller said: "They tried to have the Springbok tour of New Zealand cancelled. While 75% of rugby enthusiasts tried to maintain links, they appealed to a foreign government to cancel the tour.

NUSAS is on the side of the enemies of South Africa and is putting its own nation in danger and wants to destroy the nation". Referring to the police/student confrontations in June, he said: "It was characteristic that 1st years and juniors were pushed in front. It had the same features of Sharpsville, where women were pushed in front. It was not Paul Pretorius who spoke over the loud hailer. It was a first year who spoke. And when the blows fell, he (Paul Pretorius) ran. The 'brave' students were the first to run away what these people want is confrontation and revolution."

Of the Leo Marquard Fund which was set up to raise money for the defence of students charged under the laws governing protest, and for students suing for assault against the police and the Minister, Mr. Muller said: "I am shocked about these things. Something must be done in order to spend our money in a better manner".

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE

Cheered by almost 3,000 Nationalists in Johannesburg the Prime Minister, Mr. B.J. Vorster repudiated the standpoint adopted by prominent churchmen including the Director of the Christian Institute, Rev. Beyers Naude and several other prominent members of the Christian Institute. He said: "these people claimed that I threatened churchmen. I did not threaten churchmen. I merely reacted to political allegations. When politics is talked, then I talk along". Mr. Vorster also said "Cut it out, cut it out immediately. The cloth you are carrying will not protect you. Your pious talk does not impress me. It does not suit you to play the part of martyrs by quoting me out of context. That you should attack separate development, does not surprise me at all. All liberalists and leftists do". (Argus October 26 1968) (Sunday Express October 27, 1968) (Sunday Times November 3, 1968)

Do not meddle

The Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster warned churchmen not to meddle in politics, "but to stick to the pulpit". Continuing the attack at a Nationalist Party meeting in Krugersdorp he said: "by meddling in politics as they are doing now, they are acting blasphemously and must therefore be dealt with very severely". These gentlemen must not expect to be protected by their religious cloaks. It was very clear to him that they were following the recipe adopted by the World Council of Churches. (Sunday Express October 27, 1968)

Pious Talk

Mr. Vorster told members of the Christian Institute that it was clear to him that they were seeking neither clarification nor truth but were only concerned with propoganda in attacks on the government from the pulpit. The Prime Minister was replying to an open letter sent to him by 12 prominent theologians, including prominent members of the Christian Institute. In his reply, the Prime Minister said "It is of course your right to reduce the pulpit to political platforms to attack the government and the National Party but then you should not be so touchy when I and others react to your political speeches as I have in fact done ... It shocked me very deeply as a Christian believer that you, for political gain, are prepared to address other Christian believers in such language, and although, perhaps in vain, I wish to proclaim the word of God and the Gospel of Christ to your congregations". (Sunday Times October 27, 1968)

Christians and Terrorism

After the World Council of Churches announced that it was giving financial aid to violent movements based outside South Africa, Mr. Vorster launched into a heavy attack on the churches. He also alleged that Mr. Beyers Naude, Director of the Christian Institute had been present at talks where support for terrorist movements had been discussed. "He owes South Africa an explanation of what was discussed where and what his share was in regard to discussion". (House of Assembly Debates column 4205 September 15, 1970)

Later, Mr. Vorster said that Mr. Naude and other leaders of the World Council of Churches had discussed ways to act against South Africa. The discussions had been about the exercising of influence to bring about integrated gatherings in South Africa, on how to isolate South Africa in world sport and how to exercise pressure on Portugal. According to the minutes of that meeting which had been kept by one of the Council's members, Alan A. Booth, it had been decided that "contact with African leaders of liberation movements be proceeded with". It was shocking that one of one own's people should be present at a discussion of this kind, and Mr. Naude owed an explanation to South Africa. (Cape Times October 2, 1970)

Bloody Revolution

In a clear reference to the Christian Institute, the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Theo Gerdener accused South African churches of being influenced by overseas forces trying to bring bloody revolution to South Africa when he spoke at a Nationalist Party meeting in Ladysmith. Mr. Gerdener also attacked "a small but active group" of church leaders who he said were trying to bring about a massive onslaught on the Government's beliefs even if it ultimately lead to violence. He warned that the Government and churchgoers would never allow "growing attempts to create a clash between the church and State" to succeed. (Sunday Tribune August 8, 1971)

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

While the Institute of Race Relations has frequently been attacked in the Nationalist and verkrampste press, no reported attack on the Institute by a present member of Parliament or of Senate could be found at the time of writing.
