

The Enemies Within — Part 3



Marxism on SA campuses

**‘How they
steal our
children,
betray our
country ...’**

THE Aida Parker Newsletter

An APN Special Issue

Issue No. 127

1988 Student Enrolment at Universities in the Republic of South Africa*.

Durban-Westville	6 718
Medunsa (Medical University of SA)	1 467
Potchefstroom	4 521
Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) (Johannesburg)	8 432
Rhodes (Grahamstown)	3 651
Stellenbosch	13 927
Unisa (correspondence university)	103 048
University of Cape Town (UCT)	12 549
University of Natal	11 891
University of Port Elizabeth (UPE)	4 521
University of Pretoria	21 845
University of the North (Turfloop)	8 880
University of the Orange Free State	9 132
University of the Western Cape	10 591
University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) (Johannesburg)	18 166
University of Zululand	5 141
Vista University	18 519

(*This list does not include universities in the independent homelands formerly ruled by SA such as Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.)

Key to some of the organisations referred to in the following pages.

AAA	Africans Against Apartheid (based at RAU)	SACP	SA Communist Party
ANC	African National Congress	SANSKO	SA National Students Congress (Black)
ARM	African Resistance Movement	SASO	SA Students Organisation (Black Consciousness Movement)
BSM	Black Student Movement (Rhodes)	SASPU	SA Student Press Union
BSS	Black Students Society (Wits)	SCAG	Student Community Action Group (Wits and UCT)
COSAWR	Committee on SA War Resisters (SACP front, London-based)	SDS	Students for a Democratic Society (Pretoria)
CSG	Concerned Student Group (UPE)	SRC	Student Representative Council
DP	Democratic Party	STEP	Student Teaching and Education Programme (Wits and UCT)
ECC	End Conscription Campaign	UCM	University Christian Movement (defunct)
FFF	Five Freedoms Forum	UCT	University of Cape Town
IUEF	International University Exchange Fund	UDF	United Democratic Front (banned, internal wing of ANC)
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe, the "armed wing" of the ANC	UP	United Party (defunct)
NEC	National Executive Committee (of NUSAS)	UPE	University of Port Elizabeth
NSF	National Student Federation	VAC	Volunteer Action Committee (Wits)
NUSAS	National Union of SA Students	Wits	University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
PFP	Progressive Federal Party (defunct)	WUS	World University Service (former CIA front)
RAU	Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg		
SACBC	SA Catholic Bishops Conference		
SACC	SA Council of Churches		

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Youth the target

• From Page 1

Turbulent, *avant garde* students are no new phenomena, but in the bubbling laboratory that is late-20th Century South Africa, many additional factors add to the ferment on campus. All South Africans today live in a period of explosive change. We are a nation in transition, a fast-changing society with none knowing where it will end. On all sides, society is in the process of re-examining its values and lifestyles. New mental attitudes replace older ones.

All this is reflected on campus: perhaps even more so there than outside. Higher education in this country has not evolved according to a master plan. Once, and not so many years ago, universities were finishing schools mainly for the children of the rich and privileged.



Now, in line with so many other breaks with the past, higher education in SA increasingly moves from the elite to the mass state. In the general revolution of rising Black expectations, more and more Blacks, quite understandably and commendably, join the stampede to get a university education, with huge jumps in total numbers.

There are other pressures. Today's students take on greater debt than ever before. More of them work part-time and, in the current economic crunch, they enter a significantly shakier job market.

There are the fierce ideological storms – the accompanying huge SA intellectual lurch to the Left – which expose the universities and their students to new demands, pressures and temptations. Elsewhere in the world, enthusiasm for *marxismo* is in dramatic decline. Marxist ideology is no longer taken seriously either in the USSR or Red China. It has demonstrably lost its moral legitimacy in the eyes of those who rule the leading Communist societies.

Nearer home, it is increasingly difficult for even the most devout to persist in entertaining illusions about the "good-

Over-influential

"THERE is – there always is – a minority of left-wing activists among the students. But they would not be nearly as influential as they are if they did not have such substantial faculty support, overt or tacit. And today they are very influential. They have, in effect, banished prominent conservative spokesmen from our major university campuses." – US academic and *Wall Street Journal* writer, Irving Kristol.

natured humanity" and the "good life" Marxism has brought to the African masses.

To repeat, everywhere ongoing events point to the terminal breakdown of Communism. Everywhere, that is, except in SA. Here it remains very much alive, most conspicuously so on our campuses. Our universities and student organisations bulge with people who call themselves "Marxists," people who savagely reject all Western political institutions and the social orders that tie them together. **At the root is a visceral loathing of everything South African.**

ISOLATED, CONFUSED

Add this to the already brain-battering multiplicity of sex, drugs, music, the irresistible magnetism of new ideas, and can you wonder that the new student feels isolated and confused about his own values, his own culture? In such a situation, let him read a bit of Marx, Sartre, Freud, Marcuse, Keynes or Galbraith and chances are that, in the blinding light of his new-found political "understanding," he will condemn most of his family's "bourgeois culture" to the mental ashcan.

In this heady climate of extremist, almost mystical, political excitement, any hardworking, intelligent, dedicated student radical, eager to recruit future revolutionary

fodder, can expect to find rich pickings. And, because of the generally weak, confused and soft-headed administrations, the radical feels quite free to use the university for his own political ends.



How can we bring the debate into focus; protect the vulnerable from future tragedy? APN has for this issue put this question to political scientists, to free marketeers, to student leaders and to Sovietologists, both here and overseas. With their help, we examine the magnitude of the problems facing us, and present some suggestions on how to tackle and, hopefully, roll back this ideological "hot war."

WHO ARE THEY?

First and foremost, parents want to know just who are responsible for transforming bright, intelligent, compassionate young idealists such as Carl Niehaus, Marion Sparg and Hein Grosskopf into hardline revolutionaries? Who are their sponsors, the sponsors who get off scot free while the unfortunate "expendable agents" sit in the dock, go to jail, flee into exile, their families disgraced, their own young lives in ruins? We need not seek far for the culprits.



Marxist professors are no longer a rarity on SA campuses. And few of these today make any secret of their politics. They make clear their political point of view: then teach it, wholly cynical in their manipulation of the vast territory that is the impressionable youthful mind.

Dedicated to the single end of achieving the Marxist millenium, these theoretical revolutionaries are blind and deaf to any other consideration. For these people, **academic concerns are secondary to the "ideological struggle," to conditioning and brainwashing their students to accept and tolerate political subversion, to turning the universities into bases for "the transformation of the larger society" and "radical egalitarianism."**

Many of these academics have been to Harare, to Maputo, Lusaka, West Germany, Moscow and Cuba, such visits later being used for blatant ANC/SA Communist Party propaganda that it is like a first love affair. Some, defying all logic, return so infatuated with their new revolutionary friends. And they get clear away with it.

VARSITY POLITBUROS

They sit safe and untouched in the politburos now existing in all our so-called "liberal" universities. While we have no statistical data on Marxist/revolutionary influence on the SA campuses, it has clearly ballooned enormously over the past decade.

With the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), the University of Cape Town (UCT) and Rhodes University in particular, evidence over the years has repeatedly exposed the fact that a clique of Marxist-minded lecturers and students have entrenched themselves on campus, seemingly to the point where the university

ANC flag at Wits



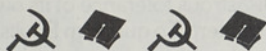
Students of the University of the Witwatersrand carry the banned ANC flag – symbol of the terrorist organisation responsible for bombings and necklacings – at a demonstration.

authorities appear quite unable to cope with the situation. Not that the problem is unique to these three universities. Throughout the country, universities have become seedbeds for sowing revolutionary ideas in the minds of the young – the more promising the student, the more eagerly sought as a Leftist target. And many of these, of course, later metamorphose from student radical to Marxist academic.

NAZI PRACTICE

There is a striking anti-intellectualism in all this. What better example than the collaboration between certain academics and student hardliners to achieve a total overseas academic boycott of SA universities? To quote Dr P M Smythe, Emeritus Professor of Paediatrics at the University of Natal, "Communal punishment was ... a Nazi practice some of us thought we were fighting to stop."

Respect for academic freedom does not in any way hinder the academic Ayatollahs, with their well-deserved reputation for bigotry and determination to divert the universities from their intended educational mission.

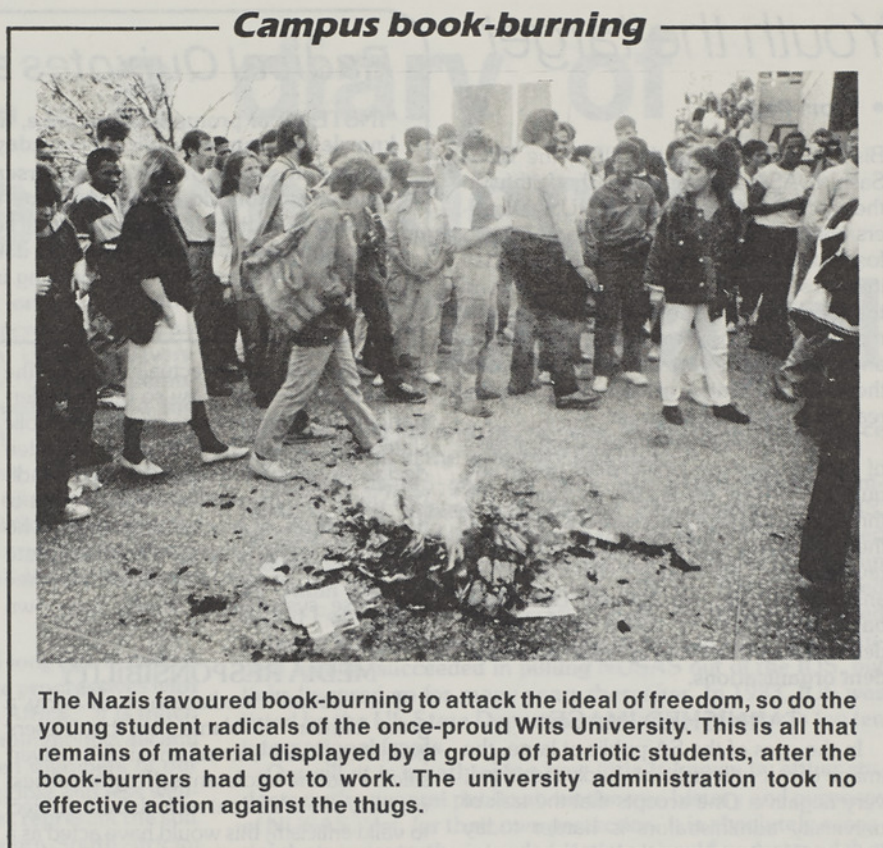


How tragic it all is! But, tragic or not, our problem is: How do we break the Left's stranglehold on the next generation? First and most immediate steps should be taken by those corporate bodies, such as the Chamber of Mines, and companies that contribute so generously to university finances. Businessmen have a very constructive interest in the maintenance of law and order, and the survival of the free market system, in SA. Surely they should take stern action, warning the university administrations of extremely severe consequences if they do not declare a moratorium on radical politics, particularly at academic level? The Government has already given a lead here, but transparently far more concentrated action from the private sector is now demanded.

Next, how have others, similarly afflicted, tackled the problem? Particularly relevant here is John LeBoutillier's *Harvard Hates America*. Universities, this former US Congressman points out, are supposedly designed to promote independence of thought and mind. In fact, most today promote "one type of thought almost exclusively."

In addition to the Marxist influence, "we also face an even larger group of liberals. To me, many of these are hypocrites, both intellectually and personally. They live a soft, sheltered life that gives them legitimacy, security and identity many would not find outside in the real world. This unique form of protection creates a situation where they feed off each other – the liberal line is the accepted line."

While enjoying the fruits of the free enterprise system, "they take a jaundiced view of their own society. Young people are taught to regard their society as a malign force. Invariably students leave university more



The Nazis favoured book-burning to attack the ideal of freedom, so do the young student radicals of the once-proud Wits University. This is all that remains of material displayed by a group of patriotic students, after the book-burners had got to work. The university administration took no effective action against the thugs.

intolerant of religious beliefs, less inclined toward traditional sentiments, more anti-military and anti-conservative than when they entered."

Then, in words which apply equally to Wits, biggest and most active of the English-language campuses, he says: "Harvard has produced more community leaders than any other university in the country. Famous writers, doctors, scientists, lawyers, engineers and business leaders have come in profusion from Harvard – and have played important roles in the improvement of national life. Yet, despite this legacy, many people at Harvard disavow this tradition and see the destruction of our country as desirable."

COVERT RADICALISM

Adding enormously to the problem is NUSAS. A NUSAS document, 26.8.87, claimed: "NUSAS deserves to survive!" Does it? A glance at the NUSAS record should suffice to dispel any illusions about the innocence of this highly radicalised student movement. Since the end of World War 2, and steadily intensifying since the mid-Fifties, there has been a coherent steady thread of NUSAS involvement in revolutionary action: often, as we shall show, covert activity utterly unknown to the general student body.

NUSAS attempts to project as a semi-liberal organisation, masking its subversive intentions with liberal slogans. However, the actions and history of many of its leaders provide ample evidence that they at least have sought to use it as a conspiratorial force seeking a social/military revolution and a "people's democracy" in SA.

To help achieve this, NUSAS leaders

positioned themselves strongly in organisations such as the now-restricted End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and the now-restricted United Democratic Front (UDF) the latter exposed (if there was ever any secret about it) as the internal wing of the ANC/SACP alliance. Such NUSAS leaders and their political associates share a single desire: to destroy the SA state. Their goal was never to reform the system. It was to end the system. For them, SA represents a society marked down for destruction.

CHALLENGE

The experience of this generation, more than any before, demonstrates that **the enemies within a system can constitute as great, or even greater, danger than the foes without.** In Vietnam America's immense military power was humbled by a third-rate Asian tyranny, when coupled with the psycho-political warfare skills of the USSR, aimed at students, liberals, the armed forces and on the TV screens at home.

Angola and Mozambique were overthrown almost entirely because of subversion of officers, following a strategy mapped out by the Portuguese Communist Party at a meeting with the KGB and GRU (Soviet military intelligence) in Prague in 1968. Subversion started in the universities, especially at Oporto. Within three years the Marxist-indoctrinated junior officers were destroying troop morale and collaborating with the enemy in Mozambique and Angola. Within three years, it was all over.

Working with their comrades in the SA Council of Churches, the SA Catholic

Youth the target

• From Page 3

Bishops Conference, the UDF, the Black Sash, IDASA and various of the faithful in the so-called "liberal" media, NUSAS leaders continue to seize every opportunity to foster defeatism among SA's Whites, and to inject a sense of smouldering injury among the Blacks, forever portraying the Government as the most monstrous of tyrannies and damning the free enterprise system in the most vituperative of terms. In all this, the real issue is seizure of power.

The 1975 Van Wyk de Vries Commission of Inquiry into the Universities posed the question: "Can we afford to ignore the threat from campus organisations regarding themselves as a third force and dedicated to revolutionary principles?" To which the answer must be: **No country can stand back and allow its social order to be destroyed or disrupted by anarchical student organisations.**

TARNISHED IMAGE

In the eyes of the SA public at large, the image of our universities is badly tarnished, very negative. One accepts that the task of university administrators is harder today than ever before. Nevertheless, the campus years represent an immensely important development period in the lives of our future elite.

The campus has a basic responsibility to provide good educational opportunities through which students can develop an understanding of society, obtain academic and technical competence in selected fields, fulfil appropriate standards of academic conduct for finding talent and guide it to greater usefulness. There are many who believe that in that mission, SA's universities are today failing grievously.

Through moral cowardice or moral neutrality, many in the administrations seem prepared to concede every student demand, however unreasonable, excuse any student excess or violence, for the sake of a quiet life: peace at any price.

More seriously, many believe that the

Radical Quixotes and campus castles

"INSTEAD of promoting tolerance, freedom of inquiry and the acquisition of knowledge, campus radicals nowadays tend to see the university as a kind of fortress at war with society, an arsenal whose principal task is to raise 'revolutionary consciousness,' frustrate the government, discredit authority and promote a radical transformation of society ... a significant body of opinion on the campuses ... openly rejects the democratic ethic." – Former US Secretary of Education, William Bennett, speaking in Washington on the problem of campus hooliganism.

university authorities actually favour the militants, since they show so much understanding for them in their actions and public statements. But if the authorities are often decidedly reluctant to stand up to the radicals, their weakness is as nothing to that of the thousands of moderate students who seem to be totally lethargic when it comes to the defence of Western values, the free enterprise system and, finally, their own country.

MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY

The "liberal" media too must carry a great burden of blame for the present politicising and extremism at SA universities. Had the intolerant self-righteousness of many of our student radicals been subject to valid criticism, this would have acted as a substantial cooling factor. Instead, unrestricted student political activity and agitation is so incompetently reported by the media that its exact nature usually remains fogbound as far as the ordinary reader is concerned. Here it is worth recalling that US Kampus Ku Kluxer Tom Hayden, who publicly urged his 1960 audiences to kill policemen, was treated as a hero by the US "liberal" media. Is the soft-line approach of SA's own "liberal" media to the campus agitators so very different?

Because of this media hypocrisy, because of ongoing student militancy, academics who all too often put politics first, students last and, finally, the notorious capitulation to mob morality by the administrations, SA academic freedom all too often becomes academic degradation.

Any examination of the record soon discloses that the radical threat on SA cam-

puses is far more frightening than generally imagined. Permit this to continue for just a few more years: and we must expect the defeat of our whole social/economic system. And, to quote British strategist Brian Crozier, such defeat would mark the advent of "the long totalitarian night."

Summing up: The condition of our universities justifies great public alarm. Historically, SA today is at a great turning point: and a very dangerous one. What we don't need at this time is for our universities to act as centres for sedition. None of this is news, but its very obviousness appears to have bred a disastrous tolerance of its own, even among the alert. To quote an English writer, "we have heard the fire alarm but we still hang about in the burning building, waiting for someone to rescue us, quite forgetting that arsonists do not usually summon the fire brigade."

It all unleashes a barrage of far-reaching questions. Please read on.



Immediately outside the Wartenweiler Library on the campus of Wits University, a student is savagely attacked by his fellow students and outside agitators. His crime: the student refused to participate in the anti-South Africa activity that was being orchestrated that day.

Pick-your-flavour Marxism

"PEOPLE who say they neither accept the totality of Marxism, nor the forms it has taken where it has been practised so far, argue nevertheless that it has an important contribution to make to a new socio-political synthesis. Its influence in this respect has been much assisted by the fact that Marxism as an idea can now be claimed to be as divorced from Marxist/Leninism as China is from Russia. In Marx's house there are, or now appear to be, many mansions: you can be anything from a Christian Marxist to a Communist Marxist. Unlike Fascist, Marxist can be accepted simply as a description (even if of a variable state of things) rather than as a term of abuse. In this way, our anxieties may be defused by the sheer confusion of the present manifestations of Marxism.

"But does it matter? Since what is proclaimed by intellectuals today may be taken for granted by the acclimatised mass of ordinary people tomorrow if it is not challenged with equal rigour, I think it does." – Ronald Butt, writing in the *London Times*.

NUSAS exposé

... a diary of subversion, deceit, betrayal

THE role of radical student activists in the formation of what Marxist theoreticians term "the broad democratic front" is an essential one. From Lenin through to Mao, Castro, Guevara and Mugabe, all have emphasised the role of "the broad democratic front" to give legitimacy to the revolution and the sought-after demolition of the target society.

In similar vein, NUSAS documents over the years have again and again emphasised the need to establish a "broad democratic front," aimed at mobilising political, community, trade union, youth, women's and student organisation into a "democratic alliance." In Marxian terms, a "democrat" is one committed to a "People's Government."

Also in line with Marxian theory, NUSAS long ago accepted that to create (I quote) "a large pool of White progressives with a lifelong commitment to change in South Africa," it is much easier to subvert sons and daughters of prominent liberals and the well-to-do (in short, the most privileged members of our society) than it is to impress the less susceptible and less well-favoured. In this context then the universities represent the soft underbelly of SA society: a no man's land for pro-South African activity.

Beginning at the end of World War 2, NUSAS has been the nation's prime White breeding ground of leftwingers, spawning a motley crew of socialists, Socialist/Fabians, Socialist/Keynesians, radicals, communists, Trotskyites and self-proclaimed anarchists. Many of these have gone on to become full-fledged revolutionaries, faithful to a foreign ideology; caught up in a storm of violent antipathy to SA and, indeed, to any stable industrial society; foot soldiers for the Soviet-aligned ANC and its alliance partner the SA Communist Party. Others, many of them still carrying their NUSAS-inspired ideological baggage with them, are today well placed in key posts in the churches,

the media, the law and the judiciary, in industry and commerce and, above all, in the university faculties.

NUSAS history goes far back into South African communism, and indeed international communism. In 1945, NUSAS was one of the founder members of the Prague-based International Union of Students (IUS), a post-war group set up by Stalin and, working in tandem with the Budapest-based World Federation of Democratic Youth, specifically designed to target Western student and youth groups. In 1955 liberal student leaders succeeded in pulling NUSAS out of the IUS, but links lingered on for many years thereafter. In 1983, IUS was listed by the US State Department as one of Moscow's top ten international fronts.

Overall, it is breathtaking how little is known by either students or the general public about the true history and purposes of NUSAS. Yet, for their own protection, it is absolutely essential that students, the intended victims, should understand that NUSAS *cannot in any way* be regarded solely as a student union. To reiterate, it must instead be seen as a radical political pressure group whose upper echelons have, over the years, included many paid, full-time politicians who, on their own admission, follow policies largely unknown to the general student body; and this, very often, in collaboration with fellow travellers on the academic staffs.

Because of the faulty and inadequate knowledge most students have of the movement's revolutionary programme, and of how often NUSAS in the past has succeeded in hijacking some of our "best and brightest," we here provide in-depth historical background.

NUSAS, which today claims to represent 50 000 South African students, is the world's second oldest student union, formed in 1924 just two years after the National Union of Students (NUS) was established in Britain. Main inspiration for the founding of the SA body came from the distinguished, Oxford-educated Bloemfontein liberal/intellectual, Leo Marquard.

According to proposals advanced at the time, the aim was: 1. To promote national cooperation between students. 2. To help students, English and Afrikaans, to get to know and better understand each other. 3. Cooperation with student leaders in other countries.

NUSAS was formally inaugurated at a gathering of student representative councils from the nine then-university colleges at Grey College (later the University of the Orange Free State) in Bloemfontein in July 1924. Initially, all English and Afrikaans campuses belonged to NUSAS.

While English students dominated the organisation, the first three presidents, covering the period 1924/36, were all from Afrikaans universities. In 1933, when

English-speaking students raised the possible inclusion of Fort Hare, a heavily radicalised Black campus in the Eastern Cape, all the Afrikaans campuses except Stellenbosch broke away to form the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studente Bond (ANSB). Stellenbosch disaffiliated from NUSAS in 1936. The ANSB eventually dissolved in 1945.

On breaking away, the Afrikaans student leaders accused NUSAS of being:

"... too English, too imperialistic, too negrophilistic ... and displaying a liberalistic tendency especially as a result of the strong influence of socialistic internationalists who wished to effect a general world citizenship without founding on genuine nationalism ..."

While NUSAS continued to work energetically to bring Black campuses under its banner, it was only in 1945 that Fort Hare and the Hewat Training College became its first Black affiliates. In the early and mid-Fifties the NUSAS leadership was

Empty kettles make most noise

"THE media seldom emphasise that ... only a very small minority of students is involved in these university disorders. The noisy clamouring of a handful of students may capture the headlines but the vast majority of their fellows is either indifferent or even hostile to them." — Mr John Lambson, University Freedom of Speech Association.



Better ideas

"IDEAS cannot be fought except by means of better ideas. The battle consists not of opposing, but exposing; not of denouncing, but of disproving; not of evading, but of totally proclaiming a full, consistent and radical alternative." — Ayn Rand.

NUSAS diary

• From Page 5

dominated by liberals such as Philip Tobias, Patricia Arnett, Michael O'Dowd and John Didcott, all of whom urged a course of "objectivity and apoliticism," arguing that students should not be involved in politics but only in issues which affected students as such.

ALIENATED

Their policies, aimed at uniting Black and White conservative students under the leadership of a White group in the centre, attracted considerable campus support for NUSAS: but also increasingly alienated NUSAS from the mainstream of "resistance politics." In 1955, this group succeeded both in pulling NUSAS out of the Soviet-controlled IUS and in getting the NUSAS assembly to refuse to adopt the ANC Freedom Charter.

Despite occasional intertemperate outbursts and while remaining highly critical of the Government, NUSAS was still fundamentally a responsible and patriotic organisation. That was soon to change. In the late Fifties a new leadership grouping emerged, with hardcore Marxists such as Arthur Goldreich, Harold Wolpe and Bob Alexander Hepple (all leaders in the Rivonia plot to establish a Sovietised SA) campaigning flat out to radicalise NUSAS and identify it with the so-called "freedom struggle." Assisting in the capture of NUSAS for the hard Left were such former Wits students and SA Communist Party luminaries as Bram Fischer, Joe Slovo and his wife, Ruth First.

NUSAS had now clearly found the niche its radical element had so long sought. From



Bob Alexander HEPPLE ... a senior SA Communist Party official who helped radicalise NUSAS in the late Fifties. Later arrested at Rivonia but saved his skin by agreeing to turn State's evidence. Fled to Britain.

then on, the student union, with only brief respites, was overwhelmingly dominated by political, social and racial rather than educational and student issues, often in direct association with those seeking to seize power through violence. As a result, a long history of clashes between the State and NUSAS developed.

RADICALISATION

1960/64. This was a period of intensive radicalisation within NUSAS, as its more forceful leaders sought to organise a nationwide student revolutionary movement. Dialogue was out. Seeing itself as a major catalyst for political and social change, NUSAS quite rapidly transformed into the nation's most radical White-dominated "protest" group, with marches in the streets, demos, sit-ins in the university administrations, and the move of numbers of NUSAS executives and members into armed revolutionary activity.

1960/61: Together with Randolph Vigne, Cape Western chairman of the Liberal Party, and Dennis Higgs, a mathematics lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), both former NUSAS activists, NUSAS president Neville Rubin, son of a SA senator, founds the White sabotage and ANC-support group, the African Resistance Movement (ARM). An important and unusual group in SA revolutionary history, ARM was the first underground movement actually to engage in violence in this sorely troubled period.



Neville RUBIN ... co-founder of the African Resistance Movement, dedicated to sabotage.

TRAGEDY, SHAME

During the three years of its existence ARM appears to have had 70 members, all but six White and almost all former NUSAS members, mainly from Wits and the University of Cape Town (UCT). At least nine were university lecturers, persons who, while on campus, recruited into the organisation many talented students.

Two notable ARM members were two Afrikaans women, Stephanie Kemp and Lynette van der Riet, the latter a member of the NUSAS national executive.

Both these were to play important roles in ARM and were among the leading saboteurs. Both confessed in court to having been recruited by NUSAS leader Adrian Leftwich, of whom more later. While declaring itself anti-Communist, ARM nevertheless wished to see SA become a "socialist, democratic state."



Lynette van der RIET ... "girlfriend" and recruit to the ARM of Leftwich.

Almost without exception, ARM members came from the elite of the elite. They followed professional careers, were in the main wealthy and well-educated. As students, most had scored brilliant scholastic records. Yet their revolutionary activities brought tragedy, misery and shame both to these outstanding youngsters and their families, none more so than to ...

Adrian Leftwich, a man with a sparkling academic record, a brilliant intellect and an outstanding orator. In the early 60s Leftwich was regarded as the brightest young star on the liberal horizon, potentially a great and gifted future SA leader. Alas, his NUSAS involvement was to rob him of all that.

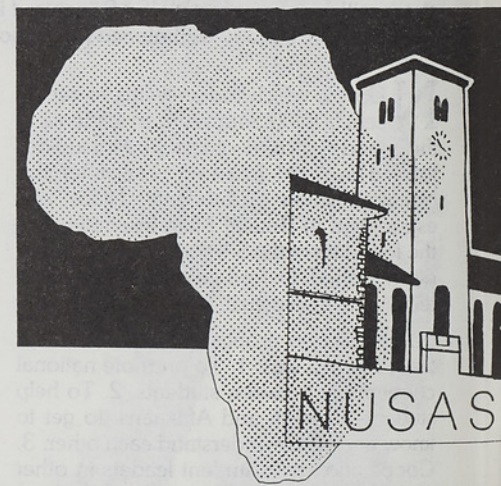
Born in Johannesburg, 24.3.40, Leftwich enrolled at UCT in 1958. In 1960 he was elected NUSAS president, and again in 1962. During this time he acted as liaison between NUSAS and the Communist-dominated, later banned, Congress of Democrats. He was introduced to ARM by fellow-student Neville Rubin. He and Lynette van der Riet were arrested on July 24, 1964, on charges of sabotage. (In all, ARM committed some 21 acts of sabotage, mainly in-



Adrian LEFTWICH, one of the most brilliant and gifted student leaders of his time ... driven from his homeland, his once-promising career totally destroyed by his involvement in NUSAS and NUSAS-aligned revolutionary politics.

Not so stupid

NOT all students are as politically naive as NUSAS would hope. Here is a quote from the campus newspaper, *Freedom Fighter*, published by the centrist Durban Student Alliance: "In the ideal socialist state, power will not attract power freaks. People who make decisions will not show the slightest bias towards their own interests. There will be no way for a clever man to bend the institutions to serve his own ends. And the rivers will run uphill."



WHAT IS THE NATIONAL UNION ALL ABOUT?

NUSAS

This graphic is from a NUSAS document. The question "What is the National Union All About?" deserves an honest answer - one students are unlikely to get from NUSAS.

Excuses, excuses

"THE trials in which people are charged of (sic) necklacing others and condemned to death has been the spontaneous anger of our people generated by the terror of apartheid." — NEWSLETTER: A publication of the Inter-SRC Committee, University of Natal.

volving the bombing of electricity pylons and railway installations, causing much damage and disruption).

INSULT TO RATS

Within two days of his detention, and without any physical coercion, Leftwich broke and confessed all. He turned State's witness and effectively sent his comrades to prison, one after another. So poor was his performance in court, and so blatant his betrayal of his student associates, that the

presiding judge felt constrained in his summing up to comment: "it would be an insult to liken him to the rat species" — in other words, don't insult the rats. Thus was the life and career of one of SA's most promising sons blighted for ever — for what?

The ARM trials saw NUSAS popularity plummet to one of its lowest ebbs ever. Conservative elements emerged on most NUSAS campuses, more especially Durban and Rhodes, insisting that education must be divorced from politics.

1962: NUSAS hooks up with the African Students Association (ASA), formed by ANC activist Thabo Mbeki. Around this time Bob Hepple, later exposed as a member of the Central Committee of the SA Communist Party, represented NUSAS at the IUS conference in Moscow.

September 14, 1963: Minister of Justice John Vorster describes NUSAS as "a damnable and detestable organisation," "a cancer in the life of SA that must be cut out."

NUSAS friends

ONE revolutionary group which has no illusions about where NUSAS stands is the Pan Africanist Congress. In its *Azanian News*, No 4, Vol 22, 1986, the PAC says: "It is not incidental that Gerard Ludi infiltrated the South African Communist Party and the Kremlin through NUSAS credentials, or Craig Williamson, who infiltrated the Solidarity Movement in Europe headed by the Soviet Union through NUSAS and ANC credentials..."

January 1964: NUSAS leader Martin Legassick, later a member of Britain's ultra-radical Trotskyite Fourth International, attends a student seminar in Dar es Salaam, says "the new aim" is to establish NUSAS

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Dubious heroes in NUSAS line-up

EXAMINATION of political figures favoured by NUSAS is instructive. Current (and long term) favourite is Beyers Naude, appointed honorary president of NUSAS in 1982 when he was still under a seven-year banning order. Like many in the NUSAS leadership, this political predikant extraordinary has made a career out of undermining the South African status quo, while simultaneously again and again conspicuously demonstrating his "solidarity" with the ANC.

At the height of the grisly "necklace" murders in 1985, Naude travelled to Britain, West Germany and the US, where he gave a number of speeches defending Black revolutionary violence. As former Secretary-General of the militant SA Council of Churches, he was an outspoken advocate of anti-SA sanctions, of socialism and of liberation theology. As chairman of the Board of Trustees of the massively-foreign funded Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (IDASA) he has helped put together the many meetings between major SA groups — including NUSAS leaders and students from Stellenbosch — and the ANC.

Another "angel of light" in the NUSAS firmament has been the British-born Mrs Helen Joseph, first person in SA to be "house arrested." She was first banned under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1957, with repeated bannings thereafter. Mrs Joseph, another radical leftist who has worked hard to destroy her adopted homeland, was first introduced to hard left politics by the late, Lithuanian-born Solly Sachs, prominent SA trade union leader, self-proclaimed Communist and ardent disciple of Stalin. Together with Naude, Mrs Joseph was appointed an honorary NUSAS presi-



Honorary NUSAS president BEYERS NAUDE, defender of revolutionary violence.

dent in 1982, at a time when she too was under restriction.

The list of NUSAS leaders and associates who went on to become key decision makers in the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance is legion, starting with Bram Fischer. Like many who have graduated into the ANC/SACP ranks since, Fischer came from the top Afrikaner establishment, the son of a judge and grandson of a former Prime Minister of the old Free State Republic.

After studying both at UCT and at the University of the Orange Free State, he went to Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship. It

was probably there that he became a Marxist/Leninist. Having taken silk in 1935, he secretly joined the SA Communist Party in 1936. His first big step into public radical politics was through the old SA Peace Council, a Soviet front.

In the years immediately following World War 2 Fischer, together with fellow ANC/SACP leaders and former NUSAS members such as Joe Slovo and his wife, the late Ruth First, Dennis Goldberg, Harold Wolpe, Dave Kitson and Bob Hepple, worked hard trying to swing NUSAS to the party line. Fischer died on May 6, 1973, having brought immeasurable tragedy to himself, his family and his country.

Another senior NUSAS activist destined to become a key member of the ANC's National Executive was Ronnie Kasrils, today the terrorist movement's chief of intelligence and head of its armed wing "special operations" department. Kasrils underwent specialised training in military engineering in the USSR and training as an intelligence officer in East Germany. He has either initiated or helped plan many of the more spectacular acts of terror in SA over the past 12 years. He was initially recruited while studying at the University of Natal.

Kasrils has in recent years been the ANC's leading recruiter of White terrorists. Young radicals he has recruited, many on the SA campuses, for service with the ANC's *Umkhonto we Sizwe* include Alexandre Moubarris, John Hosey, Bill McCaig, David Rabkin — jailed for running an ANC cell in Cape Town — Nicholas Hearth, Bonnie Muller, William Hedges, Guido van Hecken and Edwards Withli. It was Kasrils who reputedly recruited the White ANC cell arrested at Broederstroom.

NUSAS diary

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as "the student wing of the liberation movement." NUSAS president Jonty Driver echoes his words, saying that "NUSAS should become the student wing of the liberation movement." But Driver goes further: much further.

TWO FACES

"There are," he says, "two sides to NUSAS ... there is a public face and a private face. Its private activities are known only to a select few at leadership level." This "twin role," this "false front," was to protect "fulfilment" of NUSAS involvement "within the revolutionary movement." Although Driver is censured by NUSAS members for his indiscretion, commitment to the "proletarian struggle" continues to widen. Driver is detained by Security Police under the 90-Day Detention Clause. NUSAS activities become increasingly patterned on the anti-Vietnam campaigns then disrupting US campuses.

July 24, 1964:

Three persons join to place a suitcase bomb on the main concourse of Johannesburg's Park Station. Two, a male and a female, are from Wits, but never officially identified. The third is yet another memorable ARM member, John Harris, heavily involved in Liberal Party politics and with ARM's hardline NUSAS activists. Exploding at 4.30



John HARRIS ... the Johannesburg Station bomb was "such a beautiful plan" - and 23 were injured seriously, with one killed.

p.m. the bomb seriously injures 23, one victim, Mrs Ethyl Rhys, later dying. A pretty young girl is horribly disfigured. At Harris's trial he stated that, having placed the bomb, he felt "... so happy ... like a centaur ... it seemed so organised, so cut and dried, so beautiful, such a beautiful plan." He died on the gallows at Pretoria Central Prison, April 1, 1965.

Right on, comrades

"TODAY the mass democratic movement has gained in experience and outlook. Over the past few years, we have witnessed greater white involvement in popular actions. Organisations such as Jodac, EEC and DPSC have attracted into their ranks several hundred democrats. The movement against conscription enjoys the support of a wide range of forces. The democratic trend in the universities now encompasses more students and is action orientated. Unlike before, many white graduates continue with their political activities outside the university grounds.

Jodac, NUSAS, the EEC, the SIG and UDF Area Committees in the Western Cape - to name but a few - continually review their role and tasks and are evolving a well thought out approach to mobilise and organise in the white suburbs, universities and schools, to identify the target and storm it." *The African Communist* No 109, Second Quarter 1987, pg. 69.

1966: NUSAS president Ian Robertson is banned.

1967: Former NUSAS acting president John Daniel is refused a passport; president-elect John Sprack, holding a British passport, is deported.

1986: NUSAS once again begins to view itself as "the vanguard of the struggle." A NUSAS document states: "in the glare of stage lights, the organisation lost sight of its own limitations and possibilities."

BLACK POWER

1969: NUSAS executive announces reorganised priorities. These include: **Promotion of Black Power**, initiating action towards change in SA, **restructuring the economy**, mobilising students towards such goals. Radical Black students, led by Steve Biko and Barney Pitso, stage a walk-out from NUSAS to form their own student grouping. (See below).

This Black breakaway leaves a core group of Left/liberal students, specially active on the labour front, in control of NUSAS. In 1971 NUSAS establishes the first Wages Commission in Durban, supplying skills, advice and resources to as-yet non-unionised Black workers. This contributes substantially to a long round of costly strikes, lock-outs and stayaways in 1972/73. Security Police action against NUSAS is increased.

DISINVESTMENT

1971: Parliamentary speakers brand NUSAS as "subversive." In nation-wide

Security Police raids on NUSAS offices, more than 1 000 NUSAS documents seized, many later to be used at the trial of the Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev Gonville French-Beytagh.

March, 1972: NUSAS openly begins promoting anti-SA disinvestment. The so-called "floating university," the US vessel, *University Campus*, arrives in Table Bay harbour. NUSAS students go aboard, distribute a leaflet bearing the NUSAS letterhead and signed "Paul Pretorius, President." This declares US companies form "a large part of the apartheid economy" and "we say they must withdraw" from SA. Companies suggested for action are Ford, General Motors, General Electric, Shell-BP. Those requiring further information and advice on anti-SA economic action are advised to contact NUSAS.

NUSAS action "themes" change from the usual expression of "liberal outrage" to "educational" campaigns aimed at "mobilising" and "conscientising" White students. A NUSAS document declares: "History has shown that, given the right education and training, Whites can choose to work against their own class interest." Later events prove this claim to be smack-on.

1972: The Schlebusch Commission is set up to inquire into NUSAS and other organisations. This ushers in a period of severe setback for NUSAS.

1973: Following early disclosures in evidence led before the Schlebusch Commission, eight NUSAS leaders issued with five-year banning orders. They are: Paul Pretorius, Clive Keegan, Sheila Lapinsky, Dr Ric Turner (later killed by an unidentified gunman), Phillippe le Roux, Neville Curtis, Paula Ensor and Chris Wood. According to evidence, Pretorius several times met ANC member Zola Nkosi, employed by the Soviet news agency, TASS, and in close touch with East German publishers of the ANC journal, *Sechaba*.

GRAVE DIGGERS

1974: Schlebusch Commission findings are tabled in Parliament. Many shock disclosures, notably a devastating exposé of how NUSAS had been used by foreign interests to help incite revolution in SA; how it

Democracy? Not very likely

"A FUTURE, liberated South Africa may have a one-party or a multi-party system. That, for us, is not at all the most important question. Indeed in different liberated countries there are advanced democracies that involve one-party systems in some, and multi-party in others. In all progressive countries, seeking to build and deepen democracy, it is not a question of how many parties are to be included, that is not the central question at all. The key to deepening democracy lies in deepening mass organisations in all sectors of society and in creating the right social and economic conditions in which power is no longer in the hands of a small class of exploiters." - *NEWSLETTER*: A publication of the Inter-SRC Committee, University of Natal.

had played a seminal role in the introduction of Black Power and Black ("liberation") Theology into this country and had generally sought to act as gravediggers of their own society.

Even today, Black Power, better known here as "Black Consciousness," is generally regarded as a spontaneous, indigenous, home-grown thrust by SA's Black community to win a better deal for themselves. The Commission blasted such naivete. Black Power, it disclosed, was deliberately imported from the US as a means of inflaming racial passions, creating Black/White polarisation, ultimately to inspire a "Black Blitzkrieg."

It was introduced here through the now-defunct University Christian Movement (UCM), founded here in September or October, 1966, with funding from the US National Council of Churches, the World Student Christian Fund, a junior division of the WCC, and the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF).

SA's first official "Black Power" outfit was Steve Biko's militant SA Student Organisation (SASO), created at a UCM Congress in July 1968. "NUSAS leaders, against opposition from many NUSAS members, assisted in fostering SASO, making it possible for SASO to grow." At a November 1969 NUSAS seminar in Stellenbosch, one of the proposals formulated, according to secret NUSAS documents, was "Promotion of Black Power."

At its July 1970 congress NUSAS formally recognised SASO as an "all-Black student organisation." The Commission stated: "A fund-raising document drawn up ... later in the same year indicated that NUSAS had not merely recognised SASO but had in fact been concerned with its birth." And: "Evidence received ... disclosed that NUSAS leaders were not con-

From activism to terrorism



Part of the massive arsenal – including a SAM-7 ground-to-air missile – found at a Broederstroom farm last year. Three white men and a woman were arrested: all were former students, with at least one a committed NUSAS activist.

tent with the mere recognition of SASO ... they also attempted to force NUSAS members to share ideology and to act in accordance with it ..."

CIA FUNDING

Further heavy blows were to come. As the secrecy curtain lifted, it was disclosed that NUSAS had for years been heavily dependent on CIA-funded groups committed to sponsoring revolution in SA. The NUSAS "Leadership Programme," launched in 1963, was from its inception funded by the US National Student Association, exposed in 1967 as a CIA front. To gain substitute funds, NUSAS approached the World University Service (WUS), in turn

also exposed as a CIA beneficiary. In May 1971 the WUS general secretary was quoted as saying that WUS "... is openly in support of guerilla movements," with SA a particular target. WUS, it was stated, "opposes any government or body cooperating with South Africa and is outspokenly against the sale of arms there."

By 1967 NUSAS knew all about the WUS/CIA linkage: and was getting its instructions in no uncertain terms. Michael Goualt, WUS co-secretary in Geneva, laid it on the line. NUSAS would have to cooperate much more closely with SASO, "or run the risk of losing certain donations." To avoid any confusion about the NUSAS role,

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Breeding grounds of alienation, sedition, destruction

"CENTRAL to the problem of violence on campus is the existence of a large number of alienated young men and women (who) practically take a pride in being outside the mainstream of the culture, of being against the establishment, against authority, against the administration of the university, the administration of the state. How did they get alienated? Well, besides the usual psychologically neurotic reasons for this alienation there is something else going on. They are taught this alienation by professors. Especially in the **Social Sciences, the Liberal Arts departments, the Humanities, English and Philosophy.** There's a kind of alienation among intellectuals. They sneer at the world the way it's run by politicians, businessmen and generals. Knowing that they themselves are so much smarter than politicians, businessmen or generals, they feel there's a dreadful world which they themselves ought to be running instead. The first great enunciator of this theory was Plato, who believed that philosophers should be kings, and notice that he himself was a philosopher. Suppose you're an

alienated intellectual. You're a professor of philosophy or something. You have no power, no influence in politics. But you can influence your students. You use phrases like 'the illegitimacy of contemporary authority.' Now if the contemporary authority of the State, the police, is illegitimate, then you are morally entitled to – in fact it is your moral duty to – oppose that force. It becomes moral duty to oppose that illegitimate authority. The middle-aged professor passes this on to his young students. The young students are more likely to act upon this. The authority of the police is illegitimate, therefore its proper and moral to throw bricks at them. To paraphrase a famous line, **'Hell hath no fury like the intellectual scorned.'** Now, professors tend, therefore, to give A's in their courses to students that are alienated. And as the students get A's they get appointed graduate assistants. Then they soon become professors themselves. And then they pass on this alienation to another generation of students, and generations of students come fast, after all. And before you know it, you have whole departments which are basically sources of resistance to the culture as a whole. All this upsets me very, very much. Universities should be centres for the dissemination of the values of our culture, and the passing on of those values. But, dammit, with enough half-baked Platos in our university departments, they are trying to make them centres of sedition and destruction." – *Professor S S I Hayakawa, former President of the San Francisco State College, giving evidence before the US National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.*

NUSAS diary

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a WUS letter stated that its SA programmes "are carried out in cooperation with the National Union of Students (NUSAS)."

Another contributor to NUSAS funds, the IUEF, plainly disclosed its aims in its official mouthpiece, *The Student*, in the January/February issue of 1967: "The goal upon which the IUEF is focussed is ... the liberation of those African nations still suffering under the rule of colonialism or apartheid. Therefore IUEF stays in close contact with all the major groups working for liberation ..." Movements listed included the ANC, PAC, SWAPO, ZANU, ZAPU and Frelimo. So much for the "friends" of our great SA patriots in the NUSAS leadership.

INCITEMENT

Dealing with NUSAS involvement in the incitement in the Black labour field, the Commission had some more harsh things to say. **"It is clear that upliftment of the Black worker is not their principal aim.** It is one of the special issues around which agitation has to be built in accordance with the lessons in the techniques of successful incitement and agitation which NUSAS leaders went to learn in Europe and the USA.

"NUSAS action (here) is really a means to another end ... that is political change to overthrow the existing order in South Africa and to replace it with an anti-capitalist system which has sometimes been described as 'Black Socialism.' This has to be brought about by stirring up industrial and labour unrest and by inciting Black and White against each other, by polarising them against each other and, eventually, by incit-

ing them to conflict, even violent conflict, against each other."

The report observed links between NUSAS and communist-inspired subversive activities. **It warned that campus leaders close to NUSAS "are ill-informed on the organisation's affairs."**

As a result, NUSAS is officially declared an "affected organisation," meaning it could no longer solicit or accept overseas funding. Overnight, this slashed its annual income by 90%.

The liberal English-language media followed their usual course when faced with such indisputable evidence against their young proteges: the commission – not the evidence – was attacked. The results were played down as far as possible, then totally ignored.

1974/76: So effectively crippled was NUSAS by the Schlebusch findings and recommendations that at one stage, in 1976, only Wits and UCT remained affiliated. In 1976 "Fink" Haysom is appointed president and begins to reconstruct a weary and battle-scarred NUSAS. It was only with the outbreak of the 1976 Soweto riots, leading to a widespread resurgence of leftist revolutionary activism, that NUSAS rejuvenation begins taking place.

1977: NUSAS "theme" for the year is "racial capitalism." In the same year, Helen Suzman is quoted as being 'very upset' at recalcitrant NUSAS stance and a NUSAS congress motion expressing "solidarity with SWAPO." She reserves her acceptance of honorary vice presidency for 1978.

ANC LINKS

February 7, 1980: Minister of Police Louis le Grange tells Parliament past four NUSAS presidents were either ANC members or linked to it. Those named: Aurret van Heerden, Nicholas "Fink" Haysom, Mike Stent and Karel Tip. Mike Stent and Karel Tip had maintained regular contact with the ANC. Aurret van Heerden had earlier attracted attention of Security Police when he became involved with various radical/revolutionaries such as Barbara Hogan. Hogan was later convicted of high treason and sentenced to ten years in jail for setting up ANC communication routes, organising boycotts and other protests, and compiling anti-government pamphlets.

December 7, 1980: Tony Leon, a former Wits SRC vice-president and chairman of the university's 1978 NUSAS Congress Contact Committee, resigns, saying: "Never once has NUSAS honestly reviewed the disastrous socialist tinkering of the Third World, yet the ills of our society as seen by the Left are constantly and

Campaigns

"SANSKO has accepted non-racialism as a principle and it is in this light that our alliance with NUSAS must be seen. This alliance has grown in the field of practice struggle and many joint campaigns and has a potential to develop to even greater heights." – Sansco: An Organisation born out of struggle, *National Newsletter* 1st Quarter 1988.

ruthlessly dissected." He raps NUSAS as "undemocratic" – "your adverse and paranoid reaction to criticism and dissension within your ranks, your branding of opponents as (police) agents and police activists is fascism and McCarthyism of the worst kind." He urges that NUSAS put its own house in order before "launching on the greater SA crusade." NUSAS theme for 1981 should be "National Unity," so that it could look at broad spectrum of wrongs in SA "rather than waste money and resources on the Toytown Trotskyites who abound in NUSAS." (*Citizen*, 8.12.80).

FLAGS BURNED

May, 1981: SA celebrates its 20th anniversary as an independent Republic. Contribution from NUSAS? As part of its "Anti-Republican Festival Campaign," two SA flags are burnt on campus, one at Wits, one at UCT. Rationale? That SA students, by taking SA flags on to SA campuses, into SA universities financed by the SA Government and established on SA (not Soviet) soil, were being "provocative." Would NUSAS have found the flying of the hammer-and-sickle possibly less "provocative"?

August 20, 1983: In line with the Marxian concept of a "broad democratic front" as an essential to the revolution, the United Democratic Front (UDF), later exposed as the internal wing of the ANC, is launched at

Struggle, NUSAS-style

"WE in South Africa are waging a national struggle against apartheid colonialism and exploitation of man by man. Our struggle is also essentially anti-monopolist and anti-imperialist. I have already pointed out that this national democratic struggle is a nation-building process, ie like the capitalists in the epoch of transition from Feudalism to Capitalism we are also building a nation. We are building a new South African nation in a historic epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. An epoch of the international socialist, and not just social revolution." – *The Theory of the South African Revolution: National Youth Workshop: 1986* (Copies distributed at a NUSAS Congress.)



Nicholas "Fink" HAYSOM, NUSAS president, 1977. Helped resuscitate NUSAS after the Schlebusch Commission disclosures had virtually knocked it out of commission.



a mass rally at Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. NUSAS becomes its biggest White affiliate (Please see Page 15).

October, 1983: The since-banned End Conscription Campaign (ECC), aimed at paralysing SA's national security effort, is launched in Cape Town, with a big NUSAS input. (Please see Page 14).

November, 1983: Opening the NUSAS congress at Wits, Oscar Mpetha, a UDF national president, says: "If we look at liberated countries, it is students and workers who have fought for freedom." Kate Phillip, NUSAS president, says "creation of the UDF has changed the face of SA politics." Oliver Tambo hails formation of the UDF as "our greatest triumph."

BOMBING 'OK'

November 24, 1983: ANC member, church member and Wits student Carl Niehaus, then 23, is sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for high treason, plus a further three years for being a member of the banned ANC. There was an audible gasp in court when Niehaus candidly admitted that the Pretoria bomb blast, resulting in 19 dead and 252 injured, "did not worry him as long as the ends of the ANC were served by the event." Niehaus's fiancée, Jan-sie Lourens, also convicted on a charge of high treason, is sentenced to four years imprisonment.

December, 1983: The NUSAS annual congress pledges "full support" for the UDF, resolves to "take up the challenge for change" and to popularise the communist-inspired ANC "Freedom Charter."

1983: Jeanette Schoon, member of both the ANC and the SA Congress of Trade Unions, is killed by a bomb in Angola. Schoon began her political activities at Wits, while a member of the NUSAS Executive.

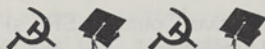
May, 1986: A seven-member NUSAS delegation, led by NUSAS president Brendan Barry and Claire Wright, NUSAS executive member and president of the Wits SRC, make the now-obligatory "liberal" trek to Harare for three-days of talks with the ANC. They meet two members of the ANC National Executive, James Stewart and Mac Maharaj. Maharaj, one of the most influential members of the ANC hierarchy, received sophisticated intelligence training in East Germany. He helped recruit many White students into the ANC. On their return, the NUSAS group urges Government to unban the ANC — then as now planting bombs across SA.

November, 1986: Marion Sparg, 28, a White journalist and avowed ANC "guerrilla," sentenced in the Rand Supreme

Against SA...

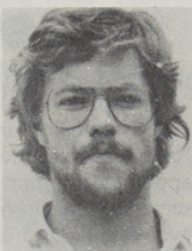
"THROUGHOUT its history NUSAS has almost consistently gone against the grain of White politics ... and come to ally itself closely with the broad extra-parliamentary movement for change in South Africa." — NUSAS document, 26.8.87.

Court to a total of 25 years in prison for her part in a series of limpet mine and other bombings. Sparg seems to have been initiated into radical politics while studying journalism at Rhodes, where she was involved in a whole range of NUSAS sub-committees and militant student activity. Arrested with Sparg was a former UCT student and NUSAS member, Stephen Johannes Marais. Earlier, when called up for national service, Marais fled to Lesotho, where he was recruited as a courier for the ANC. He is found guilty of supplying the firearms and explosives used by Sparg.



November, 1987: Jenny Schreiner, daughter of Professor Denys Schreiner, then Vice Principal of the University of Natal and a long-standing NUSAS supporter, at one time holding the office of Honorary Vice President, is detained along with members of the so-called Basil February MK Squad (attached to *Umkhonto we Sizwe*). Schreiner, a past chairman of NUSAS on the Pietermaritzburg campus, had a long record of involvement with radical politics, both on and off campus. She was allegedly connected with a series of bombings and is presently an awaiting-trial prisoner. NUSAS has been very vocal in demands for her release.

March, 1988: A former Wits student/NUSAS member, Hein Grosskopf, 25, allegedly a member of the ANC Youth Brigade, sought by police on suspicion of involvement with three car bomb blasts which killed seven people and injured 102 others in the Witwatersrand area during 1987/88. These attacks included a killer blast in Krugersdorp, a car bomb outside the Witwatersrand Command HQ and an explosion which killed four policemen outside the Johannesburg Magistrates' Court. Grosskopf, born in Bloemfontein to a distinguished Afrikaans family on 21.12.63, was an outstanding youth in every way. He was head boy at the prestige Linden High School, where he matriculated in 1981, and was also Junior Mayor of Johannesburg. In 1982 he regis-



Hein GROSSKOPF
... former Wits student and NUSAS member, wanted in connection with three car bomb blasts which killed seven, injured 102.

tered for a BA degree at Wits, but left in 1984 before completing his course. He then left the country and joined the ANC.

ARSENAL

May, 1988: Four alleged ANC terrorists, three White men and a White woman, arrested on a Broederstroom farm. According to police statements, they had smuggled into SA a massive arsenal of weapons, including a SAM-7 ground-to-air missile system. They had planned, it was claimed, to shoot down a police helicopter during a deployment demonstration at the Rand Show. Other captured weapons included limpet mines, hand grenades, AK assault rifles, pistols, machine guns, demolition charges and highly sophisticated sniping equipment. All were former university students, with at least one a committed NUSAS activist. All were members of the London-based Committee on SA War Resistance (COSAWR), a front for the SA Communist Party, this before being recruited into the ANC. COSAWR has from the start had links with the now-banned End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and through the ECC with certain NUSAS groups. Further police disclosures were that the group was using powerful radio transmitters to contact ANC HQ in Lusaka, and that the weapons were brought in overland through Zambia and Botswana. Allegedly, the captured persons had been trained in the USSR, Cuba and Angola. Documents seized apparently included a hit list containing the names of prominent South Africans, mainly senior officers of the security forces, Parliamentarians and some key judges.

Among those captured was the alleged group commander, Damian De Lange, a former Rhodes student and NUSAS activist who had earlier fled the country after being sought in connection with a series of bombings carried out by Marion Sparg.



This is a necessarily bare-bones record of radical NUSAS activists on English-medium campuses over the past 30 years or more, and now spreading ineluctably into the Afrikaans universities. It is a huge problem, with serious intellectual, political and social consequences for every aspect of SA society.

Does anyone appreciate the real absurdity of SA taxpayers funding tertiary institutions dominated by a militant minority dedicated to the destruction of both our country and our society?

Mob 'justice'

"THOSE killed by the residents had been tried and found guilty of the highest crime; betrayal in the face of the enemy." — Nic Boraine, Nusas Secretary-General.

One man, one vote, once...

"UNDER certain circumstances elections are not a necessary prerequisite for democracy." — Glen Goosen, former UCT SRC President.

Political 'change agents' in NUSAS hierarchy

PLAYING the numbers game, NUSAS claims to speak for 50 000 South African students. Factually, English-medium campus support for the union's radical political agenda is probably a fraction of that. Critics such as the University Freedom of Speech Association insist that were it put to a free vote NUSAS, with its larger political lunacies and over-supply of theoretical revolutionaries, would probably not pull in more than 10% of student support. They argue that:

- 1. NUSAS can in no way be regarded as an impartial body concerned primarily with student and educational affairs. Many students regard NUSAS as irrelevant and insensitive to their needs and aspirations.
- 2. Many students resent NUSAS funds being used for the advocacy and implementation of far Left/revolutionary programmes.
- 3. NUSAS leaders are generally regarded as being very far from a typical set of students.
- 4. *Most important, politically savvy students are well aware that the NUSAS hierarchy both now and for many years past has regarded the union's main function as that of a political "change agent." A "change agent" is a person, organisation or institution that changes, or seeks to change, the beliefs, values, attitudes or behaviour of people without their knowledge or consent.* In this regard, when the books are closed on the 20th Century, NUSAS – as its own historical record demonstrably proves – will go down as one of this nation's greatest burdens and most dangerous mischief makers.

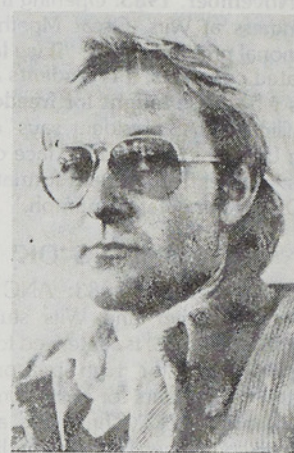
How, against admitted and widespread public and student suspicion of, and antagonism to, NUSAS and its methods, does the union retain its grip on the English-medium universities? Largely because in 1970 NUSAS adopted the system of "central affiliation," designed as "a more effective structure to co-opt larger numbers of students" into its ranks. And, essential from its point of view, to lend credibility to its claims of being a "national" union of students.

FUNDS CUT

For NUSAS, central affiliation became a financial imperative in 1973 when, following the Schlebusch Commission Report, the union was designated an "affected organisation." This automatically outlawed any further overseas funding, at that time constituting 90% of its operating budget.

NUSAS denies that student membership is compulsory or that it is funded coercively. While it is technically correct that students are not forced to be NUSAS members, they are however forced to pay for it. The money has to come from somewhere. The Student

A typical student? ANDREW BORAINÉ, president of NUSAS from 1980 till his banning in July 1981. Unbanned in July 1983, he then became an executive member of the now-restricted UDF, described both in Parliament and the Supreme Court as the internal wing of the ANC. Borainé's political loyalties were clearly spelt out in the November 1984 issue of the publication, *SA Outlook*. In this he reported that there "are few meetings held on NUSAS campuses" where the ANC anthem, *Nkosi sikelel'iAfrika*, "is not sung." Moreover, he says, the slogan "Amandla!" ("Power!") "no longer brings the shocked reaction it once did," but instead "the appropriate reply, 'Ngawethu!'" ("Power to the People!") And so the revolutionary conditioning of the student mind continues apace.



Representative Councils (SRC's) vote for "central affiliation," and the university administrations then contribute to the SRC budgets. It is a complicated process but in effect the SRC budget is a tax imposed on students by the SRCs.

How could the NUSAS monopoly be broken? First and most obvious step would be to abolish central affiliation. Left to individual students to decide whether to donate money to NUSAS out of their own pockets, the union would almost certainly fold right away. Moderate and conservative students have waged anti-NUSAS disaffiliation campaigns since 1976. Low voting (and some intimidation) has so far enabled NUSAS to survive.



How does NUSAS operate? Its annual "theme policy" is determined at each year-end National Congress. Here the new National Executive Council (NEC) is appointed. Comprising a president, general secretary, media and training officer and two national organisers, these represent the only full-time Council members. It is their task to coordinate all national NUSAS campaigns and maintain coordination between affiliated campuses.

The NEC and members of SRC's from all affiliated campuses meet quarterly as part of the decision-making process. At local level the SRCs, together with the Projects Committees (SRC sub-committees) are responsible for administering NUSAS campaigns, while SRC sub-committees operate on the labour/education fronts. Various "social action" programmes, mostly in the Black townships, are operated as part of the campaign aimed at "conscientising" students and so persuading them to identify more closely with the so-called "freedom struggle."

BLACKS APART

Joint activity with Black students has recently somewhat declined because: 1. Black students still adamantly decline to be part or parcel of NUSAS structures. 2. Activities at English-medium universities of Black organisations such as the SA National Students Congress (SANSCO), the Black Students Society (Wits) and the Black Students Movement (Rhodes) are restricted in terms of the Emergency measures. However, Black students and NUSAS combine on campaigns centred around issues such as detentions, "alternative education," reform initiatives and the presence of security forces in the townships.

Despite extravagant NUSAS claims of "mass participation" by students, evidence is that only a few radical activists head up the union's activities. NUSAS activist core groups are in turn backed by support groups such as Organisational Workshop (UCT) and the Broad Forum (Wits), reinforcing manipulation of student politics at these universities. For all their minority size and sterile dogmatising, these core groups are highly skilled at manipulating the general student body.

NUSAS has in recent years worked hard to expand into the Afrikaans campuses, this through "local committees" in which individual, not unit, membership applies. Local

Free to go ...

"A STUDENT who is unwilling to live by the simple rules of courtesy, decency and good manners that govern an academic community has no proper place in it, and he should be invited to take himself elsewhere. The right to interfere with the rights of others is no part of academic freedom." – Grayson Kirk.

committees have no voting power in NUSAS as they have not been elected by the student body. In 1985 NUSAS scored a considerable breakthrough when it successfully organised a local committee at Stellenbosch, its first representation on an Afrikaans campus since 1936. In the same year, NUSAS tried to set up a local committee at Potchefstroom University. Patriotic students blocked that attempt.

INFILTRATION BID

The December 1987 National Congress identified the foundation of NUSAS branches at Afrikaans universities as "a priority for 1988." NUSAS is currently trying to establish local committees at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) and the Natal Technicon. The University of Pretoria (Tukkies) SRC threw out a NUSAS effort to establish a local committee on that campus.

However, a NUSAS-aligned organisation, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) with the same constitution as the NUSAS local committees but with all reference to NUSAS and NUSAS National deleted, was founded by Tukkies leftwingers in 1987. It is known that this has been received with great concern on campus.

NUSAS strategy with Afrikaans universities is to recruit a core group of sympathetic left-leaning students and through them seek access to the student press. Once this has been achieved, the next step is to set up a local committee at that university. NUSAS also strives to establish a liberal organisation on campus, involving itself in general student problems but simultaneously seizing every opportunity to attack, ridicule and vilify SA and its ruling structures, including the capitalist/free enterprise system.

Through this liberal organisation, NUSAS activists and NEC members are invited to address students, both to influence their political attitudes and advance the NUSAS cause. Organisations founded on such NUSAS initiatives include SDS at Tukkies, Africans Against Apartheid (AAA) at RAU and the Concerned Student Group (CSG) at UPE.

ACTIVISTS

At this stage, NUSAS does not solicit mass support on the Afrikaans campuses, concentrating rather on recruiting dedicated activists who then operate through liberal organisations. Following this preliminary softening up, it is not then difficult to promote Left/radical viewpoints (NUSAS/UDF) and so influence a core group of future Afrikaner leaders against the SA status quo.

NUSAS core groups identify promising high-profile political grievances and proceed to exploit them. Examples: "Exploitation of the oppressed masses," "structural violence by the State," security legislation; the various educational crises; SADF National Service; media restrictions; Security Police action in the townships. NUSAS is not so much interested in having such grievances redressed or rectified as in milking them to activate and politi-

cise impressionable, liberally-inclined youngsters, using guilt as their motivation.

During campus orientation week promising individuals are pinpointed and recruited for NUSAS subsidiary organisations: Projects Committees; organisations such as the Student Teaching and Education Programme (STEP, at Wits and UCT); Volunteer Action Committee (VAC, at Wits) and Students Community Action Group (SCAG, at Wits and UTC). Such "social action" projects are specifically designed to make students as well as universities "usable for society."

INDOCTRINATION

Under "weekends away" programmes, newly recruited members are exposed to more intensive political indoctrination by more experienced activists. During these "weekends away" time is spent on experimental or "guerrilla" theatre, "freedom" songs, "alternative art" and "social history" tours of Soweto, Mamelodi and other Black townships, and more especially squatter camps, all emphasising the "unfairness" of the existing SA system and the Utopia to be expected under socialist/Marxist rule. During the annual April seminars, new members are introduced to activists from all NUSAS affiliates.

Meantime, the broad student front has by no means been neglected. Here action is precipitated through national campaigns such as the March 1988 "Ban Apartheid - Not Democracy" effort, this after a Government clampdown on a variety of leftwing groups; plus wide distribution of pamphlets; mass meetings; "alternative drama" and protest marches.

The Left/radical viewpoint is further disseminated through the SA Student Press Union (SASPU) and affiliated student press on the English-medium campuses, while prominent Leftist/radicals from "progressive organisations" (UDF, SA Council of

Life in the corpse

"MARXISM, a doctrine discredited among economists around the world and one that has brought more misery to mankind than perhaps any other modern body of ideas, is very much a going concern in many Western universities." *Joseph Epstein, Editor, American Scholar.*

Churches, SA Catholic Bishops Conference, End Conscription Campaign, Five Freedoms Forum, Black Sash and many more) are invited as speakers at NUSAS meetings and rallies.

SMEARS

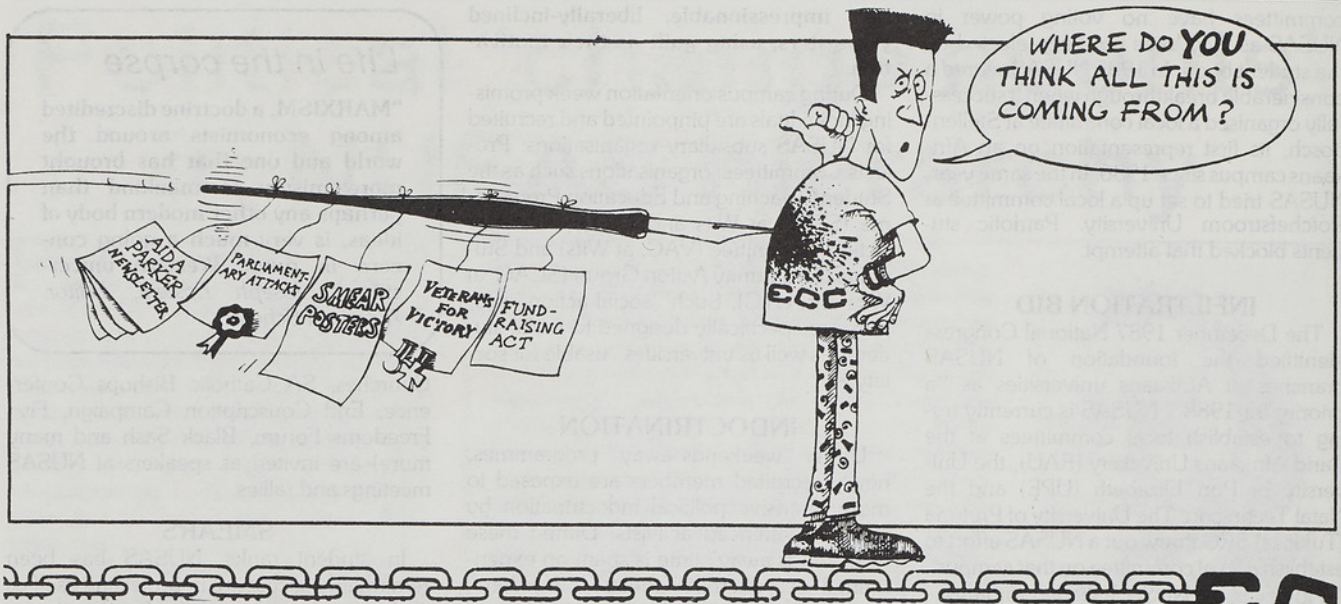
In student ranks, NUSAS has been remarkably successful in projecting itself as "reformist," as "fighters for freedom in the struggle against the oppression of the masses." This helps it offset any criticism or opposition it may encounter. More moderate, centrist student organisations such as the National Student Federation (NSF) and its affiliates across the country are smeared by NUSAS as "Government marionettes" and written off as "racists."

NUSAS activists are well aware that they are subject to Security Police scrutiny. Members therefore are "instructed" on how to identify infiltrators, and trained in aspects such as security and "cell compartmentation." After two Afrikaans-speaking students were compromised last year, NUSAS decided that Afrikaans-speaking students would in future be "selected" and "screened" before being allowed into any NUSAS structure. That is all very well, but past experience provides no evidence that NUSAS possesses either the skills or the manpower enabling it to conduct effective security clearance.

Talking to terrorists



At one of the periodical jaunts organised by IDASA, where radical chic academics, businessmen and journalists can enjoy a friendly cup of tea with the terrorists who organise bombings in the crowded city centres of South Africa. Here, from left, "Comrade" M NCUBE of the SWAPO terrorist group chats to IDASA's Mr NIC BORAINÉ, a former top executive of NUSAS. Prof. N STEYTLER of Natal University talks to the ANC's Ms TESSA MARCUS.



ECC, NUSAS march against their country

A back-handed tribute to the effectiveness of APN's repeated exposure of the anti-South African activities of the End Conscription Campaign, this cartoon appeared in an ECC propaganda sheet.

It is difficult to over-estimate the damage a well-funded, anti-patriotic, anti-defence organisation such as the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) can do to a nation's morale, to its security forces and to the outlook of young men of military age. In close lock-step with NUSAS, the now-restricted ECC has done all this and, not surprisingly, has made the nation's "liberal" campuses the main target of its seditious and subversive agitation.

Between them, NUSAS and the ECC, which has been resurrected since its banning in a variety of guises, notably as MAC (which describes itself as a Wits SRC sub-committee) have vigorously sought to mobilise the campuses against both the SADF and the SA Police. They have mutually concentrated their propaganda efforts on emotive issues such as conscription; the use of the SADF in maintaining peace in the townships and, more recently, the use of the SADF in counter-insurgency operations in South West Africa.

NUSAS was one of the 12 founder member organisations which originally set up the ECC and from the outset they have correlated their campaigns aimed at crippling SA's defence effort. NUSAS has long campaigned for the dissolution of the SADF and its replacement with a "People's Militia." Complementary to this, the ECC has used the superficially attractive options of voluntary service for far more insidious attack on the integrity and efficiency of the security forces.

UNIVERSITY SPRINGBOARD

It was certainly no coincidence that the universities were chosen as the main springboard for the ECC campaign. Not only did students play a formative role in the ECC launch, but ex-student draft dodgers form the core of its external counterpart, the SACP-controlled, London-based Committee for SA War Resisters (COSAWR).

The origins of the ECC are obscure but can be traced back to a 1974 conference of the SA Council of Churches, where a resolution was adopted pledging support for conscientious objection. This followed earlier consultation between the ANC and the SACC at the All-Africa Conference of Churches. The SACC described the resolution as "a response to the expectations of the liberation movement," a sure enough indication of its revolutionary purposes, and echoed a growing ANC conviction that the best way of weakening the SADF was by subversion from within.

In 1982 UCT students set up an "anti-conscription action

group," with students on other NUSAS campuses quickly following suit. The 1983 Black Sash conference called for an end to conscription and the ECC was formally launched soon after. The ECC has consistently denied that it has any agenda other than its campaign to end compulsory conscription, and the corner-stone of its public image is the liberal "free choice" argument. However, any examination of ECC/NUSAS/ANC statements quickly make it clear that they are not mutually opposed to conscription in principle, but rather conscription into what is termed "an apartheid army."

With its particular ideological slant there can be little doubt that the ECC would find little fault should the proposed "People's Militia" be based on the core of the ANC's armed wing, *Umkhonto we Sizwe*. On its side, the ANC has repeatedly stated that it sees the campaign to end conscription as a valuable adjunct to its own activities and has made repeated calls on White youths to join the movement. At all times the ANC has targeted mainly on the student elite.

ANC GAINS

The ANC has in its various tactical documents identified the benefits it derives from ECC activity. These include: 1. Erosion of SADF standing within the White electorate. 2. Creating rifts within White society. 3. Placing pressure on the SADF to withdraw from the black townships and so facilitating increased operational freedom from *Umkhonto* and the murderous "comrades." 4. Possibly the most important, to whittle the security forces from within, while at the same time attempting to use ECC supporters to collect intelligence on national security.

At the 1985 Kabwe Conference ANC strategists spelt out practical guide lines for the recruitment of ECC elements and their eventual conversion into active supporters of the armed struggle. Few were surprised when the SA Government finally restricted the activities of the organisation, which is now forced to work through less effective groups, apparently set up mainly to support individual objectors.

Indicative of how deeply the campuses have been penetrated by this leftwing political underworld is that if you take a copy of the SADF publication, *Paratus*, on to campus, you are liable to disciplinary action. You are not allowed to display or have in your possession anything which is "pro-military," a state of affairs which means that the anti-militarists are given a free reign while patriots "get chopped."

ANC surrogate: NUSAS and the UDF connection

AS the recent findings by Mr Justice Kees van Dijkhorst in the marathon Delmas Treason trial made clear, the core leadership of the United Democratic Front (UDF) acted as "the internal wing of the ANC" and, despite its claims to oppose violence, the now-restricted "front" had condoned violence. In the nation-wide riots starting September, 1984, "the UDF at no stage deplored the murder of councillors" or other non-revolutionaries, or the destruction of property.

In short, the ANC/UDF political objectives were identical: to make SA "ungovernable." And, from the word go, a prime UDF aim was to recruit Whites, especially students and the young, into the revolutionary movement. It was accepted, as UDF documents make clear, that this would require special psychological techniques: "Whites have a deep respect for law and Parliament."

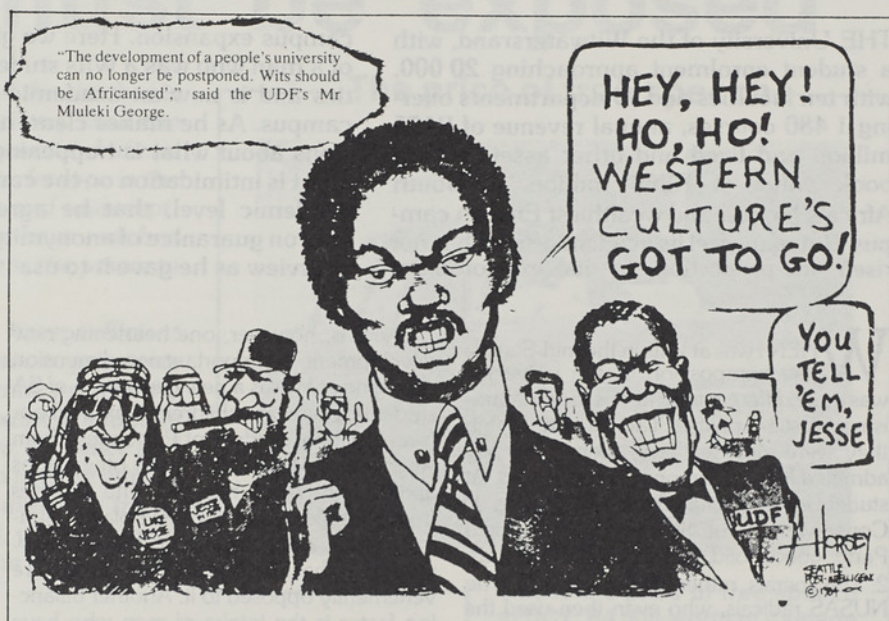
Public involvement of NUSAS with the UDF began in early 1983, with the extra-parliamentary campaign opposing the Government's new Constitutional proposals. This campaign culminated in the launch of the UDF at Mitchell's Plain on August 21, 1983. NUSAS involvement intensified after the official launch. NUSAS played a key role in helping promote the "Million Signatures Campaign," intended to demonstrate mass opposition to the new Constitution.

NUSAS involvement in this campaign, which proved a hopeless fiasco, tailed off sharply after photostated lists of signatories (useful for recruiting purposes) were found in the ANC's Maputo offices following the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

As the largest White UDF affiliate, NUSAS has provided invaluable logistical support to the UDF, with university venues according the UDF relatively secure public platforms and printing facilities. NUSAS has also provided equally invaluable propaganda facilities to the UDF through its many publications, conferences and other publicity outlets. UDF leadership has been

Evil talent

"STUDENTS are noted for being politically crude and coarse and thus they break all the taboos. When they are integrated into urban guerrilla warfare, as is now occurring on a wide scale, they show a special talent for revolutionary violence and soon acquire a high level of political/technical/military skill." — *Minimanual of the Urban Guerilla*, Carlos Marighella.



highly visible at many mass meetings called by NUSAS and its affiliated SRCs at the "liberal" universities.

Involvement intensified in the mid-1980s, following the so-called "non-racial alliance" between NUSAS and the SA National Students Congress (SANSCO). SANSCO is a militant "Blacks only" student organisation, very vocal in its support for the ANC and other affiliates of the "Charterist" alliance. It played a central role in the student violence of the mid-1980s.

Throughout the period of township upheaval in the mid-1980s, NUSAS sought to defend and justify the UDF's brutal reign of terror, resulting in the deaths or mutilation of several thousands of people, hundreds dying in gruesome "necklace" executions. Then-NUSAS Secretary-General Nic Boraine uttered these memorable if totally despicable words: "*Those killed by the residents had been tried and found guilty of the highest crime: betrayal in the face of the enemy.*" Many Black leaders have expressed deep shame and regret at what happened during the "necklace" era. There is no record of Mr Boraine having retracted his words.

Challenged on its affiliation to the UDF after the findings of the Delmas treason trial, NUSAS sought to justify this by stating that "... the UDF represented the legitimate demands of the vast majority of people for decent living conditions and for political representation." Further, NUSAS stated that it saw affiliation with the UDF as "... the best possible way of aligning ourselves with the legitimate demands of the majority of the people."

This clearly enunciated stance contrasted strongly with the inability of NUSAS to

clarify its position on the issue of revolutionary violence. In a recent statement NUSAS again fudged the issue by stating, among other things, that "... it comes as no surprise that many South Africans have opted for armed opposition to the apartheid government" and, further, that NUSAS believes that "it is not useful simply to condemn violence without attempting to come to an understanding of why it occurs and how it can be resolved." NUSAS should, indeed, have few problems in coming to grips with the question of violence, considering the number of its own members or past members who actively pursue the path of revolutionary violence.

Of special interest is the fact that the UDF leadership would like to see SA's White universities transformed into "community" or "people's" universities. As far back as October 1986 Mr Muleki George, president of the UDF Border region, delivered the 20th Richard Feetham Memorial Lecture at Wits, in which he said that Wits "could no longer be a neutral observer" and that "the development of a people's university can no longer be postponed." The university, he said, should be "Africanised," and that while "the Oxford and Cambridge models for our universities exist, we will be seriously disoriented."

Contemplating this proposed disruption of our cultural heritage, would it be fair to say that Mr Muleki, and the deranged academics who support his demands that our universities be transformed into "people's colleges," are the spiritual associates of the Rev Jesse Jackson, famous for chanting "Hey, hey, ho, ho, Western culture's got to go!"?

• A professor speaks:

Change for the worse

THE University of the Witwatersrand, with a student enrolment approaching 20 000, with ten faculties and 99 departments offering 1 480 courses, annual revenue of R175 million and fixed and other assets with a book value of R260 million, is South Africa's biggest and wealthiest English campus. But many feel its academic lustre has not risen in proportion to its extraordinary

campus expansion. Here we give the views of a man who was a Wits student in the Sixties and is now an academic on the same campus. As he makes clear, he has no illusions about what is happening at Wits. So great is intimidation on the campus, even at academic level, that he agreed to speak only on guarantee of anonymity. We give his interview as he gave it to us.



Wits students invade a lecture hall to prevent a UNITA representative speaking: only the ANC line is deemed acceptable.

WHEN I was at Wits in the mid-Sixties, the composition of the university was quite different to what it is today. Marxism was still a political liability and though they were already there, there were few admitted Marxists among the academics. At student level, you had three main groups: 1. Conservatives, mostly from the old United Party, good, solid, old generation SA kids. 2. The liberals, rather PFP-oriented. 3. The NUSAS radicals, who even then used the liberals as their base.

They steered the whole thing, manipulating events as they pleased. Through the Students Representative Council, which they controlled, they had access to, and control of, very substantial funds, even of the money allocated to the conservatives, which wasn't much. They also controlled the student publications, such as *Wits Student*. The big thing then was that Wits was virtually an all-White campus. NUSAS supposedly spoke for SA's so-called Black oppressed. How do things differ today?

OUT-MANOEUVRED

There has been a complete transformation of the campus. You no longer have the old, traditional groups. The main groups now are: 1. Conservative students, who effectively no longer have a voice. 2. The liberals, who really don't have a voice either. The latter have been out-manoeuvred, used and abused both by the Democratic Party-oriented people and by NUSAS. Then you have NUSAS and the Black Student Society (BSS).

Let's start with the conservatives. The old UP people have gone, replaced by National Party-oriented students who not only don't have a voice but seemingly don't want one. They are the willing silent majority. There are reasons for this. At a liberal/Marxist university such as Wits, they dare not show their hand for fear of academic repercussions. *Example: In a department such as Anthropology, which is very Marxist-oriented, the student really places his academic career in jeopardy if he challenges or refuses to regurgitate the prevailing orthodoxy.* The influence of radicals in other disciplines is equally dramatic.

There is, however, one heartening new development. An important new dimension emerging at Wits is a new generation of SA students. Some are children of ex-Zimbabweans, others children of Portuguese from Angola and Mozambique, still others sons and daughters of refugees and emigres from East bloc states such as Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. All these know very well what Marxism is all about, and are vehemently opposed to it. Another balancing factor is the intake of men who have done their national service.

All these are becoming fairly vocal, if not through publications, certainly verbally. As yet, nothing is organised on their part but their presence is beginning to make itself felt.

RADICAL EXTREMES

What goes for the "silent majority" conservatives also goes for the old-line traditional liberals, who don't have a voice on campus either. So you are left with two groups: NUSAS, dominated by White radicals, and the Black Students Society (BSS). NUSAS goes to enormous extremes, trying to achieve credibility in the so-called "liberation struggle," their radicalism often outdoing that of the BSS. Certainly on Wits the BSS is an extremely intolerant organisation. It tries to break up as many meetings as possible where political views contrary to its own are presented. Example: Some weeks ago it broke up a meeting scheduled to be addressed by Dr Kenneth Abraham, one of the founders of SWAPO. While no longer a SWAPO supporter, he remains very much on the Left.

The problem with NUSAS and the BSS is that NUSAS still holds control of campus resources and publications. Out of deference to the BSS and in an apparent show of solidarity, it lets BSS do as it pleases, but in reality it continues to run the show.

It is my belief that the vast majority of Black students at Wits are not radical but are intimidated and harassed by the BSS leaders. *Example: Black students who do not attend meetings, participate in demos or who try to hide away on such occasions, quite literally put their lives at risk.* Intimidation gives a completely inflated picture of the strength of Black militancy on campus.

On the side, you have the Islamic students and various other groups who sometimes express radical views. But these are not consistent. It depends on the issue.

MARXIST GROWTH

In the university structure itself there has been a phenomenal growth among the Marxists – and the power they wield. Traditional liberals are losing ground to the hard Left all the time, this in turn lending still more weight to the NUSAS/BSS alliance. Inevitably, the university is losing its former balance. The only saving grace is the Wits Council, the main university policy making body. This 34-member Council includes representatives appointed by the State President, the Johannesburg City Council, the Chamber of Mines, the Council for Education, the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and various others. For obvious reasons, these members tend to be more conservative.

One very disconcerting dimension: the university facilities are increasingly abused by radical groups, using the campus as a centre for activities far wider than merely student affairs. They provide protective umbrellas for groups such as COSATU, the UDF, the End Conscription Campaign, the SA Council of Churches and a variety of Black student organisations. Many of these groups are banned or otherwise restricted.

They are able to hold meetings under the university umbrella, projecting such meetings as "academically oriented." They are not. They are nerve centres for a wide spectrum of radical activity. It is very, very difficult to put such meetings together in Soweto, because the Security Police would jump on them in no time. So they use the campus as their alternative: and do it in the name of "academic freedom."

To encapsulate, then: What we have seen over the last 20 years is a steep curve of change: and not for the better. To many of us the rise of academics who openly identify themselves as Marxists is profoundly disturbing. By failing to take remedial action in this and other matters of radical activity, the universities (and Wits is by no means alone here) are sacrificing their most precious asset: respect of the community.

• A student speaks:

Universities' revolutionary 'moles' must be exposed

If we want a clear-cut understanding of the rot that is eating away at South Africa's universities, then the State President must establish an impartial Judicial Commission of Inquiry. While State interference in the academic process is both undesirable and unacceptable, things on the nation's campuses have reached such a pass that only the Government has the power to correct the situation.

Only a judicial commission would have sufficient status to slice through the secrecy curtain, to penetrate the fear, apathy and threats that presently protect the guilty. Only such a high-level commission would fully and fearlessly expose the funding, forces, influence and motivation of those currently seeking to use the universities as the spearhead for revolution, aimed at transforming society from the roots up; and, while doing it, to seize intellectual control of the nation's future elite. "And there is a hell of a lot to expose!"

THAT is the view of Rafi Peer, a UCT graduate now doing Strategic Studies through UNISA. And Rafi, son of a prominent Johannesburg family, is singularly well equipped to comment on student radicalism. While at UCT he hit the front pages of the national press when, attempting to hustle centrist Eastern Cape politician Mr Tomasanqa Linda to safety from enraged leftist students chanting "We are the ANC!" both men were roughed up and R4 000-worth of damage was done to Rafi's car.

Interviewed by APN, he made a number of disturbing observations which merit close scrutiny. Here, question and answer, is our interview:

APN: Would you agree that there is growing student reaction, both Black and White, against the heavy dosages of rad-

ical politics on campus? – That could be so. I think most students really want to pursue their education in peace. But then there is this question of intimidation. You have these highly visible revolutionary groups. Because they are there, people feel much more comfortable shouting "Viva ANC!" at a meeting or demo than they would, for instance, shouting "Viva NP!" or even "Viva DP!"

It is an environment in which those who know little about politics get pushed into a leftist direction. *This is particularly so as far as Afrikaans students are concerned. Many are quite rapidly losing their identity through guilt manipulation, through the radicals equating the Afrikaner heritage with apartheid.*

A big problem here is that many Afrikaner children have such a strict upbringing, are not taught to think for themselves. Because of this, when they enter an environment such as exists at UCT today, where

The price of free speech



This is the price of free speech at UCT: R4 000-worth of damage to Rafi Peer's car for attempting to rescue a non-ANC black politician from the clutches of enraged leftist students.

they are told "you will think, and this is what you will think," they have no defences. With little or no knowledge or experience of political radicalism, they have no context in which to examine the facts.



APN: When seeing White radicals and Black militants rampaging on campus, many respond by saying: "Well, I don't agree with it. But they are well-meaning. And they are young. They will grow out of it." – Such extremists are *not* well meaning in my book. They contribute hugely to what they claim to abhor: polarisation on campus. As for "growing out of it," well, most White students come from a fairly solid family background. When they graduate, returning once again to a fairly stable climate, they probably do shuck off their early extremism.

The tragedy is what happens to the Black students. More than 35% of students at UCT are non-White. After graduating they go back to an environment which in some cases is radical, sometimes not, but in which – because they are now the educated elite – they become the opinion makers. Many of them never lose their radicalism. They just spread it. The important ones are those who go into community work, take up professional or administrative careers; but with their hearts and minds still firmly entrenched in marxismo.

Plague spots of Academe

"THERE are also certain danger spots within the university departments. Now I am not suggesting for a moment that we close down certain universities. What I am suggesting is that we should know, and most of us can identify very easily if we do not know already, those university departments and individuals in departments, who are carrying out tasks for terrorist organisations as propagandists, as agents and as recruiters. It is the point at which most impressionable young people with some sort of political malleability and utopian enthusiasm may be mobilised by extremely ruthless people determined to keep the numbers of their organisations up." Paul Wilkinson, one of Britain's leading authorities on terrorism, writing on "Proposals for Government and International Response to Terrorism," in *Terrorism: an International Journal*, Volume 5, No 1/2, 1981.

A student speaks

• From Page 17

Both the Government and the private sector are doing their very utmost to create a large, viable Black middle class. They attempt to do this by promoting and expanding Black education, with particular emphasis on tertiary education. *But, because of the radical climate on the campuses, you end up with exactly the opposite effect.* To overcome this, the government must take some action at the very highest level. It must study the practical effect radicalism on the campuses is having on the hearts and minds of these young people, and how it can be countered.

I want to emphasise again the dangers presented at both student and academic level to the young student who comes on campus, with no background and presented with only one side of the political and economic picture. The more immature people are, the easier it is for the radicals to persuade them that everything they used to believe in is wrong.



APN: How about the university administrations? Some time ago, *The Financial Mail*, discussing failure by administrations to enforce traditional norms of discipline, wrote: "Those who have not the stomach to act with sufficient resolve should be principled enough to vacate their office in favour of others who do." What do you feel? Do you think administrations are too weak, provide the wrong sort of leadership? – The people causing all the problems really constitute a very small group. Any student causing a riot, or who by his actions endangers life or property, should be expelled for the good of the greater whole. That would rid you of the hard-core activists.

Unfortunately, that doesn't happen ... or, at least, not too often, especially when it

comes to acting against the radical left. The real power in a university should lie with the University Council. The members of that Council can make or break their vice chancellor. My experience is that even at Council level they are weak and wishy washy ... the usual case of "peace at any price."

APN: Now we come to NUSAS. How could its monopoly on student affairs be broken? – Well, theoretically, through the SRC's. The problem is that at UCT anyway only about 25% of students vote. The SRC has a huge budget – a lot of money and a lot of influence, because its people are represented on all university bodies, including observer status on the Council.

NO SECRET BALLOT

To say the least, I am not impressed with the SRC electoral system. Its election officers are always leftists, always appointed by the SRC. They decide how people can canvass, what material candidates can use, what publications, and how many, they can turn out. Not everyone is allowed to be a candidate. And, if any candidate transgresses the "rules", he can be kicked off. But what are the rules? To the best of my knowledge, no rules as such exist. No candidate I know has ever been shown the rules. Yet if you transgress the "rules", you are out.

Cynicism from an iconoclast

VETERAN journalist Malcolm Muggeridge has this to say about Britain's ever-expanding university population with, in too many cases, an ever-decreasing level of graduate: "We all think that the more money spent on higher education, the better ... that more higher education, *per se*, is good. I don't think this at all. I think that an enormous amount of money is absolutely wasted on higher education. A great expansion of universities has taken place without any real thought as to what their purpose is and what they are intended to do. We have over-production of certain types of graduate and under-production of those most needed. I was very taken by the remark of one embittered academic who said: 'Higher Education, as I've experienced it, is all to often casting artificial pearls before real swine.'"

To me, a democratic election means a secret ballot. There is no secret ballot for the SRCs at UCT. Candidates go round with a pile of voting cards, approaching people to vote. The counting of votes is done by the incumbent SRC and their election officers. True, to ensure there is no crookery, one admin member is allowed to overlook the counting, but no candidates are permitted to observe the counting.

Results, which are not announced till the next day, often reflect most curious voting patterns. Basically, what you end up with is an SRC which has not been elected by normal democratic means and is not representative of the student body as a whole. Further, the essence of being a "representative" student council is surely to be impartial. The SRC has never been impartial to moderate or centrist bodies on campus.



APN: Any comment on the general lowering of academic standards? – At academic level the radicals produce their revolutionary works and use their status as lecturers to promote these works. They also concentrate on working their way into the Senate, the academic councils and into the various bodies where the type of education

• Continued opposite

How to take over a university

"WHAT is happening at the Black Universities is of crucial significance for the liberation movement, in terms of both the strategic aim of creating alternative structures as a stage in the development of people's power, and of challenging and changing the whole basis of social reproduction in education.

"Militant student politics, characterised by class and exam boycotts, marches, strong organisation and open clashes with the police, had become a permanent feature of campus life (at the University of the Western Cape). Increasingly the staff too were articulating a vision of the future that harmonised with the demands of the students and the community.

"In 1986 Professor Jakes Gerwel became Rector, as a result of pressure from progressives. He had been schooled in the Black Consciousness struggles of the early 1970's and then like many of his generation had gone on to become a fervent supporter of the Congress position. He committed UWC to becoming the "intellectual home of the democratic

left" in South Africa, and embarked on a vigorous, self-conscious drive to see these ideals realised. His appointment institutionalised progressive control of the university.

"Official identification with the democratic movement is only the tip of the iceberg as far as political activism on the campus is concerned. Since 1983 students on and off the campus have played an important role in UDF activities in the Western Cape. In 1985 it was students, coming back from the Goniwe funeral in Cradock, who were most vocal in calling for action in solidarity with struggles in other regions of the country. For more than a year, the campus was the scene of constant boycotts, militancy and clashes between police and students. During the intense struggles of the mid-1980's, students on the campus also regularly demonstrated open support for the ANC and its ally, the SACP. At present, no less than nine from UWC, including an alleged commander of Umkhonto we Siswe, are being charged with treason in the courts of the racist regime, for ANC activity." – *Sechaba*, September 1988, pg. 12.

• A father speaks:

Action must be taken to DEFEND academic freedom

CAN South Africa be rescued from its scheming campus radicals, out for social and political revolution ... nothing less? That question is asked by a distinguished Natal writer invited – as a concerned parent with child-

ren both at Rhodes and at Wits – to contribute to this special issue. For their protection, he has asked that his name not be divulged: another indictment of the crisis situation on SA campuses. He writes:

FROM kindergarten (“threshold attack”) onwards SA’s youth is today being conditioned to accept subversion. What we have here is a society being taught to disbelieve and even hate itself, this by an intellectual war of attrition.

At campus level, radicalised students and academics are conditioning young minds to hate free market capitalism as an “outmoded and cruel” system. An already overdeveloped national guilt complex is blown up to monstrous proportions. Reform is declared inadequate, progress deemed

ineffectual and dubious. It is “proved” to them that the present social order is “evil,” that it is predestined to collapse.

Against this, anyone trying to advance unpopular and dissenting views, such as support or defence of SA, and opposition to Marxism, immediately becomes suspect and is attacked in the most vituperative and emotional language. Dare question the prescribed ideological orthodoxy, and, *ipso facto*, you fall from grace and can expect to be termed McCarthyist, fascist, a Neanderthal or troglodyte.

The government should take action, not against academic freedom, but against the abuse of academic freedom. Universities today are safe havens for those who support and advocate sanctions and disinvestment. It is not the jobs of these academics which are at stake, but those of the taxpayers who pay them.

They are havens, too, for collectivists, socialists, anarchists and self-declared Marxists: yet, again, the overwhelming majority of SA taxpayers support free enterprise and do not wish to see their country plunged into political chaos and economic penury. Why, then, should the taxpayer continue to fund the inhabitants of these allegedly “liberal” universities if such persons are not doing what the taxpayers require of them?

All staff at universities and at technikons should be required to sign a declaration that they do not, and will not, support the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the UDF or any other subversive/terrorist organisation; that they do not, and will not, promote Marxism, Communism, sanctions, disinvestment or conscientious objection; that should they do so, then they accept that they are considered to have resigned. (Remember Reagan and the traffic controllers? And in that case it was not the whole future of his country which was in jeopardy. Here it is the future of SA that these people are trying to capture).

If the Government is reluctant to tackle academia head on, this pledge could be a requirement for all new staff before confirmation of appointment.

Alternatively, perhaps as a subtler method of tackling the Fifth Column already in place, the Government could reduce the university subsidy (or each department thereof) by a proportional amount for each lecturer refusing to sign. In this way a whole institution or department would find its income reduced, which would not endear those radicalised, pro-terrorist, pro-sanctions, anti-South African advocates to their more forebearing colleagues.

With those senior academics who prove intransigent, the government could afford to get tough. To have to leave before retirement means the loss of a very substantial “golden handshake.” It is amazing how the thought of big personal financial losses can change political standpoints. Cruel, perhaps, but not as cruel as sanctions, Communism, terrorism, etc.

• From Page 18

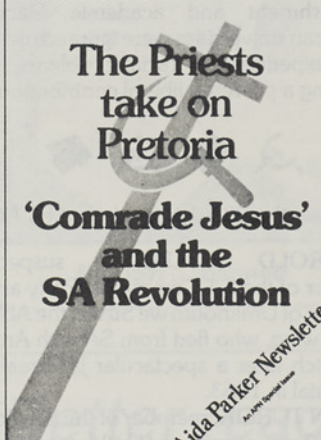
to be provided by the university is decided. What is needed here is a careful and impartial study of what is being taught at these universities, the text books used, plus the background character and motivations of those teaching these subjects.

★ ★ ★

APN: And the future of our so-called “liberal” universities? I note that certain members of the Black Student Society say they will refuse any participation with White student groups until such time as they are in the majority. Certain of the BSS radicals also talk of turning UCT and Wits into “bush colleges.” Would the average Black student really be content with a different and lower level of education? – Certainly not. But, by attempting to mollify the so-called “mass democratic movements” you are creating a situation where academic standards are going down the drain.

Students today are being accepted, regardless of their academic levels. At the best of times, many Black students undergo culture shock in adjusting to the environment of a still predominantly White campus. But, to add to the heartbreak and frustration, at UCT you have first years hardly able to speak English – with only the most rudimentary knowledge of the language – and these kids have enormous problems of academic perception. The high failure rates may suit the radicals, for their own particular purposes, but the good academics who want the best for all simply can’t cope with the way academic standards are dropping.

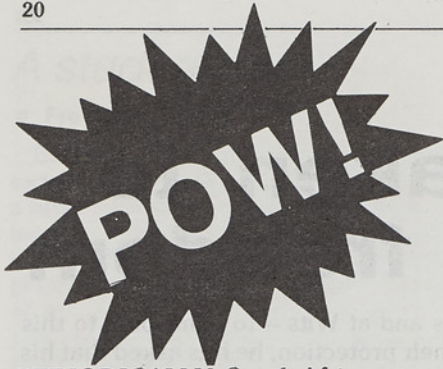
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Insiders' plan to change university

PERIODICALLY, South Africans are given an unsettling glimpse of radical political action at academic level at tax-supported universities. One of the more memorable of such occasions was in June, 1987, when Ken Owen, editor-in-chief of the Johannesburg-based financial journal, *Business Day*, published details of a highly controversial project, "Perceptions of Wits." For his pains Mr

Owen, himself a liberal in good standing, took a shelling from certain academics: but there is no question that he seriously embarrassed not a few at the University of the Witwatersrand by his disclosures. Because of its relevance to this issue of *APN*, we present his article as it appeared in *Business Day* on June 22, 1987.

THE best guide to what has lately been happening at Wits is a booklet called *Perceptions of Wits*, popularly known as *POW*, which was published in mid-1986 and whose recommendations are now being put into effect.

POW purports to tell how local black communities, and some of "our overseas colleagues," view the university. In fact, it does much more than that: it puts forward many radical ideas to restructure Wits in order to overcome the accusation that it is a pro-capitalist institution serving the interests of big business and white people.

The *POW* report was the result of a project initiated in November 1985 by a group of Wits academics who professed to be "concerned about the university's role in a changing society". The project co-ordinator was Eddie Webster, who would not forgive me if I called him a wishy-washy liberal.

He headed a steering committee which I would regard as a Left-leaning, pre-selected group. Two members in particular stand out as forceful characters on campus: Dr Jacklyn Cock, the radical feminist, and Dr Duncan Innes, the Marxist sociology lecturer.

Innes's book on the Anglo American Corporation uses Lenin's theories on monopoly capitalism as a guide to what to look for in SA. His conclusion: the capitalist class that has produced the world's greatest gold fields has also produced the proletariat to wrest power from it.

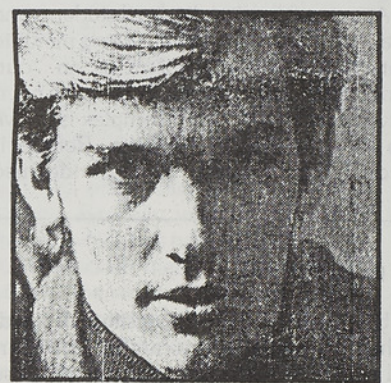
In order to compile a questionnaire on Wits, the steering committee solicited, through its member William Cobbett, the help of overseas participants, described by *POW* as being representative of "understandings current among British academic and educational organisations".

This claim is misleading. Far from representing thinking in British academic life, the overseas participants represent mainly the views of exiles associated with the SA Communist Party, the ANC, the anti-apartheid establishment and academic Marxists. American universities were ignored, despite their experience of racial problems, thus avoiding a powerful liberal contribution.



Among the 23 advisers chosen by *POW* were:

- **HAROLD WOLPE**, a suspected member of the SA Communist Party and a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed wing, who fled from SA with Arthur Goldreich after a spectacular jail-break to avoid trial in 1963.
- **BEN TUROK**, member of the SA Communist Party, member of Umkhonto; fled in 1963.
- **NORMAN LEVY**, SA Communist Party supporter, convicted in the 1965 "Bram Fischer" trial on evidence of police spy Gerard Ludi, who infiltrated the SACP; communist leader Fischer jumped bail to avoid trial but was later captured and jailed.
- **RONALD SEGAL**, South African exile and an early proponent of sanctions; co-author of a book on Namibia with Ruth First, SACP member and late wife of SACP leader Joe Slovo.
- **AZIZ PAHAD**, member of the national executive of the ANC; thought to have communist affiliations.
- **H G MAKGOTHI**, a representative of the ANC's department of education in Lusaka.
- **SHULA MARKS**, brilliant Marxist scholar, author of a devastatingly critical book on Inkatha.
- **HORST KLEINSCHMIDT**, former Nusas vice-president, director of the International Defence and Aid; fled SA in 1977.



KLEINSCHMIDT ... fled

- **JUDY FAVISH**, a previously banned South African graduate student.
- **MIKE TERRY**, director of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.
- **PROFESSOR JOHN REX**, Warwick University; expatriate South African author described by the British Press as "Left-wing."
- **DR STEPHEN LUKES**, of Balliol College, Oxford, whose books include "Marxism and Morality" and "Power, a Radical View".

Nor is the list of local participants less one-sided: among political organisations, the steering committee consulted the Anti-PC Committee, Azapo, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the UDF (but not Inkatha); among trades unions Azactu, CCAWUSA, Cosatu, Cusa, Mawu and NUM; among student organisations AZASM, Azaso, the Black Students Society at Wits, NUSAS, the Soweto Students Council, the Wits SRC and the Transvaal Students Committee.

Also the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, various teachers' organisations, the Soweto Civic Association, the Black Lawyers Association, Nafcoc and various cultural, educational and welfare bodies.

There is nothing intrinsically wrong with this list, except that the exclusion of Inkatha (like the exclusion of American universities) was bound to shut out any conscious defence of capitalism or of liberal values. The bias is heavily socialist, and the survey, it may be recalled, occurred at a time when



TUROK ... fled

black opponents of socialist organisations ran a grave risk of death by fire.

"(Liberalism," says a SA Communist Party tract which popped up in my mailbox, "is the justificatory ideology par excellence of capitalism and, as Owen well knows, capitalism is rapidly falling out of favour with most South Africans." That much, at least, is true).

The result, not surprisingly, was *POW's* discovery that "the community" (meaning black people) holds negative views of Wits.

"Wits is believed to represent mainly groups which are opposed to the interests of the majority of South Africans. These groups include big business (89,3%), the government and the white community (92%) ... Wits is also seen by unionists as a place where whites are trained as managers to exploit workers.

"Wits is seen at worst as politically expedient, paternalistic, hypocritical and biased, and at best as well-intentioned but structurally hamstrung ... Wits, in this view, is then large, expensive and irrelevant."

There is much more of the same but, for lack of space, I go directly now to the effects of *POW's* labours. Among them is a report by a sub-committee of the arts faculty, dated May 23, 1987, and numbered S87/769, on ways to implement more than a score of recommendations from *POW*.



Among them are these: "Wits should pursue a policy of active positive discrimination to attract more black academics (paragraph 4.1.1.); accept community work as a practical component of a degree (1.1.3); Wits should put pressure on the government in support of democratic community organisations (5.1.2.); community organisations should be represented on decision-making bodies of the university (5.1.4.); increase community participation in teaching programmes (1.1.7); there should be increased student participation in the decision-making bodies of the university (5.1.6)."

Some of *POW's* objectives are more implied than stated, but the sub-committee's report does give clues. "The university," it says, "should combine relevance with academic excellence."

"Relevance" is defined thus: "The creation of greater social awareness among students, developing an orientation towards problem solving and away from highly abstract courses, redirecting teaching and research towards the needs of disadvantaged communities".

And excellence is defined thus: "Excellence should be judged in terms of the ability to build confidence and promote participation by students in teaching situations".

These definitions (if they are written in English at all) would appear to mean that experience in certain types of social or political work in the townships may be substituted for the study of "abstruse" classical

authorities (Freud, perhaps, or Karl Marx?), and that the test of success will be the applause which a teacher wins from his students while operating under the supervision of "the community".

There is little I need to say. *POW* has initiated a programme of radical change that entails reverse racial discrimination in teaching appointments; the exposure of liberal teachers to pressures from socialist "community" organisations; the exposure of faculty to student pressures (which have already manifested themselves in the students' ability to close down lectures); the substitution of work "in the community" for conventional studies; systematic hostility to capitalism, to liberalism and to parliamentary government; the (surely suicidal?) conversion of the university into an instrument of radical political pressure on government; a fatuous redefinition of excellence; and abandonment of free speech.

And all this has been done on the surreptitious advice of exiled members of the SACP and the ANC which, at Kabwe in



FAVISH ... banned



LEVY ... jailed

mid-1985, publicly proclaimed an intention to try to draw key elements of white SA into the revolutionary struggle.

Seen against this background, recent trends at Wits – the intimidation leading to the ban on selected speakers, the public prominence of Marxist teachers, the attacks on capitalism, the evident timidity of liberal faculty, the stoning of the police even when they are off-campus, the election boycott, the campaign against parliamentary opposition, the allegations from within the university that standards are being put at risk – begin to make sense.

Wits would now seem to me to have placed itself – whether through carelessness or conspiracy or plain foolishness – in danger of becoming a battleground between radical Left and reactionary Right.

The outlook is bleak unless the liberals can find the strength and the courage to get the university back on course. Those liberals seem to me to have far more strength than courage.

Better read, or better Red?

"IN my opinion education is the definite, purposeful and systematic influencing of the mind of the person being educated in order to imbue him with the qualities desired by the educator. It seems to me that such a definition broadly covers all that we put into the concept of education, such as instilling a definite world outlook, morality and rules of human intercourse, fashioning definite traits of character and will, habits and tastes, development of physical qualities, etc." – M I Kalinin, former Soviet President, writing in the work, *On Communist Education*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1949, p. 126.



The 'alteration' of mankind

"FOR the production on a mass scale of this Communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class overthrowing it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew." – Marx & Engels, *The German Ideology*, Lawrence & Wishart, 1938, p. 69)

'When it comes to free speech, the so-c...

Appeasing the student censors

MUCH lip service is given by the South African academic community to the idea of "academic freedom" and "free speech." The spirit of tolerance, we are told, "is an essential ingredient of academic learning" ... "that's what the notion of a free market of ideas is all about."

Unfortunately that spirit, that free market, has in recent years come under deadly assault on the campuses of this country's once-great liberal institutions of learning. Varying speakers – some right of centre, some absolutely the reverse – have been denied a hearing by students and academics who disagree with them.

Some have been driven off the podium by shouting, heckling and disruption. Some have been escorted out of the lecture hall by security officers because of danger of physical assault. Some have been assaulted. Some now are simply denied invitation by fearful administrations, anxious to avoid trouble. Other would-be campus speakers, concerned about their dignity, not to mention their safety, simply turn engagements down.

The result is that many students at such universities today miss the chance to hear, and to debate with, people who exert a major influence on national or world affairs. A tiny minority of zealots has been allowed to undermine or destroy the free flow of ideas to the majority. "Tiny minorities" of course have demonstrated in the past what damage they can do.

Violators of academic freedom would certainly angrily reject the comparison: yet the fact remains that certain SA universities today face the same kind of **threat which Adolf Hitler made to German universities** when he warned that his Nazi stormtroopers (at the time a "tiny minority") would ... **"... ruthlessly prevent, if necessary by force, all meetings or lectures which are likely to distract the minds of our fellow countrymen ..."**

Early victims of the intolerant, thuggish student opponents of free speech were Dr Piet Koornhof, then an SA Cabinet Minister, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, both driven off the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). There have been many more such incidents since.

• **AUGUST 1983:** A former SWAPO lieutenant-commander, Mr Nestor Hieta, who had undergone revolutionary warfare training in the USSR, was invited to address a lunch-time meeting at Wits by the Student Moderate Alliance (SMA). The intention was that he should "give students an alternative viewpoint on Namibia," this to counter Left-wingers who had previously run a pro-Swapo focus during Namibia Week.

As Mr Hieta entered the hall, so suppor-



(Then) Cabinet Minister Dr PIET KOORNHOF and Chief GATSHA BUTHELEZI of kwaZulu were early victims of the student censors, both being driven off the Wits campus.

ters of the Azanian Students Association and the Black Students Society began hissing and chanting "Sam Nujoma!" "Long Live Swapo!" "Sell out!" "Traitor!" Asked later about the principle of freedom of speech BSS president Mr Tiego Moseneke said "the concept was a non issue in the SA context." Mr Heita observed, mildly enough, that "they should first have listened, then demonstrated."

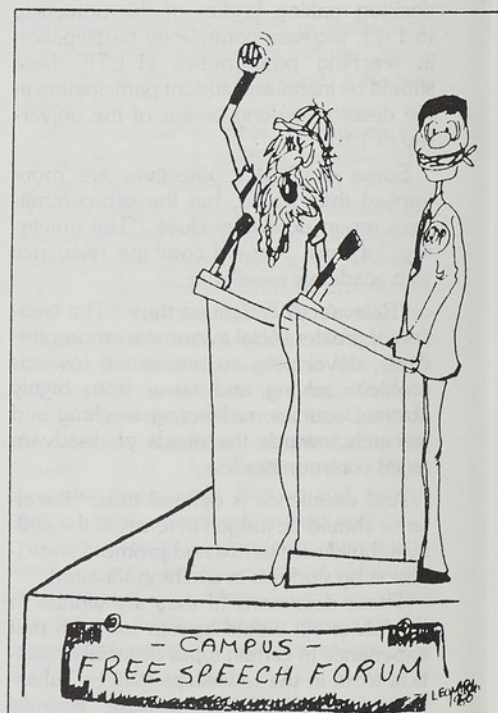
• **MARCH, 1986:** Ugly scenes again at Wits when chanting mobs of Black and Indian students prevented three senior UNITA officers from addressing a meeting called by the SMA. Some 200 Black students jumped around on tables, hurling abuse, threats and paper missiles at the speakers and guests. Several times the mob, which seemed to have been augmented by *mafiosa* specifically bussed in from Soweto, rushed the platform, shouting "ANC!" "UNITA go home!" "Voetsak!" "SWAPO" and "Tambol!" White students, who pleaded for a reasonable debate, were threatened with being set alight. Questioned later, Mr Dali Mpofu, BSS president, said the Angolese visitors "did not deserve a fair hearing. They are bandits."

Speaking over yells and screams, Brigadier Wambu Chimondo, Chief of Staff, UNITA Intelligence, remarked: "What you are seeing is a very vivid demonstration of what will happen to your

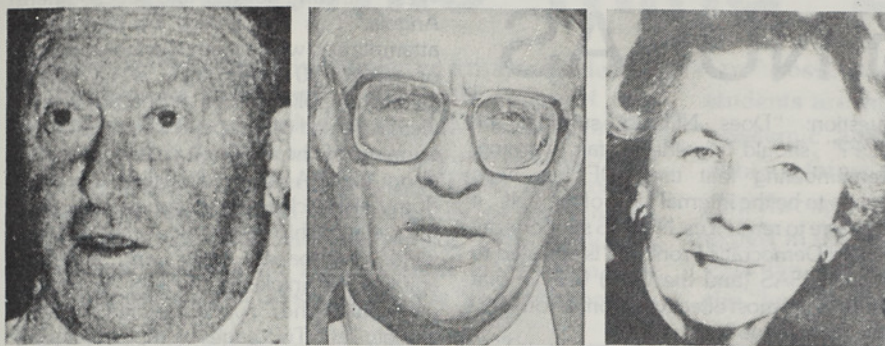
civil liberties if this segment of the political population takes power." The *Citizen* (21.3.86) reported that "there was no indication that the University of the Witwatersrand intended taking any disciplinary steps against the students responsible" for this example of mob anger. The *Sunday Times* (23.3.86) commented editorially: "In the intellectual ferment necessarily taking place over reform and Black advancement, students should beware of mobs and yobs. They serve only the cause of chaos, not objectivity."

• **OCTOBER, 1986:** Now we have dramatic proof of the cancerous proportions to which this campus opposition to "free speech" has spread. This was the violent disruption of the lectures by Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien at both Wits and the University of Cape Town. Former diplomat, former editor of the *London Observer*, former president of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and vocal supporter of international "measures," including economic, against SA, Dr O'Brien's credentials as a "liberal" would appear impeccable. By no stretch of imagination could he be dismissed as "another academic apologist for apartheid."

His fault was that he defied the NUSAS-supported international academic boycott against SA. Before arriving here, Dr O'Brien explained his decision to act as a "boycott buster." He believed he said, that it was wrong to isolate "honest, open and creative intellectual communities" because of the government of their country. He was, he affirmed, quite happy to have his actions interpreted as "a gesture of defiance" against the "intellectually disreputable" application of an "undiscriminating, Mickey Mouse boycott." He regarded the academic



ed liberal universities have capitulated'



Dr CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN was driven off both the UCT and Wits campuses, and out of the country; **Dr DENIS WORRALL** was prevented from speaking at a UCT formal dinner by a gang of black students; **Mrs HELEN SUZMAN** was banned from the Wits campus after being invited to debate the new constitution ... although the proponents of boycott politics were permitted to speak without interference.

boycott as "petty and vindictive" because it did not injure Pretoria, only students and teachers who wished to hear different viewpoints.

WILD SCENES

None of this saved him. Tom Sebina, ANC representative in Lusaka, declared that "O'Brien's visit to SA was unacceptable." The UDF's acting publicity secretary of the time, Murphy Morobe, said "We don't take kindly to his presence." In the event, wild scenes, including a smashed door to enable the mob to get at him, decided Dr O'Brien to curtail his series of lectures, driving him off the SA campuses and out of the country.

Adding considerable insult to injury, a commission of inquiry set up by the UCT administration sought to excuse these sorry events by smearing Dr O'Brien as "a volatile character," a "political figure," a "journalist," a man of "mercurial temperament" and "lacking the academic discipline" to avoid saying things which might provoke the all-too-easily aroused emotions of UCT "students."

EXCUSING INTOLERANCE

The commission produced some quite startling thinking. The report began by noting that there are students and academics who believe free speech is "inappropriate" in SA, if this allows a public figure (who, for example, has oppressed the freedom of others) a platform on campus. It further excused this intolerance on the grounds that:

1. The laws (of SA) inhibit political activity, especially in Black communities.
2. Political organisations have been restricted.
3. Many political leaders have gone into exile.
4. The State of Emergency "has exacerbated the frustration of Black students."

Dr O'Brien appealed to UCT to disassociate itself from the derogatory remarks

made about him. His official host, UCT Professor David Welsh, described the report as a "shoddy" document. He said: "What has happened is a disgrace. Unless the university takes steps to prevent this kind of action, it should either close down or cease calling itself a university."

• **APRIL 1987:** You might think that Wits would welcome a talk by the distinguished Mrs Helen Suzman, twice nominated as Chancellor of this university, three times nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, and who has herself delivered a Wits Academic Freedom lecture. You might think so, but you would be wrong. Wits could not even show chivalry to Mrs Suzman. Before the last general election, Wits decided to ban "any electioneering activity on campus." Under this blanket ban, Mrs Suzman was prohibited from participating in a panel discussion, organised by the Law Society, on the subject "The Constitution – A Means to Change?"

Mrs Suzman also disclosed that she had been prevented from addressing a Progressive Students Society meeting at Wits. She pointed out that Wits had taken no action to put a stop to meetings addressed by speakers who proposed that the elections be boycotted. "It is quite sickening ... there is no excuse for the partisanship which has been shown. What has happened to the great principle of freedom of speech and *audi alteram partem* (hearing of the other side)?" (*Business Day*, 28.4.87).

SCARED STIFF

She described the Wits action as a "total abrogation" of the basic principles for which the university was supposed to stand. "The case is that they are scared stiff that Black students will break up the meeting," she said. The then Wits Vice-Chancellor, Professor Karl Tober, did little to soothe wounded feelings when he wrote to *The Sunday Times* (20.5.87) saying that the "universities are not political bazaars available to anybody who wishes to speak in them."

Editorially, the *Sunday Times* asked what criteria are used "to decide that some political ideas – for example, the persistent attacks on capitalism – shall be heard, and some shall not. To make matters plainer, we recall that when Piet Koonhof was refused the chance to speak, Suzman raised a lonely liberal protest. When Conor Cruise O'Brien was driven off the UCT campus, the academic community was deafeningly silent. Now that Suzman is forbidden, we are told that the university is not a bazaar where political ideas can be freely traded. Pastor Niemoller would have understood what is happening, even if Professor Tober does not."

• **AUGUST, 1987:** A formal dinner scheduled to be addressed by Dr Denis Worrall ended in chaos when some 120 Black students invaded the Leo Marquard Hall residence at UCT. Dr Worrall left when it became apparent that he would not be allowed to speak. Mr Lance Terry, chairman, Moderate Student Movement, said militant pro-ANC radicals had again used violence to disrupt a UCT function. "Once again they have denied freedom of speech to a person while demanding that freedom for themselves." (*Star*, 4.8.87)

CYNICAL

• **AUGUST, 1987:** One day after the Worrall debacle, Mr Tom Linda, a former mayor of an Eastern Cape council, was beaten on UCT campus, after being silenced and before being able to make his escape. UCT Vice Chancellor Dr Stuart Saunders acted swiftly: **to punish the moderates who invited Mr Linda.** In the cynical words of the student leader who chaired the meeting at which Mr Linda was assaulted: "If you have a moderate, or non-radical, point of view to put across, you are not allowed to say it here."

Surely not without significance is the fact that it was UCT which, also in 1987, sanctioned an invitation to Raymond Suttner, a senior law lecturer at Wits and prominent White member of the now-banned UDF, to deliver the T B Davey Memorial Lecture. In this he argued for the most extreme and radical interpretation of the Freedom Charter as requiring the nationalisation of all private enterprise, down to barber shops.

The message of all this, then, is this: When it comes to "free speech," the so-called "liberal" universities have capitulated. Thanks to the unprincipled and pusillanimous attitude of the university authorities, there is **no freedom of speech on SA's larger "liberal" campuses for anyone who expresses a view disapproved of by a militant minority.** People whose views are likely to set off the radical storm troopers are simply not invited. Intimidation triumphs again!

In their own words: NUSAS on NUSAS

MODERATION has no place on South African university campuses, according to the publications funded by NUSAS and the various Student Representative Councils (SRCs) on the English-language universities. Nor has freedom of thought or expression any place – only a rigid, blind resentment of those who are white, or an emotional guilt at being white.

NUSAS readily admits its bias against freedom of thought. In its publication *National Student Review* (1988) it answers the question “Does NUSAS support the academic boycott?” with the weasel answer: “NUSAS supports the aims of the academic boycott ... If the academic boycott does not achieve its aims, then NUSAS will re-evaluate its policy.” As the academic boycott is designed to harm the quality of education in South Africa by isolating universities and researchers from overseas contact, it can be seen that NUSAS is, in fact, aiming to harm the quality of education received by its members. And as the academic boycott depends for its enforcement upon moral blackmail, backed up by the threat of physical violence, any pretence that NUSAS is interested in freedom of thought goes out the window.

TERROR FRONT

In the same article comes the question: “Is NUSAS a front for the ANC?” Surprisingly, in view of its many pro-ANC activities, this is denied. “Of course not. This is a regular allegation from those threatened by our long tradition of opposing apartheid ... Any proof of such links would render us liable to criminal charges.” Reason for this is, of course, that the African National Congress is a communist-backed and controlled terrorist group which propagates its views through bombings, assassinations, the “necklace” and other methods of murder and intimidation. But this does not worry the NUSAS apologist, who goes on to say: “It is widely accepted that the ANC is a major political force in South Africa. It is in this light that NUSAS met with the ANC in 1986.”

Just in case one thought NUSAS had any intention of keeping at arm's length from the ANC terrorists, the answer to another

question: “Does NUSAS support the UDF?” should provide a fair warning. Remembering that the UDF has been shown to be the internal wing of the ANC, it is bizarre to read “Yes. NUSAS supports the United Democratic Front and is affiliated to it ... NUSAS (and the UDF) believe that change can most effectively come from outside parliament.”



This is the voice of NUSAS. But the same voice is heard through the publications of the individual university SRCs. Take, for instance, a typical issue of *Dome*, from the University of Natal. *Dome* No 3 for 1988 has, scattered throughout its 32 pages, the usual trivia of any student newspaper anywhere: the slightly forced smut, the ragged reports of varsity sports, some attempts at humour – and an overwhelming preponderance of leftwing politics and angst. First, a half-page article on a demonstration involving the Black Sash, the End Conscription Campaign and NUSAS. Then a half-page blackguarding a student who had the misfortune to have a plice captain as father – and who refused to be anti-South African. An inflammatory “report” of a demonstration at the “Namibian University” in Windhoek. An innuendo-filled article on the burning of certain leftwing Community Resource and Information Centre facilities in Johannesburg. A full-page article headlined “National Detainees Day” in which one Ian Mkhize is quoted approvingly as saying that “An illegitimate (sic) regime cannot survive without rampant repression, I say to them, reform is part and parcel of repression.” In Marxist terms, of course, this is correct: nothing is to be more feared or resisted than any type of reform or betterment, for people who are contented, or who believe that better conditions are on the way, are unlikely to support a revolution which hands them over to the tender mercies of a communist dictatorship. Next, a full page of adulation for Comrade Gorbachev and “Russia’s Third Revolution,” which leaves us with the message that “The outlook for Perestroika and a ‘human socialism’ in Eastern Europe is cheerful.” Quite so. Then another full-page article, this

time attacking the way in which fellow-students – young National Servicemen – have been defending their country on the South-West African border and in southern Angola. This is followed by two pages attempting to whip up emotions over events of nearly 30 years ago, when rioters attacked a police station at Sharpeville and were repulsed with shots. Two pages on the banning of the UDF. A review of a play about AIDS. A review of the film “Cry Freedom,” the Dickie Attenborough travesty of the relationship between a liberal-leftist white newspaper editor and a black agitator. An article about AIDS “published on behalf of the Gay and Lesbian Students Society” etc. Two pages on rape. A page on “Sport and Politics.”

Publications of other university SRCs reflect the same mix of prejudice and leftism, the same defeatism, the same self-hatred. *Wits Student* Vol 36 No 7 carries a long attack on conservative students (banned on the front page) which is strong on hints of guilt by association, weak on facts. But more significant are the two features headlined “Marching towards a military future” and “South Africa’s contagious war fever.” These purport to show that SA (which actually spends a far smaller percentage of its GNP on defence than many countries) is becoming “militarist” because it has cadet programmes in schools and a citizen-based army. These are part of the on-going attempt, in collusion with the End Conscription Campaign and its affiliates, to weaken the effectiveness of South Africa’s defence forces. At present, of course, “this animal is dangerous: it defends itself!” ... but if campaigns such as this eventually succeed there will be no defence against the terrorist onslaught.

MARXIST LOGIC

The articles use Marxist logic, as might be expected. Any improved usage of national servicemen with specialist skills, i.e. by utilizing school teachers to help in black schools rather than pound the barrack square with the other squaddies, is slated, as is any “hearts and minds” programme. Once again the fear is that South Africa might yet reform rather than revolt, a future which would never suit the campus radicals, let alone their mentors in the ANC and UDF.

It is easy to dismiss all this agitation as mere youthful posturing which will soon be “grown out of.” Are not the young, it will be asked, perpetually like the stage Irishman, “agin the gov’mment?”

Unfortunately the pattern is not so benign. Study of the student publications which litter South African campuses shows the same pattern which infected their American equivalents during the Vietnam War. Then, the will to fight was sapped from within – but the instruction to do so came from without. Unless South African students, and their parents, show themselves ready to resist this steady indoctrination, their country will suffer the same fate as America – to be defeated by a physically weaker, but ideologically stronger, enemy.

Communism’s bid to control the future

“FROM its earliest days the international communist movement has exhibited an intense interest in the youth of all countries. The reason is obvious, for he who controls the youth controls the future. Communists are forever boasting that communism is ‘the wave of the future’ and ‘the future belongs to youth.’ No opportunity is overlooked by communists to appeal to and manipulate the credulity, imagination and fire of youth.” – J Edgar Hoover, *On Communism*, Random House, 1969.

Academic mind-benders

THE mind of the student is considered a major battlefield by Communist strategists. Communist conquest of a country is always preceded by extensive activity on the campuses. For decades now many departments in South Africa's English-medium and non-White universities have been transformed from centres of learning to laboratories for revolutionary action, with Afrikaans campuses catching up fast. In such a situation, the greatest asset the socialist communist "thought control-

lers" possess is general ignorance of their tactics. Few students are equipped to challenge the practitioners of academic agitprop; probably even fewer understand dubious forms of mind bending used to incubate revolution through the universities. APN invited an academic expert in this exotic field to explain how academic radicals can and do use Orwellian methods to indoctrinate the "best and brightest" of our future elite.

IN this paper, we will examine two current phenomena used in mind manipulation: 1, Suggestopedia; 2, subliminal education and its use in turning university classrooms into pulpits for radical propagandising.

Perhaps the most comprehensive SA analysis of Suggestopedia came in a PhD dissertation, *Suggestopedia for Second Language Acquisition* by H Ludolph Botha, written at the Faculty of Education, University of Stellenbosch. As his title makes clear, Botha saw Suggestopedia as a useful instrument in the teaching of languages.

Suggestopedia, he explained, is a form of education developed behind the Iron Curtain by Lozanov and his associates at the Institute of Suggestology in Sofia, Bulgaria. It is designed to overcome the protective barriers of the student's paraconsciousness, "to assimilate knowledge without it being screened by the person's value system." This, according to promoters of Suggestopedia, results in enhanced learning capacity through the subconscious.

The method advocates the use of subliminal and subsensory input, which Botha describes as: "Suggestology concentrates mostly on perceptions 'unnoticed by man: those he is insufficiently aware of or those which fall into the realm of the paraconscious' (Lozanov). In other words, Suggestology focuses on suggestions which influence the personality on the paraconscious level.

"Lozanov found that subjects memorised the words being presented subliminally better than the words they heard or saw with normal perception. This brought Lozanov to the realisation that subsensory support can play a very important role in increasing the volume of words memorised."

"The suggestions a person perceives can affect his behaviour on the conscious level, although the initial suggestions might have been on the paraconscious level."

"Although Lozanov experimented with subliminal suggestions, he was not in favour of using them in the classroom in such a way that the students could not verify the suggestions consciously. In a speech in the USA in 1978 he constantly referred to the fact that the teacher must be "moral" and he must use the suggestions "morally." In other words, always to the advantage of the students and never in such a way that the volitional qualities of the personality are suppressed."

The pupil is clearly at the mercy of a teacher's "moral values" and could be programmed with information and values which he normally would reject.

The anti-suggestive barriers to be overcome are described by Botha in this way: "The conscious mind protects the paraconscious through the anti-suggestive barriers which act as shields or filters when the personality perceives something which is not in accordance with his belief system and inner equilibrium regarding logic, affective or emotional state and ethical codes."



"The anti-suggestive barriers are normally internalised to protect the personality mentally, much as the physical body has mechanisms to protect it from injury and harm."

"If material contains elements clashing with the student's ethical principles, e.g. something in the text, the ethical barrier will form a mental block and the student will not learn easily and effectively."

Marxist makeover

"LENIN said that the two necessary (but not sufficient) preconditions for social revolution are a class-conscious proletariat and a revolutionary intelligentsia. If, as intellectuals, we can necessarily play a marginal role in the development of the former, the task of creating the latter is clearly our fundamental one. To create a Marxist culture in this country, to make Marxism an unavoidable presence and a distinct, original and unmistakable voice in our social, cultural and intellectual life, in short to form a Marxist intelligentsia for the struggle of the future: this seems to me the supreme mission of a Marxist pedagogy and a radical intellectual life today." – Frederic Jameson, a Marxist professor formerly tenured at Yale University.

Pavlov's pets

"IF Pavlov were alive today, he would have many from the Western universities, lecturers and students, in his laboratory. He would be trying to determine the perverse way in which conditioning operates on the complex human mind. This would be far more fascinating and bewildering to him than his experiments with monkeys, mice and dogs ..."

"Lozanov maintained that certain suggestive conditions can bring about hypermnnesia (supermemory), but to realise that, the anti-suggestive barriers must be overcome, or rather be harmonized with the suggestive conditions ..."

"In effect, desuggestion is largely a process of overcoming or changing mental blocks, or the anti-suggestive barriers. When these barriers are overcome, hypermnnesia is the end result."

"... it is possible for the Suggestopedic teacher to overcome the students' anti-suggestive barriers by gently guiding them through experiences where they can prove to themselves that the status quo, as they perceived it, can be changed dramatically."

"The classroom atmosphere must be free of fear, warm, friendly, and the lessons must be filled with enjoyable experiences."

"Lozanov identified the following three anti-suggestive barriers:

- The critical logical barrier;
- The intuitive-affective barrier; and
- The ethical barrier.

The critical-logical barrier rejects everything illogical. The intuitive-affective barrier rejects all that does not create a feeling of confidence and emotional security. The ethical barrier rejects everything that is not in accordance with the ethical principles of the individual."

The trust relationship between pupil/teacher is of vital importance. A condition has to be achieved in which the pupil unconditionally accepts whatever is presented by the teacher.



Why Marxists subv

WITH the exception of the Schlegel Commission (1972), astonishingly little in-depth research (especially at the scientific level) has been undertaken into the causes, nature and consequences of radicalism and Marxism now so prevalent on South African campuses.

South Africa, however, is not the only nation to be rocked by student militancy, or to find its universities more or less wittingly allowing themselves to be used as vehicles aimed at producing "irreversible change" in politics and society: most notably, in the destruction of the free enterprise system and its substitution by rigid, Marxist-style collectivism.

One of the most devastating critiques of Marxian influence at universities, and the blatant dishonesty, double standards and abuse of academic freedom on the part of those educators intent on radicalising their students, came in a 60-page monograph commissioned by the British Institute for the Study of Conflict.

Entitled *The Attack on Higher Education: Marxist and Radical Penetration*, this was collated after a two-year study (1975/77) conducted by a 15-man panel of educators and strategists working under the chairmanship of Professor Julius Gould, of the Department of Sociology at Nottingham University. Indicative of the importance accorded this work is that a panel member, Dr Rhodes Boyson, later became Minister of Education in the Thatcher Government.

Events in Britain at that time have strong parallels with the SA position today. In the mid-Seventies Britain was the sick man of Europe, a nation in conflict. Beset by economic problems, laden with the legacy of inadequate solutions to those problems, its political and cultural orders were equally under great, and growing, strain: the strains and conflicts endemic to a plural society.

In this climate the Gould study reported: "We encounter a clear commitment to the use of education for politicising activities: activities directed at producing irreversible changes in the social order. We find a confident, aggressive, intolerant style of teaching and writing: a style which borrows, where it seems tactically prudent, from certain procedures of scholarly work, but which also stresses the iniquity of 'bourgeois' modes of thought."

"There is an implicit claim that the only appropriate context or

theory is one that has its roots in a Marxian world-view, while at the same time employing a version of 'bourgeois' or 'formal' procedures to show that alternative assumptions are in fact 'unsound,' a tactic which undermines the very foundation of rational discourse and open scientific advance.

"Of course, those who wish to proceed in this, or indeed any other, eccentric direction have the legal right to do so (whether it is appropriate, morally and intellectually, is another matter). Indeed, one of the principles of genuine academic freedom would safeguard that right: **alongside the rights of other teachers who hold to the standpoints we ourselves support and the rights of students to receive the education which they, their parents and their society in different ways expect to be provided.**

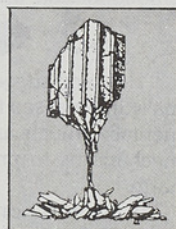
"We ... contend that the weight, thrust and direction of what are styled 'radical' or 'critical' approaches to the curriculum inhibit the provision of such education, **by foreclosing prematurely the range of intellectual, substantive and philosophical options which must be available to the student.** We also argue that the hectoring and aggressive tone in which the 'radical option' is so frequently couched has its parallel in the ways in which its exponents often relate, both formally and informally, to their 'non-radical' colleagues."

As a consequence of this, the panel declared, "the scholarly mode has come in many ways to concede virtually all power of emotional appeal to its rival. Dispassionate evaluation is no emotional match for a moralistic Marxist stance, one which is as simplistic as it is vehement."

The report took particular exception to the double standards employed by many involved in higher education. Because such persons were "in the grip of a mistaken social theory, a false and misleading theory," this gave scope to "illiberalism and confusion," presenting "a real challenge to society."

"The legitimacy accorded to a social and political order – whatever its inner and vital diversities – in good measure depends upon how its educational and cultural institutions support, or corrode, its basic and fundamental ideas. It is our view that, in the recent past, many of these institutions within higher education have with less or more awareness allowed

Vital to resist Radical Left



HOW much do university agitations – even in their less nonsensical forms – really matter? And, even if they do matter, is there not a risk that in combating them, "there is a danger of infringing on the courtesies and liberties essential to a democratic society?" Professor Gould's monograph answers some questions:

(1) Does the Radical Left's position on educational affairs really matter?

Yes, it does. It is a serious cultural phenomenon, not confined to Britain: its exponents treat it seriously (even though they get, at times, into somewhat absurd entanglements). They deserve serious attention and, without exaggeration, serious rebuttal.

(2) But, we may be told, even though it is serious it is the position of a "tiny minority"

(a) We agree that it is a minority – and indeed one which, by its excesses, has

already encountered unfavourable reaction. But we say also that minorities are, culturally and politically, quite important. The Radical minorities often disagree (sometimes hysterically) with each other – but they have a common distaste (bordering at times upon sheer hatred) for the liberal, tolerant society in which they move. They rely – for the furtherance of their extremist policies – upon another quite widespread habit of thought – one which is deeply rooted in Western culture.

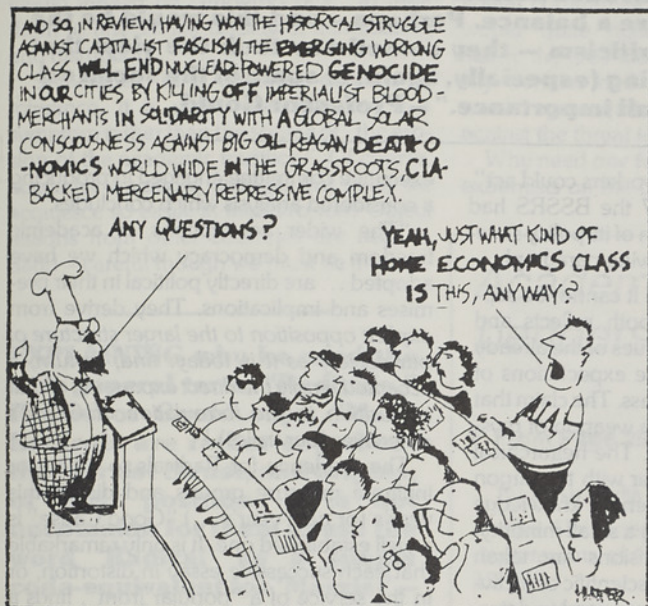
There is, as a leading American sociologist, Professor Peter L Berger, has

recently reminded us, a peculiar susceptibility on the part of intellectuals (and, we would add, among quasi-intellectuals with a modicum of higher education) to find in the "myth of socialism" support for an adversary culture "... anti-capitalist, opposed to liberal democracy and contemptuous of the respectability of bourgeois culture". Professor Berger drives home a crucial point:

"There is, however, one fairly effective remedy against the power of the socialist myth – the experience of living in a society where that myth has been politically elevated to the status of official doctrine. *One of the savage ironies of the times is that ideologically Marxism is in the ascendancy everywhere – except in the countries that call themselves Marxist.* One cannot lure a cat from behind the chimney with Marxist rhetoric in the Soviet Union or in Eastern Europe. There Marxism is ceremony, the myth has become a petrified ornament.

"On the basis of that empirical evidence, one prediction is fairly certain: Western intellectuals will cease to be fascinated by the socialist myth soon after Western societies are taken over by socialist régimes. It must be added, however, that in the not improbable case that these régimes will

rt higher education



themselves to be used for purposes inimical to those basic ideas. They have distanced themselves from the canons of rationality and objectivity long recognised as crucial in educational practice.

"The horrors of Communist societies are now admitted (where once they were impudently denied) but such admissions have not led to a rejection of Marxist theory. (Marxist proponents) find it safer and more convenient to ignore comparative evidence of tyranny and repression and to batter away selectively at more limited domestic shortcomings ... to establish the impression that all the problems of 'Western' societies (and, on a different level, those of the Third World) are attributable to the characteristics of capitalism and its associated social and political institutions.

"The implication is that the destruction of capitalism and its

resemble Soviet totalitarianism, this belated conversion will have little, if any, political significance. For totalitarian régimes, it appears, can survive for a long time without plausible myths and in a cultural climate of pervasive cynicism."

This is a bleak scenario – though not of course the only possible one. Countries in Continental Europe with large Communist Parties may face before long a scenario of this kind: Britain, too, has its advocates of irreversible change – not confined to the "minority" parties of the extremist Left.

The intellectual influences which we have been describing are of greater and more continuing importance than the violent and often brutal excitements which many universities encountered in the late nineteen-sixties. Britain has, of course, avoided the extremes of politicisation that, since those days, have come to weaken or destroy so many German, French or Italian universities. In our own more relaxed conditions it is even fashionable in many quarters to regard Communist influences in our universities as evidence of *moderation* and to greet, for example, the election of a dedicated Communist woman as President of

the National Union of Students in 1977 as a victory for flexibility and reason ...

Those innocents who welcome these, and other, signs of "moderation" do not always understand the appeals of a flexible Eurocommunism to a new generation at a time of social crisis and uncertainty. Sophisticated Marxist cultural-workers – with their

"RADICALISM on the Right has little appeal to the educated classes: yet radicalism on the Left has long had such an appeal." – Professor Gould.

kit of quotations from Gramsci or Berlinguer – deliberately heighten those appeals. Among the older and most experienced of such Marxists are several who once accepted the enormities of Stalin: they now rely, all too successfully, on the (often wilful) shortness of memory by which intellectuals are afflicted.

Leftist minorities, large or small, also rely upon the strength of the "anti-bourgeois" ethic so central to the adversary culture of the intellectual (and semi-intellectual) clas-

replacement by Marxist forms of socialism (would) result in the alleviation and eventual abolition of all social and personal problems. The Radical mode ... gives virtually no attention to articulating and describing the alternatives it would substitute ... these remain unspecified utopias.

"The tactic of the double standard is ... most clearly manifest in the assertion that all other intellectual positions are false. Double standard tactics take many forms. To criticise one's own society, often in harsh and exaggerated tones, is deemed respectable and obligatory. To reply to that criticism is considered by Radicals as unscholarly, political and 'McCarthyist.' The overwhelming emphasis is always on ... domestic evils, avoiding essential questions of alternatives. Those who do this stand convicted of bad faith."

The "Radical mind," said the panel, takes many forms: "a general and irreconcilable dissatisfaction with the *status quo*, equally general dissatisfaction with the slow pace of social change or with changes that fall short of revolutionary change."

The deep dislike by Radicals of their own society is such that their "desire is to destroy it," the claim being that "its imperfections are such that they can only be overcome by its overthrow ... that existing society is irretrievable." Marxism is proclaimed as "more effective both morally and technically."

All this, "presented with little or no comparative analysis," is "devastatingly effective in discrediting the free enterprise system and in destroying any allegiance to the accompanying fundamental values." It has "opened the door to countless mischief, by the busy apostles of social alienation. Educational institutions provide a prized opportunity for them to gain access to the beliefs of young persons and to win them over to the revolutionary cause."

Then, a warning to soft-shell liberals: "Those most in clarity in all this ... are those who by temperament or by virtue of their presently comfortable positions seek refuge in soft liberalism, believing that the problems will go away if they are ignored; forgetting until it is far too late that the exponents of irreversible change mean what they say. Irreversible change in other countries has provided no safe haven for liberalism of any variety. There are no grounds for believing that (we) would be more favoured by fortune."

It is well-known that over recent decades "bourgeois élites" have had their self-confidence eroded by these adversary pressures: out of fear, or out of trendiness, they have at times indulged in the dangerous game of radical *chic*. The desire to have "no enemies on the Left" has opened many a gate to the apostles of revolutionary alienation.

Those who have opened the gates have no deep sympathy with those who pass through. More often they are careless and sentimental; often, too, they are frivolous and ignorant; sometimes, too, they wish to come to terms with the "future" – believing that their skills will always be needed, especially in the "transition stage" to the new social order ... Without the complicity of wider social circles the Radicals would indeed both be and remain a "tiny minority". As the history of much educational uproar has shown, such complicity, based upon cowardice or folly, is not impossible. *But neither is it inevitable.*

(b) There are other reasons why the Radical minorities need to be taken seriously.

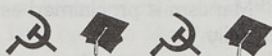
They are dedicated political men and

Vital to resist

• From Page 27

women – whose *whole* lives centre upon political ends. They are at a great advantage *vis-à-vis* the *majority* which, whether or not it is silent, whether or not it is led by cowardly leaders, is rightly and sensibly not governed by an over-riding sense of political mission.

They are adept at building up, using and diverting for their own ends, a variety of Front organisations. “Social Responsibility in Science”, “Academic Freedom” – these are worthy, indeed, essential themes which they adopt to cover and protect their own activities. In recent years organisations concerned to foster them have been established and promoted in ways that facilitated a virtual take-over by the left. The British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS) provides an illustrative case-study.



It was established in 1969 – but, according to H & S Rose writing in *Socialist Register* it originated from a small group of mainly Marxist scientists who in 1967 “had come together initially to campaign against chemical warfare in Vietnam” and who were concerned about “the obstinate fact” that “social science students were radicalising much faster than their natural science counterparts”. Anxious not to alienate the expertise it needed “the Society began by accepting mentally much of the élite structure of science. It acquired a distinguished sponsorship of Left and liberal scientists and held its inaugural meeting in the Royal Society”. In a comment on this article P G Werskey observed in *Radical Science*:

“BSSRS was intended to be – only at the outset? – strictly apolitical. Instead it was to be a focus for raising the consciousness of scientists and educating the public about the social implications of scientific research. This would provide the basis for a *new popular front* (our italics).

By the Annual General Meeting in 1975 the view was expressed that “BSSRS could no longer primarily exist to radicalise scientific workers but to act as a focal point

“IF, in some institutions – especially in the social sciences – illiberal groupings have secured a bridgehead (however limited), can those who directed those institutions be absolved from blame? Had they been more aware of their responsibilities, they would have invoked normal criteria of excellence and diversity so as to secure a balance. Perhaps – and this would be the most severe of criticism – they sometimes took the view that what was happening (especially, again, in some of the social sciences) was of small importance.” – Professor Gould.

around which scientific workers could act”. By the summer of 1977 the BSSRS had produced the final version of its policy statement, including the following paragraph:

“Science is not neutral. It cannot be separated from politics. It both reflects and helps to determine the values of the already powerful and frustrate the expectations of those outside the ruling class. The claim that science is neutral is itself a weapon of mystification and domination. The hierarchical nature of science, together with the jargon of science, ensure that scientific knowledge remains accessible only to a small minority. Social and political decisions are taken behind a smokescreen of scientific objectivity. For example, IQ tests are used to determine children’s future opportunities, while attempts to justify racism/sexism employ appeals to scientific theories of biological inferiority.”

Its internal bulletin (No. 5, March 1977), as well as putting the familiar stress upon “altering concepts, changing accepted wisdom about, for example, the neutrality of science and the objectivity of research” pointed out that:



“Student unions have access to resources (duplicators, typewriters, etc.) and to money which can provide back-up help to other nearby BSSRS activities. In addition students often have, if not more, at least more flexible time than non-students for engaging in such work.”

Another example is the work, at one time widely publicised, of the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy (CAFD) which, in the early seventies, took an active interest in several university causes célèbres. “Academic Freedom”, like democracy, needs careful definition: but a Left-wing interpretation soon became the dominant one. Four members of CAFD’s

executive committee engaged in producing a considered analysis which concludes:

“The wider conceptions of academic freedom and democracy which we have adopted ... are directly political in their premises and implications. They derive from *explicit opposition to the larger structure of our society as it is today: and, in turn, if accepted, imply the direct expression of that opposition in the formulation of CAFD’s objectives* (our italics).”

The tendency for Radicals to invent or infiltrate pressure groups and distort this year’s (or next year’s ...) “Good Cause” is a well established one. It is only remarkable that each successive essay in distortion, or in the service of a “popular front”, finds a new supply of gullible customers – and can rely upon a fund of goodwill from those who stand, and smile, at the periphery. *But this, too, is not inevitable.*

ANALYSIS OR DISTORTION?

3. But, it is urged by some, why complain about Marxist bias – after all, what about “liberal-democratic” bias or “positivist” bias in culture and education?

We hope that this Report has helped to show that, difficult as some may find it to make such a distinction, *analysis* can, and must, be distinguished from *distortion* – and indeed some scholarly Marxists have succeeded in doing so. Of course, a “liberal democratic” or “positivist” position involves a value-commitment – one which, *inter alia*, insists upon a respect both for evidence and for divergences of opinion.

Those forms of radical ideology which *disrespect* evidence or, by various tactics, *pre-empt* attention to divergent views or, in the extreme, *decry* the case for objectivity, cannot expect to be immune from outside criticism. And, insofar as they are rooted in the myth of revolution, they must surely be regarded as distinctively different from the “liberal democratic or positivist” positions. Those who are *sold* the myth of revolution, by an educational sleight of hand, need some form of consumer protection ... And, it should be noted, it would be an odd free market in educational ideas which obliged the opponents of the revolutionary myth to remain silent (out of innate nobility) and allow “history to bury” the society in which we live.

4. “But isn’t there something undemocratic, even McCarthyite, in trying to limit the spread of Radicalism in education?”

No – and no again!! The Radical position has no exemption from rebuttal. Many of its exponents would silence their critics if they

“THE basic assumption within the Marxist and Radical camp is that the cultural and educational fields are a key arena of ideological struggle. This is accompanied, often enough, by acute displeasure when those who are attacked propound alternative views: the Radical establishment then seeks to impose on its opponents a form of unilateral cultural disarmament. This is part of a well-known international tactic – the “long march through the institutions” aided, wherever possible, by the timidity of moderates prepared to practice such disarmament and by the tedium involved in dialogue with the tireless practitioners of the ‘long march.’” – Professor Gould.

had the power and the opportunity. Happily, in a free society they do not have that power – although, if occasion arises, they may condone, or recommend, a little moral intimidation or an exercise in disruption. It would indeed be “undemocratic” to treat them to any similar display of intimidation and disruption.

Sometimes, in a laudable defence of tolerance, it is urged that Marxism is a symptom rather than the source of “the erosion of the academic tradition”. Of course, academic traditions change: but need we acquiesce so easily in their *erosion*? Object lessons from other countries are near to hand – careful though we must be in draw-

author of this report) would condone it (or smile from the periphery ...) if Right-Wing extremists were over-represented in this way.

Long before that point was reached the liberal community – and its spokesmen – would *quite rightly* have sounded the alarm: the grey-faced moderates in University Senates and in the teachers unions would, again, *quite rightly* have spoken out against the threat to liberal values.

Why need one feel so cautious about the extremists on the Left? **They constitute a**

clear and present danger to the liberal mode. They thrive on perversions of theory and distortions of fact. They rely, like any other network, upon mutual support in the making of appointments. They depend for their influence in education upon their skill at exploiting the ambivalence of others – especially of administrators or of colleagues.

There is nothing undemocratic – let alone McCarthyite – in insisting, as this report seeks to do, that such ambivalence is neither honourable nor necessary.

EXPLAINING why he used the very general term, “Radicals,” Professor Gould says: “Many Radicals are rather coy about the Marxist thrust, and origins, of their position. It is not uncommon for them to use the word ‘Radical’ as a simple code-equivalent for ‘Marxist’ – even, and especially, where their dogmatic zealotry prevents any rational attention to the multiple roots of a problem.” In SA today the code word for Marxist is all too often “liberal.”

ing comparisons. The distinguished French liberal, Professor Raymond Aron, has warned (*Encounter*, September 1977, p. 13) how far such erosion has gone among French intellectuals:

“Swearing by their gods that *their* Marxism had nothing in common with the one that Solzhenitsyn despises, they continued to “Marxify” the universities, the social sciences, the political and literary magazines – naively convinced that *their* revolution will not end in the same despotism, too bent on destroying capitalist-liberal society to ask themselves any questions about the society they will build on the ruins.”

Two things are vital:

First, it is important to show how wrong the Radicals are in what they say. Second, it is important to understand what they *do* – how, quite undemocratically, they deploy their small numbers so as to secure the maximum leverage.



It is also worth noting how strange it is that, for example, the Student Union Movement or selected University Departments should have fallen so squarely into Radical or Marxist hands. We may fairly recall to the Radicals their own much-vaunted zeal for equality. After all, the proportion of the national electorate that votes for, or supports, the extreme Left is minuscule: so there is something clearly disproportionate in the strength of the extreme Left in the educational world. No one (least of all the

Academic mind-benders

• From Page 25

Suggestopedia is already being used at:

- The University of Stellenbosch in the departments of German and Xhosa, since 1984;
- Two Afrikaans courses for Members of the House of Delegates in the new Tricameral Parliament.
- A German course to cabin crew of South African Airways;
- A Remedial course in Afrikaans at the Cape Town Teachers' College; and
- An English course for black primary school teachers.

This teaching method is dangerous. The pupils, having sacrificed personal control to the teacher, are at the teachers' mercy. Information can be instilled in their subconsciousnesses which totally contradicts their own values – without them being aware of it.

Botha himself states that it uses “... terminologies and techniques which have traditionally been frowned upon in the West. In educational circles there is some concern about subliminal perceptions. It “was and is frequently reported on and described in ways which are problematic to some academics.”

Botha suggests that suggestopedia be employed to bridge the gap existing between various race groups in South Africa: “Necessary from a cultural point of view to employ languages to bridge the gap to some extent ... the communication gap in various groups in South Africa.”

Suggestopedia is also described in Lozanov's book *Suggestology and Outline of Suggestopedia*.

Having been a fulltime student for five years I have experienced the following:

Marxist or “liberal” interjections are used as frequently as possible in lectures, even those completely dissociated from politics. The aim is to subject the student to Marxism on a subliminal level over a period of years. Having been desensitised over a period of years, students more readily accept

suggestions which they otherwise would have rejected, had they been confronted head-on. When these lecturers are confronted with their Marxist interjections, they shrug it off as part of their personal character.

An example: a population distribution curve (with a gap in the 18-25 year group) is discussed during a statistics lecture and elicits the following interjection: “**Yes these guys are probably in jail, dead or have joined the Comrades.**”

• **Guest lecturers:** Another important method to influence students at conservative universities is the invitation of guest lecturers from Marxist universities to address classes.

• **Conferences:** Conferences form another important tool to influence students. Students, being unfamiliar with procedures and facts, are easily manipulated into “people's decisions”, which are then used for propaganda purposes.

• **Peer group pressure:** The manipulation of peer group pressure plays an important role.

• Modus operandi:

(The following could be a powerful concept for a schematic “diagnose your lecturer” chart for students! – with emphasis being placed on the subliminal strategy.)

The following modus operandi is used: (as I have experienced it)

1. Students and especially first-year students are subjected to subliminal education.
2. The Marxist-inclined students soon become apparent and are drawn into personal attendance groups which meet outside the class context. Future Marxists are recruited from these groups.
3. These groups are then used to polarise the class and isolate the conservative students. Peer pressure is applied to moderate students.
4. Marxist students are encouraged to take up academic posts. So the process constantly repeats itself.

• **Police:** An important strategy used at the University of Cape Town to swing students towards Marxism is to involve them in protest action against the police. Once beaten by the police, students often become radicalised or Marxist-oriented.

For some reason, great emphasis is presently placed on influencing architectural students.

Debunking the mystique of student radicalism

"THE young have exalted notions because they have not yet been humbled by life or learned from its necessary limitations. They would always rather do noble deeds than useful ones, their lives are regulated more by moral

feeling than by reasoning. They love too much, hate too much, and the same with everything else. They think they know everything, which is why they overdo everything." – Aristotle.

SOUTH Africa's "liberal" media have invariably proved remarkably sympathetic to student radicals. This, presumably, is in line with the Rousseauian perception of youth as idealistic, unspoiled, selfless, innately generous and sincere. This liberal concept of youthful virtue may also explain why discipline, both by university administrations and many parents, has dissolved in the face of endemic campus disorder.

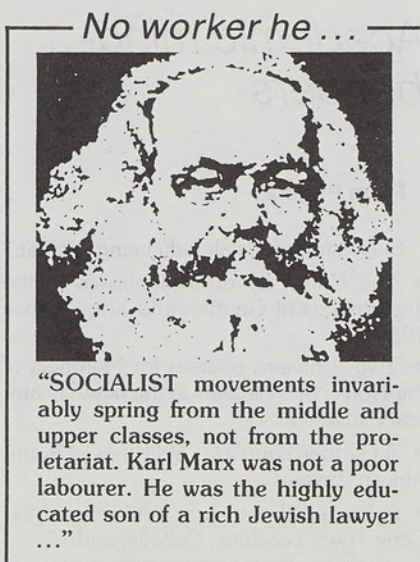
It is, of course, easier for the gurus of the Left to justify disciplinary failure by arguing that militant students represent "the brightest and the best," that they are "democratic rather than totalitarian; humanitarian and humanistic rather than pragmatic and self-interested; psychologically healthy and morally advanced." The extraordinary influential Herbert Marcuse sought to provide apparent scientific underpinning for the equation of personal goodness with "progressive" politics; that radical students represented a post-bourgeois "new type of man."

But are any of these good things necessarily true? Many international analysts now think not. In the US, Lavis Feuer argued that many young radicals, "bound together by a common egotism," are engaged in a self-destructive generational rebellion, which he traced around the world and throughout modern history. Both Irving Howe and Paul Goodman worried about tendencies toward "elitist manipulation" among elements of the student population.

QUASIPARANOID

Among the more scientific studies, Oscar Glantz found radical students to be "more punitive" than non-radicals. Henry Aker found "quasiparanoid" elements in the manner in which such students dealt with reality. The late Herman Kahn and his colleagues at the famed US Hudson Institute viewed both the campus counter-culture and the New Left generally as representing "the cutting edge of decay, a decay whose sources lay in both affluence and the general permissiveness of society."

However, the work that stands head-and-shoulders above most studies into the causes, nature and consequences of student radicalism is *Roots of Radicalism: Jews, Christians and the New Left*, written by two US professors, Stanley Rothman and S Robert Lichter, and published by Oxford University Press. Their myth-shattering findings are solidly based on two



massive studies in the US over a ten-year period, and a lesser, third, comparative study conducted in West Germany.

The book begins with a minute examination of the violent unrest which swept US campuses in the Sixties, a compound of reaction to the civil rights campaign and the Vietnam War. In many respects, events at that time are strikingly similar to what is happening on SA campuses today.

Specifically, the authors examine the role of Jewish and non-Jewish students:

"Americans of Jewish background dominated the New Left in its early years: indeed, in important ways, they were largely responsible for the emergence of the New Left ... providing the critical mass of radicals who helped transform the New Left from a relatively unimportant fringe group into a significant social and political force.

"Unconsciously, many Jewish radicals joined the New Left to gain strength against an 'evil and powerful' Establishment, which they saw as punitive and destructive. Conversely, some non-Jewish radicals desire to destroy an Establishment they perceived as evil but weak, and to find a moral justification for their hostile feelings. Their ultimate, albeit unconscious, goal was less to eliminate existing inequalities than to establish a new, more powerful and 'righteous' authority structure that they could lead or join."

Considering that many, if not most, of the radical student movement were "children

of privilege" – indeed, such campus protest was sometimes termed "the revolt of the privileged" – Rothman & Lichter agree that it is "certainly tempting" to suggest that this was a wholly idealist outpouring of action and emotion, since such students themselves ...

"... had little to gain from the anti-Vietnam War protests (they enjoyed draft deferment) or from the struggle for civil rights (they were White) or from the protest against economic inequality (they were mostly well-off)."

Most influential assessments of the radical students of the period were highly positive and laudatory. They included social science studies which

"agreed that the student movement represented the best in their societies ... Researchers concluded early that radical students were dedicated to free speech and the rights of minorities. In many cases they came to this conclusion simply by asking students whether they believed in free speech ..."

Students were, however, "rarely asked about their willingness to extend such rights to groups they despised on ideological grounds." Rothman & Lichter painstakingly expose the weakness and confusion of many such studies, carried out by authors themselves sympathetic to the radicals. They note that even the notorious Felix Dzerzhinski, founder of the Cheka (today the KGB) was given to pronouncements about loving flowers and people. They might also have added Stalin's famous statement about the importance of carefully nurturing the masses "like plants in a nursery."

They contend that neither concern over radical injustice nor US involvement in Vietnam in themselves offer satisfactory explanations of the 1960s, and more especially of the continuing and still-widening "social criticism, estrangement and savage rejection of Western political institutions and social order" on US campuses.



Rothman and Lichter were not the first to note that radical movements on the Left tend to attract disproportionate numbers of Jews. A 1970 US study found that 23% of all Jewish university students considered themselves "Far Left," while only 4% of Protestants and 2% of Catholic students

defined themselves as such. This sample found that Jewish students were "three times as likely as non-Jews to engage in frequent protests and twice as likely to lead or organise protests ... by every measure we employed Jews made up a majority of the New Left on their campuses."

Children of Jewish academics were found to be "by far the most radical group studies, much more so than the children of non-Jewish academics." Perhaps the most controversial proposition here is that (among Jewish radicals, at any rate) a major component of the idealism, the identification with the "underdog," rested on other than disinterestedly idealistic motives:

"Many white radicals supported 'black power' as a surrogate expression of their own hostility against the Establishment. The black underclass was finally fulfilling the role in which it had been long cast – as the vanguard of a revolt against the American Dream."

Nor was this phenomenon entirely new:

"The identification of some Jewish males and females with the Russian proletariat during the Soviet revolution, with Irish and Italian workers during the 1930s, and with the black underclass or Third World nations during the 1960s may have reflected motives beyond mere sympathy with the underdog ... in both the 1930s and the 1960s many Jewish radicals were projecting their own needs and desires upon those groups."

They go on to observe:

"For some Jewish radicals, then, it is not only the oppression of Third World nations that attracts them as they move from cause to cause but, rather, the imagined virility of these nations and their powerful leaders ... As Abbie Hoffman described Fidel Castro: 'Fidel sits on the side of a tank rumbling into Havana ... The tank stops in the city square. Fidel lets the gun drop to the ground, slaps his thigh and stands erect. He is like a mighty penis coming to life ...'

"As agents of the oppressed, and the justly violent oppressed in particular, they could treat their own aggressive urges as morally legitimate ... This identification helps [the radical] deny his own aggressiveness. He speaks and acts not for himself but for the worthy cause whose emissary he has become ... The projection of positive feelings onto the 'people' or 'the oppressed' is matched by the negative emotions projected onto the oppressors ...

"Students, too, could be victims, could enjoy the righteousness that comes from persecution."

Other factors raised:

"Identification with a radical movement might produce a feeling of surrogate power. The role of the political outlaw could become a source of strength against a 'Paper Tiger' Establishment. Radicals seem to perceive participation in (the protest movement) as a source of strength, while viewing a student engaged in

intellectual endeavour as a feeble or impotent figure. Radicals rate both male and female protesters as stronger, the non-protesting student as weaker."

Special attention is given to the ways in which motivation of young people of Jewish backgrounds differs from those of non-Jews. Some of the feelings:

"About half the Jewish students were raised in a liberal or leftist political milieu ... By contrast only 1% of the non-Jews rated their fathers as 'Radical Democrats,' and not a single non-Jewish subject came from a socialist background.

"Jewish radicals were more than twice as likely as non-Jews to see radical publications [in their homes when they were growing up] while non-Jewish radicals were three times as likely as Jews to see conservative journals.

"Among Jews, the more radical the child, the more radical he or she perceived the father. Among non-Jews, this pattern was reversed: the more radical the child, the more conservative the father."

Political radicalism as far as US Jewish groups is concerned "stems from a broader and more basic hostility toward the social order, from a predisposition to reject a social system which defines them (or once defined them) as 'outsiders.'" This attitude explains "both the attraction of universalistic ideologies such as Marxism, and the interest in other oppressed groups victimised by the system."

AUTHORITARIAN

The long history of Jewish persecution inevitably impacted on attitudes towards authority and handling of aggression, often resulting in compensatory identification with Black protest, with tough Third World guerrillas and other "victimised yet assertive groups." Investigation showed that, contrary to popular liberal belief, authoritarianism is not the sole preserve of Right-wing elements:

"The traditional authoritarian [the image of which was enshrined in studies like that of Theodor Adorno's *Authoritarian Personality*] deflects his hidden hostilities onto outsiders and outgroups. The inverse authoritarian [ie, the New Left radical] unleashes his anger directly against the powers that be while taking the side of the world's 'victims' and 'outcasts'."

Rejection of authority can prove highly selective. The same radicals who felt the mildest academic regulations intolerable and repressive (and parental authority altogether intolerable) were capable of extreme submissiveness towards groups, authority figures and symbols they admired: e.g., Blacks, Castro, Ho Chi Minh, Chairman Mao and the repressive systems they represented:

"Their temporary opposition to authority is part of a quest for a new authority that can command their wholehearted loyalty."

Presumably, one takes it, an authority that is not hesitant, ridden with doubt and lacking in strength and determination, clearly a serious problem in SA today. The validity of the Rothman/Lichter comments here is forcibly demonstrated by the many SA student safaris north to worship at the feet of the ANC.

NON-POLITICAL

The broader implication of all this, then, is that political attitudes and beliefs often stem from non-political sources. The findings make it evident that there is a difference between what is manifest and what is latent, between professed intentions and underlying motives. In particular historical circumstances, psychological or personality variables assume major significance in explaining mass movements:

"As political and cultural authority declined in the 1960s, so did the authority of the family and ego strength. Such is always the case in revolutionary (or pseudo-revolutionary) eras. At such times people seize the opportunity to act upon fantasies that they normally keep under control. All such fantasies contain universal elements, but their content is also partly determined by the cultural norms of the society in which the individual lives."

Unlike many other Western intellectuals, Rothman & Lichter do not accept that alienation automatically confers a clearer picture of social realities:

"... it can also serve to narrow one's vision. The oppressed may see only the worst side of a culture or social system."



Now – the crucial question: Are Jews still at the cutting edge of radical US politics?

"The special role of Jews in radical movements may belong to the past, not to the future. Many Jews are now active antagonists of the Left. The Jewish intellectual community as a whole has become somewhat more conservative, even as Jewish voters generally have begun to move to the right. We suspect that many such people now feel a strong stake in the American system. From their point of view, the weakening of America's institutions could have only negative consequences, as would an emphasis on the wickedness of 'advanced capitalist states,' and the virtues of Third World nations, especially radical Third World nations ..."



Transparently, what SA needs most urgently in this traumatic period, when our campuses have become bastions of Left/liberal and radical activism, are researchers and writers as diligent, sensitive and thoughtful as Rothman & Lichter. How can we hope to tackle the growing crisis in higher education until we have an authoritative picture of its "causes, nature and consequences"?

Facts of freedom

DO you object to your children being used as classroom guinea pigs? To lecturers lauding the supposed virtues of Communism, while forever stressing the deficiencies and failures of the free enterprise system, carefully fore-swearing the comparative method? If so, can you do anything about it? Certainly. Let's turn to Leon Louw, Executive Director of the Johannesburg-based Free Market Foundation.

In season and out, Leon preaches the same thing: that the revolution of our time is the now world-wide acceptance of the power of the free market-plus-limited government to spur economic growth, create economic opportunity and raise living standards for all. It is not the capitalist states, he points out, that go cap-in-hand seeking financial, food and hi-tech hand-outs from the communist economies. It is absolutely and historically the reverse.

Further, making a nonsense of the dated doctrinal garbage still spouted by the South African Left, almost all those states which tried the collectivist alternative are now desperately seeking to escape their Marxian-imposed poverty by a return to market-oriented economies, to the despised capitalist system they had so fervently sworn to "bury."

So, how do we project this to students, to protect them from Marxism's snake-oil academic salesmen? One problem, as all those interested in the defence of the free market system very quickly establish in this country, is that neither the campus book shops nor the big book chains carry much, if any, material extolling the successes of capitalism.

Examine the shelves of such outlets and you will find that anything from 70% to 95% of works on offer are "liberal" (read Marxist/neo-Marxist) in content. Nor does this simply apply to economics. It applies equally to works on psychology, class analysis, sociology, theology, law, education, history and even physics.

As a dedicated free marketeer, Leon found this intolerable. So, as part of his Foundation's education programme, he has set up a major book distribution centre.

Capitalism shows how

"OBVIOUSLY, capitalism, being a natural force rather than a contrived ideology, springing from instincts deep in our human natures, is modifying itself all the time and we cannot foresee how it will evolve over the next century. But I predict, as a result of our experiences in this one, that never again will any considerable body of opinion seriously doubt its wealth-producing capacity or seek to replace it with something fundamentally different. We are at the end of a historical epoch in which capitalism has survived the collectivist assault and is now firmly re-established as the world's primary way of doing things." – British historian and author, Paul Johnson.

His advice to troubled parents: Establish your own "Freedom Library." And if you can't get the books elsewhere, you are wel-

Literature of freedom

AS is to be expected, the list of recommended books supplied by the Free Market Foundation for a home "Freedom Library" centres around economics and *laissez faire* capitalism. But the general literature on the subject of communism is today very extensive. Some of the best authors here are: Paul Johnson, Robert Conquest, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Whittaker Chambers, Antony Sutton, Ayn Rand, Jean Francois Revel, James Burnham, Oswald Spengler, Rael Jean Isaac and Erich Isaac, Nikolai Tolstoy. Any good library should be able to provide you with recommended titles and an extended list of international titles. If your favourite booksellers do not carry these writers, lean on them. Demand "Why not?"

come to buy them through the Foundation.

Asked by APN for "must" books on the free enterprise system, books that collectively would blow any attempted justification for Marxism right out of the water, he suggested these authors and these books:

- **LUDWIG von MISES:** In 1927, classical liberalism, based on a belief in reason, individualism, capitalism and free trade, was dying when Von Mises, one of the century's greatest social thinkers, wrote *Liberalism: In the Classical Tradition*. With that great classic, Von Mises began rebuilding the science of economics, as well as the defence of the free market and honest money. Other titles available: *Human Action*, a treatise on economics, R104. *The Anti-Capitalist Mentality*. Capitalism raised US living standards to an unprecedented level. Why then are so many Americans unsympathetic to capitalism? R15,85. *Economic Policy: Thoughts for Today and Tomorrow*. Historic keynote lectures on capitalism, foreign investment, policies and ideas – a good introduction to economic theory, R15,70. *The Wisdom of Ludwig von Mises*, excerpts from *Human Action*, R4.

- **FRIEDRICH von HAYEK:** The most famous work by this Nobel prize-winning economist and one which was destined to change the course of world economic thought toward free markets was *The Road To Serfdom*. Written in 1944, Hayek demonstrated the common socialist roots of Communism and Nazism; and the seeds of statism in all modern Western societies. He wrote in particular of the blindness of modern liberals to the conflict in principle between freedom and socialism. His words are still fresh today:

Knowledge to defeat propaganda

"A HOME 'Freedom Library' is as vital to parents as it is to students. Our problem is that most South Africans, especially Afrikaners, generally do not have access to the facts, are either ill-informed or totally ignorant about the basics of Marxism vs free market capitalism. So, when students come home with their well-crafted Marxian fallacies, the parents are helpless and have no reply. Because they are confused, their own convictions are shaken: more so when, simultaneously, they see their church being fragmented, their media telling them that everything SA does is wrong, their children telling them that whatever SA gets, SA deserves. How can we act against this evil? Only by acquiring a genuine understanding of Communism, its economic theory, its history and its overwhelming failures. On every side, free market capitalism has won the economic argument hands down. But how many here are equipped to argue that? Only by knowledge can we break the Marxian monopoly on organised propaganda. Knowledge is the first weapon in our arsenal of defence. The finest motivation is inadequate without adequate knowledge..." – SA economist.

"It is more important to clear away the obstacles with which human folly has encumbered our path and to release the creative energy for individuals than to devise further machinery for 'guiding' and 'directing' them..."

Other Hayek masterpieces: *The Fatal Conceit*, his latest work and, some say, his best. An analysis of evolution and reason and what the author terms the "fundamental error" in our thinking that has led to the growth of socialism. An extremely important contribution to the debate. R59. *Capitalism and the Historians*, R15,25; *Constitution of Liberty*, R39,55; *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, three volumes, R81,45 the set; *Economics in One Lesson*, R15,70.

• **ADAM SMITH:** *An Inquiry Into The Nature and Causes of The Wealth of Nations*: One of the most momentous works ever written. Two volumes, R36,26 set.

• **HERNANDO de SOTO:** *The Other Path*: a work already generating a mass movement in Latin America. A hint of its startling impact: last year when the Peruvian Government tried to nationalise the banking system, hundreds of thousands of people, mostly motivated by ideas generated in this book, turned out in protest. An analysis of the Latin American informal sector, *The Other Path* provides a compelling argument that Third World poverty is due not to capitalism, but the lack of it. R54.

• **J M ROBERTS:** *The Triumph of the West*: the story of how liberty was built. R59.

• **KARL HESS:** *Capitalism For Kids*: an excellent introduction to the values of a free society and a free market. While intended for the teenager, it contains valuable ideas and advice for parents. R46.

• **THOMAS SOWELL:** This distinguished Black writer, a Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institute, is one of the foremost US economists today. In *A Conflict of Visions*, he demonstrates how the enduring political controversies of the past two centuries reflect radically different assumptions about the nature of man. R38,85. *Economics and Politics of Race*: his analysis demonstrates startling differences in racial and ethnic economic patterns in an international perspective. R23,15. *Education: Assumptions vs History*, R28,40. *Ethnic America: A History*: traces history and economic development of nine US ethnic groups and explains their varied experiences in adapting to US society. R31. *Knowledge and Decisions*: how fragmented knowledge gets co-ordinated into making decisions significant to political, economic, legal and other social processes. R32,50. *Marxism: Philosophy and Economics*: for those with no previous knowledge of the theories of Karl Marx, this book provides a step-by-step introduction. Shatters some existing interpretations of Marx – interpretations that have become standard through sheer repetition rather than scholarship.

Your own 'Freedom Library'

TO MAKE things easy for parents and students wishing to establish a family "Freedom Library," the Free Market Foundation is prepared to supply recommended book packages in varying sizes and prices. These are:

Books listed are either in stock at the FMF or to be ordered from overseas. Prices quoted are subject to change.

Package 1: R154-05

Caldwell, D	SOUTH AFRICA: THE NEW REVOLUTION	R 19-95
Kendall & Louw	SOUTH AFRICA: THE SOLUTION	19-95
Bastiat, F	THE LAW	5-00
Hayek, F	CAPITALISM & THE HISTORIANS	15-25
Hazlitt, H	ECONOMICS IN ONE LESSON	15-70
Mises, L	ECONOMIC POLICY: THOUGHTS FOR TODAY & TOMORROW	15-70
Weaver, H	THE MAINSPRING OF HUMAN PROGRESS	5-00
Williams, W	THE STATE AGAINST BLACKS	22-50
Friedman, M & R	FREE TO CHOOSE	35-00
	R154-05	

Package 2: R322-90

Package 1 plus:		
Hess, K	CAPITALISM FOR KIDS	46-00
Hayek, F	THE ROAD TO SERFDOM	30-00
Sowell, T	A CONFLICT OF VISIONS	38-85
de Soto, H	THE OTHER PATH	54-00
	R322-90	

Package 3: R576-90

Package 2 plus:		
Hoppe, H	A THEORY OF SOCIALISM & CAPITALISM	73-00
Murray, C	LOSING GROUND	34-00
	IN PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS & GOOD GOVERNMENT	46-00
Hayek, F	THE FATAL CONCEIT	59-00
Sowell, T	MARXISM	18-15
	ECONOMIC & POLITICS OF RACE	23-15
	R576-90	

Socialism's choice: Cyanide

"SOCIALISM cannot be realised because it is beyond human power to establish a social system. The choice is between capitalism and chaos. A man who chooses between drinking a glass of milk and a glass of a solution of potassium cyanide does not choose between two beverages: he chooses between life and death. A society that chooses between capitalism and socialism does not choose between two social systems; it chooses between social cooperation and the disintegration of society. Socialism is not an alternative to any system under which men can live as human beings. To stress this point is the task of economics as it is the task of biology and chemistry to teach that potassium cyanide is not a nutriment but a deadly poison." – Ludwig von Mises, *Human Action*, p. 680.



LUDWIG von MISES: diagnosing society's economic diseases.

Facts of Freedom

• From Page 33

• **WALTER WILLIAMS:** Another noteworthy US Black academic. In his *The State Against Blacks*, he contends that a free and fast growing economy unshackled by government intervention offers the most opportunity and best hope for Black Americans at all levels. R22,50.

• **HANS-HERMANN HOPPE:** *A Theory of Socialism and Capitalism: Economics, Politics and Ethics*. Describing this as "a veritable blockbuster," the free market scholar Murray Rothbard says: "Every future book on libertarian rights will have to grapple with Hans Hoppe's sensational and innovative solution to the natural rights question." R73.

• **DAVID KELLEY:** *The Art of Reasoning*: analyses logical fallacies of both liberals and conservatives. R38.

• **P T BAUER:** *Equality, The Third World and Economic Delusion*: challenges widely held views about economic development, the goal of egalitarianism and the population explosion. R38,85.

• **MILTON and ROSE FRIEDMAN:** *Free to Choose*: an essential in the "Free-dome Library." R35.

• **CHARLES MURRAY:** *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950/60*. The ambitious social programmes of the "Great Society" to help the poor and disadvantaged not only did not accomplish what they set out to do, but often made things worse. R34.

• **R NOZICK:** *Anarchy, State & Utopia*: challenges the most commonly held political and social positions of our age. R36,20.

• **ROBERT POOLE, Jr:** *Cutting Back City Hall*: first comprehensive discussion of how communities across the US are reducing spending while maintaining and improving the quality of services to their citizens, hc, R30; pb, R25,85.

• **MICHAEL O'DOWD:** *The Industrial Revolution, Myth and Reality*, R12,50.

• **HENRY HAZLITT:** One of the handful of brave souls who dared challenge the Keynesian doctrine of central control when it was at its height. *Economics in One Lesson*, R15,70.

• **BONE WILDER LANE:** *The Discovery of Freedom: Man's Struggle Against Authority*, R22,85.

• **BETTINA BIEN GREAVES:** *Free Market Economics: A Basic Reader*, R15.

• **DON CALDWELL:** *South Africa: The New Revolution*. Published by the Free Market Foundation, this is a no-holds-barred critique of SA economic policy and a blueprint to implement radical free enterprise right now, throughout the country. A brilliant and essential work, produced at a critical time in the nation's economic history. R19,95.

All these books are available from the Free Market Foundation, P O Box 52713, Saxonwold 2132. Telephone 728-7262. Prices subject to change.

Down the trail of

APN: Lieutenant Forsyth, taking into account your own experiences with the Left, why do revolutionary organisations such as the ANC rely so heavily on recruits from the university community?

Lt Forsyth: The main reason organisations like the ANC and South African Communist Party rely on such recruits is that the university environment provides much of the groundwork for a recruitment attempt. I refer more specifically to the leftwing academics who apply academic pressure on the students as well as the radical student organisations which recruit them and provide both ideological and organisational training. After groundwork, and by the time a student has been through, for instance, an English-speaking university or through student organisations, the ANC or SACP can be fairly sure the student has been prepared for a future revolutionary role. It means that if they have been right the way "through the ranks", then they will support the revolutionary overthrow of the South African government; they will support the ANC and its methods of trying to bring this about. They will be prepared to undertake any number of missions, with any number of risks, to achieve these objectives.

APN: Do you think this emphasis will continue in the future?

There is no doubt that this emphasis will continue. However there has been a trend within the ANC to use lower profile people: in the past the ANC and the Communist Party tended to recruit people who had been on the executives of student organisations and who already held high profile positions. In the last few years they have started to look for recruits who don't hold those types of positions so that they can use them more easily in underground work.

APN: Once again with your own experiences in mind, what are the danger areas which students should avoid when getting involved in student politics?

As with the university community as a whole, I think students should be aware of dangers in two areas. Firstly, academics. Students have to be very careful of simply believing what an academic says. It is very easy, especially when one is a first-year university student, to be overawed by authority figures and to accept unquestioningly what they say. This especially

LIEUTENANT Olivia Forsyth is one of South Africa's bravest and most daring fighters for freedom. As a young woman she penetrated the innermost circles of the pro-revolutionary forces working inside South Africa, becoming apparently so deeply involved that even her family was disappointed. Eventually she was invited to join the ANC in Harare, where she underwent a form of military training. Later the ANC became suspicious and jailed Olivia in their notorious Quatro prison camp northeast of Luanda, Angola. There she was subjected to continued interrogation and the vilest tortures before her escape to the British Embassy in Luanda, from where she eventually made her way home. Once she was safely back in South Africa, the police Special Branch took the unusual step of revealing Lieutenant Forsyth's operational status and details of her highly successful mission. Olivia Forsyth experienced the recruitment practices and was led down the trail to the terror controllers of the ANC. Who better, then, to describe how innocent, well-meaning students are latched on to, by the ANC. APN interviewed Olivia and asked her for first-hand details of the battle to subvert South Africa from within ... and then for advice on how to counter this subtle indoctrination.

applies in the Arts Faculties. There are some lecturers who will supply students with book lists which are very, very limited. They will quite deliberately omit reading material so that students are getting an input from a Leftist direction only. They might include one or two very "over-the-top" rightwing references just to play that off against what they present as a Marxist utopia and a canned solution to South Africa's problems – the type of solution which most students who are idealistic will look for. The other area is of course at the student organisation level. Here students should be particularly aware of the fact that people will be extremely friendly: a lot of use is made of social functions in order to draw people into the organisation. I remember when I was in the student leadership at Rhodes we used to sit and decide who was going

ception, into the ANC's clutches



A woman alone against the terror-masters of the ANC: Lieutenant OLIVIA FORSYTH, who penetrated first NUSAS, then a whole series of similar leftist organisations before ending up at the heart of the ANC itself.

these organisations they would treat them with much more circumspection. They would be far more hesitant to throw themselves "willy-nilly" into student organisations. From my own experience, we used to have secret caucus meetings for weeks before an orientation week simply in order to deliberate on how we would manipulate students' ideas the moment they arrived at university. So just for a start, an orientation week is very clinically and calculatedly planned. The programme, for instance, will include such things as a video on poverty in a homeland; the idea with presentations like that is to appeal to the more positive liberal instincts in most students who go to university. Most students are idealistic and are looking for solutions to South Africa's problems in a very genuine way. The idea behind the leftists' programme is to take those liberal feelings – students' anti-apartheid feelings – to use white South African guilt in order to draw them into those organisations. So when a student sees a child dying of malnutrition in a homeland, he is going to feel so guilty that he will feel that there must be something he can do about it. It is at precisely that point that they are grabbed hold of and told: this is the only solution, this is the only way out. So Leftwing student organisations make use of those guilt feelings.

There are various phases which an organisation like this takes students through. The first is to use the guilt. The second is to provide them with an answer for those guilt feelings, for instance an alternative history of South Africa. What they do is to say to students: this is the history which you have been given in your Christian National education for the past five years, now we want you to hear the real history of South Africa. They then provide the students with a history which is basically the history of the ANC. The emphasis is entirely on the ANC, although they don't openly support the ANC. If the student accepts that alternative uncritically, he is going to be drawn very quickly into an ANC way of thinking and at least tacit support for the ANC.

Not every student who joins an organisation like this ends up supporting the armed struggle. Most students join these organisations because they don't believe in apartheid; that is a perfectly legal and legitimate reason to join a political organisation. But the objective amongst the hard-core leadership is to take as many students as possible through a calculated programme in which they end up supporting the armed struggle.

to invite which new students around to their house for tea, specifically to draw them into the organisation. So those social invitations are often very calculated and I think the Leftwing student organisations in particular exploit the vulnerability of introverted or shy first-year students and provide them very quickly with a social peer group with which they can identify.

PN: Olivia, do you have a message for parents who have students at a South African university?

Parents should encourage their children to be as broad-minded as possible; one of the weapons which the ANC and radical student organisations use is that they try to channel students into being very narrow-minded in the leftwing sense. There is only one answer in a Marxist book and I don't think parents should prevent their children from reading whatever material they

want to read or joining whatever legal organisations they want to join, but at the same time they should work very hard at stimulating their children's critical faculties and encouraging them to read over a broad spectrum. That in itself would help students to see there is more than one solution to any particular problem and not just the simple Marxist one.

APN: During your period at Rhodes as an activist you must have taken part in recruitment drives and in the training of young activists. How do radical student organisations manage to turn middle-class South African students from conservative backgrounds into hard-core activists who are willing to risk a lot for a cause which on the surface does not seem to serve their own interests?

I really believe that if students had any idea of what goes on behind the scenes in

What we can do ...

SO we come to the end ... and the question: Can sanity and stability be returned to South Africa's strife-torn campuses? It is a huge problem. On the answer could rest our very future as a nation. Universities are our main source of skilled manpower. They mould the minds of our future legislators, lawyers, teachers, journalists, doctors, clergymen, business and industrial leaders. Yet what we are seeing on almost every SA campus today is the largest, most important – and most fraudulent – intellectual infiltration in all this country's history.

Marxists are marching triumphant, scoring unparalleled and largely unchallenged propaganda victories; shaping the outlook and belief systems of increasing numbers of young South Africans, opening up the way to the forces of "the great socialist revolution." What is to be done?

NO PUBLIC SYMPATHY

Using the power of the purse, the State has already taken punitive action. After repeated warnings that those institutions which regularly reflected high failure rates, while at the same time failing to keep a lid on campus hooliganism, would have their subsidies cut, the State finally cracked down, with multi-million subsidy cuts imposed on 11 universities. The mild reaction from taxpayers should have warned the universities that public sympathy was not with them.

Yet, undeterred, the old-fashioned social engineers continue using the universities "to raise the consciousness" and "challenge the attitudes" of all aspects of contemporary society. In the fullest sense of the word, **education has become one of the major subversive influences in our society.** For proof of that, you need only glance at the endless list of recruits the ANC/SACP has drawn from NUSAS ranks. These young folk did not become radicals by a process of spontaneous combustion. They were carefully spotted and cultivated for their revolutionary task.

INTELLECTUAL POISON

On the teaching side, academics continue seemingly unhindered feeding students a diet of intellectual poison. Overwhelmingly hostile to everything South African, to Western culture, to traditional Christianity, above all to the free enterprise system, these radicals and pseudo-radicals promulgate their updated derivatives of Lenin's theory of economic imperialism to convince students that *laissez faire* capitalism is the cause of Third World poverty. Industry, commerce and mining, all are portrayed as some kind of hideous crime against humanity.

This agenda is particularly grotesque considering that on almost every count *marxismo* has proved to be a deadly fallacy; that the revolution in the East bloc now is *against* Marxism, not for it. All that is bad enough, but additionally you have many in academia supporting the idiotic ANC/UDF demands that their institutions become "community" or "people's colleges," a move, as Dr Stuart James, head of the Division of Economic History at Wits points out, which would make SA tertiary education permanently inferior to that of a large part of

the world, and virtually result in this country opting out of the 21st Century.

On these facts alone you could make a powerful case that **many SA academics have virtually gone crazy in the values they now promote.**

FUNDAMENTAL THREAT

The condition of our universities poses a danger of social disintegration vaster and more lasting than any weapon *Umkhonto we Sizwe* can produce. It is a far more fundamental threat for, if sufficient numbers of young South Africans can be convinced that the "true path" to domestic, regional and global peace is a "cathartic revolution," leading to a socialist Utopia, then it matters little what defence armaments we possess.

And there are many who eagerly seek to bring this about. Van Zyl Slabbert's mysteriously but massively funded IDASA devotes a fortune to arranging external meetings between students and academics with the ANC, often in a most shifty manner. IDASA first denied, then was forced to admit, that it helped fund the meeting between Stellenbosch student leaders and the ANC. Historically, many among the NUSAS membership have been in more or less open collusion with the ANC; and there is heavy input into the campuses from a wide range of radical, extraparliamentary "Popular Front" groups, mostly Marxist or neo-Marxist in their ideological affiliation.

Those in close touch with the situation insist that **the position has deteriorated to the point where only State intervention can start the correction process.** But counter-organisational warfare cannot be left to the State alone.

PUBLIC SUPPORT VITAL

Over the years the National Students Federation and its various affiliates have done a reasonable job, perhaps more so on some campuses than on others. They need a lot more public support than they get. Other groups are starting up. In Cape Town a relatively apolitical final year civil engineering student, Reinholdt Loots, is so desperate that he has spent several thousand rand of his own money trying to get Students For Future Planning (SFP) off the ground.

SFP is intended as a defence mechanism both for traditional Christian values against the inroads of liberation theology and also of the free enterprise system. In association with well-established patriotic Christian groups, he hopes to extend this to campuses throughout the country. Those interested in helping him can contact him at P O Box 13074, Sir Lowry Road, Cape 7900, or 021-456206.

Then you have the Johannesburg-based University Freedom of Speech Association, monitoring events at student, academic and administrative level alike. Its founder, Mr John Lambson, must be one of the most hated men in SA today, but that is the fate of the watchdog.

Leon Louw of the Free Market Foundation urges parents and students alike to educate themselves in the intricacies of the free market system and so throw back some of the collectivist garbage being handed down in so many departments.

VIOLENT AND BEASTLY

A sensible suggestion comes (3.4.89) from Ken Owen, editor of *Business Day*. In the present climate of rolling back State control, he believes some thought should be given to university privatisation. Mr Owen accepts that this suggestion will not meet with universal academic applause: "I find it alarming that educated SA tends to become agitated whenever it encounters an idea for the future for which it has not received prior approval from the violent beasts known as 'the Comrades,' lest they do something violent and beastly."

In the event, his suggestion is by no means as outlandish as might at first appear. Following the British Government's first cuts in public expenditure for higher education in the late 1970s, both Oxford University and the London School of Economics launched development programmes aimed at achieving institutional autonomy, backed by capital endowments. Here it is significant that early this year Liberty Life endowed a chair in the Wits Department of Business Economics, certainly a move in the right direction.

CURBING INDOCTRINATION

Obviously, too, we must study how other nations have tackled what has become an international, endemic problem. Perhaps the most successful, though contro-

versal, attempt yet to save students of a liberal bent from the clutches of Marxist professors with their fake postulations and secret agendas has been chalked up in the US. This is the Washington-based, non-profit making service organisation, Accuracy in Academia, launched in 1985 by conservative activist, Reed Irvine, who had previously established Accuracy in Media.

Acting on tipoffs from other academics, parents and students, AIA monitors “Red professors” who use their classrooms or university resources to indoctrinate students, who discriminate against students who challenge their ideological agenda, and those universities where freedom of speech is under attack. There have been many angry complaints about “Thought Police” by those professors who have attracted AIA attention, but the organisation has undoubtedly helped restore some semblance of balance and impartiality to teaching on many campuses. *APN* has obtained AIA’s constitution and would be happy to help establish a SA equivalent.

One thing is certain. Unless we can mount a massive counterforce campaign of our own, aimed at defeating the increasing army of scheming socialists infesting our universities, **then we must accept that the ultimate news story about SA by our ever-busy “investigative journalists” will be: “How We Came to Lose Our Country.”**

...to save our future

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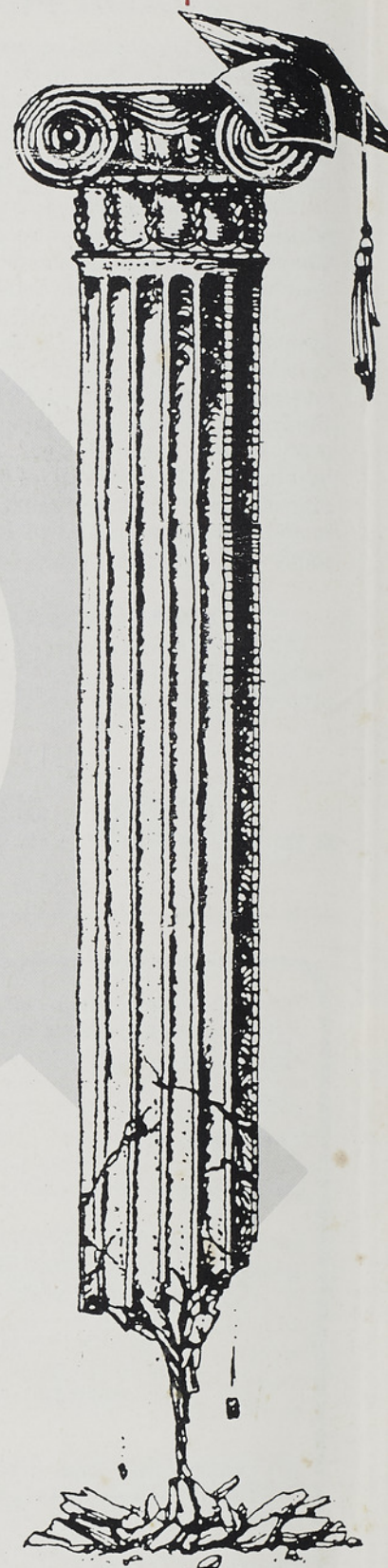
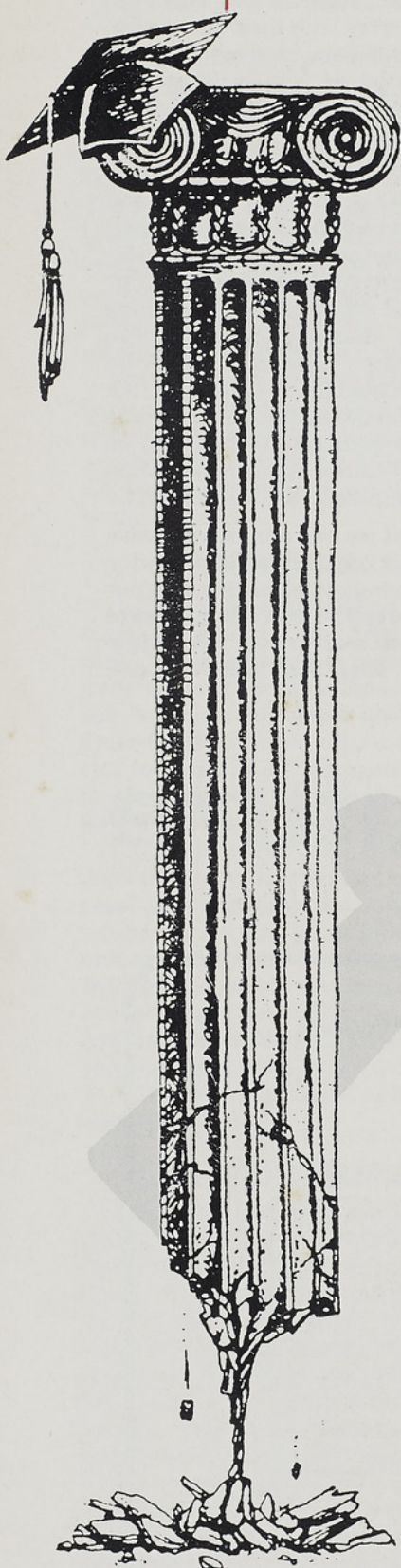
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