Throughout its sixty years, NUSAS' history has been dynamic and turbulent, punctuated by fusion and fission. Here we focus on some of the documents and statements which have mapped Nusas' development.

1924: 'There is to be held, at Bloemfontein, on July 1, 2 and 3, 1924, a conference of university students which will be, in its way, a gathering of unique character. The object of this conference will be to form a National Union of the students of South Africa for purposes of national co-operation, and to enable South African students to be properly represented internationally.' Thus was the birth of NUSAS heralded by its founder, Leo Marquard in a circular distributed to all white South African universities.

Late 20s: NUSAS set up a student parliament modelled after the South African Parliament, where the political issues of the day were discussed. However, this was not taken very seriously by the public at large, nor by the press, and debates held were discounted.

As an editorial of the Natal Mercury in July 1929 read: 'Mr L Marquard, President of the National Union of South African Students, has been urging students to a sort of mild revolt. He wants them to take an active part in the political game, to arise and demand that their voices shall be heard in the nation's councils...we doubt whether Mr Marquard's exhortations will create any marked change in the normal trend of student life...

Such a dreadful amount of nonsense is talked nowadays about the Revolt of Youth. Perhaps Youth does revolt in China, where men are born old, but the youth of Anglo-Saxon countries is too much given to singing of faintly improper songs, to the enthusiastic conduct of 'rags'...to be interested in revolt against old-loyeism or the idiocy of professors.'

1933: The Universities of Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Bloemfontein withdrew from Nusas. The immediate reason given by Bloemfontein (Grey College) was that Nusas was: 'too English, too Imperialistic, too negrophilistic in colour', that it displayed a 'liberalistic tendency', especially as a result of the strong influence of socialist international-minded Jews'.

These reasons should be seen however as an indication of a more fundamental division. The breakaway took place in the context of the increasing growth and influence of Afrikaner nationalism which was, for the Afrikaner students, translated into the formation of a student organisation providing for the needs and reflecting the aspirations of nationalism.

The objects of the then ANSB (Afrikaans Studenten Bond) read: To promote the scientific development of its members in accordance with the traditional character of the Afrikaner people; (and) the maintenance and furtherance of the Hollands-Afrikaners language, literature, art and history.

Nusas' response to the ANSB was outlined in a statement issued by the President Louis von Winsen:

'Now there appear to me to be two policies which the Nusas can adopt towards the ANSB.

Either we can continue our present policy, viz., that we are a federation of Student Representative Councils - a sort of student trade union - which has as its main aim and object the offering of opportunities to students; that our activities are confined to non-cultural and non-religious spheres.

The alternative policy is to drop our neutral attitude and to adopt a definite policy within the provision of our constitution; that is to say without infringing on religious or political subjects. By a definite policy I mean for instance:

(a) the coming out for the principle of a South African nationalism as opposed to the narrow sectional nationalism propagated by the ANSB.
(b) standing for the objective or scientific attitude towards our major national and international problems.
(c) standing for the principle of tolerance towards all South African racial groups.'

Nusas adopted the former alternative. It remained a neutral organization without a specific political policy, and in 1934 a motion was passed excluding Fort Hare from the National Union. Nusas' relationship to the Afrikaans students union can be summarized as follows: 1934:

Nusas Commission decides to maintain Nusas as an all white organisation by deciding against affiliating Fort Hare, then known as SA Native College.

1936: Stellenbosch disaffiliates from Nusas and joins ANSB.

1936-1940s: ANSB becomes openly Nazi; Gen GFJ van Rensburg of Ossewa Brandwag becomes leader of ANSB. Nusas was all this time attempting to persuade the Afrikaans Universities to rejoin Nusas.

1943-1945: ANSB collapsed.

1945: Nusas becomes non-racial with the affiliation of Fort Hare and in 1947 of the black section of University of Natal.

1948: Afrikaanse Studente Bond (ASB) formed.

Following the formation of the ASB, Nusas' relations with Afrikaans students have been minimal with the '60s and '70s marked by a series of abortive attempts by ASB and Nusas to get together to discuss and debate matters of mutual concern. The attitudes of the 2 unions to cooperation demonstrate the fundamental rift between them:

ASB attitude to co-operation
In favour of:
(1) Formation of English Student bond, Bantu Students Bond, Coloured etc.
(2) No co-operation with Nusas as it has a sordid past, does not reflect aspirations of Afrikaner, regard Nusas as unpatriotic etc.

Nusas attitude to co-operation
Regard the body as only true National Union in SA determine to remain open to all students: Will meet and discuss matters with ASB at any time unless conditions are laid down which require a compromise of a basic principle.

In the late 40's, Phillip Tobias, President at the time, initiated a policy of 'objectivity and apoliticism', aiming to unite both blacks and Afrikaans students in the national union.

While moving further from Afrikaans students, Nusas at the same time moved closer to black students, with Fort Hare and Hewat Training College affiliating in 1945. Fort Hare, however, disaffiliated from Nusas in 1953 on the grounds that Nusas was out of touch with, and was failing to endorse the aspirations of black people in South Africa.

At the 1953 Nusas Congress (the 30th) Nusas acknowledged...
1955: The 'Congress Alliance', a non-racial grouping comprising the African National Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats, began to play a dominant role in South African politics:

Dear Sir/Madam,

As you may recently have seen in the press, our organisations have joined together to convene a national assembly, where elected representatives of all the people of South Africa may speak together. At this assembly we hope to hear the voice of the widest possible cross section of our population, speaking of their aspirations and desires; we hope to draw up a charter which summarises the things they want for themselves and their children.

This assembly we have named 'The Congress of the People'; and the charter, 'The Freedom Charter'. The first manifesto about the Congress of the People has been drawn up, and is attached hereto. In it we ask all South Africans: 'Let us speak together of freedom'. This, in a single phrase, sums up the conception we have of the scope and purpose of the Congress of the People.

For this reason, we will hold this invitation open to you from now until the day of the opening of the Congress of the People. We would be happy to hear of your immediate acceptance of the invitation to join us in sponsoring the Congress. But if you feel as yet undecided or uncertain, we would be happy to meet you and discuss the whole proposal in detail, to make it easier for you to decide. We look forward to hearing from you.

Let us speak together!

Yours faithfully,

for ANC
SAIC
SACOD
SACPO

Several letters followed in similar vein. Nusas vacillated. The Nusas president wrote back to say that their decision on participation would be postponed until Nusas' July Congress. The Congress Alliance returned a letter pointing out that the Congress of the People had been planned for June.

Nusas was forced into making an early decision.

Mr Cachalia,

With reference to previous correspondence between us on the invitation from the National Action Council to Nusas to participate in the Congress of the People, I have to inform you that the National Union is unable to accept your invitation. A resolution declining the invitation, which was circulated to our Student Assembly for a postal vote, was carried by 30 votes to 3.

The reason for this decision — which was incorporated in the resolution — was that the National Union feels, and has always felt, that for it to remain an effective organisation, it must confine itself to its own particular educational and academic sphere. We thus feel that we are unable to identify ourselves in any way with political organisations or political movements.

Yours faithfully,

J M Didcott
President

In the late 50's Nusas was associated with various projects of the ANC Youth League, as seen from the following letter from the ANC YL President:

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE

Dear Sir/Madam,

At our last Annual Conference held at Queenstown it was resolved, interalia, that we sponsor a multi-racial conference of youth and students under the slogan 'Defend Rights of Students and Youth'. It is the dire wish of my committee that you become co-sponsors of such a conference.

We are enclosing a copy of the statement issued by my working committee which statement has already been dispatched to the various press. This statement gives some indication on what we anticipate should be the theme of conference. We also think that December will be the most suitable time for the conference.

We kindly invite you to send a representative from your institution organisation to a preliminary meeting to be held at Douglas Smit Hostel (Witwatersrand University) on Sunday, 27th October, 1957 at 10 am.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of letter.

Yours for a better South Africa,
In the late 50's and 60's Nusas started to shed its a-political image. This is illustrated by their admiration for Albert Luthuli, the banned President of the ANC:

9th August, 1962
AL/RT
Registered
A Luthuli Esq.,
Private Bag,
P O Grouville.

Dear Sir,

Further to our conversation on the telephone the other evening, I would like to write formally to you in order to convey to you the unanimous wish of the 1962 Student Assembly of Nusas, representing 17,000 South African students, to invite you to become the Honorary President of the National Union for the year 1962/3.

It would be a signal honour for us if you would accept this invitation, despite the ban which has been so viciously imposed upon you by the government. This National Union, in associating itself fully with the joy which so many South Africans felt at the announcement that you had won the Nobel Peace Prize, would be deeply honoured if you would agree to become Honorary President of this Union.

It is our custom to invite prominent South Africans to act as honorary figureheads of Nusas, and we believe that there is no more prominent South African than yourself at this time in the history of our country. If you would like to ask any questions concerning this National Union, we would be only too happy to answer them.

We do hope that you will accept our invitation and look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

Adrian Leftwich
President.

During the 60's Nusas involved itself in sporadic bursts of protest politics. Black students became increasingly disillusioned with the direction of the union. They felt an urgent desire to discover new political alternatives for themselves.

A group of black students posed the problem in a statement to the 1969 Nusas Congress:

"The White can afford to indulge in conceptualising for he always has resource to material sufficiency. The first priority for blacks is physical existence; the implications of this have been seen on the Congress floor where debates have been initiated on premises arising from White backgrounds. Even if Congress were integrated in all its forms, debate would nevertheless be affected by the backgrounds of delegates.'

"This should not be seen as the posing of an insuperable problem but as the definition of a problem hitherto unrecognized.'

At the same congress, the black students resolved to disaffiliate from Nusas and affiliate to the exclusively black student body, the South African Students Organization (SASO).

The black walkout threw Nusas into crisis. The remaining white members struggled to find a direction for the union. SASO minced no words in criticizing Nusas. Here is an extract from a 1970 SASO critique:

"The aims of Nusas as they stand on Black and White might be alright but it is (our) feeling that Nusas has no programme of action. Instead of having long-term offensive programs Nusas has relegated itself to the role of being reactionary. Instead of having a long term offensive programme Nusas has relegated itself to the role of being reactionary."

— SASO Critique 1970

The period immediately following the SASO walkout was a period of re-assessment for Nusas which had suffered a serious crisis identity. The 1970 Nusas executive sent out letters to a wide range of people currently or previously associated with the Union, asking for advice on how Nusas should meet the challenge of redefining its role for itself in South Africa.

In the late 70's a new era for Nusas was ushered in by the Africanization themes (see p.11). Nusas increasingly began participating in the national democratic movement in South Africa.

In 1983, the Nusas executive took the decision to participate in the UDF. They did not tarry in the manner of the 1955 Nusas body. The executive had to be decisive for fear of losing another great opportunity of involving itself in South African politics in a meaningful way.

This move was ratified by the National Assembly made up of the student bodies of the affiliated campuses (at the 60's...
Nusas and state repression:

Withstand the whip

Nusas has often suffered the sting of brutal state crackdowns on its activities. This is not a recent phenomenon — student leaders have faced the threat of state action for the last 40 years. In this feature we chart some of the more notorious attacks.

In 1930, NUSAS appointed DF Malan, then Minister of Education, as Honorary President of the Union. NUSAS, in turn, was recognised as an important training ground for future leaders, and its activities were warmly applauded by the state.

This cordiality, however, came to an end with the coming to power of DF Malan’s Nationalist Party in 1948. Since then the relationship of the state to the national union has been one of repression and intense hostility; while NUSAS has become more committed and active in its opposition to the Nationalist ideology of apartheid, the entrenchment of inequality be-

detained without trial under the newly passed 90-day detention law which has subsequently been extended to allow for indefinite detention.

In 1966 the President of NUSAS, Ian Robertson was banned, the first time such action had been taken against a student leader. No reasons were given for the banning, and the cruel and arbitrary nature of the action raised a storm of protest both in South Africa and abroad. Here are two slightly different editorial responses to the banning:

The Star: ‘If justification is not provided in an open court, opponents of the government cannot be blamed for believing that the government is using its tyrannical powers to...’

During the 50s, NUSAS chose to remain neutral in outlook, attempting to divorce itself from the arena of ‘politics’. In the late '50s, however, the government moved a bill extending apartheid to the universities (see p9), and NUSAS realized that it could no longer stand by silently.

NUSAS launched a massive campaign in opposition to this bill and state repression against the union escalated. Previously the state had contented itself with monitoring student delegates to international student conferences, but in the early '60s, with the state crackdown on all opposition groups (such as the ANC, PAC etc.), NUSAS too came under the ...
illegal, but for their convictions... Critics of the government here and abroad will justly continue to assume that NUSAS is blameless...

And The Transvaler: 'There are moans and groans in the English press about the fact that the Minister of Justice found it necessary to restrict the President of NUSAS. There is one principle which the English papers have not taken into consideration, that is that the safety of the state is the highest law. These newspapers have been so thoroughly poisoned that they want to reject this principle. How these newspapers, after everything which has been brought to light, can still give protection to NUSAS, entirely passes the understanding.'

Senator Robert Kennedy who had been invited to address NUSAS campuses was greeted on his arrival with students holding placards reading 'Your host regrets...', and at the meetings in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg there was an empty chair on each platform in protest at the absence of Mr Robertson.

In 1967, NUSAS President-elect, John Sprack, a British citizen, was deported, as was NUSAS Vice-President, Andy Murray in 1968. John Daniel, NUSAS President in 1968, had his South African citizenship withdrawn while on an overseas trip, and the 1969 President, Duncan Innes had his passport removed.

The next major state clampdown on NUSAS occurred in 1973 when seven NUSAS office bearers, and a member of the NUSAS advisory panel were banned. Those banned were Paul Pretorius, NUSAS President in 1972/3; Paula Ensor, NUSAS Vice-President, Neville Curtis, President in 1970/1; Sheila Lapinsky, NUSAS General Secretary; Phillipe Le Roux, Clive Keegan and Chris Wood, NUSAS regional directors; and Rick Turner, senior lecturer in Politics at Durban, who was subsequently assassinated.

Universities all over the world sent messages of support and petitions were circulated among the staff and students of prominent overseas campuses calling for the unbanning of the eight.

Geoff Budlender 1973 when seven NUSAS office bearers, and a member of the NUSAS advisory panel were banned. In 1967, NUSAS President, Charles Nupen, in response to the Schlebusch findings:

'After two years labour, the Schlebusch commission of inquiry into the activities of NUSAS was set up. The United Party, then the official opposition in parliament sanctioned the commission, and NUSAS, to say the least, was not impressed.

The findings of the Commission were published in 1974. While NUSAS was not banned, it was declared an 'affected' organization, which meant that overseas funds were cut off, necessitating a drastic reduction in the scope and extent of NUSAS' activities. Nonetheless NUSAS survived this action by the state and has continued, despite severe financial restrictions to work constructively and actively.

Here are some extracts from a long speech delivered by the President, Charles Nupen, in response to the Schlebusch findings:

'...The report gives birth to a final interim report on NUSAS... The report has everything—sex, subversion and spies, drugs, drama and orgies—in both official languages. The pages drip with turgid phrases and emotionally loaded words—and not surprisingly there is a communist behind every bush.'

In short the report is exactly what we would expect from a political commission:

- it has no academic standing;
- it is intellectually bankrupt;
- it is judicially incompetent;

Whoever set up this commission, had clearly studied...
'Alice in Wonderland' in great depth. The Commissioners ran a fantasy trial that was even more fantastic than the trial in 'Alice'.

The rules of the trial were simple:
- the complainant, prosecutor and judge will be the same person;
- the trial will be conducted in secret;
- the accused will not be told of the charges against them;
- the accused will not be allowed to reply to the charges;
- sentence will be pronounced before the end of the trial.

The commission alleges that Nusas is trying to create a black workers' revolution. Nusas is most certainly working with black workers — and proud to be and we want to see the situation of black workers to be and we want to see the situation of black workers changed dramatically in fact, we want a situation where black workers enjoy all the rights of white workers. This means recognising trade unions, the right to organise and the right to strike.

In conclusion, let me say that this Schlebusch report does not change the circumstances that have caused students to protest and act at all — on the contrary . . . let Schlebusch spur us on, nothing can be a better reply to it than that.

Realizing that Schlebusch had not succeeded in destroying NUSAS, the state moved into the next phase of attack. Four prominent leaders and a lecturer were arrested at the end of 1975 and stood trial for a year on charges of furthering the aims of communism and unlawful organizations.

Those accused were Glen Moss and Cedric de Beer, members of the Wits SRC; Charles Nupen, NUSAS president in 1974; Karel Murray, head of the department of Politics at UCT who analysed seminar papers written by the accused, and pronounced them communist propaganda.

Murray's evidence was rejected and all five were acquitted on all charges. NUSAS' declaration that all decisions were taken democratically in open forum and that there was nothing secret about their activities was accepted by the court.

The NUSAS 5
Webster - acquitted
De Beer - acquitted
Nupen - acquitted
Moss - acquitted

Dec '75 — Dec '76

Spy story

Security Police presence on campus has by now become a fact of life for students. An unpleasant one certainly, but students now take it for granted that police informers and special branch employees are operating clandestinely on campus.

The first police spy on Wits campus was unmasked by members of the SRC in 1959. Since this was the first incident of its kind it unleashed a huge nationwide uproar, and received extensive coverage in overseas newspapers.

The informer, a 'blonde spy' (the Sunday Times and Sunday Express had a field day on this story) had been quite close to members of the SRC and had been feeding the police information about SRC and NUSAS activities at a salary of £5 a month.

Members of the SRC flew to Cape Town to lodge protests with the Minister of Justice and the State President, CR Swart. Not surprisingely they got a short shrift from Swart, who said, 'In view of certain recent events, I deem it necessary to state that the Security Police frequently receive information from various sources relating to alleged subversive activities at the universities. This laudable attitude and assistance is highly appreciated by the state.'

The head of police, Maj Gen Rademeyer, put it more bluntly: 'Anyone wishing to make a political issue out of the Wits university spy story will get a kick in the pants,' he said.

Eventually the hue and cry died down. The English Press spluttered into silence on the issue, and the Afrikaans press, having dubbed police spies as state heroes, also stopped commenting. Student leaders, however, realized that state espionage on university campuses was there to stay.

In 1966, the President of NUSAS, Ian Robertson issued a memorandum to SRC presidents warning them of the electronic devices used by the police to monitor their activities: 'Only an amateur would wire a room for sound' by slipping a bug in the back of a drawer or behind a picture frame. Professional spions know that the really effective spying is done from outside the room.

Robertson then proceeded to list a vast range of cameras, microphones, telephonic devices, ultrasonic equipment and highly trained police spies at the disposal of the state. If the state's spying techniques had not been in tact, NUSAS' counter-espionage skills had improved as well.

In 1969 furor erupted at UCT when Mr Michael Morris, a self-confessed agent of the security police began harassing and intimidating SRC staff members, as well as students who had personal relationships with SRC members.

Over the next few years the security police approached a number of students including high ranking NUSAS officials, offering salaries and bursaries in return for information. This process still takes place. A member of the present SRC was approached to give information which he refused to do. In addition a low profile NUSAS activist, Robert Whitecross, last year unmasked himself as a security policeman. Subsequently he has made intimidatory phone calls to his former colleagues.

The Security Police's major coup, however, was the infiltration of NUSAS in the '70s by super spy, Major Craig Williamson, who held the position of NUSAS financial co-ordinator. Williamson went on to work at the World University Service (WUS) in Geneva, which he monitored for subversive activities. Since the WUS was later exposed as a CIA front organization his monitoring was clearly both unnecessary and incompetent. It is alleged that Williamson is currently engaged in recruiting campus spies.
The First 60 Years

Wits Student Union presents an illustrated history of Nusas

1924
Nusas is born

- Nusas founded at Grey College, Bloemfontein, for 'European universities and colleges'.
- Nusas' 3 aims:
  - National co-operation between students
  - Allow students to get to know each other
  - Co-operation with student leaders in other countries

1933
Debate over the admission of Fort Hare, a black campus to Nusas.
Afrikaans students walk out, forming the Afrikaanse Nasionale Studente Bond (ANSB).

1945
Nusas admits Fort Hare University and Hewat Training College — the first black campuses.

1948-57
- Nusas was criticised for being 'too English, too imperialistic, too neoglyphilistic in colour, and for displaying a liberalistic tendency especially as a result of the strong influence of socialist international-minded Jews'.

1948
Phillip Tobias, President in the late 40's initiates policy of 'objectivity

During the War, Nusas supported the Allies.

The ANSB is pro-Nazi during the War. It dissolves in 1945.
Nusas' largest campaign against University Extension Act which excluded black students from the white universities.

The Congress Alliance emerges, and the Freedom Charter is drawn up at Kliptown. Nusas fails to adopt the Charter.

Fink Haysom begins the Africanisation programme. Nusas is back on its feet.

Nusas joins the United Democratic Front (UDF), a front of over 500 organisations committed to a non-racial, democratic, unitary South Africa.

Nusas theme for 1984:

Students Meeting the Challenge of Change

Kate Philip 1984 NUSAS President
Sixty years of Nusas National Campaigns

The long march: A history of student protest

NUSAS has, over the last 60 years, been at the forefront of many national campaigns. Wits Student takes a look at some of the more important political and educational focuses.

NUSAS protests from about the late 40s to late 50s all had a common theme. NUSAS attempted to raise public opinion in support of its opposition to various apartheid laws.

The first was the 1948 campaign against Christian National Education. The Nationalists had been elected to power the same year, and the top priority was the transformation of the education system.

An organisation called the Federatie van Afrikaanse Kultuureeniginge (FAK) published a paper calling for an education system which ensured the maintenance and further development of our (Afrikaans) language and the protection and spread of our Afrikaans culture based on the foundations and traditions of our nation.

The FAK claimed that the 'struggle' for a 'Christian National' education (CNE) was simply a continuation of the 'struggle for the preservation of our Afrikaner nation's identity'.

According to the FAK paper, all education including arithmetic and linguistics was to be taught with a Calvinist foundation. The teaching of history was seen as the best means for the 'engendering of love for one's own.

NUSAS, representing 10 000 students at the time published a paper condemning CNE. It was essentially the first time NUSAS attempted to grapple with National Education. NUSAS suggested that the encouragement of 'love of one's own' appeared to involve the drawing of an artificial line between what is our own and what is not. NUSAS suggested that such a division is not possible and furthermore, in the higher education of the universities such values have no place.

An essential element for the CNE paper included what was then known as 'The Education of Natives'. The FAK stated that 'the vocation and task of white South Africans with respect to the African is to christianize him, and help him culturally'. NUSAS stated that African education was not the responsibility of white SA, but of the state, of which the Africans should be part.

It was not until 1959 that apartheid was introduced into the universities. The Separate University Education bill sought to close the 'open' universities of Wits and UCT to black students. According to HF Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs in 1958, 'it is our policy to keep the universities for the white South Africans, with respect to the African is to christianize him, and help him culturally'. NUSAS stated that African education was not the responsibility of white SA, but of the state, of which the Africans should be part.

The Bill determined that all black students wishing to study at a 'white' university would not be permitted to do so unless the student had participated in the 'struggle' for studies which was unavailable at the black universities. In each case, every black student wishing to study at a 'white' university would require Ministerial permission.

'In no case would imprisonment last longer than 90 days'

This form of state control over the universities persisted until last year when the Quota Act was passed.

All around the country, activity was planned. At Wits, students and staff including the chancellor of the university marched from the Central Block to the steps of the City Hall. Over 1 000 people marched and listened to speeches in the city centre.

At UCT a carefully planned and timed campaign was organised using mass meetings, protests and parliamentary protests. The Wits SRC also submitted evidence to the commission investigating the act. About 160 Wits students held a 100 yard long human chain during a demonstration on the traffic island in Jan Smuts Avenue. They held posters saying 'Hands off Wits' and 'Close black universities mean closed minds'.

This massive mobilisation did not stop the bill. But after many revisions, the Bill, now called the Extension of University Education Bill was enacted late last year.
The late 60s and 70s were the era of protest politics. Demonstrations, sit-ins, arrests were the features of NUSAS activity. In 1964 detention without trial was introduced. BJ Vorster, Minister of Justice at the time, said in parliament that in no case would imprisonment last longer than 90 days.

By 1964 many allegations of torture in detention had been made. Electric shocks and physical assault were allegedly part of the techniques used to force confessions. As Vorster has said, 'The act is not to isolate or punish ... it is to obtain information.'

The most ironic statement was made by Vorster in 1964: He said that he 'would not keep this law for longer than it was necessary. Although the situation is well in hand, he will keep it in force in case it is needed again.' Since 1964 over 50 people have died in detention.

NUSAS moved to have the detention clause removed from the statutes. NUSAS issued a statement comparing, in 1964, South African society with Nazi Germany. 'Hitler abused the rule of law, and made it an instrument of herrenvolk tyranny. He persecuted and tortured the Jews and the German people, although they knew many of these things, preferred to ignore them until they themselves were brought down in the inevitable vengeance which follows despotism and the chaos which comes from a disregard of the rule of law.'

The late 60s and early 70s was also a time of environmental awakening. NUSAS launched Aquarius, an ecology and environment group that investigated environmental, health and other issues on- and off-campus. In 1972, Aquarius ordered a 41-day campaign, "Art and the Real'. By 1973, NUSAS had also realised that large scale protests and NUSAS activity in general had been unsuccessful in influencing government policy.

With this realisation came the understanding that students were at a unique position in their lives in the sense that there are considerable resources at the disposal of students. Students have skills, and knowledge, and these skills must be used to seek and communicate new alternatives to South Africa's oppressive society.

This became the rationale for a labour campaign of 1973. It focussed on wages and poverty. The campaign circular stated: 'Just as we are demanding political power for all people, so must we make this demand realistic by demanding an equalisation in economic power for all. We are concerned about poverty, and poverty is the result of low wages.'

The campaign included speeches, pamphlets and movies about labour and strikes. The campaign included a call for the unionisation of black workers who were not allowed to organise. The campaign focussed on the 'labour crisis' in South Africa. It looked at how the mining economy and the plight of the migrant worker. A NUSAS student declared 'It is not the symptoms of the problem, but the root cause -- the domination and exploitation of the black man.'

1974 also saw the Release Political Prisoners campaign.

NUSAS said 'There should be no reason to imprison, house arrest, or send people in exile'. The campaign included speeches on many issues, Namibia atrocities and the South African economic situation were included. Part of the campaign was the raising of international support for the campaign. It grants from the International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations, the International University Exchange Fund and other student movements litter the NUSAS archives.

The mid 70s were a full period for NUSAS. Very little coherent policy appeared, and in 1976, the year of the Soweto uprising, NUSAS called for a 'year for peace'. It was 1977 and NUSAS president 'Fink' Hayson pulled NUSAS together again.
The protest politics of the late 60's and 70's: sit-ins, marches and arrests

Continued from page 11

Africanisation represents an immensely important step in the thinking of students. NUSAS' campaign in this direction shows a reappraisal of the position of English white students in relation to their conceptualisation of nation and culture.

The Africanisation campaign called on students to see themselves as White Africans, to link themselves culturally with the continent on which they lived in which they saw their future.

The seeds of the Africanisation campaign were sown in the walkout by black students in 1969. Black students called on their white counterparts to clearly define their role in opposition, and prove their commitment to a future in Africa, as Africans regardless whether they were black or white.

This involved a redefinition of loyalty in which students questioned the Euro-centric nature of their culture. It took NUSAS 8 years to move in this direction. The process was given a boost by the unrest of '76 which shook the country and almost literally cleared the air of all the late 60's and 70's snags.

NUSAS left behind a moralising and paternalistic attitude which had traditionally felt sorry for black people, wanted to see them given the opportunity to advance in the world and take a proper place in society.

This of course meant advancing in a white world, to incorporate the white European values. The question of how blacks could be brought into white society when the very existence of white society as it stood then was predicated on their exploitation and exclusion had simply not been addressed before.

White students began to challenge the model of society in which the role, in real terms, was that of misplaced Europeans or aspirant North Americans. From a publication during the campaign the students declared that:

It is time we as whites began to live in harmony with Africa. It is time we began to fit into the African community.

One of the main foci of the campaign was a reorientation of education. This took the form of lobbying for a more progressive and African content to courses where this was possible, and even the institution of new courses.

An example of the success of this was the establishment of the African Literature Department.

Africanisation... showed the real commitment of whites to democracy and non-racialism

The Africanisation campaign was in a sense more than just a campaign. It was the start of a positive step which showed the real commitment of whites to democracy, non racialism and the rejection of cultural imperialism. This commitment to an envisioned alternate society has led to a conception of the university as part of real extra-parliamentary opposition politics.

This in turn has led to a narrowing of the gap between white and black progressive organisations now that their goals have become very similar. The process is still continuing.

Twenty four years after the introduction of the Extension of Universities Act, the government again attempted to change the form of control by the government over the universities. Last year, the University became subject to the Quota Act, which decreed that it became the university that was to implement racial discrimination instead of the Minister of Education. Since 1959, every black student wishing to study at a 'white' university needed the permission of the minister. Now it became the duty of the university to fill a set of quotas determined by the minister.

NUSAS, together with the university administrations around the country launched a massive campaign. At Wits, 7 000 students and staff gathered on the library lawns to declare their opposition to the Act. At Pietermaritzburg, 2 000 students and staff opposed the legislation by holding a sit-in on the library lawns. They were joined by students from Natal University and the Universities of Pretoria, North, Vaal, Stellenbosch, Transvaal, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Rhodes and Durban-Westville.

The students also held a march against the Act, which reached the Union Buildings in Pretoria. The march was called off at this stage because of the police action. The police declared the march illegal. The students were later arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.
NUSAS, and the universities saw the new move as yet another attempt to control the universities by the state. The traditional questions of who should be taught, who should teach, and how it is to be taught were not being answered by the universities as academic freedom dictators, but were being laid down by the state.

The campaign, one of the biggest in NUSAS history, was relatively successful. Although the bill was enacted, the minister did concede that he did not intend to enforce it.

NUSAS campaigns in recent years have all had an essentially educative role. No longer is the primary desire to repeal South African legislation, but to educate students about the inequalities and injustices of South African society, and to go about attempting to change that society on the basis of that knowledge.

In 1981, the South African flag was burned on Wits campus. It occurred after an anti-Republic Day mass meeting.

As students streamed out of the Great Hall singing freedom songs, many people stayed outside the hall and danced and sang together. Right wingers taunted the dancers and in the midst of the emotional fervour a South African flag belonging to the right wing was burnt. This incident followed a long tradition of anti-Republic Day feeling among South African students.

In 1966, '71 and '81 NUSAS criticized the expensive symbolic displays staged by the government to celebrate Republic Day.

In 1966 white campuses were invited to take part in a major procession through the streets of Pretoria. The procession was to mark the 5th anniversary of the new republic. NUSAS objected to the fact that the procession was for whites only. And the affiliated campuses decided to boycott the event.

Five years later in 1971 major Republic Day celebrations were planned. The Nico Malan opera house was opened to coincide with the celebrations. There was an angry response to the fact it was opened to whites only. NUSAS described the opera house as 'a large and expensive white elephant which showed great insensitivity to the needs of South Africans'.

All army reservist students were called up to take part in massive military parades which were to form part of the celebrations. NUSAS protested on the grounds that this compulsory call-up infringed on the rights of the affected students who would not want to participate.

NUSAS said that the money spent on the '71 celebrations could have provided meals for 1 000 000 children for 100 days.

1971 NUSAS President, Neville Curtis wrote, 'We should face the fact that there is little for the vast majority of people in SA to celebrate of Republic Day, and that the little they have grows relatively less and less.' Curtis motivated for a full boycott of the celebrations at the NUSAS executive meeting that year and the motion was carried.

In 1981 NUSAS launched a major campaign against the 20th anniversary celebrations. The fact that the majority of South Africans had no reason to celebrate was emphasized. For most people the Republic represents the unjust power of the white minority.

Against this background the SA flag was burnt on campus. The SABC devoted time and energy to discrediting NUSAS.

Before the celebrations PW Botha said that refusing to participate in the festival was 'un-South African and should not be allowed'. Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Education at the time threatened people who opposed the celebrations saying that they would 'ruin their actions'.

The threats seemed to be carried out when Sammy Adelman (1981 Wits SRC president) and Andrew Borraine (NUSAS) president were arbitrarily banned without any opportunity to defend themselves in a court of law. Student support for these leaders grew as a result of this repression.

NUSAS has always stressed that it has not been motivated to boycott Republic Day celebrations through lack of patriotism or 'negativism'. NUSAS sees itself as making a positive statement of support for a new and democratic South Africa.

No cause to celebrate

Students of the world unite

In 1945 NUSAS affiliated to the International Union of Students (IUS) based in Prague, Czechoslovakia. The IUS comprised affiliates from both Eastern and Western countries.

In 1955 the NUSAS executive decided to disaffiliate from the IUS. They planned to co-operate with the IUS on matters of common interest and on practical projects. NUSAS also continued to send observers to IUS Congresses. NUSAS felt that the IUS activities and policies were so obviously parochial that they could not support the anti-apartheid stand and its attempts to rid education of racism. In 1960 the IUS sent cables of protest to the UN and the SA Government condemning the 'bloody events at Sharpeville'.

The IUS also gave financial support to NUSAS. In 1949, prior to disaffiliation, the Dept of Students' Needs and Welfare sent NUSAS £50 to the students' fund to provide African students with scholarships. In 1967 the IUS raised £140 to fund the NUSAS annual National Seminar.

In 1960 the 6th Congress of the IUS noted with 'concern and indignation', the 'continued victimization of students in their own motherland.' Congress condemned apartheid as inhuman, calling for equality and self-determination, the abolition of all apartheid laws and the release of political prisoners. It also supported the political and economic boycott placed on South Africa. It aimed to intensify its fight against apartheid.

The secretariat of the IUS consistently welcomed the independence of African countries after their 'history of anti-colonial struggle', strongly condemning foreign intervention in Africa.

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Continued from page 12

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The secretariat of the IUS consistently welcomed the independence of African countries after their 'history of anti-colonial struggle', strongly condemning foreign intervention in Africa.
The history of Nusas has been a history of change; changing attitudes, changing activities, changing forms of organisation. As a student union, it has as its base for strength and support a continuously changing student body.

In the late 1950’s and 1960’s, Nusas students thought that they had the understanding to lead a struggle for liberation in South Africa. A self-important belief in their own intellectual abilities, a patronising relationship with black people and a severe underestimation of the immense power of the apartheid state led to student disillusionment and rejection of Nusas by black students.

In 1969 black students, dissatisfied with Nusas’ liberalism and lack of direction, withdrew from Nusas.

In 1976 Nusas adopted the theme ‘Year for Peace’. When black school students took to the streets in an uprising which shook the whole country, Nusas students found themselves confused and out of touch.

While at one time both Afrikaans and black students were represented within Nusas, now it is only from the five predominantly English-speaking white campuses that Nusas derives its support.

Wits, the University of Cape Town, the University of Natal Durban and the University of Natal Pietermaritzburg are all affiliated to Nusas. The SRC of Rhodes University supports Nusas and students from Rhodes attend Nusas national gatherings and maintain contact with other Nusas campuses.

Nusas 1984 is a students’ union which has gone through a dramatic process of self-questioning and self-consolidation. Nusas has reformulated its understanding of South Africa and of its own role in the struggle for democracy in South Africa.

Nusas now defines its role as that of organising on white campuses in order to challenge white students to come to terms with the reality of South Africa.

It also aims to present the views and demands of the majority of the people in this country to white students. In a country as divided and torn by conflict as ours is, Nusas sees this as its primary responsibility.

Many people and organisations have, on a number of occasions, accused Nusas of radicalism. Nusas is committed to non-racialism and democracy. The accusation of radicalism is a reflection on the nature of our society and on the kind of people who control it.

The apartheid system and the Nationalist Party have proved themselves unable to meet the needs of the South African situation and of its people. With each pretence of reform there has been intensified control, more sophisticated manipulation and greater state intrusion into every aspect of our lives. We now live in a society where road-blocks, security surveillance, violence, hatred and repression are everyday experiences for the majority of people in this country.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) provides a forum for all South Africans to discuss how the conflicts which divide this country can be resolved. It is one in which all South Africans are welcome to participate. The minimum requirement for par-

Much of the material used in this edition was researched in the African Studies section of the Jagger Library at UCT. We wish to acknowledge, with thanks, the assistance given by the Librarians there.
challenge of change

Kate Philip, Nusas president and Andrew Borraine, past Nusas president currently a UDF executive member

Nusas at your service

Over the years, Nusas has brought to Wits an arsenal of services which few, if any, other organisations could have provided. Many of these services can be directly attributed to the national character of Nusas.

Nusas’ national standing played a crucial role in negotiation with major commercial enterprises like Kodak and Computicket – which led to the provision of the Kodak Discount service in Senate House – it has been described as the busiest outlet in the country. Wits

ticipation in the UDF is a commitment to the principles of non-racialism and democracy. It is on the basis of its own commitment to these principles and these objectives that Nusas has affiliated to the UDF.

Nusas is now in a position of strength which it has not enjoyed for a long time. It has an understanding of its role and responsibilities. It has a clear understanding of the South African situation. It enjoys a position of respect in the South African democratic movement, within the South African student movement and from student organisations internationally.

Nusas has also learnt a number of important lessons. It has learnt that it has a responsibility to maintain strong links with its student base and to co-ordinate the provision of student services, focusing much of its attention within the university.

It has experienced the violence and ruthlessness of which the South African government is capable. It has learnt that a strong commitment and a preparedness to make sacrifices is necessary if students are to maintain their involvement in the democratic movement after they leave university.

Speaking at the Nusas July Festival, Curnick Ndlovu, an ex Robben Island prisoner, referred to a mood of depression and pessimism which enveloped the South African democratic movement. He said that South Africans had become hardened to repression and to a belief that the apartheid system, enormously powerful as it is, would not break down.

Over the last few years there has been a massive growth of popular organisations throughout the country. Community organisations, trade unions, student organisations and women’s organisations are forming shape and growing both in our industrial centres and in its most deprived rural areas. At the same time as they are rejecting Botha’s master plan, they are forming the basis for a people’s government, a society wherein people have control over their own lives, where they elect their own leaders and where their leaders are responsible and accountable to them.

Nusas sees itself as being part of this process and this democratic movement. As such it plays a considerable role in that it is one of the few white organisations that has started to bridge the divisions between the white minority and black majority in South Africa.

In the future Nusas will face several important challenges:

- it will have to try to break down the barriers between Africans students and English and black students and challenge them and their organisations to address questions of racism and the sources of conflict in South Africa.
- it will have to try and build student involvement and awareness within the struggle that is taking place in South Africa.
- It is important to note that this cannot be a one-sided process – if it is to take place, students themselves will have to continually challenge Nusas and bring their own views and feelings, their own fears, into this process.

Both the Nusas Swift Lift and Accommodation schemes provide services for students which link all the affiliated campuses. The Swift Lift boards are a familiar sight to most students and the accommodation book is at the SRC reception in the Students Union Building. If you are looking for a place to stay in another city, or if you can offer accommodation to people from out of town, consult the book – the Nusas links with other campuses will do the rest.

Similarly, the Nusas Discount Booklet, copies of which are available from the SRC, can be Nusas service for students at affiliated campuses.

The national resources of Nusas also make the provision of services like the SRC Bookshop and the Sportshop in the Students Union possible. The SRC provides several bursaries for students – including one from the Sportshop.

Nusas ensures that services remain at a high standard because representatives of each SRC must report regularly to the National Council on services. The report sessions also enable
The union makes us strong

The concept of democratic student representation is not just a matter of rhetoric, but is integral to the structure and organisation of the National Union.

Student Representative councils are elected annually by students on each campus and the NUSAS policy makers are drawn from the body. At Rhodes there is a strong NUSAS Local Committee which has observer status.

The collective and representative strength of the SRC's contributes to the strength of NUSAS as a whole. It is this unity and representivity that enables NUSAS to work most effectively in coordinating national campaigns, in building up structures for student representation ranging from the class rep system to participation in university senate and councils, and in negotiating student benefits including discounts, and a travel service.

The NUSAS executive consists of the SRC presidents. This year the Wits, UCT, Durban and Pietermaritzburg presidents all topped their respective election polls.

The National Council consists of three SRC representatives: President, Projects Officer and a third rep. It meets four times a year to discuss NUSAS policy, its implementation and future plans.

Every year in December there is a National Congress, nine voting delegates are appointed from the SRC's but any interested student may participate in the heated discussions and debate that shape NUSAS policy for the forthcoming year. In fact NUSAS begins on a clean slate in the heat of discussions and debate among NUSAS members.

Ultimately democracy depends on you and your participation in NUSAS activities and organisations. So ensure NUSAS remains representative and get involved.

NUSAS Presidents — 1924 - 1984

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Every year, at NUSAS Congress, Honorary Vice-Presidents are nominated and ratified or rejected by the student assembly. Past NUSAS Presidents automatically become Honorary Vice-Presidents following their term of office, and subsequently become honorary life members.

The only exceptions are the cases of Neville Rubin and Adrian Lefwich, Presidents in 1958 and 1961 respectively who were convicted of carrying out acts of sabotage as members of the Armed Resistance Movement. Their membership of NUSAS was withdrawn in accordance with NUSAS' stated principle of non-violence.

There follows a list of Honorary Vice-Presidents, including inter alia:

Leo Marquard — founder of NUSAS. Honorary vice-president until his death; Honorary President in the ’50s;
Professor ZK Matthews — Principal of University of Fort Hare and a leader of the ANC;
Sir Richard Luyt — Past principal of UCT and present Chair of FONS;
Helen Suzman — PFP member of parliament;
Breyten Breytenbach — internationally acclaimed poet and author;
Rick Turner — Member of NUSAS advisory panel, Senior Politics lecturer at Durban University, later assassinated;
Sheena Duncan — National President of the Black Sash;
Helen Joseph — listed, so she could not accept the office;
Philip Tobias — past president, currently head of Wits Senate and head of anatomy at Wits Medical School;
Owen Horwood — past principal of the University of Durban, who declined the honour.

NUSAS Honorary Presidents have comprised inter alia:
1931-1933 Dr DF Malan, Minister of Education
1933-1949 JH Hofmeyer, Minister For Education
1949-1953 HJ Botha, Minister For Education
1953-1957 JH Hofmeyer, Minister For Education
1957-1961 P J Pretorius, Minister Of Education
1961-1965 M O’Dowd, Minister For Education
1965-1969 J W Curtis, Minister For Education
1969-1971 P J Pretorius, Minister For Education
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2005-2007 J W Curtis, Minister For Education
2007-2009 P J Pretorius, Minister For Education
2009-2011 M O’Dowd, Minister For Education
2011-2013 J W Curtis, Minister For Education
2013-2015 P J Pretorius, Minister For Education
2015-2017 M O’Dowd, Minister For Education
2017- Shanky Chheerasuk, Minister For Education

The only exception is Sheena Duncan, who was elected as Honorary Vice-President, but declined the honour.

The constitution also allows for differences between campuses in that policy is not binding on each centre, and, each SRC has the autonomy to decide how to implement policy.

It is also at congress that the NUSAS head-office is elected. It comprises the President, Secretary-General, Research Officer, Projects Officer and Natal co-ordinator.

They are responsible for all the bureaucratic work necessary in any national organisation as well as issuing national media resources and pamphlets and strengthening national contact.

In consultation with the SRC's, Head Office organises national gatherings, such as the recent July Festival, to encourage student contact and the crossflow of ideas, and debate among NUSAS campuses.

Ultimately democracy depends on you and your participation in NUSAS activities and organisations. So ensure NUSAS remains representative and get involved.
The concept of democratic student representation is not just a matter of rhetoric, but is integral to the structure and organisation of the National Union.

Student Representative councils are elected annually by students on each campus and the Nusas policy makers are drawn from the body. At Rhodes there is a strong Nusas Local Committee which has observer status.

The collective and representative strength of the SRC's contributes to the strength of Nusas as a whole. It is this unity and representivity that enables Nusas to work most effectively in coordinating national campaigns, in building up structures for student representation ranging from the class rep system to participation in university senate and councils, and in negotiating student benefits including discounts and a travel service.

The Nusas executive consists of the SRC presidents. This year the Wits, UCT, Durban and Pietermaritzburg presidents all topped their respective election polls.

The National Council consists of three SRC representatives: President, Projects Officer and a third rep. It meets four times a year to discuss Nusas policy, its implementation and future plans.

Every year in December there is a National Congress, nine voting delegates are appointed from the SRC's but any interested student may participate in the discussed discussions and debate that shape Nusas policy for the forthcoming year. In fact Nusas begins on a clean slate in that policy is not binding on each centre, and, each SRC has the autonomy to decide how to implement policy.

It is also at congress that the Nusas head-office is elected. It comprises the President, Secretary-General, Media Officer, Research Officer, Projects Officer and Natal co-ordinator.

They are responsible for all the bureaucratic work necessary in any national organisation as well as issuing national media, resources and pamphlets and strengthening national contact. In consultation with the SRC's, Head Office organises national gatherings, such as the recent July Festival, to encourage student contact and the crossflow of ideas, and debate among Nusas campuses.

Ultimately democracy depends on you and your participation in Nusas activities and organisations. So ensure Nusas remains representative and get involved.

### Nusas Presidents — 1924 - 1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>President</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924-1930</td>
<td>L Marquard</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930-1933</td>
<td>D Marquard</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933-1936</td>
<td>L van Wissen</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936-1937</td>
<td>M G Rabinowitiz</td>
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<td>1937-1938</td>
<td>W R Whaley</td>
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<tr>
<td>1938-1940</td>
<td>E Newman</td>
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<td>1941-1942</td>
<td>F Daubenton</td>
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<td>1942-1943</td>
<td>D H Stretten</td>
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<td>1943-1945</td>
<td>N C Gracie</td>
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<td>1945-1947</td>
<td>A Klopfer</td>
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<td>1947-1948</td>
<td>O Caldecott</td>
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<td>1948-1951</td>
<td>P V Tobias</td>
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<td>1951-1953</td>
<td>P M Arnett</td>
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<td>1953-1954</td>
<td>M O'Dowd</td>
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<td>1954-1955</td>
<td>J M Didcott</td>
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<td>1955-1957</td>
<td>E M Wentzel</td>
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<td>1957-1958</td>
<td>T A Coombe</td>
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<td>1958-1959</td>
<td>N Rubin</td>
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<td>1960</td>
<td>J D Shingler</td>
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<td>1961-1962</td>
<td>A Leftwich</td>
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<td>1963-1964</td>
<td>C J Driver</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>S M Oder</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>A I Robertson</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>M Marshall</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>A C J Daniel</td>
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<td>1969</td>
<td>D A Innes</td>
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<td>1969-1971</td>
<td>N W Curtis</td>
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<td>1972-1973</td>
<td>P J Pretorius</td>
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<td>1973-1975</td>
<td>G M Budlender</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>M Stent</td>
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<td>1977</td>
<td>N Haysom</td>
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<td>1978-1979</td>
<td>C D Nupen</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>J Tip</td>
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<td>1980-1981</td>
<td>A van Heerden</td>
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<td>1981-1982</td>
<td>J Joffee</td>
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<td>1983-1984</td>
<td>K Philip</td>
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</table>

Every year, at NUSAS Congress, Honorary Vice-Presidents are nominated and ratified or rejected by the student assembly. Past NUSAS Presidents automatically become Honorary Vice Presidents following their term of office, and subsequently become honorary life members.

The only exceptions are the cases of Neville Rubin and Adrian Leftwich, Presidents in 1958 and 1961 respectively who were convicted of carrying out acts of sabotage as members of the Armed Resistance Movement. Their membership of NUSAS was withdrawn in accordance with NUSAS' stated principle of non-violence.

There follows a list of honorary Vice-Presidents, including inter alia:

Leo Marquard — founder of NUSAS. Honorary vice president until his death; Honorary President in the '50s;
Professor ZK Matthews — Principal of University of Fort Hare and a leader of the ANC;
Sir Richard Luyt — Past principal of UCT and present Chair of FONS;
Helen Suzman — PFP member of parliament;
Breyten Breytenbach — internationally acclaimed poet and author;
Rick Turner — Member of NUSAS advisory panel, Senior Politics lecturer at Durban University, later assassinated;
Sheena Duncan — National President of the Black Sash;
Helen Joseph — listed, so she could not accept the office;
Philip Tobias — past president, currently head of Wits Senate and head of anatomy at Wits Medical School;
Owen Horwood — past principal of the University of Durban, who declined the honour.

NUSAS Honorary Presidents have comprised inter alia:

1931-1933 Dr DF Malan, Minister of Education
1933-1949 JH Hofmeyer, Minister of Education
1949-1958 L Marquard, founder of NUSAS
1958-1961 Richard Feetham, Chancellor of Wits
1962-1967 Chief Albert Luthuli, leader of the ANC and winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace
1977- Beyer Naude, head of the (defunct) Christian Institute and currently banned