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A "Bit of A Politician" on A "Tough Assignment": Robert Birley's Visiting Professorship at the University of Witwatersrand, 1964 – 1967

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ABSTRACT

In January 1964, the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, appointed Robert Birley, former headmaster of Eton College, as a visiting professor. This analysis examines how Birley used this role, and his relatively secure position as a high-profile British figure, to speak out against the apartheid state. His professorship took place during a time of strained Anglo-South African relations; having become a republic and left the Commonwealth in 1961, South Africa appeared to be slipping ever further from the 'British world'. To combat this course, London attempted to use cultural diplomacy, particularly in the form of academic and educational exchanges, to imbue future leaders with a more positive view of Britain. This analysis demonstrates that whilst Birley's professorship was independent from this policy, he was in regular contact with British officials, and his actions correlated with their aims.

The 1960s were the era of 'high apartheid' in South Africa. With the main Black opposition nullified after the imprisonment or exile of virtually all its leaders, high levels of economic growth, and a steady stream of skilled and semi-skilled White migrants moving to the country, the Afrikaner National Party [NP] government continued to strengthen its grip on power. In this context, Robert Birley, the former headmaster of Britain's prestigious Eton College, undertook a visiting professorship from 1964 to 1967 at the University of Witwatersrand [Wits], Johannesburg, one of the most liberal institutions in the country.

This analysis demonstrates that whilst Birley's visit received no official support from the British government, it was an example of British cultural diplomacy in South Africa. British officials were increasingly worried that South Africa was slipping further from Britain's 'sphere of influence'. Throughout the 1950s, the NP government implemented policies designed to re-assert Pretoria's independence from London. This included purging Anglophone and anglophile officers from the senior ranks of the armed

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forces[1] and introducing a new national anthem in 1957 to replace 'God Save the Queen'.[2] These efforts to achieve greater symbolic independence reached a peak in October 1960 with a referendum on whether South Africa should become a republic and thus remove the British monarch as its head of state. The nationalists narrowly won the vote, and South Africa became a republic on 31 May 1961, leaving the Commonwealth in the process, and further limiting the cultural bonds that existed with Britain and the wider 'British world'.[3]

This cooling in political and cultural relations posed a threat to Britain's broader interests in South Africa. The country's position on the southernmost tip of Africa was of significant strategic importance, with the Simonstown naval base providing a useful stop off point for Royal Navy ships *en route* to British military bases 'East of Suez'.[4] In addition, South Africa had also attracted a considerable amount of British overseas investment, and there were extensive trade links between the two countries. British industry viewed South Africa's role as a supplier of key strategic minerals as particularly important,[5] with South African gold considered vital to Bank of England management of sterling as an international currency.[6]

By the mid-1960s, British public opinion had largely moved away from the total condemnation of South Africa that followed the Sharpeville Massacre and State of Emergency in 1960 to 'tolerance or indifference' making contact between the two countries less controversial.[7] In an effort to reassert British influence, and help stop the perceived decline of 'liberalism', Foreign Office officials advocated increasing support to South Africa's English-medium universities.[8] Staff exchanges and visits, organised largely by the British Council, facilitated contact. Whilst Birley's visit was far longer than these short-term exchanges and not directly organised by the British government or British Council, it made a significant contribution that correlated with British policy. Throughout his time in South Africa, Birley was in regular contact with the ambassador and other staff at the British Embassy in Pretoria and Consulate in Johannesburg.[9] These connexions, coupled with Birley's high profile, gave him a greater degree of freedom of speech than his South African colleagues possessed. Indeed, in addition to his former role as headmaster of Eton, Birley had served in a number of other distinguished positions that made him a public figure in Britain, most notably as educational advisor to the Control Commission in the British Occupied Zone in Germany from 1947 to 1949. He was also the author of the 1944 Fleming Report that formalised public schools' place within the general education system in Britain and delivered the British Broadcast Company's prestigious Reith Lectures in 1949 discussing Britain's place in Europe.

On his appointment, the *Rand Daily Mail*, one of South Africa's most liberal English-language newspapers, alluded to Birley's semi-official role, describing him as 'a bit of a politician' undertaking a 'tough assignment'.[10] Birley's

biographer claims that he had a 'quasi-diplomatic' status during his time in South Africa, whilst two writers go even further contending that he was a British Secret Intelligence Service [MI6] asset.[11] These claims remain unsubstantiated however, and despite his 'establishment' background, Birley had a reputation for holding left-wing views, even acquiring the nickname 'Red Robert'. However, his biographer dismisses suggestions that Birley was anything more radical than a liberal, claiming that the Red Robert myth derived from a portrait of Karl Marx being rumoured to be on Birley's wall when he worked in Germany. Actually, in a neighbouring office, the portrait was of musician Johannes Brahms, who bore a resemblance to Marx.[12] Nevertheless, Birley's nickname caused some concern amongst the South African authorities, who feared he may 'hold extremely leftist views'.[13] South African-born far right British journalist, A.K. Chesterton, supplied the South African security services with background information on Birley upon his appointment at Wits, and authorities closely monitored Birley during his time in South Africa.[14] However, the authorities never resorted to the harassment that some critics of the NP regime faced, as according to the British ambassador, Sir Hugh Stephenson, Birley was 'too prominent and distinguished to touch'.[15]

In addition to contributing to the historiography of Anglo-South African relations during apartheid,[16] this exegesis adds to the growing body of literature that historicises the use of cultural diplomacy. There has been a steady growth of interest in this field in recent years, influenced by the work of Joseph Nye and the establishment of terms such as 'soft power' into mainstream political discourse.[17] In particular, historians have looked at the wielding of this type of diplomacy during the Cold War, both in East-West exchanges[18] and attempts by both sides of the Iron Curtain to win the 'hearts and minds' of the newly-independent nations of the developing world.[19]

These studies have focussed on a number of different means by which states have attempted to utilise cultural diplomacy, including sport, dance, music, and art. Academic and educational exchanges have also taken a particularly prominent position in the historiography of cultural diplomacy. These studies, however, largely focus on the role played by academic scholarships, which allowed students from developing countries to undertake study at universities in Europe or North America.[20] Despite the acceptance that academic interchange is a useful form of cultural diplomacy, there has been relatively limited attempts to examine the role played by specific academics in this process. This is at variance with the aforementioned examples of cultural diplomacy that historians have examined through the lenses of individuals' contributions to state-to-state relations by their field of expertise.[21] Looking at Birley helps fill this historiographical gap by analysing his visiting professorship in the context of British cultural diplomacy in South Africa.

Birley's main role whilst at Wits was to contribute to improving education in South Africa. He already had experience in this area having worked with the 1961 South African Education Panel, a private commission formed to defend independent schools from interference by the state.[22] Due to his wide experience of working in public schools in Britain, Birley appeared perfect for involvement with this group's campaign. British Ambassador Sir John Maud was a good friend of Birley and wrote to him prior to the invitation to work for the panel urging him to accept it. Maud's main motivation was his hope that Birley could fill the soon-to-be vacant vice chancellorship at Wits, and this visit would be an excellent opportunity to persuade him to take the position.[23]

The main impetus behind the 1961 Education Panel came from Whitmore Richards, an anglophile English-speaking South African who had previously studied in Britain. A director of one of the gold-mining houses in South Africa and a member of the Wits Council, Richards was a keen supporter of British style education in South Africa and was particularly passionate about the defence of English-medium private schools against interference from the apartheid state.[24] Whilst unable to influence the appointment of Wits' next vice chancellor, as Maud had hoped, Richards successfully lobbied for creating a second chair in the Faculty of Education, which paved the way for Birley to take up the role on a visiting basis in 1964.

The *Rand Daily Mail*'s headline in December 1963 read, 'Wits. Gain Head of Eton'.[25] The same newspaper wrote a glowing piece about Birley the previous July, describing him as 'a highly trained historian with a penetrative mind'.[26] A key part of Birley's new role focussed on helping reduce the high number of first-year students who dropped out of the university.[27] One of Birley's main contributions to the 1961 Education Panel was a scathing critique of university entry requirements in South Africa, which he blamed for the high dropout rate. He contended, 'first-year students here seem to fail because so often the university has to deal in the first year with work that students in Britain do in their last two years at school'.[28] Birley regularly discussed this theme during his time in South Africa. In December 1964, for example, he contended that South African school education did not prepare students for university 'or, in fact, for work anywhere else'.[29] He was particularly critical of the dominance of exams that he reasoned meant, 'children are unable to think for themselves'. He also criticised the culture of South African education, particularly of married women forced out of the teaching profession.[30]

Birley also stressed, 'the most important educational issue facing this country is what to do in African education'.[31] He maintained that efforts were desperately needed to improve secondary education for 'African' men and women so they could fill roles that were more exacting in the future. The 1953 *Bantu Education Act* had separated education in South Africa based on race, with different syllabi used for different races, the most basic for the Black majority. The act also prioritised primary education over secondary; and this

policy was 'based on the assumption of an inferior potential in African minds' and designed explicitly to 'prepare blacks for an inferior place in society'.[32] In addition, the NP government also sought to limit the influence of missionary education on Black South Africans, which they feared created 'Black Englishmen'.[33]

Birley's criticism of the educational provision for Black South Africans grew louder over the course of his time in the country. In November 1966 in a speech at the South African Institute of Race Relations, he condemned Pretoria for taking a very different approach to the rest of Africa in prioritising primary school education at the expense of investment in secondary schooling.[34] Birley argued that the policy of keeping Black South Africans subjugated and ensuring skilled professions were the preserve of White workers was self-defeating as 'it is quite inconceivable' that South Africa could maintain its high levels of economic growth 'unless more Africans are employed on skilled or administrative jobs'.[35] In what was clearly a subtle critique of apartheid, Birley contended that this was totally illogical as the country was desperate for skilled workers and forced to look abroad to alleviate these shortages.[36]

Birley also developed a number of contacts from within Black South African communities. He later reflected that this was something that Wits specifically wanted him to do as it had lost touch with 'African' education since 'racial segregation had been forced on them' by the *Extension of University Education Act* in 1959.[37] This made it very difficult for White universities to admit Black students, something Wits had been doing since 1936.[38] Birley visited schools in townships as often as he could to meet and teach Black schoolchildren. He frequently did so without an official permit, which although not necessarily illegal risked antagonising the authorities.[39]

The school with which Birley had the most contact was Orlando High School in Soweto, considered one of the best 'African' schools. Despite difficult circumstances, Orlando High strove for the highest educational standards with its students under the committed leadership of its headmaster Thamsanqa Kambule.[40] Birley played a pivotal role in raising money for a new library at Orlando High, which staff and students decided to name after him.[41] This decision outraged the South African authorities, and Birley claimed that the secretary for Bantu Education argued that he was a 'well-known communist' referred to as 'the Red Dean' in England.[42] The secretary was most likely confusing Birley's nickname of 'Red Robert' with that of Hewlett Johnson, the Soviet Union-supporting 'Red Dean' of Manchester and Canterbury respectively.

When the school sought to open the library to the public outside of school hours, permission came only on the condition of changing the building's name. However, Kambule, simply put a very thin layer of paint over the words 'Sir Robert Birley' on the library's sign to ensure it remained readable.[43] Birley was a popular figure in Soweto, and in the controversies over the library's name, many staff, students, and Orlando residents protested to the Bantu Education

Department, claiming that 'Professor Birley is one of our people'.[44] Kambule wrote to Birley shortly before the end of his professorship at Wits to thank him for the support he had provided to Orlando High. He stated, 'your involvement with us was godsent [sic] and welcome' and 'in the short interval here, you have achieved the impossible. We boast of the largest school library for an African School, all because of your tireless wish to be of assistance'.[45]

Another area on which Birley focused was the defence of academic freedom and promotion of critical thinking skills. The early 1960s were a difficult time for the supposedly 'liberal' English-medium universities. The NP government's attitude towards these institutions is exemplified in a speech delivered by South African minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Dr Albert Herzog, in September 1963, in which he stated, 'these universities consisted mostly of liberalists and half-communists who on every possible occasion tried to impress on young people that they were no better than the primitive black man'.[46] Whilst staff at these institutions had far greater freedom to criticise the state than Black opposition figures, they still faced considerable hostility from the NP government. Edward Roux, for example, professor of Botany at Wits, found himself placed under a banning order in December 1964[47]; the same year, Dr Jack Simmons of the University of Cape Town suffered the same fate and consequently fled to Britain in 1965.[48] It must be emphasised however, at least in Simmons' case, that his ban had more to do with his links to the banned South African Communist Party [SACP] than his academic writing or teaching. Indeed, he went on to join the opposition African National Congress in exile and play an active role in educating young recruits.[49] However, Roux's banning was more complex. Whilst a member of the SACP from 1924 to 1936, he had more recently been a member of the Liberal Party. The ban was not 'a result of Roux's communist sympathies alone' but also due to the recent publication of an updated version of his book, *Time Longer than Rope*, in the United States.[50] Published in South Africa in 1948, the original of it was 'an attack on the Nationalist's policy of apartheid from the far left'.[51] Roux chose to publish the updated version of the book in the United States as he had struggled to find a South African publisher willing to do so.[52]

In a lecture on 'University and Adult Education' as part of Wits' April 1964 'Exhibition Week', Birley exclaimed that the world was changing and South Africa must embrace these changes if it was to progress as a society.[53] In September, he went further in criticising South African political culture, warning, 'it was the duty of "ordinary people" to create a critical public opinion' as governments that do not face such scrutiny will, 'sooner or later' find 'themselves in a mess'.[54] Birley went on to emphasise the importance of critical thinking skills, stating, 'it is one of the duties of schools' to equip their students with the ability to 'look at what is happening and say what they think'.[55]

In March 1965, Birley wrote to the British ambassador to request that a suitable British visitor come to South Africa to deliver the annual Richard Feetham Lecture to the Academic Freedom Committee at Wits.[56] Whilst the ambassador was cautious in his reply, and deliberately non-committal about the level of support the British government could offer, it was clear this request was in line with British policy towards South Africa. The counsellor and head of Chancery, Donald Gordon, stated this 'might well fall under the scope' of promoting a change in attitude 'among South African whites'. Gordon went on to state that as Wits was 'one of the main strongholds of liberal opinion' in South Africa, it 'well deserves all the encouragement it can get'.[57]

Whilst unable to support this visit financially, the Foreign Office did recommend two individuals whom Birley could contact to seek monetary support.[58] The first was B.W.M. Young, director general of the Nuffield Foundation, a charitable trust established to support projects in education and social policy. The other was Charles Longbottom, former barrister, and Conservative MP for York. Longbottom was a trustee of the Ariel Foundation, an organisation that provided academic scholarships to Africans and allegedly had close ties with the British and American intelligence services.[59] The Foreign Office advised the Embassy to tell Birley to contact his preferred organisation and inform them when he had done so, as it would also make contact and encourage them to support the visit.[60]

Birley successfully acquired financial support from the Ariel Foundation and invited a former minister for Education and Science, Sir Edward Boyle, to deliver the talk.[61] Boyle consulted Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart before accepting the invitation, further supporting the semi-official nature of the visit despite the British government not paying for it.[62] Boyle gave a brief summary of what he intended to discuss, and whilst planning to be critical of the 'McCarthy-ite atmosphere which seems to prevail' in South Africa, he promised Stewart that he would be 'most careful about what I said'.[63] John Wilson at the Foreign Office West and Central Africa Department was pleased with Boyle's response:

> there would be every advantage in Sir Edward Boyle going to South Africa and lecturing on the lines he suggests. This would be encouraging to those working for sensible policies in South Africa and would help to bring home to South Africans what the outside world thinks about their policies particularly in the field of education.[64]

On 13 August, Boyle delivered his address to 600 students and their guests at the Great Hall at Wits.[65] He made clear how important Birley had been in organising his visit, also emphasising that all parties in the British Parliament knew he was in South Africa and would all wish to convey to his audience

> how much they acclaimed those in this country, editors and journalists, priests and laymen of all denominations, some university professors and many students, who refused to stop thinking or speaking out and acting as their consciences told them to do.[66]

He went on to discuss what role the government had to play in higher education and recounted his own experiences as minister of Education, making reference to the 1963 Robbins Report that stated that university places 'should be available to all who were qualified for them by ability and attainment' and emphasised the importance of academic freedom.[67]

Birley continued to work against the challenges to academic freedom in South Africa; his efforts recognised with the award of an honorary doctorate from Wits, which the *Rand Daily Mail* described as 'richly deserved'.[68] Birley collected the award in June 1965, where he also delivered the annual Chancellors Lecture. He used this opportunity to call for greater academic freedom in South Africa:

> in a country where so much public policy is really dictated by fear, fear above all of change because it is felt that it could not be controlled, it is here more than ever necessary for institutions of learning to persuade men [sic] to have the courage to face the truth.[69]

ow at the British Embassy in Pretoria, Wilson 'read this impressive address with great interest' and recommended its dissemination throughout Britain.[70] Nevertheless, many in South Africa did not react well to Birley's 'home truths'. Gabriel Cillié, professor of mathematics at Stellenbosch University, wrote to Birley expressing his opinion on the lecture.[71] Whilst praising Birley's 'references to great thinkers of the past', Cillié criticised 'certain opinions' that Birley expressed about South Africa and contended that he did not understand the complexity of the situation in the country.[72] The state broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, was also critical; however, Dr E.G. Malherbe, the anglophile principal of Natal University, came to Birley's defence describing the comments as 'a sign of a terrific inferiority complex on the part of a very strong community like South Africa'.[73] Malherbe denied that Birley had any ulterior motive for being in South Africa and pointed to criticism he had faced from the 'Labour-orientated Press' in Britain for taking on the role of visiting professor at Wits in the first place. Support also came from the *Rand Daily Mail's* readers, one of whom wrote to express her anger at the 'lamentable' attempt to smear Birley as 'little better than a Communist agitator'.[74]

Birley's views continued to cause controversy amongst some sections of the South African public. In October 1965, Mimemie Van As, a *Rand Daily Mail* reader, took offence to an article he had recently penned about Emily Hobhouse, a British welfare activist revered by many Afrikaners for campaigning against the appalling conditions in the concentration camps during the Boer War.[75] In the article, Birley pointed out that even at a time of war, British authorities allowed Hobhouse to visit the camps and publish a report on their

conditions, which 'did much to harm the British cause'.[76] In contrast, Birley contended that the South African government had in recent weeks tried to argue that drawing attention to unsatisfactory conditions in the country's prisons was 'treachery or the launching of a "smear campaign"'. Van As saw this as an attempt to exploit Hobhouse's reputation amongst Afrikaners 'to make what [Birley] no doubt regards as a nice point against the present Government and their supporters'.[77] Birley wrote a reply the following week re-emphasising that 'Miss Hobhouse was to be admired for having the courage to express her very critical views on the way in which prisoners were treated, even though they were members of a state with which her own country was at war'.[78] Birley also pointed out that Hobhouse's report led to an official enquiry by the British government that 'bore out the essential criticisms made by Miss Hobhouse'. This reply, and Birley's original article, helped publicise his belief that citizens should be able to criticise the actions of their government without fear of smears or reprisals.

In April 1967, shortly after leaving Wits and returning to Britain, the *Observer* interviewed Birley about the 'reforms' being implemented by South African Prime Minister John Vorster that he contended were 'not as significant as they might appear'.[79] He also stated, 'it could be most unfair to Mr Vorster to suggest that there is going to be any relaxation of the colour bar, as he himself has made it perfectly clear that there will not be'. Indeed, much of these policies proved to be window dressing implemented in an attempt to limit South Africa's international isolation, particularly from the world of sport. The cosmetic nature of these reforms came to the surface the following year when Vorster refused to allow a Marylebone Cricket Club [MCC] side featuring South African-born coloured cricketer, Basil d'Oliveira, to compete against the all-White South African national side in 1968–1969.[80]

Birley also went on to make damning observations about South African society, comparing it to a police state akin to that which existed in Nazi Germany[81]; he had played an active role in the 'de-Nazification' of German education after 1945[82] – there have been regular comparisons between the apartheid regime and Nazi Germany.[83] Nevertheless, Birley pointed out that there were some important differences, most notably, the latter was supported by the majority of Germans – at least in its early years in power – whilst the NP was only supported by the 'majority of a minority'.[84] Birley also pointed out that Nazism was aggressive and expansionist whereas 'white South African nationalism is essentially defensive'. The other important difference between the two countries related to the level of resistance. Whilst internal opposition to the Nazi regime was limited, Birley contended that 'there's a great deal more opposition in South Africa'. In particular, he praised the work of the Black Sash, a non-violent protest group formed by liberal-minded White South African women in 1955, in opposing NP policies in the level of resistance that still existed in South Africa. Whilst

admitting that the 'African' opposition was currently limited due to the exile, banning, or incarceration of its leaders, plus the 'great many informers' that allowed the South African authorities to maintain control, he warned that the longer they continued to subjugate the Black majority, the less chance South Africa had of a truly multiracial future.

The next day the *Rand Daily Mail* reported Birley's interview, describing it as his 'end of term report'.[85] On 29 April, it published the interview in full.[86] In the same edition, Laurence Gandar, a prominent South African journalist, took a different stance to Birley in relation to Vorster's reforms, arguing that 'there have been some small but highly significant shifts of emphasis' in terms of both external relations and domestic politics.[87] This was an unusual position for Gandar as he was generally of a liberal persuasion and quite critical of the NP government. Indeed, two years previously, he lost his post as editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* after coming into direct conflict with the authorities.[88] His replacement, Raymond Louw, appeared more acceptable to the authorities. Nevertheless, Louw was scathing about Gandar's article in the same edition, stating that he 'writes pretentiously and rather too often about politics in this newspaper'.[89] In contrast, Louw saw Birley as 'a man of great culture, erudition and experience' concluding, 'it would be hard to produce evidence' that he is wrong to dismiss the apparent reforms that were taking place.

The interview caused a stir in both Britain and South Africa. N.E. Mustoe, a London-based barrister, stated that Birley 'is not entitled to make inaccurate statements' about the situation in South Africa.[90] Mustoe argued that it was untrue to state that South Africa was a police state, pointing to the similar number of police officers per capita in Britain. He dismissed Birley's arguments that there were restrictions on freedom of speech and defended Pretoria's approach to 'Bantu' education. The *Rand Daily Mail* reproduced some of Mustoe's comments but also received a number of letters itself regarding Birley's statement. A British-educated academic, Dr Harriet Tunmer, for example, contended that 'nothing' Birley said in his article was 'unfair or inaccurate' and that 'guilty consciences' were to blame for the letters of complaint.[91]

Despite Birley's criticism of NP policies, he was a staunch advocate of maintaining academic links between Britain and South Africa and, in December 1964 just before returning to Britain for a two-month vacation, wrote about his desire to 'strengthen the educational and cultural bonds' between the two countries.[92] Birley stated that he intended to visit 12 universities whilst in Britain to help meet this objective. In addition, delivering a talk at the Chatham House Study Group on South Africa in February 1965, he contended, 'liberal views in the South African universities were far more widespread than he had expected'; however academics at these institutions 'felt isolated and were discouraged when, for example, people here in the academic world refused to go out to South Africa'.[93]

Despite the critical stance taken by Birley towards the apartheid state, his presence in South Africa and belief in contact over ostracism was at variance with other members of the academic community. One of the Anti-Apartheid Movement's [AAM] main campaigns was the academic boycott of South Africa. In 1965, 500 prominent British academics pledged not to 'apply for or accept academic posts in South African universities which practice racial discrimination'.[94] However, it failed to win universal support as 'economic gain still lured many British scholars to South Africa'.[95] Many academics also agreed with Birley's view that contact in these areas was more beneficial than ostracism.[96] This was also a view shared by much of the 'liberal' opposition to apartheid within South Africa. Helen Suzman, the Progressive Party MP, who campaigned vigorously on behalf of the victims of apartheid, argued that liberal English-speaking universities would suffer most from an academic boycott. She contended that advocates of such ostracism 'think they are on the side of the angels. In fact they are on the side of the idiots'.[97]

Birley also remained highly critical of the academic boycott and did all he could to encourage British academics to continue to visit South Africa and maintain links with their colleagues in the country. In January 1966, whilst visiting Britain during Wits' summer vacation, Birley discovered evidence that all was not as it seemed with the signatories to the boycott pledge.[98] The *Johannesburg Star* had already reported that one of the signatories, Professor Roland Oliver, had not in fact given permission for his name to be associated with the campaign.[99] Birley discovered that there were other academic names appearing on this pledge without permission.[100] Many who had given their names to this petition were unaware that it was a pledge to boycott South Africa fully, instead believing it was a promise not to take up a position in the country and a mark of disapproval at the treatment of Roux and Simons. Wilson suggested that Birley, or one of the academics whose name had been misappropriated, should write to *The Times* to explain the situation.[101] Sir Eric Ashby, master of Clare College, University of Cambridge, who agreed over telephone to put his name to the petition against the banning of Roux and Simons, but not to boycott South Africa, went further. In an article in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 17 March 1966, he explained the situation and emphasised the importance of continued Anglo-South African academic links.[102] Wilson suspected Ashby 'had been prodded' into writing this by Birley.[103]

Nonetheless, the AAM was highly critical of the argument that the English-speaking universities in South Africa were places of liberal thought. In a letter to Ashby, the AAM pointed to the 'separate student societies' and 'segregation in lectures' as evidence that the supposedly 'open' University of Natal still practiced race-based discrimination.[104] Es'kia Mphahlele, an exiled South African writer and scholar, had previously dismissed the apparent liberalism of these institutions.[105] He argued that liberalism could only exist in South Africa as far as it obeyed the country's strict laws, which meant it was 'trying to

exist on impossible terms, in conditions that make it irrelevant'.[106] These criticisms did have some considerable merit. Academic freedom was limited in South Africa and the presence of a figure like Birley could help legitimise the situation in the country. A total boycott would have made it clear that apartheid was not acceptable to the international academic community.

Whilst Birley's attitude towards the academic boycott brought him into conflict with anti-apartheid activists in Britain, he did his upmost to support the moderate opposition in South Africa and help those who fell afoul of the NP government's draconian security measures. His wife, Elinor, became a member of the Black Sash; and Birley its first 'associate' – male – member and a regular attendee and occasional speaker at the organisation's events.[107] Birley also developed a warm relationship with Suzman whilst in South Africa and had huge admiration for her ability to mount 'an effective parliamentary opposition' as the only MP truly opposed to apartheid.[108] Birley sent her a copy of his Chancellor's Lecture in July 1965, which included a short dedication to all his 'friends in South Africa, who have shown me by their words and deeds how freedom and justice can be defended, and without whose inspiration it would never have been written – among them, very far from last or least, Helen Suzman'.[109] Birley went on to tell Suzman that this '"dedication" has not appeared in any other copy' of the speech, emphasising the respect he had for her. The feeling was clearly mutual, and Suzman later explained that she 'thought Robert Birley was a great man and enjoyed very much being with him whenever our paths crossed'.[110]

Birley also showed his willingness to help those who had taken their opposition a step further than the moderate protests undertaken by the Black Sash, and the parliamentary scrutiny Suzman managed to maintain against the odds. In August 1964, Birley wrote to the Foreign Office secretary of state about the recent arrests of two anti-apartheid activists.[111] The first was Rosemary Wentzel, the former wife of Ernest Wentzel, a member of the National Executive of the Liberal Party of South Africa, who had recently been under a 90-day detention. The second was Jonty Driver, president of the National Union of South African Students [NUSAS], with whom Birley had met several times and, despite Driver's initial suspicion of the old Etonian, the two had warmed to each other.[112] British officials were unwilling to become involved in either case, and as Birley was meeting with Stephenson in September, the Foreign Office decided to 'say comparatively little in replying to him'.[113] Indeed, although Driver won release shortly afterwards, the Embassy in Pretoria believed that Mrs Wentzel 'may well have been connected in some way' to a bomb placed in Johannesburg station on 24 July 1964.[114] Officials were also aware that the South African authorities had a 'great deal of evidence' about the illegal activities of leading liberals in South Africa. As one of those injured in the station bombing had now died, some of these

individuals were facing murder charges. Wilson contended that Birley 'would probably be well advised to proceed fairly cautiously in agitating in favour of these people, at any rate until more of the facts are available'.[115]

Stephenson met Birley for dinner on 18 September 1964; he 'spoke to him with complete frankness and told him most of what we know'.[116] Stephenson felt this 'an extremely helpful talk' and contended, 'Birley's views were very sound' and 'he was under no delusion about the amateur quality of this sort of subversion'. Indeed, in that talk to the Chatham House Study Group on South Africa the next year, Birley discussed how facing a life of 'futile opposition' led many liberal-minded students to turn 'to sabotage activities of an exceptionally amateur nature'.[117] Birley explained how, in an attempt to discourage students from this course, he recommended they read *The Life of Lenin* that, he thought, 'would make clear to them that sabotage was a matter for professionals' and pointed out to them that Lenin 'took the precaution of operating in a neutral country'.[118] Stephenson reported that Birley 'accepted that much police action which looked like government persecution of the legal political opposition was not by any means necessarily so, but was in fact genuinely directed against illegal [though understandable today] and violent activity'.[119]

Wilson was pleased with this 'very satisfactory' outcome, admitting that he 'was earlier concerned that Dr Birley's determination to uphold the cause of academic freedom and liberal values against the South African police might lead him on dangerous ground', particularly if he was 'agitating on behalf of people who had in fact been guilty of planning and executing bomb attacks'.[120] However, Wilson felt that the talk between Stephenson and Birley 'should remove this danger'. Nevertheless, Birley continued to use his position to defend publicly those who fell afoul of the apartheid state. For example, with the banning of NUSAS President Ian Robertson in May 1966, Birley described him as 'a very sensible and moderate person'.[121] Birley also pointed out the double standards of Afrikaner nationalists, stating, 'some of the things said by students at Stellenbosch during the last war would have surprised many people. But nobody thought they ought to be banned or anything like that'.

British officials viewed Birley as useful in promoting informal Anglo-South African links. When approached by Afrikaner anti-apartheid theologian Beyers Naude for advice in the context of fundraising in Britain for the Christian Institute, of which he was national director, Bertram Flack from the British Consulate in Johannesburg recommended that he speak to Birley.[122] On a visit to Britain to raise funds, Naude 'spoke very warmly of the great value of Dr Robert Birley's presence in South Africa and the enormous impact in many different spheres which a man of his calibre was able to achieve'.[123] Naude commented that he hoped, when Birley's visiting lectureship ended, someone of a similar calibre could take up the post as his replacement.

The most famous contact Birley made in South Africa was Winnie Mandela, the wife of the imprisoned anti-apartheid leader, Nelson Mandela. The Birleys met her when they became involved in efforts to arrange correspondence study courses for Nelson and other Robben Island prisoners. Wits students originally started this scheme, but Winnie's biographer contends that Birley became 'one of the prime movers' in the campaign.[124] Winnie developed 'particularly friendly' relations with Elinor Birley.[125] They met regularly and Winnie 'poured out her doubt' to Elinor about the convent school where her daughters Zenani and Zindi were currently experiencing a very unhappy schooling.[126] The Birleys responded by arranging scholarships that allowed the Mandela daughters to attend secondary school at the multiracial Waterford School in Swaziland,[127] of which Birley was a trustee.[128] Particularly in relation to the Mandela daughters' education, for which Nelson expressed his thanks in letters sent from Robben Island, the Birleys continued to help wherever they could.[129] Allegations also exist that after returning to Britain, Birley helped the British Secret Service foil a plot to help Nelson escape from prison, which agents of the South African Bureau of State Security [BOSS] infiltrated, and planned to kill him in the process.[130] Whilst a fascinating story, doubts remain over its validity.[131]

On leaving South Africa in December 1966, many people whom the Birleys had met during their time in the country spoke warmly of the 'positive guidance and constructive advice' they had offered.[132] V.C. Robinson, president of convocation at Wits, wrote to say how 'very sorry' they were that he was leaving and to 'express to you our deep appreciation of all you have done' whilst at Wits.[133] Godfrey Le May, a Wits colleague, and Rex Welsh, a lawyer based in Johannesburg, wrote that the Birleys 'have given generously – indeed prodigally – of their time'.[134] Le May and Welsh went on to state:

> They came to this country at a time when it was not easy for persons of great academic eminence to become personally implicated in problems to which there is no easy solution. This is still not easy. But the Birleys made the effort and the sacrifice; and for this they will long be remembered in Southern Africa.

Whilst Birley received many positive messages upon leaving South Africa, privately it appears that the senior managers at Wits were pleased his time at the university had ended. According to the British consul-general, James Currie, he had 'perhaps outstayed his welcome' and was 'not likely to be replaced, at least as professor of Education, and that the University may take time to find another Visiting Professor'.[135] Ambassador Sir John Nicholls contended, 'his first two years there were a great success', but 'the university's enthusiasm for Dr Birley palled a little in the past year'.[136] Therefore, it is fair to say that Birley pushed the boundaries more in terms of his speeches and public statements the longer he stayed in South Africa and, despite Wits' desire to promote inclusive education and academic freedom, it may have caused unwanted scrutiny from the authorities. As Nicholls argued:

> the truth is perhaps that with a job of this sort, which was rather more in the nature of a manifesto in favour of equal rights for all, of academic freedom and other matters in which we in the United Kingdom deeply believe than a normal academic job, two years or so is probably the longest time in which the momentum of the demonstration can be kept up and, after that, the difficulties set in.[137]

Nevertheless, Gandar wrote in 1971 that Birley's time as visiting professor 'has become a legend of inspiration and encouragement not only at "Wits" itself but in the wider communities of Johannesburg'.[138] Wentzel wrote an obituary for Birley shortly after his death in 1982, emphasising his belief in the importance of contact over ostracism in the battle to end apartheid:

> The wages of total isolation is a certain delivery into the power of those who will not bend until broken; but will not serve those who know that Sir Robert Birley's coming was no evil but a hopeful engagement.[139]

Birley visited South Africa several more times before his death in 1982 and continued to speak out against the policies of the NP government.[140] Whilst these were not official visits on the British government's behalf, Birley reported to British officials, who in turn followed his activities in South Africa with great interest.[141] Officials also sought Birley's expertise, and he regularly contributed to policy forums, such as the Chatham House Study Group.[142]

It is clear, therefore, that Birley's visiting professorship needs viewing within the prism of British cultural diplomacy. His work correlated with Britain's aims in South Africa, most notably supporting the 'liberal' English-speaking universities, making inroads with Black education, and forging ties with influential figures who opposed apartheid through non-violent means. The Orlando headmaster, Kambule, who visited Britain on a British Council bursary in 1968,[143] remained in regular contact with Birley.[144] He also continued to play an important role in education in South Africa, becoming the first Black mathematics professor at Wits in 1978.[145]

The Birleys remained in touch with Winnie Mandela and continued to take an interest in her daughters' schooling.[146] Whilst controversial to some, particularly for her actions in the latter years of apartheid, Winnie continued to play an important part in South African politics until her death in 2018. Another accusation exists that the Mandelas became MI6 assets,[147] something they both vigorously denied.[148] Naude continued to speak out against the apartheid state and suffered a banning order and house arrest from 1977 to 1984. Nevertheless, British officials viewed him as a useful contact, and he offered the British Council advice on how best to forge ties with the grassroots opposition in South Africa in 1986.[149] Birley also remained in contact with Suzman, who played an active role in South African politics until the end of apartheid and beyond.[150] Her biographer, and former British ambassador to South Africa, Robin Renwick, has emphasised Suzman's importance to the British government, contending that she was 'the most reliable guide to the

political labyrinth of apartheid'.[151] Undoubtedly, Birley acted as 'a bit of a politician' in helping develop British links with these important individuals.[152] His 'tough assignment' was clearly a considerable success for British cultural diplomacy in South Africa.

Notes

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3 For more on the October 1960 referendum and South Africa's subsequent exit from the Commonwealth, see Ronald Hyam, "The Parting of the Ways: Britain and South Africa's Departure from the Commonwealth, 1951-61," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26, no. 2 (1998): 157-75; Stuart Ward, "Whirlwind, Hurricane, Howling Tempest: The Winds of Change and the British World," in Larry Butler and Sarah S. Stockwell, eds., *The Wind of Change: Harold Macmillan and British Decolonisation* (Basingstoke, 2013), 48-69; Michael Makin, "Britain, South Africa and the Commonwealth in 1960: The 'Winds of Change' Reassessed," *Historia* 41, no. 2 (1996): 74-88.
4 See Allan Du Toit, "Simon's Town and the Cape Sea Route," in Peter Hore, eds., *Dreadnought to Daring 100 Years of Comment, Controversy and Debate in The Naval Review* (Barnsley, 2012), 198-212; idem., "The Anglo-South African Simon's Town Agreement," *Naval Digest*, 24(2016), 129–65; Daniel J. Feather, "British Policy Towards Military Cooperation with the Republic South Africa, 1961-1975," *International History Review* 41, no. 4 (2019): 729-52.
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7 Ronald Hyam and Peter Henshaw, *The Lion and the Springbok: Britain and South Africa Since the Boer War* (Cambridge, 2003), 307.
8 Gordon [Cape Town] to Wilson, [Foreign Office], 18 March 1965, FO [Foreign Office Records, The National Archives, Kew] 371/182123.
9 Whilst the Embassy was in Pretoria for six months of the year, the majority of staff moved to the consulate in Cape Town whilst Parliament was in session in the latter.
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11 Arthur Hearnden, *Red Robert: A Life of Robert Birley* (London, 1984), 200; Stephen Dorril, *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service* (NY, 2000), 842; James Sanders, *Apartheid's Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa's Secret Service* (London, 2006), 47.
12 Hearnden, *Red Robert*, 163.
13 See Taswell [South African ambassador to the Central African Federation] to Ambassador Extraordinary & Plenipotentiary, South African Embassy London, 7 February 1963, BTS [Department for Foreign Affairs Records, National Archives, Pretoria] 1/20/3 Vol I; Graham Macklin, "The British Far Right's South African Connection: A.K. Chesterton, Hendrik van den Bergh, and the South African Intelligence Services," *Intelligence and National Security* 25, no. 6 (2010): 835-37.

14 Macklin, "South African Connection," 835.
15 Stephenson to Stewart, "Liberalism in South Africa," 23 May 1966, FO 371/188069.
16 See James Barber, *The Uneasy Relationship: Britain and South Africa* (London, 1983); idem., "'An Historical and Persistent Interest': Britain and South Africa," *International Affairs* 67, no. 4 (1991): 723-38; Berridge, *Economic Power;* Hyam and Henshaw, *Lion and the Springbok*.
17 Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (NY, 1990), 32; idem., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (NY, 2004). Examples of "mainstreaming" of this concept include the annual "Soft Power Survey" produced by global affairs magazine *Monocle*: https://monocle.com/magazine/issues/129/soft-power/. Current British Prime Minister Boris Johnson also advocated the concept whilst serving as foreign secretary. See "Johnson's Conference Speech: Full Text" (2 October 2016): https://www.conservativehome.com/parliament/ 2016/10/britain-the-soft-power-superpower-of-global-liberalism-boris-johnsons-conservative-conference-speech-full-text.html. See also Eva Połońska-Kimunguyi and Patrick Kimunguyi, "'Gunboats of Soft Power': Boris on Africa and Post-Brexit 'Global Britain'," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 30, no. 4 (2017): 325-49.
18 See, for example, Cadra Peterson McDaniel, *American–Soviet Cultural Diplomacy: The Bolshoi Ballet's American Premiere*, (Lanham, MD, 2014); Larraine Nicholas, "Fellow Travellers: Dance and British Cold War Politics in the Early 1950′s," *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 19, no. 2 (2001): 83–105; Stéphanie Gonçalves, "Ballet, propaganda, and politics in the Cold War: the Bolshoi Ballet in London and the Sadler's Wells Ballet in Moscow, October–November 1956," *Cold War History* 19, no. 2 (2019): 171-86; Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (NY, 1997); Peter Beck, "Britain and the Cold War's 'Cultural Olympics': Responding to the Political Drive of Soviet Sport, 1945–58," *Contemporary British History* 19, no. 2 (2005): 169-85; Ronnie Kowalski and Dilwyn Porter, "Cold War Football: British-European Encounters in the 1940s and 1950s," in Stephen Wagg and David Andrews, eds., *East Plays West: Sport and the Cold War* (Abingdon, 2006), 64-81; John Bale, "'Oscillating Antagonism': Soviet-British Athletics Relations, 1945-60," Ibid., 82-99.
19 See Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (University Park, PA, 2004); Jason Parks, *Hearts, Minds, Voices: US Cold War Public Diplomacy and the Formation of the Third World* (Oxford, 2016); Nicholas Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989* (Cambridge, 2008); Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World; Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA, 2004); Naima Prevots, *Dance for Export, Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (Middletown, CT, 1998).
20 See Lipping Bu, "Educational Exchange and Cultural Diplomacy in the Cold War," *Journal of American Studies* 33, no. 3 (1999): 393–415; Daniel Branch, "Political Traffic: Kenyan Students in Eastern and Central Europe, 1958–69," *Journal of Contemporary History* 53, no. 4 (2018): 811–31; Phillip H. Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs* (NY, 1964); Constantin Katsakioris, "Burden or Allies? Third World Students and Internationalist Duty Through Soviet Eyes," *Kritika* 18, no. 3 (2017): 539–67; Frank Gerits, "Hungry Minds: Eisenhower's Cultural Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa, 1953-1961," *Diplomatic History* 41, no. 3 (2017): 594-619; Abigail Judge Kret, "'We Unite with Knowledge': The Peoples' Friendship University and Soviet Education for the Third World," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 33, no. 2 (2013): 239–56; Maxim Matusevich, "An Exotic Subversive: Africa, Africans and the Soviet Everyday," *Race and Class* 49, no. 4 (2008): 57–81; idem., "Probing the Limits of Internationalism: African Students

Confront Soviet Ritual," *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 27, no. 2 (2009): 19–39; Sarah Miller-Davenport, *Gateway State: Hawaii in American Culture, 1945-1978* (Princeton, NJ, 2019).

21 See for example, Simone P. Kropf and Joel D. Howell, "War, Medicine, and Cultural Diplomacy in the Americas: Frank Wilson and Brazilian Cardiology," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 72, no. 4 (2017): 422–47; Victoria Phillips Geduld, "Dancing Diplomacy: Martha Graham and the Strange Commodity of Cold-War Cultural Exchange in Asia, 1955 and 1974," *Dance Chronicle* 33, no. 1 (2010): 44-81; Camelia Lenart, "Dancing Art and Politics Behind the Iron Curtain: Martha Graham's 1962 Tours to Yugoslavia and Poland," *Dance Chronicle* 39, no. 2 (2016): 197-217.

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24 Ibid.

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27 Ibid.

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36 Elam to Pestall [Foreign Office West and Central Africa Department (hereafter WCAD)], 7 November 1966, FO 371/1881134.

37 "The Middle East and Africa as Pivot of Superpower Politics, Concluding Session," Wilton Park Conference, 27 July 1979, BIR [Robert Birley Papers, Centre for Southern African Studies, Borthwick Institute, York] 1.

38 Moodie, "Liberal Universities," 3.

39 Hearnden, *Red Robert*, 202.

40 Clive Glaser "Soweto's Islands of Learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando High Schools Under Bantu Education, 1958–1975," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41, no. 1 (2015): 159-71; Clive Glaser, "The Glory Days of Morris Isaacson: Why Some Soweto High Schools Were Able to Succeed Under Bantu Education," *South African Historical Journal* 70, no. 3 (2018): 505-18.

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49 Ibid., 690.

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51 Ibid., 317.
52 Ibid., 322.
53 "S.A. Must Face Changes, Says Ex-Head of Eton," *Rand Daily Mail* (30 April 1964), 3.
54 "Democracy Depends 'On Critical Public'," Ibid. (15 September 1964), 14.
55 Ibid.
56 Gordon to Wilson, 18 March 1965, FO 371/182123.
57 Ibid.
58 Foreign Office telegram to Cape Town Embassy, 30 March 1965, FO 371/182123.
59 Dorril, *MI6*, 474-75, 722.
60 Gordon to Wilson, 18 March 1965, FO 371/182123.
61 Wilson, "Proposed Visit of Sir Edward Boyle to South Africa," 10 June 1965, Ibid.
62 Boyle to Stewart, 3 June 1965, Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 Wilson, "Proposed Visit of Sir Edward Boyle".
65 Currie [British Consulate-General, Johannesburg] to Gordon, 14 August 1965, FO 371/182123.
66 Ibid.
67 Committee on Higher Education *Higher Education: Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister under the Chairmanship of Lord Robbins 1961–63* (23 September 1963): http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/robbins/robbins1963.html.
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70 Wilson to Gordon, 3 June 1965, Ibid.
71 Stellenbosch University was the intellectual wellspring of both apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism. The inward-looking, irreconcilably racist ideas that developed at this institution were in stark contrast to the Anglophone, cosmopolitan, and racial progressivism for which Wits was well known.
72 Cillié to Birley, 2 June 1965, BIR 2.
73 "SABC attack on Birley Ironic and Vicious," *Rand Daily Mail* (15 May 1965), 6. A staunch critic of Afrikaner nationalism. Malherbe served as head of psychological warfare in South African Military Intelligence during the Second World War and produced a report detailing the structure of the *Broederbond*, a secretive organisation of influential Afrikaner nationalists. See Saul Dubow "Scientism, Social Research and the Limits of 'South Africanism': The Case of Ernst Gideon Malherbe," *South African Historical Journal* 44, no. 1 (2001): 134.
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75 "Birley is Accused of Misusing Her Name," Ibid. (7 October 1965), 22.
76 "He is still proud of Emily Hobhouse," Ibid. (8 September 1965), 4.
77 "Birley is Accused of Misusing Her Name," 22.
78 "Emily Hobhouse: A Reply. She strove to bring the races together," Ibid. (15 October 1965), 8.
79 "What's Changing in South Africa," *Observer* (23 April 1967), 13.
80 The MCC was the *de facto* English national cricket team until 1976-1977. See Bruce Murray, "Politics and Cricket: The D'Oliveira Affair of 1968," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 4 (2001); Peter Oborne, *Basil D'Oliveira, Cricket and Conspiracy: The Untold Story* (London, 2005). Not considered offensive, the term "coloured" refers to a specific multi-racial ethnic group in South Africa.
81 "What's Changing in South Africa," 13.

82 See Hearnden, *Red Robert*, 120-143.
83 See for example Patrick J. Furlong, *Between Crown and Swastika: The Impact of the Radical Right on the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement in the Fascist Era* (Middletown, CT, 1991); Robert Citino, *Germany and the Union of South Africa in the Nazi Period* (NY, 1991); Brian Bunting, *The Rise of the South African Reich* (Baltimore, MD, 1964); Howard Simson, *The Social Origins of Afrikaner Fascism and its Apartheid Policy* (Uppsala, 1980); Sipo E. Mzimela, *Apartheid: South African Nazism* (NY, 1983).
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87 "A New Look to Separate Freedoms," Ibid. (29 April 1967), 11.
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89 "Change or not," *Rand Daily Mail* (29 April 1967), 22.
90 "Life in South Africa," *Observer* (14 May 1967), 31.
91 "Birley Defended," Ibid. (26 May 1967), 8. Whilst unable to verify exactly who Tunmer was, I believe she was a lecturer at Wits or Rhodes University at the time: http://harriet.tunmer.me/.
92 "S.A. African Schooling is Useless," *Rand Daily Mail* (4 December 1964), 4.
93 Wilson to Gordon, 11 February 1965, FO 371/182138.
94 "Academic Boycott," *Times* (14 December 1965), 11.
95 Lorraine J. Haricome and F.W. Lancaster, *Out in the Cold: Academic Boycotts and the Isolation of South Africa* (Arlington, VA, 1995), 31.
96 Roger Fieldhouse, *Anti-Apartheid: A History of the Movement in Britain* (London, 2005), 109-10.
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98 Wilson to Le Quesne [WCAD] 20 January 1966, FO 371/188132; Reverend Canon Professor J.G. Davies to Birmingham University Staff, 30 December 1965, BIR 1.
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100 Birley to Stephenson, 2 January 1965 [misdated, 1966], FO 371/188132.
101 Wilson to Le Quesne, 20 January 1966, FO 371/188132.
102 "Britain Cannot Abandon S.A.'s Open Universities," *Rand Daily Mail* (17 March 1966), 5.
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104 AAM to Ashby, 4 April 1966, AAM [Records of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Bodleian Library, Oxford] 1488.
105 AAM Memorandum, 4 May 1965, Ibid.
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107 John Kane Berman, "Robert Birley," *Sash: The Black Sash Magazine* 25, no. 3 (November 1982): 3-4. See for example, Birley, "The Value of Protest," Ibid., 10, no. 2 (1966): 2-7.
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112 Hearnden, *Red Robert*, 212.
113 Wilson to Gordon-Lennox, 1 September 1964, FO 371/177035.

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115 Ibid.
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