

# Battle hymn to the Republic

**RECENT EVENTS** in Grahamstown have brought to mind yet again the celebrations planned to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the creation of the Republic of South Africa. Once a year it comes, this great orgy of white joy and feverish patriotism. But this year it is different.

Already some millions of rand have been set aside for the celebrations and preparations proceed apace for what seems likely to put to shame even those massive May Day parades of which the Soviet Communists appear to be so fond.

The army, the air force and the navy will all be there. So will the school children, waving their tiny flags, the Jeugbond, marching proudly down Adderley Street, their heads shaven for the proud occasion. Medals will be struck. Bantus will dust the cobwebs off the Voortrekker Monument, and Members of Parliament will call for greater white

unity. The crowds will assemble at segregated venues. Government Ministers will spur them on to create a greater and better nation, the church will bless them and quote from the Good Book and the hills and valleys will echo to the jolly sounds of the Volkspele.

And in the background the spirit of Goebel's and his Nuremberg Rallies will loom large and menacing.

The National Party will look on with pride as white South Africa salutes its creation — the Apartheid State. We will hear of the successes of the last ten years, of the glorious future that awaits us, and of the threats that lurk beyond our borders.

## STOP AND LOOK

But what have ten years of Republic brought us? And what have twenty three years of Nationalist rule achieved? Perhaps now, as at no other time, South Africans should stop and take a look at what has become of this country and

ponder at what these little men with their final solutions and Bantustans, have done to us.

How can we celebrate the fact that:

●South Africa is the only Republic in the world where people can die if the wrong colour ambulance comes to fetch them, even if it is right there with them?

●South Africa is the only Republic in the world where the law prevents members of the same family from living together by classifying them differently — even if their parents are of the same race?

●South Africa is the only Republic in the world where the police can remove anyone at any time and are protected by the law from telling anyone about it — even if they detain people forever?

●South Africa is the only Republic in the world which "extends" education by throwing people out of universities?

●South Africa is the only Republic in the world where dialogue is encouraged by se-

paration?

●South Africa is the only Republic in the world where hotels have to use separate cloths for the glasses and dishes of different coloured people?

●South Africa is the only Republic in the world where you can go to jail for loving somebody whose skin is of a different colour from yours?

## MEALS

And as Republic Day approaches, let us not forget the fact that we have set aside enough money to celebrate it as could provide meals for over ten million children — or only one meal a day, or for over a million children for 100 days.

Chew that one over. We once thought the celebrations would be above party politics. But no. Black schools have been instructed to "ensure that the children are so familiar with separate development that they will see it as a day of joy."

We once thought that all South Africans would be able to join in the celebrations. But

no, There will be White celebrations, African celebrations, Coloured Celebrations, Indian celebrations.

We should face up to the fact that there is precious little for the vast majority of our countrymen to celebrate on Republic Day and that the little they do have grows relatively less and less and less ....

We should face the fact that these Republic celebrations will really be the hollow proclamations of a tiny minority of Afrikaner Nationalists, who have brought this country to the brink of economic ruin, have enslaved most of its people and have utterly destroyed the real meaning of the word Patriotism.

The terrible wrongs that White South Africa has perpetrated over the last ten years of the South African Reich will return to haunt our children and ourselves as surely as they came to haunt Hitler and his sidekicks.

*The Editor*

# Rhodeo

STUDENT NEWSPAPER OF RHODES UNIVERSITY

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## Police may step up activity - Curtis

**THE INCREASED INTERVENTION** of the State in student affairs is heralding in an ominous new era, says Neville Curtis, NUSAS President, in his bi-yearly report on "The State of the Union."

"The increased activity of the Special Branch and the raids on student leaders, the NUSAS office and other student organisations; the increase in censorship and indoctrination in the schools — all these things are direct threats to the new revitalisation in NUSAS and further afield.

### PRESSURE

"The pressure is being felt on all campuses — black and white, English and Afrikaans, in the secular and in the religious fields, in education and in politics. The new awakening of NUSAS, the developing Black Theology of UCM and the growing black consciousness of SASO, the growing awareness among young Afrikaner intellectuals are all under pressure; pressure which extends beyond them and has implications for the future of all South Africans", writes Mr. Curtis.

In his report Mr. Curtis says the "new" NUSAS which emerged from the 1970 reassessment congress is making a fantastic impact on the campuses.

"In all spheres of activity a revitalisation can be seen, and the influence of the new thinking and the new organisation is extending further than ever. An unprecedented "new wave" is sweeping through the student scene and although it is still only in its beginnings its impact is being felt strongly on the student scene and on the national scene."

Other points made by Mr. Curtis are:

●In the last month four new branches have been started on campuses previously uninvolved in NUSAS.

●Three of these new branches are on black campuses.

●The Black Section of the University of Natal has given notice of its intention to disaffiliate from the National Union.

●Dialogue with Afrikaans campuses has increased. In recent weeks joint meetings have been held with almost all the Afrikaans SRC's.

●Greater contact has been established with students in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland following visits by Vice-Presidents Horst Kleinschmidt and Clive Keegan.

●The expansion of the NUSAS Travel Department has

made it possible to lower the costs of student travel to Europe, by almost 50 per cent.

●Mr. Curtis points out that the "Nationalist Government has taken direct action against over 100 people since the beginning of the year. — deportations, passport removals, arrests, raids, withdrawals of residence permits — but has remanded only one person to appear in court.

### DEPORTATION

Among steps taken by police against students are the deportation of Rex Heinke, the Wits SRC President and Dick Rock a psychology lecturer at Wits; Paula Ensor, Vice-President of the Durban SRC has been refused a passport and warned of a possible banning order; Richard Pruett, NUSWEL Chairman at Durban, has been warned that if he leaves South Africa he will not be permitted to return; John Aitchison, a divinity student at Pietermaritzburg, has had a second banning order served on him.

Curtis predicts that pressure on dissenting students will increase in the immediate future. "Bowing to this intimidation will only increase its effect and we must stand firm — and if necessary force a confrontation."

## RAG IN FULL SWING

Saturday is Rag Day, and the Rag Committee hopes that by cutting down on the number of entries this year the standard of floats joining the procession down High Street will be higher than in previous years.

The Rag Procession will move along Prince Alfred Street into New Street and down to High Street. At the Drostdy Arch end of High Street it will turn left into Somerset Street, go past the Teacher's Training College, and turn left along Beaufort Street. Finally, the procession moves down Bathurst Street to enter Church Square. Once the floats have assembled in the square, the Mayor of Grahamstown will crown the Rag Queen, Sandy Lucas, and present prizes to the best entries. Mr. Moffat has requested that students return their collection tins to a collection point outside the Drostdy Arch. Tins will be available at the Rag Office only on Saturday morning.

### ROAD BLOCKS

Trucks for the floats will be arriving on campus at 5 p.m. tomorrow (Friday) and Chris Moffat, Rag Chairman has asked all students to remove their cars from the university grounds by that time. Road blocks will be erected shortly after the arrival of the trucks, and construction of the floats will be restricted to the

main campus roads to facilitate protection of completed entries. Last year vandals caused considerable damage to several floats in the early hours of Saturday morning. Floats will gather in Prince Alfred Street at 7.30 a.m. on Saturday morning, where judging will take place for the best float, costume and carnival head.

The Rag Chairman has issued two appeals to students. The first is that they refrain from drinking on the floats as this is an offence, and brings adverse publicity to the occasion. His second plea is that students do not jump into the fountain in Church Square, as damages cost the Committee R74 last year.



● No drinking on floats or swimming in fountains, pleads chairman Chris.

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**Cecil John**



**HAIL TO YOU**, my merry men, women and children, and how does your weeny little gut feel this bleeeeah morning? Well into the jollifications, hurlifications, and other fications, after your sordid little vacations? Jolly splendid show ... and if it isn't bad enough to wake up to this week's RHODEO, then this little literary masterpiece will make a warm beer and a greasy pork chop seem like a Reg-

maker (which, being interpreted, a Rhodesian pleb, is a medicinal drink otherwise known as the head of the dog/head of the Zambian etc.).

Hubbly Bubbly Bottletop Award for Interesting Biological Phenomena this week goes to those splendid, loyal, dedicated etc. Rhodes Students who turned up en masse in Johannesburg full of the joys of life, eager, un-hung-over etc., simply longing to go

# On pork chops and regmakers

forth into the world and spread the word of that maestro and past master of the joke, none other than William A. Vickery, resident drinker at the Graham currently appearing as guest artist in that magnificent musical comedy, which is a revival (polite word for re-hash ... Ed) of the time-honoured revue known as Scope-Nite, or "Don't Ask Me Why This Seems To Be So Much Like Last Year's and The Year Before's and The Year Before's."

Yes, Gentleman, Ladies, (and Chris Moffatt) — we are well into the week of Rag 71, and

soon all those hideous Peter Terry-style posters will be a part of Hisotry, Moffatt's nervous breakdown a part of Hysteria, and the cat is reported to be preparing itself spiritually for a Hysterectomy. But then, it's all part of Life's rich tapestry, as the wise man said to the alcoholic parrot, who then mumbled something about the SRC being an important, dynamic, and integral facet of University life ... but then, as I said, the parrot was an alcoholic.

One day, after a certain amount of laborious research which I shall doubtless call

The Cecil John Commission of Enquiry into The Goings-On of The Pharmacy Department, I will be able to reveal the stark, naked truth about why it was that the Pharmacy Bunch failed in their bid to take over Rag Comm and set up a Greek cafe in Rag Office. A Chief Spokesman for the rebellious Klemp, Pep-pill Molasses, said he could not understand why exactly it was that they had failed. "It may well be that the decay started when our Infiltrations Organiser Mr. Diesel Trailer, resigned his post as Sepe-Nite Producer. "Come on gan! Where's the renowned team-spirit that won you your coveted awards for being the most fun-loving, modest, clean-cut, well-behaved group ever to go on a Sunday-School camp? Rah-rah-rah and all that junk.

Perhaps it was merely because Rag Comm are such a fine stalwart bunch of lads that the rearguard action they fought succeeded. Who's to pass judgement? Not me ... all a prophet can do is make suggestions — namely that the Pharmacy Gang take over the SRC (no resistance there, boyos), and then maybe they'll start peddling their experiments on campus, which will at least mean that the Women's Residences won't be quite as depleted when the Julyvacazzione is completed.

Well, that's about it for the week, folks; I doubt whether you'll even have read this far, unless you're sober — and as I don't intend writing any further you can take it from me that I'm on my bromponie to go and get URINATED, with a capital P.

## SAYINGS OF THE WEEK:

"I haven't read Rhodent yet," (Moffatt)

"Rag Ball ... when is it? (Said in a desperate whisper) (Terry).

"It's tough at the top" (Keevy).

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## Wits student fined R250

A WOMAN STUDENT at the University of the Witwatersrand has been fined R250 by the University disciplinary court for painting slogans on campus walls. The student, Kathy Saunderson, was caught when she and several others attempted to escape from a night-watchman who surprised them while they were painting. While she was trying to get away she fell and hurt herself. She was thus caught and identified.

The R250 fine is believed to be one of the highest ever imposed by any South African University disciplinary committee. A senior law lecturer, commenting on the case, said the fine may have so considerably in order to cover the cost of the damage caused by the slogans. The paint on the statue outside the University Great Hall could not be removed and the entire statue had to be recast.

Miss Saunderson is well known on the Wits campus for her views on women's liberation.

A spokesman for the Hillbrow police has been reported as saying that the incident was being investigated. Although members of the Special Branch took photographs of the slogans, it is though unlikely that any prosecution will arise.



## Marcuse misinterpreted by Chancellor

Dear Sir,

I WOULD like to draw the attention of your readers to what I consider to be a scurrilous misrepresentation of the ideas of Herbert Marcuse made by Chancellor Busschau in his address to parents and students at this university's graduation ceremony on Saturday morning, 3rd April.

During his address Chancellor Busschau commended Rhodes University students for being responsible. (Students might by the way be interested to know that Senate appear to

and old people to their own devices when they really get sick — or to the extension of public transport as against the continued over-production of private automobiles, is becoming a danger to society as a whole."

Later Marcuse went on to cite as an example of a movement of aggressive intent and one from which tolerance should be withdrawn, the Ku-Klux-Klan.

I can only assume that Chancellor Busschau has not only not read the writings of Marcuse, but that he has only read Marcuse's Right-wing critics who of course have their own reasons for so wishing to misinterpret Marcuse's ideas. I might also add that I was not the only member of staff present who was seriously disturbed by Chancellor's Busschau's misrepresentations.

Yours faithfully,

Ruan Maud.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

have a rather different impression. They have recently set up a committee to investigate the "deterioration in student conduct" at this university). One of the reasons that Chancellor Busschau gave for the students being responsible was that they did not follow the ideas of Marcuse who, Busschau said, advocated intolerance and violence. What in fact Marcuse has said, and this is singularly different from Chancellor Busschau's interpretation, is that we cannot afford to allow the same forms of tolerance (i.e. such civil liberties as freedom of speech and assembly) to the forces of reaction in society as to the forces of progress.

In an interview on BBC television with Robert McKenzie in 1968 Marcuse expressed himself more clearly on this point (cf. The Listener, 17th October, 1968. Pp. 498-499) viz:

McKenzie: "... You say that there ought to be "a withdrawal of the toleration of freedom of speech and assembly from those who promote aggressive policies, armament, discrimination, racial and religious intolerance" and so on; or "from those who oppose the extension of public services, social security, medical care" and so on.

Marcuse: "I believe that if the Nazi movement in Germany had not been allowed to make full use of the civil and political rights granted them by the democracy, if Hitler's "Mein Kampf" had not been allowed to be published, we might have been spared the Second World War. The withdrawal of tolerance which I had in mind refers only to movements whose aggressive character is beyond any doubt. I have never advocated any kind of censorship, for example, in art and literature."

McKenzie: "With respect, Professor Marcuse, you're taking the easy way out by citing the case of the Nazi movement in Germany. What you propose would knock out the right of conservatives, whether extreme or moderate, to make their case?"

Marcuse: "It wouldn't knock out their right to make their case. What I had in mind is that we have reached conditions where any militant opposition to social security — that is to say, leaving poor

## UNIVERSITY SWINDLED STUDENTS

Dear Sir,

In the April 1 edition of RHODEO you ran an article entitled "Landlords accused of exploitation." But it is not only the locals that are taking us for a ride.

Why are we charged R21 for the hogswill and lodging we were forced to endure during the recent vac.; yet we receive no refund for the period two days after our final exam and the end of term — a period often longer than ten days.

Rhodes must indeed be a profitable organisation.

Yours faithfully,

Willem Willemsen.

## Call for political amnesty

THE willingness of a government to show clemency to its political opponents was a good indication of its sophistication, said Mr. Mewa Ramgobin, chairman of the Committee for Clemency (South Africa).

Mr. Ramgobin, who has recently been released from a five year banning order, was speaking at Rhodes at the end of last term as a guest of the S.R.C. and Nusas Local Committee.

South Africa, he said, had a proud history of political clemency, and thus fell within the category of sophisticated societies. He observed "that one of the first administrative acts of the new Minister of Justice in 1948, Mr. C. R. Swart with Cabinet approval, was to release prisoners who had been convicted of offences in connection with subversive activities, including sabotage."

### TO BLAME

Mr. Ramgobin quoted Mr. Swart, a former State President, who said in the House of Assembly in 1949: "I want to state very clearly that these

men did things in the past war that were very wrong .... but now I want to ask in all seriousness whether the former government (i.e. the United Party) is not to blame for the conditions which existed in the country at the time .... their persecution and oppression, their espionage with regard to citizens of the country, their raids on houses and offices, their system of censorship in the postal and telephone services was nothing less than a scandal. .... My accusation is that the government of the party opposite drove people to desperation."

Mr. Swart was speaking to one of the first Bills tabled by the new National Party Government. This Bill, once it had passed into law, secured the release of three men who had been sentenced to death for sabotage during the second World War — Leibrandt, Visser and Van Black.

Mr. Ramgobin said "our present-day political prisoners, like the oppressed Afrikaans-speaking people of not so long ago believe that they have been persecuted by the

National Party Government. These men on Robben Island and in Pretoria Gaol also acted to assert their human dignity, like the Afrikaner, by using sabotage and violence as their methods. They, like the Afrikaner, hoped to establish and entrench themselves in a common society in a common South Africa. Our Afrikaans-speaking compatriots were not denied constitutional methods to effect their denied change but still chose sabotage and violence as their methods. Our present-day Black political prisoners were denied all constitutional methods to realise their objections."

Mr. Ramgobin felt that the present situation in South Africa called for a high degree of magnanimity and compassion and for a willingness to share South Africa, not as a piece of real estate, but as a common home for all its citizens. For this reason he was calling for amnesty for South Africa's political prisoners at the time of the Republic festival — a call which had both the consideration of established principles and the strength of a moral obligation.

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# RHODEO

APRIL 23, 1971

# CENSORSHIP

by *Mike Morris*

"... the educator himself needs education." (Karl Marx.)

This simple statement strikes at the core of the fundamental principle underlying censorship, for it points to the state of affairs that allows censorship to exist: that of a society split into two—the mass of society with little say in the running of their society, with little say in the distribution of its benefits and the minority who by a monopoly of the political apparatus impose their will in an arbitrary fashion upon the politically dispossessed.

Man is a social but also a moral being. Because he is social he has a right to a full participation in his society. Because he is moral he necessarily has to make his own moral choices, for if he does not choose it, what meaning could it have for him. The argument for censorship, however, assumes, one, that man is not social and, two, that he needs a morality imposed upon him from without to make him socially co-operative. (It loses the fact that since man is social he will act socially and therefore morally). Since it makes these two assumptions (i.e. that man is not social, nor moral), it places a few men on a higher plane and grants to them the due right to choose socially and morally for all men. But this argument must fail because while it has assumed that man has such and such a nature, it appoints other men, also with this nature, to guard the rest of men against this very nature.

## TO USE REASON

Even if some men are regarded as more fit to judge, it can only be because they are more wise. But to be wise is to use one's reason. Once again the argument for censorship must fail for its primary aim is to limit the range of ones thinking and therefore retard the use of one's reason. However, this the protagonists of censorship is like a cancer — censor another man's mind and you censor your own faculty of reason.

What are the practical arguments for censorship? It protects the minds of the masses from perversion and it protects society by combating crime and social disorder. However, if it really was possible for the literature that was being censored to pervert our minds, then the most perverted men in society must be those who come into contact with this literature the most, i.e. the censors.

More important, the fundamental question that has to be answered by the advocates of censorship is "what is meant by pervert?" What is usually meant is that the censored work departs from a dogmatic religious view of morality and

social action. The final arbiter, it seems, being God. The core of the problem is that it can only be imposed by those in power by fixing some arbitrary standard and then absolutising it. But God does not govern or participate in society. Men do. Perversion is a term which arises in a particular society to specific conditions. It is not absolute and changes according to the morality of the dominant ruling elite. Thus as power becomes more decentralised, the meaning of "pervert" becomes more vague and less usable. To use it as an absolute peg on which to hang a blanket of censorship is to misunderstand its relativistic nature.

## RESPONSIBILITY

As man progresses in his social thought, he must understand that society is the product of all the actions of all the human beings, and therefore morality becomes the responsibility of every man. It is therefore every man's responsibility to choose and give a meaning to the word "pervert". If society is a collective responsibility, then let us put it to each man's social responsibility and not rely upon a dominant elite to decide how "normal" the rest of society is.

The same must apply to those works of literature and art that are "not conducive to social order". The flaw in this argument is that it assumes that men act in terms of "ideas in the sky" and not in terms of their environmental conditions. If there is social disorder let us not look to the minds of men for the causes; let us look at their material conditions for the cause of their unrest. Social disorder is the result of an injustice in the social order. If the mass of men cry for more, let us look to the material fact of their economic exploitation. If there is crime and violence in a society, the cause lies not in the "thoughts" of violence, but in the very violence that is perpetrated under the surface by the ruling elite of that society. The values that are to be found in movies, books etc., can only take hold if these very same values are the current theme of the society itself. Censorship cannot cure a society of crime and violence for it aims at the

wrong target. Violence can only be destroyed if the causes of violence are rectified.

## SOCIAL CONTROL

It is usual when any criticism of censorship is offered, for the critic to look only at what is being done without looking at why it is being done. When we strip away all the superficial reasons for censorship, it becomes immediately obvious that it acts as a tool for maintaining political supremacy. Control of the mass media means control of the effective means of communication. But this does not only mean control of the availability of information. It also means control of the distribution of information. When we understand this we begin to ask: who is maintaining their political supremacy by these means? In a society where property is hallowed, where the owners of this means of production have all the financial support, all economic activity becomes dominated by one class. Since effective action within society necessarily needs economic support for it to survive, the mores of the society will reflect the wishes and aspirations of this dominant class. Thus we find that institutions within the society will be geared to perpetuating or extending the culture of that particular group. Even though no direct censorship is applied, the mass media will therefore effectively reflect only one type of analysis: the analysis that suits the ruling elite.

It is this second type of censorship which is far more dangerous, for it is far more subtle. It exists and controls not by direct means but by virtue of it possessing effective control of the means of production and the channels of distribution. It arises in a society where power is taken by an elite either by their economic status or, in an organisation like a university, by right of power being accorded them. Censorship can only truly be countered when the mass of society organises itself to put forward its point of view. It can only be overcome when power is distributed throughout the society, thereby rendering effective communication possible.

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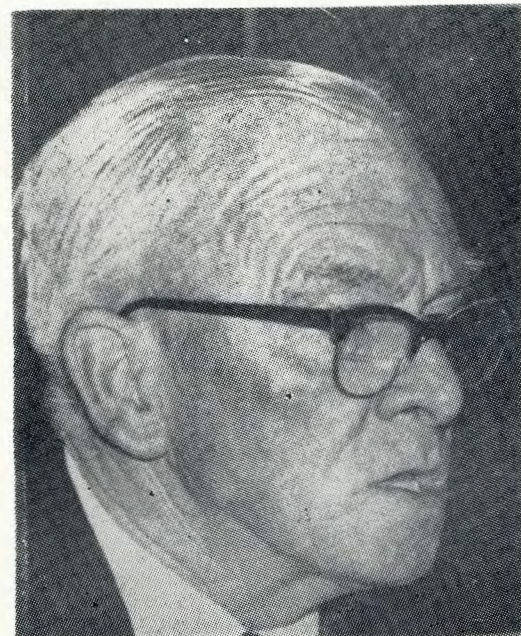
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# THE TWO CULTURES

BY  
ALAN  
PATON



I ASK the reader's indulgence for two abbreviations used in this article: I have used the word "English" to mean English-speaking South Africans, and I have used the word "Afrikaner" to mean all Afrikaners except the dissenters, to whom I apologise. As Afrikaner dissent grows, it will be a usage less and less permissible.

So far as I know, there exists no study of the influence of the English culture on the Afrikaans, nor of the influence of the Afrikaans culture on the English. It is possible that there are unpublished theses lying in the archives of our universities but it is hard to understand why no substantial study has ever been published. In this brief article I do nothing more than offer a few notes.

## RIGHTS OF DISSENTERS

In my lifetime English political thinking has been powerfully influenced by Afrikaner Nationalist thought. How much of his influence is deep and permanent, and how much is a yielding to necessity, one cannot say. It has been especially powerful in two fields, that of race theory and practice, and that of the theory and practice of law, the safeguarding of civil liberties, and the relationship of the individual to the State.

At one time the contrary influence was also strong, as can be seen in the lives and actions of General Botha, Smuts and Hertzog, but the incompatibility between British justice and South African racial policy existed even earlier than that, and indeed had come into existence more than a hundred years earlier, at the time of the British occupations of the Cape. Since the coming of the Nationalists into power in 1948, the British traditions in both these fields have lost much ground, and a great many English-speaking South Africans either have ceased to believe in them, or have acquiesced in their decline.

There is no overt Nationalist Party opposition to any interference with the liberty of the

individual and the power of the courts. Opposition begins in the United Party, though its attitude is very far from fiat just tunc ruat caelum, and the strength of opposition increases as one moves further left. What is more, the more radical the opposition, the more radical becomes the reaction of the government, and this development does not cause English-speaking South Africa much concern. The days are gone when one died for the rights of dissenters. In fact the dissenter of the left who has suffered under the hand of the Government, can hardly conceal his pleasure when he hears the heartfelt cries of the dissenter of the right, who now fears that he may have to take some of the medicine he helped to concoct.

The reasons for the strength of the Afrikaner influence on English political thought are many. One is that it is more comfortable to be on the bandwagon than off it, even though one is not permitted to do more than give an occasional rat-tat-tat on the smallest drum. Another is that the race policies of Afrikaner Nationalism seem to be immutable, except for the names, and therefore one must accept them if one hopes to achieve anything at all. But I think that the most important reason is that Afrikaners and English-speaking South Africans share the same fear, and that is of their black fellow-continents. Fear of the coloured people has never been considerable, and fear (and dislike) of the Indian people has much abated.

But the support given by the English to Afrikaner race policies, and to the Nationalist concept of the State is not wholly dependable. What the Nationalists expound with such grim single-mindedness is accepted with a kind of cynicism and resignation by the English.

The number of English speakers who are real authoritarians is limited. They are all anti-Communists, that

goes without saying, but in addition they are all anti-British, anti-American, anti-liberal, anti-student, and certainly anti-church when the church becomes too critical of the State, and they constitute a huge percentage of letter-writers to the Press, indicting epistles which cause the blood pressure to rise sharply in liberal and progressive arteries. Most of them espouse the cause of religion, but it must be establishment of religion, confining itself to the worship of God and the things of the soul, keeping clear of politics and protest, and showing a proper respect for the powers that be. These authoritarians evoke little warmth from the other members of their group, and this gives rise to the Nationalist suspicion that the English would not be wholly reliable in an emergency, and therefore they must be given no position of any real responsibility.

## LESS PURITANICAL

Why is it that while one acknowledges the power of Afrikaner political influence of the English, one still suspects that the English are not wholly reliable? The answer lies, I think, in their religion and morality. Roman Catholics and Anglicans, and Methodists and Presbyterians increasingly, are less puritanical. Sunday is for them a day of relaxation as well as of worship, and with exception, their priest and ministers take a tolerant view of mini-skirts, the moderate and pleasurable use of liquor, horse racing, and the like. They counsel moderation rather than prohibition, and their ministers, especially in the country town, have nothing like the power of the domineers. One can safely say that English religion and morality are more permissive than those of the Dutch Reformed Church.

It is this permissiveness that makes the English unreliable. Authority does not bear down so heavily on the individual. Dr. Albert Hertzog, is quite justified in believing, according to his lights, that only the Calvinists are reliable, although we should note that Calvinist scholars of repute maintain that Dr. Hertzog's Calvinism is an aberration, notably in its espousal of apartheid and separate development. Dr. Hertzog is abundantly right in distrusting the Verligtes also, for they manifest in themselves the sign of English influence, a phenomenon with which we shall now deal.

## MORE PERMISSIVE

There can be no doubt that

considerable number of Afrikaners envy the English their more permissive religion and morality, and have been profoundly influenced by them. The mini-skirt wearers of Durban and the long-haired boys, are often Afrikaans-speaking. So are the beauty queens and the Sunday beach-goers. I have no doubt that Mr. Vorster would play golf on Sundays were it not for the rigid views of so many of his supporters. The influence of the English Press on so many of his supporters. The influence of the English Press on the Afrikaans has been immense, as has also been the influence of what were once English monopolies, commerce and industry, banking and the stock exchange.

The Afrikaner world becomes day-by-day more like the English world. At one time the Afrikaner was in danger of becoming recognisably Anglicised. Today the likelihood is just as great, but it takes place in a different way. The Afrikaner no more becomes an Englishman, yet he becomes less and less like the Afrikaner whose passing moves Dr. Hertzog to a state of frenzy. We are Anglicising and Afrikanerising one another. That is the truth of it. I see little chance that either will swallow up the other. I see only an irresistible process of cross-fertilisation, which could be arrested only by Nazi methods. Luckily our authoritarian government, though it can be callous and cruel, is not likely to exterminate dissenters.

## LIKELY TO WEAKEN

It is true that the influence of English permissiveness has powerfully affected the Afrikaner, is it likely also to affect Afrikaner authoritarianism. Is it likely that Afrikaner conformity will begin to decline, in politics, religion, literature and education? Is the increasing diversification in Afrikaner behaviour likely to weaken that political influence which the Afrikaner group has exerted on the English? Are Afrikaner students, for example, going to say that they are not satisfied to leave all racial contact to the Government? Are Afrikaner newspapers going to begin exposing national scandals like Limehill? Uys Krige and Leo Marquard are veteran dissenters, but Afrikanerdom continues to throw up others: Beyers Naudes and Bill de Klerks and Andre Brinks, and those stout hearts who still belong to NUSAS and champion it.

I have no means of con-

ducting a reliable survey, but it seems to me that Afrikaner dissent is growing, not declining; and what is more, it is manifesting itself at a time when to dissent is more dangerous than it used to be. It is difficult to estimate the staying power of Stellenbosch dissent, and one may exaggerate its importance, but it seems to show that among young Afrikaners there are those who wish to communicate direct with their contemporaries of other races, and are not content to accept the services of official intermediaries.

## SERIOUS QUESTIONING

Would the decline of Afrikaner authoritarianism cause also a realisation of rigid race policies? Would a weakening of the young Afrikaner belief that father is always right, that the Party, the State, the Prime Minister, are always right, result in a serious questioning of all those Afrikaner dogmas that have determined Afrikaner conduct for so long? One cannot answer these questions with any certainty: The imponderables are too many. Let us conclude by looking at them briefly.

All over the world dogmatic belief is losing its hold on the human mind. The younger generations no longer take for granted the beliefs of the older. They want things to be proved, and if they cannot be proved, they must not be believed. Dogmatic religion is adhered to by fundamentalists only, for the reason, conscious and unconscious, that they need something unquestioned and immutable to hold onto amidst the changes and chances of this mortal life.

But more and more people would rather face the changes and chances than accept the dogmas. In planning a journey to the moon there is no place for dogma, and more and more human activity is of this nature. This means that there is a decay of authoritarianism in the fields of belief, custom, tradition, religion and morality.

Yet a contrary trend must also be recognised. In our own country in 1971 the mini-skirt flourished alongside the BOSS Act and the threat to strengthen the hold of censorship. This governmental authoritarianism is by no means confined to the communist countries.

(Continued on Page 6)



# OUR VARSITIES BEHIND TIMES

WHILE THE FACULTIES of South African universities proudly claim to be keeping abreast of academic and teaching developments overseas, our residential conditions are well over a decade behind those acceptable to administrations of universities overseas.

This is the claim made by Mr. Kelvin Williams, a member of the NUSED National Executive, in a paper on "The Residential System at South African Universities."

## DIFFICULTIES

Mr. Williams believes that despite the multiplicity of forms which student grievances take within residential systems, the majority of difficulties originate in the "in loco parentis" theory to which all South African uni-

versities (except Natal) cling rigidly as a justification for systems created decades ago when social norms — and the average student — were radically different from what they are today.

Linked with this concept is the "equally nebulous" "good name of the University." In this concept, it is left entirely to senior members of the Senate to decide what that "name" is, what "good" is, and what will damage that "good." Mr. Williams challenges these two concepts on the grounds that "a university is an academic institution and that the only major factors of relevance to its 'good name' should therefore be of academic significance. Social and moral factors should be only peripherally relevant, and deviation from social and moral norms punishable primarily where such deviation would interfere with the attainment by others of their academic ends, or where they actually transgress the laws of the land.

## EXTENSION

"Residences are regarded as an extension of the school system, where character building and socio-moral restrictions are still considered the responsibility of the authorities rather than the concern of the individual student."

Mr. Williams says that "perhaps the only compromise within this type of system would be that aimed at establishing a closer relationship between the social and moral norms of the university residence structure and the norms generally accepted — and enjoyed — in life outside a university today. We live under a system that bears little or no relation to the realities of the 'outside world' and does little to increase students' maturity and sense of responsibility, rather delaying this development in a school hostel-type cocoon.

"However the rationale behind student concern for reform lies also in the positive desire to improve the standing and quality of students produced by our universities. Residence structures could and should serve as a base for the development of both social maturity and individual responsibility in all students, if only a more positive and realistic approach were taken by the University authorities."

Mr. Williams stresses that "the student does not ask the university to condone drunkenness, disruptive rowdiness, vandalism or drug taking. He asks for nothing but the right to live a normal adult existence, in the room he has hired from the university."

## Israel talk on Tuesday

"ISRAEL — WAR OR PEACE" will be the title of a lecture to be given by the Israeli Consul General at Rhodes next week.

Mr. Itzhak Unna, who was born in Germany in 1922, moved to Palestine in 1935. During the Second World War he served with the Royal Engineers (Palestine Company) in England, Austria and Italy.

In Israel's War of Independence his Carmel Brigade captured Haifa and Acre and seized the Western Galilee. Mr. Unna remained in the army until 1953 and then took up a

position in the Israeli Foreign Diplomatic Service.

His duties have taken him to New York, where he served as Vice-Consul, Chicago, London and now in South Africa.

In 1963 Mr. Unna returned to Israel for three years, spending one year at the Defence College in Jerusalem. He was then posted to Bonn in Germany, to become a member of Israel's first embassy there.

Mr. Unna will address a student meeting in the Chemistry Lecture Theatre on Tuesday April 27, at 5.15 p.m. Professor Arkin will chair the meeting.



## NUSAS travel department introduces new tours

THE NUSAS TRAVEL department has launched a new and dynamic programme. The first full-time travel manager, Mr. Martin Morgan, has taken office in Cape Town.

A former member of the Wits SRC, Mr. Morgan will handle the increasing demand by South African students for travel facilities.

He has announced that this year will see the introduction of several new tours, including the exciting charter flights to Europe in November. By chartering flights with an international airline, the cost of a return fare has been reduced to as little as R265. This service available to all students who have signed up as members of NUSWEL by the end of May, is the cheapest available means of air travel to the Continent, undercutting even the present AIESEC cost.

Mr. Morgan will also be working on special interest tours. An example of these is the Art Study Tour, which will take place in July and will be conducted by Professor Neville Dubow, Professor of Fine Arts at the University of Cape Town.

Another service which Nusas will be launching this year is a free advice agency in Brussels, where the charter flights will be landing.

Nusas is considering joining the International Students Travel Conference which will enable it to take advantage of numerous international student concessions, including the large number of student charter flights in Europe.

## SARGENT TO JOIN STAFF

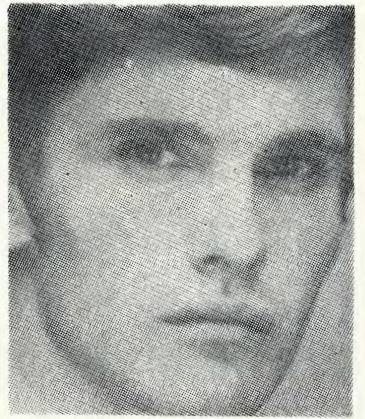
ROY SARGENT, who is one of the most exciting and talented personalities in South African theatre, is joining the staff of the Speech and Drama Department in August this year.

Mr. Sargent has already directed two productions for the Speech and Drama Department. In 1969 he directed Ben Jonson's comedy "The Silent Woman," and last year he directed Guy Butler's play "Richard Gush of Salem." Both productions went on tour to Cape Town, and the good reviews that they received there did much to enhance the growing reputation of the Drama Department.

Mr. Sargent obtained his English Honours degree at Cape Town University and began his career producing radio dramas for the SABC. He is now one of the resident directors for CAPAB but still finds opportunity for free lance directing.

Some of his most successful productions have been Jonson's "Volpone" and "The Silent Woman," Sheridan's "The Rivals," Strindberg's "The Father," and Guy Butler's "Salem."

Mr. Sargent will lecture in the Speech and Drama Department for a year, during which time he will direct two plays.



## Two cultures

Continued from Page 5

It is strong in Greece, Brazil, and South Africa. It rests too on a dogma, namely that national need, national emergency, demand a measure of totalitarian authority. Those who hold this dogma are interested in power, those who oppose it are interested in freedom. Who wins? That is the question that I cannot answer.

We are often told that dictatorship arises only when the people abdicate. I am not convinced by this argument. Is it not perhaps true that only a small percentage of people will ever resist the would-be dictator? Is it established — can it ever be established — that a permissive society makes a dictatorship unlikely. One cannot therefore conclude that as Afrikaner society grows more permissive the danger of dictatorship recedes.

And there is a third, and peculiarly South African factor, already alluded to, and that is the white man's fear of the black. Would a decay in authoritarianism mean that politicians could no longer use "the swart gevaar" and the appeal to tradition as a rallying-call? Would a decay in authoritarianism be accompanied by a lessening of white fear? I have always believed that a narrowing of the black-white income gap would lead to a lessening of racial tension, and it seems to be possible that under a declining authoritarianism the standard of black living would begin to rise appreciably, and that would be accompanied by the growth of a stable, urban, property-owning African middle-class, which would be conservative and non-revolutionary.

Indeed none of the changes discussed here, actual and potential, partake of the nature of revolution, and they will not satisfy those who want justice tomorrow. Yet history may one day say that Afrikanerdom was saved from a final and bloody confrontation with its black fellow-countrymen, by the fact that Afrikaners had to live cheek by jowl with the permissive English, who, it appeared, had no interest other than making money. It's an odd thesis, but then previews of history are often unbelievable.

## TRAGIC DEATH OF VAL POLLEY

MRS. VAL POLLEY and her nine-year-old daughter, Janis, were killed in a car collision in Natal two days before Christmas last year. Her husband, Jimmy, a student at this University for two years, was only slightly injured. Their son, Simon, suffered severe head injuries and is still recovering.

The Polleys were married 11 years ago and spent three years in America after Jimmy had been awarded a scholarship from the World Council of Churches.

While in Grahamstown, Jimmy was working towards the completion of a Ph.D thesis entitled "A study of Methodology in South African Society." As well as typing his thesis, Val took on half-day jobs to supplement the family income. She was a committee member of the Grahamstown branch of the Black Sash.

Mrs. Betty Davenport, Chairman of the Black Sash in Grahamstown said this in an obituary in the Black Sash Magazine:

"To Jimmy and Simon we extend our deepest sympathy and we know that this comes from the many friends she and Janis made and particularly those who worked with Val in this sphere of trying to put right some of the wrongs done to people who have never had a chance in life. She felt strongly about these injustices and was prepared to go a long way to bring about change."

## SMALLS

Unclassified smalls will be published on request, the cost being: 20 cents for 10 words. Thereafter two cents per word.

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## CHESS SOLUTION

1. Q-QR6 (a fine waiting move); 2. If (a) 1 . . . P-B5; 2 . . . Q-QR8 check, mate follows (b) 1 . . . P-K3; 2 . . . Q-K7 check, mate follows (c) 1 . . . P-Q3; 2 . . . KxP check, mate follows.



# WHO'S AFRAID OF VIRGINIA WOOLF?

BY DAVID CRAIG

"THE novelist, Virginia Woolf, acutely aware of the ways in which civilized society tends to pervert human nature, saw how the cultivated and ruling classes had become ghosts trapped in their machinery for living. In her novels she demonstrated the urgent need for man to remake himself and his society."

(Writers and Critics.)

Refuge in illusions is not satisfactory, and man must seek a new way to endure life and face reality. Society must be remade by men enlightened enough to break away from sterile traditions and ways of life — this is the message carried by Edward Albee's play, written within the traditions of the Theatre of the Absurd. As a social document, "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" is a unique, if grim and savage, exposure of a way of life which is symbolically American. While falling within the framework of the Theatre of the Absurd, striving to expose man as the

ters to justify their existence through their imaginative constructs or illusions. Martha, for instance, unable to justify her existence otherwise, fabricates the illusion of a son to give the illusion of creativity. This her husband George agrees to, because the imaginary child satisfies their common needs and gives them a reason for being.

Essential to an understanding of the play is some idea of the background of the Great American Dream. This illusion was broken down in Albee's play, and the three generations discernable in the

herent weaknesses. Martha's attitude to this outlook makes Albee's point fairly clear, that George's insistence on his right to individuality is a crime in terms of the conventions of his society.

The younger generation is represented by Nick, who has been described as "a forecast of triumph for the I.B.M. male," and Honey, whose play of innocence and near-hysteria are naive tricks designed to keep her free of responsibility. As the more sensitive American males have done, Honey abdicates, appalled by what maturity would require her to be and do, with the concrete example of Martha before her as a non-too-silent testimony.

The action of the play is simple. Martha, a college president's daughter, and her husband, George, a history professor, return from a college party, and begin an orgy of ripping away each other's dignity and illusions. Done with each other for the time being, they turn on Nick and Honey, a young couple newly arrived in their community. Martha takes Nick to bed, only to find that

particularly those of the American intellectual. George's position is symptomatic of that of the sensitive, intellectual American male, but George is in the fortunate position of being able to use the wider perspective his study of history has given him to expose the problems of both the conformists and the malcontents.

The verbal thrust and parry between George and Martha shows very effectively their different escape-routes or ways of feeling reality. George puts his whole being into the game of withering insult and verbal torments, for imagination is all

George and Martha share is their belief in the existence of their son. The invented child has been called an artistic error on the part of Albee. As a device within the Theatre of the Absurd, however, it is certainly permissible and symbolically most effective. Their son forms an anchor for their marriage and their lives. Both George and Martha are gifted enough to sustain their myth, and it gives them an illusion to contradict their manifest sterility. The destruction of the illusion is the key to an understanding of the play, and reflects the "message" of the playwright.

Albee's savage satire is highly successful and well controlled and he is a master of cynical humour. The play is both brutally shocking and brilliantly funny at the same time, but the impact of the violence and crudity takes away much of the force of the humour at a first reading.

The acceptability of his social comment and criticism seems quite evident, nor does he have to resort to making caricatures to attain this end. He strikes a good balance between the symbolic importance of his characters, and their individuality.

The greatness of his achievement lies in the fact

ridiculous, febrile, monstrous figure he is, and attacking the very foundations of American illusions and opinions, Albee's play forms part of the trend away from the total absurdity of human existence.

Albee makes use of all the modern stage devices and conventions. His use of violence is justified by his intention of shocking his audience into awareness of the social situation he is portraying. Typical of the Absurd tradition are the games invented to pass the time and the telling of stories. The games in "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" sometimes cease to be merely time-wasting factors, and the inventions make it possible for the charac-

play show clearly how the breakdown has come about. The three generations going to make up Albee's American "family" are the old era of dynamic vision and energy; the present era of decay and the break-down of values, and a darkly prophesied future generation.

In "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" the patriarchal figure, representing the dynamic principle of the vanishing generation in the accumulation of wealth, power and prestige, is described with awe, but he is never seen.

The present generation is dominated by the woman. Martha takes the interest in practical enterprise and achievements, and inherits the male aggressiveness. She makes her way into what had been the exclusive preserves of men, because, for some reason incomprehensible to her, they have abdicated their functions. Like most sensitive American males, George has opted out of his society's norms and values. His practical failures are his own choice — they are not in-

he is impotent. George in the meanwhile, knowing full well what is happening, escapes into his imagination, where he can attain some clarity of thought. From this process, he emerges able to kill their imaginary son, his and Martha's most precious illusion, which is designed to give some degree of transcendence of reality.

The whole American educated community is implicated in this simple plot, and the setting designed to show that the situation and problems posed by the play are

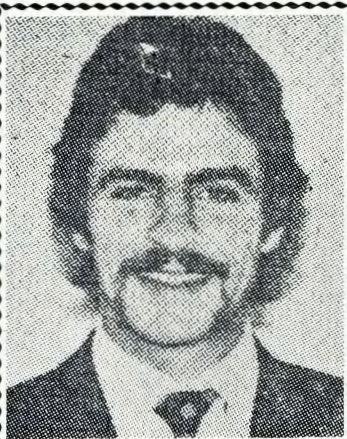
that is left to him, while Martha regards the combat as a mere escape-valve for her emotions. George's refuge is in the world of the intellect, though his love for history and his respect for the humanities is too great for him to use them as a basis for ambition.

It is significant that Albee should use as two of his characters Nick and George, as representative respectively of aggressive modern science and the returning and increasingly introspective humanities. The dialogues between George and Nick show clearly the distinctive and sterile nature of Nick's type of scientific approach, and George's concern for the survival of the arts in the face of increasing philistinism. His cynical gibes at Nick's expense cover a very real apprehension and the basic feeling of insecurity given him by the encroachment of science on his world is a further cause of his embracing illusions as the only way out for him.

The great illusion which

that, by using a device whose success was proved by the Greek tragedians, Albee succeeds in communicating, by means of a concrete and visible conflict within the family, what is essentially a social, more abstract and normally undramatisable situation.





## Double honour for Hodder

**NIGEL HODDER**, the South African Universities sprint champion and holder of the Border 100 metres record, has scored two notable victories during the last week.

Last Friday night he was named the Eastern Province Senior Athlete of the year 1970, and it was announced last week he has been invited to represent Rhodesia in Greece.

Hodder, who is Rhodesian by birth, has been invited to run the 100 and 200 metres in an Athletics meeting to be held in Athens on June 12 and 13. Rhodesia was invited to send two athletes to the meeting, and those selected were the Black sprinter Anton Mandasa and Hodder.

Hodder, 22, came second in the South African 100 metres sprint in Pretoria last year, and won the South African 100 metres title in Bloemfontein in December. His best time over this distance is 10.3 seconds.

The world record for the 100 metres is 9.9 seconds, held jointly by three American Negroes — Jimmy Hines, Charley Green and Ronnie Smith.

## RHODES WINS BIRCH CUP

The Rhodes 1st XV defeated ALBANY FOR THE Birch Cup at the end of last term by 14 points to eight. The game was played in rain throughout and never reached any great heights.

Rhodes were the first to score after seven minutes when Green gathered from a loose scrum on the Albany line to score far out. The conversion failed (3-0). Albany equalised in the twentieth minute with a penalty by Webster.

Rhodes' back line looked dangerous on occasions and good movements broke down from bad handling of a slippery ball.

Rhodes went further ahead when Stevens scored after the Albany fly-half had fumbled. Reed converted to make the score 8-3 at half-time.

Soon after half-time Albany were penalised for off sides in front of their posts and Reed made no mistake with the kick to make the score 11-3. Albany scored when Cooke went over from a loose melee on the Rhodes line.



## Fencing team in Cape Town tournament

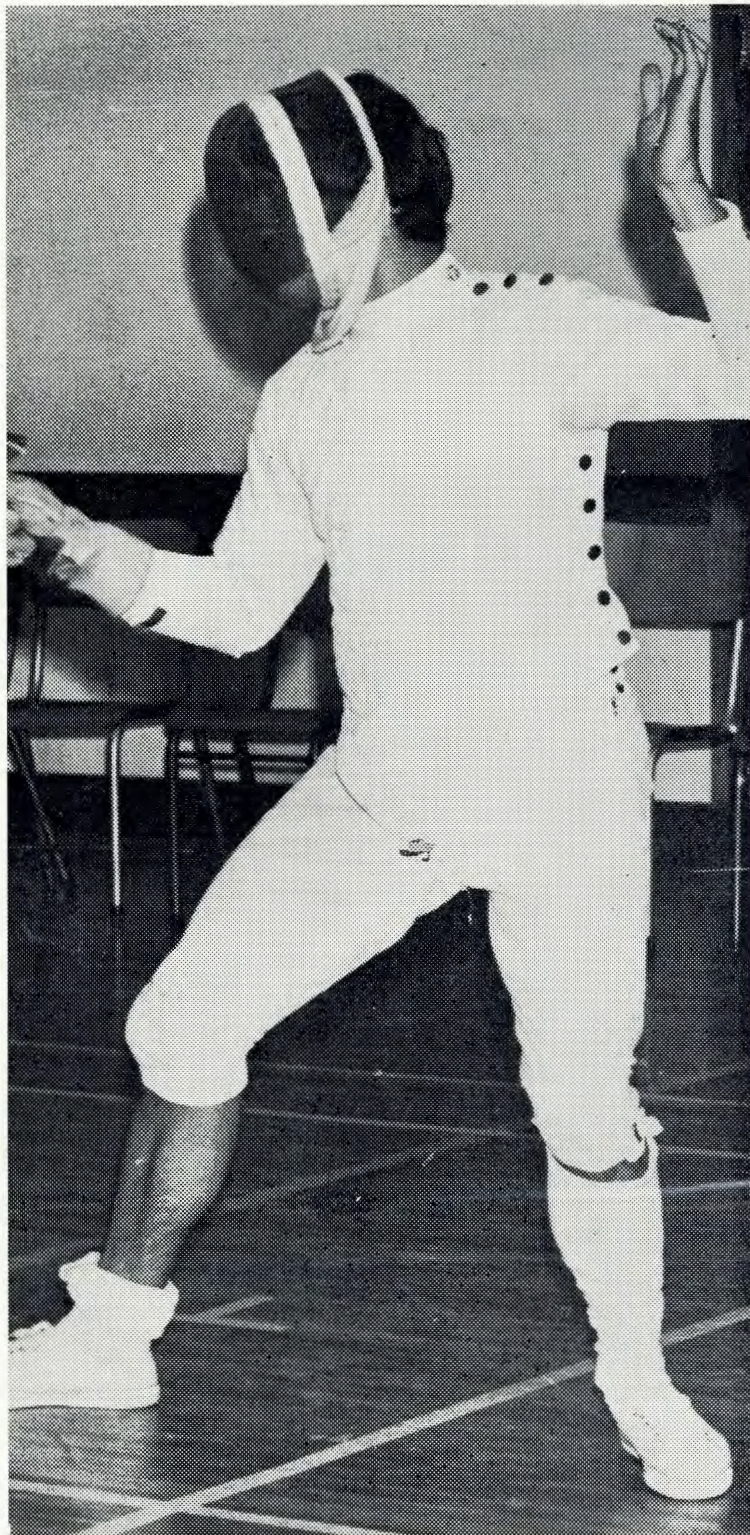
**FOUR MEMBERS** of the Rhodes Fencing Club, Lawrence Mutch, Jim Heaton, John Berry and Mike King, went down to Cape Town over the Easter week-end to take part in the Cape Championships. These championships were held as trials for the team to represent the Cape Province at the Festival Games to be held at Cape Town over the tenth anniversary of the RSA.

The Woman's Foil bouts were held on Saturday morning — Sue Eells, who was at Rhodes last year, came fourth, but she was not fencing at her best standard. After this, the Men's Foil pools were started. From the first pool, Alister Millar of UCT (a Protea fencer who went on the overseas Universities fencing tour last vac.), Lawrence Mutch and Mike King, and from the second pool, Jim Heaton, Greg Wells, ex-UCT, (Protea for five years) and Gerhardt Shultz of Stellenbosch went forward into the finals. At the end of the final, Jim Heaton and Alister Millar had to fight a barrage match to decide on the winner, and Alister Millar won the match. So in the foil of the Rhodes fencers, Heaton came second Mutch fourth, and King fifth.

### DUELLING

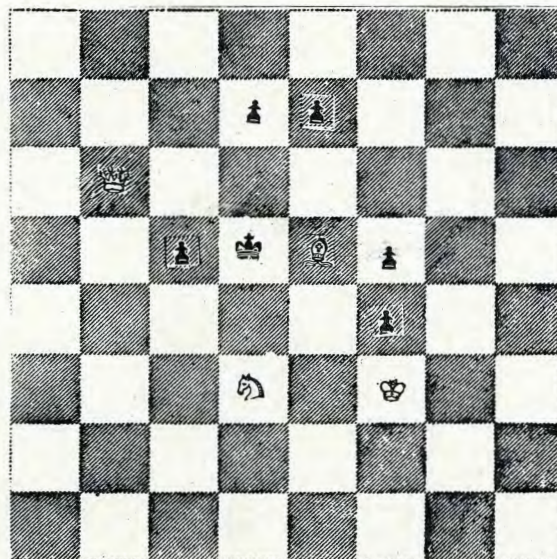
O.N Monday morning, the Epee championships were held. Epee is the equivalent of the duelling sword. Mike King from the one pool, and Jim Heaton and John Berry from the other got through to the finals. There had to be another barrage, between Jim Heaton and Greg Wells, and Wells won the fight. So Rhodes again had three places in the finals Jim Heaton second, John Berry third, and Mike King sixth. On Monday afternoon, the sabre fights were held, again Jim Heaton came second to Alister Millar, Mike King came fifth and John Berry eighth. The Master at Arms at Arms award, for the best all round fencer, was awarded to Jim Heaton.

The Rhodes fencers were all on form and considering the size of our club, did very well. The club is unfortunately isolated from other fencers, and does not get the competition it needs.



## An ancient chess problem to test your skill at the game

The following position was constructed by the Russian Grand Master, R. Mikan in 1958. White to play and mate in three. Solution on page 6.



## KELLY CUP RESULTS

The annual Kelly Cup Competition was held at the Port Alfred Golf Club on Sunday April 4. The weather was very bad and it rained all morning, although golf was still played under these unfavourable conditions.

After the first eighteen holes in the morning, the leaders were G. Nupen and R. Hargreaves as well as M. Fielding and T. Swift both with 39 points.

In the afternoon, Nupen and Hargreaves cracked and the competition was won by Swift and Fielding with 39 and 42. Runners up were D. Dittmar and K. Smeeton with 77 points.

Special mention should be made of Don Barker and Bruce Scott who finished with 38 and 45. However Barker who was only up for Graduation, is not a registered student at Rhodes.

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