

reality

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EDITORIAL

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY — BARRIER TO CHANGE

The thesis of Mr. Terence Beard's article in "Reality", November 1970, "Race Relations - the economic sine qua non", is so important that we use it for our editorial. The thesis is clear-cut, that there are only two solutions to South Africa's problems, and they are the Common Society and Separate Development.

For Mr. Beard the Common Society is a single political society, not tied to any particular constitutional forms, but affirming racial equality, individual freedoms, and the rule of law. Separate Development means not a white society sponging on the homelands, but a radical Total Separation.

The second, and more important part of Mr. Beard's thesis, is that both of these solutions are totally unrealisable unless economic inequality, of that kind determined by race, is eliminated. Mr. Beard does not declare himself in favour of radical socialism: whether he believes in radical socialism or not, that is not the point he is making, and no doubt he will come under fire from radical socialists for not making it. But the point he does make is very important, namely that talk

of the Common Society or of Total Separation is utterly useless unless we concern ourselves vitally with the question of the catastrophic economic gap between white and black income.

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Mr. Beard makes another important point. It is that Liberals failed to come to grips with this economic sine qua non, though he suggests that the suppressive

actions of our government cut all such endeavours short. We think it is fair to say that the Liberal Party came into being because of the spate of unjust racial legislation and the erosion of the rule of law. We realised well enough that injustices were political, social, and economic. But perhaps we were inclined to underestimate the power of economic factors to prevent political and social change.

Many of us will remember the arguments. Some argued that when disadvantaged people gain political power, then only will they be able to improve their economic situation. Others argued that they will never be granted any kind of political power unless they have economic weapons. Today still a third argument is being considered, not concerning itself with economic weaponry, but maintaining that **white South Africa will never make any move towards the Common Society while the other peoples of South Africa are so different from themselves**, and that the main causes of these differences are not primarily racial or social, but economic. In other words, you are more likely to make common cause with someone who dresses like you, who lives like you, who eats like you, even if he belongs to a different race and culture, than you are likely to make common cause with a person who is poor, poorly dressed, poorly housed, poorly fed; who may be hostile to you, not because you belong to a different race and culture, but because you are rich and he is poor; and who may seem dangerous to you because he is in a better position than you to compete in the less skilled labour market.

"OTHERNESS"

Now if there is no external intervention and no internal revolution, the only hope of change lies in the white electorate. And the white electors will never make any change so long as they are so frightened by the **otherness of their fellow South Africans**, especially

when these others outnumber them. And this otherness will never be modified while the tremendous economic gap remains unchanged. In other words, unless this otherness is modified, change in South Africa will come about only by external intervention or internal revolution, neither of which holds out any promise for white South Africa or for the continuance of that Afrikanerdom which is supposed by so many Afrikaners to have been maintained thus far by the will of Providence; a hypothesis which naturally revolts all those who have had to suffer under this domination. The argument is therefore psychological rather than economic, and is therefore an extension of Mr. Beard's thesis. If he were to incorporate it, we believe that his thesis would become still more important.

Mr. Beard declares that it is the "great tragedy" of South Africa that its white people are not prepared to make the sacrifices necessary for the Common Society or for Total Separation. No one could dispute his declaration. But the tragedy will be borne largely — and rightly — by the white people themselves. If they make no sacrifices, in the false belief that they will thus ensure their own survival and safety and security, they will be destroyed. Their divine mission in South Africa will come to an unsanctified end.

Our message to white South Africa is this. If you want to exercise any kind of initiative in planning for a more just South Africa, if you want to be able to go on living in that country, if you want to save Afrikanerdom from total destruction, if you want to make the move towards a Common Society more probable and more possible, then turn your earnest and vigorous attention to that vast economic inequality which makes your fellow South Africans of other races seem so other and so frightening, thus preventing you from making any move to break out of that cruel and unyielding order of society, the reformation or destruction of which is seen more and more clearly to be inescapable.

A DECENT RESPECT FOR THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND

An address delivered on the
8th Annual Day of Affirmation
of Academic and Human Freedom
— Natal University, Durban.
September, 1970.



most interesting as any author should Acknowledgments to Punch

should be given to the author of the

above paper.

denis healey

I have not come to preach a sermon. Britain has not given up the job of world policeman to become the world's parson. Nor have we in Britain any moral qualification to lecture South Africans about the handling of community relations. The building of our own empire was gained by appalling crimes against the peoples of Africa and Asia. The story of our treatment of the Afrikaner people in South Africa itself contains pages, indeed whole chapters, over which we still feel a profound shame. We have our own problems of racial integration which still await solution. None of us can feel proud of the way we have found it necessary to handle the pressures created by immigration from the coloured Commonwealth. And at this moment we face in Northern Ireland a conflict between two white and Christian communities within our own borders which makes a mockery of the principles we and they profess.

I know too that there have been some Christians in South Africa who believe sincerely that the segregation of the races, with all the human consequences which attend it, is not only compatible with their religion but required by it. I believe they are profoundly wrong, and there are signs they are coming to realise this themselves. But others are more qualified than I to demonstrate the theological errors into which they have fallen so tragically. So many practising Christians of all denominations have worked so hard for so long inside South Africa itself to fight these racial doctrines in both theory and in practice that a temporary visitor can add little to their shining witness. In any case, Miss Barbara Ward last year in her magisterial lecture in Cape Town entitled "New History", presented the moral case against Apartheid with a combination of passion, scholarship and common sense so brilliant

that I would only expose my own inadequacies by seeking to elaborate it.

I have come here to learn, to try to understand. The only way in which I can hope in some small way to repay the honour you have done me by your invitation is to make available some of the insights I think I have gained as an active Labour politician for the last quarter of a century and as Britain's Secretary of State for Defence in the last six years. For whatever may be thought of the morality of racial segregation — and I hope I have made my own abhorrence of it clear — I believe that it can only lead to practical disaster.

ECONOMIC STAGNATION

I have the impression that the economic and social handicaps imposed by racial segregation are already becoming apparent even to those who believe it is

morally and politically right. Indeed no one can read the official estimates of population trends and set them against the inexhaustible thirst of modern industry for more and more skilled labour without realising that something has got to give. It would be possible, I suppose, to choose economic stagnation. But even if those who hold political power in South Africa were to renounce industrial expansion and to accept a Spartan future as the inhabitants of a white Bantustan, I do not believe that the world would let them. Nor do I believe that total political isolation from the rest of Western civilisation is a prospect which would commend itself for long. Yet unless South Africa can break out of policies which deny the fundamental human freedoms, total isolation is, I believe, inevitable.

Nearly two centuries ago, when the American colonists made their Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, they took it for granted that they must pay a decent respect to the opinions of mankind". And so they did. But for them at the time mankind was the white peoples on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Africans were not part of the human race. The State of Virginia alone contained 200 000 negro slaves in 1790. Nearly a century had to pass after the Declaration of Independence, before the victory of the North in a bloody civil war established the American negro as part of mankind, and another century passed without all negroes in the United States yet enjoying the full rights of citizenship in practice. But in this last century progress towards racial intergration in America has been continuous however uneven in pace. And one of the factors making for that progress has been a decent respect for the opinions of a mankind the great majority of which itself is coloured.

Professor Arnold Toynbee has pointed out that it was not until after the end of the first World War that the welfare of mankind as a whole became accepted even by small bodies of idealists as a reasonable objective of human endeavour. It took a Second World War to establish this as the proclaimed objective of Governments, with the United Nations Organisation as their instrument.

I know that the United Nations has fallen short of its founders' hopes. But considering the headlong speed with which the peoples of Africa, the Middle East and Asia achieved political independence and the profound ideological conflicts which have been superimposed on the traditional tensions of power politics, it is remarkable that the United Nations has survived at all through the last quarter of a century. Yet it has not only survived. It has continually excercised an influence, however small, on the behaviour of all its member states, even when they were engaged in activities quite incompatible with its objectives. And in some limited cases, though all too few, it has assumed collective responsibility in areas

hitherto regarded as the exclusive preserve of national governments.

EFFECT OF MASS MEDIA

Meanwhile the communications explosion has given the "opinions of mankind" a new meaning. Wireless and television ensure that events in one part of the world can be presented the same day — even the same moment — in all other parts of the world for judgement; and the postwar diffusion of culture means that the standards used for judgement differ far less from country to country than was ever the case in the past. I do not want to exaggerate the completeness of this revolution. I gather television has yet to reach South Africa. Not only governments but also private controllers of news media can decide up to a point what is reported; differences of tradition, environment and interest of course still help to determine standards. But the phrase "world opinion" is far more meaningful today than it was even ten years ago, and it will develop more meaning still as the years pass.

Nor do I want to exaggerate the consistency or even the integrity of such world opinion as does exist. Peoples do tend to judge others more harshly than they judge themselves, and often they apply different standards to different situations or different governments. But certain fundamental standards of international and national behaviour have lodged themselves sufficiently firmly in world opinion for governments to be unable to violate them without paying a real political price. Despite the impotence of the United Nations in face of Russia's invasion of Czechoslovakia, Russia is still paying a price not only in the Western world but also among the non-aligned nations and more important, in the Communist camp itself for flouting the United Nations Charter.

POWER TO WOUND

But by far the most important standard in terms of world opinion is that relating to racial equality. Of all forms of discrimination that based on race or colour is least acceptable to the opinions of mankind. For racial discrimination is absolute and irremediable. A man can change his views or his religion, he cannot change his skin. Moreover the long history of slavery and colonial rule gives racial discrimination a power to wound its victims which no other form of discrimination can parallel. To the Governments of coloured peoples, a state based on racial discrimination is liable to appear not just as a moral offense, but as a threat to survival; for if a coloured skin is grounds for denying equality of rights to one's own citizens, may it not be treated as grounds for denying a foreign state the same sovereignty as white states can enjoy under the United Nations Charter? Even an enlightened foreign policy will not

protect a segregationist society against such suspicions, since enlightenment will be seen simply as the product of temporary limitations of power rather than of a long-term principle.

As a result a segregationist society will come under steadily increasing international pressure from two directions. On the one hand it will suffer social ostracism at the level of human contacts — in sport we have seen it often in recent months for example, and in church affairs not only the World Council of Churches but the World Alliance of Reformed Churches too has just come close to excluding the Dutch Reformed Church here for segregating its congregation. On the other hand there will be attempts to isolate it at governmental level, by limiting its diplomatic, defence, industrial and commercial activities. Sometimes such attempts to segregate the segregationist may harm his victims as much as they harm him. Sometimes they may be counter-productive by forcing the internal opponents of segregation to make common cause with the segregationist. But when this happens there will always be many who will meet the criticism as did a Jesuit priest in a recent letter to the London Times :—"The suggestion that all parties (as if they were equal in weight or numbers) need patience to be shown because a moral debate is going on among the whites is like saying that we should have been patient with Hitler because of the dramatic struggle of Nazi conscience represented by Pastor Bonhoeffer and his group. It is simple nonsense. If you are jumping up and down on my face it does not interest me that you are having qualms of conscience about it".

And if complaints are made that opposition to segregation is encouraging violence there will always be those who will ask what form of peaceful opposition is permitted to the Africans as an alternative.

NO GROUND FOR COMPLACENCY

No one can deny the existence of these trends. No one can deny that they are growing stronger, not weaker as time passes. If that were all, world opinion would soon achieve the total isolation of the segregationist society. But of course that is not all. Governments and peoples are influenced by many factors besides a faith in racial equality. They are also concerned with their own interest in security and prosperity. The racial problems they face at home may moderate their enthusiasm to make sacrifices in the cause of racial equality abroad. I sense in some quarters a certain complacency about the pressure of world opinion on the grounds that other factors will in the end take precedence over a dislike of segregation, that the storm will blow itself out before long. In my opinion nothing could be more mistaken. That sort of complacency is based on a gross exaggeration of the current strength of the countervailing factors, and an even greater exaggeration of

their strength in the future. Let me examine them one by one.

First, it is assumed that racial tensions will grow in other Western countries and that this will lead more and more people to see segregation as the answer, thereby inhibiting if not reversing the present attitude of their governments towards Apartheid in South Africa. In fact the contrary is the case. Let me offer you some recent evidence from Britain — heartening evidence, however much I may deplore the circumstances which produced it. Against the expectation of nearly all informed people, Mr. Heath led the Conservative Party to victory in the recent British General Election. He did so, to his credit, on a platform of unyielding opposition to Mr. Powell on the racial question — for which, incidentally he was heavily criticised in his own party during the election. But it did not hurt his chances. I do not underestimate the danger that at the time of general economic crisis a minority of the British people, like others before them, might seek a scapegoat in a group which was easily identifiable by the colour of its skin. But as a real issue, race is of declining importance in British politics. Moreover even Mr. Powell claims to oppose discrimination on grounds of race or colour against those actually in Britain. And incidentally Sir Alec Douglas Home has unequivocally expressed not only his abhorrence of apartheid, but also his belief that it will fail.

GRINNING SPECTRE

The United States is the only other Western Country where race is a major political issue. There it remains an agonising problem, compounded as it is with the myriad problems of the cities and the growth of urban violence. But, whatever the political attractions of a Southern strategy, President Nixon remains firmly committed to continue the drive towards integration. Desegregation in America's schools will be formally complete in a month's time though much still remains to be done in practice. Any slowing of the pace at home will only be politically viable if it is combined with a reassertion of the ultimate objective; that is the last situation in which any American leader could afford to relax his opposition to Apartheid overseas. Indeed it is the politician who wants to compromise the principle of racial equality at home who is most embarrassed by the grinning spectre of Apartheid overseas. There is no comfort for segregation here.

Ah well, it is said, perhaps we are in for a long hard slog. But we have faced difficulties before and overcome them. We are not the only country in the world which must seek survival in a hostile environment — look at Israel, look at Singapore, or nearer home look at Southern Rhodesia or Mozambique and Angola. Well, look at them. Israel may not have many friends in the Middle East, but she has powerful support outside it. And her social and economic achievements against

overwhelming odds have assured her a degree of international sympathy which no other small country can equal. Singapore has in ten years built up a similar international position, and is welding its diverse races into a single nation so as to buttress an internal stability already remarkable by Asian standards. There is no analogy with South Africa here.

TRADE WITH BLACK AFRICA

Rhodesia and Portuguese Africa come closer to it. But they are scarcely comforting analogies. If, as is now all but certain, Rhodesia does not return to constitutional rule, the pressures already exerted on her will increase beyond what she can hope to withstand alone. This may certainly present a problem to the segregationists elsewhere but it will not bring them consolation. The cost to Portugal of keeping the status quo in Africa is fast becoming intolerable, with the call-up extended to the age of forty-five, four years military service and forty per cent of the budget spent on keeping 120,000 men in Africa. This too is not a spectacle to encourage those who hope to withstand the wind of change.

Others pin their hopes on the value of South Africa as a trading partner. This is certainly substantial for many countries, not least my own. But though commercial relations can create powerful vested interests which may attempt to influence policy in the countries concerned — they certainly do in Britain — trade is as a rule surprisingly insensitive to political relations, and vice versa. The German Fed. Republic is East. Germany's most important trading partner in the West, but they have no diplomatic relations at all. Britain's exports to South Africa increased after the Labour Government imposed the arms embargo. There is one striking exception to this rule. It is the increasing tendency among the other African countries, where trade is more controlled by governments, to deny commercial opportunities to countries whose policy towards South Africa offends them. Western trade with the African countries between the Zambezi and the Sahara is already greater than with South Africa, and is likely to grow faster still. Against this background, the least that can be said is that countries outside Africa stand to lose as much trade by flouting world opinion on Apartheid as they could conceivably gain.

THE SIMONSTOWN AGREEMENT

When this is pointed out, the argument shifts again. South Africa is of crucial strategic importance to the West in the struggle against Communism it is said: in the last resort it is this which will protect her against the full rigours of world opinion. **This is the greatest fallacy of all.** Perhaps as an ex-Minister of Defence I may be allowed to explore it in more detail.

For Britain the importance of military facilities in South Africa depends directly on her defence responsi-

bilities outside Europe. Fifteen years ago those responsibilities were still substantial, in Africa as well as Asia and the Middle East. And when in 1955 Britain handed control of the Simonstown base to South Africa, she did so on condition that the Union government helped her in the defence of Southern Africa, Asia and the Middle East gateways to Africa.

Since 1955, nearly all Britain's defence responsibilities in these areas have disappeared. Britain's only remaining military task is the Beira patrol. It seems likely that the Conservative Government will end its last defence commitments in the Middle East by withdrawing from the Persian Gulf at the end of next year as planned by Labour. Reports suggest that it will only slightly delay final withdrawal of the last handful of troops from Singapore and that less as a symbolic tribute to its election promises, than as the price for getting agreement to the liquidation of the only firm treaty commitment Britain still retains East of the Suez, the Anglo-Malaysian Defence Agreement. Thus the naval facilities at Simonstown, which for years have been useful rather than essential to Britain, will decline sharply in value over the next few years. Similarly the communications facility in South Africa which Britain has hitherto found useful will lose much of its importance with the introduction of the Skynet satellite communications system. Britain has strictly fulfilled her obligation under the Simonstown agreement as it stands and her position has been understood and accepted by the other African countries; but she has no strategic interest in assuming new and additional obligations under it, particularly if this were to damage her relations with other African states.

SOVIET NAVAL ACTIVITY

It has nevertheless been argued, in Britain as well as in South Africa, that the growth of Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean presents a major threat to Western shipping on the Cape Route which can only be met by a substantial build-up of the South African Navy and by much closer defence co-operation between South Africa and Britain. I do not believe this to be the case.

Of course, it is impossible to be certain about the purpose of this Soviet naval activity. It is clearly calculated to exert political influence on the maritime states of the Indian Ocean through a visible Soviet presence; showing the flag has always been a function of sea-power. It may be related to an imagined threat from Western missile-carrying submarines, it may be related to an imagined conflict with China. But of all purposes, the least likely is to sink Western shipping round the Cape.

Why should Russia waste her submarine strength in trying to sink Western ships in the area furthest from her own naval bases where they can swing wide clear of

the Cape, when she can attack them closer to home where they must converge on the approaches to Europe? And given the growing size of the Soviet merchant navy and its vulnerability throughout the world, is it conceivable that Russia would sink Western ships except in general war, when her submarine fleet would have much more important jobs? No Western Government is now planning on another Battle of the Atlantic. If there were anything in this fantasy N.A.T.O. as a whole would be urgently involved; but no N.A.T.O. Government except the present one in Britain has ever shown any interest in this imagined threat.

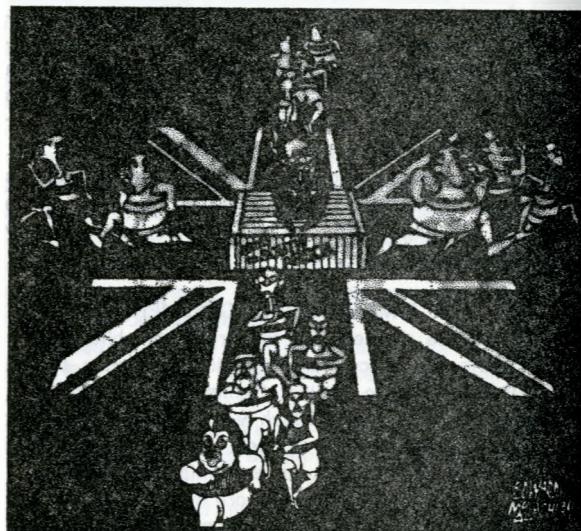
More important, however, than these purely military arguments are the political realities in the world today. As I said in the House of Commons the other day, Russia's immediate targets in Africa are the minds of men, not strips of concrete or naval dockyards, though these may follow if she wins the battle for men's minds — as she has already in the Eastern Mediterranean. For the greater part of the human race the so-called struggle between East and West is a monumental irrelevance. For them the real division in the world is between North and South, between the rich white peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain and the poor, mainly coloured people to the South of them, in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America.

POWER OF WORLD OPINION

If to the handicaps of history and poverty which already burden the people of the Southern world we add discrimination on grounds of race or colour, we shall rightly incur their bitter hostility — and hand the other battle to the Communists on a plate. The reaction of the rest of the Commonwealth to imbroglio over arms for South Africa is a small indication of what might follow. So far as I can tell, not one single Commonwealth Government has positively supported Sir Alec Douglas Home's intention. All but one have fiercely opposed it. If the intention were carried out, the break up of the Commonwealth could follow. And a large stride would have been taken towards clearing the way for Russia to establish air and naval facilities in the states of East and perhaps West Africa too; this is a

potential threat to Western interests which no conceivable advantages in South Africa could offset. That is why so many Western Governments outside the Commonwealth — the United States in the lead — are trying to dissuade the British Government from its intention. Indeed the international concern generated on this issue seems to be causing the French Government also to reconsider its policies; to judge by assurances given to the Organisation of African Unity the issue is asserting a steadily more powerful and consistent influence on the policy of Governments towards racial segregation.

Mr. Heath has said that whatever the opinion of the world, he will take his final decision on South African arms in the light of his view of Britain's national interests alone. But, as I have been trying to show, world opinion can have as powerful an influence on Britain's interests as on South Africa's. Fourteen years ago a British government did defy world opinion in the mistaken belief that it was protecting Britain's national interests. It colluded with the Governments of Israel and France in a military attack in Egypt. The operation was a humiliating failure. It destroyed for good a position of paramount influence in the Arab world which Britain had taken half a century to build; it led directly to the atrocious murder of Britain's best friend in the area, Nuri Said, and it established the Soviet Union for the first time as



Acknowledgments to Punch

a major political and military power inside the Middle East.

The analogies with Mr. Heath's current predicament over South African arms are all too close and numerous. I cannot believe that any Government with a sense of Britain's real interests in the modern world will ignore them. And if, by any mischance the present Government were to repeat over Africa, the same catastrophic errors as it made over the Middle East in 1956, no one should assume that the next British Government would be bound by its blunders.

"ONE LAST ILLUSION"

I have spent a little time in exploring the implications of the British Government's self-inflicted wound over arms for South Africa because, whatever decision Mr. Heath may make in the end, it has uncovered for all to see the real strength and effectiveness of the opinions of mankind on the issue of racial equality. It has revealed the countervailing factor on which the segregationists place their hopes as far less powerful than they believed. The trend towards isolation of the segregationists is far stronger today than it was ten or even five years ago. It will grow steadily stronger in the years to come.

There is perhaps one last illusion I should mention — some people seem to envisage as a last resort if all else fails, the concept of the white laager surviving in a hostile world by its mastery of military technology. But this too is fantasy. Such a society would be bound to crumble, if not under the attacks of what the Prime Minister of Singapore has called a black Cong then under the new techniques of violence with which desperate men in South America and the Middle East are beginning to experiment — techniques which seek to use the very superiority of their opponents in administrative and technological skill as a means to their destruction.

The hijacking of aircraft and the kidnapping of diplomats are weapons which no Government, Communist or non-Communist, can afford to use against another

Government. They are exclusively reserved to those who have no form of order offered to them which is preferable to anarchy. They face all Governments alike with a problem to which there is as yet no solution in sight. But for this reason if no other, I believe Governments in future will see a direct interest in acting together to remove the cause of the depair in which alone this type of violence can breed. The London "Financial Times", a paper not noted for its devotion to the principles of Mao Tse Tung or Che Guevara, put its finger on the spot when it wrote last week; "It is perfectly plain for example, that in the case of hijackings we are all having to pay for allowing the problems of the Palestine refugees to fester for 20 years in the squalid camps on the borders of Israel. And while it is probably too late to do anything with that particular problem now except defend ourselves from its consequences, we would be mad if we did not survey the world with care to see where the cause of future manifestations of violence are to be found and try, somehow, to eradicate them". These are wise words. I hope their resonance is not lost on those to whom they represent a warning.

I return to my theme.

That "decent respect for the opinions of mankind" of which the American colonists spoke 200 years ago is in the modern world not simply a moral imperative — it is a political necessity. On many issues mankind is still deeply divided. But the one issue on which the overwhelming majority of peoples and governments have already achieved a total solidarity is the rejection of political discrimination based on race or colour. You may on occasion feel yourselves alone in your country, but you are part of a vast movement for human freedom which is daily growing stronger in the world. You and those who think like you represent South Africa's best hope for a return to the mainstream of Western civilisation. You offer South Africa a way of escape from what could otherwise become a human tragedy with few precedents in history. It is not yet too late, but time is short.

AMERICA: EQUALITY FOR WHITES ONLY

Dick Gregory, bearded Negro comedian and militant black politician, addressed thousands of students in February this year at Western Michigan University. Very fortunately I was present at his address. Gregory gave the same talk, with minor variations, on many college campuses. Here is his adaptation of an extract from the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal and endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, and when these rights are destroyed over long periods of time it is your duty to destroy or abolish the Government responsible for their destruction".

Gregory followed this quotation by saying: "I believe that with a minimum amount of persuasion you (i.e. white students) can persuade them folks (i.e. white parents) that that was their beloved Declaration of Independence — the one with that mistake on it. The one they forgot to write "for whites only" on. He suggested that when the white parents watched "black folks burning and looting the town" on television they conveniently forgot about the Declaration.

HIDDEN NOTICE

The impression that I gained from a six month stay in the United States was that all too often "for whites only" was indeed a hidden notice which made a mockery of the boast that America was a country in which there was equal opportunity for all. One of the differences between the United States and South Africa is that in the latter country the "for Whites only" notices are not invisible. Dick Gregory told me:

"South Africa makes clear its racist policies to the whole world. But the United States is the worst country in the world because it makes other folks think that it is a free country. I can tell you it certainly ain't. It's the most goddam hypocritical country in the world".

Of course one could point out to Dick Gregory that South Africa is also hypocritical, that it also tries to deceive the world that its policies are just. One could also tell Gregory of the numerous injustices imposed by legislation in South Africa, of bannings, restrictions and banishments, Immorality Acts, Boss Laws and 180 days. None of these cruel and undemocratic restrictions exist in the United States. Nevertheless Gregory's point about hypocrisy in the United States is valid.

jonathan paton



DICK GREGORY

Acknowledgments to Time

It is certainly true that much has been done in the last ten years to abolish racial discrimination in theory as well as in practice. There is increasing integration in the schools, there are growing numbers of blacks being admitted to the universities, there is more economic opportunity for blacks than ever before (though there is still a great deal of poverty). And because things have improved, many white Americans are prepared to sit back comfortably in the belief that they have made their contribution towards the attainment of racial harmony. It is so much more comfortable to ignore the numerous and ugly black ghettos that have sprung up in so many American cities. The silent majority put on their blinkers and pay little heed to the violence of black against black, to the rioting and the looting, to the racial unrest in many schools and universities, to the protests of blacks about their brothers who must fight for the liberties in Vietnam which they do not have at home. ("No Vietcong ever called a black man 'nigger'" said Gregory). There was rightly a tremendous wave of protest throughout America after the killing of four white students at Kent State University, but only a ripple

after the killing of black students at Jackson State. When blacks are shot and killed by police in the ghettos there is little protest from whites.

CONTRAST

I was shattered when I saw downtown Washington D.C. What a contrast there was between the shabbiness and poverty of the downtown area (essentially black) on the one hand and the grandeur of the public buildings — the White House, the Washington Monument, the Capitol — and the plushness of the luxurious white suburbs on the other. Here was Houghton and Soweto, Kloof and Kwa Mashu all over again.

But I regret that I did not see a real ghetto. I was warned about the dangers of visiting ghettos by many whites. Sometimes I felt that they exaggerated the dangers. I went to a cinema one night on the outskirts of Harlem. My two white companions and I were the only whites in the audience. A few black people glared at us, but otherwise we were ignored. We were driven out of the area by a black taxi driver. He told us that no white taxi drivers went into Harlem at night. A white couple in Chicago told me that after a visit to black friends in a Chicago ghetto their car had been surrounded by black youths. Eventually police had to escort them out of the area and they were warned for their own safety not to return.

The reports of violence in the ghettos are horrifying. Obviously ghetto violence is nearly always violence of black against black. A recent report stated that blacks in the United States were arrested 8 to 20 times more often than whites for homicide, rape, aggravated assault and robbery. And the report also found that 60 to 70% of the victims of crimes committed by blacks were also black. The report added:

"The urgent need to reduce violent crimes among urban Negro youth is obvious, requiring a total effort toward changing the demoralizing conditions and life patterns of Negroes, the unequal opportunity and discrimination they confront and the overcrowding and decay of the urban ghettos."

ECONOMIC FACTORS

Clearly economic factors have much to do with the creation of the ghetto. It is to America's shame that millions of dollars are spent on the war in Vietnam and on space exploration while the ghettos are allowed to fester on. I met several enthusiastic white liberals who were working on Open Housing programmes. They were encouraging local and state authorities to make it possible in various ways for blacks to get out of the ghettos and live in areas which had previously been almost exclusively white, or create new areas where white and black could purchase houses in the same neighbourhood without hindrance from prejudiced estate agents. Once neighbourhoods become integrated the

schools will also become integrated. There will no longer be any need for busing (transporting of black children to a school in a white area or vice-versa) and the ghettos will begin to disappear. I was sad to find, however, that in spite of the very fine efforts that are being made in the direction of Open Housing there was considerable resistance from prejudiced white citizens on the one hand and embittered blacks on the other. The argument of the latter group is that integration in a white community would only lead to further discrimination against the minority of blacks in the community — neighbours would treat them badly or else move out of the neighbourhood and their children would be humiliated in the schools.

The more I became aware of continued discrimination in the United States, the more I understood the case of the Black Panthers and other militants. As a liberal I found it difficult to approve of the Panthers' policy of violence if necessary, of the slogan "black is beautiful" (implying that white is not), of their frequent speeches attacking whites, of their attempts to provoke the police whom they call "pigs", of their rejection of schemes to increase integration (for example, the recent attempts to bring about school integration in the South). I was at first distressed at these attitudes but I gradually came to understand the reasons for them. Why should the Panthers not carry guns and display them? Every policeman does, and all Americans are entitled to possess firearms. Why should black men and women continue to imitate white fashions and hair styles, and try to make their dark skins lighter? Why should blacks be grateful to whites for freeing them from slavery and for improving their lot? Why should it always be a case of whites giving and blacks receiving? Increasing integration had often failed to lead to better race relations. Why should blacks accept that integration was the fairest policy?

WHITE ATTITUDES

Though I associated mainly with liberals and radicals during my stay, I did meet one or two patronising whites. Their argument was that conditions had improved considerably for the Negro in the past decade but instead of being grateful he had become increasingly bitter. It is true that young blacks are becoming increasingly bitter and that Uncle Toms are a dying generation in the United States. I did not, however, meet any really racist whites although there obviously are many. And perhaps some of the whites I did meet kept their racist views hidden from me while pretending that they did not believe in racial discrimination. But I did read of several cases of white discrimination against black and was told about others. I gathered that realtors (estate agents) are amongst the worst offenders. Many pretend that they do not discriminate, but in fact never sell a house to a black man in certain areas. Many motels refuse

accommodation to blacks though the excuse is always that there is no vacancy. I have heard of whites being given rooms at motels after blacks had been told that the motel was full. I could cite several cases of racial discrimination and, interestingly enough, the cases I have been told about all occurred in the Mid-West. I did not visit the South but I suppose I would have heard of many more cases there.

It is very difficult to predict what the black militants will achieve in the United States. The extreme militants are demanding a state for blacks only. The Black Panthers, however, deny that blacks wish to be isolated. "We're not for isolation" says Ron Karenga, Los Angeles Panther leader, "but interdependence. But we can't become interdependent unless we have something to offer. We can live with whites interdependently once we have black power." In his article on American students (REALITY-September, 1970) John Daniel sees great hope in the rapid movement to the left in American colleges. Perhaps the solution really lies with the new generation of white Americans. Eldridge Cleaver, exiled Black Panther leader, certainly feels so. In his brilliant and sometimes bitter book "Soul on Ice" Cleaver discusses the young white Americans of to-day in a chapter entitled "The White Race and Its Heroes". He ends the chapter on a note of hope:

"If a man like Malcolm X could change and repudiate racism, if I myself and other former Muslims can change, if young whites can change, then there is hope for America. It was certainly strange to find myself, while steeped in the doctrine that all whites were devils by nature, commanded by the heart to applaud and acknowledge respect for these young whites — despite

the fact that they are descendants of the masters and I the descendant of slave. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the heads of the children — but only if the children continue in the evil deeds of the fathers."

I too share Cleaver's hope, but it is a hope that can never be realised until there is equal opportunity for all the citizens of the United States.



BLACK PANTHER SEALE

Acknowledgments to TIME

FUGARD'S DISCARDED PEOPLE IN NEW YORK

"One must imagine Sisyphus to be happy" — Camus

The New York production of Athol Fugard's BOESMAN AND LENA is a remarkable success. By this time — mid-October, 1970 — it has already run for over a hundred performances at the The Circle in the Square, a small, 300 seat theatre-in-the-round in Greenwich Village, where non-racial audiences frequently give it a standing ovation punctuated by "bravos". Most of the prominent theatre critics have admired the play wholeheartedly, and have acclaimed the performances of two great black American actors, James Earl Jones and Ruby Dee, in the title roles.

Jones had one of his first major roles in Fugard's THE BLOOD KNOT six years ago. Now he is a recognized "star" of both stage and screen, as witness the flutter of TIME (October 19, 1970), commenting on his

edward callan

role as a boxer in the film version of THE GREAT WHITE HOPE: "In Jones's eight ounce gloves black is beautiful, black is ugly, black is violent, black is gentle, black is self-deceit, black is truth — black is man, and

man is the world." As for Miss Ruby Dee, even so sober a critic as Stanley Kauffmann, writing in the *THE NEW REPUBLIC*, compares her Lena with that acknowledged pinnacle of American acting, Judith Anderson's Medea. Kauffmann says of Miss Dee's Lena:

Her body can do anything she asks of it . . . her voice has now developed a heroic range . . . with fire, and pity, and powerful spirit, this little woman becomes a giant, making this mud-creature a protean figure. It is the best performance I have seen in the American theater since Judith Anderson's Medea.

Zakes Mokae, who had his acting apprenticeship in Johannesburg in Fugard's earliest plays, and who performed with him in *THE BLOOD KNOT* in England — and in South Africa before the ban on mixed casts — plays in the supporting role of the dying old African. Tom Prideaux, Theater Editor of *LIFE*, says of his performance in the almost silent role: "It is a remarkably sweet portrayal of a lost soul on his last lap towards oblivion. To Boesman he is trash to be kicked aside. But Lena warms, feeds, and mothers him until he dies in her arms." Later this month when James Earl Jones leaves the cast for another commitment, Zakes Mokae will replace him as Boesman in the play's continuing run.

SOUTH AFRICAN DIALOGUE

Having attended the first performance of *BOESMAN AND LENA* at Rhodes University Theatre in July 1969, I was curious to find out how its gamey South African dialogue, well seasoned with Afrikaans profanities, would be served up in New York. My academic mind kept asking, "How will they surmount the difficulties?" I remembered that many people in the first night audience in Grahamstown were impressed by the play, but felt that the local flavour — particularly the language — would render it unintelligible outside South Africa.

Our forebodings in Grahamstown were mistaken. Part of what we overlooked was the talent of great actors for appropriate gesture; for when James Earl Jones acts out a line such as "When you *poep* you make more sense," no translation is needed. Not everything can be represented quite so directly; but for most of the Afrikaans terms a simple literal translation sufficed, and even lines such as "*Arme ou Lena se maer ou bene*," lost only the effect of rhyme. Vituperative expressions, on the other hand, called for some ingenuity in selecting local equivalents. Afrikaans is rich in colourful terms of abuse with roots that are neither obscene nor blasphemous, and direct translation will not convey their full pungency. Words of equal impact had to be found for the frequently reiterated *sies*, or Boesman's description of the bulldozer as "the big yellow *donner*." In America that meant, inescapably, the familiar vulgarisms for defecate and copulate. (In New

York these caused no raised eyebrows, but elsewhere they may raise Cain). I noted one amusing linguistic oddity that made sense: The Afrikaans term for drunken stupor, *babalas*, was rendered as the two English words "babble ass", which, given American pronunciation and the context of Lena's babbling, sounded appropriately abusive.

SHARP AMERICAN EQUIVALENTS

At times the choice of an effective American equivalent gave sharper perspective to some essential point. The word *kaffer*, for example, which can be spat out viciously in South Africa, has only remote, impersonal associations in New York; there, only the word "nigger" expresses equal contempt. Consequently, when Lena's sardonic question, "How do you throw away a dead *kaffer*?" was heard in New York as "How do you throw away a dead nigger?" it had the harsh immediacy of a blow in the face, and thereby brought into sharp focus the climax of Fugard's carefully developed vision of discarded people enduring their humanity, when despair, or even suicide, might seem more logical. The American actors responded powerfully to the two ragged outcasts with their vision of themselves as "Whiteman's rubbish" from the moment that Jones as Boesman threw down the rusted piece of corrugated iron for yet another *pondok*, until Miss Dee made Lena's final affirmation when she retrieved their still useful bucket and prepared to go on walking.

Lena first makes this theme of the discarded people explicit when she speaks of her life as, "Something that's been used too long. The old pot that leaks, the blanket that can't even keep the fleas warm. Time to throw it away. How do you do that when it's yourself?" And Boesman later draws the bitter analogy: "We're Whiteman's rubbish. That's why he's so *beneeked* with us. He can't get rid of his rubbish. He throws it away, we pick it up. Wear it. Sleep in it. Eat it. We're made of it now. His rubbish is people." When the old African that Lena befriended dies beside their fire, Boesman's demand that she get rid of the corpse leads up to her sardonic question. The phrasing of the New York production, "How do you throw away a dead nigger?" left enough electricity in the atmosphere to light up her subsequent discovery of the truth that life must be endured — even life with Boesman. Trying to decide to go it alone, she muses over the old African corpse: "Can't throw yourself away before time. Hey, Outa! Even you have to wait for it." She then voluntarily decides to go with the terrified Boesman, picking up the bucket he has dropped in his hurry to get away: "Hasn't got a hole in it yet. Might be Whiteman's rubbish, but I can still use it."

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

I cannot remember if the play's social comment or

philosophical thrust were much discussed in Grahams-town; but I know that the social theme occupied black Americans as they filed out of the New York performance. This was due in part to their personal sensitivity, but even more to the quality of feeling that the black actors had brought to its expression. On this point, it may be of interest to note how completely Ruby Dee identified herself with the role of Lena. Indeed, in some remarks to an interviewer, she seemed astonished that the character Lena could be moulded in the mind of a white person. She told Patricia Bosworth of the New York *TIME*S: "Lena's the greatest role I've ever had . . . I relate to her particular reality because it is mine and every black woman's. I can understand the extent of her poverty and filth and absolute subjugation. I know what it is to be denied my rights as a citizen and as a human being." Having spoken further of Lena as a representative, universal figure, Miss Dee revealed her own feelings in the role:

I have always been reticent about expressing myself totally in a role. But with Lena I am suddenly, gloriously free. I can't explain how this frail, tattered little character took me over and burrowed so deep inside me that my voice changed and I began to move differently . . . It's all very strong and magical and I am alive with her as I've never been on stage . . . There have been few if any great parts written for black actresses — Fugard wrote Lena for a white actress, Yvonne Bryceland, you know. Up till now, the best roles for black actresses have been . . . Mammy figures — comfortable reliable darkies white folks feel at ease with.

Ruby Dee's range of emotions was indeed extraordinary, but she made less of the lyric undercurrent in many of Fugard's lines than Yvonne Bryceland had done. Miss Bryceland evoked a lyricism reminiscent of the Second Act of *THE CHERRY ORCHARD* from such lines as "Those little paths in the veld . . . Boesman and Lena helped to write them. I meet the memory of myself on the old roads." Ruby Dee spoke these lines faster and more passionately. When I remarked on this difference to the New York producer, John Berry, he seemed dubious of the effectiveness of lyricism — in the New York theatre at any rate — and readily admitted that the lyric quality had been deliberately suppressed. "But the poetry comes through in the end," he said.

MALICIOUS BOESMAN

James Earl Jones plays a mean and brutish Boesman — half cunning animal, half obscene Caliban. He relishes opportunities to make game of others with cruel practical jokes. When Lena tries to put the pieces of her life together by naming in sequence the places where they have lived, Boesman confuses her with alternative lists in the wrong order. In New York this scene

was played as a rousing variant on the old shell game. To mark each place she remembered, Lena had put down a bowl or tin can, "Redhouse — Swartkops — Veeplaas — Korsten." To taunt her, Jones as Boesman rapidly moved three of these in the shell game trickster's sleight-of-hand: "What about this . . . Swartkops — Veeplaas — Redhouse;" and again, "Or this, Veeplaas — Redhouse — Korsten." The cruel malice with which Boesman enjoyed the shell game emphasized his need for gratification by tyrannizing others. It was comic, of course, in the theatre, this arbitrary baiting of the powerless; but it was also a chilling revelation of the thin bounds separating the whim of the tyrant, who gives or withholds at his pleasure, from the whimsicality of the practical joker who hurts maliciously for his.

Jones gets one opportunity to express a depth of gross malice in this arbitrary cruelty towards the helpless that may well be unequalled in the theatre. The initial stage directions in Act Two call for Boesman to taunt Lena with a pantomime of servile grovelling before the white *baas*. Playing the despot, he forces Lena to repeat after him servile pleadings like "Please my *basie*," and "Ag siestog my *baas*." When she doesn't do it well enough he taunts her: "Whiteman won't feel sorry for you . . . you must make the words crawl to him with your tongue between their back legs. Then when the *baas* looks at you, you must wag it a little . . ." Jones played this as a bestial Caliban, with exaggerated drunken posturings and obscene tongue-slurping. This performance was so comically grotesque that he seemed like some mythological pre-human monster.

MYTHOLOGICAL RESONANCE?

It may seem far-fetched to endow with mythological resonance the familiar, poverty-ridden, flesh and blood derelicts plodding by our roadsides; yet, as Camus says, "Myths are made for the imagination to breathe life into them;" and most of the New York reviewers hinted that *BOESMAN AND LENA* pulsates with such life. One reviewer saw the characters as creatures emerged from the protozoic slime; another saw in Lena's marking out her journey with three tin cans in the mud, "the same impulse that moved the first astronomers to chart the stars."

The New York stage set stimulated the evocation of myth. It consisted of a massive rock towering high above spreading runnels of slimy mud, representing Swartkops mudflats. This mud prompted Stanley Kauffman, for example, to speculate on myths and archetypes: "On this mud, out of which we all come, Boesman and Lena made their camp;" and again: "I can think of no naturalistic play since *THE LOWER DEPTHS* that . . . so completely converts almost protozoan characters into vicars of us all." The play opened with Jones as Boesman emerging on the summit of the rock gasping from prolonged exertion. To one observer he seemed

like a "nomad scouting for shelter." Part of his burden was a large piece of corrugated iron nailed to a wooden frame which he let drop with a crash on the mudflats below. When Athol Fugard had played the part at Rhodes University, he brought to Boesman's pursuit of survival a cunning resourcefulness like that of Odysseus, but when James Earl Jones hurled his burden from the top of the rock and clambered down doggedly after it, the gesture seemed that of Odysseus' reputed father, the crafty practical joker Sisyphus, who even chained up death, and whose endurance of his fate has given Camus an analogy for the situation of man in our time:

The Gods condemned Sisyphus for ceaselessly rolling a rock to the top of a mountain whence it would fall back of its own weight. They had thought, with some reason, that there is no more dreadful punishment than futile and ceaseless labour.

"AMERICAN TYPES"

There may have been little impetus to seek "universals" in Boesman or Lena at Grahamstown, because, as Fugard once put it: "We all know them well by sight . . . those nameless, almost faceless vagrants of our roads that we pass in our fast cars and leave behind in our trail of dust . . . walking . . . walking." Yet Ruby Dee saw them immediately as American types; James Earl Jones referred a newspaper interviewer to New York's skid row: "They're down and out; what you will see on the Bowery, but worse. Fugard believes that you can get to the heart of the existential problem if the life style is down to the bone," and the producer, John Berry,

said to me, "You'll meet them here in the streets." I had to admit he was right, for on leaving the theatre the previous evening I had stopped to discuss with companions how the powerfully built Jones could possibly fit Lena's description: "Too small for a real **Hotnot Outa**. There's something else there. Bushman blood." Just then a wiry little black man; not old, but thin and wizened, came obsequiously begging for a dime. He was Boesman.

IMAGINARY DIFFICULTIES

I had been seeking an answer to the question: "How would it be possible to surmount the difficulties of presenting a uniquely South African play like BOESMAN AND LENA in America?" I learned that the question was academic: the "difficulties" were largely imaginary. Not even the language proved a significant obstacle — a nuance lost in one translated phrase was balanced by an overtone gained in another. The producer found pungent equivalents for the homely Afrikaans vulgarities, the actors took to the roles as if they had been written for them, the reviewers were not perplexed, and the audiences were enthralled. The village was, without doubt, global. Why, then, did it seem so difficult at Grahamstown? Were we all a little blinded by a habit of assuming that South Africa's "special circumstances" were not easily understood overseas? If so, how fortunate that Fugard's mind was free; and how ironic that an arbitrary whim would prevent his seeing James Earl Jones gambol with such malicious whimsy through Boesman's petty tyrannies.

SOUTH AFRICA AND FEDERAL EUROPE

b. w. f. schuitema

"South African trade is to encounter new barriers when the United Kingdom joins the Common Market." (1) Expediency dictates that the South African authorities should explore the possibilities of an association agreement with the Common Market. The opinion of a South African economist was optimistic on this point and concluded that: ". . . it appears that no obstacles exist to the concept of an association agreement between South Africa and the E. E. C. . ." (2). The conclusion of this article will be otherwise.

TWO CATEGORIES

Existing association agreements may be divided into two categories. A first category could include the former overseas colonies which were dependent on the six European Common Market Countries before the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957. It was agreed by the six countries that in reorganising their international trade relations these dependencies should not be disadvantaged, and made concessions to this point valid initially

for a period of 5 years. In such a way an association came into existence which was more or less of an empirical nature. These dependencies, which included principally the former French African territories and Madagascar, recognised the value of the undertaking begun by the Treaty of Rome, and in 1963 opted to extend these in an association agreement by signing the first Yaounde Convention. At this convention the Common Market Countries made a further concession

in opening the door to other countries" . . . which have an economic structure and production comparable to those of the associated states . . .". In this way Nigeria became associated when the Lagos convention was signed in 1966 and East Africa became associated when the Arusha Convention was signed in 1968. (3).

A second category of association agreements could include those made to engineer eventual full membership to the Common Market. These include those of the Mediterranean region. Recently the association committee of the European Commission signed an agreement with Turkey which aims at full membership by 1986. The association agreement of Greece was recently annulled as this country adopted a form of government which is incompatible with the spirit of the Treaty of Rome.

The essential substance of existing association agreements of both categories provides for financial aid, gradual abolition of tariffs and other barriers to engender free trade, mobility of capital and the freedom of movement of workers between the associated countries and the Common Market. This last point has not become relevant for the first category of association agreements, while it has become very prominent in the later, especially in the case of the recent agreement with Turkey.

AGREEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA?

It is difficult to see how South Africa could be included in either of these two categories. Regarding the first category, it has been argued that South Africa's economic status may be manipulated in such a way as to be included by the provision of article 58 of the Jaounda Convention as a country whose "economic structure and production is comparable to these of the associated states". This argument points out that large areas of South Africa are under-developed, such as the Transkei and potential "Transkeis", and that as a whole South Africa qualifies as under-developed. This argument is politically naive, and it is inconceivable that the European Commission could be convinced of any way in which these "Transkeis" or potential "Transkeis" could benefit, within the framework of the Bantustan policy, by Common Market co-operation in an

association agreement with South Africa.

Inclusion in the second category is out of the question. Apartheid is firmly entrenched in South African society and Apartheid is fundamentally opposed to European Federalism. This can be made abundantly clear by quoting a favorite maxim of Jean Monnet, who was the soul of the Messina Conference where the draft for the Treaty of Rome was produced. His dictum: " . . . human nature does not change, but when men accept the same rules and the same institutions to make sure that they are applied, their behaviour towards each other changes. This is the process of civilization itself . . .". (4) Juxtapose this with the South African situation. South African jurisprudence upheld separation as far back as 1934 in the important Rasool judgement. This judgement provided a safety valve in adding that no inroads be made in individual rights. Apartheid statutes have achieved an almost total separation of institutions as well as rules, cost what this may in individual rights. (5) This is the very antithesis of European Federalism. Where the fundamental difference is so complete one must question what the contents of an association agreement between South Africa and the Common Market could possibly be. One may in turn answer that there is no possibility of an agreement ever resulting, as may become clear in the following three paragraphs.

FREE TRADE

Firstly, fundamental to all association agreements is the engendering of free trade. At present the associated Mediterranean countries are finding that all decisions about tariffs and trade are made by the full members of the Community. (6). South Africa's industrial economy could never stomach this. The South African economy is not large enough to support major industries without tariff and trade measures. The motor car industry, for example, needs a home market economy greater than 10 million in population to be viable. South Africa does not possess such an economy but has been able to create a motor car industry by trade measures, principally "local-content" measures and a tariff policy. This country cannot do without an independent trade and tariff policy.

Furthermore, in order to maintain an anachronistic form of government the Nationalists have chosen to plan the economy strategically, which involves among other things, an independent arms industry. These measures only lead to an efficient use of resources which makes the economy as a whole less competitive internationally. It is not likely that the government will be willing to lose control over an independent trade policy.

MOBILITY OF CAPITAL

Secondly, to stimulate full mobility of capital, which is fundamental to an association agreement, would be a most difficult undertaking for a strategically planned economy. The South African economy is far too vulnerable to capital flights for a liberal policy to be realistic. South Africa cannot even demonstrate earnestness in promoting mobility of capital to the former British Protectorates which form enclaves in the South African Customs Union. These enclaves could benefit by capital inflows by developing industries aimed at the South African Market, the main advantage being that they are free of job-reservation restrictions (7).

However, it is believed that capital inflows from South Africa are frustrated by manipulation by the South African authorities. This manipulation may result from reasons which underlie the government decision that no capital should freely enter the so-called "Bantustans". This fact demonstrates the absurdity of the argument that South Africa may ask to be associated as an underdeveloped economy.

MOBILITY OF LABOUR

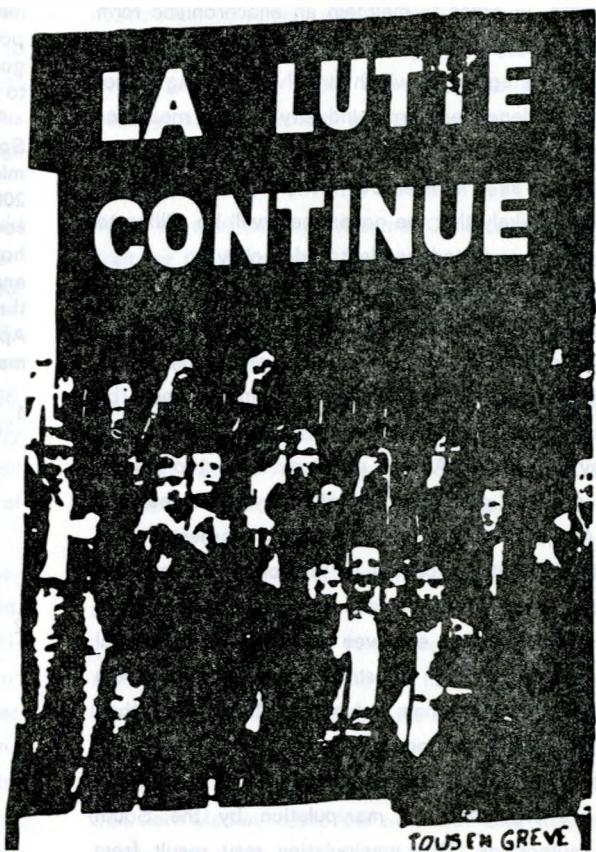
Thirdly, fundamental to an association agreement is the engendering of mobility of labour. In Europe this has come to mean the right to equal social benefits, the right of freedom from discrimination, and in the case of full members, the right to permanent settlement. An increasing volume of Common Market case law demonstrates the earnestness of the European countries in guaranteeing these rights. (8).

Should South Africa undertake to adapt her own migratory labour system, which has justifiably been described as inhuman, to European norms, this could

mean the end of the misery which the majority of her population have to endure. It is not likely that the government will yield its massive Apartheid structure to this end.

The possibility of an association agreement between South Africa and the Common Market materializing is minimal. Any opinion to the contrary is insensitive to the 20th century reality that racial oppression achieved by social discrimination and economic injustices is abhorrent. For this reason any dialogue between Apartheid and modern Europe must run aground. It is tragic that the oppressed of South Africa are to be denied by Apartheid the ray of warmth which an association agreement could hold.

1. Address by Dr. T. W. de Jongh, Gov. of South African Reserve Bank, at the A.G.M. of stockholders August, 1970; ". . . there are other international uncertainties which may effect the country's balance of payments, such as the possible effect on exports if the U.K. should join the European Economic Community . . .".
2. Jacqueline Mathews "Prospects of an association agreement between South Africa and the European Economic Community", in the South African Journal of Economics, June, 1970.
3. The development of associations are extensive subjects. The brief outline given follows closely that of Heinrich Hendus, Dir. genl. of Development Overseas of the E.E.C., published in "Het Europees Ontwikkelingsfonds", a brochure of the European Community information service.
4. Norman Macrae, in *The Economist*, a Special Survey 16-5-1970.
5. Alfred Avins, "Racial Separation and Public Accommodations", in the South African Law Journal, February, 1970.
6. *The Economist*, November 7th, 1970.
7. Peter Robson, *Economic Integration in Africa*, Allen and Unwin, 1968, p 257: ". . . it is believed that South Africa administratively controls the export of capital in excess of amounts of R100 000 for investment in B.S.L. . . .".
8. Such cases are regularly reported in the Common Market Law Review, in a section "Case law". An example in vol. 7th, July, 1970 reported a German Federal Labour Court Judgement on *Wurtembergische Milch vs. Salvatore*, ". . . equal treatment for migrant workers with regard to consequences of performance of compulsory military service . . .".



"The Struggle Continues" — French Student Posters

FORMS OF STUDENT THOUGHT

r. c. albino

A Lecture delivered in 1970

Students are an elite group, both by inheritance of superior intelligence, and the education which the wealth of their fathers and the support of the state makes possible. And, when outside the University, they are likely to occupy elite positions in whatever society they enter, whether one of a contemporary form or one they have made themselves. They are very few in number — at most less than 5% of the world population — and they are concentrated in the rich half dozen of the 125 nations of the world. They certainly do not constitute the whole of youth, though many less intelligent and fortunate young people adopt their style of life. They are an elite, too, in the freedom they have to pursue their own interests unconstrained by the demands of a master who dominates every action of an apprentice, or an employer who dictates to a worker. They live largely in a society of their own making. Most of those of whom I talk are not scientists and they, therefore, have the greater part of their day free to themselves. The privilege of their group is, perhaps, greater than that of any other in society, and is certainly more than that of its teachers.

Students are important not only because they are an elite, and an expensive one, but, nowadays, because they get into the media, their actions and ideas affect us all in

a way which would not have been possible in earlier times. And the more unusual their actions, the more we will see them.

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE?

The actions of the most radical students and their less privileged followers are so disturbing to many, and cause such social disquiet, that most observers have been concerned with the social effects of their behaviour and the ideas they advance. Both of these startle older people and often the students are judged confused, contradictory in their ideas, irresponsible and morally muddled. I do not wish to enter into this field of controversy.

My question is: "What kind of people are radical students?" All persons have a particular style of thinking and behaving, which determines how they will tackle any problem and act in any situation. It is this style that concerns me. And I hope to be able to suggest, if not demonstrate, that these students are not merely people like us who have arrived, by our way of thinking, at views we may find odd. They think and behave as they do, I will suggest, because their methods of thinking and their modes of apprehending the world are different from our own. They are a new kind of man, who cannot either behave or think as we do, and who find us as incomprehensible as we find them. And their ideas and actions are a natural outcome of this particular style.

This is a speculative task; the evidence has not been properly collected, the reasoning is loose and can be questioned. But, though the question is broad and not easily amenable to exact inquiry, its importance is great enough to justify an inexact approach.

For students will one day lead society and today affect the Universities directly. But there is a more important reason for considering them very seriously. The Universities which students attend, and which are the natural objects of their dissent, determine to an increasing degree the form of thought in the societies to which they belong. They train teachers who shape the young whom they then take and educate further. Though the sources of power and action may lie outside the University, the University determines how the power elite will respond to, and exercise, power and authority, and what sorts of action will be used or avoided.

Any changes in the view a University has of its function will affect the kind of society in which it exists. A University of reason and deliberation will encourage a social order in which disputes are rationally solved. A University based on irrational thought will encourage one or other kind of anarchy or deceitful authoritarianism.

ISOLATION AND ALIENATION

The sudden increase in student dissent is, I believe, due to four major factors: the relative openness and freedom of western states, their wealth which has made it difficult for a student to starve, the great increase

in student numbers and their early training. And of these the increase in students is the most important. First year students attend large classes given by under-staffed departments. Their life is organised in a bureaucratic way — exams, mark sheets, records cards and what not. They move from lecture to lecture — to dull from less dull. Students will be lucky if, during a year they spend more than an hour or two in intellectual discussion with a lecturer. They form, in fact, an isolated community of young people who have moved from the world of late childhood into the adult world. They have left behind the constraints of home and school. In the University they are free to do as they wish within very broad limits, but they have nobody to consult or to argue with on the very disturbing and important intellectual and personal questions that young adults encounter. And their formal lectures often seem to answer none of these questions.

It is not at all surprising that the student community begins to aggregate and that student leaders are listened to; nor is it surprising that the more perceptive and able of them begin to lead with attacks upon the University. They came in high expectation of illumination and understanding; instead they find something which may be less rewarding even than school.

THE STUDENT A SHIPWRECK

An open academic climate encourages the process, for the unease of the liberal academic who sees the faults of the system compels him to tolerate — perhaps to encourage — dissent. And the difficulty of starving if you are educated and your parents are middle class makes continued action possible.

If this view is correct, then the student begins University life as a shipwreck. He is young, in need of continuous contact with the more experienced and learned, and has the impulsiveness, energy, high ideal goals and expectations of immediate gratification that are characteristic of the young. And, like the shipwrecked sailors, he begins to form his own society.

Bertrand Russell has pointed to a conflict in classical Greek civilisation between the religious and rational. There were, he said, two tendencies in Greece, ". . . one passionate, religious, mystical, otherworldly, the other cheerful, empirical, rationalistic, and interested in acquiring knowledge of a diversity of facts." It is exhibited in intense form in Euripides' *Bacchae*. In this play terrible effects of being exclusively one or the other type of person are seen. Pentheus the rational man, has his head torn off by his mother in a Bacchanalian frenzy, and she ends her life in exile. You cannot, the play seems to say, deny either side of man's nature without damage. This distinction between types of men is a continuing theme in European literature; Dionysian versus Apollonian, thinking versus feeling types, extraverted versus introverted. All make a distinction similar to that made by Russell and Euripides.

DOMINANCE OF RATIONALISM

Modern man, until the 17th Century, was a curious blend of the two principles, and it was perhaps the achievement of Christianity to be able to create a balanced blend of the two. But the rise of science destroyed this and we have increasingly progressed towards higher degrees of rationalism. A rationalism which reaches its purest form in the exclusion of all metaphysics from philosophy, the assumption that science is the only source of knowledge of the world, the reduction of the arts to amusement and the mechanisation of personal relationships.

It is this kind of rational seventeenth century thought that inhabits our modern universities. Thinking is conducted in accordance with strict rules and as few intuited notions as possible are allowed. Facts are acknowledged in all their diversity, and as the final arbiter of any reasoned view of the world. Passions are seen as destructive of rationality, mysticism as no source of knowledge.

This is a caricature, but my whole argument is about caricatures (or what are more pompously called "ideal types"). No man is like what I have described, and it is easy to produce counter examples. But all men approximate in some respect to the ideal type. What I have to say of student thought will likewise be about an ideal type, and is open to the same sort of criticisms. But it is the only way we can proceed in such a complex area.

It is my belief that the adolescent, shipwrecked in the university, has begun to deviate from this rational type of thinking. He has done so because of pressures upon him, as he forms his society, from the outer society from which he is alienated by virtue of his situation. These pressures are many; there is the pressure of rationality, which demands slow and careful progression and the acquisition of complex skills, habits not usual in the young nor encouraged by a rapidly changing and bewildering urban environment.

INSTANT KNOWLEDGE

There are obvious and frightening evils, both in the larger world and the University, neither of which resembles the protective home from which he has come. Nobody seems concerned about his subjective states — his feelings, fantasies, passions and hates. He is continually assaulted with information through the mass media. This information, processed, but rarely refined, by an army of skilled writers and photographers, emphasises evil and eccentricity and presents philosophies and knowledge with the bones taken out, so that they may be easier to swallow. Such information becomes the paradigm of intellectual communication.

How the student will react to this situation is determined by his history. The young student from a middle class home (and the radical students in the vanguard

usually are) has been brought up in a fairly undirected way. His parents will have none but formal attachments to religious beliefs, their morality is likely to be liberal and subservient to the demands for the advancement of themselves and their children. They are likely to have been influenced by exhortations to allow their children to develop and express their individuality. As children the students were gratified rapidly, few rigorous demands were placed on them, their productions — whether in art classes or conversation — were highly valued. They were allowed freely to criticise their elders. Such treatment must produce a child demanding immediate gratification, certain of his own views and who reacts to opposition with strong feelings.

These then are the factors which determine the reactions of students to their peculiar situation of a group isolated from society. A group similar to those children in Golding's "Lord of the Flies" who developed their own repulsive society and god. They were, of course, very young and isolated from all influences, our students are older — adult in fact — more exposed to information and not driven by a need to survive, but, nonetheless, they too develop a society with its own forms of thought.

INFANTILE RAGE

I believe, from conversations I have had with more extreme examples of University youth, that the first response is one of extreme helplessness; derived first from being thrown from the gratifying world of home and school into the University where nobody seems to care, from a realisation that the world is a place of horrors and that the ladder to success is high and steep. And this helplessness is overcome by three mechanisms: the appearance of an almost infantile rage, an intense subjectivity and a close identification with others in a similar predicament. And I believe that these responses are all the more intense because of the early rearing of the children.

In December, 1969, there was a meeting at Flint, Michigan, of the Weathermen, who virtually control the SDS in the U.S.A. This is what one of them said of the Manson murders of pregnant Sharon Tate and others at Beverley Hills. The sayer was a young woman opening the meeting. "Dig it, first they killed those pigs, then they ate dinner in the same room with them, then they even shoved a fork into a victim's stomach. Wild!"

She also said, "We were in an aeroplane and we went up and down the aisle 'borrowing' food from other people's plates. They didn't know we were Weathermen: they just knew we were crazy. That's what we're about, being crazy motherf*ckers* and scaring the sh*t out of honky America."

* It seemed wise to the Editors to observe this slightly quaint mode of expression.

This is about as extreme an example as I could choose, but it is by a leader and the rest follow the leaders. A clearer example of expressed hate could not be found, nor could there be a clearer exhibition of the intent of the language — to frighten, in the way of an enraged person. It is not directed to persuasion. But perhaps this is the deliberate, reasoned use of a technique. The Weathermen may be using this language but be rational, collected people in reality — much as those who, good family and establishment men, once ordered the killing of thousands with an atom bomb. I do not believe this.

IRRATIONAL ECSTASY

To show it to be so would require there to be somewhere cold, rational discussion of appropriate techniques, an exhibited understanding of psychology and a deliberate construction of methods — much as occurs in an advertising agency or a propaganda shop. Nowhere have I been able to find these, but there are many examples of such violent, pornographic and irrational thought in the writings of student leaders. Unless we assume a secret conspiracy and factory, we must assume that people who talk this way think this way.

And, without the derivation from reason and fact, then this mode of thought can only be described as a form of hostile action. Thus, at the very beginning, the student will develop irrational elements in thought and, more awesome, violent elements in his thinking. A violence which will erupt at the least frustration from the outside — as, in fact, it has, and often. To say this is not to assert radical students unintelligent. They are probably more intelligent than most, but intelligence can serve irrationality and hate as well as reason and love.

This response does, of course, result in a greater cohesiveness and decrease in isolation of the students — that well known unification against the common enemy. Also, there is delight to be got from the expression of violence. It is one way of attaining ecstasy and some radicals have said so. The Bacchae make this point too — in their ecstatic frenzy the women tear animals to pieces, and one woman murders her son.

AGGRESSION AND SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE

Thus, everything outside the student alliance is attacked (with exceptions: those other groups and persons who are in a similar predicament), and even the insane, who are now regarded as peculiarly sane — a view that has its legitimization in the writings of R. D. Laing, and which has further increased the irrationality of student thought). Students develop what I might call the aggressive mode of thought; attack with any means that with which you disagree. Though perhaps disagree is not the right word, for it has a connotation of a prior rational deliberation. Rather, attack all that is not felt to be congenial. (That some such things deserve

attack is beside the point — a randomly dropped bomb will find some worthy targets.)

The subjectivity of the students is another response to their situation. It is shown in many of their activities and beliefs and, like the hostility, probably arises from their dread and helplessness. Excluded from a hateful, hating and colourless world and aware of one's own despair, private states become salient and important. And when your own private states of mind become central it is likely that these are what will interest you in others of your group. Accentuation of such states becomes a central activity, and many ways have been devised of seeking new experiences, and these are often practised collectively. Euphoriant substances are one way, assaults on the nervous system by high intensity flickering lights another (such stimuli were first used in the laboratory to drive the brain into particular forms of activity), loud music and other kinds of what I can only call sensory blasting. Sexual activity, refined, prolonged and sophisticated is another. All these have been used by mysterious religions at one time or another for the same heightening of subjective experience as the radical students use them. This subjectivity leads to a divorce from the world of facts: an apparently paradoxical conclusion in the face of the intense concern with causes shown by students. But there is no paradox, for a concern with subjective states experienced from isolation can only result in a concern for others in one's own predicament. It does not, of course, imply a concern for the private states of those you dislike. Pigs and authority do not have such states, are barely conscious and can be treated as you like. And the causes supported by the radicals are always those involving the isolated and oppressed, which they feel themselves to be.

Subjectivism, as a mode of apprehending the world, has its own peculiar effect on thought. The rational empirical man has to exclude all states of mind private to himself. He cannot pursue his way if he does not do this. His attention must always be clearly directed on the facts and his mind occupied with the meticulous application of the rules of logical thought. **But the man occupied almost entirely with generating and experiencing subjective ecstasy excludes from his mind the concerns of the rational man. He ceases to be reasonable, accepts as given any experience and enjoys it.**

SENSORY GRATIFICATION

From this subjectivism and the mass media I believe is derived the students' view of intellectual life. Only those things which are immediately apprehended as exciting — and I use the word in the exact sense of exciting feeling — are considered worthwhile. And, furthermore, only those things which give greatest freedom to the subject are acceptable. So the demand for the dropping of formal teaching, the dislike of dry,

rational discourse, the rejection of traditional knowledge in favour of the immediate, here and now, personal dialogue between persons. It is what one's mind is being at the moment that is important, not the process of ordering reasoning and search for fact.

The literature that appeals to students supports my belief, as well as their own actions and demands. R. D. Laing is a recent writer to whom radical students appeal for legitimization. Laing is a psychiatrist and psychotherapist who originally worked with schizophrenics and believed he had an understanding of their private states. From that start, and with the influence of the existentialists, Laing has progressed to becoming a sort of philosopher talking of the human predicament.

He says, in the introduction to "The Politics of Experience": "We are bemused and crazed creatures, strangers to our true selves, to one another, and to the spiritual and material world — mad, even, from an ideal standpoint. We can glimpse, but not adopt." This, I suggest, is a precise statement of how our ideal student type begins to feel when he enters a University.

But Laing goes further than this. He considers, in an essay on the schizophrenic experience, that the processes a schizophrenic goes through in becoming what we, but not Laing, would call insane "may be one that all of us need, in one form or another. This process could have a central function in a truly sane society." His description of the process is essentially one of increasing subjectivism.

Those who have adopted Laing amongst the young to whom I have spoken are, in fact, often incapable of distinguishing what we call insane schizophrenic thought from ordinary thought, and see in the bizarre productions of the schizophrenic a valid understanding of reality. They cannot make the distinction, I suggest, because they have become similar to the schizophrenic (which would be seen as a compliment).

ASSIMILATION VS. ACCOMODATION

Jean Piaget has done much to illuminate the processes of thinking. He distinguishes between two opposing principles: that of assimilation whereby we make the world take on the form of our own cognitions, and that of accommodation whereby we adapt our thoughts to what we find in the world. Piaget would maintain that a balance must obtain between these processes if we are to develop effective modes of thought. If the assimilative process gains ascendancy, we begin to see the world structured according to our own thoughts, unconstrained by any demands for consistency from the environment. It seems to me that what Laing is demanding is that the process of assimilation become ascendant, for this is, in fact, what we observe of schizophrenic thought. It pays no regard to reality, voices are heard and people seen when no reason is present for others to see or hear. Beliefs are maintained for which there

is no substance evident to others — a schizophrenic in the Transvaal may believe himself to be the king of Siam, or even to converse daily with God.

Such a doctrine will appeal to the subjectivist student, to whom nothing is more important to him than his private states of mind, and the suggestion that they are somehow beyond and more "real" than commonly experienced hard fact justifies him in assimilating the world to himself.

It is perhaps in this that the demand for immediacy begins. Once the world is assimilated to the self, one is omnipotent. Nothing is impossible for the schizophrenic, an idea is instantly realisable. Also, the assimilator rejects those parts of the world that demand one accommodate to them. Hence the students' rejection of disciplined traditional learning and the development of precise investigatory skills; these demand accommodation and threaten subjectivism — that's what they have been devised to do.

And, the demand for dialogue and relevance may in part have a similar origin. For in dialogue, unconstrained by texts and rules, one may assimilate the world to oneself, and studies become relevant so far as they are easily assimilated to one's own modes of thought.

REVOLUTION

Of course, the great act of assimilation is revolution. A revolution in which society is remade in one's own image, irrespective of the degree to which that image is accommodated to the realities of man and nature.

The avoidance of rules in thinking makes proper and consistent generalisation impossible; generalisations can be changed as frequently as the need arises, and the demand for immediacy does the same — the thought that is here and now subjectively satisfying and exciting is the important one. It is this contradictory nature of the thought of the young that so confuses their elders. No sooner is one assertion apprehended than its contrary, or a variant, is equally absolutely stated. And, in the highly intelligent, paradoxically, the confusion can become a technique. Once again, the students are not the first to have discovered this — the Zen Buddhists used irrationalism of this kind consciously to destroy existing cognitive structures in persons in order, so to speak, to have a blank slate to begin again. Students, indeed, are not so free from tradition as they believe: they are often merely rediscovering what has been discarded.

All that I have said sounds as if I regard the forms of thought in the students of whom I talk as abnormal or wrong in some sense. This is true, but not entirely. It has always been recognised to a greater or lesser degree that there are parts of private experience which are particularly compelling and which form an important part of the reality we experience. And it has been

accepted that these are often not communicable in words, though they may be in music, painting and the other arts and even in intimate physical contact. **What differentiates the well balanced man, in a functional sense, is his attempt to accommodate himself to diverse experiences and to produce structures — works of art or science, or personal relations — in which the many elements of experiences are reconciled.** This act of accommodation is what is difficult, not the experiences themselves, which can be had in a primitive form by simple means, such as drugs. The rational man, in fact, can be aware of all that is being said by the radical student, but wishes to bring within the control of reason all those subjective experiences so valued by the students. And to reconcile them with everything else he experiences of the world.

INADEQUACY OF REASON

But students are correct in suggesting that today reason is operating inadequately; that large parts of experience are excluded from science by its very nature.

Science can only deal with that which can be talked of in formal symbolic systems. And the belief that this is the whole of rationality is incorrect. The arts produce equally rational structures, structures perhaps more complex than those of logic and mathematics. But, so far as modern man is tied to exclusive scientific rationality, he has the limitations the students say he has.

The accusation, also, is likely to be made that what the students have pointed at as evil or corrupting is in fact so, and, therefore, their modes of thought as well as their conclusions are correct. This pragmatic argument is not valid. The generality of student protest and violence is such that it cannot help but find legiti-

mate targets. As we all know, once you begin to hate a person or a situation, valid objects of the hate soon disclose themselves.

FRESH AWARENESS

These modes of thought, should they extend to involve many more people, may destroy the university as we know it. Our Western universities have established themselves in society as places of reason and deliberation. The new student thought threatens to replace them with places (like the Free Universities) where semi-mystical, quasi-orgiastic and fantastic thought will prevail. It is possible that the most subtle and disciplined minds will leave and be replaced by a species of priest whose main accomplishments are those of enthusing students, and of developing in them a capacity for subjectivism rather than the skills of deliberation.

But this is unlikely for Universities are parts of the establishment and have strong powers of self preservation. What is happening is that the very peculiarity of student thought and the ideas which emerge from it and the generality of the objects of its hostility have made us all aware that there are different ways of regarding the world. The universities are reacting with change, and it is likely that the whole of Western society will be changed in its ways of thinking. Its rejection of those modes of experience that science cannot deal with is likely to be less final. We may recognise that people are individuals and not mere members of a working force daily labouring towards no particular human end at all. Authority, will lose some of its arbitrary power and our society may open itself to a diversity of thought and action that it lacks at the moment. We may even begin to regard people and their own experiences as above things and institutions.



Paris — May, 1968

This South Africa

Pay-roll robbers escaped when a Railway official stopped their pursuers — all non-Europeans — from rushing into the European entrance of the New Doornfontein Station. The gang of seven Africans had snatched a R500 payroll in a carefully planned robbery in J.H.B. House, Charles Street, New Doornfontein, early in the morning.

Africans and Indians who heard screams immediately gave chase and the gang ran into the station.

(Report in Natal Witness)

RDM 27-10-70

An Afrikaans minister of Oudtshoorn who called on his congregation to vote only for a Christian candidate in the Provincial Election denied that his remarks were directed against the United Party's Jewish Candidate.

The increase in drug addiction and alcoholism in the Republic was today blamed on the increasing liberal-mindedness of the present generation of South Africans.

Mr. E. F. P. du Plessis, president of the Institute of Public Health, also blamed "liberal-mindedness" for the

pollution of normally clean towns and cities with enormous quantities of offal and waste.

Mr. du Plessis, who is Chief Health Inspector of Alberton, Transvaal, was delivering the presidential address at the institute's biennial congress being held in Margate this week.

"What has become of public pride in South Africa? Instead of educating and enlightening our fellow citizens on the necessity of avoiding squalor and dirt, we have definitely degenerated to the standards of those who do not care what image they present to the world," he said.

DISEASE

He wondered if the ultimate goal of a clean, happy, disease-free South Africa would ever be reached.

"Family planning schemes have met with limited success; population increases will bring more housing shortages; control and suppression of infectious diseases often bring about other disorders; water pollution will increase and the re-use of industrial waste-water will reach saturation point; air pollution will continue in spite of control efforts."

Valuable areas of good soil would be dug up for the disposal of dead bodies.

Neurotics would continue swallowing tons of drugs and litterbugs would continue with their abominable practices.

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