

However, it would be a great mistake to think that the Government will be easily deflected from its course. Some of the weapons it intends using to try to get its way have already been revealed. We have already mentioned that the 30-year urban leasehold has been made subject to proof of acceptance of homeland citizenship. Now the four Provincial Councils have introduced draft legislation, at the request of the central Government, which ostensibly protects the interests of homeland citizens employed by the Provinces. In the past these people, as South African citizens, enjoyed certain privileges denied to foreigners. Now, if they take out homeland citizenship, they will be regarded as foreigners but will continue to enjoy the same privileges as before. But what if they don't take out homeland citizenship? There is no assurance that they will continue to enjoy their present special status. In fact, the contrary. The Minister of Bantu Development has hinted darkly that African people refusing to identify with a homeland will be regarded as people with **an ulterior motive** and they may not be allowed to enter White South Africa. Does he not perhaps mean that they may not be allowed to stay there, for after all that is where most of them are living already?

The conditions of the 30-year leases, the draft provincial

ordinances, the Minister's vague but threatening statements, all amount to an attempt to blackmail Africans in "White South Africa" into taking out homeland citizenship. If the attempt were to succeed and all Africans were to comply, hey presto, according to the Nationalist book, White South Africa would really be white—or nearly so. There would still be all those troublesome Coloured and Indian people to be dealt with but those 8 or 9 million Africans, although still living where they always did live, would have been transformed into citizens of somewhere else. They would have renounced their claims to a greater share in the land of South Africa and to a fair share of the vast wealth they have helped to create in the 87% of the country Pretoria likes to regard as white.

Most Africans rightly reject this fraudulent solution to South Africa's problems. Nor do we think they will be blackmailed into accepting it. The Very Rev. Desmond Tutu, Dean of Johannesburg, has described the homeland citizenship legislation as the robbing of the African people of South Africa of their birthright. That is exactly what it is—an act of robbery. □

2

FURTHER DOWN THE SLIPPERY SLOPE

In this issue we publish extracts from the Christian Institute's recent report on detention and political trial in South Africa. The report is not up to date. It would be impossible to produce such a thing. What is up to date today is out of date tomorrow. Detentions are frequent; new ones keep coming to light; new trials start, and old ones go on and on. But the Christian Institute report is not up to date for another reason. Two pieces of legislation passed in the 1976 session of the South African Parliament were not in force when it was compiled. They are the Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Bill (better known as PISCOM) and the Promotion of State Security Bill (better known as the SS Bill). Before these two Bills became law, their names were changed to make them sound less offensive, but their contents remained the same. In our next issue we hope to carry a legal analysis of them.

There are people who maintain that we are still governed under

the Rule of Law in South Africa. We don't think so. According to their argument if a law has been passed by Parliament then anything done within its terms is done within the Rule of Law. We subscribe to the more conservative view that any law which confines or punishes a person without having brought that person expeditiously before an independent court, is a breach of the Rule of Law. At what point South Africa abandoned the Rule of Law, according to our definition of it, is a matter of opinion. Some people would say with the Suppression of Communism Act, in 1950. Others would say with the passing of the original Sabotage Act, in 1962, and the beginning of house arrest. Certainly we have been moving away from it, with gathering momentum, since 1948. We have moved from the banning provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act, to house arrest, and from there, first to 90-days detention, then to 180-days detention, then to the Terrorism Act's indefinite detention, and now to the State Security Act.

The earlier Acts were said to be aimed at Communists, but were in fact used against opponents of apartheid with a wide variety of views. The later Acts were said to be aimed at "saboteurs" and "terrorists" but their definitions were so wide that they could be used against anyone. One might ask, if the 90-days detention law in fact provided for an endless succession of 90-days detentions, without release, and if the Terrorism Act defined "terrorism" so widely that almost any active opponent of the Government could be convicted within its terms of **some** offence, will things be any worse under the State Security Act? The answer is, we don't know, but we think so. Pretence has been abandoned. The Act is certainly aimed at what used to be called "Communists" or "terrorists", but it is also, as the Minister has told us, aimed at more or less anyone who rocks the

apartheid boat. It provides, too, for detention without trial for a year—or two?

As the Christian Institute report testifies, many people in South Africa have been detained, in solitary confinement, for many days. Many have been broken by the experience, some have died during it. *Joseph Mdluli was detained, in apparent good health, one day in March, and was dead the next day. At the time of writing no inquest has been held, so nobody knows why.

The 1976 security legislation entrenches and extends all previous abuses of what we regard as the Rule of Law. It may help damp down opposition to Government policy for a while, but as a longterm investment it is likely to be disastrous.□

***It was announced in Parliament on 11-6-76 that four police officials are to appear in Court on a charge of culpable homicide arising from Mr Mdluli's death.**

3

NUSAS

NUSAS is going through a very tough time. During the past year a number of universities have voted to disaffiliate from it, the most recent being Pietermaritzburg, always a loyal supporter in the past. Only Cape Town and Wits now remain affiliated—and they only as the result of narrow victories for their pro-NUSAS students in recent votes.

It is a gloomy picture—but not all that gloomy. UCT and Wits are by far the largest of the English-language universities and the fact that they still vote for NUSAS after its experiences of the past few years is no mean achievement for that organisation. And Pietermaritzburg, having voted to disaffiliate, has now elected a new Students' Representative

Council two-thirds of whose members are NUSAS supporters.

As the calls go out to White Africans to come into the laager we hope that Black South Africans, still hoping to see their White fellows come to their senses, will take some comfort from such small signs as these. They, and the recent dramatic increase in support for the Progressive Reform Party in the Durban North election, show that there is still a body of opinion within the White South African community, perhaps even a growing one, which refuses to be bluffed, bullied or cajoled into supporting apartheid or any other white supremacist doctrine.□

AN ENDURING SCANDAL

by Alan Paton

In 1952 the South African Institute of Race Relations decided to make its annual Survey a kind of report on the "state of the nation". To the best of our knowledge it was Miss Muriel Horrell who initiated the change. She made the Survey indispensable to any student of South African Affairs.

It was in the Survey of 1951–52 that the first statistics were given of the comparative costs of education, for white Coloured, Indian, and African children. In 1949 the education of each white child cost £50 each Coloured (or Asiatic child) £17, each African child £7. I shall confine myself to the costs per white child and those per African child, noting that the costs per Coloured child and per Indian child lie between the two extremes. These costs however never reach 50% of the costs per white child.

In 1950 25% of white children were in secondary classes, and 6% of African children.*

The Cape provincial Administration aimed to introduce compulsory and free education for Coloured children by 1954, up to Standard IV. In Natal free education for Indian children already extended to Standard IX. There were 17,000 full-time white university students, and 490 full-time African students.

During the next ten years the gross disparity between the expenditure on each white child and on each black child actually increased, that is, it changed for the worse. In the year 1960-61 the expenditure on each white child in Natal was R132. On each black child throughout South Africa the cost was R14. The ratio of white to black in 1949 was 100:14. In 1960-61 it had become 100:11. The percentage of black children in secondary classes had declined from 6% to 3.1%.

During these ten years two important changes were made by the Government. In 1953 the control of African education was taken away from the four provincial education departments and handed over to the Union Department of Native Affairs. The meaning of that was plain. African education was to become a tool of Apartheid policy. In fact Dr. Verwoerd said so himself, though of course he did not use quite these words. He said "Native Education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the State". This Act spelt death for the mission

schools, which had produced Luthuli, Z.K. Matthews. Buthelezi, Sobukwe, Mandela. It brought about the end of education through the medium of English, the chosen medium of the vast majority of African parents.* It increased the number of children in school, it lowered the standard of their education, it turned African teachers into a silent profession. It placed greater and greater financial burdens on African parents, a matter which we shall return to.

The second important change took place in 1957. The Government announced that it would create four more black universities.

With Fort Hare the total would be five. The Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand would in the future be forbidden to accept black students except by Ministerial permit. The five black universities would be ethnic in character, and would be forbidden to accept students of other ethnic groups except by permit.

What were the motives for this action? They were

- one** the Nationalist obsession with own-race development.
- two** the determination to protect black students from the corrupting influences of white English-language universities, where black students would become imitation white men, assimilate alien philosophies, and entertain false ideas of what life had in store for them.
- three** the determination of the Government to **control** African education, its content and destination.

It should be noted that many South Africans, and not least among them members of the Liberal Party, warned the Government of the dangers of these actions. They argued that this university apartheid would not encourage own-race development; it would rather encourage a bitterly anti-white black racialism. These prophecies came true. In 1976 the Snyman report revealed the racial hatred, the resentment, the intransigence, that lay behind the student disturbances at the University of the North, factors which destroyed the very nature and purpose of the University.

There is another thing to report in the history of these ten years. The number of full-time African students at the universities rose from 490 to 618. In that period the number of full-time white students rose from 17,147 to over 24,000.

*It should be noted that Dr. Ellen Hellman in her paper "Some Comments on Bantu Education" gives the figure for 1953 as 3.5%. In that case the decline mentioned later would be from 3.5% to 3.1%.

*When the Transkei gained control of education, it reintroduced English. So did Kwa-Zulu. So will all the other Homelands. The Verwoerdian victory has turned sour.

At the end of 1970 the annual cost of educating each white child rose, to R191 in the Transvaal and to R286 in Natal. For each black child the cost was R14.48. In Natal therefore the white black ratio had now reached the shocking figure of 100:6.

It would appear that in these 20 years the cost of white per capita education rose consistently, while that of black education stayed where it was. In 1961 for example the Secretary for Bantu Education Mr. F.J. de Villiers, explained that the expenditure had been kept as low as possible by the following measures.

- (i) double sessions in the sub-standards.
- (ii) women teachers for lower classes
- (iii) regrading of farm schools
- (iv) **the diversion of school feeding funds to the expansion of education facilities, where requested by school boards.**

In fact school feeding was ultimately abolished. Today there are many school feeding schemes in South Africa for African children run by voluntary workers. If it were not for them, many children would go to school having eaten nothing at all.

I shall conclude the brief review of this decade by noting that the percentage of black children in Forms I to V rose to 4.21%. The corresponding figure for white children was 32,53%.

The latest survey of the Institute is for 1975. The figures for expenditure on education for 1973-74 fill any decent white South African with shame. They must surely do more damage to race relations than any unpleasant book like "Agter die Magalies."

The figures are as follows:

| EXPENDITURE PER CHILD | RANDS |
|----------------------------|--------|
| Whites; Transvaal | 387.00 |
| Cape | 496.00 |
| Natal | 557.00 |
| Free State | 495.00 |
| Coloured: | 109.88 |
| Indians: | 141.13 |
| Africans in "White" areas: | 28.56 |

The figures are almost beyond belief. The white-black ratio in Natal has now become 100:5. There is one extenuating circumstance, not in itself very creditable. The education of a secondary school child costs substantially more than that of a primary school child. In 1975 35.5% of white children were in secondary classes, and only 6% of African children. That in itself would cause the average black cost to be much lower.

In the 1974 Survey the following figures are given of children over 15 with no schooling, in the year 1970.

| They are: | White | 0.9% |
|-----------|----------|-------|
| | Coloured | 23.6% |
| | Asian | 16.7% |
| | African | 51.8% |

One can be grateful for the fact that these figures show a marked improvement for those of 1960. The following are the figures calculated as at May 6th 1970 of persons over the age of 18 years who had not passed St. II

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| White | 32,273 |
| Coloured | 303,108 |
| Asians | 72,671 |
| Africans | 4,606,756 |

In this account of African education, no mention has been made of teachers' salaries or of expenditure on buildings.

The same disparity prevails. The new white schools can only be described as magnificent buildings; the new African schools can not.

But one cannot close such an account without recording that white schools are free, black schools are not. White books are free, black books are not. Black parents are levied for the building of new classrooms, white parents are not. Black parents are levied for the payment of salaries to auxiliary teachers, in white schools there are no auxiliary teachers. The burden on black parents with 3 or 4 children at school is immense.

The buying of books for black children is another immense burden. Some schools ask the parents to buy the books, and this means long journeys to the cities. Some schools buy the books; the bulk buyer receives a handsome discount but there is no guarantee whatever that the individual buyer, the parent, will receive anything. Children copy down the lists from the blackboard, and mistakes, sometimes crippling are made. All this work must be supervised by the head teachers, who have no secretaries, no typewriters often no telephones. The burden on teachers is immense also.

Such is the depressing story of African education. Yet these schools are educating the administrators of the new homelands. The South African government is pledged to grant independence to the homelands, and it spends some R30 per annum on the education of each child. A prominent homeland citizen has said that the tasks of administration are enough to break one's heart. Most of the ministers of his homeland have never administered anything before.

The call to patriotism is being sounded loudly now. We are asked to be ready to fight for our country. Many wish there were better things to fight for, not least of them African education, the enduring scandal of what used to be called white trusteeship. □

UNZONDELELO

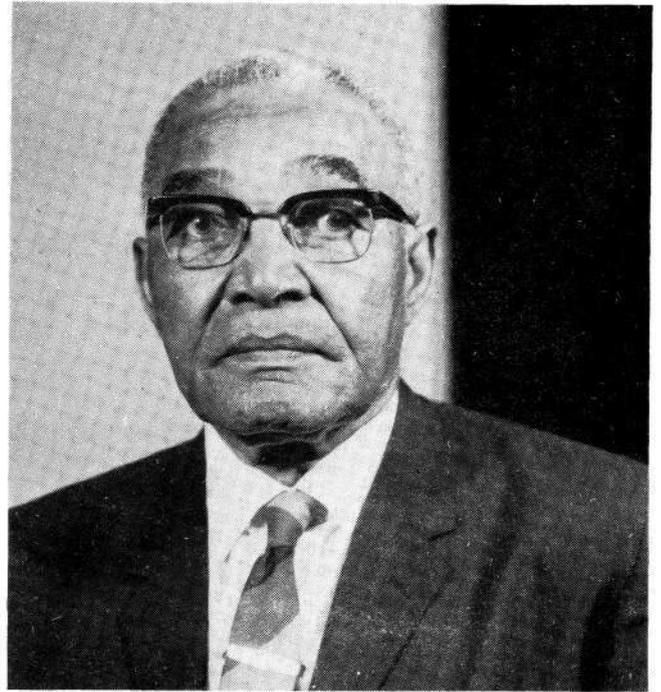
by Selby Msimang

Nzondelelo is the name of a society or should we call it the evangelical society founded and organised by the first African christian community under the Methodist Church in Natal.

It would be appropriate at this stage to give a brief history of events which led to the formation of Nzondelelo.

In about 1834 the King of Swaziland, King Mswazi, sent emissaries comprising ten men to find missionaries and invite them to come to Swaziland with a big Book (He called it Umqulu). These men found the Rev. James Allison on the Caledon River at a place called Mparane (somewhere between Bethlehem and Ficksburg—perhaps where the town Fouresburg now is). Allison took with him ten evangelists, namely: Job Kambule, Johannes Kumalo, Jacob Shabalala, Jonathan Xaba, Samson Mthembu, Thomas Molefe, Abraham Malgas, Abraham Twala, Barnabas Mtembu, Reuben Caluza, Adam Molefe and Daniel Msimang. They formed an enthusiastic and fiery team. Unfortunately their work in Swaziland was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war which compelled Allison to withdraw and migrate with no fewer than one hundred Swazi converts with whom he settled at Indaleni until he resigned from the Methodist Church. Leaving Indaleni, he came to Pietermaritzburg where he negotiated and purchased the farm Welverdiend in extent 6,000 acres on which he established the present Edendale Settlement, in 1861. He remained in Edendale for a period approximately ten years during which he was engaged in adjusting the affairs of the Edendale syndicate up to the stage when every purchaser in the community obtained his deed of transfer of the land he had purchased. During the whole of this period the community of Edendale was not allied to any denomination until after the departure of Allison who went to establish a new mission under the Presbyterian Church at Empolweni on the way to New Hanover. Then it joined the Methodist Church. The syndicate had provided land for mission work generally and had it registered in the name of trustees. There was a time when the Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a resolution authorising the sale of one of the properties set aside for mission work without the consent of the Edendale owners or their descendants. Two of the descendants approached a firm of lawyers in Pietermaritzburg to interdict the Church from selling the property and succeeded.

The name "NZONDELELO" means or bears a meaning more profound than what the Missionaries attempted to say when they gave it to mean "Natal Wesleyan Native Mission". It is derived from a translation by the Rev. Davies of the Gospel according to St. John 2:17 reading "The zeal of thine house has eaten me up". The Rev. Davies was a master of the Xhosa language—and founders of Nzondelelo felt consumed by the zeal to spread the gospel among their people.



Selby Msimang

Morgan's Studio

The movement started miraculously, bursting out simultaneously at a number of centres. In the Ladysmith District a group of African Methodists had gone to Jononoskop on a mission. While there they felt time was ripe for the appointment of fulltime evangelists and there and then a resolution was taken to the effect. To the surprise of everyone, the same decision was, almost at the same time, taken at Edendale, Verulam and Indaleni near Richmond. Each centre sent out communication thereof, whereupon a meeting was convened at Edendale. This was in 1874. The Chairman of the District Committee of the Methodist Church was then the Rev. J. Cameron. The moving spirits of the movement were Daniel Msimang, Nathaniel Mathebula, Stephanus Mini, Cornelius Matiwane and others. The organisers of the movement decided as a first step to apprise the chairman of the district of the Methodist Church of the proposed formation of an evangelical society and of the fact that meetings were being convened for the purpose. Daniel Msimang and Nathaniel Mathebula were sent as a deputation. The most important reason advanced in support of this gigantic step was the marked lethargy of the missionaries to go out in the country to preach the gospel. Missionaries became greatly uneasy and unhappy about this project. They began to think of a counter movement as they feared that what the Africans had in mind would lead to secession.

The first Nzondelelo meeting was held at Edendale in August 1875 when a sum of £100 was raised, and in order to assure the Missionaries that there was no thought of secession, the chairman of the District, the Rev. J. Cameron, was made treasurer of the fund. At this meeting the Synod had sent representatives to acquaint themselves of what was developing. The Rev. Cameron died just at this period when there was tension and suspicion particularly among the missionaries.

The second conference was held in Verulam on the 8th August, 1877, at which another sum of £100 was collected. The Synod was represented. It was to the later conference held at Indaleni that the Synod sent a delegation of three missionaries, viz: Rev. O. Watkins, D. Eva and S. H. Scott. The deputation from Synod had come with a proposal of an establishment of a high school in Natal. Nzondelelo did not discourage the idea of establishing a school but maintained that **their** society was formed for a very special purpose, namely: to spread the Gospel of Christ by all means possible; but that if the Church could build a school they would make their children available at all times. Eventually it agreed that the matter should go to Synod which would lay down conditions governing the operation of the Society.

There was a time when Synod almost decided to reject the society, arising from the fact that Nzondelelo had, without the knowledge or authority of Synod appointed an evangelist at Jononoskop. This was averted by Nzondelelo pleading it had not made the appointment but had sent a young man to look after the station in the meantime pending the appointment by Synod of an accredited evangelist.

The Synod held in January 1878 approved and laid down certain rules under which Nzondelelo would operate and Nzondelelo was given permission to raise funds at all Mission Stations.

The first effort of Nzondelelo was in 1880.

In that year it recommended to Synod that Daniel Msimang be sent to Swaziland to revive the work which was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war in 1834 or thereabout. About 1890 Daniel Msimang who had then been ordained a full minister of the Church under the Transvaal Synod called for an assistant minister owing to the magnitude of the work covering the whole of Swaziland whose boundaries at that time extended to Amersfoort and Ermelo and in the East included a very wide area into Zululand. His son Joel Msimang was sent about that time after having received his ordination.

One of the important achievements of Nzondelelo was the inculcation among converts of the idea of land purchase for the purpose of the establishment of mission stations. Quite a good portion of African owned land in the Northern Districts of Natal which has been declared black spots was acquired by syndicates organised by Nzondelelo evangelists.

On the question of education, Nzondelelo was foremost in support of any promotion of educational projects. There was a time when the standard of education in Natal was considered inferior, Nzondelelo members sent their boys and girls to the Cape for education. That prompted missionaries to think seriously about providing training institutions in Natal.

The people of Edendale could not wait much longer. They got together and began making bricks for the building

which became the Nuttall Institution. In the course of building Synod deputed the Rev. Nuttall to examine the work which was already in progress. He discovered that the workmanship was not up to standard and feared the building would tumble down. He then took over. Broke down what had been erected and started building from the foundation. Nzondelelo had raised the sum of £600. Unfortunately money would not permit the erection of a girls section of the institution which had to be abandoned. About 1908 the Government supported by farmers protested against the education of black people, insisting that they should be taught artisan-ship—and yet would not provide schools for such training. The agitation had become so formidable that the government had to withdraw all grants which led to the closing of the Nuttall College.

By this time Nzondelelo had established no fewer than 92 mission stations in Natal. When the Rev. Robert Mashaba was imprisoned in Mozambique and exiled to some Island, Nzondelelo provided a substitute at the expense of the society.

In 1880 Nzondelelo was visited by the Rev. Kilner with a fund raising scheme for promotion of evangelism in South Africa, proposing that if each member of Nzondelelo would subscribe £1 the Church would add £1. Nzondelelo at once contributed £500. The Rev. Kilner established the school near Pretoria named after him, i.e. Kilnerton. He returned with another appeal to help the mission in Swaziland and offered £500 and Nzondelelo contributed another £500.

In 1891 Nzondelelo offered to the Synod an amount of £293. 13.4 to subsidise 17 mission stations and in 1897 contributed an amount of £338 as a subsidy for 18 mission stations and in addition supported the Nuttall Institution at the rate of £50 a year and further lent the College £600. When Fort Hare started Nzondelelo in 1923 made a contribution of £50. In 1954 Nzondelelo authorised the investment of £5000 to the Methodist Connexional Office so that interest could be used for other developments.

Only recently Nzondelelo supported a project proposed by the Rev. E.Z. Sikakane for the establishment of the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre. Land was required for this project and Nzondelelo bought ten acres of land at Edendale and supported the Rev. Sikakane by an annual grant of R1000. Since then Nzondelelo has been granted a piece of land in extent ten acres by Mr. M. E. Kambule of Jobstown, New Castle in memory of his parents—founders of Nzondelelo among others. A committee representative of all sections of the population of Madadeni and other areas in the District of Newcastle has been constituted to form the Administration Board of the Simeon Kambule Memorial Social Centre. The gift has been enthusiastically received by the community and it is hoped the whole district will derive nothing but good from it. □

MY EYES HEAR NOTHING

by Creina Alcock

We sang our cattle down the hills, and the hills sang with us.

“Hawu hawu hawu! ”

“Mayebabo”

“Beautiful, beautiful! ”

“Zimnandi nkomo”

And only on the third night did the song grow quieter, and the hills were quiet too as the moon led us home.

Even then it was home, this unfenced vastness where we had pitched our tents four months before. **Mdukutshani**, we called it—the place of lost grasses. A new home, and one that must be paid from the work of ten years—those 900 cattle we had marched from the highveld down to the warm Tugela valley.

There are 400 cattle now. The rest are dead, stolen or strayed. And sold, of course, for many **were** sold to pay off the farm. One year later we are oldtimers, Oldtimers to shots in the night and knocks in the night, to guns hidden in porridge pots and burning huts that explode in a fireworks display with all the ammo hidden in the thatch. A year later we have learnt to speak with nonchalance to a man sharpening his spear.

“Nobody in his right mind would buy there,” said the storekeeper, who had first pointed out the farm. “The kaffirs cut your fences, steal your cattle . . . ”

“Msinga?” whistled others. “Do you know Msinga?”

We did. Nowhere else in KwaZulu was such a population, such poverty, such staggering soil erosion. Msinga was a byword for destruction, for hopelessness, and we had found a farm next door to Msinga.

There were other men who had once called this place home, who now watched us from across the river. For them Mdukutshani meant lost years and lost laughter. Although no White had lived here before, it was “White” land, and although the Blacks had been here 100 years, they were “squatters”, and six years ago had had to move away. All 20 000 of them. Then the Whites had offered this land for KwaZulu consolidation, and a KwaZulu Cabinet Minister had travelled down to examine the offering.

“Monkey country” he snorted. “We’ve got enough monkey country. No thanks, you can keep it.”

So although they don’t want it, the Whites have kept it 86 000 hectares of uninhabited, unfenced, eroded land.

Mdukutshani is on a corner, and although we knew it would be best to delay our move until we had built homes, fences, a dip, a school, we had no time, so we piled our possessions in the veld and hoped the winter would soon pass.

But the Winter was a long one.

As the fences went up, so the fence cutting started. Donkeys and goats invaded the farm, while axes tapped a tune of falling trees. It was White Man’s land now, and everything was up for grabs. Shirts vanished off bushes where they had been

spread to dry. “While I was building some boys came to help me. Now I can’t find the nails . . . ”

“Remember that man who stopped for a chat? I hate to be suspicious but the hammer’s gone missing . . . ”

Food, cups, plates, spoons vanished from our outdoor kitchens, while torches, money, clothes dissolved into thin air if we left the tents unwatched for a minute. White ants got busy on our boxes in the veld and there was heartwater among the cattle.

It came suddenly. An animal would jerk, totter, lie down. Within two days, sometimes within hours, it would be dead. If we saw the symptoms quickly we could save it, so the men herded the hills armed with syringes. Before the worst was over 38 had died. Women came crowding in from the Reserve to rejoice at the carcasses. With gusto they skinned, hacked huge **chunks** of meat and carried the dripping portions to our makeshift butchery. If nothing had died that day they would find a sick animal and sit down to watch it.

“Hasn’t a hope,” one would say cheerfully. “Should be dead by nightfall. I brought my knife just in case.”

Before we could control the heartwater, stealing started. At first there were only six cattle missing. Lost in the bush somewhere? We were not worried. But when they climbed to 15,20, 40,60 short, we knew the cattle were being stolen under our noses.

We blundered as only strangers could blunder.

Bheki got spekboom sap in his eyes while chopping a new track. He was clutching his head in agony when some women passed.

“What a pity,” they said sympathetically. “There’s only one cure but not one of us is lactating at the moment.”

“Won’t condensed milk do as well?” pleaded Bheki. We tried powered, and it helped a bit, but it was three weeks before he had recovered. Kwenye was luckier. Blinded and groaning he was groping his way home when he met an Msinga matron.

“Wait my son,” she said, and lifting a massive breast squirted hard. Kwenye sighed with immediate relief from the pain. Learning can be a painful process.

Long before we were ready the world was clamouring at our tent flaps.

“Numzaan do you remember me? I helped your man Kwenye when he got spekboom in his eye. My baby has diarrhoea and is hot and cold and won’t eat. There is no bus today, what shall I do? ”

“My son has been stabbed in the eye . . . ”

“My husband has been shot in the leg . . . ”

“My daughter has started labour . . . ”

“We have had to tie him up because he has gone mad . . . ”

“Last night they stole my goats . . . ”

“The taxi won’t start . . . ”

“My cow has a swelling . . . ”

What were we doing there? We wondered too, at times. The theory was: We'd show KwaZulu how to handle monkey country and train the men who would have to do it one day soon. Together we would bring back the lost grasses of Mdukatshani. Together. We had meetings to introduce ourselves, to explain ourselves. Meetings to plead with donkey owners. Meetings to bargain with goat owners. Meetings just to get to know our neighbours. Endless hours politely passing the beer. Talk, talk, talk, till our tongues were tired and our ears echoed with our wasted words.

"My eyes hear nothing," they say in these hills. "My eyes hear nothing." Which means promises are pretty, but we'll wait awhile and watch. We learnt to say it too.

"You'll never cut wood illegally again? My eyes hear nothing, Gogo, my eyes hear nothing."

"You'll come and work with us tomorrow? My eyes hear nothing . . ."

Change came with the midsummer sun. It came first with one man then with many.

"You don't know me Numzaan, but you helped my brother's wife with her child. Don't ask my name and don't remember me. Yesterday I saw some of your cattle hidden . . ."

Soft knocks on the door in the night.

"Numzaan if you send a man to the dip at you'll find some of your missing cattle."

Nervous men on lonely paths.

"It must never be known I told you, but . . ."

The cold starlit hours before dawn have become tracking time, and the quietness of the hour has become as familiar as the hidden valleys where the whispers lead us. Already 63 stolen cattle have been collected and brought back home.

We find hope in other things too. The fences are still being cut—but the fences are being fixed as fast. Yesterday a man came to borrow wire strainers, and we saw a line of Black neighbours rebuilding the broken fence.

On top of the mountain 250 Reserve cattle are grazing our summer grasses. This time the animals are legally there—and 30 Black families pay for the grazing by working on the farm. Daily these people hack thorn and heap it in piles for our biodegradable internal fences—they are beginning to call it 'our' farm too.

There is a man of 70 who walks 30 km to our weekly discussion group under the trees. He joins the others—stock-owners, gardeners, teachers, all learning about "amabacteria" that shun air, "ama-algae" and photosynthesis. They greedily absorb everything.

"Harvest the sun?" they laugh. "Never."

"Population explosion? Ha hau hau. Now that explains a lot"

The teaching is a two-way affair, and we are also greedy.

"Money?" they tell us. "That stuff? It rots away as you look at it. What can a man do? He's only safe if he has a heifer. Then his money grows. This year R50, next year R70. But money means nothing."

And the money is thrust at us in handfuls and bagfuls. Hundreds and hundreds of rands of meaningless money.

"Just one heifer?" they beg. "One maybe two . . . ?"

From that first morning when our cattle wandered uncertainly down to the river of this new farm, people have been begging us for cattle. They have sometimes come 1000 km—in buses, taxis, on foot, in hired lorries. Men and women. Money stuffed in shoes, in blouses, under skirts of skin. We sold cattle until we had no more to sell, but the pleading went on.

There is no cattle market for the Black man. Even when he has the means he is a non-starter at the White sales, ignorant of the language, the method, the money. (At Msinga all business is still conducted in pounds, shillings and pence). Eventually we gave in. Join our co-op, we said. Bring your money and we will try to buy for you at the White sales. We bought 49 cattle last month. There were requests for 160. Those who had made deposits had done so with anxiety, laughed at by a hundred doubters. Woe, woe—now the doubters are descending on us too.

With all this thieving, why buy cattle? we plead.

There is nobody anywhere at Msinga who has not had cattle or goats stolen. That much we have learnt. We are not the only ones. "We hear the cattle bellow as they are driven out of the kraal at night," they say. "But it is safer just to let them go . . ."

"So why buy cattle?" we insist.

"We don't trust money anymore."

White ants can't get at your cattle, but they can get at everything else. We have been doing the stocktake, and must concede victory to the ants—chairs, cupboards, suitcases, bedding, books, mats, clothes, they've turned them all to dust. Shaking the anteatens remains of a file we came across something we wrote a year ago:

"Are we scared? Of course. We look at our bare hills, our dried up streams. We look across the river at all those kraals. We look at the crowd of people already waiting and we wonder if the odds against success are too great, if the need will not overwhelm us. But we believe it is right to try and we keep our panics private. Most of all, however, we are happy. We feel as if, for the first time, we are living in Africa."

Yes, the year hasn't changed that. But as we listen to the drums across the river tonight a new thought is added. This path we're on, it's a meandering one, and we're not sure where it's going. How do you point the way when you are a stranger on the path? □

“WHILE THERE IS TIME”

A plea to my fellow white South Africans for a new National Convention

by Edgar Brookes

THE CRISIS IS ALREADY UPON US

We may not face revolution tomorrow but we shall face it soon unless we do something. The position of Rhodesia is most uncertain, the future of South-West Africa is impossible to predict, in Mozambique and Angola we have forces which may make for revolution close to our borders. It is incredible that there should be so much complacency among our people. We find the same spirit as that shown by an anonymous lady at the time of the Republican Referendum who was not willing to go to vote against a republic because the referendum was being held on her Bridge day. We must do something while there is time.

REFORMS, EVEN LIBERAL REFORMS, WILL NOT DO

What is called for is a fundamental change in racial concepts.

Reforms are always worth while and we must welcome them, but reforms within the present system can never solve our problems.

THE “SOLUTION” COMING FROM WHITES ONLY, EVEN IF IT IS A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION, WILL NOT DO

The time has passed when even a big and generous change of heart on the part of Europeans will be enough. All South Africans must share in the “solution” and must be seen and felt to share in it.

THE END IS RACIAL EQUALITY, in other words the removing of the concept of race as having any meaning in South Africa. Racial equality involves majority rule. This may not come at once. Even if it does, majority rule is not necessarily a government made up exclusively of one race. But we must frankly face that majority rule will have to come, and come in our time. If we show courage, goodwill and statesmanship, the majority may be a composite majority. If in our obstinacy and timidity we wait until the last moment before giving way, the majority will probably be an ardent and revolutionary black majority.

IT IS NO USE DECEIVING OURSELVES OR TRYING TO DECEIVE OTHERS

A lot of ingenuity and energy has been spent in changing names while retaining the same policy. What end is served by calling “apartheid” “separate development”? What end is served by the ingenious discovery that South Africa is made up of nations not of races and that our problem is international rather than racial? If it were not tragic it would be ludicrous to see our politicians hugging themselves for their skill, when their change of nomenclature has no effect whatever on the world outside. The worst thing of all is to deceive ourselves by these changes, and some of us do this.

IT IS TIME TO GROW UP AND TO FACE FACTS

The adolescent period is over. It is time for us to face life maturely. We have scarcely any friends in the world. We must face facts ourselves. We must ourselves put things right.

DELAY IS THE WORST DANGER

Ten years ago Mr Smith could have got a better deal than he can hope for now. By constantly refusing, he is putting power into the hands of the extremists among the blacks. Time is not on our side. The sooner we can get some conclusion the better.

SOUTH AFRICA STANDS IN A PECULIAR POSITION

We should not have forced upon us the solutions of Zambia and Kenya without modification or change. The fact that for 300 years there have been whites in South Africa, now amounting to many millions, makes a difference.

THERE ARE STILL MANY THOUSANDS OF BLACKS WILLING TO MEET THE WHITES HALF WAY

This will not always be so. The younger generation, particularly those who have been segregated in tribal universities, are not ready for compromise. If we want to use the very deep and real friendship which exists between whites and blacks of a slightly older generation we must do so at once. If we do not, sooner or later there will be armed revolt.

SUPPOSE CIVIL WAR DOES COME

We white people may think, and we should be right in thinking, that we can hold our own against black revolt. But surely if we are facing facts we must realise that thousands of black casualties will bring the United States of America and even the United Kingdom into the picture. They will not be able to stand aside. Their own public opinion will not permit it. And even in their own interests they must prevent Russia and the Russian satellites from intervening.

For these reasons it is submitted that the best thing we can do is to work for the holding of a National Convention at as early a date as possible. The National Convention must include representatives of both whites and blacks. They must not be hand-picked “moderates”. We must be prepared to include representatives of extremism. The idea of a National Convention is to get the sense of the people of South Africa as a whole. I plead for this National Convention, I plead for it most earnestly. Even though the Government would almost certainly refuse to consider the idea, we must begin **NOW** to “sell” this idea to the different organisations with which we have to do. This must become a matter of constant discussion. If this goes on long enough it will come. Let us hope that it will come while there is time. □

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THE OPEN PLURALIST SOCIETY

by Jack Unterhalter

The report of the Spro-cas Political Commission- "South Africa's Political Alternatives"—made recommendations for the open pluralist society. It stated among its conclusions:

"The Commission is committed to the ideal of an open pluralistic society tolerating social and cultural diversity within the bounds of a necessary common consent. It is opposed to the notion of a totalitarian society in which any policy or ideology is unilaterally imposed on the whole society. It follows that it is opposed to the use of government powers to enforce a centrally determined policy in inter-personal social relations, cultural and educational affairs, etc. It is in favour of reasonable freedom of action for all kinds of voluntary associations and secondary groups such as professional groups, trade unions, business groups, cultural groups, churches and universities to manage their own affairs within bounds fixed by law. The Commission regards pluralism in this sense as a necessary counterweight to the power of government and as a necessary base for a free society".

The Commission then discussed in two stages, a model for transition to a new society, referring in essence to a devolution of policy-making, executive and administrative powers from the central government to regional and communal authorities, and emphasising wide popular participation in local and communal matters of all communities and population groups, as also functional representation in statutory bodies and the involvement of all relevant interest groups in corporative bargaining.

Many years ago a considerable literature developed the doctrine of political pluralism, and it may be of interest to see if the doctrine could be of assistance in solving some of South Africa's political problems, and in developing the suggestions made in the report of the Spro-cas Political Commission.

The preface to the discussion is the commonplace of constitutional lawyers that Parliament is sovereign. A. V. Dicey, in his "Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution", quotes this from Blackstone's "Commentaries":

"The power and jurisdiction of parliament says Sir Edward Coke, is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds".

The notion of sovereignty has a long history, as can be seen in the classical statements of Machiavelli, Bodin, Hobbes and Austin. The practical application of the doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty is seen in the way the Courts interpret statutes enacted by Parliament. The Judges seek the intention of Parliament as expressed in the language of the enactment, and then give effect to the will of Parliament as so expressed. There is no will in the State superior to the

will of Parliament, and what it declares is the supreme law. If it so wishes it may in the exercise of its supreme power, restrain the Courts in their investigations, as was done in Great Britain by the Defence of the Realm Acts, and is done today in South Africa in terms of the Terrorism Act.

One has become accustomed to the concept of the supreme central power of Parliament exercised by the government of the day through its majority in the Legislature. And it is a concept that is easy to accept, because it is consistent with the authority of the king as lawmaker and with the authority of the father as guardian of the household.

But scholars have challenged this thinking. F. W. Maitland, in his introduction to his translation of "Political Theories of the Middle Age—Otto Gierke", said this:

"Some would warn us, that in the future the less we say about a suprallegal, suprajural plenitude of power concentrated in a single point at Westminster—concentrated in one single organ of an increasingly complex commonwealth—the better for that commonwealth may be the days that are coming".

Maitland had introduced Otto Gierke to English students in that translation and introduction, Gierke in his studies of legal history having carefully examined German Fellowship—the Genossenschaft. Maitland summarised Gierke's view in saying that the Genossenschaft is no fiction, symbol or piece of State's machinery, no collective name for individuals, but a living organism and a real person, with body and members and a will of its own, willing and acting by the men who are its agents, not being a fictitious person but a group-person and having a group-will.

Maitland was concerned to show that it was not the State that endowed the group with personality, and illustrated this in tracing the development of the English common law trust. In his "Collected Papers", writing of "The Unincorporate Body", he says:

"So we came by our English **Anstalt** or **Stiftung** without troubling the State to concede or deny the mysterious boon of personality. In truth and in deed we made corporations without troubling king and parliament".

J. N. Figgis, in an interesting work, "Churches in the Modern State", said this:

"Does the Church exist by some inward living force with powers of self-development like a person; or is she a mere aggregate treated it may be as a person for purposes of convenience, but with no real claim to a mind or will of her own, except so far as the civil power sees good to invest her for the nonce with a fiction of unity? . . . It is, in a word, a real life and personality which those bodies are forced to claim, which we believe that they possess by the nature of the case, and not by the arbitrary grant of the sovereign. To deny this real life is to be false to the facts of social existence".

Figgis stressed the importance of small associations, pointing to the fact that these mould the life of men more intimately than does the great collectivity we call the State.

M.P. Follett, in "The New State", said:

"There is no individual and there is no society. Individuals are created by reciprocal interplay . . . I am not in relation to society but to concrete groups . . . The group idea comes not from mechanical aggregation but the subtle process of the intermingling of all the different ideas of the group".

Many others supported the criticisms of the sovereignty doctrine, among them Ernest Barker, who wrote of the State as a controller of groups ("The Discredited State" – in "Church, State and Study"). F. W. Coker, in his examination of pluralism, said that the varying doctrines are alike in their common opposition to the traditional theory of State sovereignty, showing the influence of earlier discussions of the States's relation to economic and professional groups and to the broader ethical and philosophical ideas as to the value of variety and freedom in self-expression. He adds that English pluralist doctrine is a plea for the rights and interests of groups which form no part of the official government of the community. There were many other writers besides, notably Harold J. Laski.

In summary then political pluralism is a theory that rejects the notion of a central sovereign power as the source of law. It states that the vital law-giving forces are groups formed in society to further the basic interests of that society, that those groups have personalities, and that true citizenship is realised in membership of such groups.

What may we derive from this for today, and here? I would suggest that we must reconsider the notion of the group, but not in the context of the ethnic group and the transition from this to separate development and the Bantu homeland. A dangerous polarisation is coming about in our country, and the course of wisdom is to stop that. It may be stopped if there is an encouragement of the formation of groups that would have lives of their own, from which an enriched social experience and political contribution would flow. In a word, if people of all races were permitted to associate together in natural groups to further their interests in such groups, there would come about understanding, tolerance and confidence to replace the hatred and the great fears that are undermining our society.

If men, irrespective of race, were associated together in trade unions, the will of that non-racial group would make for a great understanding between the different workers thus brought together, and this understanding would show itself in all the other activities of people living in our society. If there were complete integration

within Church groups, the will and personalities of those groups would likewise be enriched and strengthened, and what the Church gave to its members through such association would buttress in society all the values which the Church represents.

Again, if children of all races were taught together, and played together, there would be created a fellowship that would, in their adult lives, become a comity. Often the friendships of childhood are the most enduring. And the fellowship of the university would have an enriched personality if members of all races were its scholars.

Test the concept for neighbourhood groups, sports groups, drama, art and music groups, business groups, recreation groups. In each there will be an enhanced contribution if all may participate, and for each participant there will be a significance in taking part in legislating for his group.

An example of this form of legislation is the industrial agreement providing for wages and conditions of employment in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. It is negotiated at an industrial council by representatives of trade unions and employers' organisations of a particular industry and when concluded it is approved by the Minister of Labour. Thus the role of the State is to co-ordinate, and to protect other groups, lest the parties to the industrial agreement conspire to exploit their monopoly and thereby disadvantage those other groups.

If the principle were applied to all other interest groups in society, it would be these groups that would legislate and administer, and the State would act to prevent conflict. But the source of the law would be within the groups, not within a central Parliament, and there would be the right to membership of the group by all concerned with that group.

I would say then, that in these dangerous days in Southern Africa we, to meet the threats to our community and to establish a just society, should re-read the doctrine of a pluralist society to which I have referred above. We should travel away from the concept of the supralegal, suprajural plenitude of power concentrated in one single point at Cape Town. We should bring together men and women, irrespective of race, in all kinds of groups, economic, social, sporting and artistic, and devise a structure of government such that the sources of law would be in these groups, and such that the function of the State would be the co-ordination of the groups, and only that. From this would come a new status of citizen for all peoples, and this would give new meaning to Aristotle's old definition of the citizen:

"He who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any State".□

A conference on Development was held in Maseru from March 8 to March 13. Its theme was "The individual and social responsibility in a developing country—is there a conflict between development and individual fulfilment? "

IN THE HALL OF THE MOUNTAIN KING

—Personal reflections on the Maseru Conference

by Carmel Rickard

Apart from a vague interest in "development", my chief reason for attending this conference was to see and hear Ivan Illich, whose writings greatly appealed to me. I was a little hesitant about going—meeting the man Illich might destroy the picture I had formed, and I was reluctant to be disillusioned. I should not have worried, for he was exactly as he ought to have been.

The opening speeches given by King Moshoeshoe II and Dr Ivan Illich set out the view which prevailed most strongly throughout the conference. This view expressed the need for development projects to arise from the requirements of the majority of the people, requirements which are clearly articulated by them; for people to exert control in the choice of whatever type of life is open to them, and for some limits to be imposed on "growth". Other speakers besides Illich and His Majesty also advocated alternative ways of living. Dr Richard Jolly, from the University of Sussex, pointed out the importance of preserving a balance between the formal and informal sectors of society.

The informal sector, he explained, consists of those people who make their livings on the fringes of institutionalised society—the shoeshiners, the people who sell home-bottled fruit juice to the workers outside the factory, the taximen—those who contribute to what Illich calls the convivial ¹ part of our lives. Albert Tevoedjre, the deputy director of the International Labour Organisation, strongly advocated what he called "voluntary poverty". As he explained it, this does not imply "romanticised misery" but rather a freely chosen restriction on what one owns and spends: this would leave one free to **be** instead of to **have**.

The attention of the delegates was also drawn to the setting of limits at the top. When limits are set, they are the lower ones (eg the poverty datum line), but the hope was expressed that upper limits would also be set. This would be a partial solution to the problem of diminishing resources, and it would help to narrow the gap between rich and poor. Attempts to justify this widening gap on the grounds of an eventual overall improvement in living conditions for all are misguided: the notion seems to be merely a myth, unable ever to be translated into reality. Nor is the idea a strange



Ivan Illich at Maseru

¹ Illich defines "conviviality" in these words:

"I choose the term "conviviality" to designate the opposite of industrial productivity. I intend it to mean autonomous and creative intercourse of persons with their environment; and this in contrast with the conditioned response of persons to demands made upon them by others and by man-made environment".

Illich, I. **Tools for Conviviality**, Harper and Row, New York, 1973.

one to the Sotho, in one of whose proverbs it is succinctly summed up: "Where there is no wealth, there is no poverty".

These views, shared by a large number of delegates, were contrasted by the views of other delegates and, even more blatantly, by the life-style which the circumstances of the conference itself seemed to epitomise.

There were speeches which outlined the **minimum** requirements which foreign experts were entitled to receive: at all times they should be able to live in the manner to which they were accustomed; they were entitled to their clubs and should be paid bonuses so they could educate their children at institutions of their own choice; they should be made to feel secure and should not be expected to leave when their tasks were complete. Instead the host government should create additional posts to accommodate both the foreign expert and his local counterpart.

The conference itself was held in the magnificent banquet-hall of King Moshoeshoe II. This building is very close to the palace, although separated by a fence; but each time an official had to go from one building to the other, he seemed suddenly to become paralysed. A man would assist him to an excessively ostentatious waiting car. (Illich called them "motorised thrones"), open the door for him (the paralysis obviously being of a serious kind), help him into the back, and then drive him around the fence, usually under escort and with headlights on.

In contrast to all this pomp and panoply stood Illich. He appeared completely uncompromised by the affluence around him. A visit to Matsieng had been arranged for us to see the Moshoeshoe II High School and the projects of the Matsieng Development Trust. The Cadillac convoy of conference VIP's with outriders and sirens belied the

earlier talk of conviviality, but Illich arrived unobtrusively during the proceedings and almost immediately became involved in a conversation with a group of pupils from the school. His ability to transform the potentially pedantic to the strangely exciting was always evident. This is the result of, amongst other things his intense anguish at injustice and his startling ability to penetrate the type of argument which seduces with impressive statistics: in this way he shows how the myth and the reality are incompatible.

The conference showed the great dilemma of the developing countries. It was clear that "wants" —artificial needs—had already been created by the "capitalistic carrot", and that the satisfying of these wants had brought Lesotho into a hopeless struggle for the kind of life which apparently not even the developed countries can perpetuate. One sensed the great need for answering Illich's radical, exciting challenge to withdraw from the type of competition which destroys rather than creates, and to live a self-sufficient life; to withdraw from the race that will not enable one to improve the quality of one's life, but which will leave millions disillusioned and convinced of their own inferiority, while providing luxuries for only the few.

More generally, the conference was a strange experience for a White South African. Here one confronted Africa, not through newspapers or other peoples' experiences, but as a personal challenge. One's views had to be reconsidered; seeing one's reflection in other people's eyes made it essential to reconsider one's prejudices and reassess oneself. After the week's conference, coming back to South Africa was like entering a land peculiarly pallid. But this impression was somewhat balanced by the personal development which one sensed was perhaps the most lasting result of this conference. □



Ivan Illich at the Royal Village of Matsieng with pupils of the Moshoeshoe II High School

POEMS

by Chris Mann

A PRAYER FOR MY WORK

If I do not speak of suffering
it is because
those who know its darkness do so.

If I do not mourn the hungry
it is because
they have no appetite for tears.

And since I produce my mutter
in the same tongue
as those I wish to see give place,

I will grumble and mock although
too late each time,
I realise I waste my breath.

I can discomfort them the more
by loyalty
until it disrespects the truth

which all of our ancestors share.
May Dingane
the Somersets and Piet Retief

and all of you who have found peace
keep reminding
us your children of your unity;

embrace us in the permanence
of a friendship
we need not wait for death to find;

and may you all speak through my work
lest silence be
the sweetest song I ever wrote.

A REPLY TO CAMPBELL'S EPIGRAM

that the poet who offered his heart for a
handful of South African soil exchanged
a "handful of dirt for a heartful of slobber".

Campbell of course was one of the rabble
Who wash their hands clean of the whole affair
And then, in all their subsequent babble
Employ the experience they couldn't bear.

SIGNIFICANT QUOTES FROM MR KRUGER

*Argus, 22/5/76: By voicing their objections to the Promotion of State Security Bill in the Press instead of bringing them before his (Mr Kruger's) department the Bar Councils (Cape Town and Johannesburg) were getting into the political arena, "And they will find a fighter there. Then they must take what comes".

* * * * *

*By attending Braam Fischer's funeral the President of the Johannesburg Bar Council had "placed himself in the position where he can be accused of attending the funeral of a known communist". (Cape Town, 22/5/76)

* * * * *

*Mr Kruger said he would not use the provisions of the Bill to "wipe the Progressive Reform Party off the face of South Africa", though he agreed with Senator Horwood that the Party were "a danger to South Africa" (Argus, 22/5/76)

* * * * *

*He hoped he would not have to use the powers the Bill gave him, including the power to detain without trial. He said those detained under the Bill would be well treated. Their lives would be made as easy as possible . . . (Argus, 22/5/76)

* * * * *

*He could also appoint a Black person on the review committee which would investigate his actions under the Bill. (Argus, 22/5/76).

* * * * *

*He would not necessarily disregard the Committee's findings! (Argus, 22/5/76)

* * * * *

*He would not hesitate to use his powers against Black Power youth, the NUSAS Wage Commission and those who wanted to "besmirch" South Africa. The Commission was "trying to organise Blacks into trade unions to give them organisational power so as to use them for revolution . . ." (Cape Times, 19/5/76)
Reprinted from Civil Rights Newsletter 28/5/75)

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