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THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

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SMOKE AND FIRE IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African state is in the habit of responding to acts of opposition by hastily pushing forward a police or government official to tell the country through a willing press that "all is under control".

And even though workers may still be out on strike, selected products damned through country-wide consumer boycotts, Putco buses running empty or not at all, children pursuing alternative education courses of their own outside their vacant classrooms and hundreds of policemen called back from leave, the familiar words of comforting reassurance go out to the white minority: "Everything is under control."

There was, however, some difficulty in carrying out this pathetic charade at the beginning of June 1980 when members of Umkhonto carried out their successful attack on the oil-from-coal plants at Sasolburg and Secunda.

Things were quite clearly not under control — like the fire that still raged for days after the attack, for instance.

And there was no chance of hiding things from the people: smoke could be seen drifting above Johannesburg's southern suburbs where only a couple of months previously ANC freedom fighters had blasted the Booyens police station with RPGs and AK47s.

A government that at one stage saw it as fitting propaganda for its own cause to label coordinated acts of opposition as "the work of the ANC" must now be wondering whether it wouldn't be a better idea not to make this admission. But — as with all manoeuvres of this nature — it's too late. The people of South Africa know it's the ANC. And in any case, as the government itself has pointed out so often, there's no smoke without fire. And there's been pretty much of both around lately.

Not of course that Pretoria doesn't actually try to keep things under control.

That's been the watchword and the guiding principle of policy and legislation for as long as anyone can remember. It's ranged from wholesale detentions, bannings, imprisonments and shootings to the more subtle and sophisticated efforts on the labour and social fronts characterised by the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions and the much-vaunted Total Strategy of the current PW Botha version of the Nationalist regime.

In a series of rather frenzied attempts over the past two years at controlling the people's pursuit of freedom on all fronts the South African government has tried to:

- † undermine the formation of democratic trade unionism and the organisation of workers around progressive goals;
- † systematise and streamline "influx control" and deflect the demands of the people in urban areas by exporting unemployment and poverty to the already depressed rural areas;
- † coopt a small but significant urban elite into a conciliatory political stance by removing some of the less important obstacles to "social advancement" and status;
- † and create the political structures necessary for the personal ambitions of opportunists and those who will one day constitute the core of "moderates" with whom the white minority will "negotiate" in the Smith-Muzorewa fashion in the final days before liberation.

If history was a man he would probably have done little more than frown momentarily at these clumsy attempts by the Nationalist regime and its liberal allies in big business and the press to delay their fate. For the people of South Africa have unquestionably gained the initiative: they have known oppression in its vilest form, despair in its most ceaseless and death in its most indignant. But the day is in sight.

Throughout the country today, at every rent meeting, every funeral, every bus fare increase protest, every strikers' gathering, you will hear the words of the Freedom Charter and the names of the country's leaders: Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Tambo...

Even as the state's informers listen, men and women, old and young, schooled and unschooled, respond as one: Moroka — Amandla... Ngawethu! Orlando — Amandla Ngawethu! And so on. Each new meeting hears the name of a new target: Booysens — Amandla Ngawethu!

And now Sasolburg and Secunda.

Amandla Ngawethu!

There is no longer within the country the confusion that once reigned and which was taken advantage of by opportunists. The people experienced their daily oppression and hankered after the way out. But only the adults remembered the clarity of analysis and the spirited discipline. And the state managed to maintain its ruthless grasp on the throat of the groping soul that searched for freedom.

ANC cadres worked. They planned. They prepared. And they anguished as their own fathers, mothers, sisters and brothers suffered under the harsh regime that with a frightening boldness sought to shatter families, communities and the nation itself.

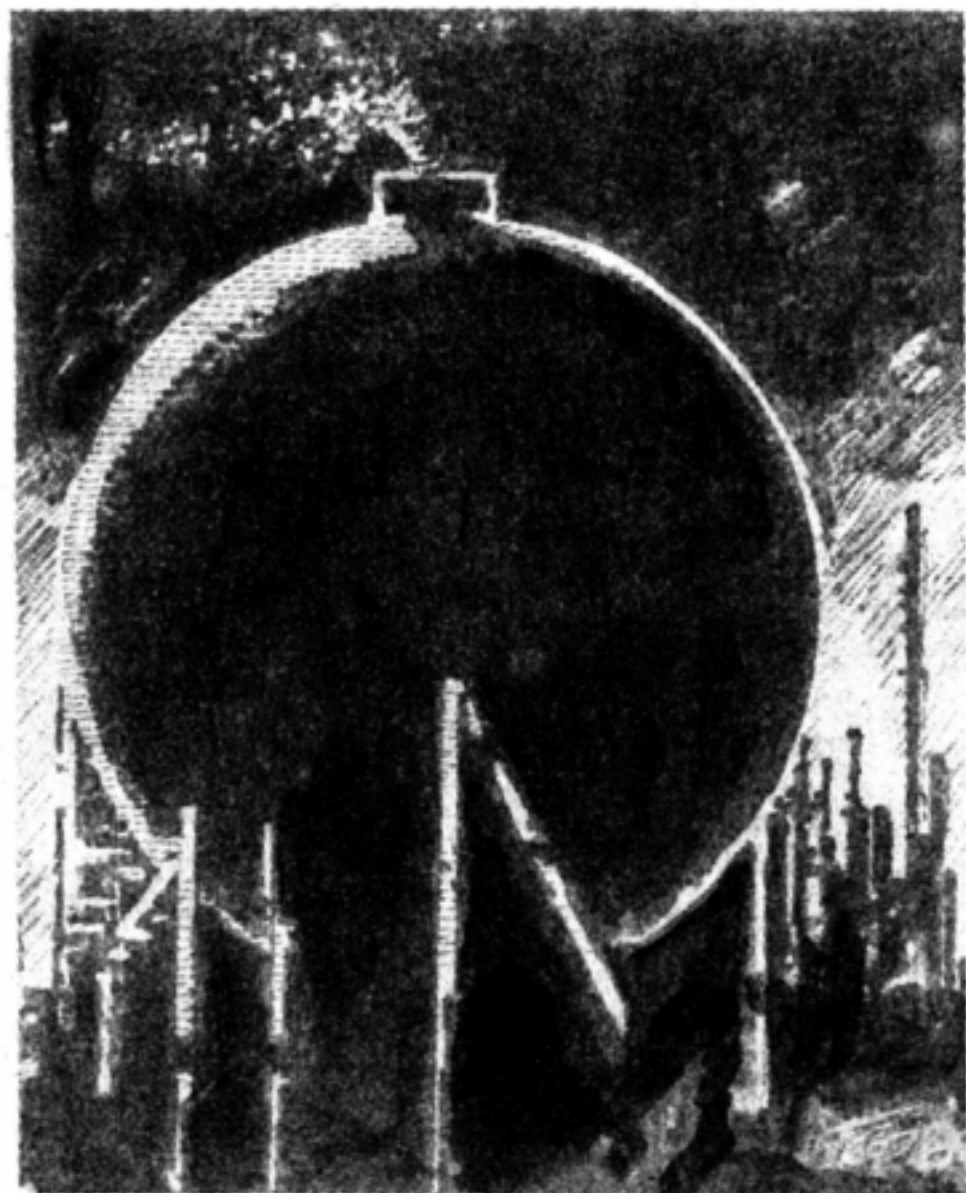
And the time came — as it had to. On the billboards of Africa lighted up like the next attraction in the cinema of history read the words: Coming soon — Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe came as sure as it is known that the smog that hangs in the winter over Soweto will rise by midday, so it was known that South Africa would win her freedom.

And even as the smog lay thick the ANC moved. Moroka, Orlando, Soekmekaar and Silverton. And even with all at its disposal, Pretoria could no sooner stem the tide than blot out the sun before midday.

Desperately they moved against hundreds throughout the country. Comrade Mahlangu gave his life and Comrade Mange awaits the verdict on his. But their martyrdom lent only dedication and devotion to the thousands who waited for their role.

Booyens. The soft Johannesburg night



shook almost as if the RPGs had ripped a hole through the very heart of white supremacy.

The state once again ushered onto its television screens the officials and the ministers to read the script: "Everything is under control."

Yet even as they spoke the fires of Sasolburg and Secunda were not under control.

And in a mad scramble for position the last of the opportunists team up with their real allies. Chief Buthelezi speaks of vigilante groups to "protect property", community councillors scratch around for something — anything — to do, and rootless "spokesmen" shy into obscurity.

For the writing is on the wall — lots of walls, in fact, if you care to take a drive down past New Canada and keep your eyes open: ANC LIVES!

In South Africa today we notice a shift from the emphasis on the politics of white domination to an emphasis on the politics of survival — like the beast of the jungle.

On the other hand the Blacks are going back to the Freedom Charter and forward with the Freedom Charter.

THE PEOPLE'S PROGRAMME

**STATEMENT BY SECRETARY
GENERAL
ALFRED NZO
TO THE JUNE 26TH FREEDOM DAY
MEETING
CAMDEN CENTRE, LONDON**

Dear Friends, Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the entire membership of the African National Congress, the whole revolutionary movement and the fighting people of South Africa, the working people, the rural masses, the gallant youth and students, our heroic People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, we convey warm revolutionary greetings to all the participants at this meeting and through you to the democratic freedom-loving forces of the United Kingdom.

We are gathered here today to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, the beacon and guiding light of our revolutionary movement.

June 26th, 1980, the 25th Anniversary of the Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter, is an important highlight of this first year of the new decade of the 80s. It is an occasion which challenges all patriotic South Africans to reassess the current phase of the liberation struggle in the light of the ideas of the Freedom Charter and the revolutionary programme of our movement.

It is indeed an occasion to cast our minds back over the past quarter of a century to how and why the Freedom Charter has been and is a 'beacon to the Congress Movement and an inspiration to the people of South Africa' as Mandela put it in his memorable words.

Dear Friends, this assessment is currently the main activity within the ranks of the

broad masses of our people through a campaign calling for the release of Nelson Mandela through regional committees that have been formed throughout South Africa whose main tasks have been set along the following lines:

- 1 To launch a national leaflet campaign to press for the release of Nelson Mandela
- 2 To call for appropriate activities on June 26th to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Freedom charter.
- 3 To print commemorative stamps for June 26th.
- 4 To stress that the Free Mandela campaign implies a call for the release of all the political prisoners.

This wide campaign has been supported by various black political and community leaders, trade unionists, all major churches excluding the 3 white Dutch Reformed Churches, academics, student groups at English and Afrikaans universities, black and white cultural organisations, many English-language newspapers, the Institute of Race Relations, the South African Council of Churches and so on. This wide participation was already a subject of comment by such newspapers as the *Rand Daily Mail* as early as the beginning of June.

It is salutary to recall that the Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter was held at a time when the political strength and the organisational capacity of the African National Congress was already beginning to shake the foundations of the fascist order in our country; when a

peaceful road to freedom still seemed to lie open, some 6 years before the birth of the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe; when the fighting unity of the oppressed was still in its infancy and the independent movement of the workers firmly committed to the political and economic emancipation of all workers had moved into a new stage with the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) only a few months previously.

The Congress of the People was held at a time when the number of independent African states could be counted on the fingers of one hand and the formation of the Organisation of African Unity was still 8 years distant.

It was at a time when the progressive movement uniting the Afro-Asian peoples had just had its foundations laid at the historic Bandung Conference; when French colonialism had been freshly defeated by heroic Vietnam, but the long war against US aggression in Vietnam and other countries of the Indo-Chinese peninsula still lay in the future, and People's Cuba was no more than a dream in the hearts of Fidel Castro and the militants who rallied to the call of revolution.

The clarity and correctness of the ideas of the Freedom Charter testify to the revolutionary maturity of those responsible for drawing up the Charter—the people of South Africa. That the Charter has stood the test of time, outlived its critics and defeated every attempt of the enemy to brand it as 'treason' demonstrates the rich heritage of the struggle of our people, the justness of our cause and the necessity of the Charter as the definitive expression of the goals of our national liberation struggle—the only democratic alternative before the entire people of South Africa and the future guarantor of peaceful development and the happiness of the people of our region and of Africa as a whole.

The Freedom Charter proclaims that our country—South Africa—belongs to all who live in it, regardless of colour or national origin. This reflects the anti-racial and non-racial ideology of the African National Congress. The Charter claims for all the right to govern, to take part in making and administering the laws; to enjoy equal national rights; to share in the country's wealth; equal rights of all to housing, security, education and opportunity; of peasants to land; of the workers to skills; protection of workers' conditions and trade unions.

democratic South Africa will firmly uphold the principle and cause of African independence and unity and on a wider international scale we shall stand on the side of those who struggle for peace and friendship of all peoples. In other words it is an absolute negation of Apartheid and racism and all that they stand for. It is permeated with a spirit of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

These demands are not 'election manifestos' ambiguously worded to entrap and confuse the 'voter' only to be evaded and forgotten the moment the successful politicians gain office. These are bread and butter issues. They are embodied and crystallised in our slogans and salutations. 'Amandla Ngawethu'; 'Maatla ke a Rona'; 'Power to the People' is an ANC slogan that emerged in the early sixties and became a call that was heard in Soweto during the uprising; it spread and was echoed across our country. This salute can be heard in Botha's jails and also in fascist courts when our leaders and cadres, who, after having suffered the most barbarous torture, react to vicious sentences, sometimes imprisonment for life, sometimes the death sentence, and also in the long sentences that take away the best years of their lives. 'Amandla Ngawethu' simply means 'Mayibuye i Afrika'—we are determined to seize power. This is a declaration of confidence in our just cause and at the same time, contempt for the minority white fascists and their ideology of apartheid.

Dear Comrades, if the Freedom Charter was born as it was in the heat of the revolutionary upheavals in our country during the 50s, we are commemorating its 25th Anniversary at a time when the struggles of our people in South Africa have reached new higher levels, when the decolonisation forces have virtually swept throughout the whole continent of Africa, and indeed when the forces of peace and progress throughout the world have gained and keep gaining the strength necessary to permanently cool the hot heads of aggressive circles in the capitalist world, especially the United States.

We have just celebrated the independence of Zimbabwe. The extent to which this development further changed the balance of forces in Southern Africa in favour of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the region was reflected in PW Botha's assessment that this development has changed the strategic situation in South Africa. This assessment has been emphasised by the new mood of confidence and revolutionary enthusiasm



sweeping throughout the ranks of the oppressed masses of South Africa and Namibia.

South Africa is in political turmoil. Vast sections of the oppressed population are up in arms against the regime of terror in our country. South Africa is in the grips of a countrywide campaign demanding the release of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, our people's leader. This broad activity is closely linked with the Freedom Charter.

The current campaign inside South Africa for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners is indicative of the fact that the present regime has no legitimacy to govern South Africa—hence the demand for genuine leaders of the people to be released to lead the country in accordance with the wishes of all its people. This demand was articulated in the Freedom Charter 25 years ago when we stated that: 'no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people'. This campaign also shows that the people know their true leaders and therefore reject the puppets imposed upon them by the murderous apartheid regime. This is an act against and a complete rejection of the Bantustans and all other apartheid institutions—a deadly blow to the Schlegel Commission proposals envisaging a constitutional arrangement involving the Coloureds, Indians and Chinese (who in any case will have an inferior status to the Whites) to

the exclusion of the Africans—the majority of the population and the most oppressed and exploited section of the community.

This demand for the release of Nelson Mandela is also a complete rejection of all reformism and in particular the regime's blind vision of a 'national convention' based on the ill-fated illusion of the concept of the constellation of states based on anti-communism and racism.

There is another aspect to this campaign. The South African racist regime has learnt nothing from the recent developments in Zimbabwe. Indeed the racist Whites in Southern Africa have a 'reputation' of misreading black attitudes and aspirations.

The Zimbabwean elections, against most white expectations, have shown that black 'leaders' who are picked out by Whites as suitable people to lead, will be political destroyed by precisely that recognition and replaced by a people's choice. We have Gatsha Buthelezi in mind.

At periods such as the one through which our struggle is going, when the enemy begins to sense his impending demise, it has often been the strategy of reactionary forces to find spokesmen from among the oppressed people to intercede between the oppressed and the oppressor in favour of the latter. We are now seeing the implementation of this strategy in South Africa also.

The African National Congress was born as an instrument in the hands of our people to unite them and all the democratic forces of our country into one force of struggle for a democratic South Africa. To this day this remains a principal objective that we pursue. It has been in pursuit of this goal that we have, over many years, worked to bring even the Bantustan leaders back to the fold of the mass army for the genuine liberation of our people. As educators and organisers of all our people we have avoided public condemnation of those whom we felt were proceeding in wrong directions from genuinely mistaken positions.

But the conduct of one such as Chief Buthelezi of the Kwa Zulu Bantustan, especially over the recent past, can no longer be seen as proceeding in wrong directions from genuinely mistaken positions. Rather, it has become clear that Buthelezi has placed himself in the position of an interlocutor between the oppressed and the oppressor in favour of the oppressor. To organise bands of armed men to terrorise the striking school children back to school and to an inferior and racist system of education as Buthelezi has done, is openly to join the enemy's forces of repression. To denounce this or that patriot as a member of the African National Congress, knowing that mere membership of the ANC carries obligatory sentences of long imprisonment is to act out the vile role of a police agent. To seek to turn the anger of the people away from the apartheid regime and direct it against other sections of the black people, for example the 'Indian' people, as Buthelezi has done, is to participate in the commission of the crime of apartheid. To call for the formation of black vigilante groups to fight against our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, as Buthelezi has done, is to assume the mantle of collaborator. To urge the masses of our people to desist from struggling for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other leaders, as Buthelezi has done, is to place oneself among the ranks of the jail warders who keep not only these leaders and other patriots in bondage but also the millions of our people.

Those who place themselves in the path of the struggling masses shall inevitably be swept away together with their racist master whom they serve. In our region that is a lesson which has been confirmed in the recent past by the victories of Frelimo, the MPLA and the Patriotic Front alliance in Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe respectively. South Africa will be no exception! Indeed the very same lesson is being confirmed in Namibia today.

Zimbabwe has also shown the folly of believing that a white minority can enjoy power and privilege indefinitely at the cost of a black majority. The courageous people of Zimbabwe have shown that neither money nor repression and bombardment will move them away from the path of struggle and justice. Enemy propaganda proved to be counter-productive. And what is more, the outcome of the struggle proved that it is virtually impossible to talk of struggle and liberation without a tested vanguard rooted in the masses of the people and articulating their aspirations. This is the role the ANC is playing in our situation and under our conditions.

What are these conditions and situation? It is not our task tonight to bore the listeners with statistics and figures. But perhaps it is worth remembering that every year, half a million Africans are arrested and imprisoned in accordance with pass laws and 100,000 prisoners are permanently detained in prisons throughout the country where two capital hangings take place weekly.

But the reality of the South African situation is characterised not by arrests or police brutality; the characteristic feature of our situation is the struggle of our people.

The root cause of the recurrent school boycotts by the Coloured, Indian and African students is the racist policy of separate education for the different nationalities. For the Black people education is not only separate but inferior: it prepares them for an inferior role in life; irrelevant subjects are taught; they are not free to do skilled work; education is neither universal nor compulsory. In short, education is intended to keep our people as perpetual servants of their white masters.

The education imparted to the Blacks is so irrelevant that it makes a mockery of the term 'education'. For instance, the emphasis in teaching Agriculture is on 'soil erosion' and nothing is said about the fact that 13 per cent of the land belongs to Blacks who comprise 80 per cent of the population.

The closure of Fort Hare and sit-ins by students of the University of the North (Turfloop), Westville and University of Western Cape, shows that the students are up in arms. There have been clashes with the police—student bodies are not recognised as channels for negotiation—and students have been politically and academically victimised. The discontent against the administration's use of security guards and police on the campus, the low quality of food and the use of conservative and racist Afrikaans lecturers—these are

some of the grievances that lie behind the current school boycott.

On the workers' front the struggle continues unabated. In the Cape Town area we have seen successive strike actions, in Johannesburg and Durban there is no peace and now in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, the strikers are demanding an increase of about 90 per cent in their minimum wage but the management of the Volkswagen factory has offered the workers the equivalent of a 20 per cent wage increase in an attempt to prevent the nine-day strike from spreading to other plants such as Ford and General Motors. There are also hair-raising reports about the frightening shortage of housing in the black communities around the country.

The demands put forward by the students, namely a non-racial education policy, equal pay for all teachers and the reinstatement of those teachers unfairly dismissed; the question of higher wages, trade union rights and better housing, the problems affecting the religious community and the land question are all enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Until these demands are met (which can happen only in a free South Africa) these boycotts, strikes, demonstrations and petitions will continue at a heightened level.

This brings us to yet another important aspect of the Freedom Charter, namely how to bring these changes about. The Freedom Charter is explicit on this question. It states: 'And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together - equals, countrymen and brothers - adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won'. And repeats for the sake of emphasis: 'Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty".'

In the light of the growing barbarity and intransigence of the racist regime, the ANC and its revolutionary allies decided to form Umkhonto we Sizwe as a core of the future people's army. The main strategic objective of the ANC and its allies is the armed seizure of political power for the establishment of a people's government in South Africa. The recent attacks by the ANC guerillas on 2 of South Africa's huge Sasol oil-from-coal plants (Sasol 1 and 2) as well as on the oil refinery have underlined not only South Africa's continuing vulnerability to an oil embargo but even more significantly, for the future development of the

revolutionary armed struggle of our people. The SASOL operation demonstrated the growing skill and sophistication of the actions of our people's army - the staunchness of its cadres.

In the last few years we have seen a number of armed actions by the militants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. These armed operations within the country have a psychological impact. They instil self-confidence in the people and transform the latent hostility of the people to the regime into open mass confrontation; they intensify the sense of unease and insecurity among the enemy forces, they increase the conviction among the struggling people that victory is certain, and popularise armed struggle. In other words, the establishment of a properly functioning network will depend mainly on the extent to which we have been able to inflict serious blows on the enemy over a fairly considerable period of time. These armed operations therefore are solving the tasks of creating the appropriate psychological and political climate with the intention of building and consolidating the political army of our revolution and swelling the ranks of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

What about the question of investments and international solidarity? When we talk of foreign investments we think of the political, economic, military and cultural relations of racist South Africa with the Western world. These investments started with the discovery of diamonds and gold about a hundred years ago and were confined to the manufacturing sector. Now they have entered the military industrial complex via the selling of licences for local production of arms.

Foreign companies play a leading role in fuelling and buttressing the apartheid system; they actively participate in the deliberate exclusion of Blacks from skilled jobs; maintaining the vast and growing average wage differentials between black and white workers, denial of trade union rights to Blacks, race classification, pass laws, preventing free movement of Africans in the land of their birth; strengthening of racism and deliberate exclusion of Blacks from skilled jobs which are filled by white immigrants.

The inflow of foreign capital results in a high standard of living for Whites and increases the gap between Blacks and Whites. Foreign investments enable the South African economy to absorb new white immigrants each year from the rest of the world who fill big managerial and professional posts.



The other disturbing aspect of foreign investments is that they bring new technology which is used in the repression and manipulation of our people, e.g. computerised technology takes white propaganda to black ghettos and increases the efficiency of the political police in their surveillance of the Black people and their organisations.

Investments boost South Africa's military capacity, because South Africa's balance of trade

runs at a deficit but investments bail the South African regime out and this enables South Africa to stockpile essential commodities such as oil and arms, which build up and increase the self confidence of the racists who are becoming more and more arrogant and defiant.

Comrades, the crucial work that has been carried out by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in fighting

collaboration with that regime is reflected in this great meeting of solidarity with the fighting people of our country. But we recognise that in this decisive period of the struggle in Southern Africa—a period which has witnessed frantic attempts by the Apartheid regime and its western allies to stem the revolutionary tide—the tasks facing all of us are even more urgent. The British Government's intent to bring South Africa 'out of the cold' is being starkly demonstrated in practice as they condone the brutal killings of our people with a blanket of silence; as they allow the British Lions to continue their tour while massive repression intensifies throughout the country.

As the united mass and the armed struggle intensifies in South Africa, the need for all-out action to isolate the regime economically, militarily, by breaking all sporting links; through fighting to enforce the vital oil embargo; by effecting the total isolation of the racist regime—has never been greater. Our people make these demands on you, conscious of the role you have played in the past and in the knowledge that the world's anti-imperialist and democratic forces are united in common struggle. The African National Congress is confident that you will, on this historic occasion, determine to redouble your efforts on all fronts and respond to the challenge ahead.

We, on our part, pledge persistent action which will culminate in the punishment of those who have set themselves up as hangmen of our people. Power will belong to the People—the ANC will punish these criminals. In the words of Comrade Nelson Mandela:

'Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle, we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule!'

In the face of the present situation—which is fraught with danger—and the fact that our people are up in arms against the South African racist regime, the need has never been greater for all democratic and anti-racist forces, at the national level, at the level of the OAU, non-aligned movements, and at the level of support groups and organisations throughout the world to unite in militant solidarity for the cutting of political, economic, military and cultural links and for the complete overthrow of the Pretoria fascist regime.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

We are proud and happy to announce that by resolution of the National Executive Committee

of our organisation it was decided to award two heroes of our revolutionary struggle—Bishop Ambrose Reeves and Govan Mbeki—with the title of ISITWALANDWE on the occasion of the 25th Anniversary of the FREEDOM CHARTER.

Do we have to go into details of why they deserve this high award of our people? Both of them have contributed and continue to contribute at different sectors of our revolutionary struggle for the achievement of our strategic goal—seizure of political power. Both of them have held their heads very high refusing to be daunted by the savage barbarity of the reign of terror in our country.

Govan Mbeki is on Robben Island, serving a life sentence, together with Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and other leaders of our movement. Throughout the almost two decades of his incarceration, Govan Mbeki has remained true and firmly committed to his revolutionary ideals. The small men who daily taunt and persecute him during all the years he has been in prison have not daunted his revolutionary character. He, together with his imprisoned comrades, continue to serve as a source of inspiration to all the generations of freedom fighters in our country. This inspiration has continued to fuel the flames of our revolution.

Bishop Ambrose Reeves is well known not only to our people, among whom he had lived and worked until the regime of terror could no longer tolerate his presence in South Africa, but we are certain that the progressive and democratic forces in the United Kingdom amongst whom he has continued to work for our cause ever since he left South Africa, hold him in very high esteem indeed. We highly value his contribution as one of the architects of the powerful solidarity movement that has been built in this country in support of the heroic struggle of our people. Both these heroes richly deserve the high award of ISITWALANDWE which is a symbol of the undaunted heroes of our struggle and people.

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!
FORWARD TO FREEDOM IN SOUTH
AFRICA!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

DANGEROUS BILL

Even before the Second Police Amendment Bill officially became part of the long list of fascist laws, Botha's police had already been instructed by the racist Minister of Police, Le Grange to implement the law. According to this Bill, the Press is prohibited from publicly stating the names of those people arrested under the General Law Amendment Act of the Terrorism Act. Our people can be picked up off the streets and disappear without trace, lawyers or families cannot make Habeas Corpus applications and even if a wife or members of the family of the detained person know where he or she was kept, then they would be prohibited from disclosing this information to anyone. According to Le Grange, violation of this Bill carries fines of up to R15,000 (£8,380), 8 years imprisonment or both.

The racist attempts to perpetuate white minority rule behind a smokescreen of fascist laws, police brutality, military aggression into neighbouring countries, propaganda and other methods will not succeed. As the smoke from the automatic weapons, pistols and teargas cannisters drifted away, the reality of racist oppression was further exposed. Many young children and students, workers and adults have been seriously injured or killed after the racist police indiscriminately opened fire at our people with orders "shoot to kill". Amid all this brutality, in the name of "western democracy", christian nationalism, white supremacy and baaskap, the racists were already debating and hatching their schemes to keep all scenes of brutality, horror, injustice, cruelty and the stench of death from the world by implementing the Second Police Amendment Bill. This law is just another weapon in the racist arsenal "bursting at the seams"

with unjust and inhuman laws aimed at blocking the march of our people on the road to freedom. No law in South Africa is new, laws are merely extensions of the already existing hundreds, they fill gaps and can be called "stop-gap measures" which are fascist responses to our intensifying struggle. This latest unjust law joins a host of legislation on the shelves and in the statute books of fascist courts, police stations and numerous other agencies of "law and order" in apartheid South Africa.

Since last year, the Press were already dictated to as to what they could or could not report. They were instructed not to report on:

- † matters affecting the police; murders in detention etc.
- † oil procurements in violation of U.N. mandatory sanctions and those who supply it.
- † South Africa's invasion of the People's Republic of Angola.
- † the "war with SWAPO"; numbers of racist soldiers killed etc. Only racist army bulletins are issued on the war.
- † the racist army in Namibia; extent of occupation, location of bases etc.

There are over 90 laws which affect the Press directly. This law intensifies our people's sufferings, increases repression and extends the power of the trigger-happy police over and above that of the fascist courts of the regime. The racists hope to keep the daily sufferings of our people a secret and allow only propaganda and misinformation to seep out of the country. This law, like others, is open admission by the regime that the struggle has intensified, the successes of our people and Umkhonto we Sizwe are demoralising the regime. That is why Le Grange said: "The Bill is not about Press Freedom but about the

THE SCHLEBUSCH SHOW

By Bob Connolly



security of the state." P.W. Botha, the racist Prime Minister has also warned the Press about "handling radical activities of boycotters during school strikes." Botha and Le Grange however have not escaped the fire from their own right-wing press. Even the fascist paper, "Die Beeld" carried an editorial which stated: "There could not be voluntary cooperation if the media were 'kicked in the teeth' by unilateral action of the kind contained in elements of the legislation and voluntary cooperation from the Press was essential." Another racist mouthpiece, "Die Transvaaler" commented: "It does not sound right that an individual simply can be plucked out of society in total secrecy."

When the regime banned all political meetings commemorating the June 16

uprisings, it provoked lots of anger from the press, especially the foreign press. Percy Qoboza, the editor of "Post" and "Sunday Post" said that he would defy the ban by the Minister of Police and said: "It is now clear to me that the choice facing me is between what I believe is the responsibility of the press to tell my people and South Africa exactly what is happening, for there is a fundamental and great principle at stake. I now feel morally obliged to ignore and defy the ban that has been imposed by the police on my reporters... I have every intention of instructing my news editor to send any reporter under his jurisdiction to go and cover the news as it happens. If those reporters get arrested, he has my instructions to send more reporters until he is the last man in the

newsroom, in which case I will send him to cover the story. If he gets arrested, I will send my assistant editors, and if they get arrested, I will personally go out and cover the news. If I get arrested then at least I will sit with dignity and honour both to my profession and in defence of one of the greatest principles of democracy — the right of the people to know.”

Last year the Steyn Commission headed by Justice Marthinus Steyn recommended that the racist regime should relax the Official Secrets Act of 1956 so that the Press could have more leeway. The Commission which was set up to look at all aspects of the press and then to report back called for a “free press, an informed public and for a partnership between the State and the Press”. Le Grange recently stated that the reason he did not consult the Newspaper Press Union about the Second Police Amendment Bill was because he did not consider that the Bill affected the Press. He went

on to say: “The Bill was to enable the police to perform very sensitive operations and duties without particulars thereof being made known. The Bill was also aimed at ensuring security and will be included in security legislation currently under review by the Rabie Commission. We seek to place a total ban on press reporting of police action against terrorist activity unless authorised by the Minister of Police or a Commissioner of Police”. These are the recipes of the fascists for a “peaceful and democratic state”. Our people are not in any mood to be intimidated. The murder of our school-children and workers on the streets, the day-to-day oppression and the numerous oppressive laws have not weakened our resolve to continue the fight. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe, against great odds over the racist Ian Smith and his puppets spurs us on to overthrow the regime and to replace it with a people’s government.

WORKERS ON THE MARCH

Recently, a series of crippling strikes ripped through the Motor Industry totally bringing it to a halt and threatening to put the Ford and General Motor Companies out of business. In one of the most effective strike actions over 4,000 black workers, the entire workforce of the Volkswagen Complex in Uitenhage downed tools in support of their demands for higher wages. The strike actions brought many other related industries to a standstill as well as receiving lots of support and solidarity from other workers in Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, East London, Johannesburg and Pretoria. Factories immediately affected were:

* the Jella factory which manufactures vehicle lighting equipment, 700 workers downed tools,

- * Borg-Warner transmission plant which had to close down;
- * the SKF wheel-bearing plant which closed when 200 workers went on strike;
- * Goodyear Tyres where 300 workers went on strike;
- * Gubbaud Inggs, a woolwashing plant closed;
- * Guestro Industries, a motor component plant closed;
- * the Koo factory in East London closed down;
- * Steel Pipe Industries in Elandsfontein near Johannesburg closed after 300 workers went on strike;
- * the Coco Cola factory in Uitenhage closed down;
- * UCM Milling Company in Uitenhage sacked 250 workers for striking;
- * Link Construction Company closed down

- when 600 workers went on strike;
- * at the Uitenhage Municipality, 90 workers went on strike;
- * Ford and General Motor Companies in Port Elizabeth and Pretoria were forced to cut down on production and they had to produce "cripples", a term used in the motor industry for cars which lack certain vital parts.

Throughout the strikes, the police responded predictably. In a typical fascist manner, the police moved in firing teargas, shot-guns, baton-charging, arresting and setting vicious police dogs on the workers. Many workers were arrested, charged, deported and banished to the Bantustans. Whilst the police were terrorising the workers, the bosses sacked hundreds of workers, they in fact hired and fired as if the workers were their own possessions and totally ignored the demands of the workers. The bosses work hand-in-hand with the police because the Motor Industrial complexes are part of the overall military strategy of the regime which it is committed to protect in the event of a war or a total military onslaught. The bosses are therefore para-military personnel who are prepared to work with the regime not only to protect their own interests but also the state machinery.

Strike actions have always been effective weapons in the hands of the black workers which the apartheid regime fears and crushes whenever they occur. For a long time now the regime has faced a sustained attack from the black workers, the leading force in our revolutionary struggle. As a result of many years of experience, black workers have forged unbreakable links of solidarity, unity and a high degree of organisation in their struggle against the bosses, the multi-nationals and the regime. The black people of South Africa have learnt the meaning of unity in action and have put it to practice. The crippling waves of strikes which have cut through the country recently are all part and parcel of the overall revolutionary mass upsurge which is threatening the Botha regime with total destruction. One

worker summed up the situation by stating:

"Our strike was only successful because we were united. We were only united once we were organised and you can only be organised if you belong to a union. The strikes have taught us that if you stand alone you are helpless".

In Britain, a storm has also broken out over a claim made in the British Parliament that John Nott, the Trade Secretary had lied to Parliament when he tried to justify his refusal to publish the names of British companies paying black workers starvation wages. The British double standards of aiding and abetting the racist regime to murder, exploit and terrorise the black people of South Africa have been exposed a long time ago. The General Secretary of the International Metal Workers Federation, Mr Herman Rebhan recently said: "Our union will continue to demand basic rights for all workers in South Africa. It is no coincidence that some of the companies in Britain which are fiercely urging the British Government to pass laws repressing the British Trade Unions are also those companies that have been exposed as paying workers in their South African subsidiaries starvation wages and refuse to deal with black unions in that country".

The number of strikes in South Africa has increased over the years and they are rooted in the unjust wage disparity which exists as a direct result of the inhuman apartheid system. It is a massive fraud which the regime and its international backers are perpetrating against the black workers. The strikes at the City Market in Clairwood, Durban; Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town; Table Bay Cold Storage Board; East London Cannery; Itereleng Institute for the Blind in Hammanskraal; Putco and many other factories and concerns will one day totally engulf the entire country. The regime and its imperialist backers have not learnt the lessons of history. Soon, real democracy, equality and a secure future will be established for all our people in our country based on the Freedom Charter. Apartheid will go!

RACISTS OUT OF ANGOLA!

The meaning of P.W. Botha's self-declared strategy to bind surrounding countries into a "constellation of Southern African states" has been brutally brought home to the peoples of that region. In its attempt to halt the advances won by SWAPO of Namibia and the ANC of South Africa, the apartheid regime has launched a series of massive attacks against the People's Republic of Angola. Bent on destroying all possibilities of SWAPO playing its leading role in the independence of Namibia, the racists have directed their actions at sabotaging the proposed demilitarized zone along the Namibia/Angola border by installing their UNITA puppets there. Racist propaganda declares that the regime is "protecting" the people of Namibia from SWAPO and by implication from the rest of humanity. This is the meaning of this form of "protection".

Hundreds Killed

Over 260 people were killed, dozens wounded and an unknown number taken hostage in a series of cross border raids into Angola during May of this year. Mounting these attacks, the South African Defence Force (SADF) used helicopter gunships, fighter bombers, heavy artillery and ground forces in armoured cars.

A statement issued by the Angolan Chief of Staff, Commander Xietu, revealed that 8 South African gunships with air cover from 6 Mirage jets bombed the area around the town of Chiede, 12 miles north of the border with Namibia in Cunene Province on 17 May. Occupying the town for several hours, the racist forces killed 60 civilians.

A second attack in the south-eastern Kuando Kubango Province, 45 miles north

of the Namibian border at Savate, which lasted 15 hours, left 200 Angolans dead. As in the first attack, the SADF captured numerous hostages. After the battle Commander Xietu announced that Angolan forces might be obliged to embark on reprisals "to guarantee the territorial integrity of our country". Reflecting his country's total commitment to internationalist principles, he added that Angolans "would not waver an inch in our support for the liberation of the Namibian people".

Open Invasion

June 1980 saw the largest attack on Angola since South Africa's abortive invasion in 1975-76. On June 7, the racists launched an open invasion while at the same time its airforce bombed a Namibian refugee camp 16 km from Lubango. SWAPO President, Comrade Sam Nujoma, who visited the camp, said the raid had begun at 4am and Mirages had dropped about 20 bombs over the area before being chased away by anti-aircraft fire. Three of the South African Mirage jets were shot down.

The scale of the South African invasion force was reported in an Angolan Defence Ministry communique: 4 battalions of infantry supported by 3 squadrons of AML-90 Mirage bombers, 2 C-130 Hercules transport planes carrying paratroopers, 20 Puma helicopters, 32 pieces of artillery and 40 ANL-90 armoured cars. The communique underlined the racists' aims: "the South Africans are in fact launching a campaign of terror and death against the defenceless population in the south of our country with the intention of demobilising the process of national reconstruction and opposing the correct line of our Party in its unconditional support



of the people struggling for complete liberation". By June 26, more than 300 Angolan civilians had been killed, there were 7 military deaths and more than 250 people were wounded.

Claiming to have "destroyed SWAPO's military headquarters," an assertion described as "completely untrue" by the liberation movement, P.W. Botha was also forced to reveal the death of 16 South African soldiers — the highest casualty rate yet admitted by the regime in a single operation. In Luanda, SWAPO's Organising Secretary, Moses Garoeb, refuted South Africa's wild claims when he said: "The SWAPO armed forces are still intact. The political leadership is still intact. The South Africans themselves realise that they cannot win the war".

Invasion Condemned

At a meeting of the United Nations Security Council on 27 June, a resolution was passed condemning South Africa for its "premeditated and sustained invasions of Angola" and demanding the immediate withdrawal of all racist forces. As ever upholding their bloody alliance with the apartheid regime, Britain, France and the United States abstained from voting on the resolution. The Gang of 5, "contact

group" condoned this invasion by their silence.

Secure in their knowledge of consistent imperialist support, South Africa has continued its outright aggression. In the first week of July, following an offensive against the invaders, Angola reported that the towns of Mulemba, Mangua, Evale, Cuamoto and other inhabited localities in the Cunene provinces had been freed by FAPLA forces. However, the racists were continuing their machine gun raids deep into Angolan territory. These included an attack on an ambulance in which 2 Angolan medical personnel and three patients were killed.

"Racists Out of our Country!"

In a defiant show of the strength of the Angolan revolution, more than 100,000 working men and women attended a rally in Luanda, their banners proclaiming "Racists out of our Country!" and "We are millions -- nobody can defeat millions". Reaffirming their support for the policies and principles of the MPLA Party of Labour, the crowd cheered speakers from SWAPO and the African National Congress.

The apartheid regime faces not only a united and determined people within its borders but a unity of purpose that transcends national boundaries. Nowhere is this purpose more heroically expressed than in the young People's Republic of Angola whose people are translating internationalist principles into action in their total support for the struggle led by SWAPO and the ANC. September 1980 marks the first anniversary of the death of Comrade President Agostinho Neto. All those directly involved in or supporting the struggle in Southern Africa can best honour his life-long contribution by re-doubling their efforts to defend and extend the revolutionary advances won by the peoples in our sub-continent.

EDUCATION- ROOTS OF REVOLT

It is not surprising that in the present explosive situation in South Africa, it was the students who exploded first into nationwide mass action. Black students had felt their own strength in 1976, and the anger they expressed then had never abated, because it had no reason to.

Students' and Teachers' Complaints

At the beginning of the 1979 school year, the chairman of the Soweto Students' League called on Soweto students to return to school, saying, "The government has disappointed us with its refusal to budge an inch in changing our education...We are giving them a chance to put their house in order as they have promised." Once back, however, students in Soweto and other centres soon found that the government had failed to provide facilities for them. There was still a general shortage of accommodation and of teachers, so that many students found there were simply no places for them in the schools. Many complained that their examination results were not ready on time, and in Natal it was found that there were not going to be enough places in the examination centres for those writing examinations at the end of the year. There was anger among black teachers who had resigned in 1977, and who wished to return to teaching in 1979 in support of the students' call, for they found they had lost the benefits owing to them for long service.

Protest simmered throughout the year, among students, parents, teachers and others with a concern for education. Students complained that police informers had been planted among them. There were complaints about the presence of white teachers in urban black schools, many of them seconded army men in uniform, and some of them equipped with two-way radios to enable them to contact the police

and the Department of Education and Training. There were walk-outs and demonstrations at boarding schools in Natal and the Transvaal, and some complaints of police harassment. Pupils of one school, near Hectorspruit, said that police had arrested three of their number in the dormitory in the early hours of the morning, and that, when they gathered to discuss the situation later, armed police had arrived and set a dog on them. Pupils at a Coloured school in Barberton boycotted classes, with the support of their parents, because they wanted to be taught in English and not in Afrikaans. The Cape Professional Teachers' Association broke away from the white body on the grounds that the white body was racist.

At both the University of the North and the University of Durban-Westville, there were disputes between the students and the authorities because the students wanted a students' representative council. At the University of the North, the Black Academic Staff Association was banned on campus and forced to hold its meetings elsewhere; and a student who was expelled because of his connection with a commemoration ceremony on the 16th June, took the matter to court and won his case. There were demonstrations at the University of the Western Cape over the quality of the food and the rise in fees. There were angry demonstrations and a boycott of classes at Fort Hare, in protest against the security system, after a student had been shot dead by a security guard. An education conference in Pretoria in April condemned the teaching of history in South Africa as 'white-slanted.' Pressure for equality of education through a single education department for all groups came from the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, and found support in other quarters, such as the Institute of Race Relations, and the Progressive Federal Party in Parliament.

Some teachers and academics felt that black education should be "planned and implemented by Blacks."

Change of Name

It had long been clear that the curriculum of Bantu Education had not been intended to extend the knowledge and the minds of black African children, but merely to fit these children for what the Afrikaner Nationalist government saw as their place in society. Mathematics was reduced or eliminated altogether, and replaced by gardening, which was not in the curriculum of white schools. Black children were required to clean their own schools, while white children were not. In 1979, an 18 year old man, Linda Mogale, one of the accused in a political trial, told the court that Bantu Education had been introduced to 'curtail' the black man's powers. An article in the Rand Daily Mail of the 2nd April stated, "...blacks have felt that their education system is inferior... because whites designed it to be of poorer quality. To prove it, Dr Verwoerd's statement, 'There is no place for the African in a European community above certain forms of labour,' is quoted again and again."

The name of Bantu Education had come to be regarded with mistrust as symbolizing an inferior education, and so the government changed the name. The Department of Bantu Education became the Department of Education and Training. And while it made no attempt to improve Indian or Coloured education, the South African government brought before Parliament the Education and Training Bill, which was designed to still protest among Africans. The Bill became law on the first day of 1980.

It made no firm proposals about any change in the content of African education. It stated that there would be co-ordination with other departments of education with regard to syllabuses, courses and examination standards, and that "the ability, aptitudes and interest of the pupil, as well as the needs of the country" would be taken into account, but it said little else about curriculum.

The Language Problem

Related to the question of curriculum is that of the language in which teaching takes place. The Eiselen Commission, reporting in 1951, recommended that all education for African children, except foreign languages, should be through the medium of the mother tongue for the first eight years, and that both English and Afrikaans should be taught "in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities; to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest." When, under Bantu Education, the government laid down that primary school teaching for Africans should be in the mother tongue, the purpose of the policy was quite clear. Languages other than the mother tongue were to be taught, not to widen the children's horizons, not to enable them to talk to people from other countries, nor even to read books in languages other than their own, but merely to enable them to "follow oral" or "written instructions" from the boss man on the work site. Because they know this, African parents have always been anxious for their children to start learning English as early as possible. Over this question, some school boards resigned, members of others were sacked, others were suspended, and principals appealed in vain. In 1964, the Transkei limited the mother tongue as a medium of instruction up to Standard 2; in Gazankulu, the Legislative Assembly passed an Education Act making English the medium of instruction beyond; in KwaZulu, where the medium of instruction beyond Standard 2 is English, the government announced in 1979 that it was unable to cope with the applications for admission from neighbouring 'white' areas.

The Education and Training Act dealt with this thorny issue by providing for the mother tongue as the medium of instruction up to and including Standard 4, and for the wishes of parents to be taken into account after that, where the mother tongue could not be used. It was not stated who would decide whether or not the mother



tongue could not be used, nor on what grounds the decision would be made.

Drop-out Rate

The most striking clause of the new law was that concerning the Minister's right to introduce compulsory education, area by area, "with the co-operation of the parents," and providing for a fine or imprisonment for those parents whose children failed to attend school in areas where attendance had been declared compulsory.

It has been estimated that only 70% of African children are at school. The drop-out rate is high: of those who enrolled in the lowest infant class in 1960, only 42% got beyond Standard 2, 10.7% get to secondary school, and 1.25% get to the matriculation class. In 1979, the Department of Statistics give the total number of African children at primary and secondary schools as 3, 394, 100, 14.6% of whom were at high school. White secondary school pupils

make up 36.5% of all white scholars, and the figures for the Indian and Coloured groups are 30% and 17.4 respectively.

Of course, there was, and still is, no need whatever to enforce compulsory education on the African population of South Africa. The courage black students have shown in campaigning for a better education bears witness to their thirst for it, and the sacrifices black parents make to send their children to school demonstrate their eagerness for their children to be educated. We shall never know how many enthusiastic children in South Africa have lost heart as they sat in overcrowded class-rooms, trying to learn to read and write with little or no books or writing materials, and dropped out, disappointed. But by far the most important reason for the drop-out rate is poverty.

Children stay away from school because their parents cannot pay the money for the 'school fund,' for clothes and fares, books and stationery (the Department

undertakes to provide text books free but not books of literature). The Financial Mail of the 10th July 1979 reported that farm workers (the most wretchedly underpaid of all black workers, and already at the mercy of the farmer, who may or may not give permission for a school on his farm) pay 30 cents a month for stationery, and often pay the salary of the teacher as well. A delegate to the congress of the Cape Professional Teachers' Association in July told the congress that 90% of farm workers' children in the Western Cape never get beyond Standard 4.

Education and Training Act

The South African government has never suggested free education for any of the black groups. There was no suggestion in the Education and Training Act that education for Africans should be free, even where it was declared compulsory; and nothing could have demonstrated the hypocrisy of the government more clearly than this. There was no mention of extra funding for African education, though the hopelessly inadequate sum of R48.55 which was the annual expenditure on each African child in school, only covered those who were in school, and compulsory education would double the school population. There was not even any increase in funding to provide for the quarter of a million extra children who enrol each year in the lowest infant class, because of the natural increase in population. There was no provision made for education in the bantustans, though the government had abrogated its responsibility for the urban area of KwaMashu by handing it over to the jurisdiction of KwaZulu, and pupils from urban schools in Natal and elsewhere had been enrolling in 'homeland' schools to get away from Bantu Education.

Moreover, the problem goes deeper than this. Keen and stout-hearted pupils often stay away from school for a year to work and save money for the next year. Often, they stay away from school altogether, because the wages they earn are necessary to keep the whole family from starvation. A child at school can be an intolerable strain on the family budget,

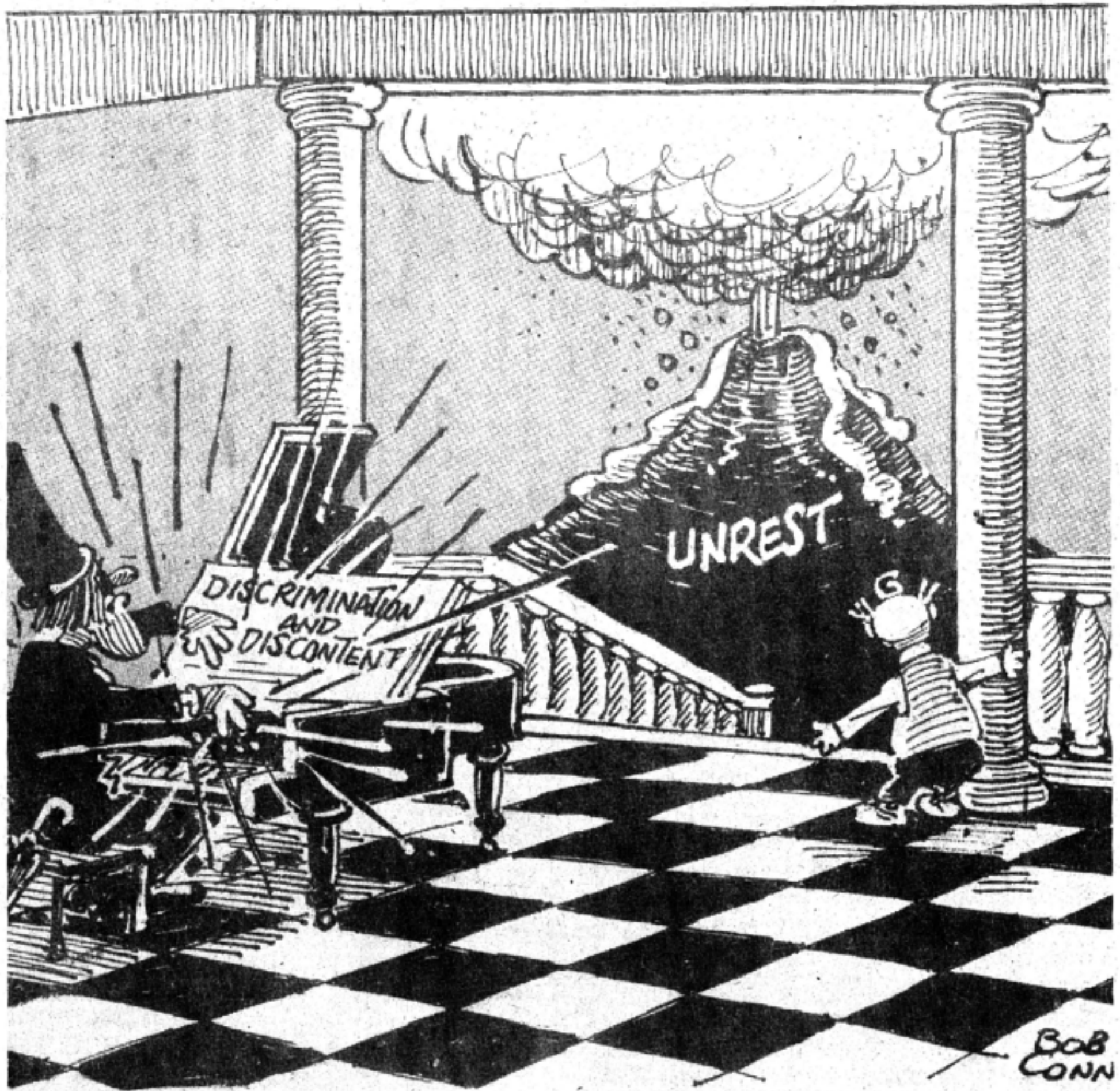
and it was reported in the South African press in May 1979 that teachers in Pietermaritzburg had found children eating newspaper to keep away pangs of hunger during the day. The Education and Training Act said nothing about school feeding. In any case, in the situation we are looking at, compulsory education for Africans is impossible without substantially higher wages -- and legislation for higher wages is not likely to come from the present government, whose apartheid system is based on cheap, exploited black labour. An oppressed people cannot gain control of its own education without first gaining control over the economy of the country.

At the same time, the clause about compulsory education is not entirely meaningless, for it provides yet another law to be used for harassing and imprisoning the black population. It is clear that this clause, where enforced, could provide the government with a weapon against students who boycott classes, and, significantly, there was a suggestion that it be used first in Soweto.

Even the government, however, had to concede openly that implementing the new law would be difficult in view of the shortage of school buildings. The annual expenditure per head of children in school (R48.55 for Africans, R157.59 for Coloureds, R217 for Indians and R654 for Whites) did not include capital expenditure on buildings, and while the richer white communities do not have to raise the money for school buildings, just as they do not have to raise the money for books and stationery, black communities are obliged to find the money, cent by cent. Parental involvement in school boards means raising money, not having any kind of say in the nature of the education given, just as parental 'co-operation' in the new Act means co-operation under threat of a fine or imprisonment.

"Platoon System"

In an impoverished community, the shortage of school buildings had become acute. Many schools were forced to operate 'double sessions' (where one teaching staff taught one batch of pupils in the morning, and



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another in the afternoon, so that teaching time for the pupils was reduced from four and a half hours a day to three); or the 'platoon system' (where two separate schools occupied one building, one in the morning and one in the afternoon). There were 'shadow schools' which had no geographical base at all, but were composed of classrooms in different buildings. In 1979, 2,402 schools in the 'white' areas alone were on 'double sessions'; the problem affects Indian and Coloured schools as well, but no recent data is available. Early in 1980, there was a report of 150 children

to one classroom in Alexandra, and one school in Kwa Thema had had no toilet for over a year.

The Act made the Department of Education and Training responsible for school buildings, but in June 1979, the Minister had told Parliament that the government did not have the money to pay for them. He said that he was not prepared to take funds allotted for white education and give it to Blacks. He admitted that the country was short of 7,000 classrooms to accommodate the existing African school population in the 'white' areas, and said,

'All I can promise is that we will try to catch up.' R10,000,000 had been allocated in the budget of that year, and later in June it was announced that building had begun which would give Soweto another 392 classrooms before the end of the year, to eliminate double sessions by accommodating 40 children per classroom. In the same month, the cost of one classroom was given as R10,000, so it is clear that the sum of ten million was negligible, set against the needs of the country. And the shortage of classrooms in Coloured education was reported as being well over a thousand.

State and Big Business

The Cabinet gave permission for the Urban Foundation to raise loans overseas at interest, for school buildings, and the Minister stated that repayment of the interest would be a priority, though it was not clear how the capital would be repaid.

It is worth noting here that this was not the first time that there had been co-operation between the government and industry over black education. A book called *Stepping into the Future*, which was written to extol the education policy of the South African government, and distributed in Britain in 1975, stated that the government had established training centres 'to be of use to industrialists in their training programmes' in both border and city industries. (It also gave the information that men at these centres were trained in industrial skills and girls in housecraft.) I.C.C. (SA), Kodak, and the American Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg all provided funds for school building in 1979. While the South African government collects taxes from its black population, it is not interested in providing education for it; while it regards young blacks as eligible for learning 'industrial skills,' it regards the teaching of these skills as the responsibility of the big companies which will become the employers. There is an even more sinister side to this alliance between the state and big business, as was shown in April 1979, when students at Mamelodi High School complained that they were being forced, under threat of punishment, to buy copies of the pro-

Nationalist newspaper, the Mmabatho Mail, owned by Perskor. The copies were being offered at half price, to raise money for bursaries — an ingenious scheme of Perskor's, which must have been intended to get rid of unsold copies of the paper, while at the same time brainwashing the children and forcing them, once again, to pay for their education.

Shortage of Black Teachers

Policy in the past has been to replace 'double sessions' by the 'platoon system' as soon as enough teachers become available. The shortage of black teachers was described as 'dire' by the Natal Witness in February 1979. In September, the Department of Education and Training gave the pupil teacher ratio as 1:47. (This raw figure does not allow for marking and preparation time for teachers, or administration time for principals and vice-principals; where such time is given, there would have to be a corresponding enlargement in the classes taken by other teachers.)

In the bantustans, the position is even worse: according to figures given in *Stepping into the Future*, the pupil-teacher ratio in KwaZulu in the mid-seventies was 60:1. It is difficult to find out how many teachers are in training in South Africa now, but it is known that about 2,000 African primary teachers qualify every year. It would be necessary for over 6,000 to qualify annually, simply to take care of the annual increase of a quarter of a million in the infant classes — and that figure, based on the ratio of 40:1 which the Department of Education and Training claims it is trying to establish, does not account for the replacement of teachers who leave teaching. Once again, though the Department made vague promises about training more teachers so that the pupil-teacher ratio could be reduced, the Act did not make provision for the necessary capital expenditure.

Calculated Deprivation

Black teachers in South Africa are themselves products of the inferior opportunities and syllabuses offered by Bantu Education. Culled from those few who



manage to get through the first few years of secondary school, many of them have done a teacher training course after Standard 8 (white teachers have all matriculated). In 1979, their salaries were raised to 67% of the salaries of White teachers with similar qualifications. They face large classes, possible in 'double sessions,' and with a

shortage of books and other equipment. They risk the sack if they discuss "controversial" issues in class. The quality of their teaching inevitably suffers, and in this way, black education in South Africa is compounded into a system of calculated and reinforced deprivation for the black child.

Indian and Coloured Education

By the beginning of 1980, no pretence had been made to improve Indian and Coloured education, where pupils suffered under disabilities similar to those suffered by Africans, though — as Indians and Coloureds are higher in the job structure — to a slightly lesser degree. The pretence at improving education for Africans had been proved a pretence, for it was clear that there were not going to be more classrooms, more teachers or better syllabuses. If the real intentions of the South African government had any need to be exposed further, that exposure came in the budget of March 1980.

Vastly augmented by the rise in the price of gold, the South African treasury was richer than ever before. The budget provided increases in police and defence spending; it provided tax relief for the banks; and with growing unemployment among black people within the country, it provided for an increase in the assistance given to white immigrants. It also increased the price of bread — that staple food in poor households — by 20% to 25%. After all the government's promises, it provided for a mere 33% increase for the Department of Education and Training, while the inflation rate in the previous year had been 14.5% and the Johannesburg Star forecast 15% in the year to come. The per capita educational expenditure on African children was R68.15, on Coloured children R197.20, on Indian children R297.31, and on white children R640, so the proportions were still roughly the same. There was still no provision for a growing school population. There was a 20% drop in African tax rates, but no rebates were given for children. It was clearly shown the the "needs of the country," as the government saw them, still included a cheap black labour force with just enough education to understand instructions.

Boycott of Classes

And so the simmering pot boiled over. Within a month, Coloured schoolchildren in the Cape, who had complained of

dilapidated classrooms at the beginning of the school year, began a boycott of classes. They claimed that they had been making their complaints since their return to school, but that these complaints had been blocked on their way to the top. Their demands included equality of education under a single education department (the demand first made by the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee over a year before) and democratization of the schools through students' representative councils and parent teachers associations (here, in fact, they were demanding real parental involvement in their education). Their elders, who were being harassed by removals and prosecutions under the Group Areas Act, most of whom had boycotted the elections, and many of whom were on strike, supported them. Support came from teachers' organisations, Indian and African students, and from students in the black universities. So the action grew.



POLISARIO WINS



At the recent OAU meeting in Freetown, Sierra Leone, a debate on the recognition of the Republic of Sahourai and its admittance as a member of the OAU caused some unpleasantness and "misunderstanding". We publish this article so as to help clarify whatever confusion that could have been caused by this debate at the OAU meeting.

As the elegant and attractive woman mounted the platform, the desert stillness was shattered by thousands of voices shouting, "l'Etiraf! l'Etiraf!" (Recognition! Recognition!). The woman was the official representative of the Iranian government. The ecstatic reaction of the colourful crowd was in response to her announcement of her government's official recognition of the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic. The occasion was the celebration of the 4th anniversary of the declaration of the Republic held on the 27th February 1980 in the liberated zones of the Western Sahara. Now for the first time in the four year history of the Republic, recognition was being announced to the Saharaoui people by the personal representative of a government. One journalist said later that the

scene brought tears even to the eyes of hardened combatants.

This unlikely place, in the middle of the world's largest desert, was now the focal point of some 220 delegates representing governments, parties, liberation movements and other organisations. What the delegates and journalists saw during the celebrations must have left them in no doubt about the capacity and capabilities of the Polisario combatants to wage a successful war of liberation. The evidence was there for all to see. The military parade put on by the People's Liberation Army testified to the high degree of effectiveness and combat readiness achieved. It was an impeccable, well equipped and well disciplined army, unlike the caricatures of desert warriors so often presented by the western media. It was an army perfectly structured and toughened by the continual harassing of the Moroccan Royal Armed forces. But the most impressive aspect of the parade was the showing of the "trophy of war" captured from the Moroccan forces. About 200 vehicles -- from the simple land-rover to the Franco-Austrian "SK105" armoured car; giant "Unimag" trucks and the most modern versions of tanks. All the captured weapons were western made.

With the withdrawal of Mauritania from the war, only Moroccan prisoners of war were on view. Here indeed was tangible proof of the routing and the demoralization of the Moroccan army. On exhibition were documents, letters and identity cards captured from the enemy. Many of the letters and documents gave every indication of the unwillingness of the Moroccan soldier to fight. A Moroccan pilot, shot down, spoke openly about the disarray in the Moroccan army. He also spoke about the American supplied fighter planes and the US decision to supply Morocco with the most ultra-modern weapons.

With regards to the war, it became clear that even before the 4th anniversary, the Polisario fighters had scored major victories in the disputed territory. Today Polisario not only controls the vast expanse of Western Sahara, but has dared to strike savage blows deep inside the heart of Moroccan territory itself. Over the past year we have witnessed attacks on the Moroccan towns of Tan Tan, Lebouirate, and Assa. At the beginning of March, Polisario fighters made a spectacular hit on Ouarkziz a garrison town in the south of Morocco. In this battle the Polisario fighters controlled the area for more than 48 hours after having intercepted and wiped out a battalion, captured arms, vehicles and prisoners. Even the western journalists had to admit that this was indeed a great victory for Polisario as they were escorted to the scene of the aftermath where they met the secretary-general of Polisario.

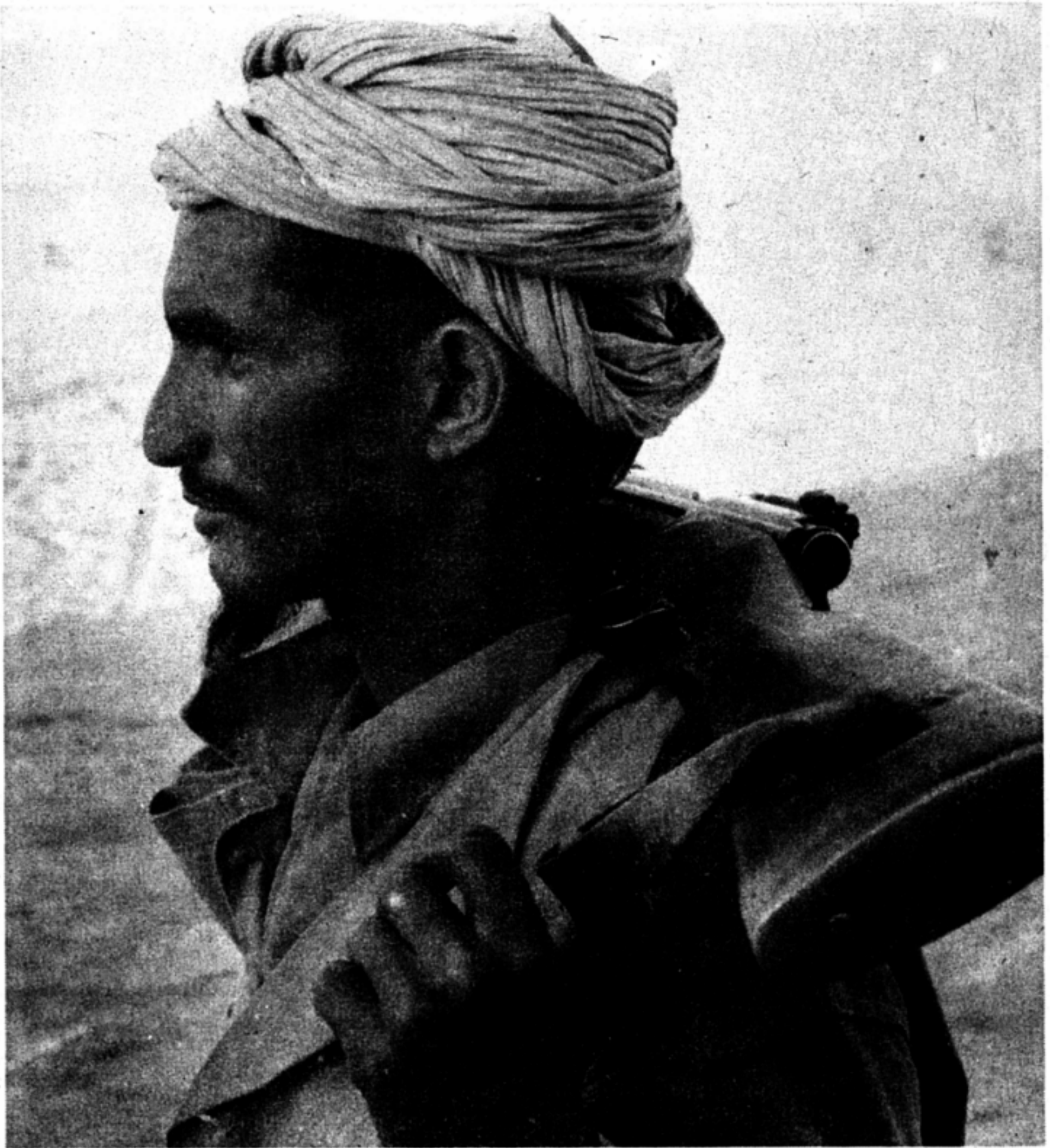
The most significant result of this battle was the capture of South African made arms from the Moroccans. A captured Moroccan lieutenant, chief of the 5th mechanised platoon, told journalists that his platoon had taken delivery of ARV MK6 (tanks) made in South Africa under French licence, on the 25th and 26th December 1979 at Khauribga. The tanks came with South African instructors and specialists who trained the Moroccans for 15 days. He added that the Moroccan secret-service tried to erase the South African Markings. They were obviously not very successful. The markings in English were partially erased but the Afrikaans markings were very clear. On keys and

locks the "South Africa" sign was very much in evidence. It required more experienced officers to point out the subtle differences between the French-made and South African-made tanks. In view of this glaring evidence of success wherein lies the effectiveness of the Polisario fighters?

Brave and Daring Warriors

That the Polisario militants are brave and daring warriors was demonstrated when the first secretary-general, El Ouali Sayed Mustapha, was killed in a daring and audacious raid on Noukchott, capital of Mauritania, in June 1976. In the first few years of the armed struggle there were many such lightning raids in which French and Spanish nationals, working in the mines, were captured. It was these actions that brought the struggle of the Saharaoui people to the attention of the European public. The effectiveness of the Saharaoui Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) lies in two basic facts. The first explanation was offered by a captured lieutenant: While the SPLA forces have mastered the terrain, the Moroccans have lost the initiative and find themselves entrenched in defensive positions. The second factor is the lack of motivation and the demoralization of the Moroccan soldiers. Notwithstanding the restructuring and expert outside help, the Moroccan army suffered the loss of 8,000 men in deaths and taken prisoner. In 1979 alone the Moroccans suffered 700 attacks by SPLA fighters. These figures have most certainly increased over the past few months.

Although the Western Sahara struggle is as old as colonialism itself, it is only now receiving international attention. Like in South Africa, the fact that the colonising power has transferred its authority to its local hirelings or another occupying power other than the representatives of the indigenous population, does not constitute independence. In the case of the Western Sahara "...to acknowledge the Moroccan Mauritanian partition, constitutes a flagrant violation of one of the sacred principles of the OAU; the intangibility of the boundaries inherited from colonization." (Western



Polisario guerrilla

Sahara --- A People in Struggle" pp 25)

Colonial Heritage

It was the Portuguese who established the first trading post in present day Western Sahara in 1933/34. Following the Spanish-Portuguese dispute in the 15th century, papal mediation granted Spain control of the Canary Islands and the North-West African coast from Cape Bojador to the

north as far as what is now Agadir. It undertook to also militarily occupy the interior of the Western Sahara. Spain proclaimed the area of Rio de Oro, from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanc, as its colony. This state of affairs was duly ratified by the Berlin Conference in 1885. In 1930 Spain consolidated her hold and extended military control over the so-called "Spanish Sahara". This occupation was in fact in response to the fierce resistance put up by the Saharaoui

people. They coordinated their efforts throughout the region and won many battles. The resistance spilled over into French occupied territories of Morocco and Algeria making the French the prime targets of attacks because of its activity in the region. The Spanish militarily penetrated the interior in response to a French call for collaboration in pacifying the region.

Moroccan Claims

Morocco's claim on Western Sahara dates back to 1956 when Morocco became independent. Morocco always had ambitions of a "greater Morocco" extending from the Mediterranean to the Senegal river including a large part of Algeria. In 1960, after the proclamation of Mauritanian independence, a dispute ensued between these two countries, both of whom claimed the Western Sahara. An intense diplomatic initiative was undertaken by Algeria after independence to assure the decolonization of Western Sahara. On the 16th October 1964, there was a UN decolonization committee resolution calling on Spain to apply the UN resolution for the granting of independence to countries under colonial domination. (No reference was made to the Moroccan and Mauritanian claims.) This was followed by another General Assembly resolution in December 1966 inviting Spain to organise a referendum under UN supervision. Needless to say, none of these resolutions met with any positive results.

The present day nationalist movement grew out of the development of Western into a fully-fledged Spanish colony leaving in its wake a legacy of under-development, the destruction of traditional nomadic society; and with the discovery of phosphates and other mineral resources, there followed a systematic exploitation of the growing working class. It was amongst the urbanised and the workers that the ideas of national consciousness first took root and blossomed into a movement for independence. The movement's attempts at organising a mass demonstration on 17 June 1970 in El Ayoun, capital of Western Sahara, resulted in a brutal massacre by the Spanish forces. The violent reaction of Spain put an end to any hopes of a peace-

ful settlement.

The armed struggle grew around the charismatic and brave figure of El Ouali who was later to become the first secretary general of the Popular Front on the 10th May 1973. Ten days later (20th May), the Spanish military post at El Khanga was attacked and disarmed. The armed struggle had begun. This aspect was complemented by political organization and mass mobilisation.

The programme of the movement outlined three basic principles:

- * national liberation;
- * the establishment of democratic institutions, national economic development and social justice through mass participation;
- * the realization of total independence.

On the 15th of October 1975, the court of Hague pronounced in favour of Saharaoui independence under the Polisario Front. Yet in spite of this decision and notwithstanding world opinion, on the 16th Oct. 1975, Morocco organised a march of 350,000 Moroccans into the Western Sahara. Following behind-the-scene manoeuvres, the tripartite agreement was signed by Morocco, Mauritania and Spain on 14th November 1975. From then onwards the Front had to contend with the invading armies of Mauritania and Morocco. As the Spanish pulled out, the Front took control of the whole country except for the major cities. The Saharaoui people fled the repressive regimes in the cities and joined the forces in the refugee camps on the south-west of Algeria and the liberated zones. A terrible period of repression and bombardment against the civil population followed. The Yema, the puppet council set up by the Spanish, dissolved itself and many members joined the Front. On 26th February 1976, at the oasis of Bir Lahlou, the general secretary of the Front proclaimed the independence of the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic.

The provisional constitution defined the new state as an Arab, Islamic, Democratic and Socialist Republic. The first government of the SADR was formed on the 4th of March 1976, under the chairmanship of Mohamed Lamine. At the Third Congress (26-30th August 1976) of the Front, held 27



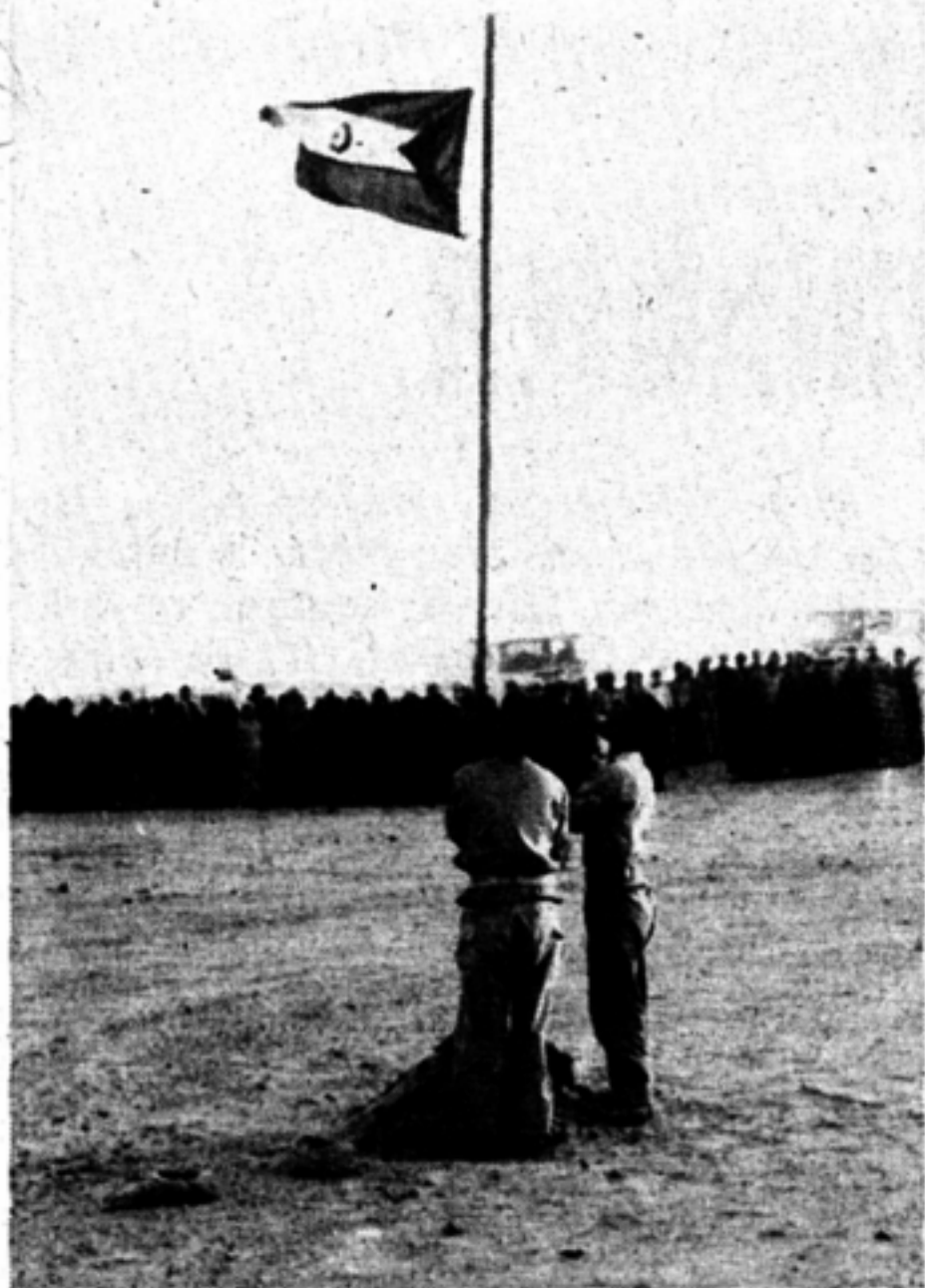
Group of delegates seeing war material captured and planes downed by the Polisario armed forces including representatives from ANC(SA), SWAPO, FRETELIN and Patriotic Front.

in honour of El Ouali, the constitution was adopted and a Consultative and Legislative National Council composed of 41 members was established. Mohamed Abdelaziz was elected Secretary General and Mohamed Lamine was confirmed as Prime Minister.

With the influx of refugees fleeing the daily harrasment and bombing raids, the Polisario camps are becoming vital centres of social organization in the most inhospitable conditions possible. There are some 110,000 refugees organised according to their respective districts of origin. Each district has its own democratically elected council. Since most of the able bodied men are engaged in the Front, the camps consist of 95% aged, women and children. People's committees assure the smooth organization of health services, supplies, handicrafts, justice, social affairs and education. Although it is in these activities that the role of the women has come to predominate, recently the women have come to play an increasingly important role in the defense

of the camps and the armed struggle itself. In their cultural activities the Saharaoui women reflect the enthusiasm and optimism of a revolutionary people — "... their role is essential for the survival of the Saharaoui people." said Ahmed Babo Miske, well known Saharaoui author.

The Polisario Front has waged the struggle effectively not only on the battle front, but on the diplomatic front as well. Such is the energetic mass mobilization of the international community that in four years they have been able to get the recognition of 39 countries for the Republic. Of these 22 are African. To date Polisario's greatest achievement on the battle front and the diplomatic front was getting Mauritania to withdraw from the conflict in 1979 after she had suffered punishment on the battle-field. Mauritania has now signed a peace treaty with the Polisario Front. Apart from the countries that have officially recognised the Republic, a number of liberation movements, progressive and democratic organizations and west European



Popular meeting at refugee camp

and Third-World political parties have also recognised the Republic.

The struggle for the liberation of Western Sahara is relevant for our struggle not only because it is an example of a revolution on the verge of victory, but also because it has shown us to what extent imperialism and reaction is inextricably bound up with South African racism and capitalism in its attempt to frustrate the genuine aspirations of people fighting for national independence and liberation. Ouarkziz was not the first encounter between Polisario guerillas and the South African element in the war. At the beginning of 1979 Polisario fighters attacked and destroyed a South African fishing boat on the Western Sahara coast. The South African authorities put it down to piracy. These incidents are an indication of a growing alliance between the South African racist regime and reactionary forces in the Middle-East and Africa. Certain countries in these areas are acting as intermediaries between South Africa and the West in sanction-busting operations. In

turn South Africa acts as gendarme and protector of these rotten regimes, especially against popular uprisings and revolutions. In the long term these countries will serve as hunting grounds for raw materials and dumping grounds for finished South African products in proportion to the growth of the South African economy based on the exploitation of cheap forced labour. who are fighting for freedom, justice and
Lessons for us

The lesson for us is clear. Just as the forces of reaction and imperialism unite to oppress and exploit the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, so too must the forces of liberation, progress and socialism unite to fight for freedom, peace and happiness for those still under colonialism and oppression.

To commemorate the seventh anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle of the Saharoui people, held on the 20th May 1979, an Algerian journalist, Tayeb Belghiche, spoke for all freedom loving people when he wrote: "Here is a people condemned to genocide, but who, against all calculations and odds of the enemy, became an invincible force, who inspired the respect and consideration of all those who are fighting for freedom, justice and rights. Here is a people who struggle and sacrifice for principles dear to the whole African continent in particular and the International community in general. No one today doubts their victory. It (their struggle) is also an important lesson for all those who dream of creating their empires on the backs of other people." (El Moudjahid 20.5.79).

An important element in any liberation struggle is that, whereas the oppressor always has a safety-valve through which he can escape, the oppressed have "nothing to lose but their chains!" Colonisers and invaders can always retreat to their places of origin, but the colonised and oppressed have nowhere to go. So in the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo, their battle cry becomes, "Victory or Death, We Shall Win!"

OAU & FREEDOM CHARTER

In pursuance of the decision taken by the Thirty-fourth Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers a solemn meeting was held to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the South African Freedom Charter adopted on 26 June 1955 by the Congress of the People of Kliptown, Johannesburg.

The ceremony to which representatives of the press were invited was marked by the showing of a documentary film entitled "Isitwalandwe" which proved to be an impressive testimony of the political mood and campaign which preceded the adoption of this historic document.

At the meeting which ensued, H.E. Mr E. Kodjo, the Secretary General, Dr A. Conteh, the Chairman of the Council, Mr B'A. Clarke, the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid and Mr Mesriri of Tunisia took the floor.

They stressed and welcomed the fact that the lofty ideals and purposes embodied in the Freedom Charter conform to those enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and rightly serve as the basis for a broad-based national front comprising blacks and democratic whites, united in the struggle against Apartheid. They paid glowing tribute to the political maturity and wisdom of the South African people, the ANC and its allied organisations for remaining unwaveringly committed to the ultimate goal of a democratic state based on the will of the South African people as a whole regardless of race, colour or creed...They also congratulated the ANC and its sister organisations on the intensified mass mobilisation and armed struggle.



APARTHEID MILITARISM

"The Apartheid War Machine"; The Strength and Deployment of the South African Armed Forces; International Defence and Aid Fund, April 1980.

For the past four months SECHABA has featured articles on the SADF and the politics behind its growth. Now this latest Fact Paper from IDAF brings us in detail what we have been reading in our own journal.

The book looks at the structure of the SADF and related paramilitary forces, and at the organisation and mobilization of civil society for the military defence of apartheid.

The rise in military expenditure in South Africa over the past 20 years (1960 R44m; 1980 — R2,074m) tells its own story — apartheid is becoming more expensive to maintain. Since not one of South Africa's neighbours poses any threat this vast proportion of the national budget devoted to 'defence' can only be for the defence of an internal threat, or, if not, it must be destined for aggressive military purposes.

Recent disclosures about new military developments in South Africa clearly indicate the aggressive intentions of the regime. The new 52m missile with a range of 3,500km is not intended for the suppression of township revolts. When equipped with a nuclear warhead the missile will be capable of wiping out cities such as Luanda, Lusaka and Salisbury. South Africa now also possesses what is claimed to be "the world's best, most accurate and most destructive" cannon, the G5, which can fire a 155mm shell a distance of 30km with "unequaled accuracy". Another development is a 127mm artillery rocket system with massive strike and deterrent capability. The decision to develop this system came after the ignominious defeat of the racist invasion of Angola in 1975/76.

The Soviet 'Katyusha' artillery rocket system used by the MPLA and their Cuban allies proved to be the crucial instrument forcing the racists to turn tail and run. At the same time the racists claimed that they too could manufacture such a system and have now developed their own to avoid another embarrassing defeat. Round one was lost, now they are better equipped and are determined that round two will see a reversal of that defeat.

That South Africa has nuclear capability is no longer in doubt. The technology and much of the equipment for this and the above-mentioned systems was provided by a number of weapons research and development organisations in several imperialist countries in defiance of the mandatory UN arms embargo. Revelations that South Africa owns 20% of one of the most advanced of these organisations — Space Research Corporation, an enterprise straddling the US-Canada border — and was supplied with 300,000 shells and also gun barrels for the G5 155mm cannon by it, is just one example of the type of secret deals that are taking place. It was shown too that officials in the US Defence Department, the State Department and the CIA and a host of other governments including Britain, Canada, Belgium and Israel quietly connived with the complicated process by which the shells and barrels were shipped to South Africa. Doubtless many more secret deals are never exposed, but the fact that South Africa is continually able to introduce sophisticated new equipment into its arsenal testifies to the degree of imperialist military complicity.

The book itself does not deal in detail with imperialist military collaboration with the apartheid regime but points out the links between the SADF and NATO and through the detail provided about the SADF arms inventory it is clear that in order simply to maintain existing equip-

ment, let alone to introduce new equipment, links must still be close.

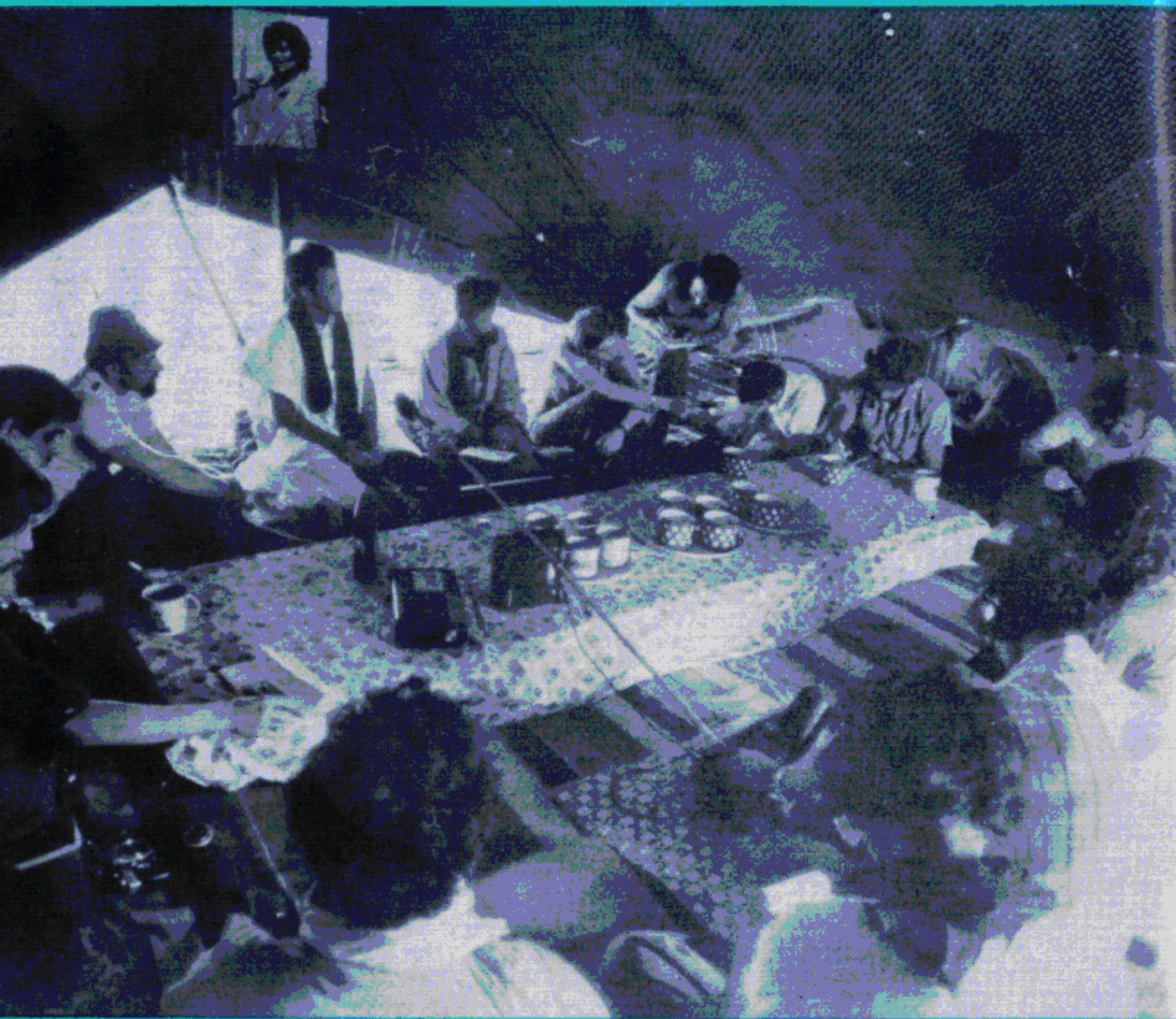
In keeping with other IDAF publications, the subject has been well researched and a wealth of detailed information provided. Much of this information is hard to come by and for the first time it is brought together to present a clear picture of the total mobilisation of South African society in preparation for the "total onslaught".

Military mobilisation in South Africa involves as much the spreading of a military mentality as the build-up of armaments. This mental preparation involves the identification of an 'enemy' and the fostering of the 'correct' attitudes toward that 'enemy'. The enemy, has been identified as 'Russian expansionism' and South Africans of all colours are encouraged to mobilise to meet this 'common enemy' which poses a threat to all, irrespective of race. The sentencing of the Pietermaritzburg 12 in November last year for high treason and the death sentence imposed on James Mange are part of this strategy to characterise freedom fighters as representatives of a foreign power waging war on their own country. Treason usually means the betrayal of allegiance toward one's own country, and because the SADF appears to be at war with guerillas of the liberation movement the latter are portrayed as traitors, agents of a foreign power and deserving of traitor's fate.

"The Apartheid War Machine" is a valuable booklet which accurately portrays the military capabilities of the SADF and gives a clear indication of the real threat to peace the regime represents in the region.

T.J.





POLISARIO PLANS STRATEGY