

Southern Africa **REPORT**

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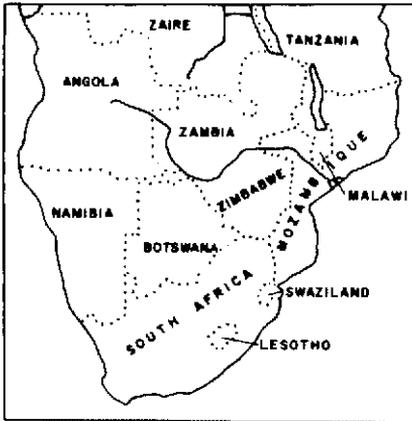


**EDUCATION
AND
TRANSFORMATION**

Southern Africa REPORT

Vol. 3 No. 1

July 1987



Southern Africa REPORT

is produced 5 times a year by a volunteer collective of the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa (TCLSAC),

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CORRECTION: We wish to correct the photo caption on page 28 of the last issue of *Southern Africa REPORT*. It should have read *Alan Boesak*, president of the World Alliance of Churches, and *Theodato Hungwana*, Mozambique Minister of Information, at Montreal conference.

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Impact Visuals

Education & Transformation

The popular challenge to apartheid which has gained such dramatic momentum in South Africa in recent years involves struggle on many fronts. Thus the workplace and the community (site of rent and bus boycotts and the like) have provided important focuses for action, as earlier issues of *Southern Africa REPORT* have had occasion to document. But the school – indeed the entire educational sphere even more broadly defined – has also been a crucial terrain of struggle in South Africa ever since the Soweto events of the mid-seventies.

It continues to be so, as the lead article in this present issue will serve to demonstrate. This is not surprising, given, on the one hand, the centrality that the youth have claimed for themselves within the contempo-

rary movement for change in South Africa and, on the other, the importance of education in any battle for the “hearts and minds” of a people. Just as the apartheid state has sought to bend the education system to its own nefarious purposes, so the mass of the black population have sought increasingly to mould education to serve the cause of their liberation. Indeed, what is particularly dramatic is the manner in which the struggle on the terrain of education has itself been deepened and radicalized in recent years as the overall struggle for change in South Africa has advanced.

* * *

The intrinsic importance of education would itself make the latter a point worth underscoring. But there is also a more general reason

for emphasizing such a *deepening* of the project of educational transformation. For the concerned observer in Canada might be forgiven for believing that the struggle in South Africa has recently tapered off somewhat. In part this reflects the success of the South African government’s ever-intensifying clampdown on media coverage of events there over the past several years. In this television age, and for North Americans in particular, what doesn’t exist in visual images doesn’t exist. And even print journalists, domestic and international, are finding that the restrictions profoundly cripple their reporting, with only the most dramatic of stories – the horrifying siege of COSATU House, for example – finding their way through South Africa’s censorship curtain.

Moreover, we become so used to the small proviso attached to the bottom of even those stories (noting the story to have been filed with all due observance of prevailing censorship regulations) that we tend to take even that fact for granted, thus coming gradually to underestimate the full implications of the efforts of the apartheid authorities to block our awareness of South African developments.

Crucial as this latter point is, however, it is still only part of the picture. For it is also true that the apartheid government's strategy of intensified repression as its essential response to demands for democratization has taken its toll on the resistance movement broadly defined. The draconian emergency regulations (launched in 1985 but reaffirmed and strengthened on several occasions since), the increasingly sophisticated network of police and military controls over the populace (running from the State Security Council through the National Security Management System to the Joint Management Centres close to the ground), the brutal and anarchic impact of state-sponsored vigilantes: these give South Africa, now more than ever, the dispiriting ambience of a full-fledged police state.

The results of this, from all points of view, have been mixed. The state has, indeed, sufficiently stalemated the resistance movement to convince some that stability has returned. Thus the very international bankers that a year or two ago began, uneasily, to pull the plug on South Africa by calling in their loans now agree to a helpful rescheduling (although not necessarily to any major new loans). The business community, only recently inclined towards a more accelerated pace of cooptative reform, now finds itself, as so often in the past, falling in behind state repression as a guarantor of profits and a safeguard against revolution. As one of our South African correspondents recently wrote in this regard:

It is remarkable how resilient is the South African state. Although it is rolled back slightly with each successive cataclysm, and although the period between each bout of conflict becomes shorter and shorter, they do manage to succeed in recovering in such a way that makes those who deserted their fold (like capital) seem fainthearted rather than prophetic harbingers of a new bourgeois democratic option. But fainthearted is of course all that they really are. It's remarkable ... how willing is capital, in particular, to return to the fold once the state demonstrates the apparent invincibility of its armed might ... I think we have heard the last out of them for a while.

So much for any "easy march to freedom" that liberals, within South Africa or abroad, may have had in mind.

Yet whatever success the strategy of repression may have had in the short run, it has to that extent merely frozen momentarily the situation, rather than transformed it. The underlying tensions remain, unresolved. Thus, the deep-seated structural problems that have sapped the strength of the South African economy for a decade or more remain in place. A vast population held down at bayonet point and at great expense does not allow for the *modernization* of the South African economy – the market expansion, the broadening of the skilled labour pool, the pacific incorporation of the working class – that capital, in its more far-sighted moments, sees to be necessary.

Equally important, the Emergency of the mid-80s has not had and cannot have anything like the negative impact on the resistance movement that the Emergency of the 1960s had. Then it was possible to smash the movement, to render it relatively impotent immediately and for a decade thereafter. The state can accomplish no such result this time around. True, the

movement can be forced off balance as many among its number are jailed or killed and as the lines of communication between its diverse components are disrupted. *But it will not go away.* There is just too much energy, too much creativity, too much organizational strength, for that to happen. Indeed, what begins to emerge within the movement is, if anything, a new strength: an increased sobriety, a heightened sense of the long-term nature of the struggle, a more profound and radicalized comprehension of just what will be necessary to bring about change in South Africa.

* * *

It is an analysis of concrete developments in the educational sphere – developments which are, however, paralleled in other crucial spheres – which can best serve to demonstrate this kind of *strengthening* of the resistance movement for the long haul, which is taking place within the very vortex of intensified repression. The lines of struggle on the terrain of education have shifted, both as state strategy has oscillated and as the resistance movement has refined and clarified its own practice. There is even some significant contestation within the white educational preserve. But far more central has been the emergence of "People's Education" as a rallying cry and a programme within the black community. To be sure, there are ways in which People's Education, too, has been stalemated. But there are also deeper, underlying currents that bear promise both for the strength of the ongoing confrontation with the apartheid system and for the future South Africa that eventually will be built on the ashes of that system.

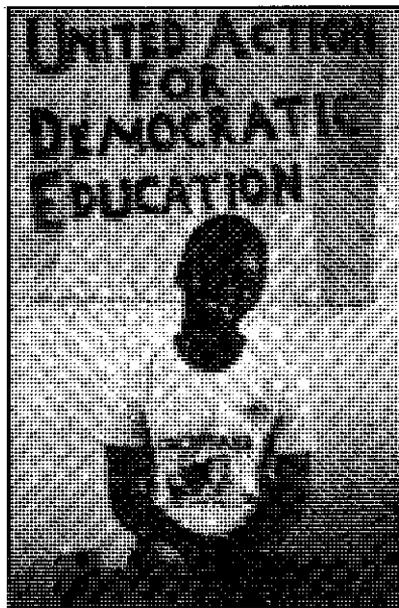
The Southern Africa REPORT editorial collective acknowledges with thanks the contributions and ideas of Mary Crewe and Johan Muller, educators working in South Africa, and of Bev Burke and Rick Arnold who recently returned from a study visit of popular education groups in South Africa.

Schooled In Struggle

It was the students of Soweto, who, most dramatically, made education a key focus of struggle within the broader movement for the transformation of South Africa's apartheid system. The events of 1976 still stand as a crucial benchmark in South African history. Moreover, students have retained a central position in the struggle against apartheid and racial capitalism ever since, so often being the most militant in directly confronting the violence of the apartheid state. With the boycott of schools as their primary tactic, at certain points and in the more active areas of the country, thousands of students have been out of school for various lengths of time.

Yet as time wore on, the limitations of the boycott tactic began to be realized. With the emergence of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the People's Education movement, a new plateau has been reached in the struggle over education. The past few years on the education front have brought to the South African resistance movement even more than the words of a new slogan, the outline of a new set of tactics and the shape of a new organization – although each of these things has indeed begun to surface. For what is also occurring under the auspices of the People's Education movement and its central coordinating organization, the NECC, is a very profound deepening of the movement's project with respect to education and of its attempt to claim education (and not just "schooling") as a terrain of struggle for full-fledged social transformation. There is, in short, a shift from a politics of protest to one of assertive challenge and to the sort of creativity which begins actually to frame an alternative form of education relevant to both present and future in South Africa. A new alliance of forces around the issues of education has begun to take shape and

novel questions have been opened up both about the issues of power and authority and about the forms of the curricular substance of an education relevant to a democratic South Africa.



Elna Johnson, president of COSAS at the time of its banning.

30 Years of the Freedom Charter

Watershed

A watershed event for the deepening of the education struggle was the December 1985 National Consultative Conference at the University of the Witwatersrand, called by the newly formed Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC). For it was at this conference that the shift in strategy from a politics of protest to one of challenge and alternatives was most directly proclaimed. This was symbolized in the replacement of the slogan "Liberation before Education" by that of "People's Education for People's Power."

This shift was not achieved overnight, nor was it made without reservation and contestation from within the ranks of some of the student constituencies represented at

the meeting. As noted, the boycotts of schools had been the students' primary tactic of defiance and some were uneasy about a shift in emphasis. At the same time, within their organizations (most particularly the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), formed in 1979) students had also been developing an analysis of Bantu Education in relation to capitalism, and beyond boycotts were making demands for more control over the education process in the schools – such as the national campaign for democratically elected Student Representative Councils (SRCs). In the early 1980s, with impetus from the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), student organizations were self-consciously forming alliances with other organized sectors – the working class, women and township communities – and jointly coordinating campaigns.

The 1984 Vaal Uprising which heralded a new, sustained wave of popular resistance was one such collaborative action. By June of 1985 when the state of emergency was declared, the schools had become battlefields and students, the shock troops in a national uprising. Hundreds of children were detained and COSAS was banned. Students responded to the repression with further boycotts and militance.

The crisis situation in school education had a radicalizing effect on black teachers who previously had often clung to a stance of non-involvement. NEUSA (the National Education Union of South Africa), a progressive teachers' organization which had been formed in 1980, now grew in numbers, and in other centres where the communities and students were very active and well-organized – most notably the Western and Eastern Cape – new teachers' organizations were formed to take up questions of democratic education as situated in the broader political movement. Even ATASA (the African Teachers' Association of South Africa), a conservative and

self-proclaimed "neutral" body was seen, at some levels, to shift a little under the pressure of the times. In 1986 ATASA urged its members not to participate in the government's Department of Education and Training (DET) structures, and supported the May Day stay-away call.

With schooling at a virtual standstill in many parts of the country by late 1985, casspirs occupying schoolyards and children disappearing off the streets, parents were being drawn into the fray. Horrified at the conditions of education which black children were so vehemently rejecting, most parents were concerned that their children were receiving so little certifiable education, closing off the few possibilities there were for future employment. Many parents, and indeed whole communities, were even more deeply perturbed by the spectre of a generation of teenagers who had learned their only lessons on the street. A sense of urgency, a need to break through the deadlock of the schooling crisis was felt in the communities most affected by the unrest and shared by representatives of the organized labour movement.

Amongst the student constituencies that urgency was also felt, but it assumed different directions. Some were recognizing that mobilization and coordination of the students' strategies and tactics were rendered extremely difficult by the dispersion of the students in the streets. Boycotts and street battles tended not to generate further organization. Another strong and articulate tendency was of the opinion that the seizure of state power was imminent, and that energy should not be diverted to narrow "educational issues." Some students were intent on pushing the schools boycott even further and had mooted the idea of proclaiming 1986 as "the year of no schooling."

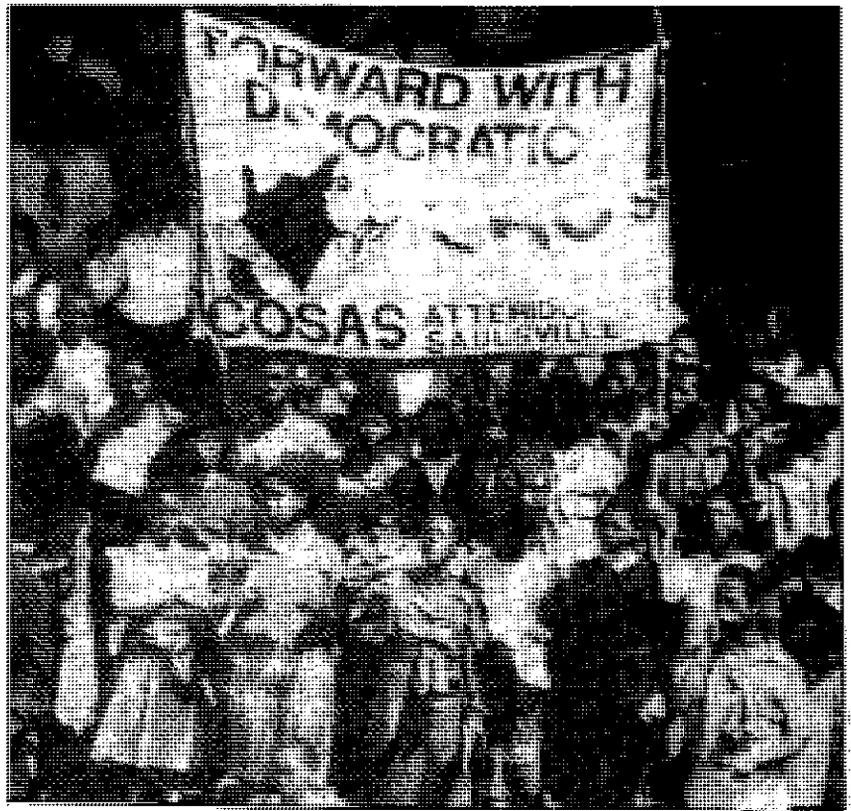
The December Consultative meeting brought together these students, teachers and parents, with

their different perspectives and interests, to consider the crisis in education and the return of students to the schools. The strategy was not posed as a capitulation to the repressive forces of the state, but as a positive move to gain control of the schools as bases for organizing students and working to transform education. For some of the student delegates this move was in keeping with developments in their organizing activities which had been occurring in recent years. For others it represented quite a dramatic departure from their present actions. They were suspicious of the conservatism of some of the parents, and (along with some of the more progressive teachers) of the presence in the SPCC of ATASA representatives, seen as collaborators. Important in this context in getting the motion to return to schools carried was the intervention of the ANC. The SPCC had met with the ANC before the December meet-

ing and they reported back on the ANC's disassociation from the slogan of liberation before education and their arguments for the validity of the 'back to school' position. But while this position prevailed, it did have appended to it various conditions, coming largely from the students, which had to be met within three months when the return to school call was to be reconsidered. These demands included the unbanning of COSAS, release of detainees, recognition of Student Representative Councils (SRCs), postponement of exams, restoration of damaged school buildings, free school supplies and books, reinstatement of teachers and the lifting of the State of Emergency.

Back to school

The return to school was neither smooth nor unanimous. The reconciliation of students to the new position was not aided by the banning of some of the meetings dur-



ing which delegates to the Wits conference were due to have reported back. The skepticism of some students may have seemed vindicated by the fact that after three months only the minimal demands of the NECC had been met by the DET. The state of emergency was partially lifted, and free school stationery was provided (of an inferior quality, the students complained). Some in the NECC began to see that tying the decision to return to and stay in the schools to the demands on the DET presented a problem, for it placed enormous pressure on the NECC to deliver evidence of progress in the establishment of People's Education to the students in schools and to show that it was indeed possible to advance the struggle from within the walls of the classroom.

The NECC, established by the December conference, called a

follow-up meeting in Durban in March to discuss the ongoing stalemate. Despite being attacked by Inkatha thugs, the meeting managed to endorse an elaborated analysis of the relationship of the struggle for People's Education to the building of people's power - as presented so articulately and powerfully in the important opening address by Zwelakhe Sisulu - and to confirm the strategy of returning to the schools, taking it even a little further this time, in calling on students to "reoccupy the schools" and "demand the right to education." The NECC was mandated to establish People's Education Commissions that would research education policy and produce People's Education course content for use in the schools on two afternoons a week.

It was clear at this stage that while People's Education was no

longer merely a slogan or statement of intent, it was still more programmatic than practicable. But there was some significant fleshing out in its conception that should be mentioned. The struggle that focused on schooling and had up until the previous year been waged fairly exclusively by the students, was seen as the domain and interest of black communities more broadly. While People's Education would be directed toward students in the first instance, its agenda included longer term transformations. The Acting Secretary-General of the NECC, the Reverend Molefe Tsele explained the objectives of the People's Education movement at a press conference at the end of 1986:

The first goal is to educate the young in such a way that they can shed the effects of oppression and play their part in the organiza-

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION AS DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

People's education attempts to develop a critical awareness of the world. It is an education of the future and therefore becomes a part of the struggle for a new society. We are therefore not shy to stand up and say that, with regard to change in this country, we are subjectively on the side of the democratic forces that work for a new order. People's education is therefore education for democratic people's power.

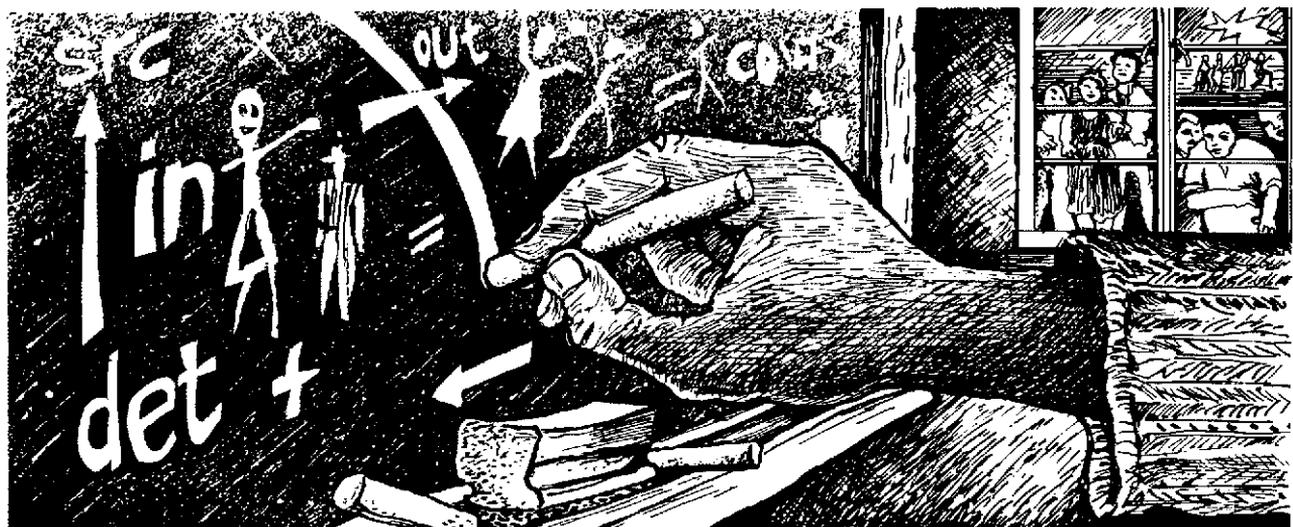
The struggle to democratize education in South Africa is ever present in the practical realities of transforming our educational institutions. Today, for example, the DET chooses a few obscure intellectuals and bureaucrats who sit down to design and impose their plans about education. Our position rejects this: planning and decision making must be opened up to all. This is an anathema for bureaucrats, individualists, and elitists who have known no other form of work than their own. They thus posit ridiculous arguments like "you can't expect an illiterate worker to decide on the content and quality of an educational system." This is but a mask that hides their fear of losing power and control over others. These poor gentlemen can't stretch their minds beyond the present, beyond dominating, undemocratic and elitist practices. Such attitudes thrive in the mystified air that surrounds so much of what passes for education in this country. People's education therefore wishes to bring in the ordinary worker, the student, the parent, the trade unionist, the teacher to sit together with academics in deciding on the content and quality of our common education. In our People's Edu-

cation Commission you find priests, students, activists and parents working with intellectuals to construct the content of a new history book and the level at which it must be introduced.

People's education hopes to remove the distinction between working and learning. Every child should take part in knowing what production is all about. Equally, every adult must seize every chance to learn whether at work or any other place. The beginnings of this process can only start by involving a democratic mix in the structures that plan, decide and implement education. We in the NECC believe that through such processes we might be able to approximate that desirable situation where the division between manual and mental labour is overcome.

People's education realizes that there is a need to achieve a high level of education for everybody. When this is done it will only then be easy to specialize, that is, when every person possesses sufficient basic knowledge and is capable of developing further. At every level this can only be successful if we replace the rote learning methodology of Bantu education with a methodology that promotes an inquiring and critical mind, which demands active participation by students in the very process of education.

Extracted from the Academic Freedom Lecture delivered by Eric Molobi, NECC National Coordinator, at the University of Witwatersrand, on 22 October 1986.



Carl Becker/Weekly Mail

tion and mobilization of the forces against apartheid. The second is to lay the foundation for education in a liberated South Africa.

People's Education was not just about an appropriate content, but also about the process and form of education. These, like other forms of peoples power, were to be democratic, responsive to the needs of the community and accountable to their organizations.

The NECC attempted to reflect these tenets in its structure and practice. Regional and community People's Education Committees were to be set up where possible, along with the more local Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSAs). Consultation with the relevant bodies at each point was mandatory. The People's Education structures not surprisingly tended to be stronger and more active in those communities which were already well-organized.

DET sabotage

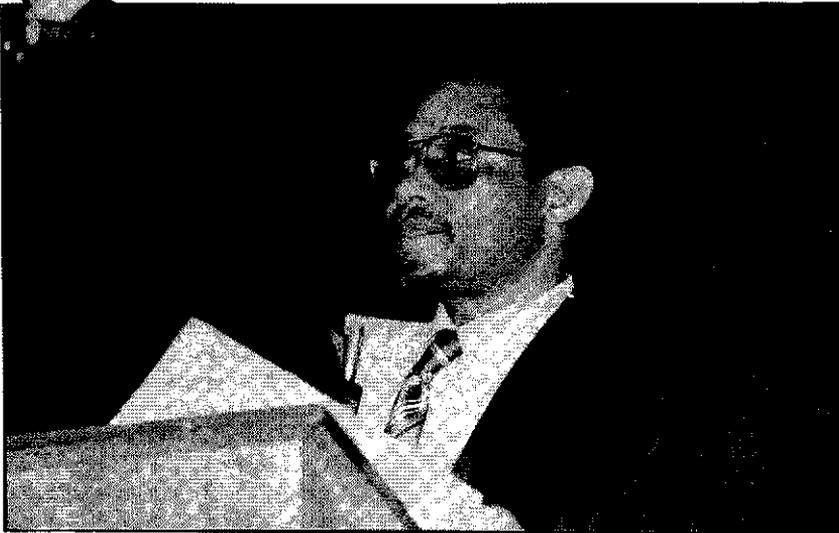
Students' attendance at schools in the period following the March national meeting continued to be sporadic and uneven. In some areas unrest simmered, in others it flared. The attempts by the NECC to negotiate with the DET around meeting some of the student demands were met with an obstinate refusal.

Commentators regard as remarkable the fact that the NECC commanded sufficient community support to receive the mandate to negotiate with the DET, a government body, in the prevailing climate of mistrust and repression. The June 12th declaration of a new state of emergency and the detention of NECC leaders undermined the hope of achieving anything by that route, effectively blocking the possibility of the consultation with the different constituencies of the NECC that would allow collective and viable decisions to be made. Attempts were made to discredit the NECC: a helicopter dropped leaflets on Soweto which accused the NECC of exhorting the children back to school "not to learn but to be taught in stone throwing, arson, necklacing and boycotting."

When the DET attempted to reassert authority over the schools, it succeeded in provoking and angering not only the students, but parents and teachers as well. On the eve of the delayed reopening of the 3rd school term in July, the DET announced a series of security and disciplinary measures applying to school attendance. Security guards were to be posted at schools, students were to carry identity documents and teachers and principals were responsible for instituting measures to monitor and dis-

cipline the movement of students. Many teachers disassociated themselves from the DET's plan, finding particularly disagreeable their being set up as responsible for school "security" and the requirement that students carry identification (which quickly became characterized as a "dompas" [passbook]). The DET's measures prompted further radicalization and organization of black teachers.

Students returning to school at the beginning of the term were required to re-register to indicate their acceptance of the regulations. Those who failed to comply or who rejected their placements in particular classes were regarded as not enrolled. Many students found themselves out of school. Identification documents were refused or were burnt. Later in the year the DET began closing down those schools which were insufficiently enrolled or where "no effective educational activity" could take place. In October, 72 schools were closed down, the majority in the Eastern Cape. Estimates suggest that about 250,000 students enrolled at the beginning of 1986 were out of school by the end of it. The NECC, parents and students organizations began demanding the reopening of schools, proclaiming a right to education.



Impact Visuals

Eric Molobi delivers Academic Freedom Lecture, 22 October 1986.

The DET's tactic of closing down schools divided both the student and parent communities in the short term. Two issues in particular brought this out. One was the attendance of some students - generally those whose families could afford it - at private schools where, when their contemporaries were banned from or boycotting school, they were able to achieve school qualifications. Some of the students who were being denied the possibility of state schooling condemned the pupils at private schools as deserting the struggle. The other issue was the end-of-year exams. Students' and parents' requests that the exams be postponed because of insufficient learning opportunity during the year, were rejected. Because of the detentions, banning of the SRCs and emergency regulations, students were unable in some areas to meet effectively, consult with community organizations and discuss a collective strategy around the exams. In Soweto some students wrote, some didn't, either because they felt unprepared, or in solidarity with those who were out of school or in detention and were unable to write the exams. "Write one, write all, fail one, fail all" was the slogan. In some areas examinations were disrupted by gangs of students. The

Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee quickly condemned the disruption of exams and the harassment of those (including adults) studying at private institutions. "The campaigns to halt all education, the campaigns to burn books of adult people who study privately, are tactically incorrect actions because they sow division amongst students and parents". The SPCC statement went on to confirm that there was no national decision to demand the return of students from private or boarding schools, nor to boycott alternative education programmes, and warned students to be vigilant with respect to *agents provocateur*.

Clampdown in 1987

In November of 1986 the NECC sought to regain the positive initiative by announcing that it was to introduce People's Education into the secondary schools in the following year. It was presently negotiating with teachers' organization and other concerned bodies about the introduction of "People's English and history which will make pupils understand the evils of apartheid." The NECC, the UDF and other community and student organizations began calling for a return to school in the 1987 school year and demanded the reopening of all schools. "Our children's education

must take place with as little disruption as possible. The extent to which this will be the case in 1987 will, like last year, depend on the way the DET deals with the well-known demands of pupils and parents concerning the education issue." said Murphy Morobe of the UDF.

In fact, the beginning of the school year in early 1987 did bring an even more marked return to school than the previous year. And this return strategy continued to be marked not by a mood of capitulation so much as a positive sense of carrying the struggle back in to the schools. In light of the novel strategic turn whose components we have been sketching here, the fact that the call to return was heeded with much less vacillation and unevenness than in the previous year must, in some ways, be construed as a victory for the NECC. As seen, the latter had managed to effect a careful reconciliation between the interests of the parents to have their children in school and those of the students who refuse "gutter education."

But at what price? For it must be reiterated that the state, too, had become apprehensive at growing indications that there was more to "People's Education" than a mere slogan of opposition to Bantu Education. Already, in the final days of 1986, the government had issued a comprehensive range of prohibitions on the propagation and practice of People's Education on school campuses. The regulations empowered the Director-General of Education and Training to prohibit "the offering on any school or hostel premises, any syllabus, work programme, class or course which has not been approved in terms of Education Acts," the distribution of posters, notices, books or any other materials on subjects specified in the order, and access to schools of anyone deemed not officially concerned in school activities. All this in response to the NECC's above-mentioned announcement, a month earlier, that it intended to introduce People's Edu-

cation into secondary schools in the 1987 school year. These government restrictions were aimed very directly at preventing this from happening and at undermining the role of the NECC in the struggle around the schooling of black children.

More restrictions were to follow. Early in the new year the Police Commissioner forbade all meetings held by or on behalf of the NECC where People's Education was even to be discussed. By this time almost all of the NECC's executive were in detention. And such detentions and restrictions (carried out, of course within the broader context of a continuing state of emergency) represented a fairly severe blow to possibilities of advancing the project of "People's Education for People's Power" * While the NECC's "return to school" strategy had prevailed, such state actions had undermined the most significant rationale for getting students back into

the classrooms - that those classrooms would be centres for mobilizing and organizing students through the practice of People's Education.

Regrouping for struggles ahead

In consequence, black students have been, for the most part, in the schools this year, under conditions not of their own choosing and little improved over last year and with few, if any, of their demands for more democratic school organization met. And there are no doubt parents and students who accept this, who pragmatically accept whatever schooling is available at this point after years of disruption. But only a superficial or cynical view would assume that the attendance in Bantu Education schools represents the defeat of the students or of the People's Education movement. Earlier this year, a spokesperson for the South African National Students' Congress warned the government that if "go-

ing back to school means more swallowing of the colonialist education that we so abhor, then it will have itself to blame if schools are going to run empty". Unfortunately it is not entirely clear from outside just what has been going on in the classrooms in recent months. Last year, even before the elaboration of "official" People's Education programmes and materials, there were reports of students meeting together to do "people's education", the history of the liberation struggle and the like. Such forms of "resistance" and other even more dramatic ones may still be in train. What does seem clear is that any "peace" which does currently exist in the schools is merely an enforced truce; and it can only be a fragile one. Moreover, if the state has had to rely on such naked repression and control, if it has been unable to bend even to some of the more innocuous demands of students and others to create a more favourable climate for learning, it is unlikely that its own education project - including some marginal modernization of its black education policies in line with the shifting needs of capital - can have much hope for realization. At best, therefore, it is stalemate, rather than state victory, which characterizes the present situation.

Nonetheless, the question remains: Can the People's Education movement survive the current (rela-

continued on page 15

* *In addition the parents and guardians of students returning to school in January were to be required to fill out application forms allowing disciplinary action to be taken "against my child or ward should it be deemed necessary by the authorities concerned," and undertaking to pay costs incurred for damages or losses to "school property and departmental books." A clause which worried parents even more was one which stated: "... in the event of my child/ward being conveyed in a government vehicle, or any other form of transport I indemnify the State and*

State employees against any claim for compensation as a result of loss of life or personal injury to my child/ward or any damage to his/her property". Understandably parents (and some principals) were outraged and refused to sign, and the DET later clarified that failure to sign the form would not jeopardize admission to school. In this case, as in others, the state's clumsy efforts at control merely fueled the tension between the state and the people, and created conditions for strengthening the bonds between parents, school staff and students.

THE WAY FORWARD

When we look to the future we need to remember that our task is not only to broaden our unity, but also to deepen our organization. It was the people's organization which built democratically controlled school committees, SRCs and Parents Crisis Committees. This organization has taken us from opposing Bantu Education to organizing the people's alternative. The building of democratic organs of people's power is now our priority. For those of you struggling on the education front, your task is to deepen people's control over education.

Zwakele Sisulu, March 1986, at the National Education Conference, Durban.

We in the NECC are not hoping to find a perfect prefabricated model of People's Education anywhere, although it has been started in other countries. We believe that it can only advance through a baptism of fire, the scourging furnace of the South African democratic struggle, its temporary failures and permanent advances. Its ultimate and inevitable success will give birth to a truly democratic people's education. What we are involved in now is the formation of building blocks upon which the future will develop.

Extracted from the Academic Freedom Lecture delivered by Eric Molobi, NECC National Coordinator, at the University of Witwatersrand, on 22 October 1986.

People's History: A Discussion with Luli Calinicos

*In the struggle for South Africa's future, the interpretation of its past has necessarily become a war zone. While township students have openly rejected the schools, educators have been searching for new ways to regain and teach the history and literature of their land and its people. Out of the search for alternatives the National Education Crisis Committee has formed People's Education Commissions. Made up of academic and community representatives, the Commissions have so far produced materials on history, English literature and math. Luli Calinicos, historian and author of a series of popular history books, including *Gold and Workers* (reviewed in *Southern Africa REPORT*, Vol. 2, No. 2), is one of the members of the History Commission. She was interviewed in Johannesburg by Mary Crewe and Johan Muller.*

Luli, tell us something about the composition of the History Commission.

Most of the members of the History Commission are located in Cape Town, because that is where the chairperson is. But what occurred to us right at the beginning, and what worried us, was that all the members except one were whites – white academics – except for one school teacher who actually was fired from his job because of his involvement in NEUSA (National Education Union of South Africa.) We spent some time agonizing over this, and of course we were very aware as to why, for historical reasons, there are very few black graduates of history. Certainly there are hardly any who have been writing or publishing any history material. This led us to look very carefully at how we could overcome this.

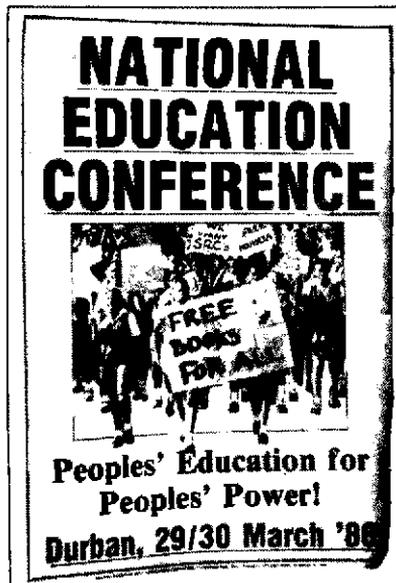
We had a number of meetings with members of the community – teachers and parents and with students – to discuss this problem. That relates, I think, to one of the main points of the history pack – or one of the main principles – and that is that we see it as a first effort, in an ongoing dialogue between the producers and the users of history. We are trying through this pack to loosen the division between

certainly not the first pack, although we are going to have to tackle that question later. We see it as an accompaniment to the syllabus. Its main emphasis is on an approach to history. It aims to develop critical faculties as well as basic skills of reading critically and closely, listening, writing and looking at evidence. We show how evidence takes many forms; oral evidence, written, cultural – much of it conflicting. We give many examples of different media in the pack, and also a number of examples of conflicting evidence, which is very easy to do in South Africa. This I suppose leads on to the very obvious point: that history is a contested terrain – certainly in South Africa with its sharply divided society.

There are many teachers and sections of the community who aren't aware of this – particularly amongst whites. But you can ask any school kid in the townships and they'll know very well that history is biased, and that the history they have been learning at school has a very different perspective from the one that they would like to learn. In the pack we feel that it is very important to put across the different perspectives, of teaching the skills of analysis in order to deal with these differences. So for us the intention of this history pack is not to replace Nationalist Party history with UDF history or any other kind of history.

If the state cracks down on it, it will crack down on it because of some of the content.

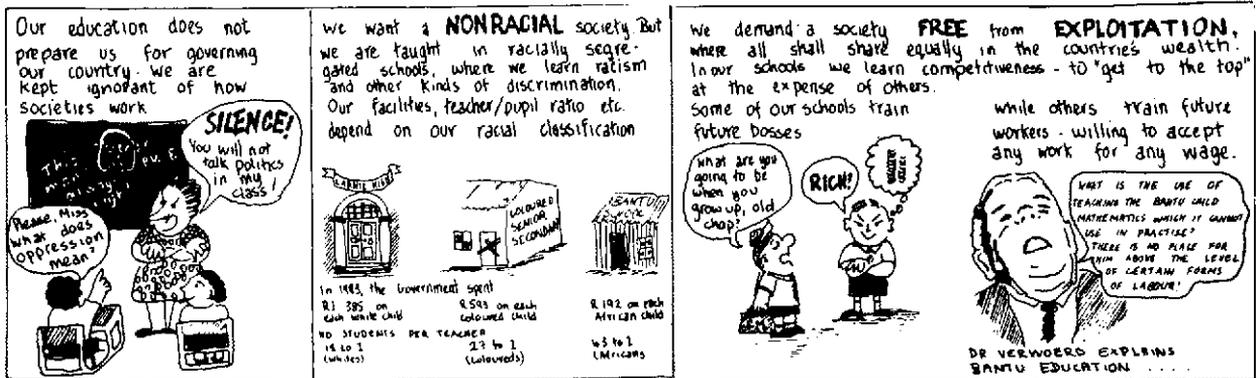
There's a tension actually between two considerations – one is an approach to history, and the other is the content.



these two categories by encouraging both responses to the material and participation in producing evidence itself.

Some people think that what you are producing is an alternative syllabus. There is not always clarity about what you and the commission think you are doing with your history materials. Would you like to say something about that?

The history pack isn't a syllabus,



Grassroots/The Child Is Not Dead

For instance, one community leader said: "Have you got the Land Act for 1913 in it? It is very important - you must have it in," and we didn't have the Land Act specifically. We didn't have a whole focus or exercise or activity on the Land Act. We felt that it was very important to make that kind of point in the introduction - that there are very important events in our history which need to be looked at, but we are not looking at them in this pack. On the other hand we have got some material which will hook students into reading it - because, you know, so many students are turned off history books.

Because of the content?

Yes. So we take events like what happened on June 16th, 1976, and have about ten pages of material - eyewitness accounts, newspaper reports, police reports, and some oral evidence as well about what happened. Photographs are very important - we present the visual as well. Poetry - how it has become part of the culture of resistance - that sort of thing is obviously something that will draw the student to the history. At the same time we devise six or eight activities around material for students to discuss and analyze and point them to further reading as well, and so draw them into looking not just at that event but the background to it. Of course that is precisely the sort of material that is going to get us slammed by

the state. But on the other hand the state has banned it in advance without even knowing what is in it - so, does it matter?

Have you tested it out on any kids - have you had any feedback on how prospective clients actually receive this stuff?

Not directly. We know that there is an enthusiastic response generally from various communities and union groups. But what we haven't done yet, because it is not yet published, is work in detail in groups with the material. And that is going to be the next very important step: evaluating the material. People are very keen on the material, but again I am not sure if it's because of the content or whether it will really be used collectively, which is one of the aims of the pack. It tries to build into the pack the principle of collective work, or sharing knowledge, of making sure everyone participates in the discussion, [and] in the assessing of evidence.

Every activity is based on group discussion, on talks of people's experiences of encouraging community involvement and expression of opinion about a particular event or approach to history. And the tasks and the projects, the written work and the oral work that are being prepared also encourage users to work collectively. And the point about this is that it has a wider application to a society in the process of transition - or self-transformation.

Working collectively gives reality to the important experience of organizing. Organization is going to be crucial in any kind of studies and in community advancement. It also gives reality to the idea of democracy and sharing opinions, accountability - you have to explain how you reach your conclusions - and of course discipline, because you have to listen to the other perspective.

Are you going to use the pack with black and with white students?

Yes. We hope that it will be used in the church schools, many of which are now non-racial, and in unions. Also of course in street committees.

How have the difficulties and constraints under which you worked helped to shape the way the pack has come out?

Of course our immediate problem has been trying to operate in the context of a system which is also determined to smash "people's education for people's power" in all its forms. But in the course of the struggle some positive results have emerged too.

During the process of workshoping the pack we came to realize that we can't actually use the pack to replace the syllabus because it is not going to be allowed in the schools.... It is not content oriented. It is meant to be used alongside a syllabus. It shows how one can extract information and evidence from

many different sources.

I want to expand on the notion of the pack being used alongside a syllabus. It relates to the idea of encouraging students to produce evidence from their own communities and also to the fact that they themselves are making history – many of them as members of street committees, workers, participants in the ongoing struggle.

Much of this history – the history of the 20th century, but even earlier – is within living memory, or has survived vividly in popular culture. You know, so much has happened in South Africa. The industrial revolution is only a century old and there is so much compacted into a short space of time. The students can actually go back to their parents and older members of the community and talk about these issues. And even talk about the origins of the Zulu Kingdom, or Nationalism, or chiefdoms. People have a store of oral information not being explored enough by academics, and that's something that the students themselves can bring back to the groups to enrich history. Fortunately, the emergence of social history has put emphasis on the different kinds of evidence, like poetry and songs and sayings and attitudes from the popular memory of the community. These are things that we need to look at carefully as well.

Another problem which we are going to have to look at in the evaluation of the history pack is the problem of authoritarian structures and the coercive approach to knowledge. How are teachers or co-ordinators of this material going to use this material? And are they going to be threatened by this material, especially when we emphasize right in the beginning that there are no right or wrong answers? This may be deeply threatening to teachers who have always been expected to provide the answers.

What is your next step?

I do feel we need to reconstruct

the History Commission and perhaps as a result of this product that's emerging we will be able to re-shuffle and get more representatives of the community on the Commission – a kind of 'hands-on' on the pack itself.

Are there any students on the commission?

Not on the first one. There were students, parents and teachers who came along to the meetings, but when it came to actually discussing what was to go into the pack – very often they excused themselves. They said well you can get on with it now.

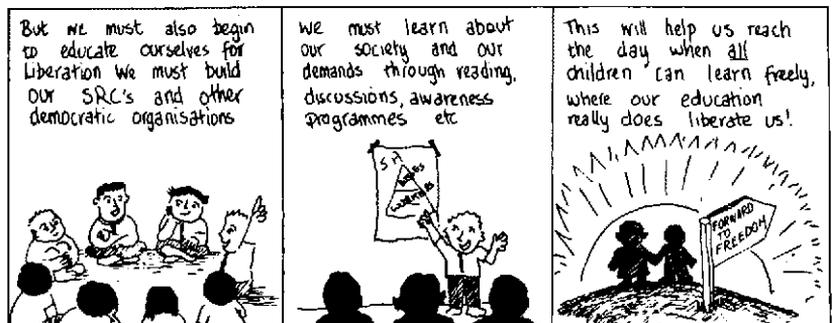
Do you want to tell us briefly what differences there are between the way that you in the History Commission have gone about it, and the way the English Commission see their job?

Well, in a sense the English Commission was more prudent because they felt that as a small hand-picked group of mostly whites (although not as many whites proportionally as the history group, again for historical reasons – they were able to include a number of established black literary figures), they were much more tentative in producing material without more consultation; whereas, we decided just to go ahead. But I think a lot of this is related to the fact that radical history is more developed in South Africa, than are the radical English studies. The new historiography which developed out of the Marxist

critique of liberal interpretations of apartheid in the 70s followed by the social-historical critique of class reductionism in the 80s is providing a rich store of interpretations to draw from. We are all quite eager to popularize these processes and get them across. So we decided to begin and whatever happens, it's a start ...

Do you have any reservations?

What I felt was missing from the pack, and what we need to discuss is an analysis or an explanation of our society. In this pack we jump around a bit. For instance in our example of primary evidence we print pages of very telling photographs on the compounds and we ask people to deduce what compound life was like from these photographs. Or we discuss history "from below" and give, for example, the biography of an ordinary worker, or we look at the 1946 miners' strike and show different perspectives – police reports, the union reports, the newspaper etc. Or we look at the making of a people's hero – like Nelson Mandela. In spite of all the constraints placed on information about him, and how his own words have been banned, he's become known both nationally and internationally. Is there room for people's heroes in a history from below? These questions are fascinating. But what is missing is an underpinning of these events. And so we are going to have to provide some explanations or volunteer some concepts, I feel. These are issues we need to discuss further in the ongoing work of producing history packs.



Grassroots/The Child Is Not Dead

The Blonde Beast: Preparing White Youth

"... at the bottom of all these "noble races" (is) the beast of prey, the splendid blonde beast prowling about avidly in search of spoil and victory."

F. Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*

Material compiled by Mary Crewe and Johan Muller.



Schoolgirl cadets marching.

White education ostensibly operates normally while all the other systems are in turmoil. It is, however, producing pupils who have a fragmented consciousness and who experience high levels of alienation. For white children, unlike black children, there is no ground from which to build alternatives, given this fragmentation and the absence of any solidarity with blacks. They are locked into separate development, suspicion, fear and resignation.

In part to combat the growing feelings of despair and malaise among the youth, as well as to protect and uphold all that white society pleases to call Western civilization, special programs known as Youth Preparedness were introduced in 1972. Although the sentiments inscribed in the Youth Pre-

paredness syllabus were not new, its place in schools as a timetabled curricular activity arose from National Education Policy Act #39 of 1967, in which three long-cherished principles were affirmed. These ensured that education would be Christian, national in character and through the medium of the mother tongue. "National" in the context of this Act did not entail national control. Rather, it denoted nationhood or definite policy to foster admiration for and love of the fatherland, that is, white South Africa.

As it operates in white schools today, Youth Preparedness is intended to prepare white pupils to face the "Soviet-inspired Total Onslaught" being waged against South Africa, with its special target group white South African youth. This on-

slaught is, according to the designers of the program, being waged on four fronts: spiritual, cultural, moral and physical, and the youth have to be able to counter it on all these fronts. As expressed by Dr. Al Koetzee, a provincial director of education:

... A nation may have a well-equipped and well-trained army, it may have capable workers, it may have thousands of pupils and students, it may be economically prosperous, but if its youth are not people of integrity, morally sound and dedicated, the future of such a nation will be uncertain. If the youth are victims of spiritual and moral corruption, the future of such a nation is doubly uncertain, and ... it is the moral strength that fortifies the army, the youth, the nation.

Youth Preparedness is a joint enterprise between the education departments and the teachers to ensure that the youth are able to identify the nature of the attacks against them and to fight against them. In all provinces it encompasses the core components of emergency planning, fire fighting, first aid, vehicle maintenance, home nursing, self defense, marching, drilling, musketry, map reading, field tactics and moral preparedness. It also includes sections on the different race groups in South Africa - traditions, habits, lifestyles and their proper position under the trusteeship of whites. Only teachers considered to be supportive of the program are encouraged to teach it.

It is essentially a non-participatory program; manuals detailing the subject matter to be taught are sent to the schools, and teachers are expected to teach directly from them. Debate or discussion is not encouraged; indeed, to disagree with any aspect of the programme is generally regarded as unpatriotic. The Youth Preparedness program is subject to regular inspection by the Inspector of Youth Affairs, and constant reference is made to its importance in annual education department reports and in Hansard.

To complement the Youth Preparedness program, an additional institution was created in the Transvaal – the Veld School (*lit.* “bush school”). These schools, staffed by a resident headmaster and approximately five other teachers, operate throughout the year and are conducted separately for English and Afrikaans children. Each white

child attends veldschool twice in his or her school career for ten days at a time. Veld schools provide an intense ideological program in addition to strenuous physical activities such as army-constructed obstacle courses, night hikes and so on.

Youth Preparedness, then, sets out to ensure that the seeds of rev-

olution from within find no fertile place to grow. The school and teachers are in “an ideal and strategic position for this purpose” – they are to protect the youth, to redirect them, give them moral and cultural strength, confidence and pride to combat any systematic attempt to lead them astray. White pupils are encouraged to believe that they

“NOBODY REALLY KNEW WHAT I THOUGHT”

In her book South Africa: A Different Kind of War, Julie Fredrikse interviewed a white South African secondary school student who found her veld school experience disillusioning.*

Nicky: They don't tell you what it's going to be about, they don't tell you why you're going. It's just supposed to be a kind of awareness of nature weekend. It sounds wonderful, and you think, wow, this is going to be fun – and then you get a shock when you get there.

What happened when you first arrived at the veld school?

Nicky: I think it was the longest day of my life. They made us run an obstacle course. We learned how to camouflage ourselves and how to do certain crawls through the bush. They told us it was all for exercise and self-discipline and fun, but it was really more like a survival thing – how to survive, I don't know – a war, I guess?

Why do you think it had to do with war?

Nicky: Because they gave us a lot of lectures about war and there was a movie about the South African Defence Force. We had lots of lectures on politics. They said that any kind of opposition to the government is just opting for communism. They told us things like, “Do you like the kind of things you have in your house, your luxuries? Then how would you feel if half your stuff was given to some black man? And how would you feel if the government controlled everything? Just think how free you are now. Think of your garden.” That was the kind of thing they were telling us. And they were always telling us to be glad about South Africa's big defence force, and that we must encourage our big brothers to kind of rush to the army and that we must buy defense force bonds and stuff.

Did you ever say anything to the veld school teachers about how you felt?

Nicky: When I tried to, I really got into trouble. Like they had one of their lectures on politics, and this guy was telling us about how you should choose to buy South African products over the other products, over anything imported, because people overseas boycott South African products. And they never said

that maybe the reason for these boycotts was because of South Africa's policies. Oh, no, it was as if the rest of the world was just being nasty.

I was very nervous about saying anything because all the teachers were really authoritarian and they'll tell you to kind of know your place and that sort of thing is so ridiculous that I said something – just to try to point out that, well, South Africa likes to trade with other countries anyway. And the guy got really angry. He just turned around and glared at me and said, “Nicky, you're a communist!” So I said to him, “Surely I'm allowed to think freely in this country!” and he just kind of looked at me and didn't say anything else. I wanted to say to him, “How can you just sort of throw that big word at a little girl who's just trying to make some sense out of this rubbish that you're talking?” But of course, I didn't dare to.

So what did you tell your friends about veld school when you got back home?

Nicky: Well, I actually had to write a speech, telling my school what the veld school camp had been like. I told my teachers that I wasn't prepared to say that it had been fun and that all the girls should go next year, because it is supposedly optional, even though they really pressurize you to go. But in the end, I was manipulated and convinced to write something decent in their terms, to write that it would be a worthwhile experience, the kinds of things we did, and how much fun it was, how much we all wished for home and our hot baths – not mentioning that a lot of people in this country don't have a home and a hot bath.

My speech was read before I said it, and anything vaguely suspicious was crossed out and I was told to write it again. They would say “You didn't really think that, did you?” So in the end, nobody in my school really knew what I thought. I guess they will just have to go to find out for themselves. Anyway, that's how things always work in the school system in this country: you're not supposed to ask too many questions and you're never supposed to challenge the line they're putting out.

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are victims of the Western betrayal, that white South Africans are misunderstood and that their right to be free and dominant is unassailable; and that every step will be taken to ensure that the position for which the whites have fought so hard will be maintained. In short, Youth Preparedness is a consciously employed ideological tool – and, like all programs with such obvious intent, it is prone to rejection, or at least deflection.

While Youth Preparedness is a compulsory curricular activity, there is a great deal of variation in the way in which it is taught. It appears that it is taken more seriously by the majority of Afrikaans schools and less seriously by the English schools. The English-speaking teacher associations in the Cape and Natal have expressed their deep reservations about teaching the program at all, while the large and very powerful Afrikaans Teachers Association has reaffirmed the duty of teachers to take part in the program. More conservative Afrikaners as well as the more liberal English have criticized both the Youth Preparedness program and Veldschools because of their thinly-veiled party line, claiming both political indoctrination and militarization of the pupils. Education departments deny that there is any political, or at least party political, component. Certainly a particular world view is fostered, the origins of which predate the 1967 National Education Act. The notion of Total Onslaught has been a feature of white education since the late 1950s, and white education has always fostered a strong form of patriotism.

Most English-speaking children ridicule Youth Preparedness and the concepts behind it. They likewise tend to make fun of the Veldschools, and where possible (at times with the collusion of the school) refuse to attend them. They do this because they most often see themselves in reference to a "better" or "more real" culture, which is by definition *elsewhere*. White mid-

NATIONAL MADNESS

*National madness, bring out your dead
Babylon crumbles, as it was said
National madness
National suicide
Killing the brothers
Things left unsaid
Things left unsaid*

*National madness, a curse on the land
Jesus is murdered, by his own hand
National madness
National genocide
They that have not
The mark of the lamb
The mark of the lamb
Angel of mercy, shine down on me
National madness, swallowing me
Swallowing me*

*National madness, the beast stalks the land
All our defences crumble to sand
National madness – national regicide
The old king is dying
No son is at hand
No son is at hand
Angel of mercy, shine down on me
National madness, swallowing me.*

Lyrics: Michael Rudolph

The Aeroplanes, *Forces Favourites*, ECC, Shifty Records

dle class popular culture in South Africa (that which is featured for example in advertisements, in magazines and on television) is non-South African specific, often void of South African content altogether, and popular music likewise locates itself within a presumed international sphere purged of local content. There is virtually no local flavour to the aspirations of youth, their forms of revolt all too often simply emulating those of the anarchist punk revolt in the UK and North America. The few exceptions which do deal with the South African reality betray despair and

desperation (see Box). The youth turn away from South Africa at large, seeing themselves as peripheral in the country, sustained only by a distant but persistent feeling of cultural superiority that has more to do with their class position than with anything else.

It is relatively easy for English children to ridicule the local situation and to turn to the linguistically official "home country" in which authentic culture is assumed to exist. Afrikaans children do not have the same cultural options. They too like to view themselves as belong-

ing to the "international community," but it sits uncomfortably with them. They are too deeply tied by their recent heritage of church and family, to the ideology purveyed by the Youth Preparedness and Veld-schools, to ridicule and reject it in such easy fashion. Their disaffection finds expression through a deferral which uses international culture to hold the brute South African reality at an escapist arm's length.

In response to the immediate exigency of compulsory army conscription, white male youths have adopted different strategies. The

most committed (and most affluent) skip the country, while others apply for conscientious objector status. Some obtain deferral by going to university. Still others simply don't report for duty. The most precipitate strategy is suicide, and there has been a marked increase in the number of suicides and attempted suicides by conscripts in recent years. Undoubtedly the greatest deterrent is the immediate horror of township duty, something even otherwise "macho" white youths find difficult to stomach. Anti-conscription crops up with increasing frequency in plays and mu-

sic despite the law against it, and the heavily beleaguered End Conscription Campaign continues to be a node of rational rejection around which the most courageous cluster.

The education of white children does not afford them the opportunity to envisage a future based on a non-racial democracy. As a result most white youths are hostile toward and fearful of change and intolerant of debate. Their experience is so removed from the experience of other South Africans that they live entirely within the impossible hope that the white regime can be preserved in one form or another.

Schooled in Struggle

continued from page 8

tive) incapacitation of the NECC by the state? The details remain to be seen of the timing and locale of such trench warfare as will undoubtedly break out again in the schools. But the main reason why a "yes" answer to this question is appropriate is a broader one. It lies in the fact that the struggle for liberation in education has now, more than ever, taken on the attributes of a *movement* in its own right - while also linking itself as an ever more self-conscious part of the broader movement for the transformation of South Africa.

Clearly a major challenge now faced by the NECC is to maintain the momentum of People's Education as a practice in the light of the restrictions on the formal introduction of People's Education syllabi and materials into the schools. These latter - the product of specific People's Education subject units comprising university faculty and community representatives - may well have no outlets for implementation in the short term. But the tremendous creativity which the People's Education movement has unleashed, the explorations of new forms of learning, the collaboration between

progressive white intellectuals and black community activists in working practically towards an alternative education, are experiences and lessons that will not easily be erased. There are indications that, with the banning of People's Education in the schools, community groups, adult education, literacy and training organizations, service and resource groups are more and more identifying with the People's Education movement, striving to comply with and practice the canons of democratic organization, accountability, non-hierarchical relationships and community-direction. The debate about popular control of funding for education in South Africa will likely see a strengthening of this tendency.

The alliances that have been fostered around the education struggle over the past few years - between parents, teachers and students on the one hand, and with community organizations and the trade union movement - have been highly significant for the development of the People's Education movement. The degree of involvement of different constituencies and sectors in issues of education can be seen as an index of the degree to which education is no longer sidelined to the

main resistance movement but is regarded as a fairly central component of the struggle "for people's power". Those different sectors have brought to the People's Education movement their varying interests and experiences in organizing, strategy and tactics, a situation that has positive aspects along with considerable potential for tension and contradiction. The educational and organizational substance of the People's Education movement at any point will reflect the way in which its constituent social forces weigh up.

The claiming of education as a terrain of struggle for social transformation is the most significant and positive accomplishment of the NECC and the People's Education movement. This does not preclude the recognition that the terrain is only beginning to be staked out, that it is mined with restrictions and riddled with obstacles. Barely established, the NECC and the People's Education movement are already having to adapt to the constraining circumstances and devise new ways of advancing. The democratic liberation movement in South Africa has, in recent years, against incredibly repressive odds, demonstrated such an indefatigable capacity for finding and creating spaces for organizing resistance; it can only give cause for hope.



Women workers attending a workshop on maternity rights.

Photos by Anne Richards

COSATU
OCCUPATIONAL
HEALTH AND
SAFETY DAY

"These things are not only for use by women, but men are affected. We like men to be present, we mustn't isolate them and say these are 'women's issues,' or men will say we must drop women's demands and concentrate on other issues. Today we are here to end that, because the struggle of women workers is the struggle of men workers – we are all oppressed by the same management in the same factories."



Janette George and Rafilwe Zweta, Paper, Wood and Allied Union members, led a workshop on contraception.

A day of education on occupational health and safety was held in Johannesburg in March 1987. The event was sponsored by COSATU and the service organizations, Health Information Centre, Technical Advice Group and the Industrial Health Unit.



Workshop topics ranged from health hazards in the workplace to workers rights under present legislation to struggles by workers to improve their working conditions. Here workers test their lungs.



An example of the flourishing workers' culture, union members perform a play about the death of a fellow worker in a paper shredding factory.

These organizations work with the unions doing educational work, monitoring conditions in the workplace and assisting unions to negotiate for safer and healthier work environments. Jay Naidoo, General Secretary of COSATU, spoke of the need for all service organizations to structure their relationship with the unions they serve more clearly, to transfer expertise to workers and to unify in the spirit of COSATU's directive of 'One Industry - One Union.'

New Struggles, New Questions: Foreign Aid and Education

BY BILL MARTIN

Bill Martin, who teaches at the University of Illinois, has recently returned from doing research in South Africa.

Divestment, boycotts, and sanctions: they all speak to the growing isolation of the apartheid regime. Yet in one area western involvement is radically escalating. In the last several years public and private institutions throughout western Europe and North America have dramatically increased their funding of South African educational programs. Announcements of extensive new commitments by the United States government in the last year have been matched, for example, by almost monthly launchings of major programs by private foundations and university consortiums. Tens of millions of dollars are pouring into a wide variety of activities from scholarship aid for study overseas to the funding of private schools, tutorial centres, teacher training, and voca-

tional programs in townships and urban centres.

Such programs predominantly flow through long-established networks and institutions engaged in facilitating educational exchanges and aid. The growing confrontation between the South African regime and the resistance movement has however cast these projects in a new light. On the one hand the deepening educational crisis has opened up a demand for alternative educational facilities as schools in the townships have closed. On the other hand the emergence of education as a central locus of struggle between the regime and the democratic movement has generated considerable debate over the aims, structure and control of foreign assistance.

Ten years ago foreign assistance to upgrade black education was rarely questioned. No one could doubt the inherent inequalities of "Bantu Education," and private ini-

tiatives were often seen as one means of providing desperately needed facilities and personnel. Even as recently as the 1980 schools boycott it was unclear what the aims of educational transformation should be. As a recent analysis by the National Coordinating Committee for the Education Charter Campaign emphasized:

There was no common understanding [in 1980] of what equal education meant for us. Some people even misunderstood this to be a demand for an equal share in white education . . . they had not as yet become aware of the undemocratic and racist nature of the whole system - including white education which teaches domination.

Such uncertainties no longer exist, and gone with them is the notion that the destruction of apartheid education can be predicated simply on the provision of equal educational facilities and opportunities.



Black education needn't be a dead end street

This Graffiti's meant for you, South Africa!

Student unrest in 1976 and 1980 in 1981 resulted in the collapse of the Black Education system. By their actions, young Black South Africans were demonstrating their disapproval of the quality of their education.

It is the Free Enterprise system that is to prevail and grow. We need quality people, and Whites alone cannot fill the additional 220,000 management and skilled or semi-skilled posts which must be created each year between now and the end of the century.

Merely educating and training a greater number of people is not the answer — the quality of Black Education and its management must be improved.

Each year Mobil spends

in excess of R750,000 in putting quality into Black Education by

- Providing bursaries for about 3,000 Black students in the Southern Transvaal — Results: a 10% - 20% increase in marks above the national mean to average;
- Funding an annual Winter School for about 2,000 Black pupils on the Witwatersrand — Results: an improvement in marks from an average of 40% before to 60-65% after the course;
- Sponsoring 160 students at Universities and Technicons. We are going results here too. The national average promotion rate from first to second academic year for all university students is only about 40%. All our students must attend academic support programmes — Result: our first year promotion rate is a remarkable 70% — and we select only average students!

We want to share these successes. If the quality of Black Education is to be improved, these proven programmes must be expanded into national ones — only then will the private sector as a whole start to make an impression on the problem. Black Education needs your support — South Africa's future and yours depend on it.

Mobil

South African Airways/Flying Springbok

Foreign aid in education ... "to secure the long term interests of capitalism in South Africa ..."
 The above is a new type of advertisement now appearing in South African magazines.

These new developments very much reflect developing tendencies within the resistance movement as a whole. As the currently detained National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) leader Vusi Khanyile noted late last year, "The struggle for democratic control has started by challenging and transforming existing social institutions and localized authority structures," with the structures of education "among the very first arenas in which minority domination and control could be successfully challenged." In the battle to gain control of township life, campaigns for the democratic control of schools and the wholesale transformation of the educational process have coalesced around the movement for "People's Education." These struggles by parents, teachers and student organizations have in-

evitably placed independent initiatives under increasing scrutiny.

Contradictions between evolving community control and foreign assistance have most sharply appeared at the local level in areas subject to direct intervention by foreign corporations and the U.S. government. Pace College in Soweto, a showcase institution established by U.S. multinationals with the aim of developing an educated, entrepreneurial black class, was repeatedly attacked by students and youth as a symbol of elitism. After students burned the American flag in protest against Reagan's foreign policy, the school was abandoned by its sponsors and eventually closed late last year. It is currently being reopened subject to community control.

Even scholarship programs, a

major and rapidly expanding area of overseas interest, have similarly come under increasing scrutiny. Despite the seeming involvement of notable black South Africans, student activists have raised numerous questions related to unaccountable board structures, the lack of aid for study in Africa, the rejection of politically active students, the funding of Bantustan civil servants, and the autocratic allocation of students to selected countries and institutions. The lack of assistance to exiles, refugees and educational programs in Front Line States which have borne a heavy burden related to the ongoing struggle in South Africa has similarly been criticized.

Such questions were sharply etched at a recent conference in the United States on educational assis-

tance directed at southern Africa. In his keynote address Eric Molobi, National Coordinator of the NECC and the only executive member of the NECC currently escaping detention, noted that for many activists in the educational movement foreign aid often seemed to have but one purpose: "to secure the long term interests of capitalism in South Africa and to develop a black middle class leadership by means of scholarships and programs."

Given the uncertain origins and secretive operations of many programs, it is hardly surprising that such conclusions are drawn. It is widely known for example that many U.S. universities have inaugurated scholarship programs as a mode of fending off the student divestment movement. Or, similarly, that overseas governments assisting the apartheid regime are among those most active in funding educational programs.

It must be recognized, Molobi

stressed, that the days of such independent and paternalistic intervention are over. "It is important for foreigners to grasp that the principle of consultation has been entrenched within the democratic movement... We want to see this principle extended to those who desire to offer help." This is not a call for the termination of educational assistance. What is being demanded is that such aid take place within the contours of the struggle to end apartheid, and not simply be directed at alleviating its effects and ensuring the future of education for an elite few.

Recognizing these debates southern African participants at the conference, reflecting very diverse locations and political positions, drew up minimal guidelines for foreign assistance (see box). As the guidelines indicate, international assistance was premised on acceptance of not only the principles of the democratic movement but also those of the international campaign to isolate the regime. This would pre-

clude activity by, or funding of, any organization or government agency opposed to divestment or sanctions. Contact or cooperation with any South African government or Bantustan agency is thus rejected.

Such calls have already had an effect as selected universities and foundations have reoriented their projects through consultation with, and even funding of projects designed by, the democratic movement. In the growth industry that educational assistance is becoming such developments remain the rare exceptions. Clearly many existing and proposed projects originating in North America and Western Europe fail to meet these requirements.

The North American and European educational community has always been a strong centre of anti-apartheid activity. As thousands of students and educational leaders languish in detention, the call for international support in the educational field itself poses new challenges for anti-apartheid activists.

TEXT OF SOUTH AFRICAN GUIDELINES

Following are "Guidelines on Financial and Other Forms of Assistance for Education and Training of South Africans and Namibians," developed at a meeting at East Lansing, Michigan by black leaders from southern Africa.

Financial and other assistance from abroad is acceptable, provided it is responsive and sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the Namibian and South African people as perceived by them, and is not intended to undermine the legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia and South Africa.

Guidelines for Donors

The concern and willingness of the international community to provide such assistance are appreciated by the people of Namibia and South Africa. For this assistance to achieve maximum efficacy it is proposed that the following broad guidelines should be effected:

1. Any assistance to any project connected with Namibia and South Africa shall not in any way undermine the international movement of sanctions and/or divestment against apartheid and colonialism. No assistance shall thus be made to any project supporting, related to and/or controlled by the Pretoria regime, and/or its agencies, the bantustan authorities and the puppet institutions in Namibia.

2. It is agreed between the donor and the recipient that the donor supports fundamental change in the region and the attainment of a non-racial democratic and unitary society in South Africa and freedom and independence in Namibia based on internationally-recognized principles. It is further agreed that the donor shall not undermine the attainment of the aforementioned ideals.

3. The donor declares that it does not support any project that attempts to thwart the attainment of these ideals, either through such project's own direct action or through its support for or cooperation with the Pretoria regime, and/or its agents in the bantustans and in Namibia.

4. The donor agrees to support projects mutually agreed to in pursuit of fundamental change (as enunciated in section 1 supra) without the donor exercising any control over such projects, save for mutually-agreed reporting and accounting requirements.

5. The donor agrees not to use the name of the recipient and/or any information it receives through the recipient for propaganda and/or other purposes not in accord with the objectives of the recipient and these guidelines and without obtaining the prior consent of the recipient.

Hustling Bantustan Bucks

BY ALAN HIRSCH

Alan Hirsch has taught economic history at the University of Cape Town. He is a founding member of the United Democratic Front, and is currently pursuing a Ph.D. programme at Columbia University.

While a growing list of prominent multinational companies are finding it politic to disassociate themselves from their South African investments, the South African government has been able to bolster its apartheid policies by successfully attracting several hundred factories into the otherwise economically barren bantustans.

In fact the incentives offered to both foreign and local investors have been so alluring that, to the government's occasional embarrassment, some entrepreneurs have been unable to resist taking full advantage of the possibilities.

In late 1983, New York businessman Ralph Tawil approached the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank with a proposal to establish a garment manufacturing plant in the Ciskei. Within a year the factory was built and running. Officially the plant was owned by a Hong Kong firm named Elgin Manufacturing and not by Tawil's two New York firms Play Knit and Stephen Barry. Elgin Manufacturing made sure its business in the Ciskei started on a profitable footing by supplying used capital equipment at inflated prices and collecting a commission for good measure.

But the scam involved more than run of the mill transfer pricing. In his initial prospectus Tawil said he planned to employ 2,510 people, of whom 2,470 would be black Ciskeians. By Sept. 1984, before the plant was running at full capacity, there were already 3,190 "black Ciskeians" in the firm's employ. The



CCAWUSA workers demand higher wages.

plant must have been exceptionally clean and orderly as 520 were listed as cleaners and 326 as security guards.

Tawil also sent a stream of telexes to his son Chay, the managing director of the factory, insisting he employ 100 new workers every week so the firm could meet a target of 5,000 employed by November 14.

It would be nice to think that Tawil's desire to create employment

was a response to the massive problems of unemployment and poverty that South Africa's pass laws and resettlement policy had created in the Ciskei and other bantustans. His motives for boosting employment levels were not altruistic.

The South African government, through its Ciskei subsidiary, provides investors a cash rebate of 95% of wages paid - up to R110 (\$US 50) per worker per month. However, the average 1984 wage in the Ciskei was a lot lower, around R75 (\$US 34) a month, allowing unscrupulous employers to claim that they were paying their staff more than they put in the pay-packets. This is what Tawil's plant was doing. The government's incentives scheme, and the way it was administered, encouraged a range of other scams, most of which Tawil was involved in.

Tawil overdid it and the venture ran into a messy and embarrassing trial in 1985, following pressure from the press and the white parliamentary opposition. But Tawil is merely the tip of the iceberg.

The program Tawil was exploiting is only the latest in a line of politically motivated strategies to direct investment towards the bantustans.

The border industries

The first decentralization program was the result of a government commission of inquiry that reported in 1956. The Tomlinson Commission, as it was known, was to establish how the "native reserves" could be economically rehabilitated so they could play their essential role in the evolving strategy of apartheid. The apartheid policy itself was a response to South Africa's urban/rural contradiction euphemistically known as "uncontrolled urbanization." This really meant the threat of a growing and concentrated black proletariat, and

the loss of a rural labour pool to the white farmers who formed an essential part of the National Party's support base. At the same time the African National Congress was becoming adept at the policies of mass mobilization, as were the black trade unions and a range of urban community organizations.

"At the moment the number of Bantu [blacks] who advocate equality forms a small minority but their numbers and the scope of their endeavours are on the increase," warned Tomlinson. The National Party's solution to this crisis was a restructuring of white supremacy, converting the former native reserves into "bantustans." Bantustans would contain, physically and politically, the growing black population. This was the essence of the shift from segregation to apartheid.

One result of the commission's report was the establishment of a "border industries" program. Verwoerd, then minister of Native Administration, hoped that the border industries program would slow down and even reverse the black migration to the towns. Border industries were only allowed outside the bantustans as the government was reluctant to disrupt what it liked to call the existing "communal" social relations. These imposed communities were headed by state-approved chiefs who formed the basis of the bantustan system of political control.

In 1968, two years after Verwoerd's assassination, the system was altered because the chief-run structure was failing. Amended institutions were developed under the guise of "bantustan independence." The government also decided to allow investment in manufacturing inside the bantustans. The new factories would, it was hoped, legitimize the bantustans' independence, not only to foreign governments, but also to the reluctant residents whose faith in the ability of the system to dispense the necessities of life had practically disintegrated. As a gov-

ernment economist recently put it: "One of the motives behind development programs is to promote the legitimacy of authorities and official structures." The desire to bolster the ideology of "free enterprise," as well as that of "separate development," was explicitly articulated by the government. Other goals included the creation of a black middle class that would have a stake in the bantustan system, and to win tacit allies in the investors.

Botha to the rescue

During the first years few factories were established at still fewer sites. After the 1976 school-based revolt the South African state poured money into buying credibility. The level of incentives was increased and more firms were attracted to the bantustans.*

Investment by both South African and foreign capital began to boom in 1982 with the implementation of the Good Hope Plan. In November 1981 the then Prime Minister (now State President) P.W. Botha called a conference between the government and South Africa's "business leaders," the owners and managers of a few hundred of South Africa's largest private corporations.

Botha sought a rapprochement with capital. Big business's comfortable relationship with the apartheid state had lasted many years, but corporate attitudes had since soured in the face of what was seen as government incompetence in coping with the political crisis of the post-1976 era.

* *Editor's note: A further incentive for industry in the bantustans has been the availability and cheapness of black female labour. As Hirsch has indicated in another article, a significant trend in bantustan industry in the past decade has been the increased rate and proportion of employment of black women. In Venda, the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, women constitute the majority of workers in the manufacturing sector.*

Botha's answer was akin to pulling a rabbit out of a hat: he proposed a new plan - the Good Hope Plan - which in fact was nothing more than a revision of the old industrial decentralization program.

The appeal of the new plan was the apparent depoliticization of development policy. The country was divided into development regions whose boundaries cut through the supposedly inviolable borders of the bantustans. This was an acknowledgement of the at least partial failure of the bantustan strategy. Incentives were massively boosted and designed to favour more clearly the creation of subsidized employment. This move acknowledged unemployment as a major precipitant of social unrest.

A new financing body, the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), was created to replace the Corporation for Economic Development - previously the "Bantu Investment Corporation" - which had been staffed with old-line apartheid ideologues. The new development bank was to mimic the style of the World Bank.

The DBSA is a "multi-lateral" organization, but the allocation of power according to share ownership ensures South African control. The bank had hoped to draw in economically dependent states such as Lesotho and Swaziland, but was blocked through the formation of the Southern African Development Coordinating Council (SADCC) by the Front Line States. It was left with South Africa and its "independent" bantustans: the Transkei, the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.

In practice the bank's behavior was not that different from its predecessors - it still treated the bantustans as distinct political entities, though National Party technocrats had hoped that the bank would spearhead an initiative towards a new type of geographic federation as the basis for a modernized white supremacy.



Workers occupy General Electric's head office as part of MAWU's living wage campaign.

Incentives become big business

Though Botha's Good Hope Plan did not deliver the promised political shift, the boost in decentralization incentives had major effects. Today, the incentives absorb well over half the budget of the Department of Industry and Trade. In addition to the wage rebates, the incentives include low interest and low collateral loans, subsidized rentals, transport rebates, government tender preferences, and a 125% quarterly cash rebate on training costs. The response has been rapid, both from South African capital and from a wide range of foreign investors.

In the intensifying South African economic crisis - manufacturing output has fallen continuously since 1981 - the injection of capital attracted by the incentives was wel-

come. One South African businessman suitably named David Fink used decentralization incentives to make a quick, fraudulent buck with which he whipped off to France to make a new start. Equally tempting are the repressive labour policies of the bantustans which encourage factory owners to attempt to escape the militant black trade unions of South Africa. The already meagre South African wages are cut by at least half inside the bantustans.

The motives of foreign investors could be more complex. As the rand was overvalued in 1982/83, even the poverty wages paid in the bantustans were higher in dollar terms than those which were being paid in the low wage economies of the East. Nevertheless, firms based in Taiwan and Hong Kong (in the latter case, at least a few dummy companies) moved in rapidly.

A Mr. Chang, the financial director of a Taiwanese sneaker factory recently established in Dimbaza, told me that incentives offered in the Ciskei were the highest offered anywhere in the world at the time.

But the Taiwanese have other motives about which Mr. Chang was not forthcoming. South Africa provided access to markets other than South Africa itself. Before the imposition of sanctions, exporting from South Africa provided Taiwanese manufacturers an entry to the U.S. market, as Taiwan's access had been curtailed by American quota restrictions. "South African" textile and garment exports to the U.S. rocketed after 1982, a very large proportion of which came from Taiwanese-owned factories in the bantustans. It was widely alleged that many bantustan factories were merely staging posts, putting finishing touches on

products manufactured in Taiwan. By the end of 1984, ten out of the 25 foreign-financed factories in the Ciskei (out of a total of 77) were Taiwanese owned.

The multinationals move in

The Taiwanese were relative late-comers among foreign investors in the bantustans. From the mid-seventies, multinationals from a range of major western countries had been investing in the bantustans. In many cases, governments of host countries tacitly supported the investments. France sent a delegation of five deputies to the Transkei "independence" ceremonies in 1975, conforming with most major western governments. Israel exchanged frequent governmental visits with the Ciskei, as well as training members of its para-military force. Both Italy and France sent trade delegations to the bantustans in the 1970s, and the Ciskei opened a commercial office in New York in 1976.

Although one-third of about 100 factories in the Ciskei are listed as foreign-owned, the extent of foreign interest in businesses in and around the bantustans is greater than ownership figures indicate, as many foreign companies prefer to enter into licensing or technological relationships with local firms.

One investigation currently under way into foreign interests in the bantustans is being conducted by the Brussels-based International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. At its Thirteenth World Conference in 1985, the ICFTU warned that South Africa was "trying to gain political recognition for its Apartheid plan by promoting foreign investment in the so-called homelands..." This is probably overstating the case - diplomatic recognition is not an item that bantustan horoscopes frequently mention. But to argue that the South African state's goal is to draw foreign states into greater indirect complicity in the system of territorial apartheid would not be inaccurate.

The ICFTU's first very preliminary report indicates that the practice of investing in and around the bantustans by transnational corporations is unexpectedly widespread. In addition to the Taiwanese, a large number of West German, U.S., Japanese and British firms are involved, with firms from practically every Western European country, plus Canada and Israel. My own research in the Ciskei indicates that if one included links other than direct investment, at least half the several hundred bantustan firms would appear on the foreign involvement list.

Unions fight back

The general position of the mass-based internal South African organizations is clear. COSATU, the major black union federation, has described divestment in general as "an essential and effective form of pressure on the South African regime." The United Democratic Front has described foreign investment as "complicity in apartheid" and called for "an end to the exploitation of the people and the natural wealth of our country by foreign investors." For a more precise response it is instructive to examine a particular example.

On February 27, 1984, Tidwell Industries began manufacturing pre-built housing at its new plant at Danskraal on the KwaZulu border. The firm was a wholly owned subsidiary of Tidwell Housing, a large firm based in Hayleyville, Alabama. After its opening the managing director of the South African subsidiary explained the investment in a statement that would soon ring with irony: "In South Africa ... we found a stable political atmosphere and a developed economy in which we could invest with confidence." He added that the decentralization concessions offered by the South African government contributed importantly to the decision to invest. Using the incentives in the usual ways, the company also obtained a subsidized government loan of over half a million dollars.

Before long Tidwell Industries ran into one of South Africa's most militant and effective trade unions, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU). MAWU claimed accurately that, amongst "gross injustices," the company was paying a starting wage of R77 (\$35) per month - far below the U.S. Sullivan Code minimum. Equally important, the firm refused to recognize the union even though it convincingly claimed to have won majority membership. In an attempt to break the union, the company fired four shop stewards, to which the entire workforce reacted by going on strike. Tidwell's response, in the tradition of decentralized industrial relations, was to fire every worker and attempt to recruit a new labour force. The union refused to accept defeat and, in addition to trying to keep workers' jobs open, embarked on an international publicity campaign. The union's line of attack was that the firm should conform to its demands "or get out." When Tidwell conceded defeat and sold out in August 1985, MAWU celebrated its victory.

Recent withdrawals of major foreign investors, such as Ford, G.M. and I.B.M., have been met with a degree of anger by the unions directly affected. The anger is aimed not at divestment, but at what they see as the hypocrisy of the multinationals. Firms initially objected to divestment on the grounds that they were concerned about their employees' welfare, but when they pulled out they did not make adequate provisions to protect their former employees. Yet they frequently continue to obtain financial reward through licensing agreements. These companies have cast off their risk and responsibilities without sacrificing their profits.

In the case of foreign investment in the bantustans, the moral question of disinvestment has fewer shades. Firms which exploit unprotected labour and accept South African government subsidies contribute to the policy of territorial apartheid and have never had a moral argument to invoke.

War Games

BY LINDA GUEBERT

The scene is a large classroom at a community college in Hamilton, Ontario. Thirty-two Grade 13 students are seated in the first few rows. They are attending a workshop on southern Africa presented as part of a day-long conference on Africa. The workshop leaders, two members of TCLSAC, are standing in front of them and a large map of Africa hangs to one side.

The students have just participated in identifying the countries of the region – in particular the Front Line States – and they have associated the term “front lines” with the battleground of a war. A brief historical summary has demonstrated the role of neighbouring states in supporting wars of liberation in the region and the shift of the front lines closer to South Africa as more countries have gained their independence.

South Africa's dominance in the region has also been emphasized, and the students have developed some awareness of the dependence of the neighbouring countries on South Africa for manufactured goods and other products, trade links and foreign currency through migrant labour. South Africa's perceived threats from its neighbours have been summarized under three R's: Race – the development of non-racial societies, thus calling into question the basic premise of apartheid; Regionalism – the possibility that the neighbouring states might develop trade and other economic links not dependent on South Africa; and Rearguard – the support of the Front Line States for the ANC and other liberation movements within South Africa.

Now the students are being asked to divide into small discussion groups. Their task is set out by one of the leaders: “Pretend that you

are South Africa. You are a racist regime, and you want to hold onto your power. You have tremendous military and economic strength, but you perceive these ‘threats’ – those three R's we already talked about – from your neighbours. What would you or could you do? Write down all the strategies you can think of.”

The theatre-style classroom with its immovable seats is hardly ideal for small group work, but the students manage to form groups by turning in their seats and talking up and down as well as across the rows. Several of the groups get right into the task. “I think we should cut off trade,” says one young woman, and the rest of her group agrees. They decide to close the border and prevent the other countries from using the ports.

A group of young men focuses first on military options. “We could bomb them,” says one member of the group. “Nah, they would never do that,” says another. One of the leaders happens to be standing nearby. “Don't worry about what you think South Africa would really do,” she intervenes. “Just put down anything that comes to mind.” Another member of the group has an idea. “I know,” he says. “Let's find out if there are any terrorist groups in the countries. That way we don't have to do it ourselves. We can send them guns and stuff.”

The leaders refrain from confirming any of the students' suggestions, but they are finding it difficult not to show their astonishment: with very little background information, the students are accurately describing low intensity warfare and naming virtually every destabilization strategy presently in use in the region. “I would send the miners home,” says one young woman confidently. Someone in another group advocates starting conflicts between the neighbouring states themselves, while another student suggests blocking foreign aid and preventing aid workers from giving assistance.

The large group reconvenes and the students share their ideas. The strategies they have come up with are listed on the board, still with no comment from the leaders. Instead, the students are shown a video, thirty minutes of a BBC Panorama program titled “Mozambique: Apartheid's Second Front.” They watch with fascination as one after another of their strategies is revealed in operation in Mozambique. They shrink from the rather graphic pictures of victims of the MNR, described as “South Africa's surrogate,” and they learn of Malawi's role in supporting the MNR and its special relationship with South Africa. They see the hardships caused by South Africa's iron grip on Mozambique's economy, particularly its power and rail links, and the devastation caused by war-induced famine and the inability to deliver emergency relief to stricken areas. They even watch a trainload of workers arriving in Mozambique, sent home from the South African mines.

An electrified border fence, people with ears and noses cut off, children starving – these are powerful images, and afterward some of the students seem stunned. But more than that they seem unable to believe that all the destructive tactics they had thought of are in fact being used in southern Africa. One young man comes up to the leaders after the workshop. “That really shook me up,” he says. “We thought we were just making things up in our group. We didn't think anybody would actually *do* those things.”

Pretending to be the evil villain, imagining all the cruel things you could do, but all the while staying safely in the realm of fantasy – and then finding out that it's all really happening somewhere: for some of these students the effect was overwhelming. Like most Canadians they had heard a lot about South Africa, but knew little of its destabilizing role in the rest of the re-

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Election Protest at Wits: Black Gowns Fail To Halt White On White Violence



Impact Visuals

Students of academics at 'Wits' in May Day anti-election protest.

"Let me show you how to stop the stinging." The shout came from a black student to white students who had run into a nearby building after a teargas cylinder exploded near them. In most entrances to buildings surrounding the University of Witwatersrand quad in Johannesburg, black students were lighting fires in waste bins to neutralize burning from the teargas, sharing techniques of survival learnt in the townships with white students.

This attack occurred on May 4, after a mass protest meeting had been banned and then violently broken up by riot police earlier that afternoon. The meeting, attended by about six thousand students and staff, had been called by the newly

formed South African National Students Congress, together with the National Union of South African Students, in protest against the all-white elections to be held on May 6. The meeting was due to be addressed by Winnie Mandela, but just as she arrived, surrounded by her bodyguards, the meeting was banned.

Students were unable to continue their protest on the lawns, for within minutes of the banning announcement a contingent of helmeted police, equipped with teargas, shouted a dispersal order through a megaphone. Demonstrators decided to move to an alternative closed venue but on arrival were met by police who fired teargas and arrested 120

students. Mandela was able to escape before police acted.

The April and May joint student-staff protests on the English-speaking white campuses have ushered in a new phase of university protest against the apartheid government.

The recent demonstrations gained momentum after police dispersal of a Cape Town university protest against SADF raids into Zambia and the dismissal of striking railway workers. This was the first time birdshot was fired by police during a protest at a white university. After this there were various May Day rallies which spilled over into planned protest against the May 6 elections.

The new phase of protest at the University of Witwatersrand is particularly significant for two reasons: it is the first time that many academics from the Academic Staff Association have actively taken part in a protest of this nature, and it demonstrates the growing impact of black students on the movement on "white" campuses.

That day a small number of liberal and radical academics was influential in maintaining the morale of the students as they attempted to regroup. They made a commitment to stay with the students while police attacked, and offered to head the gathering after they put on full academic dress. As one academic said after many of the students had regrouped: "We have decided to stay with you. We want to ensure that the police do not take any more violent action. We feel as you do that a fundamental right of protest has been taken away and we want to re-establish that right with you."

This protest also incorporated many white students who have of late been relatively marginal to campus protest dominated by growing numbers of black students. The presence of black students has made the universities arenas of struggle in a way which is different from the previous history of opposition on the white English-speaking university campuses. At the University of Witwatersrand there are about 4,000 black students out of a total of 18,000. It is only since 1983 that blacks have been allowed to enter white universities without special government permission. Although the Ministry of Education has made provision for a quota system, some universities have ignored it.

As a result of the May 4 demonstration the university was forced officially closed two days later on election day as a protest against violence on campus and in solidarity with popular organizations which had called for a stay away. In announcing the closure, the University

Senate stated its support for "all South Africans wishing to see their country governed in a fair and democratic manner, in which all have a say in the election of their representatives." This is one of the few times the University's governing body had supported a national political call by the democratic movement. It led to a well-orchestrated press campaign accusing the university of fostering left-wing and Marxist ideology.

The continuing political crisis in the country has forced academics to seek a role for themselves in the struggle for national liberation. One of the ways that they have been brought into the struggle is through the campaign for People's Education. Universities are providing spaces where progressive students and academics can organize for a democratic educational system. But this in turn leads to a questioning of the role of the universities both in the immediate crisis and in the future. How far this process will lead remains to be seen.

Mozambique Resists South African Attacks

BY JOE HANLON

The following was originally broadcast on CBC Sunday Morning, 11 May 1987.

In the past six months, Mozambique has turned back a major South African invasion into the centre of the country. A key factor has been the sharply increased international support. Zimbabwean troops have been fighting inside Mozambique for several years. However, in this battle Tanzanian combat troops joined the Mozambicans and Zimbabweans for the first time.

Another factor has been British military help. For more than a year, British soldiers have been training Mozambican troops, and the British trained commandos played a key role in repelling the South African backed Mozambique National Resis-

tance, known as the MNR or Renamo. Britain is also supplying some military hardware, such as guns and radios. And it has permitted former SAS officers to go to Mozambique as part of a commercial venture to provide still more military training.

Indian frigates now patrol the Mozambique coast, and are reported to have blocked some South African efforts to resupply the invading forces. Support has been pledged by other non-aligned governments, as well.

The victory is only partial, however. South African backed forces still occupy parts of Mozambique. Pretoria is particularly trying to keep closed vital rail links to the sea. By attacking these railways, South Africa has forced the inland states of Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe

to send cargo via South Africa - creating a dependence that gives Pretoria important leverage. It also allows South Africa to claim to the international community that sanctions will harm the neighbouring states.

It requires several thousand Zimbabwean troops to keep open the Beira corridor, which carries the vital railway and oil pipeline between Zimbabwe and the sea. There is now a major international effort to upgrade this railway. By next year, it should be able to carry most of Zimbabwe's traffic; it would no longer need to send goods through South Africa. Recently Zambia announced that it had stopped exporting copper via South Africa and was now shipping via Beira. This means that South Africa is losing much of its leverage over Zimbabwe and Zambia. Consequently, South Africa is

sure to step up its attempts to cut this link. Attacks are also expected on Zambia's other link to the sea, the Tazara railway to Dar es Salaam.

Malawian troops will shortly begin guarding the vital rail link between Malawi and the Mozambican port of Nacala. This means Malawi, too, will be able to stop shipping via South Africa. A major escalation of the war is likely as South Africa tries to keep this railway closed, too.

The railway to Nacala is being rehabilitated with assistance from the Canadian government. This aid project is being protected by Malawian troops, and by Mozambicans trained by Britain and the Soviet Union. But Canada is not providing any help to protect its own aid projects from South African attack.

Indeed, Canada has been directly obstructive. Tanzania is in desperate need for spares for its de Havilland Buffalo aircraft. Planes are needed to support Tanzanian troops in Mozambique, and to supply Tanzanian troops protecting the Tazara railway. Canada refuses to provide credit for the essential spare parts, which has forced Tanzania to look elsewhere for help.

Mozambique, as well as Zimbabwe and Tanzania, are asking for essential military assistance. But they are not asking for outside combat troops. Mozambique's president, Joaquim Chissano, said in March that he had even turned down an offer of troops from Nigeria. There are enough troops from south-

ern Africa to do the fighting - and the joint enterprise of Mozambique, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, and Malawi is already unprecedented in this respect. The need, Chissano stressed, is for equipment and logistic backup. Some of this is directly military, like anti-aircraft missiles and other military hardware. But some is not; Mozambique needs food, uniforms, field hospitals, and transport.

Another need often stressed privately within southern Africa is for its friends abroad to encourage the IMF to ease off the pressure. IMF cuts are making it harder for these countries to keep their armies supplied, and thus harder to defend against the South African aggression which is weakening their economies.

Practical Solidarity: Teachers and Grain Handlers in Mozambique



Mozambique ambassador Ferrite with executive members of CUSO in Maputo.

The working links of Canadian teachers and grain handlers with their Mozambican counterparts have taken a major step forward this spring. In March, Herb Johnston and Carmen Kuczma, both members of the W.R. Long Memorial International Committee of the British Columbia Teachers Federation, visited Mozambique at the request of the National Teachers' Organization, ONP. Their task was to evaluate science programmes in three rural schools and to make recommendations as to how BCTF, the Ministry of Education in Mozambique and CUSO could best work together to strengthen their programmes.

This was by no means the first contact with teachers from Canada. Two BCTF delegations visited Mozambique in 1985, the first to establish fraternal contacts and get a general sense of education in Mozambique, and the second to participate in a conference sponsored by the ONP on "Teachers and Their Role in the Struggle Against Apartheid." Representatives of the CEQ in Quebec also participated. Much of the documentation of the conference was avail-

able thanks to project support from BCTF in the form of paper, stencils, inks and mimeograph machines.

Mario Souto of the ONP had the opportunity to make contact with Canadian teachers when he participated in an international teachers' convention in Canada in 1986. Teachers whom he met at the time sent back contributions to Mozambican teachers with the Canadian fact-finding mission.

Grain handlers in the two countries have also begun to work together. In April, Walter Eberle, long time organizer around health and safety issues in the Grain Services Union (GSU) in Regina, and Dorothy Wigmore, health and safety specialist based in the Centre for Occupational Health and Safety of the Manitoba Labour Centre, arrived to spend several weeks working with the Mozambican Workers' Organization, OTM. Their work was based at Companhia Industrial de Matola, CIM, which is the major food complex in southern Mozambique. In addition to its milling operations, it also produces pasta, bread and animal rations. The work done by Eberle and Wigmore followed up an initial inventory of worker health and safety needs done in 1986 by an investigative health and safety team of CIM workers newly established at the time with the support of Don Kossick.

The visit opened perspectives on broader links between labour in Canada and Mozambique. Eberle and Wigmore had the opportunity for contacts with national level officers of the OTM, in addition to their intensive discussions with officers of the National Union of Workers in the Food Processing Sector (SINTIAB). These focussed on promotion and development of occupational health and safety programmes. At the end of the visit, a Protocol of Cooperation was signed between GSU and SINTIAB, outlining a programme of action for the next two years in the health and safety field. The programme included further train-

ing, supplies of equipment, development of educational materials and a resource centre and continued exchanges. A return visit to Canada is also included.



PILANDO O MILHO. CONVERSANDO A VIDA E O LOBOLO

A high point of the trip was the annual May Day parade where the Canadian representatives were honoured guests on the podium. Johnston and Kuczma's report on their trip highlights the difficult situation of schools in apartheid's second front.

The war has deeply affected education. Money that should be going to education is being diverted to fight the MNR. These rebels, armed, trained and financed by South Africa, are carrying out a campaign of destruction and terror against the people of Mozambique. They are burning schools, disrupting transport and murdering teachers in an effort to destroy the advances made since independence.

The recent visit of the director of the Mozambique News Agency, Carlos Cardoso, underscored this point. He indicated that 40% of the schools and 42% of the health posts throughout the country had been destroyed by the bandits. There are now 435,000 students left without

schooling because of MNR destruction. The gains made in the first six years of independence have been systematically wiped out by South Africa's low intensity warfare strategy. Vital social services for rural people have become key targets in South Africa's determination to prove that nothing works in Mozambique.

In this war context, where South African destabilization works so determinedly to bring production and social services to a halt, actions to re-open and strengthen the schools or consolidate production through improved conditions for the workers become vitally important. CIM is the major supplier of maize meal and pasta for the southern region, two commodities central to the rationing system of both the civilian population and the army. In addition, CIM is the major supplier of bread for canteens in work places in the national capital. Actions of international solidarity with CIM workers to encourage them to keep production levels high take on new importance.

Similarly in education, efforts to keep schools functioning are urgent. Many women and men experienced opportunities for education both for themselves and their children as one of the really tangible fruits of independence. When people see even these gains disappearing, it is easy to give way to demoralization.

It is a new kind of war being fought out in Mozambique, with the aim of distancing the people from their political leadership, convincing them that nothing works and that their socialist project has no future. It is a war that involves multiple strategies, where military actions are often less important than economic, political and psychological sabotage. Thus each point of attack by the apartheid regime also become a point for actions of international support. These solidarity links with teachers and grain handlers are a step in the right direction.

Isolating Apartheid Sport:

An Interview with Sam Ramsamy

BY BRUCE KIDD

Sam Ramsamy is Executive Chair of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), the London-based group of exiled South African athletes, coaches, and sports administrators which spearheads the international campaign to isolate and abolish apartheid sport. He was in Halifax to address the Olympic Academy of Canada.

KIDD: What is the present state of the international campaign?

RAMSAMY: At the moment there's a lull, because by and large we've excluded South Africa from international sport at team level and in nearly every individual sport but tennis, so we are preparing our next move. We are still having problems with individual South Africans, but we are now receiving strong support from the Scandinavian countries and Holland so there is now favourable ground to campaign in western Europe, Canada and the USA against South African individuals.

KIDD: In the last few weeks, several powerful western sports leaders, such as International Rugby Board President Albert Ferrasse and European Athletic Association Chair Arthur Gold have said that South African athletes should be readmitted to international competition. Do you fear a stepping up of the South African lobby?

RAMSAMY: We don't fear an intensification of the lobby. We know it has been growing all along. But what concerns us is that figures like Arthur Gold are making statements that give respectability to apartheid.

Any move towards getting South Africa back into international sport at this stage would mean giving respectability to apartheid one way or the other.

There is no chance the South Africans will be readmitted into any major event, especially the Olympics. International Olympic Committee President Juan Samaranch has made it very clear that he will not act against the wishes of the African members, who have said that there will be no South Africans in international sport as long as apartheid remains.

KIDD: At the Academy, you stressed the importance of "extra-constitutional action" in the campaign to isolate apartheid sport. What do you mean by this?

RAMSAMY: Of the 29 international sports federations recognized by the IOC, South Africa has only been excluded from membership in 12. There is a very large third world participation in these sports - such as boxing, soccer, track and field, swimming, and weightlifting - and therefore South Africa was excluded by constitutional methods. But in other sports, like rowing, gymnastics, canoeing, and fencing, we face endless problems in getting South Africa excluded because these federations are by and large made up of European and North American countries, with only a sprinkling of third world countries. The third world votes, together with support from Scandinavia and eastern Europe, is not sufficient to exclude South Africa. Secondly, even where we get a majority in these sports, we suddenly realize that we need 2/3 and in some cases a 3/4 majority to exclude South Africa.

Thirdly, in some federations, the older, invariably western members, enjoy weighted voting. These are all blocking devices.

Extraconstitutional action, or boycotting, has thus been necessary. And while it has not been able to exclude South Africa from membership, it has got South Africans out of international competition. The eastern European countries, the few third world countries, and the Scandinavian countries make it very, very clear that if South Africa participates, they will not participate and that would mean a serious disruption for international sport. In gymnastics, for instance, if you take away the eastern European countries there would not be a gymnastics event. So while the western countries have managed to keep South African membership in federations like gymnastics, they have not allowed South Africans to compete. Now we must begin to use these extraconstitutional means to exclude South Africa from membership. It should be easier now, because a growing number of governments refuse to let South Africans into their countries to attend these meetings.

KIDD: What is your view of the Canadian response to the international campaign?

RAMSAMY: Canada has generally supported the boycotters, but it continues to let professional golfers and tennis players into the country, which is very disappointing. And the support we have received has not come from the willingness of sports officials, but the policy of the Government and Sport Canada, which prevents Canadian sports organizations from receiving grants if they compete with South Africa. But other western governments, notably Holland and the Scandinavian countries, have taken a much tougher stand. They will not allow South Africans to participate in any sports events. Sweden has even begun to take action against those individuals from other countries who have

gone to South Africa – that is, it has begun to enforce the UN blacklist. Those actions are Phase 10, compared to Canada's action which is Phase 1.

KIDD: How do you now assess the boycott of the Commonwealth Games last summer?

RAMSAMY: It was very successful in demonstrating the feeling against British policy and the sacrifices third world countries are prepared to make to fight apartheid. No international games has been so badly damaged as the Commonwealth Games in Edinburgh. Never before in international sport have more than 50 per cent of the eligible countries withdrawn from participation, and almost two-thirds of the sovereign states stayed away. What was most encouraging is that a European country – Cyprus – joined in with the third world countries for the first time in a Commonwealth boycott and Malta and Gibraltar also considered withdrawing.

Before last summer, nobody believed that the third world nations would really carry out a boycott against the so-called "mother country," but the British Government has now drawn the obvious lesson. The latest I've heard is that a new British sports minister, Colin Monahan, has been appointed to see if he can reconcile Tory policies with the international campaign, and that has never happened before.

KIDD: What is the state of sport in South Africa today?

RAMSAMY: More polarity has set in. When the South African Government first allowed (as long as a permit was obtained) integrated competition on the basis of "multi-racial sport" – that is to say without changing the laws which create different economic, political, legal and social conditions for peoples of different pigmentation and which dis-

criminate so savagely against non-whites – many blacks joined the white bodies which conducted sport on this basis thinking there was going to be a salvation. Now more and more of them are realizing that the whites in these organizations have used blacks merely to give them respectability and visas for international competition. And when they realize that this is happening, they return to the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), which refuses to obtain a permit for its events and campaigns against apartheid at every turn. Its slogan, as you know, is "No normal sport in an abnormal society." Most of the sport played by black people at the moment is organized by SACOS.

There are only two exceptions to this. In soccer, many still believe that blacks control the sport, even if they play in organizations affiliated with the white bodies, because most players and officials are black. So while there is a steady stream of new soccer players in SACOS, the majority remains within the neo-apartheid structure. But if one realizes that the major sponsors are the multinationals and the South

African Government, through the South African Broadcasting Corporation, that should indicate that they are not anti-apartheid at all.

In track and field, the South African Government in cooperation with the mining groups, has lured most of the top athletes by giving them jobs in the mines. They use most of their spare time to practise and compete. White sports administrators use these people to portray the image overseas that these are the black victims of the international campaign. But track and field in the mines is controlled strictly by white people and the only reason that most of these black people have taken up the sport is that they have nothing else to do, they all live in compounds, they're not allowed to bring their wives and children there, and instead of sitting in these dark hovels with as many as 20 to 30 to a room, they have begun taking up sport. But sadly the apartheid government is exploiting their participation overseas.

KIDD: How has SACOS fared under the emergency?



The New Nation

RAMSAMY: It's getting very, very difficult to conduct non-racial sport under these conditions. In fact, as part of the widespread arrest of black people, many sports leaders have been picked up. For example, at last report, Alan Zinn, the SACOS secretary for publications, still hasn't been released and many officials of provincial bodies are still in prison. The most extraordinary thing about this is that there are several people in hiding at the moment - I can't keep in touch with the sports liaison officer of the United Democratic Front because he is in hiding. In 1985, just before the emergency was introduced, the president of one of the provincial anti-apartheid rugby unions, Rev. Arnold Stofile, went to New Zealand to give evidence against the New Zealand Rugby Football Union in the hearing which led to the injunction against the New Zealand team going to South Africa. He returned to South Africa, and for a while nothing happened, but as soon as the emergency was declared, he was picked up. Last week the courts found him guilty on four counts of "terrorism." At the moment, I don't

know what his sentence is, but death by hanging cannot be ruled out. He's the official patron of SACOS.

KIDD: You mentioned here that opportunities for sport in the Front Line States have been seriously damaged by the frequent South African attacks on those countries. Could you explain?

RAMSAMY: In the last ten years, the Front Line States have spent more than \$10 billion in repairing the military and civilian facilities, equipment, and so on which have been destroyed by the South African attacks and this has put them in a pauper state. There is less and less money, especially hard currency, to spend on activities like sport and culture. As a result, sports facilities are rarely upgraded, equipment is rarely replaced, and it's increasingly more "primitive" compared to what's available to athletes and coaches in countries like Canada. We definitely need support from the Front Line States as part of the international campaign against apartheid sport.

KIDD: What is your vision for sport in South Africa after apartheid has been defeated? Are sportspeople preparing for that day?

RAMSAMY: Unfortunately, very few leaders have been formally trained for this, but we've begun to make arrangements with governments and universities and in Scandinavia, Australia and elsewhere so that sportsmen and sportswomen from ANC camps and other organizations can develop their skills and learn how sport is organized in other countries. Secondly, unlike all the other countries in southern Africa which have been liberated from colonial rule, where the whites controlled sport to a large extent, in South Africa we have a lot of sports officials who already have experience.

If South Africa becomes liberated today, tomorrow we could set up a non-racial sports structure which would incorporate all the racial groups in South Africa in a unitary system. I am very optimistic that this could be realized.

Education Against Apartheid

BY VICTORIA FREEMAN

The Child is Not Dead: Youth Resistance in South Africa 1976-1986. Compiled by Ann Harries, Roger Diski, Alasdair Brown. Published jointly by the British Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa and the Inner London Education Authority. Swindon Press Ltd. London. 1986. 64 pages.

What is Apartheid?, World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, Geneva. 1986.

The neatly ordered classrooms of the West are so removed from the daily, institutionalized oppression of South Africa's apartheid as to make the



Students from SOMAFCO, the ANC school in Tanzania.

two worlds appear almost unbridgeable. Yet faced with the extraordinary resistance of black schoolchildren against the South African state, only the most unimaginative students could fail to ask themselves what they would do if caught in a similar struggle.

The Child is Not Dead deliberately sets out to invite that very

comparison by choosing as its topic the youth resistance to apartheid in the last decade. Virtually every page of the lively mixture of news clippings, eyewitness accounts, poems, posters, songs, texts of government regulations, photographs, and commentary focuses on the experiences of young people growing up under apartheid.

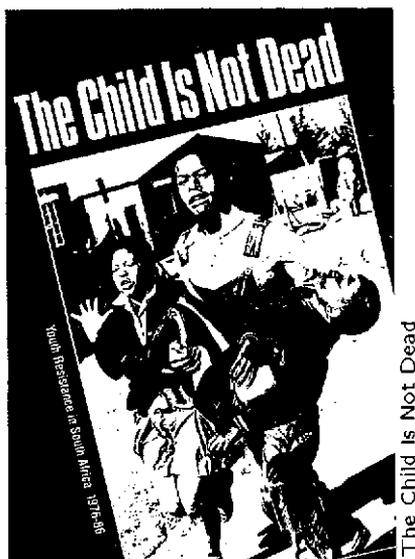
Eli Weinberg Photo Laboratory

The different voices – an anguished school principal, the friends and fellow students of those who have died, concerned parents – contribute a sense of immediacy and veracity, and illustrate the resistance of ordinary people. Their commitment and suffering shine through the reportage. “I envy people whose children jump around and play. Our children are no longer children; they have become the adults,” says one mother.

In the introduction, two letters are reproduced from *Just Seventeen*, a British magazine – one from a young person angry about apartheid, and a response from a mother originally from South Africa who supports apartheid and argues that “nobody has the right to criticize something they know nothing about.”

What follows is an attempt to educate young people so that they can criticize apartheid and answer some of the stock defences of the apartheid apologists. At each stage, the book asks questions of its readers, bringing the issues into focus, and suggesting assignments that encourage children to synthesize what they have read, to explore and criticize both sides of various arguments, and to think about the way news is presented. For example, students are asked to write two newspaper accounts of a day of unrest, one from a sympathetic, the other from a hostile point of view. In another example, they are asked to write a conversation between Winnie Mandela and a mother who believes her child is wrong to take part in boycotts and demonstrations. Other exercises call for work in different media, such as film, slide tape shows, radio, pamphlets and displays; students acquire skills in popular education as well as concrete information.

The group of British teachers who put together the book were clearly concerned with teaching stu-



dents how to interpret the politics of what they read. The book addresses the question of the bias of the reporter, makes students aware of how their perceptions can be manipulated, and develops more general skills of use when thinking about or researching any political question. It encourages students to ask that essential question: “Who is telling me this and why?”

What is Apartheid?, on the other hand, does nothing to develop the critical judgement and perception of its readers. This is unfortunate as *What is Apartheid?* is part of the continuing efforts of the World Alliance of YMCAs to mobilize world YMCA actions on apartheid, and is intended for use as study material for local YMCA groups around the world. Although much of the same ground is covered as in *The Child is Not Dead*, *What is Apartheid?* settles for a barely adequate summary and introduction to apartheid. The book’s shortcomings are immediately apparent: the Sharpeville massacre is summarized in two short paragraphs, as is the Soweto uprising, and the book fizzles out in a welter of YMCA statements and resolutions. *What is Apartheid?* tries

to cover so much ground it ends up being unfocused, too general, and somehow manages to turn a passionate struggle into dull text.

Fortunately, *The Child is Not Dead* is much more inspiring and engaging. With its first person accounts of the Soweto uprising, quotes from students speeches, and poems in memory of the victims of apartheid, it makes for very compelling reading. Telling details emerge, such as this excerpt from the architect’s brief for the building of Soweto: “The width of the roadways would have to be sufficient to allow a Saracen (tank) to execute a U-turn.”

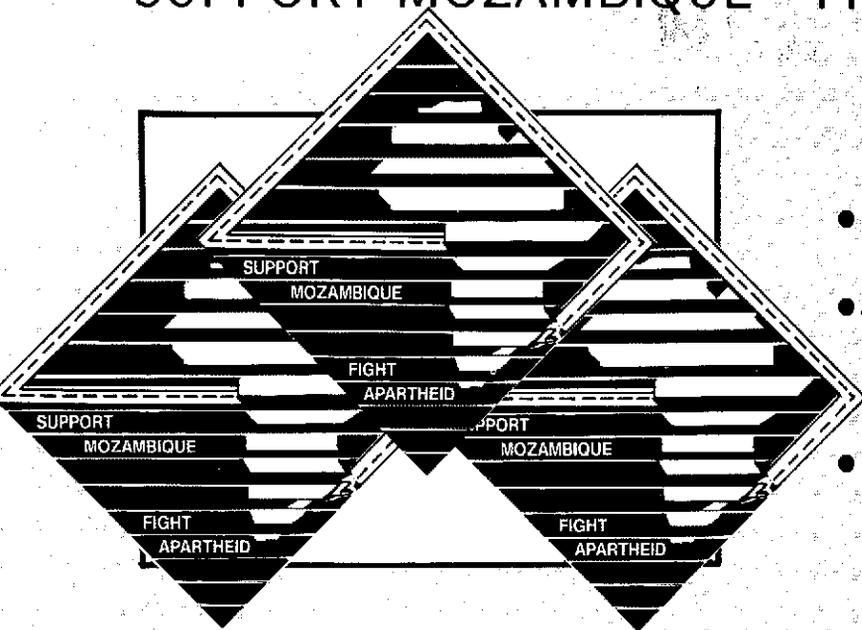
One of the most devastating articles in the book is written by a national serviceman who spent four months on patrol in the townships with the South African Defence Force. He vividly describes the racism and senseless brutality of the police and army, and the impossibility of avoiding being compromised: “Suddenly one (stone) smashes a police windscreen and two cops with shotguns bound off like dogs let off the leash. They stalk the lone thrower and corner him. He continues his desperate barrage. They shoot him dead. He is about 16.”

War Games

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gion. This exercise allowed them to build on the knowledge they already had about South Africa and, because they thought of the strategies and tactics themselves, personalized the issue for them in a way that would have never been possible with a presentation of facts alone, or even with the use of only the video. Those horrified and repelled by what they “created” in their role as South Africa cannot help but be convinced of how important the destruction of the apartheid regime must be.

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