



MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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Journal of the African National Congress

NO TO POLLING SLAUGHTER HOUSE!

"Call to the people."

by O.R. Tambo 16 June '84

The month of June, like no other month, carries a galaxy of dates each of which records and bears witness to the heroic content of our struggle, the supreme justice of our cause, and our irrevocable commitment to pursue it until final victory is won. International Children's Day, the judicial murder of the 3 gallant youths — Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung — the Rivonia life-imprisonments, the Soweto Uprising, June 26 and the Sasol attack, when Umknonto We Sizwe set racist South Africa ablaze — all these events have each a singularly unifying quality, and they combine to give to the month of June a profound and special significance for our struggle.

It is against this background that today - this week, set between June 16 and June 26 - we address a special call to the entire democratic movement of our country in all its formations and shades of opinion.

The last ten years have seen our struggle rise to levels which seriously threatened the survival of the apartheid system and frightened the enemy into unprecedented acts of desperation. During the last three years in particular, that desperation found expression in armed invasions, raids and massacres; in the use of armed bandits to cause

destruction, devastation and destabilisation throughout Southern Africa; and in numerous assassinations and brutal torture of ANC activities and order opponents of the apartheid regime.

In the past 3 months the Botha regime has tried to recruit the neighbouring African independent states into a fascist campaign aimed at the destruction of the ANC and the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

In two months' time the Pretoria regime will be holding elections for the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black people



Comrade President O R Tambo:

of our country, to establish the other two chambers of its tri-cameral parliament.

These dangerous enemy moves are the products of our strength. They evidence the rising tempo of the conflict between the forces fighting for freedom, democracy and peace, and those who defend white minority domination and exploitation.

The oppressed people and the entire democratic movement of our country are therefore confronted with an enormous and historic challenge - a challenge we dare not meet with anything short of maximum determination.

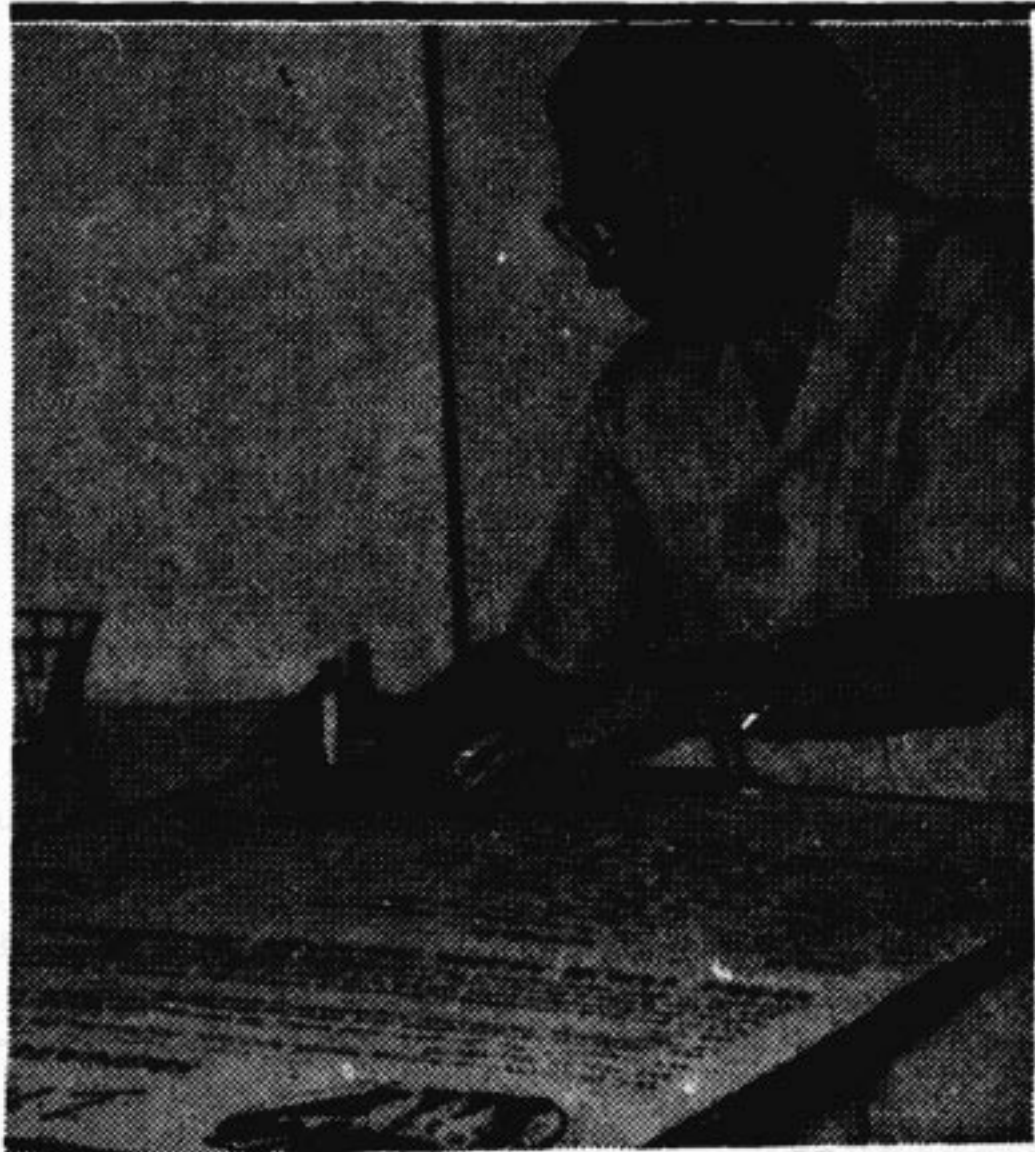
Our task is two-fold: First,

we must, in action and with our united strength, give a lie to the notion that the nature, the progress and the victory of our struggle depend on the absence of accords or pacts. It is our turn to do for ourselves and humanity what others have done for themselves and us: We must liberate our country and make it independent and sovereign for all its people, for Southern Africa and our continent, for world peace. This demands of us to wage resolute struggle at a level and on a scale that dictates

IN THIS ISSUE:

- Page 2 ... Traitors
- Page 3 .. Church
- Page 6 .. Education
- Page 8 ... Botha's Tour

Cont.-p.4



The challenge to the church.

IT is the paradox of South African history, that the apartheid state, which, proclaims itself Christian and has written this into its constitution, has continued to wage the most bitter struggle against those Christians who have dared to challenge it on the basis of their Christian beliefs.

Over the decades, the most evil minds of the Afrikaner ruling clique have dedicated their time to the distortion of the gospel to suit the aspirations of the white racists. And, of course, these evil minds have robed themselves in the cloaks of church ministers and theologians.

Parallel to this evil path trodden by the apartheid

ideologists, there has been another one taken by those church ministers and theologians of conscience - those who have felt so repulsed and offended this distortion of the gospel that they saw no other way out other than that of confronting the apartheid state.

The Eloff Commission was set up against the South

African Council of Churches. This Commission, consisting not even of a single theologian, but relying on the laws and policies of the apartheid regime, came up with recommendations meant to compel the SACC and any other religious organisation opposed to apartheid to stay away from the struggle against racism.

BANTUSTANS

But for all those church leaders and organisations who regard themselves as true believers in the gospel, the findings of the Eloff Commission on the SACC must constitute a challenge to the church to reaffirm its stand on the side of the poor and the oppressed. They have to define in action their position in the ongoing struggle.

The Eloff Commission's findings further call upon the Christian church which has been particularly attacked, to rise up to its task of arousing the Christian masses into action, rather than just to defend the SACC and any other religious organisations that may be caught up in the violence unleashed by the regime. It is the regime's greatest wish that we should be pushed into the defensive rather than the offensive.

As we have said above the evil regime has put a lot of effort into shaping and refining its pseudo Christian-apartheid ideology. It has created, and been able to man, the bantustans for the African population. It is now trying hard to man the tri-racial parliament it has created for the Coloured"

the Indians and the Whites, with the whites wielding all the power.

It is the task of all the religious leaders urgently to come to the fore to stop their brethren from partaking in these evil schemes of the regime. They should call on the Coloured" and Indian people not to vote and for those who intend to participate as "delegates" or representatives" not to do so. They should call on the African people to engage in mass struggle together with the rejection of the bantustan system and its urban version - the community council system.

PEOPLE'S POWER

These are the messages that should reverberate from every pulpit in the country. And it is gratifying to find that the Muslim, Judicial Council, the SACC, the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, the Black Reformed Churches, and other church groups have declared their stand against the further entrenchment of the satanic system of apartheid through the tri-racial parliament. What now faces every Muslim, Hindu, Bhuddist, Christian or any other religious leader of the poor and oppressed masses, is the mobilisation of the masses into action. What faces us is the use of every facility or opportunity at our disposal to tell the masses: **DON'T VOTE! BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS! FIGHT FOR A JUST SOCIETY!**

FROM PAGE 2

of the revolutionary process unfolding in our country, led the ANC and its allies. The black working class cannot stand aloof and not participate in the struggle for the annihilation of the regime. We therefore have to re-assert what we have always said: that in our country it is not possible for the black working class to wage a purely economic struggle for our short-term gains only. The struggle for higher wages, better working conditions and

other fringe benefits is inextricably linked with the struggle for universal franchise in a unitary South Africa. It is linked with the struggle against pass laws, influx control, group areas, forced mass removals, the ever-spiralling cost of living. It is linked with the struggle against the Koornhof Bills, Genocide Bill, the Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Bill, the new racist constitution and other legislation aimed at entrenching

the apartheid colonial regime.

Our duty therefore, is to expose these reactionary recommendations and make it impossible for them to be implemented by the regime. We must ensure that the democratic trade union movement in South Africa remains an organic and pivotal part of the forces that are engaged in struggle to destroy the apartheid colonial regime.

Many unions have already rejected these vicious provi-

sions in the NMC's recommendations. Let us unite and fight against these NMC recommendations just as we forced the regime to withdraw the Pensions Bill through our determined, united battles. In the same way that we forced the withdrawal of the Genocide Bill, let us in one united voice say **NO TO RACIST LAWS BEING ENACTED AGAINST US!**

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!

TOTAL BOYCOTT NOW!

Cont. from page 1

victory. The intensity of that struggle will demonstrate that the white minority regime cannot save itself by terrorising, blackmailing and bullying African independent and sovereign States into becoming extensions of Pretoria's defence and security system.

Second, we must crush the August elections by the vigour of our united struggle and through an intense campaign exposing the danger and treachery of the elections and re-asserting the people's goal for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Compatriots,

Often, in the many decades that our struggle has known, the enemy has attacked us with all his might, employing every means at his disposal in a bid to wipe out the liberation movement of the people and secure their submission to continued enslavement. At such times, the best sons and daughters of our motherland have risen to meet the demands of the struggle. New leaders have emerged from among the people; old leaders have rallied and stood firm; the masses of people have fought back with unyielding courage and determination; and consistently, the blood of our youth has flowed to "water the tree of freedom". It is some glorious pages that our people have written into the annals of their history.

Today, faced with the challenge of the Botha constitution and the August elections, we address an appeal, a call, to our Indian and so-called Coloured compatriots to **STAND FIRM** with the oppressed majority; to **REFUSE** to join the doomed apartheid system on the eve of the triumph of our long and bitter struggle. The ANC's **CALL** to them, this valiant month of **JUNE**, is simply: **"DON'T VOTE!"** - **"DON'T"**.

If you vote, you will be voting for perpetuation of the apartheid system;

If you vote, you will be voting for continued domination of the Black people by the white minority;

If you vote, you will be offering your sons and yourselves for military conscription into an arm whose principal task is to fight the oppressed in South Africa and terrorise the in-

slaughter house". On August 22nd and 28th, therefore, let us ensure that the enemy's booths stay lonely, empty and deserted places. That will serve to cement the unity of the black oppressed in our common struggle for a people's government.

The holding of the elections and the entire constitutional manoeuvre is an assault on the oppressed majority in our country and especially on the African population. The defeat of this sinister scheme is therefore the task, not only of our Indian and so-called Coloured compatriots, but also, and

small towns and in the Eastern Cape.

The campaign issues are daily before us. They include, in particular, the question of forced removals. The issue of forced removals anywhere should provoke solidarity actions everywhere. The entire country should be involved. None of us should stand and watch while thousands of our people are uprooted from their homes and dumped in the wilderness like sacks of rotten potatoes.

Earlier this month racist Prime Minister Botha invited himself to several countries in Western Europe, where he masqueraded as a champion of justice and peace and a self-appointed spokesman for the entire African continent. The mask was roughly torn away from his face by his reluctant hosts and the outraged people of Europe. But as he returned from this ill-conceived and ill-timed tour, he sought to conceal the effect of the rebuff he had received by repeating the lie that his regime has embarked on a reform programme within our country. The reality is, however, that the apartheid system cannot be reformed. What Botha, Malan and Koornhof mean by reform is their feverish attempts to strengthen the Bantustan system through the criminal Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Act which seeks to transform Africans into foreigners in the land of their birth and banish them to starvation and death in the bantustans. What they mean by reform is the continuing pass raids and the genocidal programme of forced removals.

In the struggle to frustrate the enemy's constitutional schemes we must therefore intensify our campaign against the Bantustan system. This system is, after all, the centre-piece and the bedrock on which is founded the new oppressive constitutional arrangement.



dependent countries of Southern Africa;

If you vote, you will be selling your own birthright, and your future, for a mass of pottage;

If you vote, you will be helping the enemy to plant among us the seed of disunity and prolonged bitterness.

We must refuse to be herded into apartheid polling booths, like cattle into abattoirs. We are not apartheid's cattle. We are men and women with a right and a will to say **"NO"** to the polling

even more importantly, of the African people. It is the task of every democrat. With the united might of our millions, we must together **ROUT THE RACISTS** in August and ensure progress towards people's power.

It is therefore essential that we engage in the widest and most intensive mobilisation possible. We should reach out to all those whom the racists and their collaborators seek to drive or drag to the polling booths. In this connection, we shall need to pay particular attention to those of our so-called Coloured people who reside in the rural areas, in the

There is the burning issue of education. Many educational institutions are today closed because thousands of Black students country-wide refuse to accept a system of education designed to serve the interests of white minority.

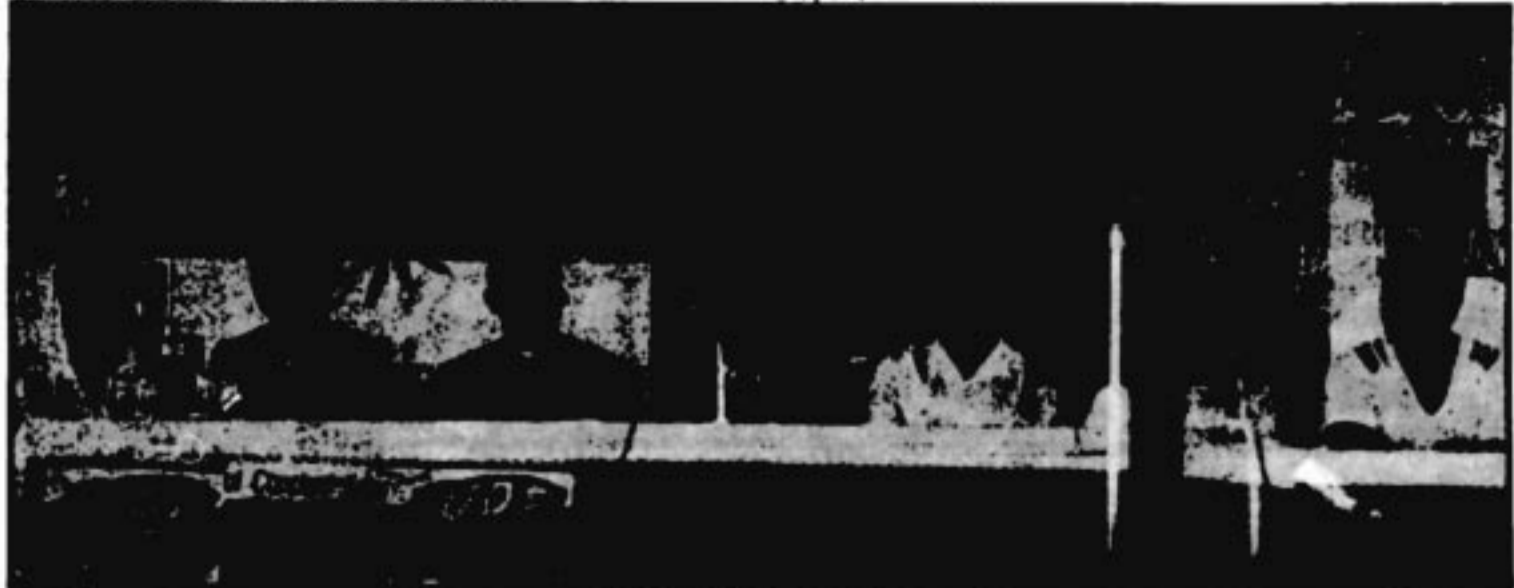
As parents and workers, we, too, have to be involved in the struggle for a free, democratic, non-racial and compulsory system of education. The continuing struggles of the students, however localised they may appear, relate to this basic demand. Needless to say, the rest of the student population of our country, both black and white, should pursue with greater vigour and better coordination the goal of a united, national assault to destroy the present apartheid system of education and replace it with one which corresponds to our aspirations. The momentum we have built up in struggle should not be lost.

Our goal is a just system of education in a just society. Botha's constitution, like others before it, is a constitution for injustice which, among other things, seeks to perpetuate apartheid in education. Consequently, as we continue to intensify our assault on the entire edifice of apartheid education we should relate this to our offensive against the apartheid constitution. Thus the democratic student movement should relate the struggle for a just system of education to the struggle against the apartheid constitution.

If Botha, with his so-called reform programme, pursues the aims of tightening the screws of oppression, he is also presiding over the ferocious exploitation of the people; and adds insult to injury by forcing us to pay for his evil designs.

By July, the General Sales Tax will have gone up twice within the year. A new Income Tax has been introduced which will hit the under-paid black masses hard. Prices continue to grow by leaps and bounds. The number of unemployed increases with each passing day.

UNITED COMMITTEE OF CONCERN



In the meantime, the racists have sharply increased expenditure on their war machine. Large sums of money have been and will be spent on the implementation of the new constitutional scheme and the further refinement of the apartheid system as a whole.

The wage we take home buy less each passing week. We spend more money in the shops and return home with half-empty baskets. All this is happening because the Pretoria regime and its backers are shifting the burden resulting from the crisis of the apartheid economy onto the shoulders of the oppressed and the exploited.

The time has come that we should call a halt to this attack on our living standards. The time has come that we wage a national campaign for a just minimum wage which is tied to the cost-of-living index. The time has come that we combine in action to push down prices, rents, fares and rates to levels that we can afford. Now is the moment that we, the exploited, should refuse to pay for our oppression.

The democratic trade union and women's movements have a special role to play in spearheading the struggle to ensure that the people refuse to starve in the midst of plenty, and refuse to pay for apartheid domination.

Compatriots,

In saluting you this month of June - on the eve of June 23th, the anniversary of our

national day of struggle our call to you all is: Organise mobilise, and step up the mass offensive around the immediate issues of the day and the fundamental question of People's Power.

We are confident that it that offensive death-defying soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe, our heroic youth, our militant workers and fighting women will play their historic role and contribute massively to the build-up towards a determined, united and nation-wide assault on the enemy's constitution and for the conquest of popular power in our country.

Long Live the struggle for the total liberation of Africa! Long Live our solidarity with SWAPO and the Namibian people!

IN THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN! POWER TO THE PEOPLE

LISTEN TO



VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, AND UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY.

RADIO TANZANIA External Service, Dar es Salaam

154 KHz, 19mb shortwave, 9680 KHz, 31mb shortwave, Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15am (SA time)

MADAGASCAR 5135 KHz, 49mb shortwave and 5010 KHz shortwave, 7.30 - 9.30pm daily

ETHIOPIA 9545 KHz, 31mb shortwave; 9.30 - 10.00pm daily

LUSAKA 9580 KHz, 31mb shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.15 - 8pm, Wednesday 10.00 - 10.30pm, Friday 9.30 - 10.00pm, Saturday & Sunday 7-8pm, Sunday 8-8.30am, 19mb 17895mb KHz

LUANDA 40 and 30mb, shortwave; 27.5 mb on medium wave 7.30am (SA time).

The order of the day

THE ONLY QUESTION THAT CONFRONTS US ALL SINGLY OR COLLECTIVELY, IS HOW WE SHOULD RESPOND TO:

THE ORDER OF THE DAY— MOBILISE AND MARCH FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!!!

HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC! PASS MAYIBUYE ON!

GIVE IT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FAMILY

DROP IT IN A NEARBY POSTBOX OR YARD

STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS SHELTER AT NIGHT

DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

BE CAREFUL!



LAUNCH A COUNTRY- WIDE ASSAULT!

Racist education is in crisis. Students must transform their struggles into a co-ordinated national offensive.

A glance at the state of the South African economy brings to mind only one word-crisis. This is seen especially in the field of skilled manpower. Recently, even Professor De Kok, of the S.A. Reserve Bank had to leave his usually optimistic economic forecast and admit that the critical shortage of skilled manpower would stave off an early recovery of the economy. This state of the economy casts a gloomy future for every section, group or individual in South Africa. Of course, the exception is the capitalist class that has continued to reap super-profits because of the apartheid system. The future is again bleak for black students who face a future of unemployment and unskilled jobs because of an inferior education system. Apartheid education is not meant to produce skilled manpower out of the vast majority of black students. Its intention is to educate us as cheap labourers, "undesirable" unemployed or junior partners in the oppression of our people.

The racists "reform" scheme of the Botha/Malan regime has as one of their key elements, the preservation of this inferior education sys-

tem. They have no intention of deviating from the long stated intentions of Wouter de Vos, Malan and Hendrik Verwoerd who swore that "Coloured" and "Bantu" children would never be given the same education as whites. At that time in the 50's the Indians were not even regarded as permanent in South Africa. So, no thought was even given as to whether, one day, they would be given the same education as the whites.

When the regime set up its Commission of inquiry into education and the students' unrests of the 70's and 80's - the De laan Commission was not because it intended to change anything. It was merely responding to the internal and international struggles against inferior education to take the heat off the crisis in education. It was not even prepared to accede to a flimsy recommendation such as this one.

In view of the importance of apartheid education for the completion and perpetuation of the grand apartheid design, we also have to work out how we can defeat apartheid education and the whole apartheid structure. It is important for us to look at the South African situation in

terms of what this system of education is preparing us for, and what our roles should be in transforming it into a democratic and non-racial education system. These roles have to be seen both in our capacity as students and as members of the community. We also have to look at what we can do in the short-term and in the long-term.

COST OF LIVING

We have already said that our future is gloomy with the economy deteriorating so fast because of the apartheid system, and the cost of living rising so sharply that all new entrants into industry have no hope of ever saving even a cent from their wages. From this it is clear that our inferior education will lead us straight to a life just managing to live or to destitution if we are unemployed. Facts have shown that even those workers who have held on to their jobs for decades are finding it highly difficult to make ends meet on their meagre wages. Looking at such facts should make us realise that our future will be unbearable if the present education system survives.

It is clear from the above that if the low-paid blacks are not able to make a decent living, those who are unemployed will have to resort to the most desperate means to survive. As a result we will have more crime; more faction fighting in the rural areas; more friction among blacks in areas which employ one group in preference to another; more blacks joining the fascist army and police; more blacks working in unpopular institutions such as the bantustans, community councils, the tri-cameral parliament and all other phenomena and types of activities which are unfavourable to our struggle.

CAMPAIGN

This type of education is intended to benefit those elements among us who deliberately choose to work against the interests of the people. These are opportunists and reactionaries who are prepared to further the oppression of their people for a fistful of silver. They are the ones who are prepared by the inferior education to be the front-men of the racists as leaders of the bantustans and community councils and the planned tri-racial parliament, so that they also have a stake in maintaining apartheid. We should be vigilant against these and expose them so that they should not mislead our people away from struggle and their genuine leaders.

It is clear that black education is unsuitable for the society our people desire. That is why we should intensify our fight against the evil system together with all sections of our population.

For us the black students, the future is bleak unless we face the challenge and fight for the destruction of this evil system. The first few months of this year have shown that we are prepared to sacrifice a lot to be rid of the education system.

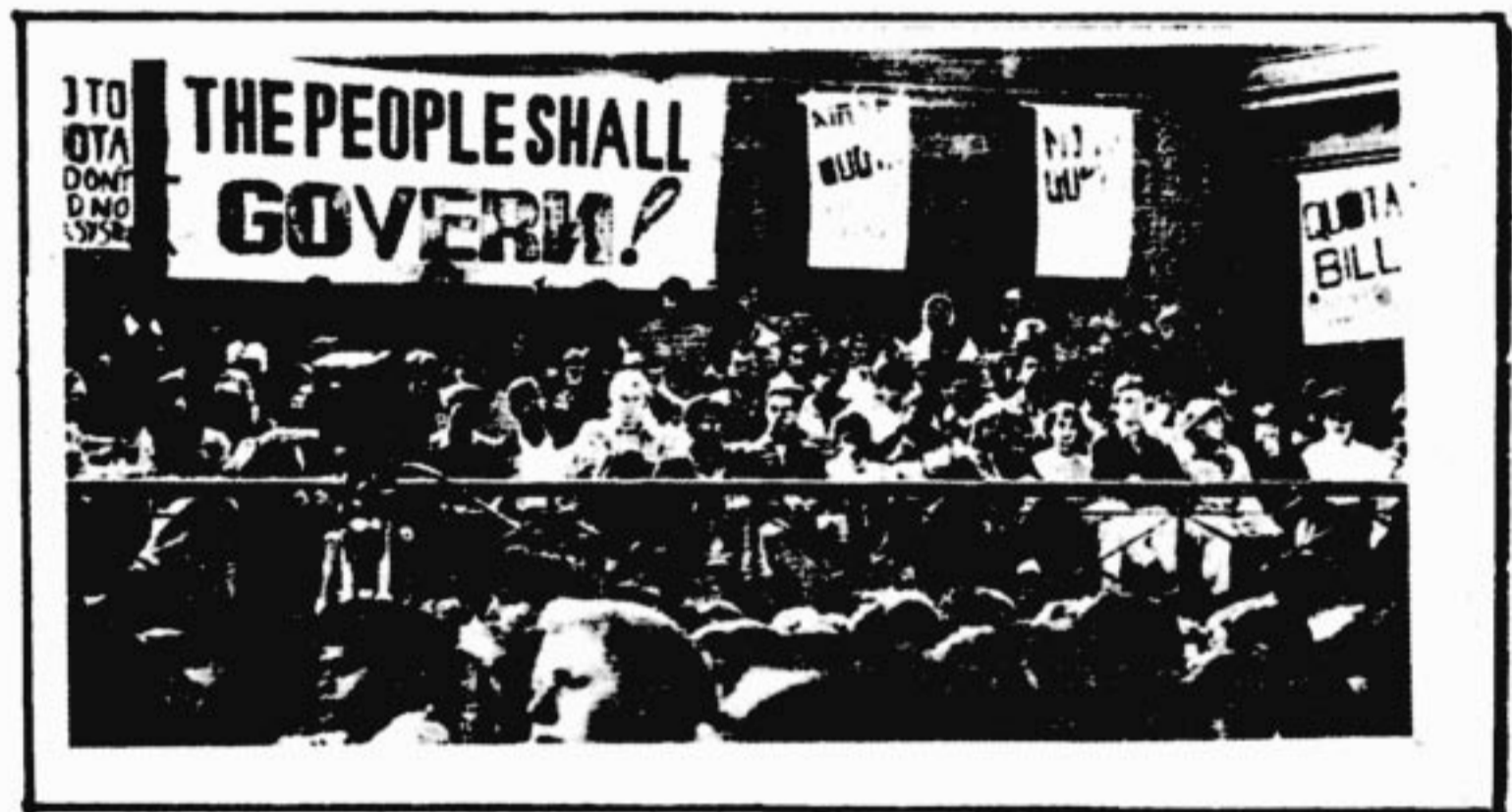
We have a responsibility to our selves and our people to launch a full scale attack on this educational system and the apartheid system it serves.

Our special target have, at this time, to be the education system itself and the dummy institution that we are supposed to be trained to serve.

Whenever skills are made available to us, it is because we are supposed to man one racist institution or another. The engineers, magistrates, builders, teachers, doctors, artisans, etc. are produced for the decoration of these dummy bodies. In the "white" industry, there is no employment (except in certain low categories) for those of us with high qualifications.

In facing up to the task of liberating ourselves, as students and future elders of our society, we have to work with, and learn from, our parents, teachers and other members of the community. We have, however, to select the education front as the particular sector of struggle and work on this front to attack the apartheid system in general. This means that the battles of the last few months have to be intensified and we have to transform them into country-wide struggles.

Using the experience gained in struggles where we united with our parents to defeat the enemy when it wanted to increase rents, remove our people, expel striking workers, and so on, we have to unite as black students together with democratic white students, to destroy the enemy's apartheid system. For instance, those of us who are eligible to vote in the coming August "election" should join our parents in refusing to cast our votes. We should also as students, of voter age or not, campaign together with other democratic organisations to realise a total boycott in August. Our schools and meetings should be used to spread the anti-election message. Even in our homes, when we speak to our mothers, fathers, sisters or brothers, the message should be the same: **NO VOTE FOR THE TRI-RACIAL PARLIAMENT AND THE TRAITORS!**



Particularly the "Coloured", and Indian and African students should come together to work out plans for the realisation of a total boycott and the deepening of the education crisis. This should happen in all the segregated areas where the entire black population has been forced to live by the racist apartheid regime. We should join the struggle against forced removals, we strengthen the boycott campaigns by uniting in action and in solidarity.

Unity should prevail in all areas where the possibility of black and white students uniting in struggle exists. For instance, in the rural areas, where "Coloureds" rural masses are to be found, students of all races should go out spread the message of the boycott campaign. The same applies for the Indian rural masses, because it is here that

the Hendrickses, Rajbansis, Marais, Poovalinghams, etc, are intending to campaign vigorously. They will be promising bright future to the impoverished people and we have to spread the message of the democratic forces and call for their non-participation in the "elections". It will also be the task of those of us who are working in these areas to mobilise the students in these areas to join their brothers and sisters in Pretoria, Cradock, Graaf-Reinett, Transkei and elsewhere in the ongoing students struggles.

The same call goes to all students throughout the country. Now is the time for us to participate in the shaping of our country's future. We have to deepen the crisis of the apartheid system by working together with our parents and the community for a total boycott of the

August 22nd and 28th "elections"! For resistance to the removals and the bantustan and community council systems!

Our future depends on what we do now. Whether we fight to destroy the apartheid system and the dark future that faces us, or whether we fold our hands and leave the racists to continue with their fascist schemes. The political and economic crisis gripping the South African regime cannot be charged by the racists themselves. They have no interest in that. It is us the oppressed and democratic forces who will return the land to those who work it; who will share the wealth of the country; who will do away with poverty, unemployment and 'deportations' to the bantustans, who will move FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT.



THE POLE-CAT STILL STINKS!

Botha's European safari has turned out to be a two-edged sword intended to help the regime cut its way of international isolation, it has served also to demonstrate the extent of popular opposition to any links with apartheid, and forced the Pretoria regime's most ardent collaborators to distance themselves from it and issue condemnations of its domestic policies.

Though the United States sponsored the tour, President Reagan found it too great an electoral liability to meet with Botha. Even coincidentally in Europe. But Chester Crocker has hovered and advised - Pretoria, in Rome and at the end of a telephone line in between.

Pretoria's ambition for discussions with other Western leaders was realised, with the exception of President Mitterand who refused to meet the racist Botha. But the meetings that did take place were very far from the undiluted success envisaged by the South African Press or feared by the apartheid forces. Whatever the intentions, they did no serve to establish the credentials of Botha as a reformer.

In most countries the

first mentions of the visit provoked such mass hostility that plans had to be revised and statements were issued stressing that the opportunity would be used to convey opposition to apartheid and the need to change policies within South Africa.

The professed justification of President Machel's meeting with Botha fell away, as front-line leaders such as President Kaunda expressed their opposition and pointed out that it was the failure of aggression against Southern African States that had led to the imposition of the so called Non-Aggression Pacts.

The visit provided the occasion for a denunciation of apartheid by organisations representing a broad spectrum of public opinion in

Western Europe. Mass removals, the schools boycotts, the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and other issues were highlighted in press reports, with an almost universal recognition that lasting peace in Southern Africa required fundamental changes inside South Africa and in the policy of apartheid. Also featured were statements by the United Democratic Front, Bishop Tutu, President Tambo and other South Africans opposing the meeting with Botha.

Repeatedly Botha's hosts tried to assuage their own public opinion and deny President Tambo's charge that the invitations were "an act of racial solidarity". They met with anti-apartheid movements and other delegations who wished to register their protests. In an unprecedented move, Margaret Thatcher met with the President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement Bishop Huddleston. Later at her meeting with Botha she condemned forced removals in particular, and expressed concern at the continued detention of Nelson Mandela.

In Bonn, the South African flag was not raised at the Chancellery, and the meeting was reported to have been conducted with a "chilly formality" with Chancellor Kohl refusing to shake Botha's hand.

After the meeting with the Pope, the Vatican felt it necessary to issue a statement making clear that no invitation had been issued to Botha, but that the meeting had been a response to a request from Pretoria. This statement also condemned apartheid.

On the substantive issues raised, Pretoria failed singularly in its attempt to secure the expulsion of ANC missions in London and elsewhere. The demand backfired as it was seen as the regime's acknowledgement that the ANC was the main and most feared opponent of the apartheid regime, and a threat to its survival. The demand has led to increased expressions of support for the ANC.

Many of those who received Botha are long-standing allies and collaborators, and while forced by public opinion to make statements and gestures of disapproval, they have not in reality changed their basic position or alliances.

Pretoria failed to secure a relaxation of the sports boycott, or to obtain definite promises of new arms deliveries. However, in a statement to parliament, the British Prime Minister referred to South Africa's "enormous strategic importance to this country". Her reference to her discussions with Botha on "the way in which South Africa discharges its maritime duties" suggests that Britain is contemplating providing coast guards or other aircraft to the apartheid regime.

British also appears to have moved closer to the South African and its position on Namibia by accepting that withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola should take place in parallel with Independence for Namibia.

Pretoria's continued opposition to implementation of UN Resolution 435 on Namibian Independence was emphasised everywhere. Not only was the US-South African plan on linkage continually put forward, but Botha even went so far as to suggest that the next step for Namibia was not Independence but a new status as a colony of one of the contact group of five.

On balance, while the smell of the International Pole-Cat may be considered to be less offensive, the hoped for triumphant acclamation of Botha as the peacemaker and reformer did not occur.

Anti-apartheid movements in Europe have been encouraged by the extent of opposition to apartheid, and have been strengthened by additional support. However, they see the necessity for greater vigilance and continued pressure, to ensure that once out of the glare of publicity, their governments do not make new concessions on substantial issues and rehabilitate the apartheid regime.