

regarding South African society as something that is fluid and constantly capable of modification (despite the views of those who dictate policy), the book throws down a gauntlet to those who believe (as many people now do) that ultimate confrontation and some form of social chaos are inevitable.

The concluding discussion-summary seems to express the views not only of the participants in the workshop but of the editors of the book too. The last two paragraphs are worth quoting:

It was generally agreed that both approaches (the "hardline" and the pragmatic) had value. Organisations adopting one type of strategy should not necessarily condemn those adopting another strategy, but rather realise that both together could provide a multi-dimensional approach to change. The "pragmatists" often opened a door through which the "hardliners" could jump, which in turn enabled the pragmatists to walk faster. Each balanced the other, and the competition between the two could be beneficial in the long run. An open society involves tolerance of all groups and organisations.

In conclusion, certain suggestions emerged which could increase the effectiveness of all change-promoting organisations.

1. Organisations must be sure about what they want to achieve but also flexible as circumstances change (as in the case of the Black Sash).
2. They must recognise the limitations of their particular position in society and of the general South African situation.
3. "Mixed" membership is not necessary as an end in itself.
4. White groups must, in Ms Kuzwayo's words, "look with-in themselves" and examine their own behaviour and the whole political and economic situation in South Africa.
5. Organisations must soldier on even if objective results are limited: they must not be judged by visible results.
6. They must recognise that diversity is desirable in a plural society and that different strategies are appropriate for different organisations.
7. The worst failure is the failure to act at all. □

ARMY PROPAGANDA "TOTAL STRATEGY" STYLE

by John Passmore

The phrase "winning the minds and hearts of the people" achieved a considerable measure of fame and/or notoriety during the Vietnam War. It signified a massive and costly attempt on the part of the American invaders to shut off the avenues of mutual co-operation which existed between village communities and Ho Chi Min's guerilla forces.

The 'hearts and minds' policy involved the setting up of communal health centres, education camps, food centres and information networks. In this way, General Westmoreland and the Pentagon top brass hoped to gain the support of the Vietnamese community or, at least, to neutralize that community as regards the war against the Vietcong.

The 'hearts and minds' policy never really got off the ground, but it's failure seems to have had little impact on the strategies pursued by the South African Defence Force.

The South African 'hearts and minds' policy is, like its American predecessor, the product of the military. As such, it forms an integral part of the overall "Total Strategy" policy the Botha/Magnus Malan/Big Business axis is trying so hard to incorporate. A disturbing off-shoot of the 'hearts and minds' policy is "The Warrior", an eight page monthly magazine put out by the S.A.D.F.'s "Command Information" centre in Pretoria.

"The Warrior" is a clear example of the symbiotic relationship that exists between the Botha administrative hierarchy and the S.A.D.F. The ostensible aim of "The Warrior" is to attract an increasing number of blacks into the S.A.D.F.' ranks. However, it goes much further than that. Most of the articles in the magazine give "details" which "indicate" how disastrous it would be FOR BLACKS if majority rule came into being. Here are some extracts from the editorial column:—

"The constant call that life for our blacks in this country is miserable should be carefully weighed against the facts and figures available for living standards for Blacks in the R.S.A."

"Many photo's and figures can be produced as evidence of even poorer whites in the R.S.A."

"It is high time this disease in our society of demands and then throwing childish tantrums if these demands are not met should stop." (Article written at the height of the school boycotts.)

"Start appreciating what you've got, then you will certainly get more."

The front page of "The Warrior" is devoted to a lengthy article entitled "Uhuru : But what then?". The article

describes how badly-off Zambia, Uganda and Angola are because they opted for "black rule".

"Africa can be mentioned as the most restless and unstable continent (politically) the last 30 years. Young inexperienced leaders in many cases were not able to handle the many national and international conflicts that arised." (sic!)

"The Warrior" goes on to assure its black readership that they are far better off as they are (as opposed to people in the rest of Africa).

"A typical Soweto home has four or five rooms, is soundly built and stands on its own plot of land. It rents for an average of about R18,00 a month, and this includes water supplies, sewerage and refuse removal."

Distortions such as these are relatively mild when compared to the sentiments expressed by the writer of a personal column called "Focus". This is how "Focus" feels:—

"Chief Buthelezi true to form, will not allow children to tell him what to do." (A highly significant approach adopted towards Chief Buthelezi here.)

"Somebody certainly showed his respect for the late terrorist Mahlangu when he put a Warthog head on the grave."

"The Lions will not be playing against the Zimbabwe team. (My copy of "The Warrior" is, unfortunately, an old one.) If the British who negotiated the peace is not welcome then who will be?"

"Whatever happened to Thozocmile Botha? Is he still trying to help his people. No without a farewell kiss to his beloved wife "he left to join his friends". (Botha's wife brought an injunction forward against the Port Elizabeth security police in an attempt to prevent them from molesting her.)

"Black Education in South Africa : The Facts", is, like the front page article, something of a masterpiece of distortion and omission. It lays a heavy emphasis on the 'educative reforms' instituted by the government as a result of the upheavals of 1976. A flood of statistics are printed in order to demonstrate what the government is doing for black education.

The rest of the magazine is devoted to the joys of black participation in Defence Force life (for example — "Swim-

ming Lesson" by Sgt E.T. Mabuza), sport, poems to "up-right citizens" in Soweto and to the community councils in the black townships.

There is a rather sinister exception though.

The second last page is given over to a cartoon which pictures various traumas of a black school-teacher named Betsy. Betsy is trying to counteract radical agitation in the classroom — agitation which has arisen as a result of the school boycotts. She tells her class not to listen to the trouble-makers.

"Not only do you jeopardise your privilege to attend this school, but also you will be wasting your parents hard-earned money."

Immediately after the class discussion the principal calls the staff in and tells them—

"Ladies and Gentlemen I want you to warn our students about the devious role of the banned A.N.C."

After that one of Betsy's students tells her that the "banned A.N.C." (in this cartoon the term used is always "the banned A.N.C.") is going to hold a meeting in an old church-hall. Betsy dissuades her pupil from attending the meeting and then delivers the pupil's information to the white 2.i.c. of the local military camp, etc., etc.

And there you have it. A magazine whose aim is to inform blacks of the "fact" that South Africa is a haven of security. If blacks realise this then they will play their part in maintaining the present status-quo. Despite the crudity of the propaganda "The Warrior" rather cunningly features a number of articles written by black officers and N.C.O.'s.

The impression created is, that blacks can now join formerly white preserves such as the S.A.D.F. officer corps. A small multi-racial middle class is hinted at here.

As regards distribution of the magazine — I haven't been able to find out just how wide its readership is. From what I've heard, the magazine is read by black S.A.D.F. personnel, members of the black community councils and a small number of black school teachers.

The issue of "The Warrior" discussed in this article is, No. 15, 31 May 1980. "The Warrior" proves that the 'hearts and minds' policy is, to all intents and purposes, a relatively long-established one.

I have quoted extracts from "The Warrior" without correcting the several misspellings. □

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