

006/0033/1 THESE NOTES ARE A HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL BACKGROUND REPORT intended to assist an understanding of the South African situation. It is hoped that the attitudes reflected may be propagated widely but these notes themselves are NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

SOUTH AFRICAN REFLECTION

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Notes for the West

South Africa.
March 1981.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

The South African Government is destructive of opposition, so the group of South Africans who prepared these notes must remain anonymous. The notes attempt to evaluate the present situation in South Africa, and to indicate a relevant context for the concerns of those who support liberation. They represent a point of view held by many informed people in the silenced majority whose voices are not usually heard in the West or by whites.

2. WHAT DOES LIBERATION MEAN ?

One question underlies most of the problems poised about reform or revolution, negotiation or violence, investment or disinvestment, race or class, P.W. Botha's intentions, or the approach to be adopted by sympathisers overseas.

What will a liberated society be like ? What change is envisaged ? Where are we bound ?

Consideration of these fundamental points may illumine the general situation.

Liberation means changing the structure of society to permit people freedom from oppression, ignorance, poverty, disease, unemployment, and exploitation which are forced upon them at present. It means work, education, culture, and leisure; freedom of speech, movement, and association; houses, clothes, food, schools, hospitals and care. It means that everyone living in this sub-continent will share responsibility for its government and welfare; changes of attitude, relationships, hopes, fears and laws. It means freedom, justice, truth and democracy.

All these drastic and deep rooted changes focus on the necessity of economic change. For these things to happen there must be a fundamental redistribution of wealth and land, and of the structures and power through which the economy is controlled. Economic exploitation is the nub of oppression, economic development is the measure of liberation, and economic change is the means of it.

The economics of oppression can be illustrated in figures of monthly incomes.

		White.	Coloured.	Asiatic.	African.
Average.	R.	566	182	243	132
Mines		871	341	355	128
Banks		614	277	332	218
Government		514	222	431	168
Post Office		472	167	288	128
Farm Worker		-	-	-	160 per annum.
Pensions (monthly)		97	54	54	27.50
Education p.a.		551	185	236	54 per capita.
Population		16%	9%	3%	72%
Millions		4.4.	2.5	0.7	16.2 (9.7 m. in

25 % of the Black population is estimated unemployed. Homelands)
(SA Institute of Race Relations)

Less than 20% of the population enjoys the benefits, owns the land and means of production, and controls the political power, the SADF, and the wealth. Liberation is not a question of kind attitudes, but of hard facts and definite policies to enact a new economic system designed for the welfare of all the people.

Solving the problems of the poor - especially removing the causes of poverty - will have priority over pandering to the prosperous; a labourer or a manager doing a good days work will be entitled to enough money to bring up his family respectably; people will be united instead of divided, housed instead of uprooted, educated instead of indoctrinated, fed instead of being starved and maimed, and governed by a system which provides work for the masses instead of unemployment.

Such a liberatory process requires the full participation of the poor and dispossessed in the political arena by the enfranchisement of the 80% of the population who presently have no say in the decision making at all. It can be achieved in no other way .

Against this drastic and climactic nature of the social revolution involved in the liberation procedure a constructive attitude to other aspects of the struggle may be considered.

3. WHITE POLITICAL PARTIES.

None of the present white political parties can be accepted by blacks because their policies are racist, undemocratic, and designed to benefit the wealthy section of the community. Certain individuals on the opposition benches have achieved popularity by their criticism of the Government but this does not mean endorsement of the PFP policy which is fully supportive of the present economic system, of patriotism to the South Africa of whites, and of forceful opposition to the Liberation Movement. Liberation does not mean giving the vote to blacks who will put the PFP into power; they will go for something else. (How much PFP will there be to vote for after this election?)

The PFP knows it cannot come to power in an election contest amongst whites and against the Nats., and also knows that the oppressive white system will ultimately be overthrown by the irresistible forces of liberation. It would change the whole temperature of the struggle if the PFP admitted this, openly advocated a liberated South Africa, expressed its commitment to universal suffrage in a united South Africa, and its willingness to discuss the future with the Liberation Movement outside. But the PFP as presently constituted is totally opposed to this course.

Blacks just dismiss white politics : they never consider them relevant at all.

4. THE CHURCHES.

The Church institutions in South Africa have little effective association with the cause of liberation. Their thinking is dominated by prevailing propaganda which equates Christianity with the western capitalist way of life. They have little contact with the masses as a glance at most congregations will indicate, and the oppressed do not serve upon their governing bodies or motivate their activity.

Black clergymen who advocate change are more concerned with the africanisation of church structures than the liberation of these structures, and few clergymen of any race are able to maintain a conversation on political or economic matters in liberatory terms.

Most Churches do not like the System, but they propose no alternatives and content themselves with making reformist suggestions which leave all the action to others, thus excusing their own lack of commitment to liberation.

The few exceptions to this rule amongst churchpeople are very important and should be strongly supported.

5. THE LAW.

Oppression finds its origins in the repressive acts of the British Empire which, behind a smoke screen of liberalism, deceitfully laid an exploitative foundation upon which the Boers with more honesty built, and upon which the post 1948 Nationalist apartheid legislation was erected. The legal basis of apartheid in South African law sets the country apart from the world and must clearly be rescinded.

A new legal framework must be designed to establish and regulate an emancipated society and this can only emerge from an emancipated experience. The abolition of discrimination will reach back to the beginnings of our history: new laws framing a society built on the Freedom Charter will reach out into the future.

Where men make laws opposed to the Rule of Law, the Moral Code, or the Will of God, morality and civic responsibility can only be maintained by opposing the lawmakers and acting with selective illegality.

People who say they will 'do anything legal' to oppose apartheid are to be pitied as simple minded people talking hypothetical rubbish, or despised as craven charlatans. Under an immoral oppressive system men must often break laws to be good, and expect to spend some time in prison.

6. REFORM.

Whilst some people advocate reform, others argue that you cannot reform something which is inherently wrong, and cite the failure of all attempts at reform so far. These include the 'changes' attributed to P.W. Botha's so called 'reforms', which are changes within the apartheid system but not of it.

Some years ago the Chairman of Anglo-American Corporation propounded the so-called Oppenheimer doctrine which postulated change through reforms and expansions in the capitalist system. Time has already exploded that doctrine - reformist moves simply prompt people to frustrations and fury.

Such reforms as these are designed solely to increase the efficacy of the oppressive system.

The magnitude of the liberation task is far beyond the scope of gentle reforms. No token moves can so change the structure of society that work is available for the whole population instead of part of it. Sweeping changes are required to bring justice to a system which spends ten times more on educating a white child than on a black child. No reform can redirect an economy of billions of Rand towards new priorities, alter the ratio of profits to wages, bring justice to ownership, establish a satisfactory health service, enable housing to be provided for the majority of the population who lack it, undo the vast damage done by the Homelands policy, or cater for the upheaval caused amongst Government servants in the scrapping of apartheid.

However satisfactorily it is conducted the task of bringing peace and justice to South Africa involves a major social revolution, bitterly resisted by the present rulers, with no precedents anywhere, requiring a massive comprehensive national plan and effort far beyond the ability of voluntary reformers - especially when those claiming to promote reform have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

(Black Workers in the 1980s march beneath the same banner as that raised by British Workers in the 1920s : ' Damn your Charity we want Justice'.

(Injustice cannot be reformed : it has to be abolished.

7. "HIS HEART'S IN THE RIGHT PLACE."

Reformers are frequently dangerous people because behind an appearance of radicality they are barriers to real change. Their standards and objectives are too low, they blunt the effort, and divert valuable resources to perpetuating the System instead of destroying it.

This may be illustrated by four famous South Africans : Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu/Inkatha, John Rees of the Institute of Race Relations, Desmond Tutu of the Council of Churches, and Mtsho Motlana of the Soweto Committee of Ten. All have done good, all are opposed to apartheid, all are fine people to know, but all are reformers seeking to improve the System rather than change it.

They have no mandate from the masses to pursue a liberationary programme; they were appointed by authorities ; all are accused of misdirecting the struggle into channels which are supportive of P.W. Botha; each is highly criticised for seeking personal advancement.

None of them are clearly committed to a clearly formulated programme for liberation but seem to wish to perpetuate capitalistic oppression in a more palatable form, and it is to this end that the immense resources they have raised in the name of fighting apartheid have been expended.

All would be deeply insulted by these comments, especially on being classed together for they would make the same criticisms of each other.

There are many like them in the West who advocate reforms which are designed to alter the control of the System instead of altering the System, and such people should be constantly challenged to become true revolutionaries.

Many men like Dr Owen, Jesse Jackson, Leon Sullivan, and a host of others come here to dabble in reform and seldom see those in touch with the real issues, like the army of sympathetic newsmen and politicians in and out of Zimbabwe and Lancaster House who could not see the truth before their eyes.

(Under the guise of being supportive there is a confidence trick of diplomatic niceties in the Parliaments, Board Rooms and Churches of the West designed to prevent change happening by only talking about it.

(Reformism makes people comfortable about being comfortable.

8. NEGOTIATIONS.

People who advocate negotiations, perhaps the calling of a National Convention attended by the ' real leaders' of the oppressed people are talking in the genuine liberationary tones used by blacks for decades, but their timing is out.

Experience has shown that the peaceful negotiated settlement which all desire can only arise in a suitable environment, without which it continues oppression.

The Oppressor insists that the essential facts of oppression are not open for discussion and will continue to be enforced whatever happens. "Negotiation" is thus a means to contain and control the subject people within the present System, a strategem to strengthen the oppressor (as was discovered by the SACC upon their illadvised and abortive visit to the Prime Minister). "Changes" are introduced which are carefully designed to perpetuate oppression. Liberated people can never agree to negotiate how to make oppression more tolerable.

| The Oppressed believe that discussion can only take place after certain non-negotiable matters have been accepted :-

- the release of all political prisoners from jail, banns and exile.
- the rescinding of all apartheid legislation.
- the acceptance of full democratic rights for all citizens in one united South Africa.
- the isolation of the SAP and SADF from the negotiating machinery.

These are the essential prerequisites for peaceful and profitable negotiations over the establishment of a liberated society.

"Encouraging the South African Government to talk with the real leaders of the people" is idle talk - until the South African Government pleads for it. The fact of Liberation must be accepted before the details of Liberation can be negotiated.

Whilst the Government enforces their System upon the people they are in a state of war against their own citizens and the people can talk of nothing until that oppressive hand is removed.

No one who advocates change which is acceptable to the oppressed is permitted to operate openly in South Africa so there is no possibility of negotiating this position. It is outlawed, banned, criminal.

| Whilst the man holds his whip all we can talk about is how he can hit me, and all I can think about is removing that danger. Let him throw his whip away and we can talk about a friendly and prosperous future.

9 . VIOLENCE.

Both church and state circles in the West decry the use of violence as a means towards liberation in South Africa but whilst the debate about violence is genuine it frequently conceals a spurious deception that needs to be exposed.

No one has asked the church or a foreign state to support violence in South Africa : that is not the point.

| The true challenge is whether the states and churches of the West are committed to liberating the oppressed, rehabilitating the dispossessed, and throwing their weight behind remodelling our society. If the answer is 'YES' there are innumerable ways in which the West could support liberation without deliberately killing people.

| It seems to most Blacks that the answer is 'NO' . The West lacks the courage to commit itself to the struggle for liberation because it would cost them funds

and friends they do not wish to lose. The insistence on discussing violence/nonviolence instead of oppression/liberation is seen as a deliberate ploy to avoid involvement.

Who decided on using violence - the poor or their oppressors? Who wants violence now - those who seek liberation or those who deny it? Who spends 2.2 billion rand a year on militarism to promote the apartheid system?

For most of this century the Liberation Movement sought to do its work without responding to state violence, but was forced to change this attitude when the state outlawed all effective forms of peaceful opposition. Violent strategies - under strict controls - were then added to the list of methods to be employed.

The states and churches of the West may not wish to follow this direction but they must not fool themselves or us that this validates their equivocation towards other actions supportive of liberation.

It is action not words that count - even the action of saying the correct words in the correct place to the correct people is valuable.

10. COMMUNISM.

Communism appeals to oppressed people as an ideology which in theory and practice seems to offer them hope because it is opposed to discrimination on the grounds of race, class and poverty, and it is widely believed that this form of society has protected Russia, China, Cuba and other socialist states against the worst of unemployment, inflation, and poverty which are the scourge of capitalist countries.

These factors alone account for much of the world wide interest of the under-privileged in the theories of Karl Marx, an interest which is keen, critical and growing to set against the horror stories of Communist brutalities.

This approach must be assessed correctly for it does not mean what many in the West think. Africans do not share the almost pathological attitude towards anything 'communist' which has been nurtured in the West. They are highly suspicious of the West's condemnation of communism because they know the West oppresses them, but it is not with a closed mind or a sense of alignment.

South Africans will properly consider socialism in its various forms as they seek to evolve their own version of a liberated society because it is clear that socialism has a positive contribution to be evaluated. It is equally clear that capitalism cannot provide a solution because it is designed to perpetuate the dependant development and profit from others resources which is the heart of oppression.

But this does not mean that South African blacks are becoming acolytes of "Russian Imperialism". Blacks fear imperialism as much as anyone and reject it - white, black or red. Whilst they have no morbid fears about Communists they do have a highly developed sense of being used or dominated, and have no intention of swapping one form of oppression for another, or of becoming the outpost of anyone else's empire.

Informed and liberated Africans of all colours and backgrounds criticise oppressive features in the big powers of both West and East, and recognise positive propositions from both 'Christians' and 'Marxists'. They do not automatically equate the West with Christianity and goodness and the East with Marxism and evil. The points of unity and strength are far more important to these South Africans than the carping criticisms which some favour because

taking sides in a US/USSR conflict is not their priority at the moment.

Their concern is to live together in a society in which both Christianity and Communism have much to give, and both Christians and Communists may be harmoniously involved in that struggle together.

The West may have something to learn from South Africa here. Perhaps they would find more success if their concern was fighting to liberate the world from its problems instead of fighting to possess its spoils.

11. CRUNCH POINT FOR WHITES AND WORKERS.

The white electorate and the overseas investor/observer will support the Nationalist Government and the Capitalist system whilst it continues to provide them with dividends and minerals. When the internal situation prevents these deliveries of Rands and rocks, and when it is evident that only the Liberation Movement can restore the supply, both whites and foreigners will consider switching support, and must do so. This simplistic evaluation is the basis upon which white attitudes must be considered.

The country is already reaching the peak of its ability to exploit the worker in the economy and the role of workers in the struggle to erode white support is vital.

The struggle is joined between Government approved worker organisations, and Liberation Movement worker organisations, and this can only have one outcome. When the workers realise their power potential the crunch will be on the whites to switch support.

12. STATE OPPRESSION.

The oppressed in South Africa have no desire for violence but a peaceful progress towards a new society is denied them. Although it is essentially the rulers of industry and commerce and their supporters who exploit the workers, these exponents of the System are defended and protected in every way by the State.

The oppressive economic system is enforced by the State through controls exerted upon labour in the name of apartheid which force workers to serve the profit making machinery, and use the compulsion of Law, Police and Defence Force towards this end.

Every avenue towards liberation is blocked by the State and its apparatus and thus the struggle for liberation becomes a struggle against the State. Without State support a different struggle would confront the people. As it is, the search for justice can be criminal and treason can be a loyal and noble act.

13. THE STRUGGLE.

For the oppressed and dispossessed the struggle is a fact of life for there is no escape from the State machinery which enforces their subjugation to a life of repression and poverty.

One struggles for everything : job, food, roof, medicine or a patch of land. One struggles for political expression at illegal meetings with illegal literature and illegal people. One struggles against hidden cameras, bugged telephones, informers' whispers; against censored media; against jail, beatings, torture, and sleepless days and nights of interrogation.

Constant striving against racism, snobbery, betrayal, exploitation and insult makes the whole of life mean exertion against crushing forces.

There is a fine line between the struggle to survive under oppression and the struggle to overthrow it which affects the psychological approach of the oppressed towards the use of force. Violence is forced upon us because resistance is a condition of existence.

Lacking political rights or military power, the oppressed cannot bring down the System at the polls or in battle, but their labour controls the economy and the key to the freedom struggle is in the mines and industry, in commerce, and at the kitchen sink.

14. THE RESISTANCE SCENARIO.

Before looking at the great difficulties which lie in the way, it is well to postulate a scenario for the resistance struggle which may spread over the next five or ten years. What could happen?

The struggle moves from phase to phase. Presently, the trade union movement is having a beneficial effect upon workers awareness but it is already stumbling. Frustrations are developing as workers discover the limits to their permitted development and realise that it is not wage levels but the politico/economic System that has to be changed, whilst they are denied any form of political rights to change it. The existence of trade unions within a system that prevents free expression produces more pressure upon that system, more disruption within industry, and more politicisation of the work force. Only those trade unions which operate within the System will be permitted to survive.

As this frustration with the inadequacy of worker representation grows, and the nature of economic exploitation becomes clearer, one would expect the stage to be set for sabotage. This would develop on a wide scale throughout the whole economic sphere, through quiet low key actions such as those which disrupted the Nazi war machine in Occupied Europe. Production and profits would plummet. Severe punishment would prompt more sophisticated sabotage.

Major activities (like the Sasol burning) organised and executed by the external liberation forces would be expected to escalate, necessitating a strong permanent SADF guard on all strategic points in the land, straining the economy further. An increase in white military service would be required, but could never adequately defend the country's vital areas, and would cause further white dissatisfaction at the disruption in the country.

Black students throughout the country would promote further disturbances with more preparation, coordination and ideological awareness than in Soweto of '76 or the Boycotts of '80. Every year increases the potential of the black student body and the supportiveness of white students.

The Homelands would become a progressively heavier drag upon the System. Poverty stricken masses with nothing left to lose, fired by the political awareness and desperation of workers endorsed out of urban areas, bitterly resentful of their oppression by puppet black leaders, would turn and fight back. They would first sabotage and then sack the white casinos and pleasure resorts, the exploitative industries which provide work for so few, and the structural symbols of oppression. Because the Homeland leadership cannot deliver liberation, their own political and quasi-military organisations - such as Inkatha and the ethnic regiments - would themselves nurture rebellion against the Homeland leaders and their advisers, and identify the rural struggle with the urban.

The reaction of the System would be brutal, thousands being killed and tens of thousands being detained, but such repression would stiffen the resistance and resolve of the persecuted. Experience shows that whilst temporarily shocked by such ferocity, the people find new leaders and come back.

The politicisation of these successive acts would eventually lead to the Total Strike situation when the mass of the people throughout the country would walk out of their allotted places in the economy and bring it to a halt for, say, a month.

Mines, factories, industry, transport and communication system having been set for maximum disruption would be abandoned and closed down. Electricity, gas, water and petrol supplies would be seriously interrupted. Refuse would not be collected, merchandise would not be delivered to the shops, and sewerage systems would cease to function. For four weeks. Crops would rot or burn as the farm workers acted, and five million black youths with no more weapons than a box of matches would 'light a flame of freedom' wherever they could get close to any symbol of oppression. Madam would do her own housework.

Simultaneously, skilled squads from outside would operate in specialist areas with specialist equipment paralysing the SADF, preventing the SAA from leaving the ground, playing havoc with an SAR unable to operate its repair services, and wrecking freeways.

There would be nothing the authorities could do to keep the country going if the people decide to close it down. If the people store enough food for a month, the effect of a population rising against its Government by staying at home is simple to imagine. It would not be necessary to repeat the dose.

The white population, shattered already by alternating pressures of boom and recession, brought to the brink of economic collapse by the long depredations and the culminating strike would be forced to accept the inadequacy of the State's policies, futile propaganda, and false ideologies.

At such a stage, with the country in total disarray, Government broken down and its support lost, the people of the land black and white together will know what to do. They will go to people like Nelson Mandela and Beyers Naude and say : "Take over".

{ (But they will not go to the West if it continues to support the oppressor. When that day comes the West will pay for all it has sucked from our people and in the enormous task of constructing a new society the West will play no part and reap no profits. Unless it changes its support soon.)

15. THE OBSTACLES.

Such a scenario to liberation is beset with obstacles in some of which the West is involved.

The politicisation and unity of the people is essential, and constantly disrupted. Many cross currents and diverse interests amongst the people are developed into major splits and divisions, not only by the System which exploits every possible weakness, but also by funding groups and political interests in the West which support many divisive elements without informed consideration of the present relevance of such groups to the struggle. Many groups which have passed their period of usefulness and moved away from the liberation struggle into divisive side issues of their own have been enabled to do so solely by support from the West.

The widespread influence, increasing sophistication and ferocity of the SAP and the SADF is another major inhibiting factor. Behind the pretence of being a civilised western christian democracy, South Africa is in effect a fascist police state imposing a policy against the desires of the people by constant and vicious repression. There is conclusive evidence that the System receives a constant flow of information from an army of informers, and whenever resistance appears to become too effective mass detentions will occur. Security sweeps must be envisaged which will incarcerate anything up to 50,000 people and keep them in detention without trial for months or years in an attempt to incapacitate all political activists. The practice has existed for years and will grow as resistance grows.

This repression is largely dependant upon equipment, expertise and investment obtained from the West, and will be applied to protect the property and profits of the West. The billions of dollars, marks, florins, crowns and pounds sterling invested in South Africa depend upon this brutality.

A further inhibiting factor is the subtle and persistent persuasiveness of the consumer society which wages a constant campaign to enslave the urban people to the service of the capitalist system through advertising and credit schemes. Citizens seduced into paying large HP accounts at the end of every month, who lose all they possess if they miss a payment, are reluctant to risk losing their job by promoting activities which could lead the Special Branch to suggest to their employers that they were trouble makers.

Obstacles abound, traps are everywhere.

But we know them now: they will be circumvented in due course.

16. THE WEST.

As the sensitive amongst them will know, many people in the West project an inflated idea of their own purity of intention towards the needy of the world, and the assumption by some westerners that they may tell people how they are oppressed, and how to be liberated, strains the restraint of their hearers to the utmost.

The history, colour, and wealth of most westerners is a barrier to be overcome in any case, but the reaction against black American capitalists is even stronger.

It is not hard to see why the West is identified with the oppressor.

South African investment capital is mainly provided by banks in the US, UK, Germany, France and Switzerland who put thousands of millions of rands into the support of the South African exploitative system. British banks provide about half the money which South Africa needs to borrow and British investment in South Africa now exceeds £8 billion. (British aid to liberation projects is miniscule) US and German companies also have an investment of millions.

Between them, Western countries provide the financial backing for apartheid and reap their profits from exploiting black workers, and the intention of the various 'Codes of Conduct' and 'progressive investment policies' is to perpetuate and promote this exploitation.

Despite the embargo on direct arms sales to South Africa Western involvement in this field remains high. The West provides training for South Africans in its own countries, and sends skilled technicians and expertise to this country to develop the indigenous SA armament industry. The West is deeply

involved in the multitude of supportive business which enforces the apartheid oppression.

Diplomatically, the West maintains warm ties with South Africa's non-representative and undemocratic rulers, uses the veto to prevent UN action against South Africa, fails to challenge South Africans, and omits to apply the application of the 'peaceful non-violent measures' which it advances as a reason for not supporting tougher measures.

This seems incredible stupidity on the part of the West which wishes to be on the side of the victors. South Africa is the key to much in Africa and the Arab world. The West can continue to play its profitable games whilst the State in South Africa is strong enough and violent enough to restrain the liberation forces but the moment the dam bursts and the regime changes on this tip of the Continent, so does the West's position. Every state from the Antarctic to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean sees the West as the oppressor from whom they must wrest freedom, and when the great strength of South Africa suddenly becomes pro-Africa and pro-Arab the balance of power is reversed. Has the West not learnt the lesson of its wilful blindness to events in other parts of the Continent? Does the West seriously believe that its influence can prevent liberation?

An increasing number of blacks see this naked capitalist exploitation by the West as a major resource of the oppressors, and are reluctant to speak with visitors from overseas at all. Such talks are deemed futile for it is seldom that a visitor has gone home and promoted the viewpoint of the black and the poor. Many who claim to be friends have failed to grasp the actual realities of the situation, and sought to advocate western reformist notions which are inappropriate, unworkable, or ineffective.

Westerners who say that our proposals for our country are unrealistic or unattainable must recognise that they have failed to grasp the reality. The actual problem still escapes them.

When they complain of the apparently impossible task of changing the implacable strength of western politicians, financiers, trade union groups, academics or church groups which are bolstering the oppressive system, they must recognise that this 'impossible task' is the struggle. It is what liberation is about.

The true battle in the West is not to put pressure upon the South African Government and Institutions, but, first of all, to put pressure upon Western Governments and institutions. The West needs liberating too. What happens in the stark black and white X ray of South Africa is a picture of the whole world's problem. Are people fighting for a liberating society in the West, or seeking to justify the fruits of their oppressive systems? Or have they not seen it yet?

Westerners do not need a visit to South Africa to observe the face of oppression: they can look in a mirror. South African whites are as kind and generous as most and do not need telling to change their attitudes. It is the structures of economic exploitation that need changing and that must be done in the West as well.

Westerners who share this view are very welcome indeed: we need one another.

17. THE INEVITABLE

However much financial military and diplomatic support the West may pour into the South African System, it cannot avoid its collapse. No arguments of when and how can prevent the inexorable determinations of history. People hold the System up, people will smash it down, the people will build a new society out of the pieces.

If the West, recognising not only the justice of liberation (which it does) but also the pragmatic truth of its inevitability (which it does not) had the sense and the will to assist in Liberation now it would be a different story. Real pressure from the West at every level could go far to bring a swift and less destructive solution.

If Britain, America, Germany, Canada, France, and other western countries sat down with the African National Congress and said : ' Now what must we do... ' there could be a different solution.

But it is an idle thought. The West seems not to want peace and prosperity tomorrow, but profits today.

18. THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

For seventy years the peoples struggle for liberation has been focussed through the African National Congress. That struggle has survived many crises, persecutions, errors, personality squabbles, exiles, attacks and divisions. Many of these experiences have been valuable, including the reassessments of the PAC era, and the driving liberation philosophy of the Black Consciousness Movement.

From all these experiences the people have emerged with a greater clarity and commitment, and have fallen back onto the traditional African National Congress to make it a larger and stronger movement than ever before. Outside, the ANC has wide representations and overwhelming support in its attempts to unite and intensify the struggle. It knows where it is going.

Inside, though it is banned and any links with it are severely punished, the people's support for the ANC is very evident. Where pockets of PAC and BC adherents do maintain a separate grouping it seems to come from emphasising matters that their founders would have deplored. (Both Sobukwe and Biko were determined to unite the forces of liberation).

The importance of the ANC is recognised by the Security Police (which focuses all attention upon it), by white politicians (who constantly attack the ANC but permit other divisive black groups to develop), and most of all it is recognised by the Black youth for whom " The Movement" is the focalization of awe and commitment upon which the new generation is being built.

Some people still seek to adopt an 'open' attitude to political movements which is inappropriate when the issues concerned are moral and fundamental, rather than matters of personal choice or emotion. If a movement has the correct principles and attitudes and seeks to bring unity and determination to the liberation struggle today, then it merits total support. Those who give such support have also a right to a hearing.

Convictions can only be measured by commitment.

But if a group promotes doubtful principles or takes a reformist line; if the time for its task is done and its continuance is divisive; if its real motive is the promotion of personal power or prestige: then such groups should not be supported at all, and their people should be assisted into better associations.

(Groups which the South African Government permit to develop because they divide the liberation effort are frequently supported by well-meaning but uninformed funding agencies in the West)

Concerned supporters of the liberation struggle in the West should keep close to the African National Congress, raising problems directly, planning programmes and strategies jointly, grasping the wide scope of their work and assisting in ways that they can.

The ANC will be the first to admit they need help in many ways.

And the last to forget when they take their seats in the Government of a liberated South Africa.

19. HOW THE WEST CAN HELP.

Many requests are received from people outside about how to assist the struggle in South Africa. A general answer would be to put all possible pressure upon the South African system through disinvestment, sanctions, isolation of sporting, cultural, commercial, professional, entertainment and communication activities, the support of the Liberation Movement, the strengthening of neighbouring front line states, and the direct support of South African projects.

A better answer would be for those concerned to clarify their role by arranging small consultations for people in different countries to meet one another and to consult with the African National Congress. Perhaps this is happening already.

Serious mistakes have been made in the past. This next phase in the struggle will be a desperate time and demands that the actual present situation be evaluated, that traditional attitudes be reassessed, and that allies review their understanding and operations and unite to cooperate for a common end.

20 TO SUM UP.

These notes have sought to evaluate the South African situation today and provide a relevant context in which those concerned for liberation can decide their own response.

A distinctively South African socialist revolution is happening and this liberating procedure should be assisted in all respects. Attempts to reform or negotiate at this time are premature and only lead to further oppression. Positive action must be devised which will force the oppressors to accept the principle of liberation, after which discussions can take place. Whilst the key role of economic pressure is evident, the oppressive System must be engaged on every front until it is overcome. Much work must also be done to prepare the people for their role in a liberated society.

The South African regime is strongly upheld by the West for it is essentially an economic oppression in which the West's interest is vested. The meaningful withdrawal of Western support would hasten a peaceful and prosperous solution but this is considered highly unlikely.

Those in the West who perceive the realities of the human experience through the South African situation thus find themselves in conflict with those in the West who control the political, financial, industrial and cultural institutions, and that battle has to be joined in the West. All people seeking liberation throughout the globe should assist one another.

The South African struggle is focussed through the African National Congress at this time, and any serious concern for South Africa should be expressed in consultations with the African National Congress which is the main arm of the peoples struggle for liberation.

Much direct assistance can be given to projects in South Africa if friends will get in touch with those who are in touch with the South African scene.

Please do .