



# MAYIBUYE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

MAYIBUYE NUMBER 4

1984 YEAR OF THE WOMEN

Journal of the African National Congress

## Aliens bill—Another Genocide Bill

Without question, the racists are intent on implementing the bantustan policy to the full. The length they will go to in the devilish design is shown by the hasty introduction of the Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Bill, which is intended to make "aliens" out of millions of African people.

This Bill comes hot on the steps of the (Genocide Bill) whose intention is the expulsion of millions of Africans into the Bantustans, where they will be dubbed "illegals" and refused permission to seek jobs in the urban areas., except as migrants.

The nationwide campaign against the Genocide Bill is still raging on and, the racists, because of this struggle, have been coming up with many claims of its being "shelved", "amended", "modified" by a Select Committee, etc. In the midst of this campaign and the regime's apparent retreat, there emerges the Aliens Bill which has the same intentions as the Genocide Bill.

In the Aliens Bill the regime tries to conceal its onslaught against the black oppressed. We are, however, not deceived because when the regime speaks of "aliens" it speaks about blacks, especially those it has forced into the "independent" bantustans. We know that the policy of the regime is to encourage whites to emigrate to South Africa, but, on the other hand, to strip Africans of their citizenship. It is therefore

clear that the "aliens" who will be expected to get permission to be in South Africa, who will have to produce bank guarantees or deposits to be in South Africa, who will not be allowed to rent fixed property without a permit, etc., are those to be rounded up in the "white" areas as "aliens".

In every aspect, except in names, the two laws are similar and have the same intention. To us they also indicate the importance of the bantustan policy to the future plans of the racist regime.

There is evidence that these two fascist laws are being applied in various ways. Under the

scheme of "redevelopment" of certain black areas, the regime is building houses which have become too expensive for their previous poor owners. What is the result of this? They have no "proper accommodation" and are liable to be declared "illegals". When they are taken to the bantustans they will become "aliens". The people of Langa, Nyanga, Gugulethu, are being forced to Khayelitsha and the "surplus" who have no employment or accommodation will have to go to the bantustans and become "aliens".

The actions of the regime show that the question of completely bantustanising the whole African population except for the "permanent urban residents", is high on its agenda. There have been frantic meetings between the bantustan administrations

one hand we have to continue our struggle against the implementation of the Koornhof Bills (the Genocide Bill is one of them) and the Aliens Bill. On the other, we have to activate all our forces against the bantustan system itself.

We have already organised a strong, united movement against the Koornhof Bills. However, we still have to take this struggle to a higher plane, i.e., to organise for the destruction of the bantustan system itself. It is the reason for these inhuman laws being hatched up by the regime, and, the reinforcement of the Genocide Bill, has shown us that the regime will never rest until its bantustan plan is complete.

The desperation of the Pretoria madmen arises out of the dread for the day when one of their bantustans crumbles and the people demand people's power. This is a fear that is real because the bantustan system is at once central to their schemes and, at the same time, their weakest spot. This system relies completely on our submission and inactivity and the availability of puppet administrators to man it.

The recent events in the Ciskei, have shown that these administrations rely on brute force to exist. These collaborators do not have any support from the people and therefore are weak. But, as in any struggle, we have to attack and be prepared to make many sacrifices to emerge victorious at the end of the battle.

We want Better houses

DOWN with REMOVALS

Free Education



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and the Cabinet Committee that is looking into the future position of urban Africans.

We have to defeat these schemes in a two-pronged attack. On the

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● Editorial ●

No peace has broken out

No peace has broken out in the region. The racists have merely resorted to other means to achieve the same objective - the domination of the whole region.

To achieve this aim, the regime relies on its economic and military might. It capitalises on the desire of the people of the region to live in peace and in conditions of stability to force them into accords which are not in their interests.

Within two weeks of the signing of the Nkomati Accord, on March 28, the regime released its 1984/85 military budget. This budget release in conditions the regime describes as peaceful, is 21.4% above that of last year's and exceeds the combined allocations to health, welfare, tertiary and black education by R487 million. complementing this military budget increase, is the 41% increase in the police budget.

Following closely in this war budget release, was a white paper on "Defence and Armaments Supply" tabled in the white Parliament on April 11. This white paper is clear proof of how the regime has prepared and continues to prepare for a conventional rapid strike against the countries of Southern Africa, i.e., in addition to its nuclear capacity. The paper gloated about missile strike vessels already acquired; about a "main fighter base" built near Zimbabwe; about a "forward airfield programme" completed in the Natal and Transvaal provinces; about the number of men presently deployed to "protect" its borders; etc.

HIGH MILITARY BUDGET

Under no circumstances would any country which wanted peace come up with such a high military budget or war preparations as the racists are doing. But as we know, the fascists are

no lovers of peace. In the same gesture of "offering" an olive branch to the neighbouring countries, frantic war preparations are being made. While saying that the countries of the region must now spend more money on food than on their defence, it spends much more money than ever before on armaments in the face of millions of the black people who live in destitution.

When the regime speaks about peace, it speaks about peace with a noose around our neck. The real deeds show its face - that of an oppressor and aggressor whose cherished dream is to throw and fasten more tightly the noose of oppression and dependence onto the people of South Africa and the whole sub-continent.

The regime is doing all this because it needs a respite in which to harness its forces and create conditions for the destruction of the democratic movement inside the country. Further, it is trying to break the unity that has developed between the armed struggle waged by MK and the mass struggle waged by the democratic movement and the ANC underground.

We have to close ranks and strengthen the ANC underground, the democratic movement and Umkhonto We Sizwe. Our resolute struggle will demonstrate to the people in the region and the world that there can be no peace in the region while the evil apartheid rulers still lord it over our region. There can be no true independence in the region while the fascists live, because their long-term aim is the extension of white domination to the whole region.

Our attack on the apartheid monster will inevitably show that no peace has broken out, rather, the "total strategy" of the enemy has entered a new and more bellicose phase.

# Burn Registration Certificates

Reverend Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party has asked his Pretoria bosses to shift the closing date for voter registration from the end of April to some period in the future. This comes after the announcement by the racist Minister of International Affairs, F.W. de Klerk, who said that Indian and "Coloured" people who qualified to "vote" in the coming parliamentary "elections" would have to register before the end of April.

Hendrickse's panic is understandable. It is caused by the fact that there is an insignificant number of people who have gone for voter registration cards.

In the face of this, we should stand together and support those who do not want to register as voters. The anti-registration stand by our people must become a whole movement, finding its support from all sections of our community; in all our work places. At the same time, we must be resolute in our boycott of the August "elections" because, in the final analysis, the new constitution has got nothing to offer the people of South Africa but more oppression. We have to fight and defeat the attempt to make the Indian and Coloured" communities passengers in a sinking ship.

We must make louder, then, the call for our people to stop registering as voters. This means that we should intensify our campaign that sees us going from door to door, agitating and teaching our people about the true meaning of the new constitution. There is no future for all of us, black and white, in the new constitution. We will still

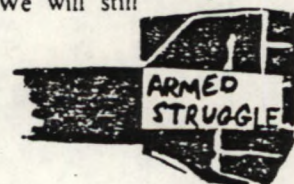
nave removals, bantustans, detention without trial. Group Areas, fighting against our own brothers and sisters in defence of apartheid.

We must burn the registration certificates in the same way the people called on by the ANC, burnt their passes in 1960. In this way we will be paving the way to making this diabolical constitutional scheme unworkable. Let us agitate against it wherever we meet: in the homes, at work, in the sportsfields, at schools and other institutions of learning; in the churches, the mosques, the temples and synagogues. Let us expose the Judas roles of those who, for personal gain, seek to present the entrenchment of the the apartheid colonial system as a step towards liberation.

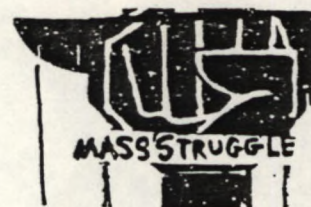
**\*DO NOT REGISTER!**

\*If you have already registered, organise others so that you burn the certificates!

\*Let this non-registration and burning of certificates be a way of saying: We will boycott the apartheid "apartheid "elections" in August!



APARTHEID





# Our living standards attached

The general onslaught on our already low living standards was taken a step further by the racists when the Income Tax Act was enforced on March 1.

The background to the enforcement of this law is that of the standard of living of the majority of the people fast going down. Earlier this year, the racists increased the General Sales Tax to seven per cent. That cut deep into our pockets. In addition, it had the effect of pushing up the prices of such essential foodstuffs as maize, milk, bread, eggs, poultry, meat, sugar, dairy products and many others. As if this was not enough, there was an all-round increase in rents and transport fares.

As our living standards are further eroded away, diseases of poverty such as kwashiokor, cholera, typhus, T.B. and others, find fertile ground to spread. Where any government would declare an emergency and try to improve situation, the racists have instead increased hospital fees to unprecedented levels.

The recently completed study into poverty and development by the U.S. Carnegie Foundation,

revealed that millions of black South Africans live below the poverty datum line. As the poverty datum line is not realistically determined in South Africa, there is the shocking truth that other millions said to be living above the poverty datum line, are actually living below it. We have only to look at the poverty that exists in the cities to realise that the other millions in the countryside are living in abject poverty. After all, there is no land or work to make a livelihood from, while the agricultural workers suffer from merciless exploitation.

At this time when 3 million people are unemployed and thousands are laid off daily, it is amazing how the racists think we manage to survive. But our way of making sure that we survive, is through the strengthening and backing of the demands made by our unions and community organisations. Trade unions representing the oppressed and democratic workers called

on the racists not to enforce this Income Tax Act and to scrap it completely in the long run. They have taken the matter further in stating that the workers should not be taxed under this law because they are excluded in the political power structure of the country.

Again, an open letter was written to the racist Minister of Finance in which our unions told him that our demand for the removal of the GST on all foodstuffs and other basic necessities must be met. They correctly pointed out that the GST represents a big cut in our meagre wages.

Other popular organisations such as the United Women's Organisations, have started a campaign in the Western Cape and other areas to fight against this attack on our meagre means of livelihood. These organisations have to be strengthened by the whole democratic movement. As the community, women, youth and other organisations are made up of the working people, it is essential that what is begun within these organisations is

carried on within the trade unions. In the same way, workers through their trade unions have to work with the community to strengthen the unions' demands.

Whatever justifications the racists might make in an attempt to "sell" this tax to us, we have to reject it because, fundamentally, it represents the system of apartheid colonialism. We are seen as colonial subjects who have to pay taxes without a say in the central colonial government. In the particular conditions of South Africa with racial segregation in everything, these taxes will, as usual, go to improve the social welfare and environmental conditions of the privileged whites. All that we will see of the proceeds of this tax are the bullets to be bought or manufactured to kill us. We will not be taxed to finance our own genocide!



**STOP THE APARTHEID MURDER OF**  
Malesela Benjamin Moloise

**FAISELY CHARGED AND CONVICTED**

LISTEN TO  
RADIO FREEDOM  
VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL  
CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE  
SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

<b>Radio Lusaka</b>	
Shortwave 31mb, 9505 KHz	7.00 p.m. Daily 10.15-10.45 p.m. Wednesday 9.30-10.00 p.m. Thursday 10.15-10.45 p.m. Friday
Shortwave 25mb, 11880 KHz	8.00-8.45 a.m. Sunday
<b>Radio Luanda</b>	
Shortwave 31mb, 9535 KHz and 25mb	7.30 p.m. Monday-Saturday 8.30 p.m. Sunday
<b>Radio Madagascar</b>	
Shortwave 49mb, 6135 KHz	7.00-9.00 p.m. Monday-Saturday 7.00-8.00 Sunday
<b>Radio Ethiopia</b>	
Shortwave 31mb, 9595 KHz	9.30-10.00 p.m. Daily
<b>Radio Tanzania</b>	
Shortwave 31mb, 9750 KHz	8.15 p.m. Monday, Wednesday, Friday 6.15 a.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday



# Front Line States Communique

The Front Line States' Summit Meeting was held in Arusha, Tanzania on Sunday 29th April 1984 to consider the recent developments in Southern Africa. The Heads of State and Government present were: President Eduardo dos Santos of the People's Republic of Angola; President Quett Masire of the Republic of Botswana; President Samora Machel of People's Republic of Mozambique; President Julius K. Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania; President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Also in attendance were Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress; Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo of Namibia.

The leaders stood for one minute of silence in tribute to the late Edward Moringe Sekoine, whose very valuable and practical contributions to the liberation struggle of Southern Africa will be greatly missed by the Front Line States and the Liberation Movements.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of Liberation Movements reaffirmed their total and unqualified commitment to the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia against colonialism and of the people of South Africa against apartheid. They reasserted their conviction and that of the Organisation of African Unity, that the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism is essential for the security of all the independent states of the continent and in particular of the Front Line States.

Further, they reiterated that the root cause of the problems in South Africa is apartheid itself; apartheid is the cause of Africa's hostility of the South African racist regime and of the existence of South African and Namibian refugees. None of these things is caused by the Front Line or other States neighbouring South Africa. Apartheid has been condemned in categorical terms by the United Nations, and by the leaders of Europe, America, Australasia and Asia as well as by the use of South Africa's military power and economic and economic strengthener by the use of mercenaries and traitors.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements discussed the understanding reached by the People's Republic of Angola and the Pretoria Regime, and they hoped that South Africa will honour its commitment to withdraw its troops from Angola. This withdrawal will constitute an opportunity for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. They welcomed Angola's reaffirmation of its continued commitment to the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo. The Heads of State and Government expressed their support for the Angolan actions against the externally supported armed bandits who are causing death and misery to the Angolan people and destruction of the economic infrastructure of the State.

## NKOMATI ACCORD

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements exchanged views on the Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and the South African Government. They expressed the hope that the South African Government will live up to the commitment to cease its acts aimed at the destabilisation of Mozambique through the use of armed bandits, and gave their support to the Mozambican actions aimed at the total elimination of these vicious bandits. They

expressed appreciation of Mozambique's commitment to continued moral, political, and diplomatic support for the ANC in the struggle against apartheid and for majority rule in South Africa.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements declared that the immediate objective for Namibia is and must be rapid implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978, in order that Namibia may attain full and internationally recognised independence on the basis of self-determination by all people of that country. They reiterated the continuing role of the UN Security Council and Secretary General in the implementation of Resolution 435. The leaders of the Front Line States again reaffirmed their support for Swapo as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

For South Africa, the objective of the Front Line States and Liberation Movements is the abolition of apartheid by whatever means are necessary. The leaders present again reiterated their strong preference for apartheid to be brought to an end by peaceful means. This can be achieved only through a process agreed upon in free discussions between the present South African regime and genuine representatives of the people of South Africa who are unrepresented in the present government structure of that country. A prerequisite for any such discussions would be the unconditional release from prison, detention, house arrest or 'banning' of Nelson Mandela and all other political leaders. Difficult as this step may be in the eyes of the present South African Government, there is no way to peace in Southern Africa except through discussions between the

South African Government and the African people of South Africa.

To avoid any misunderstanding, they stressed that the phrase 'African People' includes all those who have been classified as being citizens of the so-called independent homelands in South Africa; the denial of their South African citizenship is not recognised in international law, nor by any independent state apart from South Africa.

## ( CONTINUED STRUGGLE

The alternative to free negotiations within South Africa aimed at the ending of apartheid will inevitably be continued struggle against that system by other means, including armed struggle. This struggle is being waged and will be conducted and led by the people of South Africa themselves, on their own initiative and within their own country. However, their struggle is, and is seen by Africa to be, a struggle for the freedom and security of all the peoples of this continent, and for the human dignity of all men and women regardless of colour. It therefore receives, the full support of the peoples





and the nations represented by the Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States.

Involved in this struggle for the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism is the consolidation of the freedom and the security of the states which have already achieved independence. To that end, and in the light of the difficult circumstances which do from time to time confront such states, the leaders of the Front Line States and the Liberation Movements reaffirmed their understanding of steps which are taken for this purpose by states which are fully committed to the liberation struggles. They also reaffirmed their commitment to the internationally recognised boundaries in Southern Africa as these were defined when the free states achieved their political independence.

The Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements condemned without reservation the open and the covert aggressive actions of South Africa directed at the destabilisation of African states, and those aimed against refugees from Namibia and apartheid South Africa. There is no excuse in international law or civilised practice for these actions. The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements also repeated their rejection of the attempt to link the freedom of Namibia with any Angolan Government decisions relating to its security requirements and its internal political structures.

The political and the armed struggles being waged by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa led by Swapo and ANC respectively, are taking place inside those two countries. The struggle is between the people of Namibia and the occupying power, and between the people of South Africa and the apartheid regime. Therefore, the strategy of the Liberation

Movements is that of internal struggle, firmly based on the people's will and determination.

As the denial of human rights, and the ruthlessness of the oppressor, has made it impossible for many active leaders of the Liberation Movements to live and work inside their own countries, it has been necessary for both Swapo and ANC to have an external wing. The international implications of the problems with which the Liberation Movements are contending also require international diplomatic and political activity, together with offices and representatives in other countries.

The Front Line States reaffirm their recognition of these external operations of the Movements, and assert their intention to give shelter to them. The Front Line States also reaffirm their right and duty under international Conventions to accord hospitality to refugees from Namibia and apartheid South Africa. They appeal to the international community for diplomatic and economic support and protection as they carry out these international responsibilities.

#### ACTIVE PARTICIPATION

THE Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements represented at the Arusha Meeting, in reasserting their commitment to the struggle for freedom in Namibia and South Africa, also draw attention to the burden they are carrying on behalf of the world conscience and the international condemnation of colonialism and apartheid. They therefore appeal for active participation in the struggle by all other nations, other organisations and institutions, and all people who accept the principles of human dignity and equality.

In particular the leaders of the Front Line States and Liberation Movements appeal for political, moral, material and diplomatic support to be given to the

Liberation Movements. They appeal also for concrete support to be given to the efforts of the Front Line States aimed at the consolidation of their independence and their fragile economies, as these are of direct relevance to their ability to play a constructive role in the search for peace and freedom in Southern Africa.

For the Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements repeat a truism: *Peace is incompatible with racism and colo-*

*onialism.* Man is so constituted that men and women will die for freedom and human dignity if they are prevented from the peaceful pursuit of these basic human rights. Neither military might nor devious political machinations, whether directed against the peoples inside Namibia and South Africa or against the free States of Africa, can defeat the idea of freedom and racial equality.

*The struggle will be long and hard.*

*It will be carried on until final victory.*

*Aluta continua.*

## Follow his example

It is April, 1984, and five years since Solomon Mahlangu, that heroic guerilla of the people, sacrificed his life so that we may live and carry on the struggle. His defiant call as he bravely walked to the gallows has been heeded by such outstanding combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe as the Silverton Trio, Motaung, Mosololi, Mogoerane and many others, who took up his spear and charged the enemy!

At this historic stage of our struggle, when the fascists are doing everything possible to strangle our armed struggle, the most patriotic and resolute men and women of our country must come forward and lead the people in dealing blow after blow at the enemy.

The fascists are, more than at any other time, bent on demonstrating their military might to our people and the region. They want us to believe that their might can never be matched in the region — least of all by us the "unarmed" masses. But we are armed and we are stronger than them. Umkhonto We Sizwe lives amongst us and continues to deliver deadly blows at the enemy. We are stronger than them because we have the majority of the people on our side.

But our strength is not dormant. We must activate all the cadres we have built in the conditions of underground. We have to create underground combat groups to confront the enemy in his factories, farms, bases, administrative centres, etc. Of course, as guerilla fighters we have to ensure that all the battles we engage

in have the most devastating effect on the enemy with as little damage to the underground units as possible. This is the way to grow because the small units must, through their actions and examples, grow into larger units. Umkhonto We Sizwe will always be there to sharpen our skills in guerrilla warfare.

The ANC states that our liberation will come through the combination of armed and mass struggle. Apologists for the enemy such as Buthelezi are already praising the machinations of the regime in the region as having proved that armed struggle is not possible (or desirable) in South Africa. There is no one to prove them wrong but us, countrymen! WE have to go into battle with more determination and resolve.

Our path towards people's power requires a firm rooting of our army and organisations in the people. Only when we are firmly entrenched at every level and throughout the country will we be able to remove the racists from their seat of fascist power.

To every patriot the ANC says — Mobilise and March Forward to People's Power.



FATHER LAPSLEY:

## 'Those with Consciences will join MK'

In this condensed article from *Sechaba*, the official organ of the ANC Father Michael Lapsley looks at the implications of the theory of just war from a theological standpoint, and how these affect young white Christian war resisters in South Africa, and concludes that "its is likely that the effect of the new legislation will be to bring more young whites with consciences directly into the ranks of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, without going to jail first."

Is there such a thing as a just war, or, more particularly, a just revolution? Those who have power, privilege and wealth in South Africa tell us that our revolution is not just. We are portrayed by the racists as godless terrorists while they portray themselves the defenders of all that is Christian and civilised. In spite of the lengths to which the racists go in their propaganda war, the historical justice of our case is incontrovertible.

During recent months in South Africa, the theory of a just war has come into the public eye. South African prisons have always been overflowing the people. At present the daily average has reached 102,000. A very tiny proportion have always been war resisters.

### LIBERATION FORCES

Most of them have been pacifists and have stated that they would refuse to serve in any war. But although universal pacifists, the new generation of war resisters have also spoken of the basic injustice of apartheid and of its indefensibility. These brave young patriots, who the government labels as traitors, have already played an important role in several ways.

Whereas the apartheid regime has always tried to create "race war" by defining human value according to pigmentation, the forces for liberation have always pointed to the underlying system.

Already enough young white males have been avoiding the army that they have been forced to create a special unit to hunt for them. But it is Billy Paddock, an Anglican, who has brought the issues into

sharpest focus. His case was clear. "I support the overall goal of freedom that the liberation movements are striving for . . . because the whole system is unjust and oppressive. I refuse to do national service which is there to protect and uphold the status quo. The framework he used to argue his case was the theory of a just war.

Pretoria has not been slow to realise that these young men had succeeded in reinstating the moral question which they had sought to efface from all white minds. How often I have heard from white parents, "My son has to the army," not, "My son has decided to go to the army." Is it right to kill to keep apartheid intact? Are we really fighting for our country or against it? Are we fighting against the "puppets from Moscow" or against our fellow citizens who have grievances?

Like all apartheid innovations, the recommendations of the Naude commission have been further repression in the name of further reform which was designed to mollify the groundswell of support for conscientious objectors in the churches, but more fundamentally to attempt to stem the tide of war resistance in the white community. Under the new legislation recently passed in South Africa a war resister who objects to fighting in "this war on the side of the racists" is liable to six years' imprisonment. We should also note that the South African Defence Force cannot conceive of people objecting to the SADF who are not Christians, failing to perceive the degree to which their own actions create unbelief. The nature of people's war is

such that further repression simply accelerates the pace of the struggle and clarifies the options. Tomorrow, it is likely that the effect of the new legislation will be to bring more young whites with consciences directly into the ranks of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe without going to jail first.

### The Theory of Just War

Now, let's look more closely at the theory of a just war. In its most developed form it has six conditions. We should examine each of the arguments as they apply to the SADF and to Umkhonto We Sizwe.

1. **It has to be declared by a legitimate authority.** War, in other words, is to serve public, not private, ends, and the highest authority is the one to decide this.
2. **The cause must be just.** Such a cause covers defence against aggression or against the suppression of basic rights. The situation has to be extreme to permit recourse to arms.
3. **It must be undertaken as a last resort.** Only when all other means of defending one's cause or achieving one's legitimate aims can war be deemed right.
4. **It must have just goals.** It must aim to achieve a fair and just settlement. Under this heading wars of aggression stand condemned.
5. **The means employed must be just.** This factor relates both to the immunity from direct and intended attack of the innocent and non-combatants and to the proportion between the means and the goal. It would for example be wrong to destroy a whole village simply because an enemy were sheltering in a single house.

6. **There must be a reasonable chance of success.** This applies to success both in the military sense, i.e., the prospect of victory is relatively certain, and in relation to goals, i.e., the prospect of realising the original goals is favourable. There must be a strong possibility that the good achieved will be greater than the evils combated.

### Principles Behind the Theory

It is worth noting that the theory of a just war did not evolve in an attempt to glorify or encourage war, but rather to limit it and to decrease brutality by setting limits to what human beings may justifiably do to others.

For me, the commitments to armed struggle is motivated by a deep love for humanity and not by hatred for the enemy, and by the desperate urgency of destroying the apartheid regime and building a new society. The arguments about a just war in South Africa emerge out of the experience of a people locked in a life or death conflict. While the arguments have been hammered out within a Christian framework, they are worthy of consideration by all people who want peace.

To locate what I have been saying about a theory of a just war in the present phase of struggle in South Africa it is useful to recall an interview with ANC Chief Representative at the United Nations, Johnny Makatini, published in *Moto* in February 1982 after the ANC had sabotaged the nuclear power station at Koeberg, which should be capable of making a nuclear bomb.

"...but Koeberg brings us to a crossroads, a similar one to that reached in 1961 when we were forced to take up arms and engage in a limited struggle.

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# We do not forget easily

The Pretoria regime thinks that we have short memories. 34 years ago, it passed the Group Areas Act, which was not only intended to enforce its residential segregation plans, but also to destroy the business class among the Indians and "Coloureds". Up to that point, these groups had been allowed to conduct business in the central business districts.

At that time, it suited the schemes of the newly ascended Nationalist Party to close these areas to the black people so as to promote the growth of the Afrikaner capitalist class. But events in recent years, especially during the Botha-Malan rule, have shown that their big business backers (who include the now dominant Afrikaner capitalist class) have advised them to create and woo, a black middle class. This class is to be developed and made to act as a buffer class in the intensifying struggle of the oppressed and exploited majority.

Prompted by their success at using this class against the people in the bantustans, the regime is making a special effort to entice the "Coloured" and Indian business people. In this case where the regime has promised a "share" in white rule, it also had to promise a "share" in white business. The regime wants us to believe that the high standard of living of the white people comes from the business districts open to them. This is false. Their living standards are better than ours because of the privileges they enjoy under the racist laws.

Clearly, this is not an offer to the working people who constitute the mass of the black people. We can hardly afford to feed, clothe or decently shelter ourselves and we are expected to jump for joy at the prospect of owning businesses in Central Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, etc

## GROUP AREAS ACT

Even to those of us who own the means to set themselves up in the central business districts,

this carrot being dangled in our face should not attract us. We should realise that it has no permanence for us. The regime has made it clear that the Group Areas Act will remain intact even if the tri-cameral parliament comes into existence. The onus for opening these business areas has been put in the hands of local authorities in the different areas. This is clearly a trick to entice us into participation in the enemy's constitutional schemes and then apply the Group Areas Act to make these areas inaccessible to us.

The Group Areas Act is particularly aimed at the Indian and "Coloured" sections of the black people, but, what about the Africans who are also included in this "offer"? The evil intentions contained in the Koorhof Bills and the Aliens Bill, are aimed at driving millions of Africans into the bantustans and, therefore, it is impossible that the CBD's will ever be within reach of the majority of the African people.

The regime, which relies on its stooges to make its system work, will obviously strive to ensure that some opportunists who do not own the means to set up their own businesses, are given the necessary money to do so. A look into the workings of the bantustan and community councils systems shows that those who constitute the monied ruling classes were mostly built up by the regime. Loans from the Bantu Investment Corporation and the ethnic bantustan "development" corporations were made to those who were most loved in their pledge to collaborate with the racists. Private companies and

banks also dished out favourable loans to those who were prepared to stake their lives in defence of the oppressive and exploitative apartheid system and its appendages. To some extent, the same manipulations have taken place within the fast-crumbling Indian and "Coloured" management committee system.

As we said at the beginning, our memories are not short. We are aware that we, as workers, progressive petty business owners or professional people, cannot rely on what the regime promises. We have to struggle reso-

lutely to get what we want. And, in this struggle, we must unite all forces opposed to the apartheid system. In our struggle for national liberation, there is a place for those patriotic and democratic business people who find common cause with the working people.

With one voice, we have to declare that the precondition to any future economic system being acceptable to the people as a whole, is the removal of all discriminatory laws; democratisation of all aspects of life, and, much more, the exercise of political power by all the people, black and white!

## With consciences (FROM P. 6)

"We engaged in a humanitarian war, expecting them to reciprocate aware that we have to live together when it is all over, and we are therefore determined to avoid the unnecessary deepening of scars that have to be healed when we engage in national reconciliation.

"The regime did not respond and has instead engaged in the massacre of men, women and children, gunned down in their sleep; the sentencing to death of captured freedom fighters, instead of treating them as prisoners of war; assassinations of ANC cadres and leaders; killing political prisoners in torture chambers; mass removals of millions of people to the so-called homelands, where their fate is grinding poverty and death...

"Koeberg was different much more difficult. There's a message there. The whites must take note of the regime's incapability of providing security for everyone at all times. They should heed this, and stay the hand of the terrorist regime, and refuse to take up arms in defence of it. They should join the ANC and work for a democratic, non-racial state.

"It was no accident that the Koeberg saboteurs moved in before the reactors had been activated, thus avoiding any chance of a 'melt down' and subsequent radiation.

"Those who have expressed these fears are

ignorant of the ANC and have underestimated our abilities. We can strike where we want, and still not harm civilians.

"The ANC cannot continue to ignore the pressures from people who for decades have been on the receiving end of the regime's brutality. There are those who say we should return the ball. While we still rule out indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians, the time is approaching when we must confront the armed forces which are the instrument of state power.

"To those who say we are too ambitious in taking on the mightiest army in Africa, I would point to the Vietnamese people who took on the mightiest army in the world. In this region, Zimbabweans and Mozambicans took on armies bigger and better equipped than their own.

"In addition, our strength lies with the multi-faceted struggle we are engaged in. As we intensify the armed struggle and confront the enemy, so we intensify the mass politicisation and mobilisation of the people on such issues as civil disobedience. As Victor Hugo said, there is only one thing more powerful than the strongest armies of the world put together, and that is an idea whose time has come. Time has come for the freedom of South Africa."



## Let them leave with their tails between their legs

The apartheid-colonialist regime of Pretoria would like to give us the false impression that it has undergone a change of heart insofar as the discrimination against blacks in sports and related cultural activity is concerned.

Sometime last year, in the midst of the intensifying repression and exploitation of the black masses, we had the West Indian and Sri Lankan sports mercenaries brazenly coming to South Africa to try and give the ugly apartheid regime a respectable face.

### RUGBY FOOTBALL UNION

The racists are now awaiting with bated breath the May-June English Rugby Football Union tour of the apartheid rugby fields. Lofty editorials in the pro-regime newspapers are proclaiming the RFU move as "bravery". But this is not true. The RFU team that intends to come here is composed of cowards who have no moral backbone to reject the blood money they are going to get from the racists. Other international stars, such as John McEnroe among others, have rejected the apartheid bribes. They were promised these monies if they agreed to play for the promotion of apartheid. Musicians, actors and actresses, people like Harry Belafonte, Sydney Poitier, Roberta Flack and Dianna Ross, for example, have said no to the millions of rands that the regime offered for their appearances in South Africa. These are the brave and noble men and women!

Progressive people in sports bodies the world over, such as the current chairman of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, Major-General Joseph Garba of

Nigeria have declared that if the English tour "goes on, we have to mobilise to boycott the next Olympics." The head of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, Sam Ramsamy has said that the chances of England participating in the 1986 Commonwealth Games are in jeopardy if the tour goes ahead. Athletes from Commonwealth countries are going to retaliate in the Los Angeles Olympics and in the 1986 Games. The OAU has pleaded with the British Government to halt the tour; Bishop Trevor Huddleston of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement has even spoken to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and told her that the tour has "nothing to do with rugby and everything to do with aiding apartheid".

Apartheid in sport has brought grief to our people, Black and white. The black sportspeople have been denied the opportunities to develop themselves in sports; white sportspeople have been forced to leave their country and take citizenships of other countries because there is no chance for them to realise their potential in South Africa. Such is the case with Zola Budd and Sydney Maree. Zola Budd had to leave South Africa and take up British citizenship. Now the South African media tries to outdo itself in praising her performance abroad. The trick here is to disregard the fact that she has left South Africa and emphasise her South African origins. In this way whatever victory she acquires

becomes a South African victory and this is meant to discredit the Anti-Apartheid Movement and all progressive forces the world over who are saying that she should not be included in the British Olympics team. We would like such sportspeople like Zola Budd to take positions where they would be free to represent their country; they have to aid the international effort to isolate the racists by aligning themselves with all the forces fighting against sports apartheid.

The RFU has aligned itself with the enemy. It is our task to intensify the offensive to halt their tour.

Our starting point must be to rally all those forces that have been involved in the sports and cultural boycott campaign, together with the whole democratic movement, to organise an anti-tour campaign. This will afford us the chance of pooling our varied experiences in the different parts of the country and in the different sporting and cultural fields. From these experiences we must be able to come up with a single approach to the mercenary rugby tour.

The campaign organisers can consider, among other moves, the physical disruption of the matches. Although in S.A. sports such as rugby are mainly played by whites, the racists will try as usual to arrange matches in certain areas where a token number of blacks will be included in the team to give an impression of a "multi-racial" team. It is these blacks who will be included in the teams that we must organise to confront the visiting mercenaries. They must be organised to refuse to play on the grounds that they are being used by the apartheid regime against their own interests.

The final result of our campaign must be to send these Judases back to England with their tails between their legs.

### ALIENS BILL CONTINUED

We have to realise that their viciousness is born out of a certain knowledge of being cornered. It is the very weakness of the system they defend which puts them in this corner. Let us close in on them.

As we said above, the system is still intact. It has at different times been shaken in the Ciskei, Transkei, Kwazulu, etc. We have not, however, gone the whole way to force the puppets down and demand in their place people's power in a united South Africa. Instead, our lack of unity in our onslaught has led to situations such as are happening in the Ciskei, Venda and Kwazulu. Mass murder, torture and detentions are taking place. Our leaders in the democratic movement are beaten up and generally subjected to intimidation.

Our organisation for confronting this system is still at a low level. We have not built strong organisations inside the bantustans. It is true that in the Ciskei and Kwazulu, the level of organisation has been growing but we have to take this organisation to all the bantustans. We have to confront the organisations they have built and turn them against them. We will be able to do this by teaching our friends, relatives, workmates who are members of these reactionary organisations about our policy as a movement.


The organisation we build in the individual bantustans must give birth to a national anti-bantustan offensive. This offensive which must be firmly rooted in the masses, has to be part and parcel of the democratic movement for a liberated South Africa.

Our enemy has a recurring nightmare about its bantustan system crumbling down under our mighty power as a people. The nightmare must be turned by us into a reality! We have the capacity to do so!

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!!!





**Collection Number: AK2117**

**DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

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