the growth of fascist parties, fascism may or may not be racialistic — e.g. Chile. Parties or governments which adopt racist policies are not necessarily fascist — e.g. the so-called Great Britain. However, just as racism cannot be equated with fascism, although racial criteria is a fascist criteria, so opposition to racism cannot be limited to essentially anti-fascist or anti-nazi opposition however broad-based and imaginative the approach.

An anti-fascist strategy which concentrates solely or primarily on defeating the Nationalist Party will have little practical or ideological effect on racist attitudes of the population at large or the state apparatus that enshrines them. This requires that links be forged between anti-racist, black struggle and the struggle for socialism. For the Marxist perspective argues that it is only socialism under conditions of economic planning, popular democratic
political central and collectivist development of different cultures that can provide the necessary, albeit not sufficient, structural political and ideological conditions for the elimination of racism.

Links between struggles

But the links between the struggles cannot be forged in the old mechanical way of simply exposing capitalism’s mobility to tackle racism and making abstract propaganda for socialism on that basis. This is a fatalist and ultimately insurrectionary perspective.

But nonetheless serious inroads can be made at levels of mass united action, anti-racist struggle begins to take on concrete and attainable political objectives.

The key is from moving from the defence of rights under attack, typified by Blacks and anti-racist movements to that of consciously challenging the strongholds and structures of capitalist power. The linking mechanism here, as in many other arenas of struggle, is perhaps the projection of concrete solutions to aspects of racism which both address themselves adequately to black people’s specific problems, but also involves an extension of democracy – structural changes.

At the level of institutionalised and structural racism, an attack on practices
which promotes discrimination and oppression invades the development of policies of conscious intervention in the market for homes and jobs; in the spheres of education, planning and the legal/judicial system.

This constitutes a continuing erosion of the principles of capitalist production and reproduction as the working class as a whole, such as the out-break in public expenditures.

Furthermore the consciousness and organisation of African and other ethnic groups in compelling such state intervention to be democratic against white paternalism, bureaucracy partisanship and control in local decision-making and resource allocation.

First, at the organisation level, the development of concretely drawing together most elements of the broad democratic alliance envisaged in the Freedom Charter; already many of the anti-racist, anti-fascist or anti-nazi organisations show a healthy range of social forces through the involvement of black and religious organisations and through the ability to win the support of a wide-range of different political groups. The extension and solidification of the anti-racist movement's organisation through the recognition of both its autonomy and its relativity will not simply have the defensive significance of supporting the struggles of black people against oppression and undermining the current right-wing and fascist offensive that have increasingly been using racism as their major energising force. It can also play a very big part in forging a network of broad-based alliances whose struggles can enforce ideological, political and material changes that may have an important transforming character - spearheading a significant political realignment of class forces and democratic and structural reforms of value to the working class and popular strata.

Maintaining alliances
However, the maintenance of such a system of alliances is highly complex and fragile, as a number of deep ideological divisions and sectional antagonisms may be involved in these formations. Only the most skilful political leadership can maintain the unity of such diverse groups around positive activities and demands a role, in South Africa, that the African National Congress can play on account of its contacts and roots.

Finally, the South African Communist Party must itself practice relative autonomy in this front, in its own relationship to anti-racist organisation, as well as acting as a major working class leader, though by no means exclusive, unifying force, it must also present itself as an autonomous political organisation with its own independent demands, campaigns, meetings and publications.

The struggle against racism and the related though not inter-changeable struggle against fascism, has been recognised as one of the most important tasks facing the labour and progressive organisations.
“During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.”

This statement by Nelson Mandela in 1964, before being sentenced to life imprisonment, must surely rank among the most eloquent testimonies of commitment to selfless and noble ideals. It has in fact inspired increasing numbers of young South African freedom fighters who, like Mandela, are prepared to sacrifice their lives in the cause of the national emancipation of their people.

It is therefore, very appropriately, the opening statement to The Sun Will Rise, a bold and moving film shot secretly in South Africa earlier this year, which is a tribute to the brave young patriots of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, of which Nelson Mandela was the first Commander-in-Chief.

Put together in record time, surviving countless traumas resulting from clandestine production in a hostile environment, the film was premiered in London on 7 November exactly 20 years to the day in 1962 when Mandela was convicted to 3 years imprisonment on a charge of incitement and 2 years for leaving the country without travel documents. In explaining his actions, in a now famous speech in his own defence, Mandela anticipated the mass exodus of young people from South Africa following the Soweto uprising of 1976: “I was driven to this situation ... other people will be driven in the same way in this country ... of that I am certain” he predicted.

Mandela had come back into South Africa illegally ready to further the aims of Umkhonto we Sizwe and was captured on 5 August 1962. In much the same way
Mrs Martha Mahlangu who is interviewed in *the Sun Will Rise*
young ANC guerrillas have been re-entering the country since 1977 proving an increasing military threat to the racist regime. While the vast majority have managed to evade detection many through their daring actions against racist installations and personnel have been captured.

The Sun Will Rise is a tribute to the dedication and heroism of the people’s army - the fighting youth of the ANC, and in particular to Solomon Mahlangu, executed by the racists in April 1979, and all those young patriots on death row in Pretoria.

The film is also a powerful weapon to be added to the arsenal of the oppressed. It can help people to more clearly understand the motivation of those who are taking up arms against apartheid and through this understanding come to support the ANC and to help save the lives of the young people on death row.

Moving interviews with their parents reinforce the message of the film. Martha mother of Solomon Mahlangu reveals the impact made on her by her son’s commitment as well as by his legalised murder. “My eyes have been opened ... I have awakened from a long sleep ... they can do what they like, I am going forward”.

The mother of Naphtali Manana - who with his comrades was recently snatched from the gallows by concerted international protest - has no doubts about the future. “I see the future holding victory for us. Our great grandfathers fought with their hands and they were defeated. Our children fight with guns and they will win”.

But for the ANC, politics are paramount. The Freedom Charter is the chief weapon. Interviews with trade union and student activists stress the need for the development of a liberation front uniting all sections of the oppressed - workers, students, women’s and community groups which, together with armed action, will give a national dimension to the struggle.

Intercutting the interviews is inspiring footage of demonstrations, marches and meetings exemplifying, on the one hand, the sharpening struggle against apartheid, and on the other hand the growing unity between all sections of the oppressed and democratic forces. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the extraordinary and unprecedented scenes following the death in detention of Neil Aggett a white trade unionist. Excellent camerawork captures the soaring spirit of militancy and defiance among the huge crowds, parading with ANC flags, through the affluent white suburbs of Johannesburg.

“Unity in Action” has been the ANC slogan in its 70th anniversary year. That slogan is daily translated into reality. It is appropriate therefore that “Unity in Action” should be the title of a 160 page photographic history of the ANC covering the period 1912-1982, launched simultaneously with the film. Where the film is an independent production, albeit flowing with the mainstream, the picture book is produced by the ANC itself, accurately reflecting both the story and the policies of the organisation.

In his foreword to the Unity in Action book, Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, writes “All too frequently cameras, like historians, focus on the rulers and relegate the people to the background. Most books on South African history tend to be illustrated with photographs of Governors, racist Ministers, military parades and the leisured white minority. The photographs in this book, many of which were taken by militants of the liberation movement, place the people of South Africa in the centre - depicting their lives, their conditions, their resistance. This is their story - a South African history.”.

The film is available from the distributors: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 101 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP.

The book is available from all ANC offices (for addresses see inside back cover).
'It is no more a cry', Namibian Poetry in Exile, edited by Herming Melber, published by Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Basle 1982.

This new publication 'It is no more a cry' which is a booklet of poetry composed by students in the United Nations Institute for Namibia, is a contribution to the growing arsenal of revolutionary literature emerging from Namibians in exile. The reviewer wishes to warn from the very onset, that this booklet is by no means a voice in the wilderness. Most of these poems reproduced in the booklet have already been mimeographed for internal distribution in a collection entitled 'Young Namibian Poetry'. Therefore the poems — whilst exploring the symmetries and contours of Namibian culture and history — past as well as present, directly shed light on the life and spirit prevailing at the Institute today.

Established by the UN General Assembly Resolution 3296 on 13 December 1974 and officially opened by H.E. Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda at Lusaka, Zambia, this Institute aims at enabling Namibians, under the aegis of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to “develop and acquire the skills required for manning the public service of an independent Namibia”. (p.9)

Ever since the apartheid South African regime established colonial and settler-rule in Namibia, all efforts have been made to 'deform' the history, culture and social values and norms of the indigenous population. The purpose was, and still is to disorganise the defiant Namibian personality, to break her national physiognomy and to pacify her psychology. This is an attempt to force the Namibians to forget their past history, to forgive and accept colonial history and to glorify it at church and educational institutions. By so doing, the predators thought they could establish permanent white minority rule. Suffused by a vile, evil and vicious mentality of
super race hegemony, the regime has sought to use all methods in the book not just to 'arrest the historical development' of the Namibian people but to artificially revise their history and draw new lines along which these people have to 'develop'. This was seen as a thesis for eternal rule.

That pipedream is being blown away by the wind of change. An anti-thesis has been drawn up and has become the theory and practice of a nascent Namibian nation — just on the threshold of independence. This thesis has become a material force that strikes the very heart of racism. It does so, not through a curse hanging on the poets' lips but through such thoughtful poetic ideas — cool in their precision and calculated in meaning.

The poet Tjozongoro recalls the 'good old days' and decries the nasty present state of affairs — "my good old days are struck down" (p.25). The poem sets the tone and pace of subsequent poems. His song of love is echoed by his comrade Shivute who continues to muse about the past "Before the White Man Came". The poets are not interested in basking in the sun or glory of the past. They use the past to remind us of the intolerable situation prevailing presently. In fact, they paint a
picture contrasting joy to sorrow, light to darkness, rainfall to drought, freedom to slavery. The similarity of their theme, of their tone and style is borne by the fact that both poets emerge from the same womb and have sucked the same experience from their ancestors.

Tshitigona must have been thinking of his great-grandfather in his verse 'The Old Namibian Peasants'. He captures his image so well as to take us through a journey permeating seasons, all the time asserting that this peasant was "a man of hundred summers". This removes the coldness in our hearts and unfolds an era of hope. From this vivid representation Tjozongoro takes up the challenge and brings us back to the present day. He underlines the moving drama and traumatic agonies of a contract worker, super-exploited with his product taken "away to the imperialist". (p.29)

Our aesthetic impulse or thirst is quenched by Tjohenuna after taking us 'across the land between two deserts. Slioka goes on to lambast the "Tunhalle Circus" and promises us that the people "as true masters" will soon be "without Mudge as their Judge". (p.34).

In their own way, the poets tell us of their sorrows and sadness when they had to leave their motherland. They identify the culprit not only as the settler regime— but also as imperialism. This underlines their clarity of thought.

It is worth noting that the selection of the poems and their arrangement present to us the different, though interlinked phases of Namibia's history. 'Omgulumbashe' by Wakolele where he writes of the "enemy shaken by the thunder of bullets, run away in the fear of a hare for a hound" is a dedication to the first military encounter between SWAPO and the South African Defence Force, way back on August 26, 1966. This has become Namibia Day. The cold-blooded murder of refugees four years ago in Kassina is also remembered, not as a dark page in Namibia's history but as a source of courage and determination.

Poets transcend their national barriers in this collection. The evils of imperialism, like the assassinations of Amilcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane and Marien Nguabi are brought to light. Given the advanced stage at which the armed struggle is, it is not surprising that most poems praise the heroes and courage of freedom fighters: One poet Tongeni says "They do not work at random; They fighters for freedom" (p.55)

Through the medium of poetry the Namibian patriots have corrected the historical injustices and thereby are putting in perspective the true history of Namibia. This booklet is a record of the contours, slopes, downhills and uphills of the path being traversed by the Namibian people towards their cherished ideal of liberation. The commonality of our struggle with that of the Namibians, is clearly underscored by uncompromising use of revolutionary imagery at the end of which appears a bright horizon. As such, the title 'No more cry' is itself a self conscious verdict against forces and factors that have not only transformed Namibia into an ocean of tears but also into an ocean of blood.

'It is no more a cry but a fight' says Tshivunga (p.38). This Namibian train of thought will reach its cherished destination in its futurebound mission. Indeed this booklet is further proof that a magnificent literary flower is blossoming in Namibia. Though its petals have been sometimes tarnished red with blood of the struggling masses — there's ample evidence that this flower still has an aroma of imminent freedom.

Mkhwanazi.
Poem:

right in lesotho
right has been wronged
wronged
approaching dusk
murdered the breaking of
dawn
cruelty reigned above
the mountain kingdom
above the majestic glory
of moshoeshoe's stature:
a swastika sword was raised
to stain with blood
the king's thababosiu

right in lesotho
right has been wronged
too much wronged
just too much wronged
the honest nest of young birds
just from a flight
away from vultures
driven away from pastures
again vultures flew across
foreign skies
and struck in a morning raid
forty-one never saw the
morning's light

rivers in our hearts
won't dry
denied rights won't force
us to cry
eyes are cast on crushed
bones of patriot
after a filibustering
campaign of brigandage
to gorge our blood
hunt us down everywhere
like animals
the hunter determined like
nemesis

calamity has never been
our namesake
criminals we can't
just forsake
forget nor forgive

the land of the arisen sun
cast her eyes deep down caves
of the mountain kingdom
warrior's bones lie in enforced
silence

an anthem of the nation
sung at sharpeville
soweto, matola
reaches another, yet another
crescendo in maseru
Right has been wronged

Forty-one names inscribed in gold
In the golden roll of honor,
Valour defying stormy clouds
Thunder-clouds failing to stir
The healing feeling of innermost belief
Forty-one names inscribed in gold
When time stood the tide
When the tide stood time

Right in Lesotho
Right has been wronged
Just too much wronged

Our lips dry
Our tongues acidic bitter
Recall a memory of so many sweet
Our dry throats
Sip from Isandlwana’s calabash
Forty-one towers high
In the horizon of our hope

Thu-u-la
Du-buu-la
Ibrahim’s chorus hangs on our lips
No more slogans
We have no slow guns
Voortrekkerhoogte bears us out

Stones that once rolled from Thababosi
Must be the rhythm of Africa’s answer
To us the anguished ones
Anguished generation of
A right that has been wronged

Bagaetshe sound the horn again
Right in Lesotho
Right has been wronged
Too much wronged
Just too much wronged

Kuze kube nini na Mafrika!

---

Tribute to victims of yet another massacre,
This time in Lesotho, where 41 were slain in
Their sleep in the early hours of the morning,
This year of unity in action dated the
9th December 1982

Freedom Thabo Mkhwanazi
SOUTH AFRICA
A THREAT TO WORLD PEACE
STOP
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Needs YOUR Support Now
Drought and the Spirit of June 16th

Recently Dr. Nak van der Merwe, racist Minister of Health, was quoted as saying that responsibility for the high death rate among black children suffering from malnutrition should be shared by those people who breed uncontrollably. He mentioned two things that are responsible for this state of affairs, that is high death rate, namely little food and too many people: “People cannot simply continue to multiply uncontrollably”, he said.

He was responding to the statement made by Professor Allie Moosa, head of the department of paediatrics at the University of Natal who maintained that the deaths of three or four black children every hour were intimately tied to the socio-political situation. Instead of responding to this charge or doing something about starvation, the Minister started pointing fingers at the victims!

Before we put the record straight let us state the simple fact that poor families are prone to be large and unless something is done about the socio-economic conditions in the country, little can be done to keep the birth rate down and if a man or woman knows that his only hope for old age is his own children, with the high mortality rate menacing, he will plan to have more children.

The truth of the matter is that about 2.1 million black children in South Africa, excluding the homelands, suffer from malnutrition. Hunger is not only very widespread but often very severe, frequently causing illness and even death. Malnutrition often begins before birth. Death in the womb is disturbingly common in our black children. Even those born alive are often already stunted.

Malnutrition in South Africa is not the result of shortage of food but of widespread poverty: there are “surpluses” in maize, wheat, fruit and sugar and in dairy products but people are unable to buy the basic food they need.

The reason for this high infant mortality rate is the wholesale breakdown of family life against a background of universal poverty. This in turn, is a result of rural impoverishment, huge unemployment, chaotic and inadequate social services, migrant labour and squatter policies which negate any attempt to find a livelihood.

The present crippling drought has
brought thousands of (especially rural) families to the brink of starvation. The combined effect of crop failure and the retrenchment of many migrant workers as a result of economic recession has worsened the situation. The wilted, scorched crops, dying trees, dried river beds and bone thin cattle, donkeys and goats are a common sight. Dams have dried up and boreholes that are yielding any water are rapidly drying up. Women have to fetch water from miles away — in many cases undrinkable water.

Water shortage is affecting even the few medical facilities that do exist in the remote rural areas. Many clinics are completely without water. Two clinics attached to the Helene Franz Hospital in Bochum in the north-western Transvaal have to fetch water daily from hospital! Jane Furze Hospital which serves a community of 180,000 in Sekhukhuneland, was recently without water for 72 hours! This hospital, in the Sekhukhuneland area of Lebowa, a former mission hospital and now one of Lebowa's hospitals, bears evidence of drought-related distress: admission figures for kwashlorkor and malnutrition have doubled in the past year; the malnutrition ward is packed with children and their mothers — babies lie side by side on cots meant for one child while their mothers sit on benches or on the floor between the cots; the mortality rate for "ordinary" childhood illnesses such as measles is very high because of low resistance caused by chronic malnutrition; gastro-intestinal diseases, including typhoid — also endemic in the areas — has increased over the past month.

Gazankulu has lost R15 to R16 million
worth of stock. Five cattle per village are dying each day in the Ciskei. Conditions are so serious that the Fort Cox Agricultural College has decided to sell all its stock. In Onverwacht (where some cynics say health services are as good as in Houghton) 4 000 graves have been dug in the four years of the area's existence — sixty per cent of these graves are for children. The Subiaco Clinic, Tholongwe in Lebowa, which serves a community of about 25 000 people just south of the University of the North, is where children from the surrounding areas end up when they are almost dead with kwashiorkor, a disease caused by lack of protein. Since January this year, the clinic has had an average of one kwashiorkor death a week. Before the drought there were between 5 and 10 deaths a year. The typical symptoms of kwashiorkor are the peeling off of the skin; swollen limbs, undersize, lethargy, distended belly and sparse ginger-hued hair.

More than 16 000 people have been treated for cholera in South Africa in the present outbreak of the disease. The epidemic has claimed the lives of 42 people, the latest death being reported in KwaZulu, where 2 520 patients are being treated. In Natal, 22 people have died and 2 996 cholera cases have been proven. In Northern and Southern Transvaal seven people have died and 523 cases recorded. In KaNgwane three people have died and 75 cases have been reported.

In Port Elizabeth the number of measles cases has been rising over the past four months. The death toll from measles or its complications which result in pneumonia, gastro-enteritis, encephalitis and tracheobronchitis came to 124. In the first four months of this year a total of 1 064 cases was reported — this was more than 3½ times the number reported during the whole of last year. The victims are Africans and Coloureds.

This is the reality of South Africa today. It is true that the drought has made things worse but it is not the cause. The critical situation is going to get worse as long as the drought and apartheid continue.

We can understand the racist mentality of the Minister of Health who blames the poor for having large families. We can understand why this issue has been dropped from the front pages of the bourgeois press and relegated to news reports when another African child dies. But what we cannot understand is the attitude of The Sowetan which commented on this issue and came to the absurd conclusion:

"Desperate and hungry people are easy prey to incitement and social unrest. We do not believe we can afford any social disruption now that the recession has created such an atmosphere of bitterness and despair across the social scale." 

(The Sowetan, 28.4.1983)

It is true that there are some voluntary organisations such as Operation Hunger set up by the Institute of Race Relations in 1980 to raise funds for the destitute or Imqualife (Improved Quality of Life started as a one man operation in 1963) or World Vision which are doing marvellous work in this regard. But acceptance of their help is different from depending on them.

When our people's anger is overflowing, when our people are fighting back with more determination, to talk the language of The Sowetan is to be out of step with reality. The changing and continually growing needs and demands of our people force us to talk the language of the people of Soweto — as distinct from The Sowetan; the language of June 16th; the language of struggle, sacrifice and dedication.

This is more relevant today — under these straitened circumstances — than ever before. The fires of Sasol, the attacks on Paulpietersburg, the sabotage of Koeburg — these are the signposts which show us the way out of drought and apartheid. Let us mobilise our people for greater deeds!
This is an extract from a speech delivered by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, at an International Conference of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) to commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. The theme of the Conference which was held in Berlin on April 11 – 16, 1983 was “Karl Marx and Our Times – The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress”.

Comrade Erich Honecker,
Distinguished delegates,
Dear comrades and friends:

Since the birth of Karl Marx 165 years ago and his death a hundred years ago, the world has undergone a profound transformation which has turned into reality the vision which he and his comrades-in-arms, Friedrich Engels, upheld and projected.

Yet the occasion of these anniversaries has provided an opportunity for the forces of reaction to proclaim, for the umteenth time, that Marxism is dead. In our country, South Africa, these forces have trotted out their own forensic philosophers with a mandate to produce a brand new certificate to be presented to the people through the state mass media, once more proclaiming the death of Marxism.

Whence this queer medical proceeding?
The answer of course lies in the fact that these certificates, which are supposed to be scientific documents describing objective reality, are weapons which the opponents of Marxism use in the vain hope that, through repetition, a falsehood will change into its opposite.

This conference demonstrates vividly how far the subjective wishes of the imperialists, their scribes and think-tanks have parted company with the objective world.

The social practice that we can see with our own eyes in this, the land of birth of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, confirms the vitality of the ideas put forward by Marx and Engels and developed by V.I. Lenin. Nothing that the reactionary prophets of doom say or do can reverse this social reality which has, through struggle...
and the correct application of Marxist-Leninist teachings, been implanted deep into the soil of vast expanses of our universe.

On behalf of the African National Congress we wish to extend our sincere thanks to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, Comrade Erich Honecker, the Central Committee and the SED as a whole as well as the people of socialist Germany for giving us the opportunity to be present at this important conference to share views with representatives of millions of people to whom Marxism is a living tool and a lodestar pointing the way to a world free of exploitation of man by man, free of national oppression, the threat of war, of hunger, disease, ignorance and backwardness.

As early as 1864, at a time when our own forebears were still locked in heroic wars of resistance to save our country from enslavement by European colonial powers, Marx pointed to the historic relationship between the struggles for national liberation and the emancipation of the working class. Thus in his open letter to Abraham Lincoln he characterized the American Civil War as one fought “for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.” He further observed that: “While the working man (in the U.S.) allowed slavery to defile their own republic they were unable to attain the true freedom of labour or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation.”

In the same year, in his address to the Inaugural Meeting of the First International, again speaking about the American Civil War, Marx said: “It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic.”

To this day, the alliance between the forces of socialist revolution and national emancipation about which Marx wrote 99 years ago, remains a powerful motive force in the struggle against imperialist domination. During the present century, and especially after the Second World War, it dealt a death blow to the system of colonialism. As a consequence of the defeat of capital and the transfer of power into the hands of the working people, the national question has, in the main, been solved in the socialist countries on the basis of the complete recognition of the right of the peoples to national self-determination and adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Inspired by hostility to these results and in an attempt to guarantee its own victory, imperialism is bent on driving a wedge between the socialist and the national liberation movements. The most reactionary forces in this camp, today represented and led by the Reagan Administration, are busy propagating the myth that the struggle for national liberation is but the manifestation of a devilish plan of the Soviet Union to dominate the world.

Within this past month and addressing himself to the anti-imperialist struggles currently raging in Central America, Reagan made bold to proclaim that the Soviet Union is “the focus of evil in the modern world.” This grand patron of the butchers of San Salvador, Tel Aviv and Pretoria, a war-monger who is pushing the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust, a self-proclaimed friend of capital whose policies have forced the United States working class to depend on charitable soup kitchens for its sustenance — this representative and leader of arch-reaction has the arrogance to make this insulting statement while presenting himself as the epitome of a universal benevolence.

This rabid anti-Sovietism of course has its proponents in Pretoria where, for the past 35 years, the ruling fascist party has elevated the doctrine of anti-communism to the level of state policy. Behind this policy, described as Christian nationalism, 5
The Elegant Palace of the Republic — venue of the Marx-Conference

6 Alfred Nzo next to Moses Mabhida General Secretary of South Africa Communist Party
From L — R.
Gus Hall, Moses Mabhida, Brian Bunting, Alfred Nzo and Anthony Mongalo

Alfred Nzo
ANC Secretary
General addressing the Conference
there lies a practice of unbridled capitalistic exploitation, colonial and racist oppression, fascist repression and imperialist aggression and expansionism.

As a result of this practice, the region of Southern Africa is today in the grip of an escalating war. Every day people are dying at the hands of Pretoria’s marauders. The racists seek to transform the independent countries of our region into client states. The fascist regime continues to increase its military strength, including its nuclear capability.

Comrades,

The people of South Africa and Namibia are confronted with increasing oppression, repression and terror. The apartheid regime is going ahead with its programme of so-called constitutional reform which, among other things, aims at further centralizing power in the hands of the most die-hard fascists; consolidating the dominance of the military establishment over the state machinery and coopting sections of the black population for the defense and perpetuation of white minority domination. The fascists would like to liquidate the ANC and SWAPO both by military and political means.

Clearly, the fascist regime is determined to stay in power and to maintain the apartheid system at all costs. It is to achieve these objectives that it is carrying out the campaign of war and repression of which we have spoken. It is also for the same reason that this regime, together with its allies in Washington, is screaming about a non-existent threat of Soviet domination of our region.

By this means, it hopes that it can persuade the masses of our people and those of our region as a whole to turn their backs on the national liberation movement and the national liberation forces to turn against their natural alliance with the GDR, the Soviet Union and the world socialist system as a whole. Of course the forces of reaction know that if they achieved this result, which they will not, then the national liberation movement would not be able to attain its objective of destroying the apartheid regime, transferring power into the hands of the people of South Africa and transforming our region into a zone of liberty, peace and social progress.

The apartheid regime and its allies are however forced into these desperate and hopeless ideological, political and military adventures and manoeuvres because of the growing strength, combativeness and the ideological and political clarity and cohesiveness of the forces of national liberation in our region.

The masses of the oppressed people in our country are united behind the ANC and its allies. As a result of continuous and heroic political and military struggles that the enemy has failed and will fail to stop, the balance of strength within South Africa is shifting inexorably in favour of the forces of national and social emancipation.

This process was described on the 30th January this year by a South African journalist writing in the Johannesburg “Sunday Express” in the following terms: “A most profound realignment of our politics is clearly under way... The Government, having unleashed a new debate, no longer sets the terms in which it is conducted.”

The journalist goes on to explain this realignment as one with the democratic forces which uphold the historic positions of the ANC and its allies on one side of the barricades and the forces of reaction on the other, led by the present ruling group. He then observes correctly that: “On this line the battle will be fought.”

It is indeed on this line that the battle is being fought and will be fought until victory is won. As Karl Marx foresaw, the unbreakable alliance between ourselves as an enchained race and the forces that have reconstructed and are reconstructing a social world, will surely overwhelm the imperialist alliance which today keeps our people in subjugation.
In this discussion article Father Michael Lapsley, SSM, 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 "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."

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 as terrorists while they portray themselves as 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 cause is incontrovertible.

Over the ages certain arguments have emerged which provide a framework for people to examine some of the moral issues involved in war. These arguments have come known as the theory of a just war. The threat of nuclear war and the spectre of the annihilation of the world, which it brings, has brought many people to the view that in today's world it is nonsense to talk of a just war. While that is maybe true, when we speak on a global scale, it does not help us deal with wars of national liberation which have been recently won or those which are still in process, whether they be the ones waged by Farabundo Marti in El Salvador, Fretilin in East Timor, the PLO, or, closer to home, PLAN in Namibia and Umkhonto We Sizwe in South Africa.

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 with people. At present the daily average has reached 102 000. A very tiny proportion have always been war resisters. Most of them are Jehovah's Witnesses, who do not recognise the state (any state) and refuse to serve in any war. However recently there have emerged a group who belong to what we call in South Africa, the English-speaking churches (Methodist, Eastern, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian). Most of them have been Christians and have stated that they would not serve in any war. But although unwilling pacifists, the new generation of war resisters have also spoken of the basic injustice of apartheid and of its indefensibility. Brave young patriots, whom the government labels as traitors, have already played an important role in several ways.

Whereas the apartheid regime has always sought to create 'race war' by defining human beings according to pigmentation, the forces
for liberation have always pointed to the underlying system. This is not particularly convincing if in fact every single white male does join the South African Defence Force.

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. He is currently serving a year in Pretoria Central Prison. 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." Here was not a universal pacifist but a young white male with all the privileges that apartheid could give him, who concluded that "This side of this war is wrong." 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 go 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 a grievance? Even slow thinkers might have been forgiven for wondering how the 'communist hordes' came to be born in the townships of Johannesburg, Durban or Port Elizabeth, and not in Moscow or Havana. Even more disturbing for the regime has been the public articulating of historically attested and widely respected theological arguments which are theoretically subscribed to by the principal proponents of apartheid.

Like almost all apartheid legislation, 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 a 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 (though Billy Paddock managed to find eight!). We should examine each of the arguments as they apply both to the South African Defence Force and to Umkhonto We Sizwe. I quote from the summary given by J.G. Davies (1):

1. **It has to be declared by a legitimate authority.** Well, 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 have been tried 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 also be a strong possibility that the good achieved will be greater than the evils combated.

Legitimate Authority.

South African Defence Force. The head of state, on behalf of parliament, would normally declare a state of war. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally in contravention of the United Nations and International Court of Justice. It has invaded, and occupies territories of, Angola and has violated the territorial integrity of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho to kill and destroy lives and property. All this is in the form of an undeclared war. During the Angolan war of independence the South African Defence Force invaded Angola but tried to pretend to the South African public that it was not there.

Umkhonto We Sizwe. The problem of legitimate authority is difficult in the case of civil war. It could be argued that the declaration made at the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe was itself a declaration of war made by an organisation which over 50 years had established its moral authority and also represented, in a democratic organisation, the aspirations of the majority of disenfranchised South Africans. Also, the South African state by its systematic oppression and dispossession of the majority of its own citizens can no longer be said to be the legitimate authority in South Africa. The General Assembly of the United Nations has recognised this point by rejecting the credentials of the South African Government delegation.

Just Cause

South African Defence Force. It is sufficient to quote from a recently jailed war resister, Peter Hathorn. "To go into the SADF is to take sides in the struggle in the country - for one is putting oneself in a situation where one could be commanded to forcibly 're-settle' people, where one could be issued with live ammunition and instructed to disperse striking workers, or to go into townships and 'put down' a student uprising. One cannot go into the army and take on the role of the soldier, the oppressor, and then protest about the system of white domination and oppression."

Umkhonto We Sizwe. Whereas the SADF is there to perpetuate the privileges of the few against the majority, to defend injustice, Umkhonto is the military tool to achieve a society in which all will be able to participate. The grievance which Umkhonto is fighting against is a tyranny which has developed over 300 years. Black objections voiced at Westminster to the Act of Union of 1910 were ignored. Blacks were not consulted when South Africa became a republic. No black person has access to constitutional means of bringing about meaningful change in South Africa. Pope Paul VI in the Papal Encyclical Populorum Progressio warned against the dangers of revolution, "except in the case of manifest and prolonged tyranny which attacks fundamental rights of the person and endangers the common good of the country."

Apartheid is both 'manifest' and 'prolonged' and involves the denial of basic rights to 80% of its citizens 'on the basis of colour alone.'

Last Resort

South African Defence Force is an army of occupation in Namibia which can stop the
war there by leaving and implementing United Nations Resolution 435. Inside South Africa, the government continues to militarise the entire country rather than share power, privilege and wealth with all South Africans. The government has refused to make the political decision which would remove the task of the military.

**Umkhonto We Sizwe.** For fifty years the ANC sought by non-violent means to achieve basic rights in South Africa but met always with brutality, torture, death and increased repression. Seldom has a people been so patient before being forced to opt for armed struggle when all other methods had been exhausted. For too long the majority of the people were left defenceless. It is important to link the internals with the external and remember that it is also the failure of the Western nations to withdraw their large-scale economic investment in apartheid which makes the armed struggle the last resort of an oppressed people.

**Just Goals.**

**South African Defence Force.** The occupation of Namibia, the destabilisation of all the front-line states and the perpetuation of power in white hands. This is mystified as the ‘prevention of communism’ which is supposed to provide a blessing for any and every act of terror which the SADF may decide to perpetuate. Inside South Africa the word ‘communism’ has been devalued by the racists so much that it has come to mean anything which is not consistent with government policy. Young conscripts are told that they are fighting for their country, but the growing number of war resisters are an indication that it is the racist ideology which they are asked to defend against the wishes of the majority of South Africans.

**Umkhonto We Sizwe is fighting for a non-racial democracy — the vision of a new society which is outlined in the Freedom Charter adopted at the most representative gathering which has ever taken place in South Africa, in 1955. In contrast to the racists’ policy of excluding, disenfranchising and disempowering, the Freedom Charter is about empowering, including and sharing with all the people of South Africa. Opposition to apartheid could so easily have taken the form of ‘turning the tables’ which would be understandable but not truly liberatory, nor to be considered as a just goal from a moral perspective.

**Just Means.**

**South African Defence Force.** The Catholic Bishops in South Africa and more recently the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) have accused the South African occupation forces of perpetrating atrocities and controlling the war zones through ‘fear and violent intimidation.’ The Anglican report states: ‘We heard numerous allegations of harassment, torture, detentions and killings by the South African army ... Whilst SWAPO does not show mercy to informers, many of the atrocities for which SWAPO has officially been blamed are in fact perpetrated by the SADF.” The memories of Cauca, Matola and Maseru leave us in no doubt about the basic injustice of the means employed by the SADF.

Nor must we forget that the West has connived to give the SADF nuclear capability. To use against whom, except the peoples of Southern Africa? The thought of nuclear weaponry in the hands of the race-mad fanatics who rule in Pretoria should be enough to galvanise the whole world to redouble its efforts to end apartheid rule in South Africa.

**Umkhonto We Sizwe.** Short of national suicide, the only feasible method of armed struggle in South Africa is guerrilla warfare linked to the political mobilisation of the masses. If we look at the history of armed struggle since Umkhonto We Sizwe began, it has been characterised by immense restraint, the identification of the system as the problem, the eschewing of civilian targets and the refusal to use indiscriminate violence. This is not simply a matter of tactics but arises out of the morality of Umkhonto We Sizwe’s cause and the definition of the enemy as a...
system rather than a people. However, the SADF in its process of militarising the entire country is blurring the edges. Speaking at the funeral after the Matola massacre, President Tambo posed a question which effectively asked if the possession of a weapon or ability to use it defines a military base. For, if that is the definition, the racists are then using every white home in South Africa as a military base. While putting the question, which the racists have declined to answer, Umkhonto We Sizwe has continued to escalate the armed struggle against military and economic targets.

Reasonable Chance of Success.

South African Defence Force. A conscripted army which fights for the preservation of a fundamentally unjust system and illegally occupies someone else's country has both God and history against it. The chances of success for the SADF are nil in the long run, but its ability to continue to cause colossal death and destruction in the process remains, shored up by the lack of political will on the part of the beneficiaries of apartheid in Western countries, who have the power to shorten the time and lessen the cost. Umkhonto We Sizwe. The justice of the cause of the fight against apartheid is indisputable. It would be naive to think that there was anything automatic or even mechanistic about the process by which victory will be achieved. The SADF is engaged in distributing death on a massive scale because of the refusal of the politicians to make just political decisions. Umkhonto We Sizwe, for its part, engages in armed struggle, integrally linked with the political struggles of a largely unarmed people and both united in seeking the seizure of political power to establish a non-racial democracy — to implement the Freedom Charter. It is salutary to note that many people who felt that the creation of Umkhonto in 1961 was suicidal madness, would today acknowledge the political effect of this well-disciplined army and grudgingly acknowledge that no force on earth is going to stop power changing hands in South Africa because of the depth of commitment, courage and the discipline of the majority of the people. The point I am making is that different conclusions about chances of success can be made at different points of time. It is interesting to read political scientists, historians and sociologists who predicted the impossibility of a seizure of power by popular forces in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. At the psychological level, the armed propaganda phase carried out by Umkhonto We Sizwe has done much to destroy racist myths of invincibility in the minds of the people and has given the people a deeply renewed hope of success — 'Freedom in Our Lifetime.'

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. Even in our commitment to armed struggle we must never forget that we are human beings who have been forced by an evil system to have to kill other human beings and that we seek a new society where the chain of oppressor and oppressed will be broken. For me, the commitment 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. (2)