
EDITORIAL

The State of Emergency

It was only this year that Botha promised to release Nelson Mandela if he "stopped being violent." Before even the year ended, Botha was very violent.

The regime had sentenced Moloise to death, and thereafter Payi and Xulu. It arrested the UDF leadership, charging them with "treason." The regime has killed over 500 people since November last year and has wounded and maimed many more; people have disappeared without trace; some have been buried 'secretly' in the presence of the police. There have been cases of 'mysterious' murders, and recently Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge was murdered in her home — the Reverend Mcelisi Xundu missed death by millimetres. Murder squads have emerged in South Africa, and many anti-racist and anti-apartheid fighters (including Bishop Tutu) are on the death list or 'hit list' of the agents of the regime.

This is to say nothing of the activities of the army, police and security forces — they simply invade and occupy residential areas of Africans, looking for 'subversive' literature, and after a month or so of search they come out with pornographic literature! Week-ends are no longer a period of relaxation for the workers — away from work, escaping police searches for passes, work permits, taxes and so on. Week-ends are days for burying people killed by the police and army.

This is to say nothing of millions who die of diseases, hunger, malnutrition, cold and abandonment; those children who die before they reach the age of one; those mothers and wives who know no other life except loneliness because their husbands are in the mines, far away, and only come home to die of T.B. and mine phthisis and/or other related diseases, such as 'industrial diseases' (losing a leg, arm or head in the mines). What about the 3½ million people forcibly removed from their

homes? And those poor Indians and Coloureds, victims of the Group Areas Act, who have nowhere to live? What about broken families and homes? — broken because of the apartheid system? There are millions and millions of people in South Africa waiting — literally waiting — to die. Some even have no patience to wait — they commit suicide. Because of apartheid.

The State of Emergency is No Solution

It is at this time and in the midst of such problems that apartheid South Africa came with a solution — the state of emergency. What the state of emergency means is that now we can expect more 'disappearances' and less information about them, because the press is forbidden to report anything; we can expect more brutality because the police and the authorities are now legally indemnified — they are above the law, and cannot be taken to court. Apartheid has long declared war on our people and their ideas. Now it is declaring war on the international community. The international community, which has a right to know what is happening in South Africa, is denied that right. South African journalists are not allowed to report on anything except what the Ministry of Defence "deems fit" for publication. The international community is being denied the right to know. Apartheid politicians have always said that they are "protecting" the South African and Namibian people from the ANC and SWAPO — and by implication from the rest of humanity. This is what the state of emergency means. Can the international community allow this to happen, or, to be more precise, to continue?

When the ANC decides to challenge, and indeed to change, this situation, it is accused of being 'violent.' We expected that this accusation would come from the Bothas, Reagans and

Margaret Thatchers. But when Gatsha Buthelezi joins them the problem assumes a new dimension.

During the state of emergency a new problem arose. The London *Times* of August 9th, 1985 reported:

"Last night, gangs of up to 1 000 strong, mainly of young Blacks, were roaming the townships, burning and looting homes, shops and government offices, and attacking everyone in their path.

"Indians were the prime target ..."

The article went further:

"The Indian township of Inanda was worst hit as young Black gangs embarked on a rampage of arson and looting. President Botha said yesterday there were no immediate plans to extend to Durban the state of emergency, which covers 36 districts."

And Gatsha Buthelezi adds:

"It grieves me that members of a certain political organisation, plus the external mission of the African National Congress, are promoting this Black-on-Black confrontation. It is hogwash to present this kind of political thuggery as the Black political struggle."

There are too many problems here — two sides of the same coin. The African youth who are "roaming the townships, burning and looting homes, shops and government buildings and attacking everyone in their path" leave Botha cold — he says there are no immediate plans to extend the state of emergency to Durban. Not that we are for the state of emergency. We just want to point out the inconsistency. When the Whites and the 'system' — the *status quo* — are threatened, then the state of emergency is necessary. When Blacks kill Blacks, all is normal.

Buthelezi Sows Discord

We expected this talk from the racists, and paradoxically enough from Gatsha Buthelezi. But what we did not expect is for him to go further and accuse the ANC of being behind this "Black on Black confrontation." He conveniently 'forgets' that he — more than anybody else — has been beating the drums

of chauvinism for quite a long time. Buthelezi's 'big tribe' chauvinism fertilises the soil on which he sows the seeds of hatred and confusion, inflaming passions, spreading the obnoxious bacteria of tribalism and chauvinism.

He has been terrorising — in a literal sense — anybody who differs with him, although he claims to be a 'leader.' Who is he leading? Gatsha Buthelezi has for a long time been reminding everybody — especially the Indians — about the 1949 incidents, when Africans and Indians killed each other, incited by the racists. He has gone on record as being one of 'our' greatest tribalists, saying that one of the problems in Natal (a Zulu area) is the presence of "Xhosa lawyers" who have run away from the miserable conditions in the Transkei and Ciskei. Two of these "Xhosa lawyers" have since been murdered, namely Griffiths Mxenge and his wife, Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge.

The struggle of our people — especially in Natal — has been shaking the fence on which Gatsha Buthelezi has long been sitting. Now he has fallen on the side of the people's enemies, on the side of the Pretoria racists, where he belongs. The people will deal with him, especially when he tries to stand up on the wrong side.

The apartheid system is cruel. Apartheid is not just separation of people 'according to races.' It is inequality. It is suspicion. It is ignorance of each other, and ignorance of the common interests. It is jealousy. It is hatred — of everything that is not 'mine.' It is bigotry. It is everything that is inhuman and anti-human. One student from Lesotho said at the Youth Festival in Moscow:

"I don't understand why they have the word 'peace' in their vocabulary."

The combination of these objective and subjective factors makes the situation of Africans, especially in Natal, more critical and desperate. The incidents taking place in Durban are connected with frustration and desperation — with the hope and despair of the Africans in that part of the country.

The ANC is the organisation that is destin-

ed, and called upon, to intervene in that situation. This is not only because it is the oldest, most democratic and most respected and most adhered-to organisation in the country. We are now talking of the people within the country — the workers, peasants, the people from gaol, the mothers, sisters and brothers; everybody.

The ANC Is Democratic

The ANC has a democratic approach to everything — the recent ANC conference proved and displayed that. What is more, the ANC's non-racial philosophy, and the fact that the ANC is the only organisation in the country (and not outside it, as Gatsha Buthelezi always claims) which has the capability of challenging and facing the enemy. The ANC is already confronting the enemy in the field of battle — militarily. All the talk of Gatsha Buthelezi about his 'non-violent stance' is hot

air, because he is very violent when it comes to confronting unarmed UDF members, students of Ngoye University and ministers of religion, such as Reverend Xundu.

In this difficult period, the ANC calls on you, the international community — especially in the United States and Britain — to intensify the pressure on your governments; put pressure on them to dissociate themselves from apartheid; to implement the United Nations resolutions on sanctions, including disinvestment and the oil embargo. This also means the non-recognition of the apartheid regime and its embassies. We call for the total isolation of apartheid. We ask ourselves what the apartheid regime has to offer the United Nations?

Why are they dirtying the corridors, seats and papers of the United Nations?

Why? Why? Why?



Has Pretoria renounced violence? Scene at a demonstration in Durban, against the State of Emergency.

FRATERNAL MESSAGES TO CONFERENCE

From the SACP

The South African Communist Party sends warmest fraternal greetings to the 1985 Consultative Conference of the African National Congress and wishes it every success in its deliberations. Your Conference marks an historic milestone along the road to liberation and will speed up the pace of the liberation forces in their forward march to inevitable victory.

The South African Communist Party has a long history of association with the ANC — an association which has now developed into a brotherly alliance. Our Party bears the proud record of having been among the pioneers of our land proclaiming the goal of a South Africa without any form of colour discrimination and exploitation of man by man. At a very early stage in our development — under the slogan of a Black Republic — we adumbrated the policy of complete unconditional national liberation which is now the common aim of the ANC, the CP and our whole liberation front.

What explains the unique and brotherly relationship between our two organisations? The answer was clearly spelt out by our General Secretary, Comrade Moses Mabhida, when he said:

"Our Party's relationship with the ANC is based on mutual trust, reciprocity, comradeship in battle and a common struggle for national liberation. Our unity of aims and methods of struggle are a rare instance of positive alignment between the forces of class struggle and national liberation."

From the earliest days communists have worked unstintingly to strengthen the ANC. The selfless work of communist and liberation giants such as J B Marks, Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo and Bram Fischer will rank

among the most outstanding contributions to the growth and defence of the liberation movement. We mention these names (and there are many others) because they symbolise the fact that our collaboration with the ANC is not a passing formality; it is an act of love for and dedication to the objectives of freedom and true liberation. You deservedly stand unchallenged today as head of our liberation alliance. In this role, we are at your side. We are fellow freedom fighters sharing the same trench, and we will remain at your side until the flag of Black, Green and Gold is raised over the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

We are confident that your Conference will be a major step in the direction of cementing the unity of all progressive forces and raising the level of struggle among all sections of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The South African Communist Party, as the political vanguard of the working class, pledges to do its utmost to ensure that your decisions are carried into the field of struggle, and implemented.

We pledge to strengthen the alliance between our two organisations in every possible way.

Dear Comrades and Brothers: Your victories are our victories. Let us march forward side by side to freedom.

Long Live the ANC!

Long Live the Alliance between the ANC and SACP!

Forward to People's Power!

**SOUTH
AFRICAN
COMMUNIST
PARTY**





Comrade Nkadameng addresses the ANC Conference in June.

From SACTU

The National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, SACTU, conveys its revolutionary greetings to the leadership of the African National Congress and its entire membership on the occasion of its Consultative Conference to be held from June 16, 1985.

This Conference is convened at a time when there is a great revolutionary upsurge among all sections of the people, who have seized the slogan of our President, Comrade O R Tambo, to make our country ungovernable. It also takes place at a time when the combination of the telling blows of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the extra-parliamentary struggles waged by the democratic forces are giving the enemy terrible nightmares.

We are confident that this Conference will chart the way forward, towards the escalation of our struggle for total and complete emancipation.

It is heartening to note that, as this Conference converges here, the whole democratic trade union movement in our country is engaged in serious talks for the formation of one national democratic trade union federation. The idea is to speak with one voice against the common enemy irrespective of their political differences. They are determined to unite around the issues which unite them in the common struggle for the destruction of the apartheid

colonial system.

We wish to reassure you, dear comrades, that SACTU, the democratic trade union movement and the entire working people of our country will redouble our efforts and stand steadfastly behind the struggle led by the African National Congress

We are confident that Conference will deliberate on the burning issues that face our revolution and examine its successes and failures guided by the slogan, **Freedom in our Lifetime.**

We call upon our comrades, both young and old, to use this Conference to close ranks. Let us unite, mobilise and forge ahead.

SACTU is proud to be part of the Congress Alliance led by the African National Congress, whose lofty aims and objects are enshrined in the historic Freedom Charter. We reiterate our firm commitment to the realisation of these freedoms.

We have no doubt that the African National Congress will emerge from this historic Conference with greater resilience and determination.

We wish the deliberations of this Conference will be crowned with success.

Amandla! Matla!

An Injury to One is an Injury to All!

John K Nkadameng
General Secretary

**SOUTH
WEST
AFRICAN
PEOPLE'S
ORGANISATION**

From SWAPO

Dear Comrades,

We salute and greet you on this occasion of your historic National Consultative Conference. The struggle in South Africa led by the African National Congress has been escalated to a point where the boers themselves have admitted that the revolutionary forces can no longer be ignored. This is absolutely a sign that the eradication of the capitalist, racist minority regime with its abhorrent apartheid policy in both South Africa and Namibia is in sight.

We congratulate you, dear comrades, for the past heroic deeds of ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and we have no doubt that ANC will continue with the noble cause of liberating the oppressed majority in South Africa. Your victory is our victory. The cordial relations based on co-operation and co-ordination of SWAPO/ANC activities has benefited both of us in our struggle against our common enemy.

The Namibian people, under the leadership of their vanguard, SWAPO of Namibia, will always be ready to support your legitimate cause as we have done in the past. Please accept our solidarity and fraternal support, and SWAPO of Namibia wishes you all the successes during your deliberations.

The struggle continues. Victory is Certain!

Your Comrades in Arms
Andimba Toivo ja Toivo
SWAPO Secretary General

The following is a full list of organisations and individuals who sent messages of support to the Conference.

**Heads of State, Diplomatic Missions,
Governmental and Non-Governmental
Organisations**

President Benjaidid, Algeria; President Masire, Botswana; President Abdou Diouf, Senegal; E. Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR; OAU General Secretariat; OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa; OAU Group in Brussels; OMA, Angola; Ministre des PTT, Antananarive; Goshu Wolde, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zimbabwe; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finland; Embassy of Jamaica; Russell Marshall, New Zealand Minister of Education; Swedish Embassy, Dar es Salaam; Embassy of Socialist Republic of Vietnam; Angola Committee of Ambassadors of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries; Joseph N Garba, Chairman, UN Special Committee Against Apartheid; Enugu Reddy, Former Head, UN Centre Against Apartheid.

Liberation Movements

Roque Rodrigues, Fretelin Political CC; Farouk Kaddoumi, Secretary Al Fateh Movement, Member of the Executive Committee of PLO, Political Department, PLO; Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, Secretary-General, SWAPO.

Political Parties

Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan; AKFM, Antananarivo; Communist Party of Australia; Central Committee, Socialist Party of Australia; John Langmore, MP, House of Representatives, Canberra, Australia; Socialist Party of Austria; Central Committee, Parti Communiste de Belgique; Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party; Communist Party of Canada;

National Organisation of Chilean Exiles in UK; Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba; Central Committee, Workers Party of Ethiopia; Fifanampiana Malagasy; Central Committee of the German Communist Party (DKP) of the FRG; Anne Borgman, Member German Bundestag, Green Party, FRG; Social Democratic Party, FRG; British Labour Party (Great Britain); Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain; L. Hickox, CPGB London Group; Morning Star (Editor, Tony Chater) Great Britain.

Russell Marshall, New Zealand Parliamentarians; Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand; Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; Comite Central do MLSTP (Sao Tome & Principe); Democratique/Mouvement pur le Parti du Travail Senegal; South African Communist Party; Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Communist Workers' Party of Sweden; Communist Party KPMLR, Sweden; Left Wing Communists (VPK), Sweden; Swedish Social Democratic Party; Central Committee, Communist Party USA; Democratic Workers' Party, USA; Central Committee, Yemeni Socialist Party; President of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

Solidarity Movements and Organisations

Action for World Development, Victoria Branch, Australia; Afaspa, France; Africa Groups of Sweden; Africa Educational Trust (UK); African, Caribbean and Pacific States Secretariat; African Heritage Studies Association; All India Peace Solidarity Organisation; Angolan League of Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples; American Committee on Africa; American Friends' Service Committee; Anti-Apartheid, Brisbane, Australia; Anti-Apartheid Movement, Austria; AAM, Manitoba, Canada; Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, FRG; Anti-Apartheid de France; Anti-Apartheid Movement, Netherlands; AAM, UK — Trevor Huddleston, President, and Bob Hughes MP, Chairman; Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee, FRG; Arab-Palestinian Association of Canada; Associa-

tion 25th April, Angola; Australian Council for Overseas Aid; Battersea and Wandsworth Trade Union Council (UK); Bay Area Free SA Movement (USA); BOA — Belgium; Bristol University AA Group (UK); Bulgarian Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa; Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (Care) Australia; Canadian Arab Federation; Canadians Concerned About Southern Africa; Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries; CIDMAA, Montreal; Centro Informazione e Educazione Allo Sviluppo (Molise Italy); Comite Contre le Colonialisme et L'Apartheid (Bruxelles); Conipaz, Managua, Nicaragua.

Committee on South African War Resisters (UK); Cubano Movimento por la Paz y la Soberania de los Pueblos; Czechoslovak Solidarity Committee, Prague; Danish Association for International Co-operation; Denmark: Paedagogisk Medhjælper Forbund; Landsforeningen Danske Clubfolk; Socialpaedagogernes Landsforbund; Landsforeningen for Social Paedagoger; Development Aid From People to People; End Loans to South Africa (UK); Ethiopian Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Committee; Finnish Africa Committee; Finnish Peace Committee; Ghana Peace and Solidarity Council; Holland Committee on Southern Africa; Hungarian Solidarity Committee; International Association of Democratic Lawyers; International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (UK); International Forum, Denmark; International Solidarity Foundation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party; Isolate South Africa Campaign; London Borough of Islington, Race Relations Committee (UK); Lesotho Peace and Solidarity Committee; Movimento Liberazione e Sviluppo (Italy); Mozambican Association for Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples; Mrap Solidarite; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (USA); National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (USA); National Committee, South Africa Action (Denmark); National Lawyers' Guild; New Zealand Defence and Aid Fund; Norsk Folkehjelp; Novib, Holland; Ospaal, Cuba

PSFO Afghanistan; Reggio Emilia Town Council (Italy, Mayor Ugo Benassi) Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee; Soviet Peace Committee; Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement; United States Out of Southern Africa (USA); Vietnam Committee of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples; Washington Office on Africa (USA); WIDF; Women's Coalition for Nairobi; World Marxist Review (Editor-in-Chief, Yuri Sklyarov); World Peace Council (Romesh Chandra, President); WREE.

Trade Unions

CGT, Canada; Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (Canada); Federation of Malagasy Revolutionary Trade Unions; ILO Area Office, Dar es Salaam; Italian General Confederation of Labour; New Zealand Federation of Labour; Organisation of African Trade

Union Unity; South African Congress of Trade Unions; TASS (British Engineering Union); Union of Electrical, Radio and Machinists, Canada; WFTU.

Student Organisations

AASU Secretariat; Centre Youth League in Finland; Danish Youth Council; DGS and LAK — Student Organisations, Denmark; IUS Secretariat; National Union of Students (UK); Pan African Youth Movement; WUS Denmark; WFDY; YCL (USA).

Church Bodies

Angolan Council of Evangelical Churches; British Council of Churches; Christian Concern for Southern Africa (UK); Quaker Peace and Services (UK); United Church of Canada.



From left to right: Comrades O R Tambo, T T Nkobi and A Nzo, on the platform at the ANC Conference.