

UMSEBENZI



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VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

SEIZE THE MOMENT!



For three weeks in June, the violence in which thousands of our people have been slaughtered was turned off like a tap.

The massacres were stopped.

They were stopped because De Klerk's propaganda has been ripped aside.

Everywhere the hand of the police and the SADF could be seen, manipulating, pulling strings, handing out weapons of murder and destruction.

At home even the government's own propaganda organs were asking questions.

Abroad, governments sympathetic to De Klerk were increasingly unconvinced by his claims.

De Klerk had blundered, he had overplayed his hand.

So the tap was turned off.

But by overplaying his hand, he has forewarned us and has demonstrated beyond doubt that he is the main obstacle to peace and political tolerance.

Our response must not be to abandon negotiations, but to enter them aware of his aims and equipped to stop the tap of violence being turned on again.

We must build and strengthen the church-initiated peace talks, establishing clear and enforceable codes of conduct for political parties and for the security forces.

And we must build our self-defence capacity against the threat of renewed onslaughts.

**Organise, Mobilise,
Build the Alliance!**

**DE KLERK HAS
BLUNDERED**

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Government propaganda called it a 'Red Plot', a secret programme by the SACP to derail negotiations.

History has proved this was a lie, and even the state's propaganda organs admit Operation Vulindlela was a highly successful underground ANC operation to place top-level ANC leadership inside the country to lead, from the front, the struggle against apartheid.

It was not a Red plot. But the SACP is proud of the role its members played in Vula. Comrade Mac Maharaj and Ronnie Kasrils are well-known. But

Vula: The operational details



★ **VULA HERO:** The head of Vula's Western Cape network, Comrade Charles Nqakula

there were others — among them Comrade Janet Love, Vula's communications officer and Comrade Charles Nqakula,

head of Vula's Western Cape network.

They and the entire Vula team spend months working literally under the noses of apartheid's police. And after the first Vula arrests last July, they outwitted one of the country's most intense police manhunts to remain at large.

Comrade Janet, 34, came into the country to join the internal ANC underground in 1987, ahead of the establishment of

Vula and 10 years after going into exile.

She was in Johannesburg when police in Durban made the first Vula arrests.

'The second we heard, we went into high gear — pulling equipment and people out of the houses we'd been using,' she says. As a result, police lost the trail, and were unable to make any further arrests.

The Vula comrades vowed the police would capture noth-

ing more. They succeeded for the entire 11 months until their emergence from the underground — to the extent that Comrade Janet snatched a Vula operational car from under the noses of a police patrol which had just discovered it.

'We owe much to the communities who provided shelter and protection for us,' she says.

Comrade Charles, 49, had similar experiences in the Western Cape. A former journalist and founder member of the Border region of the UDF, he left the country in 1984 after working in an underground ANC propaganda unit for nearly 10 years.

When the Vula arrests began, Comrade Charles came just three short steps from capture: 'Before Jo'burg had a chance to alter us of the arrests, police put one of the houses we used under surveillance,' he says. 'The people inside managed to put up the danger signal without the police noticing — a red-covered book on the window-sill.

'Little John (Comrade Christopher Manye, another Vula operative) and I were walking down the road towards the house, and were only a few paces from the gate when I saw the book. If we'd taken the three paces to the gate they would have got us. Instead, we left.'

Still waiting

They later learned that police occupied the house for nearly two months, vainly waiting for them to arrive.

They never did. Once alerted, the Western Cape network quickly removed their equipment and pulled back from other safe houses. The network escaped without a single casualty.

On instructions, they established themselves in the rural areas around Cape Town. 'We didn't sit on our hands,' says Comrade Charles. Throughout the next 11 months, he says, 'we visited towns and cities throughout the Cape'.

Emerging from the underground a week ahead of the ANC national conference, Comrade Charles says the most important issue facing delegates is the need to clarify the ANC's strategy. 'Negotiations provide the possibility of a peaceful transfer of power to the people,' he said. 'But they must be linked to other elements of our struggle — mass action in particular.' ☆

Is there a Haggie Rand death squad?

★ REPRESSION

On Friday June 7, Phanel Mulaudzi was gunned down in a train while on his way to work.

The gunmen boarded the train and worked their way from coach to coach. They were clearly looking for somebody. When they spotted Phanel they made straight for him — and he was shot down in cold blood.

Comrade Phanel was the chairperson of the SACP Chiawelo branch and secretary of the Numsa shopsteward council at Haggie Rand.

He is the third Numsa unionist employed at Haggie Rand to be assassinated. Both Rosa Kota and Darkmore Tshabalala were gunned down in very similar circumstances.

In 1989 all three comrades played a leading role at Haggie Rand in the anti-LRA struggles. To break the struggle, Haggie Rand bosses tried to introduce Inkatha's Uwusa as a sweet-heart union.

The plan failed, but Uwusa continues to have a small presence at the plant. ☆



★ **Cde Mutshinyafulu Phanel Mulaudzi** (popularly known as 'Vi Lenin') was born in Chiawelo on 14 April 1962. After completing matric he got his first job at United Tobacco, where he worked for two years between 1982 and 1983. In 1984 he joined Haggie Rand as a general storeman. In 1990 he was elected as secretary of the Haggie Rand shopstewards council. An exceptionally active comrade, he was also chairperson of the SACP Chiawelo branch, and an ANC and ANC Youth League activist. He leaves behind a wife and child. *Hamba kahle Qawe lama Qawe!*



uOupa Gqozo makehle ngoku

Ethetha kudliwano ndlebe kwi Radio Ciskei ese-Bloemfontein uBrigadier OJ Gqozo, ochophele ibunga elilawulayo eCiskei, waya wafunga okokuba uzakubuchitha buphele ubukomanisi eCiskei.

Amazwi kaGqozo anyathela enyemba zonke izimvo neengcinga ezimelwe lumimbimbi loninzi lwabantu baseMzantsi Afrika abazintlanga nge ntlanga bekwindawo nge ndawo zobomi.



REPRESSION

Olumbimbi lwesininzi luzalwa lilizwe elinxanele idemokrasi.

Ezona ntsika zale demokraszi zezi:

- Ilungelo lokukholelwa kwinto oyithandayo — inkululeko yenkolo.
- Ilungelo lokuthetha nokubhengeza enzenkolo — inkululeko yokuthetha.
- Ilungelo lokumisa imibutho

sigaye abantu ngenkolo zethu — ilungelo lokuhlangana.

Akukho namnye onokuthi azichithe iingcina zethu.

Iingcina zethu zohlahla zikhululekile, ngakumbi ezingcinga zizalwa zimeko esiphila phantsi kwazo.

Umbuso wezobandlululo wazama ukuzibulala iingcinga zethu iminyaka nge-minyaka.

Kodwanawo wanyanzeleka okokuba uncame.

Namhlanje ezingcinga

babezama ukuzichitha sezandele nzulu ezingqondweni nasezintliziyweni zabantu belizwe lakowethu.

Xa kunamhlanje azisezo zimvo zombutho omnye, koko zizimvo zoluntu jikelele.

Xana athi uBrigadier Oupa Gqozo ujonge ukuzichitha iingcinga zobuKomanisi, uzibekakwisichenge sokulwisana noluntu luphela.

Ungubani yena ukuba angalwisana nezehlo ekumele okokuba zenzeke? ☆

The new format

Welcome to the new monthly *Umsebenzi*.

To ensure our newsletter reaches as wide an audience as possible, we are negotiating with commercial distribution companies to have *Umsebenzi* sold in bookshops and in cafes in the near future.

In the meantime, we would like to urge Party branches and districts to actively involve themselves in the distribution of *Umsebenzi*.

We also welcome any comments on the new format. ☆

WELCOME, WELKOM!



ORGANISATION

Welcome to the newest Party district structure — the Welkom district, which was launched at a lively meeting in the Free State goldfields on June 23.

Over 400 delegates attended the district launch in Thabong. Together, they represented the 18 branches which have been formed in and around the local mining hostels.

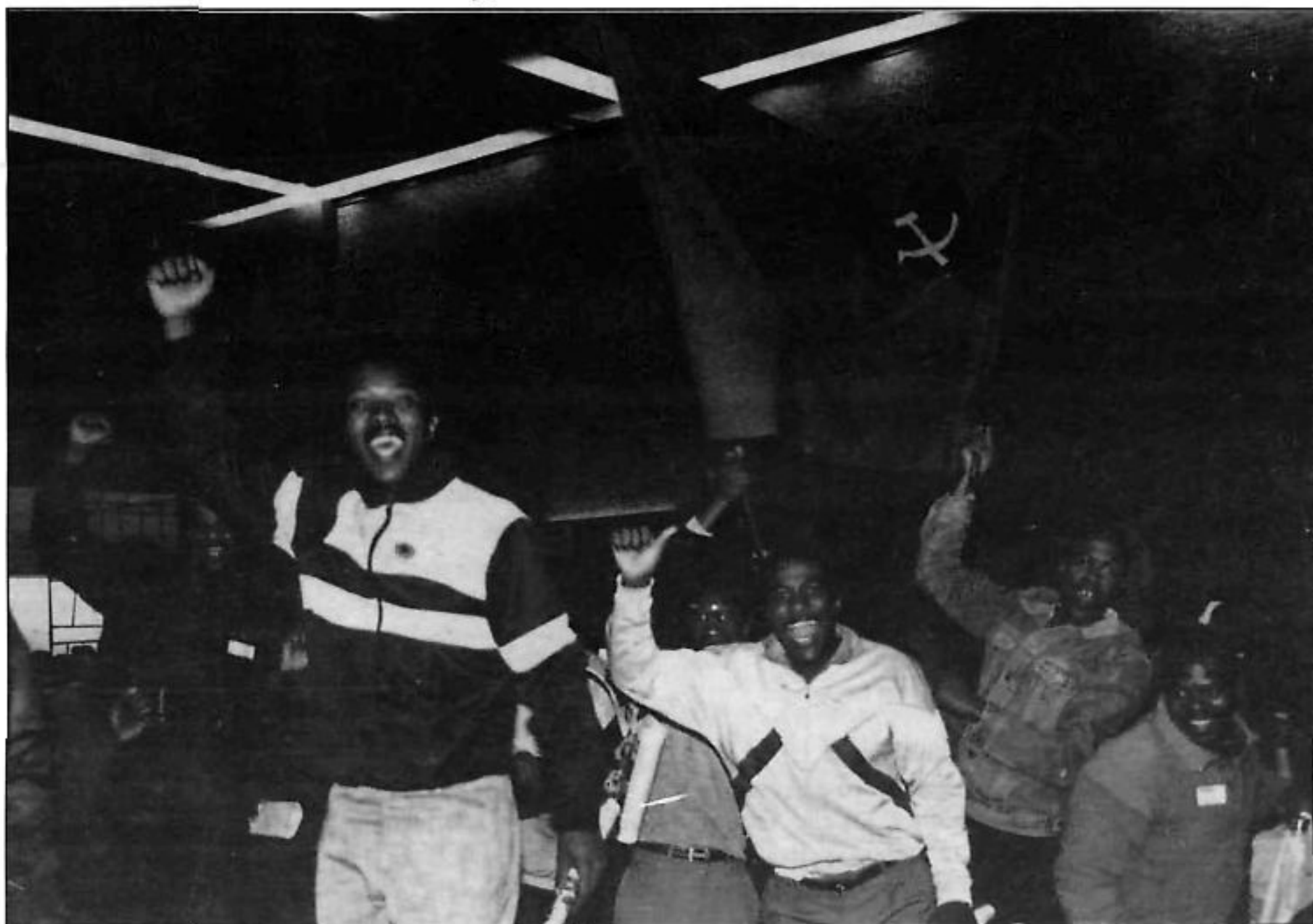
Free State party members were joined by their comrades from the first district to have been launched in the Transvaal region — Klerksdorp, which already has over 1 500 members in 24 branches.

Also present were SACP general secretary Joe Slovo, who travelled from Johannesburg with a delegation from the party's Transvaal office.

On the same day, in Soweto, a group of township residents gathered to launch the Jabavu branch of the SACP.

Interspersed with cultural events, the delegates mapped out the future of what is the fifth party branch to launch in the township.

Other branches already exist in Phiri, Pimville, Orlando East and Chiawelo.



★ The red flag flies in the Free State: Party members from Welkom at the launch of their district on June 23.

The Welkom district already has 18 branches, most of them in the mining hostels around Welkom.

Above: Delegates enter the hall for the start of the launch. Left: SACP general secretary Joe Slovo addresses delegates

★ Send an article about developments in your party branch to *Umsebenzi*, PO Box 1027, Johannesburg 2000. You can write in any South African language.

PARTY NEWS

Raising the red flag

★ RECRUITMENT

The red flag is flying high in many South African towns and townships, where activists are building the party on a daily basis.

Here is an overview of the state of the Party in mid-1990. Details are taken from figures given at the most recent ILG meeting at the end of May.

Border

• East London District: Over 1 100 members are presently organised into four branches (three in Mdantsane and one in Duncan Village). The two areas are currently being restructured, and the district hopes to launch 24 branches by the end of July.

• Queenstown District: Three branches exist at present, at Ezibeleni, Mlungisi and Ndlovini.

• King William's Town District: One branch has been launched at Dimbaza, with a second on the way.

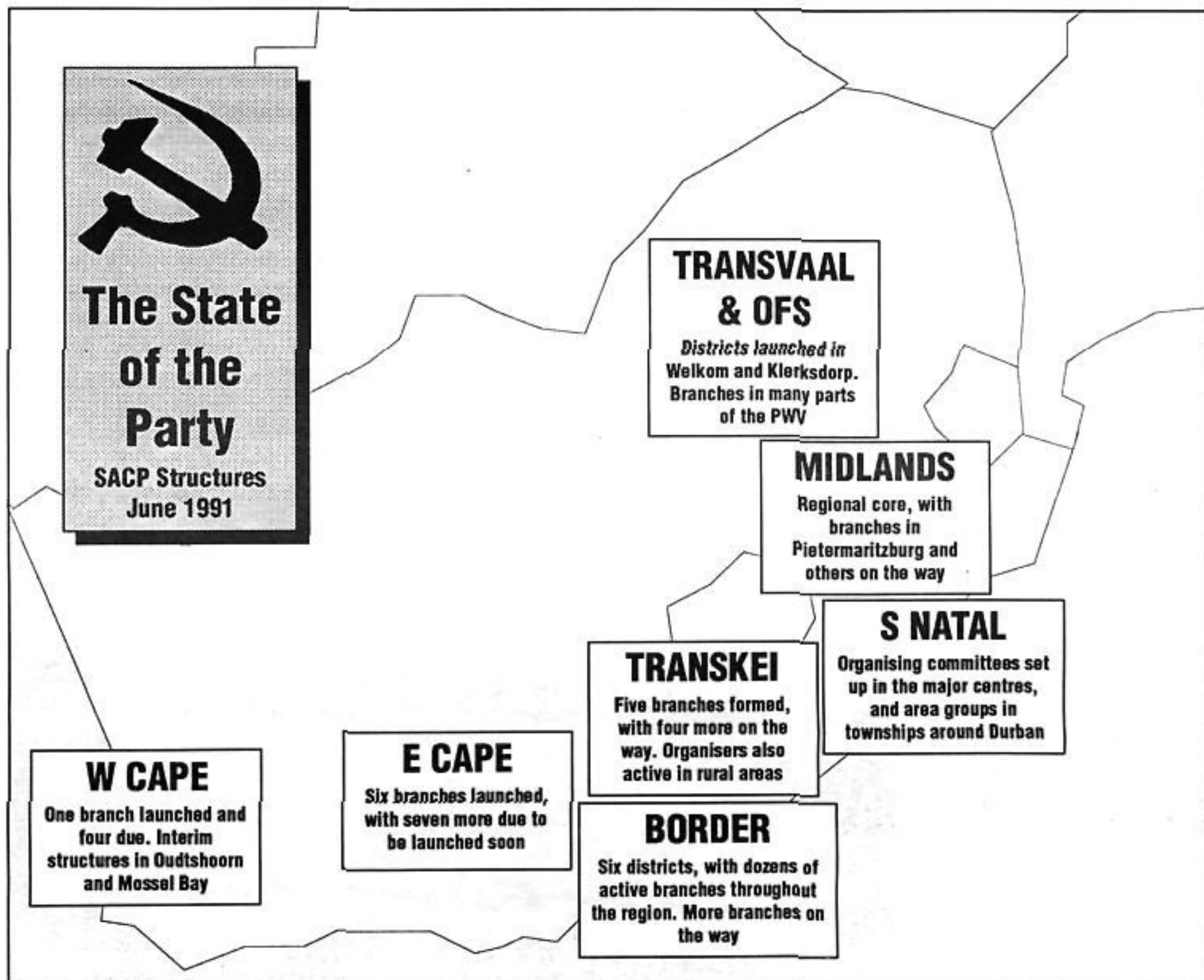
• Cathcart-Stutterheim District: Two branches have been launched in each of these two towns, and others are planned at Kubusie and Mgwali.

• Victoria East District: One branch has been launched, with others planned at Adelaide, Balfour and Seymour.

• Northern Areas District (Herschel/Aliwal North): Active recruitment and organising in the area has led to the establishment of core groups in Barkly East, Sterkspruit, Aliwal North, Tarkastad, Molteno, Burgersdorp, Jamestown, Venterstad, Sterkstroom and Dordrecht.

Eastern Cape

At least six branches had been launched at the time of writing: Cradock, Somerset East, Soweto by the Sea, Veeplaas, Bedford and Graaff-



Reinet. Launches were planned at Kwanobuhle (two branches), Langa/Rosedale, New Brighton, Swartkops Valley, Motherwell and Middelberg. The party also has members in several other Eastern Cape towns and townships.

Natal Midlands

A regional core has been established, drawing on members in the Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle and Vryheid Districts.

• Pietermaritzburg District: Branches have been formed in Pietermaritzburg Central and Mpophomeni.

• Newcastle: An interim district core has been formed, involving residents of Osizweni, Madadeni, Blaauwboch, Kilbarchan Mine, Dannhauser and

Dundee.

Southern Natal

Although no branches have been formed in the region, organising committees are being set up in the major centres — Greater Durban, Port Shepstone, Empangeni, Stanger and Isithebe/Mandeni.

Area groups meet regularly in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Umlazi, Clermont, Phoenix, Chatsworth, Western Areas, Durban Central, Chesterville and at University of Durban-Westville.

Transkei

Five branches have been launched — in Qumbu, Umtata (two), Maclear and Eliot. A third Umtata branch is being built, and launches are due in

Lusikisiki, Cala and Bizana.

Party organisers are working actively in areas such as Magwa tea plantation, Singisa forest and Ncora farming area.

Transvaal

Despite its name, this region stretches from the Orange Free State to the northern Transvaal.

Two industrial forums have been established — one for the central Witwatersrand, and a second on the East Rand. Numerous branches/districts have also been formed:

- Soweto: Branches exist in Phiri, Pimville, Orlando East, Chiawelo and Jabavu.
- Klerksdorp: 24 branches have been formed in this district, with membership of over 1 500.
- Welkom (see page 2).

Structures also exist in Johannesburg (includes central Johannesburg and Kaseme), Thembisa/Alexandra, West Rand, Pretoria, East Rand, the Vaal, Hartebeesfontein and Thabazimbi.

A district launch is planned in Witbank, and an interim committee has been set up in the northern Transvaal.

Western Cape

Four branch launches were planned at the time of writing: in Khayelitsha, Langa, Nyanga and Cape Town Central, with good progress reported in the Guguletu branch.

Little progress has been made in the rural areas, although interim structures have been formed in Oudtshoorn and Mossel Bay. ☆

PARTY BRANCHES HAVE BEEN LAUNCHED IN DOZENS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

THE REGIME IS TRYING TO TURN THE ANC INTO A TAME NEGOTIATING PARTNER

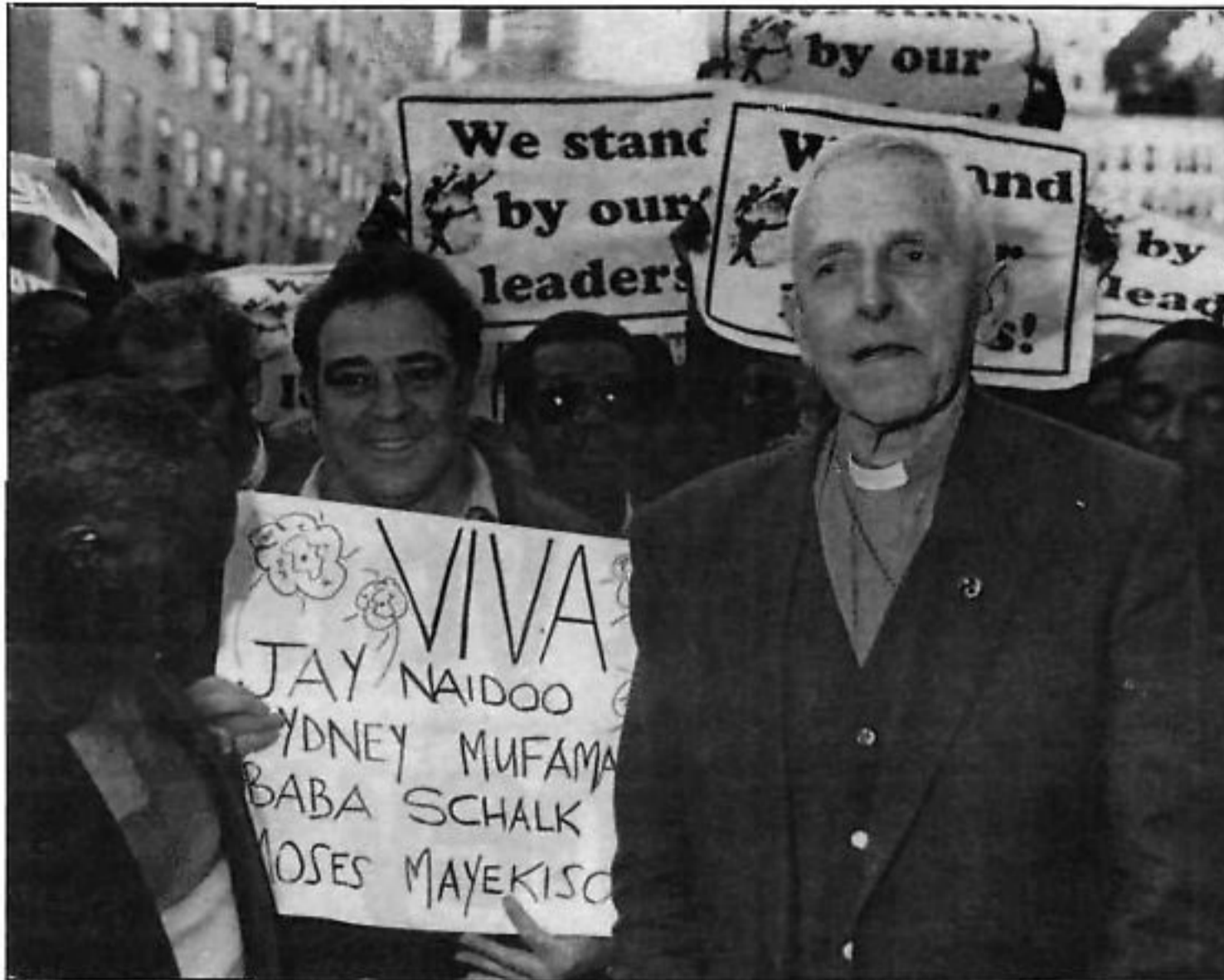
'ANC must get its house in order, says De Klerk'. 'ANC must heed rules of politics: Kobie'. 'ANC has still to convert into political party - Viljoen'.

These recent newspaper clippings tell a story. Our liberation movement is getting a lot of free advice we didn't request. What's it all about?

The regime is trying to turn the ANC into a tame negotiating partner. De Klerk wants to make sure power and privilege remain in the hands of the few.

One of the things this involves is an attempt to manufacture for the ANC a new reformist outlook.

This task is not necessarily taken on by the regime itself. It is often left to others. Some of them even present themselves as 'friends of the ANC'.



★ Our basic negotiating demands around the preconditions, and for an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly are central to the struggle for democratic change. They are not side-issues, or 'details'

Reformism

What is this reformist outlook? It is a strategic perspective which can be summarised in five points:

1. It claims De Klerk's government and the liberation movement now basically agree. De Klerk is supposedly prepared to give away all the major aims of our national democratic struggle. The sooner we get on with the negotiations the better.

2. From this it follows that the major enemy of democratic change is not De Klerk's gov-

ernment. Nor is it his immediate allies, like Inkatha. Instead, the major enemy is seen to be the ultra-right, the most reactionary elements in white society who are opposed to negotiations. Therefore, we mustn't weaken De Klerk too much.

3. The second greatest threat to democratic change is militant mass action from our side. Militancy weakens De Klerk and strengthens the ultra-right. The ANC alliance 'must move away from protest politics', into 'normal' politics. That is, we must move into a politics of doing deals behind closed doors. This is a politics of leaderships 'delivering' their passive constituencies.

4. Since there is already sup-

posed to be a strategic agreement between De Klerk and ourselves, the 'details' of the negotiating process are not important. Our preconditions for negotiations, and our demand for an Interim Government and a democratically elected Constituent Assembly, are negotiable. We should have no problem compromising.

5. International pressure mustn't be 'overdone'. 'We must give credit where credit is due'. We must help De Klerk carry through his reform programme, rewarding each step with a carrot. This will help De Klerk to carry as many whites with him as possible.

As you can see, if you try hard, you can make a reformist

position seem reasonable. But this position is profoundly wrong. It is profoundly dangerous to our cause.

De Klerk's aims

The reformist perspective completely misunderstands the regime's objectives. (Or perhaps it deliberately misrepresents them?)

De Klerk and his government are not sitting down at the table to hand over power.

On the contrary, they are negotiating and reforming in order to conserve as much white power and privilege as possible. They hope to block the advance of the national democratic transformation.

Look at the previous record

of the government in negotiations. Think back to the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique. The government has a history of lying and breaking agreements.

In the run-up to the Namibian elections the SADF spent millions of rands to secretly undermine the democratic process.

One of the military intelligence officers involved in these Namibian campaigns, Major Nico Basson, says: 'None of the structures, front organisations and special agents of the government that were used against SWAPO in Namibia have been disbanded or retired. On the contrary, they are actively involved in the process in South Africa.'

Let us be very clear:

- De Klerk's government remains the main threat to democratic change.

- Without all-round pressure we will be defeated.

- Our basic negotiating demands around the preconditions, and for an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly are central to the struggle for democratic change. They are not side-issues, or 'details'.

The reformist role that is being prepared for the ANC is a recipe for defeat. It would leave the ANC powerless with its mass base demobilised.

Above all, it would leave the people of our country with a nice container called 'the new South Africa'.

But inside the container their lives would barely have changed. ☆



Manufacturing a tame ANC

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Now for FW's advice to ANC conference delegates...

In his end of parliament speech FW de Klerk gave ANC conference delegates some unsolicited advice.

The ANC, he said, 'should cease presenting itself as a military movement and concentrate on those matters that befit a political party'. (Thank you, De Klerk. But the ANC is neither a military

movement, nor a political party in your sense of the term. It is a liberation movement.)

De Klerk proceeded with his advice. The ANC 'should acquire a broad mandate that will give its leaders the authority to negotiate.'

But, precisely, the leaders of the

ANC do have a broad mandate to negotiate. That mandate was first outlined in the Harare Declaration. It was reaffirmed at the ANC December National Consultative Conference. And this broad mandate has also been reaffirmed and more detail given to it in numerous forums, including two

major tri-partite joint executive meetings.

De Klerk knows this. What De Klerk really means is that he doesn't like the broad negotiating mandate we have given to our leadership.

That's your problem, De Klerk. Not ours. ☆

The 'death' of apartheid and the spirit of free enterprise

They expect you to buy back what they stole!

Racist South Africa has come up with another 'first' in the medical field. The surgeons of apartheid have certified it 'dead' so many times that it seems to have more lives than the proverbial cat.

The latest 'death' came with the repeal of the Land Act and Population Registration Act. When we ask what about the land that apartheid took away from four-million blacks in the last 30 years alone, we are told to forget about the past and to rather look to the future. They say blacks must now have the right to buy back - on the 'free market' - what was taken from them, not on the free market.

They must think that the people are really stupid if they expect them to swallow such a fraud. The announcement of the 'death' of apartheid in race classification is also a mock funeral. If race classification is no more, why does Nelson Mandela's name still appear on the race register which prevents him from voting or sending his (still classified) black grandchildren to some white schools? It seems clear that we will have to celebrate many more funerals before we throw the apartheid corpse on to the rubbish bin of history.

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

I paid my first visit in March to that university of liberation, Robben Island. It was a very moving experience. I met many comrades from the days of Angola and Mozambique where we often huddled together plotting blows against the enemy. Some didn't make it and what came to my mind was the smiling, fresh, young face of Solomon Mahlangu when we hugged a final goodbye in Mao Tse Tung Street in Maputo.

The group we met on Robben Island had all refused to apply for an indemnity. Their spokesperson gave us a simple explanation: 'We don't see why we should ask them for indemnity; the leaders of the

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A personal column
by JOE SLOVO

apartheid regime are the ones who should ask us for an indemnity.'

Try to answer that one!

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

I do not believe the rumour that Alan Fine of *Business Day*, Hennie Serfontein of *Vrye Weekblad*, and some of their fellow scribes are offering themselves as candidates for the new ANC NEC.

The rumour must have started circulating when reports were made that many journalists feel that it would be cheaper for them to sit on the NEC and get information of its decisions direct, instead of having to pick it up over lunch and drinks.

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

Naas Botha, the hero of Northern Transvaal rugby, does not really deserve having bottles thrown at him by spectators. We therefore join with him in expressing disgust at the hooligan behaviour of a section of the crowd at a recent match.

But the way he responded was equally disgusting. He was especially outraged because, as he said, he didn't expect whites 'of all people' to behave in this way... Apparently blacks don't know any better - but I'm certainly not encouraging Steve Tshwete to take up the offer.

It's clear that Botha's ambition to get back into test rugby again will make him tolerate integrated rugby. But it's equally clear from his remarks that his mind

is a long way from being racially integrated.

I am reminded of that other notorious remark by Gary Player some years ago in a BBC interview on the sports boycott. 'Why', he complained, 'are you people so vindictive? We're a small country with only four-million people.'

Player had genuinely forgotten about his caddy, and some 30 million other blacks!

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

I love the youth and their spirit. But Uncle Walter and I found ourselves with a real hot potato when we led the May 31st march in Cape Town.

We gladly helped carry a coffin, draped with the SA flag which had pictures of leaders of the apartheid state from Verwoerd to De Klerk and a poster reading: 'Bury the racist Republic'.

Those who know Walter and me also know that burning effigies is not part of our political style. But as we were about to hand over the coffin to the commanding police officer as part of the youth statement, we quite unexpectedly saw smoke rising from it.

The youth had apparently decided to make their own special protest.

The US Supreme Court has ruled that burning effigies is a protected constitutional right, as part of free speech. I can, however, understand the indignation of government ministers. Burning effigies (not to mention free speech) has not been part of our official political culture.

But it would be encouraging if they expressed the same indignation to Inkatha about the burning of people's shacks in places like Swanieville...

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

My favourite quote of the month: 'Inkatha is a source of peace.' (Minister Gerrit Viljoen) ☆

De Klerk has blundered

... and this time we are going to make him pay

Some people are saying that De Klerk has now got the upper hand. That since February 2 he has outwitted our ANC-led alliance at every turn. They portray the ANC as clumsy and ineffective. By comparison, De Klerk's government is supposed to be smart and all-powerful.

There is, of course, a little bit of truth in this picture. De Klerk has had many advantages in the new situation. He has state power. He is operating on a terrain he knows well. From Angola and Namibia the government has built up first-hand experience of negotiations.

For the ANC and SACP the past year has been a difficult year of rebuilding. Many of us have been returning from exile, emerging from prison or the underground.

But the picture of De Klerk as an extra smart master of the situation is wrong.

In fact, in the last two months De Klerk has blundered badly.

For a few months the township violence suited De Klerk very well.

While Buthelezi stabbed his way onto the national political stage, De Klerk pretended to stand

above the violence. The commercial press and SATV portrayed the massacres as mindless 'black on black violence', as 'Zulu versus Xhosa', as 'Inkatha versus ANC'.

They were trying to put a message across to South Africa and the world. It was this: 'Blacks are incapable of ruling themselves.'

We were supposed to feel sorry for De Klerk with this difficult problem on his hands. We were supposed to be happy that there was a strong white-controlled SADF and SAP 'to keep warring sides apart'.

And, in fact, this ploy worked quite well for a few months. Many people inside and outside our country became confused.

Meanwhile hundreds of ANC and SACP supporters, not to mention ordinary township dwellers, were killed or maimed.

But De Klerk and Buthelezi overplayed their hand.

The scale of the butchery, Inkatha's arrogant refusal to take seriously the national and international outcry over the carrying of arms at rallies and marches, and the regime's obvious

conniving and sympathy for Inkatha all became too obvious. Gerrit Viljoen even turned himself into an Inkatha imbongi. He said in parliament: 'I would like to refer to the long historical record of the Inkatha organisation in

rejecting violence in the change and reform process of South Africa ... Inkatha has all along openly avowed its commitment to Christian principles in politics too.' Each one of those words is dripping with blood.

But while Viljoen was singing these praises, even his own SATV and National Party newspapers like *Rapport* and *Beeld*, were beginning to ask questions about Inkatha, and about the government's unwillingness to take the violence seriously.

Of course, it wasn't just that the regime was not taking the violence seriously. As we said all along, behind the Inkatha violence lay the hand of the SADF and SAP. The revelations of ex-SADF military intelligence agent major Nico Basson have confirmed SADF infiltration, arming and training of Inkatha. Basson's story is also confirmed by Inkatha deserters.

President Bush sent secret messages to De Klerk and Buthelezi warning them that they were blundering.

During April De Klerk began to realise the truth of this. He tried to convene a 'peace conference', so that we could all come and make suggestions to HIM. He wanted to continue being the referee. But his 'peace conference' was a flop.

De Klerk wanted to be the referee. Instead, for all the world to see, he has emerged as the dirtiest player on the field.

He has blundered.

But he has blundered before. This time we must not let him get away with it. What does that mean?

It means that:

- As an alliance we must emerge strengthened from the ANC Conference. If we didn't know before, then De Klerk's blunder has shown us that the apartheid government remains our principal opponent. De Klerk's violence has shown us what he has in mind for us. This does not mean that we must

now abandon the negotiations process.

But it means that we must enter the process well organised, well mobilised and vigilant at all times.

- We must ensure that out of the present church-initiated peace talks we establish a clear Code of Conduct for Political Parties, a Code of Conduct for Security Forces, and effective and independent enforcement mechanisms. In the ANC-led alliance we have nothing to lose and everything to gain from a climate of political tolerance and peace.

De Klerk wanted to be the referee. We must ensure that the dirtiest player on the field is tightly bound by democratic rules. Of course, De Klerk will still try to break these rules. We must make the political price he pays for breaking rules very high.

- We must continue to build self-defence formations. In the course of June the wave of massacres has suddenly been turned off. Why?

The immediate answer is that the OAU conference was in session in Nigeria, then De Klerk was visiting Kenya, then Buthelezi was in the United States. We have seen this often enough before. When the regime and its partners are involved in high-level diplomatic efforts they keep their house in order.

But the broader answer is that De Klerk has realised that he blundered. The anti-ANC violence went too far. It was not hidden enough. It has also unified the ANC. De Klerk realises he used the violence too soon in the negotiations process. Instead of lulling us to sleep, he has alerted us.

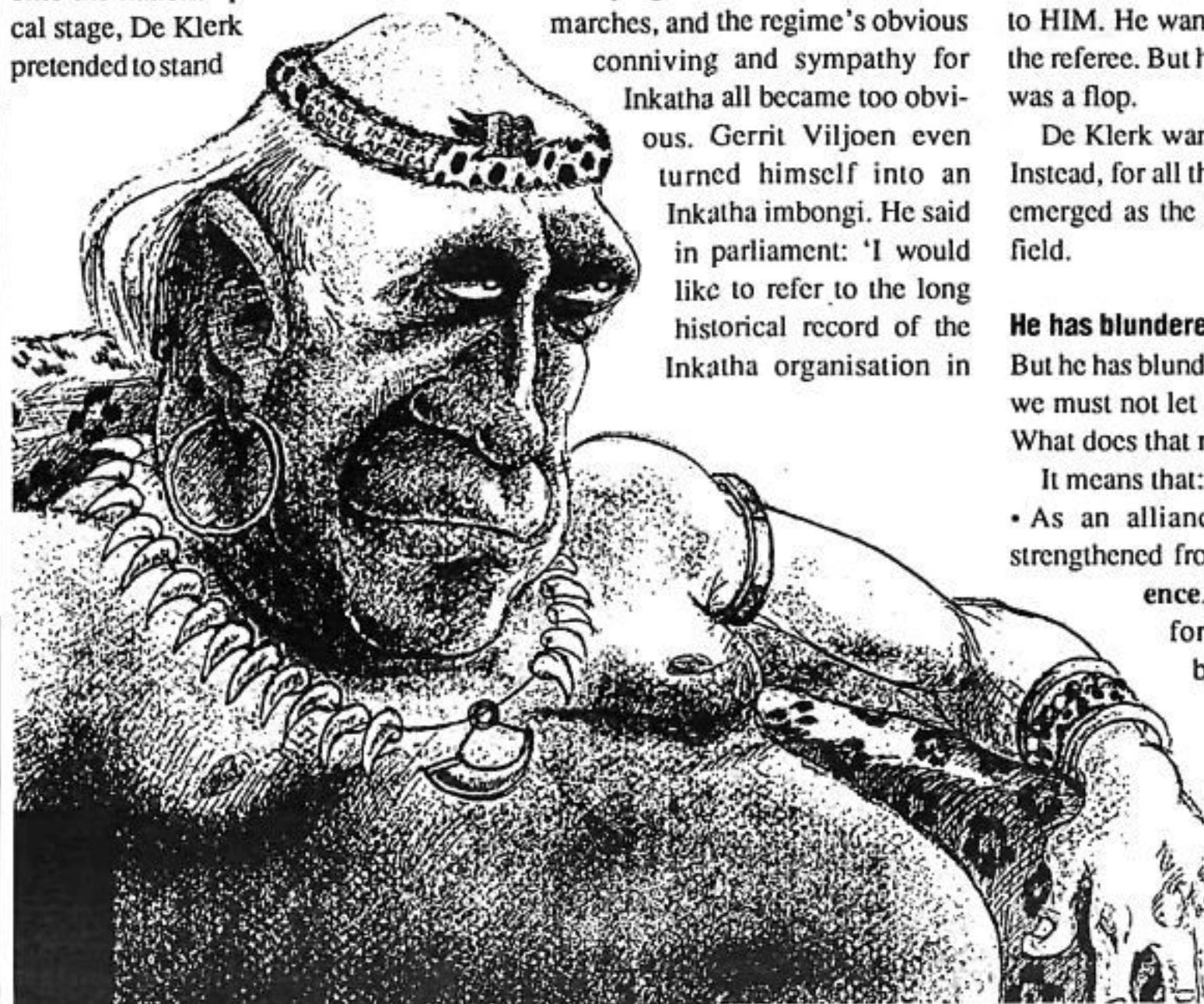
And so the mass-violence tap has been turned off for the moment.

But we cannot be complacent. Some of the violence has gone underground. Instead of mass, indiscriminate butchery, there has been a sinister return to targeted hit-squad assassinations.

But the mass violence against our people can return at any time.

We must therefore continue to build non-partisan self-defence structures in our townships, trains, buses and places of work.

This is our right. This is our duty! ☆



★ FW de Klerk: Inkatha's best friend

Graphic: Jonathan Shapiro

LETTERS/DEBATES

Dear Editor,

In the Western Cape there is a small group operating who call themselves the 'Marxist Workers Tendency of the ANC', the MWT. They have recently started what they call a 'campaign for a militant Sactwu'. This is just after a 'campaign for a democratic Fawu'. They have also been trying to turn the ANC into a workers' party. We are writing to ask if the MWT is helping to build democracy and strengthen organisation and unity in our alliance, or what is it doing?

We think that it is correct that our party encourages open debate and sharing of ideas in organisations as well as between them. This debate must include a wide range of ideas on all questions of democracy and socialism facing us. But we think this debate must not undermine the democracy and structures of our organisations.

The MWT has the opposite approach. Its approach to democracy and socialism is based on 'entryism'. They enter into other organisations with their own agenda and programme of action. To do this they work secretly as a tiny organisation inside a big one. The members of the bigger organisation don't

MARXIST WORKERS TENDENCY

Is it democratising the ANC, or trying to undermine it?

A LETTER TO UMSEBENZI FROM TWO PARTY MEMBERS IN THE WESTERN CAPE

know this is happening. The MWT try to recruit members of unions and ANC. They then draw these people into their own organisation with its separate structures and lines of accountability, to influence and take over the larger organisation from the outside. The MWT is not working secretly because of state repression. They work secretly because they refuse to accept the democracy of our organisations.

The 'Sactwu campaign' is a good example of this. The MWT does not agree with the

decisions of Sactwu's members, so it campaigns outside the union against the union. It issues pamphlets to Sactwu members attacking the leadership, and it calls meetings of Sactwu members ignoring the existing structures and procedures. This is like telling Sactwu workers that they cannot think for themselves and that decisions they made after open debate are worthless. The MWT is telling workers that it knows better than them, that it has the right to make decisions for them. They even do this in

the name of the ANC. So they drag the ANC's name through the mud as a self-proclaimed 'tendency' of the ANC.

Arrogance

What arrogance! How completely anti-democratic! This is an attack on Sactwu and its membership. It undermines its structures. This approach does not assist in building organisation or strengthening democracy. It is a recipe for sowing division and confusion in the unions. Any organisation has structures and processes by

which members can reopen debate and change a decision if members realise it is an incorrect one. But the MWT encourages workers to boycott existing structures and set up a militant lobby to force a position through.

How does the present 'campaign' against Sactwu advance our struggle? For instance, does a blanket strategy of militancy work at all times? How does it take into account the history of the union and its transformation from the old conservative approach into that of a Cosatu affiliate it is today? Are they trying to build Sactwu, or just meet the aspirations of a small clique outside the union?

If these people in the MWT are serious about the struggle it must be shown in their approach. After all the campaigns against our organisations, we must be forgiven if we ask whether MWT is struggling against the racist government and bosses, or against the democratic movement.

We invite MWT to launch, for once, a militant campaign themselves for democracy and socialism against white rule and the bosses.

Yours in the struggle — RD and NN, Langa, Cape Town

SACTWU and the Party: What Jacob should have done

'Jacob Mchunu is an organiser of the union. He is responsible for organising the Port Shepstone Branch of the union. He is also a member of the Port Shepstone Branch of the SACP.'

In fact, Jacob Mchunu is an imaginary person. He appears in a recent pamphlet published by the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) Head Office. The pamphlet is called *Intselelo! What is your opinion?* The pamphlet is designed to get workers to think about the problem of overlapping membership and leadership within our ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

In the imaginary example, Sayco has called on other organisations to respond with mass action. Three of its members 'have been detained without reason'. 'There are rumours,' says the Sactwu pam-

phlet, 'that Sayco are in fact keen to get support for a stayaway in response.'

In Jacob Mchunu's SACP branch a stayaway is supported. Jacob is mandated to carry this view to a joint meeting of progressive organisations.

Meanwhile, two days later Jacob's union branch meets. Workers 'feel it is unreasonable to have a stayaway since they have just lost a lot of pay through participation in a three day national stayaway two weeks previously.'

So what must Jacob Mchunu do? This is the question that the Sactwu Head Office pamphlet now asks.

The pamphlet lists for discussion a number of different options for Jacob. Should he disclose the party view in his trade union branch? Should he keep quiet, even though many

union members look to him for guidance in the union where he is employed as a leader? And what is he going to say at the joint meeting of organisations where he has to present a line opposed to that of his union?

The *Intselelo* pamphlet has the appearance of democracy. What do YOU think? - it asks.

But in fact, all the questions it asks are carefully arranged. They are all designed to show that by being a rank-and-file SACP member and union organiser at the same time, Jacob is placed in an impossible position.

The *Intselelo* pamphlet is presenting a very simple issue in a very loaded way. Its approach is narrow and legalistic.

Let's look at what the real communist and trade unionist Jacob Mchunu should have done.

Jacob's problems do not begin at the joint meeting. Nor do they even begin at the union meeting that takes a different line to his party branch. The problem begins because Jacob's imaginary SACP branch was wrong to simply support in an unqualified way the rumour of a stayaway.

Do any SACP branches really act in this way?

There are times when a mass response is required. This mass response may be a stayaway. But a simple stayaway mandate in the imaginary example is wrong.

If he thought a stayaway was best, Jacob Mchunu should still have ensured that his party branch said: 'If it is possible to pull off a stayaway, we will work very hard to make it a success. But it will only be possible if other organisations, especially

the trade unions, feel it is right. Our support for a stayaway is conditional on much wider consultation.'

Jacob Mchunu should also have ensured the party branch considered other possible responses to the detention of the youth comrades.

Jacob's problem is not that he is wearing two caps. His problem is that he allowed his party branch to put him in a stupid situation. He allowed the branch to give him an all-or-nothing, take-it-or-leave-it mandate. This was completely wrong in the circumstances.

But let us give credit where credit is due.

In real life, it is not an imaginary Port Shepstone SACP branch that has caused so much confusion for Jacob Mchunu. It is the writers of the pamphlet.

What do you think? ☆

SEVEN DAYS THAT SHOOK KEN OWEN

Ken Owen, one-man verbal hit-squad in the fight against socialism, is editor of the *Sunday Times* — one of the most influential people in the country. When he puts pen to paper, more than a million people read what he writes.

As editor of the *Sunday Times*, he decides what goes into it. So when he enters into an argument with someone on the pages of the *Sunday Times*, he always wins — he can't lose because he decides what his opponents can say.

So many of the people who read what he writes never get to hear the other side of the story. They do not know that many of the victims of Ken's Pen have a case to put.

They bleed

Sometimes, Owen jabs the sharp point of his pen at the government. And like all the targets of his highly skilled pen, they bleed.

But that doesn't happen very often. Ken's Pen mainly aims at the democratic movement — at individuals who (unlike Owen) have risked their lives and liberty in the struggle for democracy, a political system Owen says he supports.

He has stabbed at members of the UDF, the MDM, Cosatu and even, occasionally, white liberal critics of apartheid.

But since February 2, 1990, he has found a new target: the South African Communist Party. The legal party became, in the vivid images created by

Trounced on television... His 'Slovo exclusive' wiped out by a smaller rival newspaper... The tide is turning on red-faced Sunday Times editor Ken Owen



Ken's Pen, 'a snake' rearing its head ... 'with a hidden agenda' ... a 'Red Plot' secretly attempting to undermine negotiations ... and the 'tail' attempting to 'wag the dog' (the ANC). It didn't matter that none of this was accurate: as editor of the *Sunday Times*, Owen was both player and referee. He couldn't lose. And he won so often, that he started to believe that he would always win, that he could step out from behind the safety of his desk, put down his pen — and still win.

That was a mistake. And he made it on June 9.

It was a Sunday, and that evening he took part in a live TV debate with Joe Slovo, general secretary of the SACP. For the first time, Owen wasn't controlling what his intended victim could say: his victim could fight back.

It didn't matter that the chairman of the *Agenda* show was John Bishop — one-time apologist for Ian Smith on Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation.

It didn't matter that the hand-

picked audience was made up almost entirely of anti-communists. What mattered was that Owen couldn't edit out what Slovo said.

With an opponent who wouldn't stand still to be hit, Owen couldn't land any blows. So he was soundly and painfully beaten.

That was June 9, Day One of the seven days that shook Ken Owen.

The Idea

But Owen didn't become editor of the *Sunday Times* by giving up easily. Verbally battered and bruised, he scuttled back to the safety of his editor's chair to plan his revenge. And here, because only Owen knows when he hit upon 'The Idea', we enter the realm of speculation.

Throughout Day Two he pondered. And Day Three.

On Day Four, it came to him — how to punish Slovo. Slovo was about to move into a house in the Johannesburg suburb of Observatory, from a house in the neighbouring suburb of Yeoville, bought on his return

from exile.

The new house was more secure than the old: with hit-squads still at large, the leadership of the ANC had decided that the Yeoville house, overlooked by blocks of flats easily accessible from the street, was too vulnerable.

So in Owen's mind, the new house became Fortress Slovo, a mysterious thing. And Mrs Slovo, whose photograph had not appeared in a newspaper photograph (hardly surprising, because she, unlike her husband is not a politician) became, in his mind, 'elusive'.

He ordered a photographer to camp outside the new house and not to return until he had a picture of Mrs Slovo. He duly got his picture — of the back view of Mrs Slovo going into the new house. And Owen went to work on a caption of purple prose, bristling with phrases like: 'Fortress Slovo keeps its secret'. But the key was to be found in reference to 'Mr Slovo ... taking part in TV programmes'.

The wounds of the previous Sunday duly appeared in the

first edition of the *Sunday Times* (sold on Johannesburg's streets on Saturday evening).

Ken's Pen had had its revenge. Or so Owen thought.

A rival Sunday newspaper, also interested in Mrs Slovo, but without Owen's personal motives, had gone through the normal route — simply asking the Slovos for an interview and a photograph.

With nothing to hide, the Slovos agreed, and their picture appeared in the first edition of the rival paper (like the *Sunday Times*, on Saturday evening). Owen saw the rival paper and was forced to take the Slovo picture and nasty caption out of his own paper.

Here today, gone tomorrow

All reference to the Slovos disappeared from the second edition of the *Sunday Times* (the edition most people buy on Sunday mornings).

Exactly seven days after his humiliation in the TV studios, Owen had suffered a second humiliation.

It may seem a small enough thing to outsiders. But such defeats matter a great deal among editors, who fight ruthlessly to be the first with each story. Defeat at the hands of his far-smaller newspaper rival must have hurt Ken Owen as least as much as the previous week's TV debate defeat.

Even in the safety of his own office, Owen can no longer guarantee himself victory.

The tide is turning on Ken's Pen... ☆

EVEN IN THE SAFETY OF HIS OWN OFFICE, OWEN CAN NO LONGER GUARANTEE VICTORY...

SELF-DEFENCE



★ FIGHTING FOR SURVIVAL: 'Counter-revolutionary violence to influence the outcome of a political settlement has become the key weapon in the regime's arsenal'

For the

A woman walks briskly past. She has a bundle containing her belongings on her head, and on her back is an infant. At her side a toddler clutches desperately at the blanket wrapped around her waist.

Over the last few weeks, streams of people seeking refuge have become part of the evening traffic.

We have just come out of a meeting in which we tried to assess the effects of the attacks of the previous night. It is early evening, about 8pm. The smoke from the coal stoves is clearing. The streets are buzzing with commuters, and people fleeing from the nearby squatter camp (known as 'Chicken Farm'). Some are pushing wheelbarrows full of belongings. There is a flurry of barricading activity.

Misguided militancy

A commuter asks a question we are all too embarrassed to

ask: 'What is happening?'

'The Zulus are attacking Klipspruit and Zone 2', is the reply.

Sounds of gunfire are heard coming from the general direction of Klipspruit.

'Shit you people and your meetings - this means that for the past two hours we were sitting and theorising whilst our people are dying', says a young militant angrily.

'Okay brave guy what were you going to do? Die with them, or run away? I suppose run away,' retorts another.

'Hold it comrades, kyk hier so my outie, we all know that we neither have the organisation or the resources to defend ourselves effectively at this point', says our sub-branch civic chairperson in a conciliatory tone. 'The most important thing is: What do we do now?'

'Whatever we do, we can't do it 5 kilometres from the battleground, unless you want to theorise again,' responds the

Building self-defence units in your

1. Introduction

Our people have shown energy and initiative in erecting barricades and obstacles whenever the need has arisen.

These are important elements in defence against hostile forces, and need to be developed. Those given the task must begin by making a careful study of the area to be defended and the surrounding terrain. Wooded areas, kopies, streams and ditches must be part of the fortifications.

This is a job for the expert eye of MK comrades, who will have to decide how best to improve the defence of the township by building barricades and fortifications. People with construction experience can also give advice.

BUILDING SELF-DEFENCE UNITS

Umsebenzi Series — Number 4

• Barricades & fortifications



2. Barricades

Of course barricades will not be a permanent feature. But a plan must be worked out in advance so that barricades can be speedily put up at strategic points when the moment arrives.

Barricades will be put up on the main routes into the township and particularly along the most likely routes of attack. They must be more formidably built than communities have done in the past.

This means materials to build strong barricades must be brought into the township

and safely stored well in advance of impending danger. Scrap iron, wrecked vehicles, timber, old furniture as well as rocks and tyres are the 'ingredients' for barricades.

But the barricade can be strengthened by digging up the road and building a deep trench in front of it.

Steel cables could be strung across the road in front of the barricade. Ditches can be dug alongside the road in front of the barricade. Coils of razor wire or barbed wire can be extremely useful.

These should be bought and

stored and can be speedily erected along routes and passages at the first sign of danger. The barricade becomes a strong point and is manned by defence units.

On the flanks of the barricades in specially fortified houses are sections ready to hold the position. Tucked away in adjoining streets are masses of auxiliaries ready to hurl missiles over the houses at the advancing aggressors.

If the attackers are about to overcome the barricade it is set alight and an orderly retreat takes place to the next line of defence.

3. Fortifications

Certain buildings in strategic positions along likely routes

of attack must be fortified. The best way of doing this is by using sand bags, which can be prepared in advance.

When there is an impending attack the sandbags are put into position at doors and windows and used to reinforce the walls.

Sandbags have a great capacity to absorb shock waves from bomb blasts and to protect defenders from bullets.

They also prevent fire from spreading and can be cut open and used to extinguish fire.

Trenches should be dug outside these houses and if possible dug-outs in which defenders can take shelter and use as a means of escape.

Strong netting or wire mesh should be hung over the windows of such places. These

sake of our lives!

young militant.

'You are beginning to sound like a scratched record,' observes an elderly comrade.

We all squeeze into the civic chairperson's car, seven of us in a five seater - to battle. We lack organisation and we lack resources for this kind of carefully planned but indiscriminate violence against our communities. And all of this leads to inadequate and confused responses from us.

As we drive, events of the past weeks flash through my mind.

Just the other day Chicken Farm was attacked, people were killed and maimed, homes were looted and burnt. But the rest of the community in Pimville and Dlamini nearest to Chicken Farm remained indifferent.

Now, there are disturbing reports of Zulu-speaking people being evicted or asked to leave Chicken Farm because they are considered potential spies for Inkatha. (It reminds

Figures with white headbands are dashing around, whistling as they run. My mind flashes back to my training in the Soviet Union, and to our exercises in night shooting. After about six months of training we could hit moving targets (at night) at a distance of about 100 metres within 5 seconds. 'These white headbands must go', I say to no-one in particular...

me of the fate of Japanese, Italian and German US citizens after Pearl Harbour in the 2nd World War.) This kind of thing will not halt the violence, it will feed it.

Even amongst activists, some of us have been slipping dangerously into substituting the word 'Zulu' for 'Inkatha'. For example: 'The Zulus are attacking our people'.

As we drive through Zone 2 now, the story of the attack is changing. It is no longer Zone 2 that is being attacked but Klipspruit and Lahlumlenze (Power Park). Nonetheless, there is panic in Zone 2. There are hastily erected barricades. There are stories of hostel dwellers advancing from

across the field separating Zone 2 and Nancefield hostel. All of this is generating hysteria and fear within the community.

Slowly and carefully we drive to the edge of Zone 2 and study the open field - to our relief there is no sign of advancing hostel dwellers.

'These rumour mongers must be dealt with', says our civic chairperson almost to himself. Rumour-mongering is a problem that is costing us dearly.

White headbands must go

We drive towards Klipspruit. More gunshots are heard. We pass a police hippo parked along Potchefstroom Road between Zone 1 and Klipspruit.

In Klipspruit streets are deserted. Things seem to be under control. Barricades are installed.

Then, all of a sudden, there are whistles as we approach one of the barricades. Figures with white headbands are dashing and darting around, whistling as they run.

My mind flashes back to my training in the Soviet Union, and to our exercises in night shooting. After about six months of training we could aim and hit moving targets (at night) at a distance of about 100 metres within 5 seconds.

'These white headbands must go', I say to no-one in particular.

'You are crazy, then how are we going to identify our forces from theirs, and more especially at night?', responds the young militant.

Our patroller, sporting a white band around his arm, informs us that everything is okay, and this talk about Inkatha attacks was just ru-

mours. But several comrades have been shot by police, including the SACP branch secretary. They have already been taken to hospital.

We head for Baragwanath hospital. The place is chaotic. It is like the aftermath of a battle. There are injured people lying all over. People are here from Klipspruit, Lahlumlenze and Nancefield Municipality Workers Compound, and more people are being wheeled in on stretchers and wheelchairs. All have the same story to tell: 'The police shot us'. I notice that some of the white bands are being used to bandage bleeding wounds.

Empower the masses

I try to think through the lessons of all this. Was somebody deliberately stirring up rumours, so that our comrades would come out with their white headbands to be easy targets?

One thing is sure. Counter-revolutionary violence to influence the outcome of a political settlement has become the key weapon in the arsenal of the racist regime.

We can only win this battle if we empower our people with political and paramilitary skills. We as activists must restore our faith in the masses. It is they, in the long run, who will come with the solution.

We must impart the necessary skills and disseminate relevant information to empower our people to take appropriate decisions. Rumours under the current situation are dangerous. We must devise effective monitoring systems to provide accurate information and to counter this rumour-mongering.

It is only through the organised strength of the masses in political formations, civics and paramilitary formations that the goals of the national democratic revolution can be achieved. ☆

area

give protection against hand-grenades or other missiles thrown by the attackers.

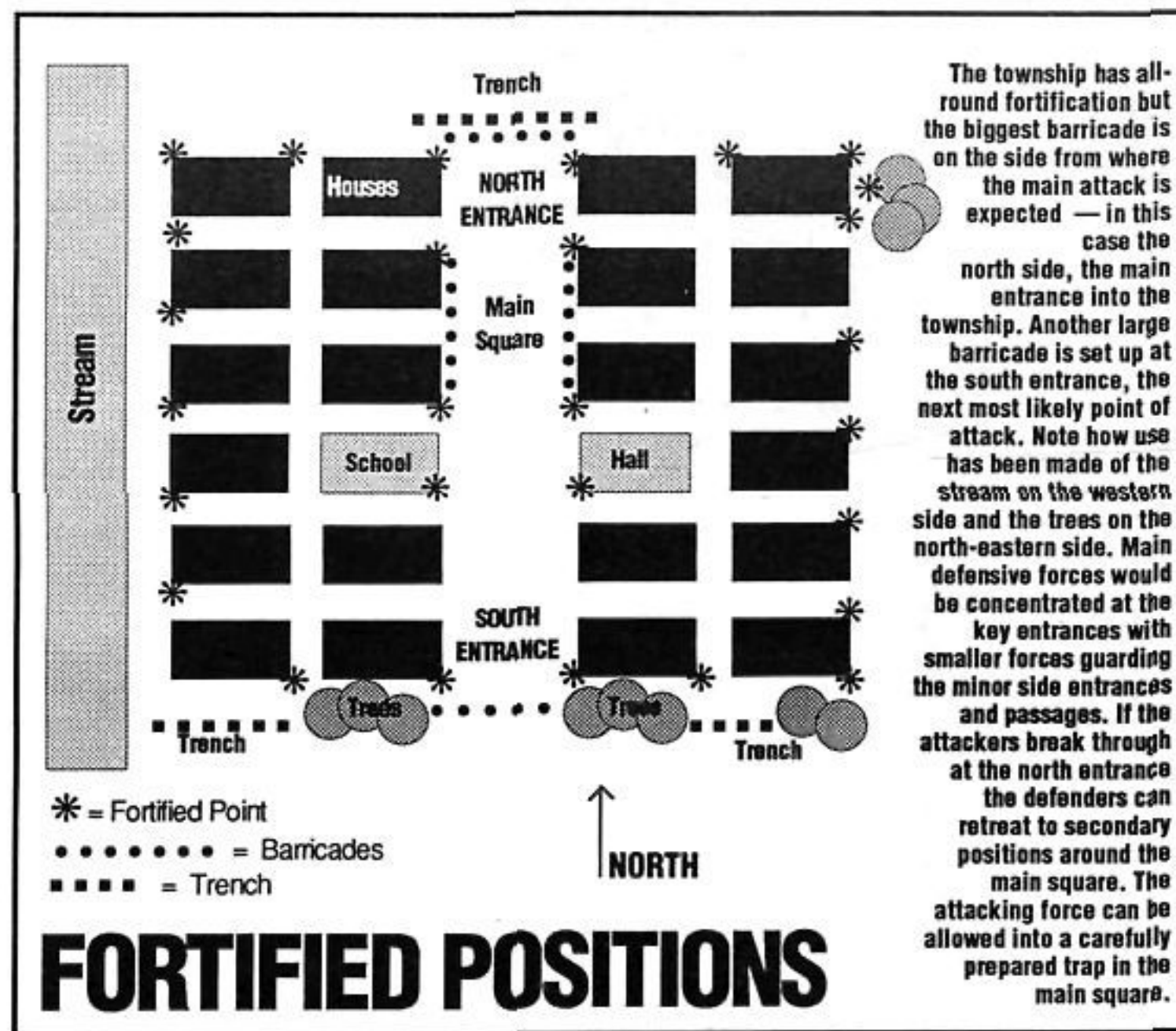
Places used as command centres must be fortified.

4. Tactical planning

Barricades and fortified positions must be designed so they conform to a plan for sectoral and area defence. The defenders must know which areas to hold at all costs and which points can be abandoned at crucial moments.

The auxiliary forces must be utilised to help in the collection and storage of materials and for the speedy erection of the barricades and fortifications. ☆

• Continued in the next issue



FORTIFIED POSITIONS

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Poland: Sinking into the third world

Under its new president, Lech Walesa, workers in Poland are beginning to discover all the advantages of the 'free market'.

Unemployment is soaring. Another 310 000 Polish workers have already lost their jobs this year.

This means that nearly eight in every 100 Polish workers are out of work.

By December the number of unemployed is expected to reach 2-million, or one out of ten workers.

Two years ago, under socialism, there were only 9 000 unemployed!

No wonder a recent opinion poll by Polish state TV found that 60% of the country's people say they are materially worse off now than two years ago under socialism. ☆

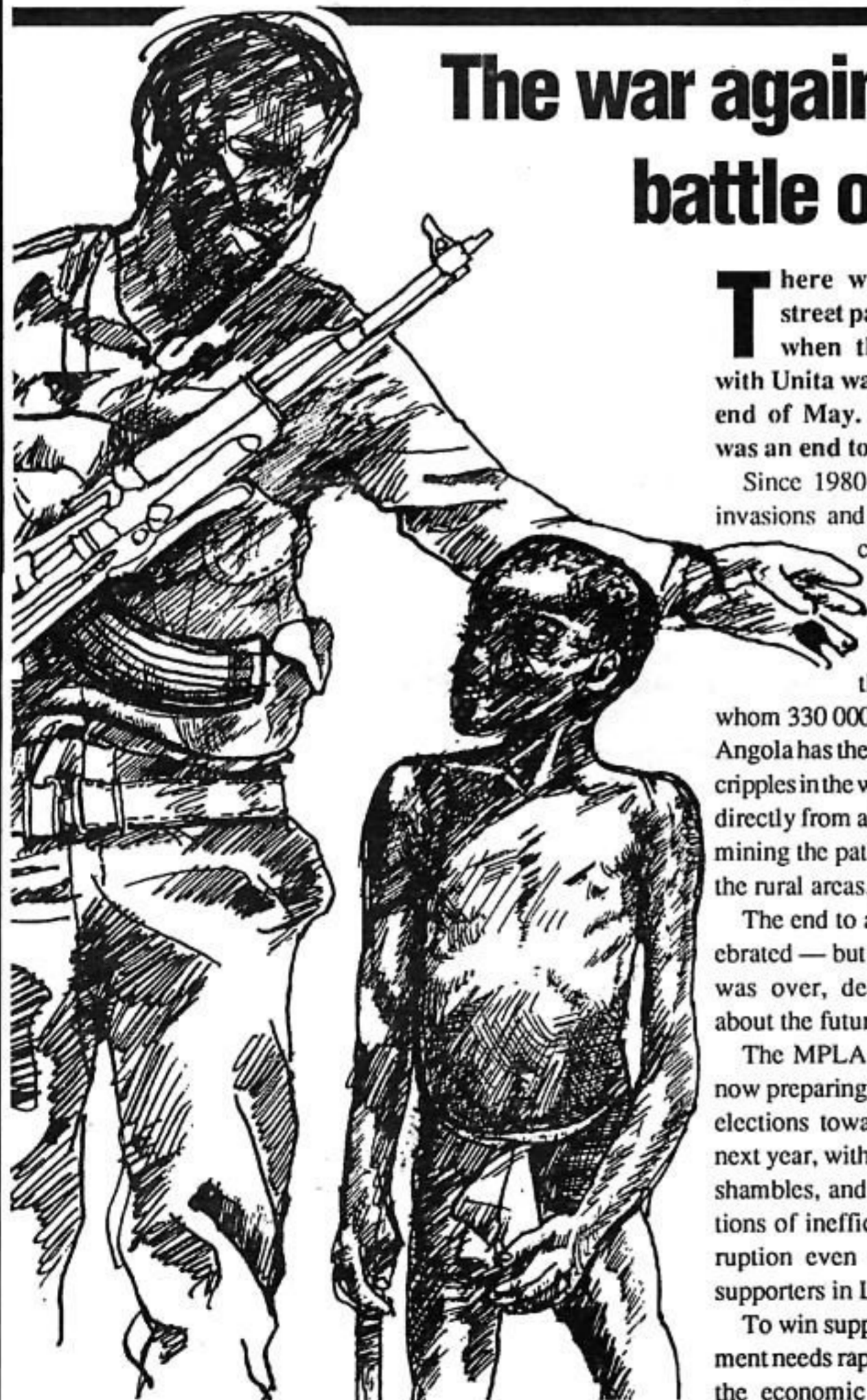
Hungary for the return of the old order?

A popular joke in Hungary is that the former communist Socialist Workers Party government needed 40 years to lose moral support from the people. For the new right-wing, pro-capitalist Democratic Forum, one year was enough.

Those who voted for the right-wing in last year's election dreamed of a western-sponsored reconstruction plan. Instead, they have got the iron fist of the International Monetary Fund. And today, Hungary is the most indebted country in Europe. The total foreign debt is around R50-billion, almost as much

as the country earns in a year. Almost half of its income from exports is going straight out of the country again, to pay interest on the debt. No progress has been made to reduce the debt at all.

But yes, our local free marketeers will argue, things have to get worse before they get better. After all, Hungary is emerging from 40 years of socialism. But these free marketeers forget Hungary joined the IMF back in 1982. And even under the socialist government, Hungary was the darling of the west for its 'liberal' economic policies. ☆

The war against Unita is over — now the battle of reconstruction lies ahead

There was a 24-hour street party in Luanda when the peace deal with Unita was signed at the end of May. Finally, there was an end to the killing.

Since 1980 South African invasions and sabotage have cost Angola over R80-billion; 500 000 people have died in this period, of whom 330 000 were children. Angola has the highest ratio of cripples in the world — flowing directly from a Unita policy of mining the paths and fields of the rural areas.

The end to all this was celebrated — but when the party was over, deep misgivings about the future remained.

The MPLA government is now preparing for multi-party elections towards the end of next year, with an economy in shambles, and facing accusations of inefficiency and corruption even among former supporters in Luanda.

To win support the government needs rapidly to improve the economic situation. But

Angola lacks skilled people in every sphere — not least as entrepreneurs. It also faces the demobilisation and unemployment of over 100 000 troops from both sides.

Angola has to get consumer goods produced and agriculture moving — even though its transport infrastructure is badly damaged by war.

The government will also have to bring in delayed economic reforms, which will create further hardship in the short term.

Election hopes

What are its hopes for election victory in this economic climate? Angolan finance minister Aquinaldo Jaime said recently that the MPLA 'is likely to be penalised in the elections for everything that has gone wrong'. So the MPLA cannot be too confident.

On the other hand it has certain advantages — it holds the reins of power in the state, and therefore has a certain leverage in the pre-election period. It is planning to go into alliance with a number of

smaller political formations now suddenly emerging. Over two dozen groups have already formed.

Unita will benefit from large scale US aid — the US congress has already voted R50-million for Unita.

Washington has also indicated that it will only open diplomatic relations with Angola after elections, with the unspoken promise that if Unita wins, US aid will flow.

In this way the US may be following its successful Nicaragua policy — wearing down the population with war while promising a peace with US aid if the Sandinistas were kicked out.

Angolans may note, however, that aid promises have not materialised in Nicaragua.

There are indications, too, that South Africa will seek to influence the election outcome. Nico Basson, the ex-military intelligence manipulator in the Namibia elections, seems to believe that Pretoria will take the lessons from that election, in which it sought to damage Swapo's image, into Angola. ☆

PEACE IN ANGOLA