

# UMSEBENZI



Volume 7 Issue No. 2

May 1991

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

## Retrench the bosses!

**Capitalism has failed our people. Our economy is shrinking. Every week brings news of more retrenchments.**

80 000 miners have lost their jobs in the last two years. Another 100 000 gold-miners are threatened with job loss in the next two years. In all sectors of our economy - metal, textile, paper, transport, chemical, commercial the picture is the same.

Last week the Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals "warned" that, if the present economic trend continued, South Africa will be ungovernable in five years' time.

**But WHO is he warning?**

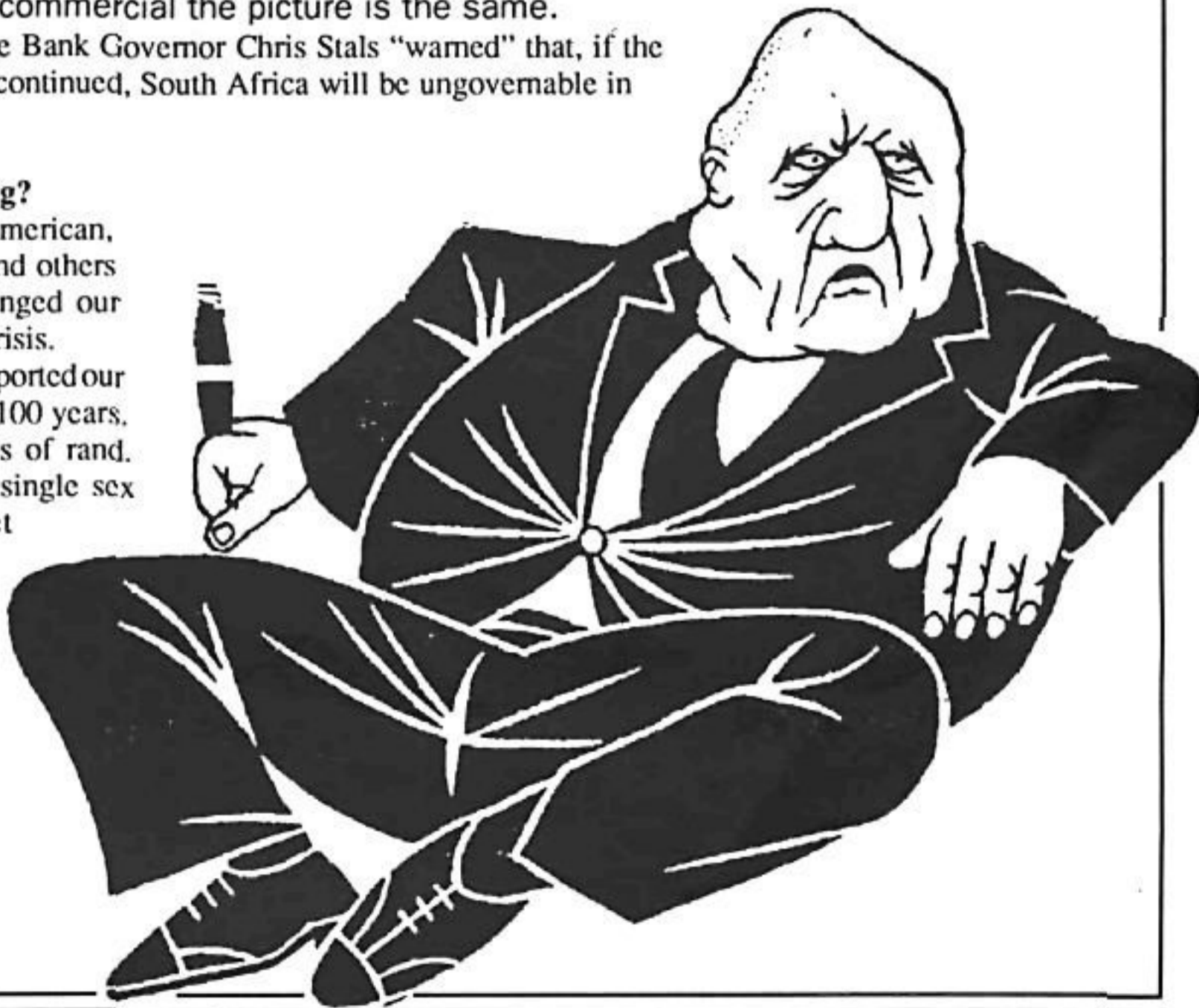
It is Stals, it is Anglo American, Gencor, Barlow Rand and others like them that have plunged our country into economic crisis.

The capitalists have exported our mineral wealth for over 100 years. They have made billions of rand. But miners still live in single sex hostels. They still get dumped into a starving countryside when the mining houses no longer need them.

Over 100 years of hard and dangerous work. But what do we have to show for this?

For over 100 years the capitalists have been plundering minerals out

• *Continued on page 2*



**MAY DAY 1991 — MANYANANI BASEBENZI!**

## On May Day, we must rededicate ourselves to crushing exploitation in our country...

• From page 1

of our country. And yet they have still failed to develop a minerals processing industry.

In fact, capitalism has failed to develop the all-round well being of our people. We are living in the richest country in Africa. And yet millions of us are homeless. Half our people cannot read or write. We have a lower literacy rate than Lesotho!

Sitting in Houghton and Sandton the bosses tell us "socialism has failed". They say "nationalisation doesn't work". But what solutions do they have?

Their "solutions" are retrenchments and wage restraints. They are even suggesting a state lottery to raise funds! In other words: don't nationalise Anglo, nationalise the fah-fee runner instead.

They are not serious. The capitalists are bankrupt of ideas. They have no real plans or intentions to develop our country.

**THE BOSSES ARE UNFIT TO CONTROL OUR ECONOMY!  
THEIR GRIP ON OUR COUNTRY'S DESTINY MUST BE BROKEN!**

As a first step in the salvation of our country's economy, we must ensure political victory to the ANC-led democratic forces.

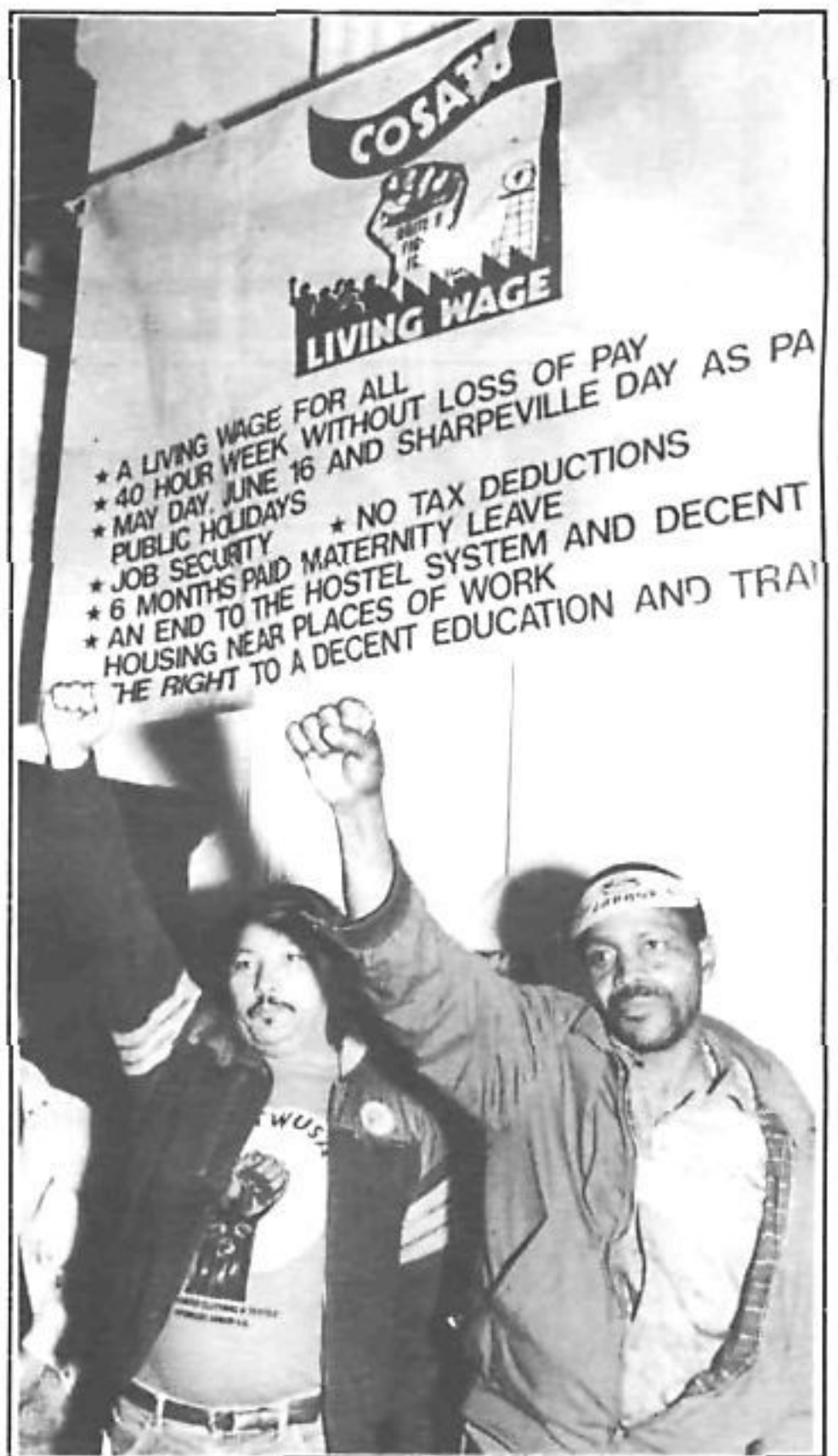
We need a strong democratic state that is able to redistribute wealth. This must be part of a plan for economic development and growth. A democratic state must use redistribution to ensure that people can begin to afford basic needs. The production of food and housing, the requirements for health and welfare, education and training must be emphasised. Not luxury goods.

A democratic state must promote land reform and agricultural development. It must change the tax system so that individuals pay less and business pays more.

Political victory by the ANC-led democratic forces is crucial.

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

But we must not rely on a democratic state alone. We also need to have a well organised and mobilised working class and broad popular forces. **To save our country we will need action from above AND action from below.**



The economic policies of a democratic state must be advanced and deepened by the mobilised working masses of our country. Attempts by those in Houghton, Sandton and their imperialist friends to sabotage progressive policies must be defended by the people.

In this way we will begin to rescue our country from the crisis into which apartheid capitalism has plunged it.

It is:

- A crisis rooted in a system of great wealth for a handful, and great poverty for the majority.
- A crisis of an advanced capitalist country with a tiny home market - our people are too poor to purchase even basics.
- A crisis of an advanced capitalist economy shrinking by the day because there is a massive skills shortage - thanks to decades of bantu education.
- A crisis of an advanced capitalist economy that is getting

**SMASH CAPITALISM!**

hardly any investments. The turmoil and destabilisation brought about by apartheid frighten off local and foreign investors.

### HOW DO WE BEGIN OUR NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION?

The first steps, now in the present, are:

- To build a powerful broad ranging **Patriotic Front**;
- This Patriotic Front must be based on one key demand - a **democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution**. But how do we have democratic elections in a South Africa that is still ruled by De Klerk, Malan and Vlok?
- This is why we must ensure that there is a **representative Interim Government in place**. Part and parcel of the demand for an Interim Government is our demands that
  - Vlok and Malan must be fired!
  - the violence against our townships must end!
  - our people must form strong self-defence structures
  - the SABC must be placed immediately under representative control.

### FORWARD TO SOCIALISM!

An ANC-led democratic victory and the struggle for national democratic changes is the only way forward.

But we also know as long as the capitalist system remains, liberation will be incomplete. Even if the capitalists are well controlled and monitored - from above by a democratic state, and from below by the mobilised working people.

As long as capitalism exists, exploitation and oppression will continue. As long as capitalism is around, it will be a seed-bed for reactionary plots, foreign intervention and destabilisation.

But "socialism has failed", those sitting in Houghton and Sandton tell our people.

Our reply is quite simple: Here in South Africa it is **CAPITALISM** that has failed. It is capitalism that daily brings retrenchments, hunger and misery to our people.

Yes, we will learn from the problems in the socialist countries. We will also learn from their many great successes.

But above all, we will build our own strong, democratic socialism here in South Africa.

On May Day 1991, we rededicate ourselves to crushing exploitation in our country!

**SMASH CAPITALISM!  
FORWARD TO DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA!**



**Cde Sivuyile Nxiphane: Killed by mine security at Vaal Reefs**

## **Klerksdorp Party martyrs**

On the 31 January 1991 two members of our Party were shot and killed in cold blood by the mine securities at Vaal Reefs mine, Klerksdorp. A fellow worker and SACP member from the mine wrote this short tribute for one of them ...

Ucomrade Sivuyile Nxiphane ngowaku Tabankulu phaya kulamhlaba kuthiwa yi Transkei.

Ngonyaka ka 1984 uSivuyile wayesebenza eVaal Reef no.9 ngexesha lokuqala ukuququzeleleka kwabasebenzi base Vaal Reef no.9 and 8 saye sangena kugwayimbo olungekho mthethweni sagxothwa, nge 27 April 1985.

Ekuyeni emakhaya uSivuyile akazange tu azithyafise abesawuthanda umzabalazo.

Ngo 1987 August strike seNUM uSivuyile uye-waphinda wagxothwa, waze waqeshelwa eVaal Reef no. 1. Kulapho ke athe wasutywa kukufa edabini, xa babekumalungiselelo we ACTION ye 1 February. Wadutyulwa kunye nelineye ilungu le SACP.

Badutyulwa ngohla we31-01-1991.

**FORWARD TO DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM!**

# Hani US tour stuns the right

The anti-communist lobby in Washington has been stunned by Chris Hani's major 2-week 10-city tour of the United States.

They expected the MK chief of staff to politely camouflage his communism while in the citadel of imperialism.

They also probably planned to embarrass Hani (above) by "reveal-



ing" in press leaks his Communist Party affiliations once he was in the US.

But Hani has surprised them. He is touring, in the first place, in his capacity as an SACP leader. He is being hosted by the Communist Party of the United States and its

newspaper, *Peoples Workers World*. Hani will be addressing a series of

rallies, concerts, banquets, campus meetings and media conferences. He will be meeting members of the US Congress, the Senate and the State Department in Washington. He will also be addressing the prestigious Council on Foreign Relations.

Other events include a guest appearance at a Chilean solidarity concert with the Chilean musicians Intillimani, a reception with Vietnam Veterans, and a mass rally in the black community in Connecticut.

# Klerksdorp district launched

A Klerksdorp district conference, attended by 250 delegates from Party branches located in shafts and in the nearby township, was held on March 9 and 10.

"Frankly, the debates and interventions of these worker delegates reflected a higher level of political consciousness than we sometimes find in our leadership structures", said Chris Hani.

Hani attended the conference on behalf of the ILG and Central Committee of the SACP.

The conference proceeded right through the night, from 6.30 pm to



5.30 the next morning! "Not once was I sleepy", said Hani.

A mass rally to launch the Party district was held at Jouberton Stadium on March 10.

At the rally Joe Slovo (left) told the audience: "The Klerksdorp SACP District Committee that

has just been introduced to you is not accountable to our Party only, but to you people of Klerksdorp.

"And if they don't do their work or live up to your expectations, you have the right to remove them."

The Klerksdorp district now has 24 Party branches.

## Ten branches in Welkom

Ten SACP branches have been launched in ten mine shafts. The first branch to be launched was at President Steyn gold mine, shaft number 4.

## Red flag in Gugs

The first fully constituted Party branch in Cape Town has been launched in Guguletu.

Comrades marched through the township streets under big red flags to an overflowing civic hall.

"We received overwhelming support from the Gugs community", said Party organiser Tony Yengeni. "And surprisingly not just from the youth, but also and most importantly from the elderly people. A traditional imbongi added flavour and flame to the meeting, and he drew the most ecstatic applause. We communists had really come into town. We were shattering many myths and misconceptions about us as boring dogmatists plotting in dark corners."

In the course of the meeting a PAC leader took the stage. "He strongly supported the Gugs Party launch", says Yengeni, "much to everybody's surprise and satisfaction!"

**A PARTY BRANCH IN EVERY SHAFT AND FACTORY!**



# SACP leaders meet European communists

At the request of the SACP, the French Communist Party convened a meeting of communist parties from the countries of the European Economic Community. The meeting was held in Paris on 12 April.

Joe Slovo and Sidney Mufamadi addressed senior representatives of the communist parties in Germany (both from the DKP and the PDS), Belgium, Denmark, the United Kingdom (the CPGB), Greece, Ireland, Luxemburg and Portugal.

The SACP delegation thanked the European parties for their solidarity over the years, given both to the SACP in particular, and to the national liberation struggle in general.

The SACP briefed the European delegations on the current situation in South Africa. De Klerk's double agenda was noted. Pressure has forced him to the negotiating table, but he is doing everything to weaken the ANC-

led democratic forces as much as possible, especially through unleashing massive violence against the townships.

The meeting agreed that sanctions should be maintained. Any signals from the international community that pressure will be lifted will encourage De Klerk to continue denying as much space as possible to the democratic movement in our country.

On the question of international communist solidarity, it was agreed that it would be unrealistic to revive a structure along the lines of the old Comintern. However, the urgent need to exchange views frequently on the future of socialism, and to share experiences in our specific countries was stressed.

It was also agreed that this exchange of perspectives should not be limited to communist parties, but should include other left formations.

## Leadership must publicise our right to defend ourselves

Dear Comrade,  
I am in an interim Party structure in a township which has been the target of Inkatha-related attacks over the last few months. As in other townships, we were not well prepared for the attack, even though we had warning signals for several months.

We urgently turned to the self-defence document published in *Umsebenzi* some months ago. This is a very good outline of what needs to be done. However, the proposals based on voluntary mass participation, making up platoons and companies, with well developed training, communications, logistics and information gathering systems, are quite elaborate. They will take many months to implement.

In the meantime we are faced with life threatening challenges which we have to respond to immediately.

In order to overcome this problem it seems we must initiate an additional structure. I am thinking of smaller units with disciplined, courageous and politically sensitive comrades who are not overburdened with other responsibilities. This group must then do whatever it can to defend the community in the short term using many of the methods described in the manual. Once the mass-based township defence force is in place, the group can then be absorbed into these structures.

Our task would be made easier if there was financial support. We also need the support of our entire movement, especially those involved in the negotiations, to win space for our right to self-defence. We have made many concessions already. This is one position we can't afford to back down on.

The national leadership can play an important role by publicly defending and explaining self-defence as a priority. Energy which Deputy President, cde Madhiba has put into this recently is already paying off. Recruitment for defence work in our township has become much easier since he has started speaking out on the issue.

Yours in struggle — 'TM'  
• The next part of our series on self-defence units is on pages 18 & 19.

## Where to contact the SACP

### HEAD OFFICE

2nd Floor, National Acceptance House  
13 Rissik Street, Johannesburg

Send mail to:

PO Box 1027, Johannesburg 2000

Phone: (011) 836-6425 or 836-6867

Fax: (011) 836-8366

### PWV REGION

(for Transvaal & OFS)

Room 501, 5th Floor, CNA House

corn. Commissioner & Rissik Streets

Johannesburg 2000

Phone: (011) 834-4657 or 834-4665

### TRANSKEI

38 Sprig Street, Umtata

Phone: (0471) 31-1250

### BORDER

Department of Works Building, Bisho

Phone (0401) 95-1248

### WESTERN CAPE

Vuyisile Mlini Centre

c/o FAWU Offices, NY 1 Guguletu

Phone: (021) 637-9041 ext 213

### EASTERN CAPE

The Co-operative, 50 Pearl Road

Korsten, Port Elizabeth

Phone: (041) 41-5106 or 41-1242

### SOUTHERN NATAL

Office No. 4, First Floor, Bigden House

505-7 Smith Street, Durban

### MIDLANDS

Suite 207, Second Floor

Scotts Theatre Building

Theatre Lane,

Plettenmaritzburg

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!**

# Union rights for all workers!

Millions of workers in South Africa still do not enjoy basic union rights.

No laws exist to protect domestic and farm workers. Madams and farm bosses are free to pay and treat these workers how they like.

In the public sector, workers do not enjoy the same rights to organise, strike and bargain as their comrades in the private sector.

In the bantustans it has been workers who have often been in the forefront of struggles to topple undemocratic bantustan regimes. But it is only in a few bantustans that they have reaped better labour legislation as a result.

## The Laboria Minute

After three years of militant action for union rights, in October last year, the state was forced to sign an accord called the "Laboria Minute" with COSATU, NACTU and employers.

In the Laboria Minute the state acknowledges that all workers should have the right to organise and that the trade unions should be consulted about all labour legislation. They also agreed to scrap the 1988 LRA amendments.

Six months later, only the 1988 LRA amendments have been changed. Workers and their trade unions are becoming increasingly sceptical about the state's commitment to all the contents of this Minute

The state has tried to push through a Bill to effectively privatise the Post Office, despite nationwide protests by post office workers. The state simply ignored COSATU's views about rights for farm workers.

As in the political process, the state

has discovered that it does not cost much to sign "Minutes", to tie up the ANC, civics or trade unions in sub-committees or working groups and then ignore the deliberations of these structures.

There is only one way to avoid this - through workers' power and working class solidarity.

The first priority is to build and strengthen trade union organisation in the bantustans, and among workers in the domestic, farming and public sectors.

However, precisely because there are no laws to help organisation, it is more difficult. It is up to fellow workers to stand up for these workers and put pressure on the regime to give union rights to these workers.

Under the banner of "Union rights for all workers", COSATU intends to campaign for rights for domestic,

farm, public and bantustan workers.

Domestic workers are planning to hold "human chains" on May 16. Workers in the fertiliser, tractor, food processing and other factories, who are linked to farms, have also been called on to undertake solidarity actions. COSATU's campaign hopes to culminate in worker marches on June 15.

Workers in the more established trade unions must still remember the fierce struggles they had to wage to win the right to join trade unions and bargain with the bosses.

Let us not leave workers (whose situation is far more difficult than industrial workers) to fight these battles alone.

All organised workers and all Party members must take up the struggle for full trade union rights for all workers.



**AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!**

# Mine bosses: We, the people, accuse you!



Nearly half a million workers are employed on South Africa's gold mines. These miners support a further two and a half million dependents, in the rural areas of our country and in neighbouring states.

Now, almost half of these workers and therefore more than a million dependents are in the retrenchment

gun-sights of the mine bosses.

According to the bosses, if the gold price remains the same, 205 000 gold miners will lose their jobs over the next 5 years.

This means mass starvation, huge social dislocation in the impoverished rural areas, and large-scale waste of our country's human and natural re-

sources.

We are looking at a major tragedy in the making.

*And it is the mine bosses that must bear full responsibility for this crime against our country and its people.*

But are the bosses REALLY guilty? Are there not objective reasons for the gold-mining crisis?

## • CHARGE SHEET •

### THE CASE FOR THE DEFENCE

Yes, there are some objective factors:

- The world gold price has been stuck at a low level, and there are few signs of it soaring, because
- The amount of gold produced in the world has increased dramatically. In 1980 1,300 tons of gold were produced world-wide. In 1989 it was up to 2,000 tons. South Africa's share of world gold production has dropped to less than 40%, compared to nearly 80% in the late 1970s.
- The cost of producing gold in South Africa is increasing, partly because the richest mines have been exhausted, and mines with less rich ore remain.

These are realities which any management of our gold mines would have to face. But...

### THE CASE FOR THE PEOPLE

- **Gross negligence.** The mine bosses have completely failed to plan for these realities. And they cannot plead inexperience. They have been running our mines for over 100 years.
- **Monumental wastage.** They have failed to provide skills to the millions of workers who have passed through their hands. Every worker is a precious resource, to be cultivated and developed for the greater well-being of our country and our region. Instead, the mine bosses continue to see workers only as cost factors to be dumped at will.
- **Inhuman greed.** Almost every mine manager has a luxury car. When there are financial difficulties, the first to go are the workers, not the Mercedes Benz.
- **Total incompetence.** The whole gold mining industry needs to be restructured as part of an overall democratic plan for South Africa's economic development. Workers need to be trained and upgraded for other industries. Where mines need to shut, their considerable infrastructure (water, electricity, transport) needs to be used for new industrial purposes. The rural areas from which the mine labour force is drawn must be developed. The mine bosses are incapable of doing any of this.
- **Deceit.** The only solutions the mine bosses can advance for the crisis are retrenchments and wage restraints. They say that each mine must operate strictly according to market forces. That is, miners on less profitable mines must accept lower wages. It is interesting that the mine bosses have never followed these arguments in the other direction. At present, the platinum mines are vastly profitable. But they pay gold-level wages!
- **Irresponsibility.** Faced with a crisis that will directly effect a million people, the mine bosses have been refusing to meet NUM to discuss an overall approach. Instead they have been retrenching without consultation.
- **Racism.** The mining industry in South Africa is based, not just on economic exploitation, but on the political and social repression of black people. It was the mine bosses who motivated for pass laws and the reserves. It is the mine bosses who still house their work-force in single sex hostels. While even De Klerk is scrapping apartheid laws, apartheid practices remain the overwhelming experience of miners underground in the mines.

### THE VERDICT AND SENTENCING?

We leave this to the mine workers of our country and of our region, to their families, and to all democratic South Africans.

**THE WEALTH SHALL BE SHARED!**



# Once more ... many caps

Congress time is coming around in the unions and in the ANC. The debate about comrades occupying leadership positions in different organisations ("the many caps debate") is being hotted up in some quarters.

Where does the SACP stand on this question?

In the first place, we do not deny that overlapping leadership can cause problems:

- Comrades might become over-stretched with too many caps.

(For this reason, obviously, nobody should occupy two full-time leadership posts. Comrades must prioritise. But being over-stretched, accumulating too many portfolios is, in any case, something that can occur

within a single organisation.)

- There can, in theory, be conflicts of interest.

(For this reason, where comrades have two or more leadership posts, they must be very clear. At all times they must know in what capacity and under what mandate they are operating. But that is not to say that a trade unionist in a Party leadership structure must drop a general shop-floor culture and understanding. On the contrary, that's exactly why we need the comrade in our leadership ranks.)

## Potential dangers

There might be potential dangers in wearing many caps. But the dangers of preventing, for example, trade union worker leaders from occupy-

ing their rightful place in the leadership of our political formations is even greater.

The ANC is emerging from 30 years of banning, exile, and underground operations. For the SACP it is 40 years.

Many of the present COSATU leaders were, in fact, underground SACP or ANC members long before they became trade union leaders.

Now we need to see the leadership ranks of our political formations massively reinforced by comrades who have emerged from nearly two decades of trade union and mass democratic struggle.

Working class interests, and trade union independence will be strengthened, not weakened, by this process.

## LETTER TO UMSEBENZI

# Nationalisation: Two hats or two faces?

Dear Comrade Editor,  
I went to a debate in my ANC branch on nationalisation at the end of February. Two comrades from the ANC were among the speakers. They agreed there should be a debate on the issue of nationalisation. But both of them only argued points against nationalisation. They used the list of "disadvantages" of nationalisation in *Mayibuye* as their main arguments.

Now yesterday I suddenly discovered that both of the anti-nationalisation comrades are influential members of the SACP.

I know the SACP is not against nationalisation. So why are these comrades actively campaigning against nationalisation in the ANC?

It's supposed to be a "two hats" problem, but here it is getting to be a "two faces" problem. There may be debate on whether two hats is a bad thing. But there is no question that two faces is bad.

The SACP comrades wear an anti-nationalisation face in the ANC branch meetings (and influence thinking in the ANC against nationalisation - perhaps

they believe that the ANC, as a multi-class alliance, should only aim at "unity"). Then when they operate as SACP they have a different face. This is not honest. It cannot help open debate if comrades don't say what they believe, but what they think the organisation whose hat they are wearing would want them to say.

I would have less of a problem if the arguments they used against nationalisation were sound. But they are just the same as *Business Day*. They said, for example, that if we nationalise mines and factories all the skilled whites will leave because they won't like the new policies.

This sounds a good point. But what will the new policies be? - Abolish all racism! Re-invest profits to create jobs! Train black workers with skills! These will be top of the directives to nationalised industries.

If the skilled whites now threaten to leave, can we pander to their fears and change our policy? Of course not. We can't allow our country to be held hostage to white fears about change (which are not real at all).

If some whites don't like the policies needed to put the country back to work and fight poverty, LET them go. The sooner we are rid of such people the better.

But I am convinced all people (and specially whites in factories) would welcome the economic expansion we can force on the economy when we nationalise. We will need the advice and assistance of skilled people. They will have more responsibilities when we have retired their present directors.

A bold and carefully planned programme of nationalisation of key economic activity is vital to end apartheid and promote economic development. Such a programme is even written into the Freedom Charter ("All shall share in the country's wealth").

We need debate on how to nationalise. We need debate on what went wrong in Eastern European economies. We need to organise to promote nationalisation.

We don't need two-faced SACP comrades to demoralise ANC meetings and stifle real debate.

In solidarity — Martin Nicol

# Workers' rights in a new constitution



*COSATU's Campaign Conference has drawn up Draft Worker Demands for a new South African constitution. The draft is a major contribution to the struggle for a democratic Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution. All workers and democrats should popularise and discuss these draft demands*

**1. COSATU wants trade union rights in the constitution including:**

- The full right to strike and picket
- The full right to organise - including the necessary facilities
- There must be no victimisation or interference in trade union organisation
- A separate labour court on which trade union nominees sit.

**2. COSATU wants trade union independence**

The right of trade unions to be independent from the state, bosses or political parties must be respected. Trade unions should be democratically controlled by their members.

**3. COSATU wants an accountable government**

This can be ensured by provisions in the constitution such as:

- **Referendum**  
The constitution must give the people the right in a referendum to overturn unpopular laws or to require the passing of certain laws.

- **Right to information**  
Government information should be accessible to the people.

- **Media**  
There must be free and easy access to radio, television and newspapers by the organs of civil society.

- **Terms of office**  
There should be limited terms of office for heads of government such as a President.

- **Protected clauses in the constitution**

The government must not be able to suspend worker rights protected in a constitution, even in a state of emergency.

- **Constitutional Court**  
There must be an independent court that protects the rights of people in the constitution.

**4. COSATU wants a democratically planned economy**

The constitution should provide that:

- The state can intervene in the economy so that it serves the people.
- Trade unions participate in economic planning.

The constitution should enable the people to fight for:

- Collective ownership
- Worker control in the factories, mines and shops

- Full employment
- Living benefits for all unemployed people

- Fair distribution of wealth and land

**5. COSATU demands equality between men and women**

- The constitution must recognise fundamental equality between men and women in marriage, in employment and in society.

- The state must embark on a programme of affirmative action to correct past discrimination suffered by women.

**FORWARD TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY!**

# Workers' rights in a new constitution



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**FORWARD TO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY!**

# The ANC must remain a liberation movement

Week after week the regime, the bosses and their media are telling us that the national liberation struggle is over. We are living in a new period, they say.

"The ANC must transform itself from a liberation movement into a normal political party", writes the government supporting Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*. Is that right? - NO, IT'S WRONG!

When Gerrit Viljoen calls for the ANC to drop the SACP, he relies on the same argument. With elections coming, he says, the ANC can no longer be a broad movement. It can no longer be a spectrum of different political views united behind a shared commitment to national democratic change. Right? - WRONG AGAIN!

The same argument is even sometimes advanced by comrades broadly within our own ranks. In a recent article in the *South African Labour Bulletin* one comrade argues:

"The whole political climate is going to change when the ANC becomes a party...The ANC, the SACP and COSATU are all calling for a Constituent Assembly. This means that the ANC, as well as the SACP, will have to have their own candidates for the assembly. The SACP has to put up its own candidates, who are not members of the ANC, for the Constituent Assembly or non-racial parliament." - WHY??

There are two common assumptions in all these views:

- That to contest parliamentary politics we have to dress ourselves up to look like British or American political parties. But there is absolutely no reason whatsoever why we should do this. Of course, when the time comes we must take elections seriously. But neither the Party nor the ANC should become no more than election ma-

chines.

- That once (and if) there is a new non-racial constitution, the national liberation struggle will be over.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The task of overcoming three centuries of dispossession and racial oppression will not end with a new constitution and a new government. This will only mark the first real beginnings of a massive effort to transform our country. To unite it. To make it democratic. To empower the people.

## Years of struggle

To realise the basic national democratic vision so powerfully contained in the Freedom Charter will take a long, difficult struggle over many years. We will have to overcome the massive social, economic and cultural crisis that apartheid will be leaving us.

We will have to take on the difficult task of transforming the armed forces and the whites-only economy. We will face reaction and destabilising from internal and external enemies of democracy.

The need for a broad based ANC, and for a broader patriotic front will be greater than ever before. The need for a mobilised, organised and politically conscious people will be greater than ever.

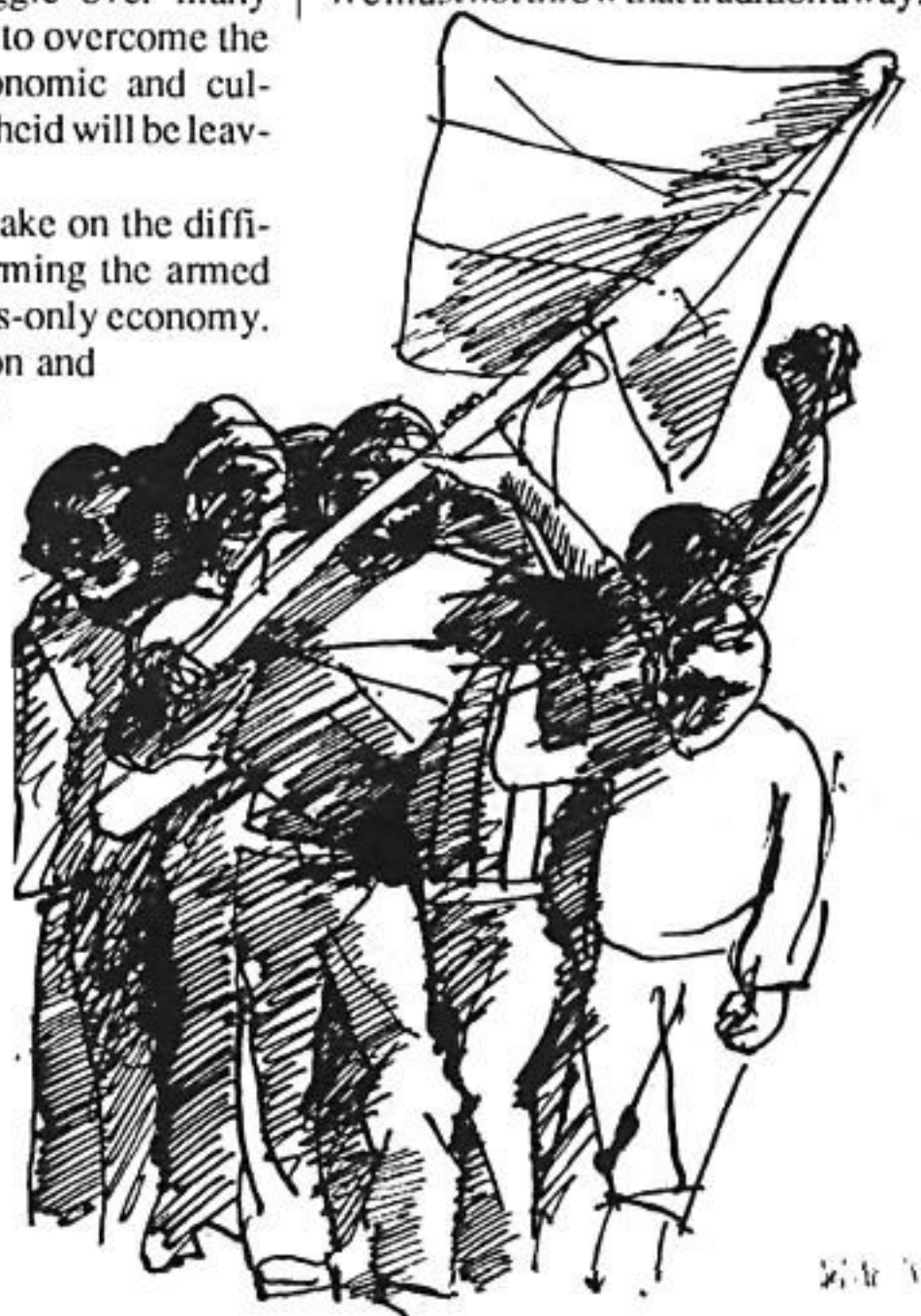
For instance, in a new South Africa the International Monetary Fund will almost cer-

tainly try to undermine our democratic government's economic policies. Our government will have to be strengthened and supported by mass mobilisation.

We are not gazing into the future for its own sake. If we are to build the correct kind of national liberation forces now, we need to understand our future challenges.

The ANC and the SACP that we are building now must not be mere election machines. Machines that treat members and followers as voting fodder once every five years. This is the character of many Western political parties. It is also the character of the existing white political parties.

We belong to a different tradition. We must not throw that tradition away.



**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

# Do you really want to know, Dr Viljoen?

Gerrit Viljoen, apartheid Minister of Constitutional Development, was stunned by the ANC NEC's open letter ultimatum to end the township violence. For Viljoen and his fellow cabinet ministers the blood-letting in the townships was seen as a useful softening up of the ANC. He imagined the ANC was prepared to negotiate at any price, and regardless of the political climate.

"This is not the Nelson Mandela we know," he complained in parliament. And so Viljoen looked around for someone to blame. Guess what organisation he came up with?

"The question must be asked", he said, "whether ANC policy is initiated in its own offices, or whether it is first worked out in the SACP's underground structures and then carried into the ANC by people with leadership positions in both organisations".

This is a very good description of what has been happening for 40 years.

But not in our ANC-led alliance!

As Viljoen is very well placed to know, this is exactly how the National Party, and therefore apartheid South Africa's national policies have been determined by secret, unelected committees of the Broederbond, and of the security forces.

For many years Viljoen was himself head of the Broederbond, and he still remains a senior member.

But he has the cheek to say:

• "The SACP's membership is still cloaked in secrecy". As you might remember Dr Viljoen, we have just emerged from 40 years of illegality. By the end of this year we will have

no secret members. But your Broederbond has never been banned and persecuted, and yet it still remains secret. And how about the names of your CCB operatives? These gentlemen appearing before your own commission of enquiry wore disguises and gave false names. And what about the NP's latest secret member? He is only known as "Sam" in the press. He's too embarrassed to give his real name. No wonder "Sam" is the only black NP member in Tembisa.

• "The SACP has never committed itself to the negotiations process between the ANC and government", said Viljoen in parliament. Rubbish. The SACP has frequently and officially expressed its support for the ANC initiated negotiations process.

• "The SACP ... must spell out its

goals". That's exactly what we do all the time. We have no secret goals. We stand for communism in South Africa. And we stand for a national democratic revolution in our country as the most direct road to socialism and longer-term communism.

• "The SACP ... must organise and function as an organisation in its own right". Exactly. We do, and we shall continue to do. But, of course, what you really mean by this helpful bit of advice, Dr Viljoen, is that we should part company with the ANC.

Forget it! Being a separate organisation, committed to communism, and all that means (full democracy, non-racialism, the land to the people, the wealth shared) is precisely what has cemented our strong alliance with the ANC.



**VIVA UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!**

# Abusing the right to be wrong?

**P**ress freedom "includes the right to be wrong", says newspaper columnist Shaun Johnson in *The Star* on April 13.

The context of this particular philosophical musing is important. It came just a week after the ANC open letter ultimatum to FW de Klerk to end political violence.

The particular wrong the media had "the right" to commit was their shark-like frenzy in criticising the ultimatum.

Johnson admitted press coverage had been "at best superficial and at worst misleading". The press didn't bother to wonder whether the ANC might be justified in seeking to force an end to violence which has seen 5 000 people slaughtered. Instead, the press, says Johnson, accepted the ultimatum had been provoked by splits within the ANC between militant "hawks" and moderate "doves".

The source of this idea is not in any doubt - De Klerk's government.

On April 7, two days after the open letter, the *Sunday Times* quoted "top government negotiators" as saying "hardliners in the ANC have won Round Three in the battle between hawks and doves to control strategy for negotiation."

"This is the conclusion," the paper continued, "of top government negotiators who studied the ANC ultimatum issued by Nelson Mandela, as the open letter brought negotiations to the brink of disaster."

Still quoting "government sources", the *Sunday Times* said the ANC was "so deeply divided that it was not ready to begin negotiations", and that "the ultimatum ... was a ploy to play for time".

Most papers, as Johnson acknowledges, accepted and reproduced this explanation. They accepted the government analysis that the whole thing was not a serious attempt to address the violence and save negotiations, but a squabble between a handful of "hawks and doves". So the papers concentrated on the squabble, and whether the pendulum would swing back in favour of the "doves".

"Mandela stands by ultimatum!" *The Star* blared out a day later (April 8). Since this was just 72 hours after Comrade Mandela himself had personally issued the ultimatum, this was hardly surprising. But locked into the idea of a "hawks and doves" squabble, *The Star* seemed to think it was news.

At least Comrade Pallo Jordan will have enjoyed the commercial press "hawks and doves" speculation. Trapped in Cold War assessments of politics, the press had earlier warned to the ANC information director, after he published a critique of Joe Slovo's *Has Socialism Failed?*.

## Too complex

The fact that Jordan's critique was made from a solidly socialist perspective was, unfortunately for Jordan, too complex an idea for the press to absorb. He was portrayed as an anti-communist "moderate". We are sure Jordan will be pleased, for what it's worth, to find himself in good communist company in the latest list of "hawks".

Several factors ensured that the government-fuelled surge of anti-ANC coverage was shortlived.

"Diplomats and other skeptical observers emerged from briefings (on April 9) by Mr. Mandela," Johnson wrote, "convinced that he and the entire NEC were united behind this intervention. It was primarily the horror of township violence that had driven them to this drastic action."

A second factor was that De Klerk's government was forced to begin responding to the demands. Prison releases were accelerating, as were in-

demnities. Magnus Malan began sacking his hit squad thugs in a desperate attempt to save his own job. And Adriaan Vlok suddenly found that he did indeed have the power he's earlier said he did not - to ban a range of what his government, with lethal cynicism, terms "traditional weapons".

If the ultimatum was an unjustified consequence of a "hawks and doves" squabble, why begin meeting the demands? Even a press which had forgotten the egg splattered all over its collective face by the "Red Plot" fantasy of a year ago was able to spot the inconsistency.

By the end of the first post-ultimatum week, the government propaganda momentum was fading fast: And so on April 14 a copy of "For the sake of our lives", a booklet commissioned by the revolutionary alliance committee on violence fully six months ago, was leaked to *Business Day* (April 16).

But the momentum was lost. Even *Business Day* acknowledged: "If the normal forces of law and order are unable to provide ... protection ... some form of community protection cannot be said to be illegitimate."

The key question, however, remains: Why did journalists with first-hand experience of government dissembling, distortion and outright dishonesty accept the idea that an internal split had provoked the ultimatum?

Having burned its fingers yet again, the press might in future consider the value of its sources before taking advantage of its right to be wrong.

**W**ho are the Kurds, whose sufferings in the aftermath of the Gulf War have so aroused the conscience of the world?

They are a nation of over 20 million people who have never, in a long history of several thousand years, enjoyed independence, though they have constantly fought for it. They have their own language, which is quite distinct from Arabic and Turkish, and a long cultural history.

The Kurds form the majority of the population in 18 provinces of Turkey, 3 provinces of Iran, 5 provinces of Iraq and 2 provinces of Syria. They make up one quarter of the total population of Iraq, and one fifth of the populations of both Turkey and Iran. There are also about 250,000 people of Kurdish origin in the Soviet Union, originating mostly as refugees from the tyranny of the states of the Middle East in which the majority of Kurds reside.

Today Saddam Hussein is seen as the tormentor and pursuer of fleeing Kurds. But historically Iraq (apart from the Soviet Union) has been the only state which has recognised the existence of the Kurds as a separate ethnic identity. There have been times in recent history when Kurds have been members of the Iraqi government, and plans have been under discussion for the establishment of an autonomous Kurdistan on Iraqi territory.

If a state based on the areas where Kurds are the majority comes into being, it will be as large as South Africa, rich in oil and minerals, with plenty of good land and water resources.

It is because of these prizes that the Kurdish national movement has been either side-tracked or ruthlessly suppressed, and the Kurdish people have been the victims of repeated invasions and massacres. This has been done not only by their immediate neighbours, but also by the imperialist powers that exploit their resources, especially oil, to this day.

Up till the end of World War I, the



## ***The Kurds: A nation without nationhood***

Kurds lived under the domination of the Ottoman sultan and the Shah of Iran. The victory of the Allies in this war enabled Britain, France and the United States to carve up the Middle East to their own satisfaction. They redrew borders and created new states, including Syria and Iraq.

The tragic history of the Kurds since then has been marked by the rivalries of the Middle Eastern states, and the manoeuvrings of the imperialists. Nor has the Kurdish national movement, largely of bourgeois democratic orientation, been free of opportunism in its search for allies.

Nevertheless, the Kurdish national movement, because of its overall stance against local reaction and foreign imperialism, inevitably reflected a progressive tendency in the context of the times. From the time of its foundation in 1934 the Iraqi Communist Party was active in 'Kurdistan' and was the first political organisation in Iraq to develop a consistent policy on the issue of Kurdish autonomy.

Kurdish self-determination was included in the Party's National Charter adopted by the first Party conference in 1944.

To this day Communists and Kurdish nationalists have fought against their common enemy for the achievement of the national demo-

cratic revolution. The Communist Party and Kurdish national organisations are members of the 16-party alliance formed last year to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein.

Two major international conferences have recently been held, in Paris in 1989, and in Stockholm in 1990, on the Kurdish issue. These conferences secured publicity for the demand for human rights for the Kurds and concentrated on the right to self-determination.

These conferences also exposed the barbarous methods used to crush the Kurdish resistance. They demanded the outlawing of chemical weapons which had been used with such devastating effect against Kurdish settlements in Iraq.

The combination of internal and external pressures suggests that the struggle for Kurdish independence is now reaching culmination. But with George Bush, John Major and Turkey and Iran now jumping into the act under the pretext of providing humanitarian assistance, and with western military forces already deployed in northern Iraq, the danger of subversion of Kurdish independence is very real.

The need for an international conference involving all interested parties to solve the problems of the Middle East is more urgent than ever.

**HONOUR TO OUR MARTYRS!**

# TW Thibedi: The first African communist

**A**sk historians about the early night schools, and they will tell you about the Communist Party. Ask old comrades about night schools and they will remember T William Thibedi. Thibedi scored many fine achievements in his political career. But, sadly, he later became one of the victims of the Party splits and was expelled in 1930.

Thibedi joined the International Socialist League in Johannesburg around 1915, after he heard SP Bunting speaking at a public meeting. From then on Thibedi and Bunting remained lifelong friends. In the years to come, their political fortunes rose and fell together.

In 1921, the Communist Party was born out of a merger of a number of different left organisations. Most were rooted among militant white workers. For a few years, Thibedi was the only African member of the Party. In fact, he was almost certainly the first African Communist on the continent of Africa.

## Africanisation

After the whites-only 1922 Rand strike, the Party realised that it could not rely on racially privileged workers. It began its Africanisation campaign to recruit and train "cadres of class conscious" black workers.

Thibedi was elected onto the first fully non-racial Central Committee of the Party, along with Gana Makabeni and EJ Khaile.

He proved to be a remarkably talented organiser. In the words of Eddie Roux, Thibedi "had a natural genius for getting people together, whether workers in some particular industry, location residents, a group of women [or] unemployed workers".

Nearly every weekend, Thibedi, a small man, was seen in some township or another, standing on a table and making speeches to large crowds.

As time went by, more and more Africans could be seen in the streets wearing the Party's red, black and gold badge - the five-pointed star with the hammer and sickle.

In 1925, Thibedi and the fiery socialist, Charles Baker, started a night school in a run-down building in Johannesburg. There were few desks. Student-comrades sat on the floor. The blackboard was a painted wall; lessons consisted of basic reading, writing, arithmetic and Marxism.

It was a humble school. Yet it trained some of the Party's finest thinkers. Edwin Mofutsanyana, Albert Nzula and Moses Kotane were among the night school's most well known "graduates". There were many others besides.

Through his active involvement in education Thibedi also developed an interest in reaching black members through the Party newspaper, *The South African Worker*. He learnt typesetting, which proved very useful in helping to prepare each edition.

## Trade unions

Around 1926, Thibedi was also becoming involved with trade unions. Africans were not allowed by law to belong to registered trade unions. So they formed their own. The ICU, which had grown to become the biggest workers' union in the country, had a number of Party members as its organisers. But its leader, Kadalie, influenced by anti-communists, had them expelled.

Party organisers then began to set

up new trade unions. These were based on the principle of "one industry one union".

The African Laundry Workers' Union was quickly followed by other unions - bakers, clothing workers, mattress and furniture workers unions were set up by Benny Weinbren, Gana Makabeni and Thibedi. These new unions were small, but they increased their power by forming a Federation of Non-European Trade Unions (FNETU). Weinbren was the chairperson and Thibedi the chief organiser.

By the end of 1928 FNETU was able to claim 10,000 members on the Witwatersrand.

There were many struggles to get employers to pay even the miserably low minimum wages fixed by the government. On one occasion, after a black worker was dismissed in a clothing factory, about 250 workers stopped work. Makabeni and Thibedi were arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act and sentenced to ten days' jail or a fine equal to a week's wages.

In 1930, Thibedi with the help of SP Bunting, set up the first African Mineworkers' Union.

It was an ambitious task, for mine-workers were tightly controlled in closed compounds. Mine managers did everything to prevent trade un-

**LONG LIVE MARXISM!**



Umsebenzi  
14 November 1935

## *African Mine Workers Union says there is no Truth in what Sub-Native Commissioner said*

*The Rand Daily Mail of the 4th Dec. in reporting the strike of 700 Native mine workers at the Coronation Colliery Vryheid stated that shortage of food, the demand for three meals a day, an increase of wages were the demands of the strikers. This Union expresses its full sympathy with the miners in their demonstration and attitude, it trusts that they will lose no time in becoming thoroughly organised. Would the Inspector of Labour or the Sub-Native Commissioner have courage to state clearly the conditions under which the mine workers and also the Municipal workers are living and working. How these officials can have the brazenness to declare that the complaint of shortage of food is unfounded passes our understanding. For the benefit of those ignorant of the true conditions that exist let me say that the food is not only deficient in quantity but is of such quality that no self respecting farmer would offer it to his swine. And it is safe to say that our labour Inspector and sub-Native Commissioners would shudder at the very idea of partaking of it. The sleeping places of these workers are not equal to those afforded by a properly conducted pigsty consisting as they do of hard cement blocks utterly innocent of coverings such as mattresses and pillows etc. These workers definitely the*

*most exploited of any in South Africa receive the magnificent wage of 1s 8d per shift. The minimum for which our Union stands is 7s 6d per shift. The main object of the labour Inspector and Native Commissioners is not as the unsophisticated think to study the interests of the workers and defend their rights, but their main object in life seems to be merely to finger their cheques month by month. Magistrate Beale should stand for justice regardless of the consequences, but unfortunately as one of the tools of imperialist oppression he must obey the crack of the whip. It is demonstrably false to state as he is reported to have done that complaints are unfounded. At the same time to state otherwise would conflict with the interests both of his class and his bosses of the Coronation Mine. Until such time as these workers receive a minimum wage such as we demand together with good accommodations and working conditions, these troubles will recur with greater and ever increasing frequency and militancy.*

**T.W. THIBEDI. SEC.**  
**African Mine Workers Union**  
**P.O. Box 4179**  
**Johannesburg**

### **The work of TW Thibedi: An article he wrote for Umsebenzi in 1935**

ions for black workers.

In the same year, 1930, something happened which set back Thibedi's work - he was expelled from the Party.

#### **Expelled**

In the late 1920s, the CPSA was divided by disputes. Partly these disputes were due to personal rivalry, partly to disagreements over strategy, and partly because of the interference of the Comintern in Moscow. An intolerant and dogmatic faction got into the leadership of the CPSA.

Within the Party there was a group who did not agree with the new leadership. They felt that emphasis on nationalism might undermine class struggle. This group included Bunting, Makabeni, Weinbren and Thibedi.

Thibedi was removed from office

in FNETU. Later he was expelled from the Party for "mismanaging" trade union affairs. Bunting and Makabeni were also expelled.

The CPSA, deprived of some of its most able members, began to decline in the 1930s. FNETU struggled to keep going but eventually folded. Individual unions, losing the backing of the Party, were also greatly weakened.

Thibedi made brave attempts to keep the African Mineworkers' Union going. But he no longer had the organisational base of the Party to help him.

He also tried to start an alternative newspaper, the *Maraphanga*. But he dropped it after the first issue.

Thibedi still kept in touch, however. He wrote letters to the new Party newspaper, *Umsebenzi*. Old comrades

remember seeing him at public meetings. He even dropped into the Party offices from time to time. But his good friend SP Bunting had died. As Thibedi got older he became discouraged.

One day in 1943, Ray Simons bumped into Thibedi in the Pretoria trade union offices. "Comrade Thibedi, why don't you join us? Help us to organise the unions!" she said.

"I had my day", replied Thibedi.

Thibedi certainly had been remarkable in his day. He had been a pioneer in so many ways. True, there were difficulties, confusions and mistakes made by our Party. But Thibedi's work in organising, in political education and in the labour movement made a vital contribution to the achievements of the Communist Party in South Africa.

**BUILD THE WORKERS' VANGUARD!**

# The need for special units

## 1. Introduction

Our series so far has dealt with the structure of a Township Defence Force (TDF) and a training programme involving physical fitness and the use of weapons.

Under the Township Defence Committee (TDC) should be units specialising in such tasks as communications, intelligence and observation.

## 2. Communications

Speedy and reliable communications are vital. An army, police force or any serious organisation cannot manage without them. The organisation of communications will make the TDF extremely effective.

Communications (comms) must be controlled by the TDC. This command must have at its fingertips a system of communications which keeps it in close touch with the political organisations and leaders and enables it to issue orders as quickly as possible to all units and to the population as a whole. It also needs to receive instant reports on the unfolding situation. This calls for the creation of a system under the command of a communications chief.

The comms chief needs a special comms unit of six to 10 members, based near the TDC Headquarters. This unit should have a system of comms which includes the use of telephones, walkie-talkies, runners (messengers) and possibly even citizen band radios (CBs) or other forms of two-way radio. Walkie-talkies are an efficient and reliable means of communication and as many as are required should be purchased. Every effort should be made to set up a two-way radio system (the most powerful and efficient means of communicating, although more expensive than walkie-talkies). Vehicles and bicycles can be used by the messengers. The comms unit is also responsible for manning an alarm system (siren; gong; bugle;) to alert the township.

The comms unit must be able to put the TDC into speedy contact with the various company commanders and through them with the platoon and

## BUILDING SELF-DEFENCE UNITS

### Umsebenzi series — Number 3

- *Communications* • *Intelligence*
- *Observation*



section leaders. The TDC should be in contact with company commanders via radio or walkie-talkies. And company commanders should in their turn be in contact with platoon commanders by walkie-talkies. (This would mean a total of over 20 walkie-talkies). Where there are insufficient walkie-talkies, platoon commanders can keep in touch with section leaders by using runners and signals (whistles; flashing lights, etc).

There must also be various observation posts (OPs) strategically placed to give advance warning of the movement of hostile forces. Some of these OPs might even be located outside the township's boundaries. The OPs must be linked to the TDC.

The use of walkie-talkie, telephones, and radio requires that code terms be used for all communications.

## 3. Intelligence

Intelligence is the collecting of information about hostile forces so we have advance warning of any attack being planned.

To know the enemy's plans is to be forewarned and therefore forearmed. There is no better method of learning the enemy's plans than having your own agent working in his midst.

The intelligence chief needs a small staff of four to six comrades. They must continuously collect information about how hostile forces work.

This intelligence unit is particularly concerned to recruit individuals who are associated in some way with the hostile forces. These could be disaffected members of such groups who are prepared to assist the people.

Or they could be potentially sympathetic service staff working as typists, waiters, cleaners, and nightwatchmen at establishments run by hostile forces.

Such individuals are called agents. They are only recruited after they have been studied and considered reliable. Their identities must be kept secret. Special ways of communicating with them must be developed so that they do not become exposed. They must be given special guidance about how to obtain useful information and how to speedily report to whoever is handling them. It is important to obtain copies of written documents if possible, but useful information is often picked up through overhearing loose talk or by observation.

Let us suppose that there is a hostel which is used to plan and launch attacks on the township. Enquiries must be made about the individuals living there. Reliable people must be found and developed as agents. They should then work in such a way as to gain the trust of those planning attacks.

It is also possible to select a comrade who is given the task of joining

**DEFEND OURSELVES!**

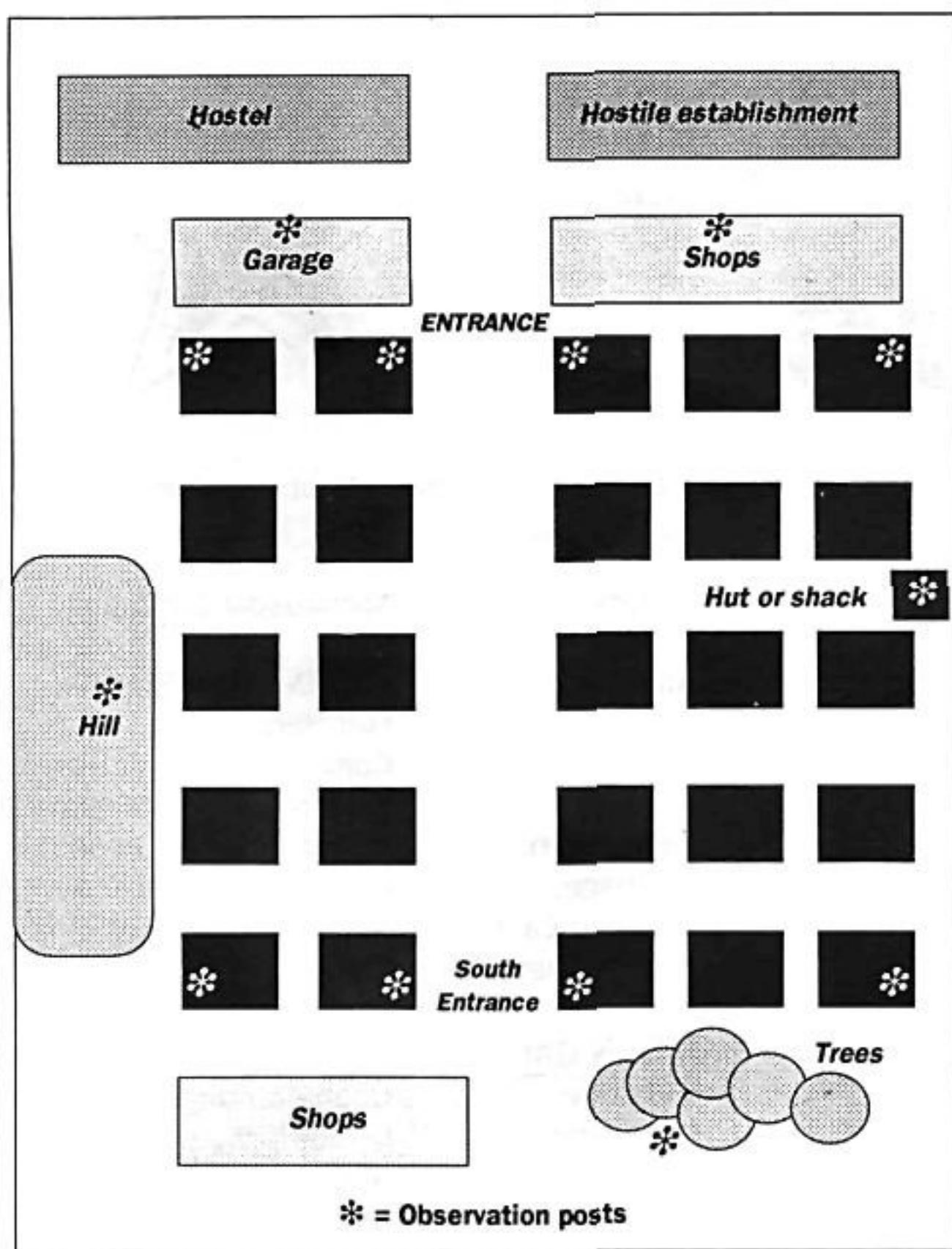


Diagram of township with observation posts

the hostile forces or allowing himself or herself to be recruited by them. Such an individual works under cover to penetrate the opposing force and win their confidence.

In this manner the Intelligence Chief is able to develop a network of agents connected with all hostile forces and centres.

These informants will not know the identities of others working in this way. It is important to have a variety of sources so that their information can be cross-checked. In this way we can check what is reliable and what might be false or deliberately misleading.

A constant and speedy supply of

relevant information will keep the TDF abreast of the hostile force's plans.

**4. Observation**

In order to be ready for any attack it is necessary to keep the hostile force under observation. The deputy commander of the TDC should be responsible for drawing up such a plan.

Whereas intelligence is obtaining information from within the hostile force, observation is keeping a watch for any threatening behaviour before an attack is launched.

In this way early warning of any intended attack can be gained, giving time for the defence forces to be put

on full alert.

For this purpose observation should be kept of all hostile establishments and places where a force might assemble for an attack.

Observation should also be maintained on all routes along which an attacking force would be expected to move.

Such places are called Observation Posts (OPs). One or two people can man these posts.

Those manning the OP should be hidden from view or have a natural reason for being in the position. They must have reliable means of communication with the TDC or their units.

An OP could simply be a house, shop or petrol station opposite or near an establishment where hostile forces live, work or assemble.

The occupant, owner or assistant/ attendant keeps watch and reports any suspicious movement.

It is necessary to have OPs near the entrances to the township. These could be houses which command a good view.

Manning the OP should be the responsibility of the section or platoon in that area. Volunteers from the auxiliary forces can be given the task.

High ground should be used where possible. An OP could be set up on a hill giving a commanding view of the terrain.

A system of neighbourhood or street watch must be worked out to sound the alert if any suspicious movements are detected.

Such movements might be the appearance of suspicious strangers, vehicles, behaviour etc.

A report must be made to the local section or platoon command which has the responsibility to immediately investigate and take action.

In Zimbabwe the guerrillas found that young boys whom they called "Mujibas" were extremely useful for observing and reporting on the enemy's movements.

# May Day rallies



Joint SACP/COSATU/ANC May Day Rallies are being held throughout our country, on Wednesday, May 1st.

## **Wits**

Soweto: Orlando Stadium

## **Northern Natal**

Empangeni: Zidelele Stadium

## **Western Cape**

Cape Town: Athlone Stadium  
Paarl: Mbekweni Stadium

## **South Cape**

Mossel Bay: Mossgas Stadium.

## **Namaqualand**

Springbok

## **Western Transvaal**

Sebokeng: Zone 7 Stadium

## **Northern Transvaal**

Atteridgeville: Super Stadium  
Tzaneen: Nkowa Nkowa  
Rustenburg: Roman Catholic Church  
(Phokeng)  
Warmbaths: Bela Bela  
Thabazimbi: Sports Field

## **Eastern Cape**

Port Elizabeth: Dan Qeqe Stadium  
Grahamstown: JD Dlepu Stadium  
King Williamstown: Victoria Grounds  
Butterworth: Msobumvu Stadium

Cradock:

Mdantsane.

Alice:

Umtata:

Queenstown:

Uitenhage:

Somerset East:

Graaff Reinet:

## **OFS/N Cape**

Kimberley:

Harrismith:

Vryburg:

Virginia:

Bloemfontein:

Welkom:

## **Highveld**

Witbank:

Nelspruit:

## **Southern Natal**

Durban:

Maritzburg:

Ladysmith:

Newcastle:

Port Shepstone

Michausdal Community  
Hall

Sisa Dukashe Stadium  
Fort Hare Sports  
Complex

Independence Stadium

Industrial Show Ground

KwaNobuhle Stadium

Community Hall

Community Hall

Open Air Arena

Qwaqwa Phutaditshaba  
Stadium or 42nd Hill  
Stadium

Huhudi Stadium

Pierre Scott Stadium

Sisa Ramabodu

Stadium

Harmony Mine Stadium

Ackerville Stadium

Kanyamazane Stadium

Curries Fountain

Wadley Stadium

Kandahr Avenue

Sports Ground

Bhekuzulu Sports

Ground