

Insufficient evidence against four

'Thatcher had no hand in ANC case'

LONDON — Britain's Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Mayhew, yesterday defended the decision to drop charges against four men accused of conspiring to kidnap African National Congress (ANC) members and denied any British government involvement in the matter.

Sir Patrick told the House of Commons that the decision to discharge the men was reached by Mr Allan Green, Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP), alone, without reference to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

He said there was "no connection whatsoever" between any of the defendants and British security and intelligence services.

Three Conservative politicians allegedly linked with the case have all denied any involvement.

Sir Patrick made his statement to the Commons following a political row in which opposition Labour MPs levelled charges of a cover-up at the government.

He said that "to his knowledge" Mrs Thatcher as head of security services had not been consulted over the affair.

"I have had inquiries made and I am advised that none of the defendants has at any time been employed in any capacity in the security services or the intelligence services."

Sir Patrick said he had no knowledge that any classified material was discovered at the home of one of the defendants.

He said Mr Green had decided to drop the case on advice of independent leading counsel.

"Mr Green, is entirely independent in the judgment he brings to these matters.

"He did not think it necessary — and I make not the slightest criticism for this — to refer the matter to me."

NOT ENOUGH TO CONVICT

Sir Patrick said that although the evidence against the accused had been "quite sufficient for their arrest and charging", it had been considered that it was "not likely to be sufficient" to secure a conviction on trial.

He said the security services had at the request of the DPP examined alleged government documents involved in the case and had advised that the documents were not genuine.

Labour MPs pressed questions about the case, with left-wing MP Mr Dennis

Skinner branding Sir Patrick "a squalid operator from the Tory front-bench".

He said there had been a "squalid cover-up between the government and DPP, protecting Mrs Thatcher's back because of her known hatred of the ANC.

"Are we to believe the Prime Minister did not know about this? It is asking us to believe one hell of a lot."

Sir Patrick said conspiracy to kidnap charges had been laid on July 15 against Frank Larsen, John Larsen and Jonathan Wheateley.

FALSE DOCUMENTS

Similar charges were made against Evan Dennis Evans on July 19.

Sir Patrick said: "These charges arose from events beginning with the arrest on July 9 of Frank Larsen in a lavatory at a hotel in London.

"He produced a document purporting to be a warrant card, but which was not.

"He claimed to be an Assistant Chief Constable in the Ministry of Defence police, which he was not. He had with him documents in different names."

Sir Patrick said that Frank Larsen's home in Aldershot, Hampshire, had subsequently been searched.

"A quantity of documents were found which, among other matters, purported to relate to a plan to kidnap members of the ANC in London."

Sir Patrick said "leading counsel" had advised on October 1 that "there was insufficient evidence to warrant proceeding with the prosecution".

During the court case it was claimed that the British Government and other governments were involved.

It was also claimed that police had seized documents linking Conservative figures with the affair.

Labour MPs named them in the Commons as Home Office Minister of State Mr David Waddington, MP Mr Julian Amery and former MP Sir Edward Gardner.

They have all denied any involvement in the matter.

The name of a Foreign Office official, Mr William Marsden, was also mentioned in connection with the documents.

A Foreign Office spokesman said: "It is preposterous to suggest the British government or British government officials have been involved in illegal activities."

— Sapa.

Toll rises in *The STAR* Maritzburg's *24/10/87* 'civil wars'

DURBAN — The violence in Maritzburg's turbulent townships has escalated dramatically with at least another 25 people killed in bloody battles in the last nine days, according to a Christian group monitoring the "civil wars".

The official police toll is now 47 dead in the last five weeks, but the Pietermaritzburg Association for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa) puts the figure at more than 64 in the five weeks up to October 9.

More than 308 people have been arrested during the violence.

The bodies of people killed in unrest-related trouble are taken to the State mortuary at Maritzburg's Alexander Police Station. Corpses are said to be arriving there at the rate of two to three a day.

Pacsa's death count for September is 39 and the organisation believes October's figures will be higher.

"Right now, there is no end yet in sight to the fighting," said Pacsa director Mr Peter Kerchhoff.

Meanwhile, hundreds of black matriculants will definitely not be writing their examinations, which began yesterday. At one school the entire matriculation class of about 250 pupils has been threatened with attack if they attend.

Police are reported to be still searching for the men who decapitated a 10-year-old boy, Skumbuza Shezi, in Edendale on Tuesday.

According to the *Sowetan* yesterday, the boy and his eight-year-old brother, Bongani, were at home when a group of men burst through the door apparently looking for their parents who had "disappeared" some time before.

SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT

Bongani was struck on the head with a cane knife but escaped. Skumbuza was taken outside and was later found by police in a ditch having been decapitated, apparently with an axe.

Yesterday's official unrest report listed three incidents in Maritzburg.

Police found the bodies of two men near Taylor's Halt after they had allegedly been abducted by a gang on October 18. Both appeared to have died of multiple stab wounds.

A delivery vehicle was damaged in a stone-throwing incident in Edendale.

Police also retrieved the bodies of two men, both thought to have died of stab wounds, from the Umsindusi River on Thursday.

In addition it was reported that the body of an unknown man in his early 20s was found in the river near Harewood. He had been stabbed several times.

Police found the badly decomposed body of Mr Msimbithi Makhaye (40) in a river near Ashdown. He had also been stabbed several times in the chest.

Sapa reports that 16 people have been arrested at Edendale in connection with violence that has plagued the region in recent weeks.

Police reinforcements have been brought in from other regions and were working day and night in the region to combat the violence.

Would Mugabe care for reversal of roles?

Mr Mugabe's favourite expression "bloody boers" makes one wonder how he would feel if the "bloody boers" referred to him and blacks in general as "bloody kaffirs".

He can thank white South Africans for his education.

He is constantly meddling in our domestic affairs. We are constantly turning the other cheek, it's time for an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth!

Barney Mthombothi (in his column "All Things Considered") seems upset because we whites write and ask that the wealthy Sowetans do something about Soweto's "twilight" kids and also do something about cleaning up Soweto (they made the mess) instead of expecting whites to shoulder all the responsibility.

Why is he upset? Why, indeed?

Straight away he regards us as racists! Apartheid is about culture, NOT skin colour.

I, for one, say thank God that I am

fortunate enough to have Austrian neighbours. They have the same values and standards as I have. They're kind and considerate, they don't make a noise, nor keep me awake all hours of the night with noisy parties.

Without help from anyone they have beautified their property beyond description. Their garden is a joy to behold. To me they are an inspiration.

I don't think it arrogant if a person objects to others being noisy and dirty, especially if one's property is near people who behave badly.

"The Group Areas shambles could turn into a very nasty business if some people are not careful," according to Barney Mthombothi.

What exactly does he mean by this?

Why don't the black people pick themselves up and make Soweto a "beautiful place" instead of constantly hankering for a place among white people?

Eileen Kirk,

Roodepoort

inqaba YA BASEBENZI

Journal of the Marxist Workers' Tendency
of the African National Congress



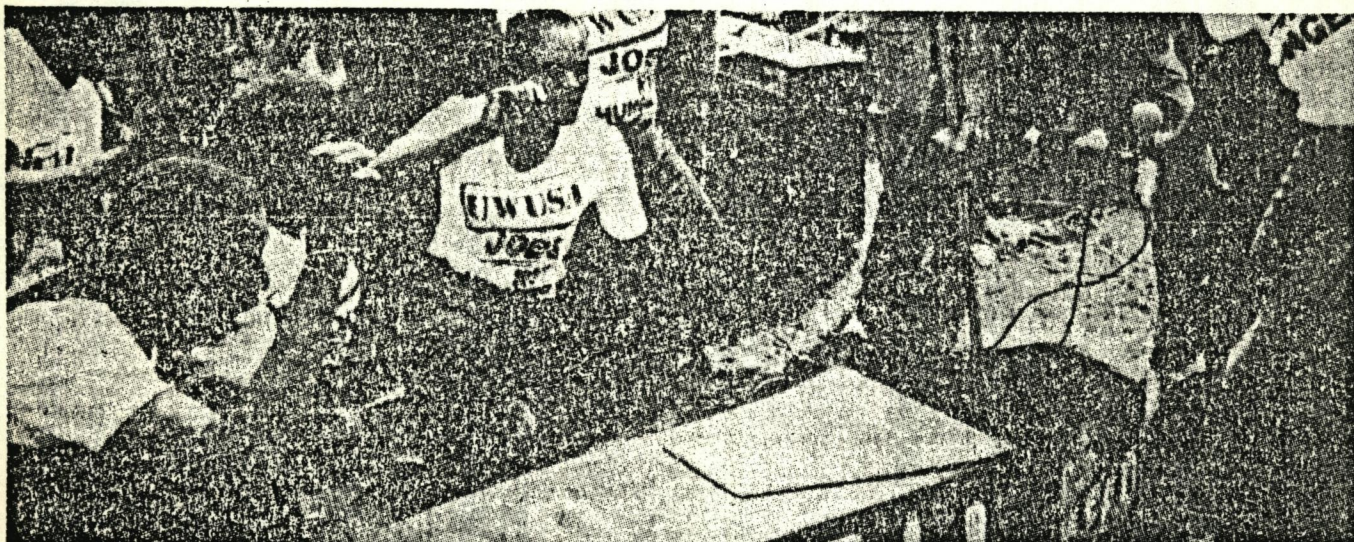
AFTER THE MINeworkERS' STRIKE:

where does our revolution go from here? — page 21

Also: OUR STRUGGLE IS FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

**Plus: COSATU locals ★ Strategy for SAYCO ★ How to fight UWUSA
Mineworker interviews ★ South Korea ★ Zimbabwe ★ Botswana**

HOW TO FIGHT UWUSA



The launch of UWUSA, announcing that it intended to bury Elijah Barayi and COSATU, was a direct challenge to organised workers and youth.

UWUSA was launched by Buthelezi's Inkatha in May 1986. It is not a union. It is not even a "tribally-based union". It is an armed gang created for no other purpose than to break strikes and unions. For all its claims of more than 100 000 worker "members", UWUSA has not led a single strike since its foundation.

UWUSA is part of the organised counter-revolutionary apparatus of the bosses. Unable to defeat, penetrate, or divide the workers' movement with its white forces of repression alone, the ruling class is increasingly compelled to unleash auxiliary forces of reaction in the form of black vigilante murder squads—both in the townships and the workplaces.

Of these forces, Inkatha is the most formidable, because of the political base that vigilante-in-chief Gatsha Buthelezi has built in Zululand through fear and appeals to conservative tribal prejudices. UWUSA is the arm of the reactionary Inkatha gangster clique extended into the workplaces.

Over the last period, vigilantes have engulfed township after township, with the support of the police and the army. The ravages of the *witdoeke* in Crossroads in May–June 1986 were a grim warning of the extent to which the use of vigilantes had become an

open and conscious part of the policies of the ruling class. Since then, civil war has raged in Natal, and the vigilantes have penetrated even strongholds of our movement in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere.

Hundreds of activists have been murdered, with scarcely an official prosecution coming to court—while workers and youth accused of "necklacing" collaborators are rushed by the state to judgment and to execution.

The assault of UWUSA vigilantes on the NUM at Hlobane Colliery in Natal in May 1986 was the counterpart of Crossroads for the trade union movement. At least 11 and possibly 20 NUM activists were murdered; a strike was broken; and the NUM was smashed at the mine. In December Inkatha impis, led by their national youth organiser and backed by Kwazulu police, invaded Mphophomeni *en masse* to attack BTR strikers; three shop stewards were abducted, tortured, and murdered. UWUSA has since been invited by BTR management to "unionise" the scabs.

This was the start of a murderous offensive by UWUSA in factories and mines of Natal, the East Rand, and the Eastern Transvaal. Among the casualties have been worker-activists at Zincor refin-

ery, and an NUM organiser murdered in his office at Coronation Colliery in Vryheid by a group of men who mashed his brains with a section of piping filled with lead.

The liberal capitalists are promoting Buthelezi, Inkatha and UWUSA with the conscious purpose of dividing and defeating the revolutionary workers' movement. Gavin Relly, head of Anglo American, put it in a nutshell: "You can't expect us to run away from the one black leader who says exactly what we think. I've been told that Buthelezi plays a rough game in Natal. But SA is not for the fainthearted." (*Business Day*, 2/5/86)

Workers and youth everywhere need to discuss how to challenge and defeat UWUSA's penetration of the workplaces, and vigilantes everywhere. For activists especially it is a matter of life and death. To work out and put forward a clear national strategy to defeat Inkatha, UWUSA and all vigilantes is an urgent task for the leadership of COSATU, the UDF and the ANC.

Supporters of the Marxist Workers' Tendency of the ANC put forward the following points for consideration, based on experience.

Morale, organisation and armed self-defence

UWUSA's infiltration of workplaces tends to follow a general pattern. Management hire Zulu workers from UWUSA. They arrive at the factory and begin to split the workers on ethnic lines, instituting a propaganda campaign against the leaders of the COSATU union. Then at some stage the leaders of the UWUSA gang get arms and murder several of the union activists. This takes place either to try directly to bring a strike to an end by eliminating its leaders or, more generally, to try to induce a state of paralysis amongst the workers and establish UWUSA as the main union.

The starting-point in the fightback against UWUSA is recognition of the central factor favouring the workers—their elemental power when organised collectively. UWUSA thugs seldom arrive at a factory or mine with a majority of the workers on their side. In fact UWUSA killings are generally carried out by small bands of armed men, five or six in number.

In the first stages of battle there is therefore a decisive social weight in

favour of the organised trade union. But this will not last for long if mistakes in tactics are made when the UWUSA scum set to work. Their tactic is not to take on the mass of the workers but to have them stand aside so that they can deal with the union activists separately. They will say to the bulk of the workers: "Our quarrel is not with you—it is with these ANC communists who are your leaders."

Thus in the early stages of defence against an UWUSA assault a key element is binding the workers together, in unity, as a force. We would suggest that any factory where UWUSA arrives should have a mass meeting of workers to explain the issues, raise worker morale and put forward a plan of action.

This plan of action has to have, as its main components: the organisation of the workers' use of their collective power, and preparations for armed self-defence.

Where UWUSA attacks, these elements have to be put into operation swiftly and resolutely.

For organised defence committees

Immediately some form of self-defence committees must be established not only at the workplace but also where the workers live. If the workers live in hostels near to the place of work this is especially important since this will be where they are most likely to be attacked. A complete security system is necessary including day and night patrols of the living area because in these struggles management-employed security will most often operate in the interests of UWUSA.

Defence can be organised on the basis of groups of 10 or 20 workers, each with a team leader. These leaders, or some among them, should meet in a central defence committee to discuss strategy and tactics.

The first task of the defence committee is to organise a warning system which mobilises all the workers to come out together to meet an attack. A mass of three



hundred workers is a considerable force for a group of UWUSA scum to take on, even if they are armed. It cannot be emphasised enough that this collective organisation of the mass of the workers is a key. The same will apply in township battles with the vigilantes.

It might happen, for example, that UWUSA launches an initial attack in a band of 10 or 11, and kills two or three union activists before workers are prepared for it. The next morning four shop stewards are in the hostel area and see two UWUSA thugs. What should they do?

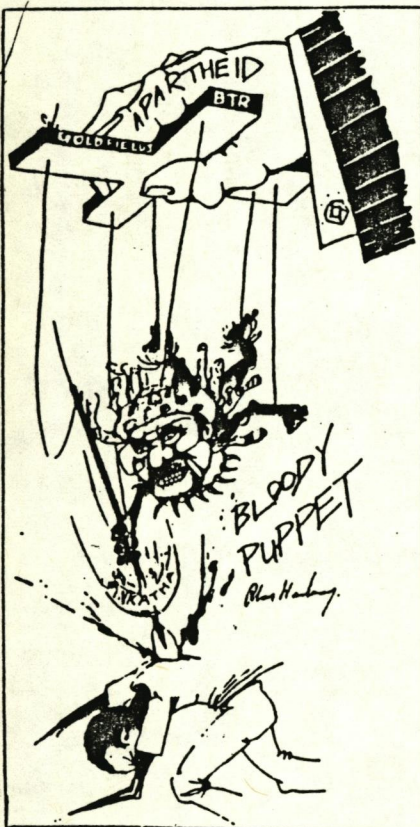
The immediate response might well be "We are four, they are two, let's get the bastards". There may be instances where that would be correct. But it is dangerous to look for short-cuts or ways of defeating UWUSA through heroic actions of individual workers. We must concentrate on the key thing. Better for the shop stewards to prepare for battle, mobilise, and organise the workers, build their confidence and then from a position of strength deal a crushing blow to UWUSA.

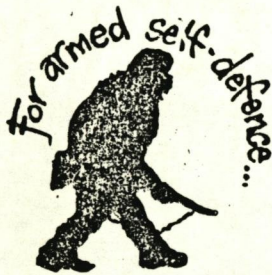
This approach is in no way a shrinking from armed conflict. To achieve success, workers need to strike hard at the decisive moment from a position of strength, not lash out in desperation like a wounded animal.

Arming for self-defence

Once defence committees are in operation, much can actually be done with rudimentary weapons to transform seemingly defenceless workers into a formidable fighting force.

In this respect workers can learn from the battles of the township youth. Basic stiff-arm metal slings can be purchased from dealers for





around R5 or R6. Or they can be made. Twenty people armed with such slings firing ball bearings or old spark plugs or pieces of metal waste can wreak a lot of damage on any band of assailants. That and detachments armed with pangas, kieries and bricks will in action make these UWUSA murderers think twice.

This is not to underestimate the advantages of the fire power that they will have on their side. So, if it is possible some fire-arms should be procured. A proper system for their hiding and use should be devised. We know of hostel areas searched for arms by security forces in the day before an UWUSA attack was launched.

The UWUSA scum are expecting to inflict the blows, not receive them. The first casualties they suffer have a big effect on the morale of the rest of them. They begin to wonder whether acting as killers on behalf of the bosses is worth the price they may have to pay.

To COSATU locals and SAYCO for support

Wherever UWUSA appears our defence plans should include immediate attempts to mobilise other workers and youth in the local area and regionally. If UWUSA becomes established in one workplace, the bosses can bring it into the next. Urgent approaches should be made to shop stewards in the COSATU locals as well as to the SAYCO branches to engage jointly in organising armed self-defence. There should be a thorough campaign of political education and propaganda against UWUSA directed to every workplace in the area.

Strike back against the bosses

It is the bosses who bring UWUSA to attack the union and in one way or another are responsible for arming them. Strike action is thus a key element in the armoury.

But the arrival of UWUSA is not necessarily the occasion for immediate action on these lines. Often the bosses may welcome a strike at this point, or try to provoke it, to provide grounds for mass dismissals and mass hiring of

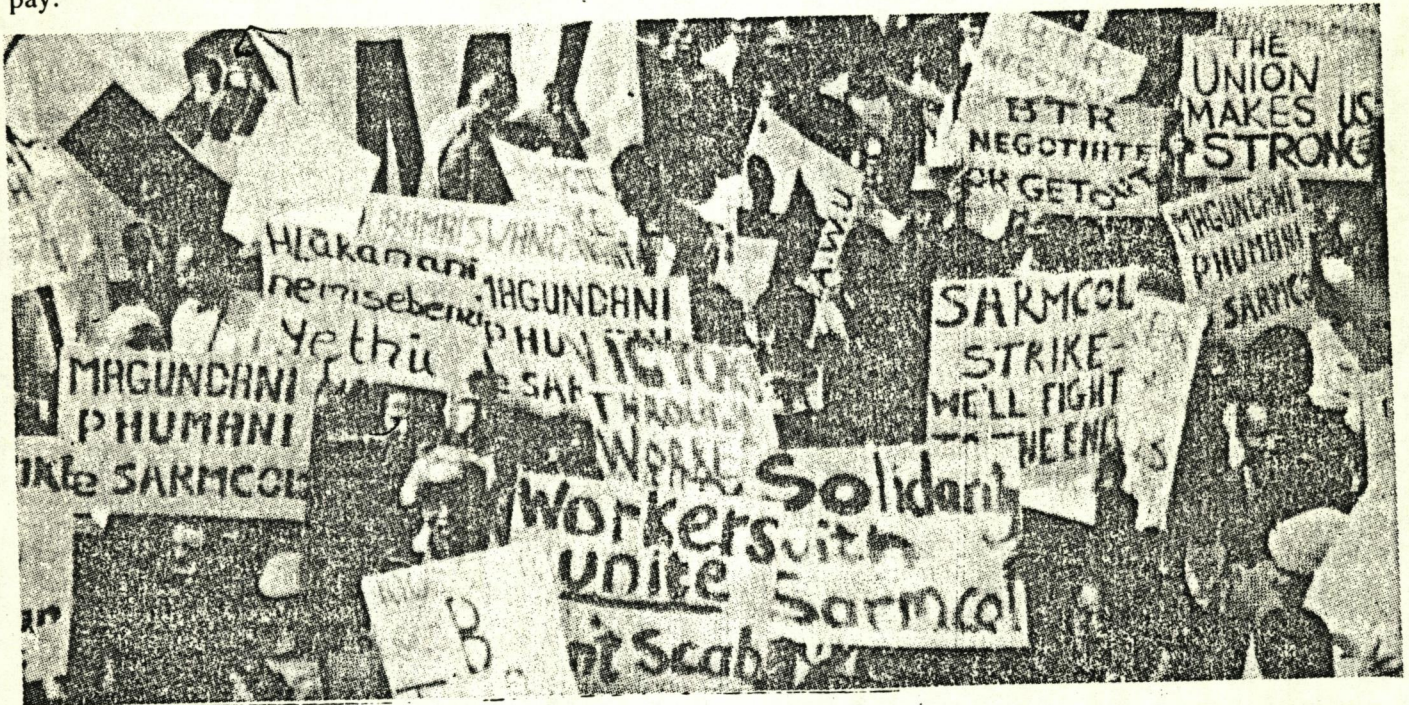
UWUSA scabs. Nevertheless preparation of a strike is a vital element in strategy.

The ground has to be prepared politically and organisationally. Special efforts should be made to patiently explain the issues to Zulu workers and win them over. Not all of them are cannon fodder for UWUSA. We know of cases where Zulu workers hired to boost the numbers of UWUSA have been won to the COSATU union and been the bravest fighters in the struggle to defend it!

To win such workers it is necessary to emphasise again and again the importance of unity in action within COSATU in struggle over all the problems common to workers. A vigorous national campaign for a definite living wage would have a powerful impact in winning away potential recruits from UWUSA.

Efforts should also be made to win the support of company security guards for the union.

The bosses generally are responsible for the attacks of UWUSA. To stop them, ultimately we will have to overthrow them. But even now there are measures of self-defence that could be taken against individual bosses who are clearly seen by the workers to be directly involved in organising UWUSA attacks. They should realise that they cannot do this with impunity. If they unleash violence against us, ways can be found of showing them



BTR Sarmcol strikers in Howick have suffered attacks by Inkatha impis.

that they are standing at a door which can swing in both directions.

Remember UWUSA always comes back

One further warning is necessary. Seldom is victory what it seems. UWUSA have powerful resources and backers and will not readily accept their first repulse. Usually they will be back for more within weeks. This is why vigilance is necessary and the maintenance of the defence committees essential long after UWUSA seem to be vanquished.

Organised defence, worker action or legal action?

While our strategy must base itself on the power of organised workers, legal action can be used as an auxiliary. While not propagating any illusions in what the bosses' courts' can do for us, we can try to make use of them where possible.

However recourse to the courts should never be presented as the main course of action open to unions against UWUSA attacks and murders.

Time and time again there has been resort to legal action in the courts, for instance by the leaders of NUM, as an alternative to the active building of armed defence committees. This legal strategy has

not worked. Court orders have been issued in favour of NUM restricting the action of UWUSA, and still the carnage goes on.

Could a court order have saved the brave leaders of the Sarmcol workers butchered by an Inkatha mob? Did affidavits save the NUM organiser at Coronation Colliery? Did they save the activists murdered at Zincor? The answer is no, one thousand times no!

For a national campaign against UWUSA!

If this strategy for fighting UWUSA was carried forward in a vigorous national campaign led by COSATU then, in our opinion, in a relatively short period of time this mob of gangsters would be a thing of the past. Literally the grip of UWUSA could be broken in a matter of weeks, not months.

UWUSA's claimed "membership" is nothing compared with the organised force of COSATU—with more than 700 000 in its ranks and a capability of mobilising millions.

Even a sharp propaganda campaign against UWUSA, which left the organisation of defence to workers locally, would have an enormous effect on the ranks of workers, organised and unorganised.

The more the bosses see that attacks by their UWUSA and other vigilante thugs are leading to widespread arming of the workers in self-defence, the more they will hesitate, and the momentum of the



whole vigilante movement can be paralysed.

In all battles it helps to call things by their real name. The present policy of the leaders of COSATU is not to brand UWUSA as a strike-breaking murder squad, but rather to dignify it as a "tribally-based union". This softness and hesitation on Inkatha and UWUSA is a recipe for disaster. Venomous snakes do not become harmless worms because they are referred to as such—on the contrary, they are made bolder by conciliation, which also disarms workers in the face of these assaults.

Zincor shows the way

The three biggest confrontations so far between UWUSA and COSATU, according to the labour correspondent of *Business Day* (30/4/87) have been at Hlobane colliery, Jabula Foods and Zincor zinc refinery in Springs.

From the limited information now available it seems that the workers at Zincor achieved a significant victory, while at Hlobane and Jabula the problem with UWUSA has continued. It appears also that at Zincor a number of the tactics outlined above were applied in one way or another which resulted in victory.

Tribute to fallen comrades

At this point we would like to pay tribute to all our brave comrades who have fallen prey to the murderous assaults of the vigilantes in township and factory.

But tears and mourning are not enough. We have to organise. We have to fight back with all our strength. These ideas, the ideas of Marxism, of class struggle, of preparing for a fight to the finish, are the only strategy for victory in our struggle.



THE BATTLE AGAINST UWUSA AT ZINCOR

After the battle with UWUSA at Zincor, NUM members at the plant wrote a pamphlet to tell other workers what happened. This is what they wrote:

What is UWUSA?

UWUSA leaders say that UWUSA is a trade union. But UWUSA is not a trade union, it is an organisation of strike breakers and union bashers. UWUSA works with the bosses and is paid to do their dirty work.

UWUSA and Zincor—the murder of unionists

UWUSA arrived at our mine early in January 1987. Inside two weeks they attacked with knives and guns and three shop stewards were murdered. We were angry and fought back and UWUSA left the mine.

Zulu workers

We learned that it is wrong to think that all Zulu workers support UWUSA. While UWUSA was away from our mine, management brought another 41 workers to our mine from KwaZulu. NUM shop stewards spoke to them patiently and explained what was happening and they joined the NUM. They are our comrades now.

Viva Vivil

Then on April 2nd Vivian Mbambe and a woman comrade were shot down in cold blood by an assassin hired by UWUSA. Vivian was a strong comrade and we were very sad and angry at his death. Management taunted us after his death: "Where is your Vivian now?" they asked.

A battle plan necessary

Many workers were frightened because UWUSA kills people. UWUSA, at our mines had guns and pangas and they used to walk proudly around the hostels with their chests sticking out. They work by fear and try to divide other workers. We knew we needed a plan. The workers had to be brought together to feel their strength and to organise defence committees—courage and organisation will beat UWUSA. So we had a big meeting to warn about UWUSA and build courage amongst the workers. We organised defence committees.

Defence committees—the only way

Our defence system represents all the workers. There are representatives for each room and block—and a committee to organise things. We explained to every one at the mine that this thing is serious. And we took all precautions in case we were attacked.

UWUSA goes for more killing

The UWUSA sell-outs knew that the NUM members were organising. They knew that the time was running out for them. So, in the middle of the night on Saturday 11th April, they attacked us. They burst into a room with a shotgun and some hand guns and shot at our sleeping comrades. Five of us were badly wounded. On Sunday, in another fight, an UWUSA member died in circumstances that are not known.

NUM strike at Zincor

When the first three comrades were killed, NUM officials took court action against UWUSA. That did not stop the killings. After Vivian was killed and UWUSA was brought back to the mine to try and kill more of us, we went on strike. We were on strike for two days.

Zincor management—blood on their hands

The Zincor management encouraged UWUSA at our mine and so was responsible for these killings. Their hands are stained with the blood of our comrades. Not only are they prepared to let us die in their mines because they don't care about safety. They are prepared to let us die on their compounds if it means an end to NUM. One worker told us that he knew that management had given guns to UWUSA. Even now they may be plotting to kill our leaders. At Zincor the bosses are thirsty for profit. In the last six months they have made as much as R17 000 profit from each mineworker. This is still not enough for them. All the bosses are the same.

The defence committees guard our members

We workers at Zincor have had to learn the hard way. We are not going to let UWUSA surprise us again. We keep our committees working. We have our own security patrols and watchmen. We cannot rely on the mine security; they did not warn us or protect us when UWUSA attacked us.

An injury to one is an injury to all

All our members are now ready, they know that if UWUSA attacks us they all have to come out to fight. One night a group of painters arrived to paint the hostels. The whistles blew and three hundred mine workers came out together to meet them. It is lucky for them that they were not UWUSA.

UWUSA will never beat us!

Even now we know that UWUSA will be back or that management will try more dirty tricks. We are willing to die for our union. UWUSA will never beat us. There are lessons in our struggle for workers everywhere.

**DOWN WITH UWUSA! VIVA NUM! VIVA!
UNITY IS STRENGTH! VIVA COSATU! VIVA!
FORWARD WITH THE WORKERS STRUGGLE!**

NO TRUCE WITH INKATHA!

Buthelezi claims Inkatha is a "liberation movement". He always lied. He has built Inkatha to promote himself and a clique of corrupt gangsters in KwaZulu, by duping the people and violently crushing resistance.

The real liberation struggle exposes these criminals completely. To survive, they are compelled to fight it to the death. This is why Buthelezi has sent his impis to slaughter UDF and Youth Congress activists in the townships; why he has organised UWUSA and pays its assassins to attack COSATU members in Natal and Transvaal. He has become a police agent of the bosses and Pretoria.

Years ago, the ANC leadership made the mistake of helping Gatsha to create Inkatha, thinking it would build opposition to the government. Comrade O.R. Tambo openly admitted this mistake at the Kabwe Conference in June 1985.

On 30 May this year, 'Radio Freedom' went further and broadcast a sharp attack on Buthelezi, denouncing him as the "vigilante chief" and "treacherous puppet" of Pretoria. He has "sold himself heart and soul to Botha". He is "nothing less than a Jonas Savimbi", whose job is "to crush the democratic movement" in KwaZulu and elsewhere.

Civil war has long raged in the townships of Natal and KwaZulu. At first Inkatha had the initiative—the aggressor is usually the better prepared. The horrible atrocities they have committed are uncountable. At KwaMakutha, Gatsha's thugs gunned down 13 defenceless people, including 7 children, in their home in the dead of night.

But the Congress youth have fought back—bitterly, tenaciously, individually and together, with the utmost heroism.

They have fought with little or no concrete help or guidance from the national leadership. But how they have fought!

Many are the martyrs whose sacrifice has now begun to turn the tide against Gatsha and Inkatha's reign of terror in these townships.

Most incidents are unpublished, many 'unexplained'—such as the deaths of 13 Inkatha Youth Brigade members in KwaShange. But the signs are clear that Inkatha is beginning to suffer severe consequences for its crimes.

It is not just armed self-defence and retaliation against Inkatha which has begun to have effect. The political bankruptcy of Inkatha has enabled Congress youth to win many of Gatsha's former supporters over to the side of the revolution.

In Mpumalanga, after years of bitter resistance to Inkatha vigilantes, the Hammarsdale Youth Congress won over scores of Inkatha Youth Brigade members, including former local leaders.

No wonder Gatsha began squealing for 'peace' with the UDF!

This was the opportunity for Congress leaders to drive home the advantage, and go on a determined political offensive against Inkatha, generalising for youth and workers everywhere the practical lessons of the successes that had been won.

Instead, this month, UDF President comrade Archie Gumede signed a truce with Inkatha!

Worse still, the two organisations issued a **joint statement** declaring that both "believe strongly in national unity" against the "common enemy ... apartheid". Differences between them "should not be allowed to escalate to black-on-black violence", etc. etc.

What has happened to the standpoint

broadcast by 'Radio Freedom' on 30 May? Why has the "treacherous puppet" of Pretoria turned miraculously into an "enemy of apartheid" like the UDF? The hated dictator of KwaZulu whose job has been to divide black people and "to crush the democratic movement" suddenly becomes ... a strong believer in "national unity"!?

Glossing over little trifles like Inkatha's years-long counter-revolutionary war against the liberation movement, comrade Gumede hurries to sign an alibi for the villain. "Differences" (!!) "should not be allowed to escalate" (note the future tense) to violence.

And here the crowning insult to the valiant Congress youth who have begun to drive Inkatha onto the defensive: "black-on-black violence". This is nothing other than the patent phrase used in ruling-class propaganda to suggest that political violence in the townships is a matter of black savages who can't resolve political differences peacefully and democratically—when the truth is that a barbarous war has been unleashed by vigilante and police forces, acting on the order of the racists and capitalists, out to crush the freedom struggle.

And comrade Gumede calmly puts his signature to this!

The danger innate in a truce is that it allows Inkatha to regain the support slipping away from it.

In fact, however, the fighting continued. As we go to press, reports indicate that Buthelezi has repudiated the 'truce'. That expresses the reality of the situation—the inevitability of a fight to the finish between the forces of revolution and of counter-revolution within the townships, and ultimately in South Africa as a whole.

Let the UDF leadership now take advantage of this to correct its error, make it clear that 'peace' with Buthelezi and Inkatha is impossible, and lead a determined offensive, politically and in every way, to smash their remaining power decisively.

How we defended the NECC conference

I was one of the youth activists who was delegated to the NECC conference of March 1986. On our arrival in Durban, we passed two police vehicles. We could smell the smoke of a previous battle which was fresh although the battle was not over yet.

On our arrival we were nearly attacked by our own comrades—but we were later identified. What really struck my mind was the fact that the township youth were armed due to daily confrontations and battles with the enemy. We were later informed of the incidents which took place.

The conference was attacked by Inkatha impis in a Hiace, but it cost two of them their lives. Dr Beyers Naude and others reported the assault at the police

station. We had to guard ourselves against the enemy and thus secure a successful conference.

The township youth openly volunteered to be guards due to the daily battles.

On Saturday night we moved to a safer venue where the conference was officially held. The conference was shortcut for one day and not for two.

The lessons which I draw from my experience is that while we have gatherings, we should guard and defend ourselves. Nobody else is going to defend us and our movement.

The launching of the giant COSATU in 1985 in Durban was successful because the MAWU workers organised

self-defence. We must also guard the bases of the working class eg. the COSATU House in Johannesburg was destroyed but it would have been something else if the COSATU house was guarded. I believe there are many workers and youth who would do this (including myself).

It seems that if self-defence is out, in my point of view more and more serious attacks will be made on our movement. We cannot rely on the police and courts to protect us.

The militant youth and volunteers protect themselves willingly but what they need is guidance and clear direction.

By Andre Kleynhans

'Prelim talks vital before negotiation'

PRELIMINARY talks about potential parties' preconditions should precede political negotiation in South Africa, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the general secretary of Inkatha, said yesterday.

"These talks would aim at discussing the preconditions stipulated by the various parties with a view to finding a mutually acceptable formula for accommodating the preconditions," he told a seminar at Rand Afrikaanse University.

All potential negotiating parties had set preconditions they insisted should be met before they took their places at the negotiating table.

There was therefore a need for preliminary talks or "talks about talks" to

precede genuine political negotiation.

● The government insisted all its negotiating partners renounce violence;

● Some "revolutionary" parties insisted negotiations should be about the transfer of power to the majority; and

● Other Black parties said political prisoners should be released unconditionally, the state of emergency should be lifted and discriminatory laws repealed.

The only positive sign at the moment was that the majority of South Africans supported negotiation.

"However, there is still a long way to go before South Africans can get in-

volved in genuine political negotiation."

Effective negotiation could take place only among those prepared to listen with a degree of empathy to an opposing view.

"I do not believe that potential negotiating parties in South Africa have yet reached a stage where they are prepared to listen to opposing or contrary viewpoints with empathy even if they don't agree with those viewpoints.

"More often than not, opposing viewpoints are treated with intolerance, or are deliberately distorted in order to misinform the public or they are simply ignored."

The government still mistook consultation for negotiation.

There were many instances where the government seemed to have one foot in prescriptive politics and another in consultation, parading as negotiation.

"If we examine the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the National Statutory Council it immediately becomes obvious how far we still are from getting involved in genuine political negotiation.

"After the government accepted that negotiation was the answer to our problems it then went ahead to unilaterally create the forum through which negotiation would take place and to decide which people and groups would participate in such negotiation."

Negotiations involving reluctant partners who were dragged "kicking and screaming" to the negotiating table would almost certainly end in deadlock. — Sapa

Indaba plan on the retreat, says group

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba is on the retreat in spite of its expensive advertising campaign and its claims of widespread support, the Natal Anti-Indaba League (Nail) said.

In a joint statement, league chairman, Mr Arthur Morris, and member Mr Duncan Dubois, said the Indaba proposals had gained support only from Inkatha for the specific reason that the proposals differed little from those of the 1981 Buthelezi Commission.

The Indaba had failed to make any impact on the White community in general because its proponents had been unable to

show that the proposals had any merit.

They said the proposals would create a Black-dominated KwaNatal government controlling 55 areas of community life and would deny whites — who were the major taxpayers — a financial veto over this administration.

The proposals would also see the opening of White areas and schools to all races while "withholding KwaZulu tribal land from the open market" and ignored the fact that enforced equality could not be created between First and Third World communities without the lowering of the socio-economic denominator. — Sapa.

Black conflict the main obstacle, says Buthelezi

By HELEN GRANGE

THE biggest obstacle to the "liberation of South Africa" is the continual Black on Black violence, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Speaking after returning from Europe where he met with the Chancellor of West Germany, Dr Helmut Kohl, Chief Buthelezi said he was concerned about the "lack of control" over

members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in Natal where conflict between Inkatha and the UDF continues.

He denied that elements of Inkatha were also "out of control", describing incidents in which UDF members were killed "actions in defence".

"Inkatha has simply retaliated to UDF killings, but it is they who have initiated the violence. It is not Inkatha which is responsible for necklacing and such brutality," Chief Buthelezi said.

The UDF had been instructed by the ANC to negotiate with Inkatha, but there seemed to be a lack of communication in the ranks of the UDF. "I have sent a number of letters to Mr Archie Gumede (Chairman of the UDF) concerning the violence but he only replies by acknowledging receipt of the letters."

The government proposed National Council had been discussed overseas and he had expressed interest in it providing "certain conditions were negotiated."

Dr Kohl had said there were conflicting signals being received from spokesmen in South Africa concerning the pace of change and Germany was interested in the country's political progress. He felt President P W Botha was not moving forward.

Chief Buthelezi said any moves to destroy South Africa's economy would be "irresponsible

taking into consideration present demographic structures in Black townships.

"I took the opportunity to express the anti-sanctions viewpoint of millions of Blacks and I feel that Mrs Margaret Thatcher's present stand on sanctions has definitely had a wider influence in Europe," he said.