

# UMSEBENZI

VOICE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

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On easter Saturday, April 10th, comrade Chris Hani was killed by an assassin.

In the days and weeks following, a massive tide of anger and outrage rolled through our country. Communists and non-communists, believers and non-believers, rural people, unemployed workers, miners and business-

men, South Africans and democrats the world over, joined together in collective anger at the killing of a general secretary of the SACP.

*Those who killed comrade Chris thought that they had murdered an individual. Unintentionally, they have mobilised a huge army for liberation and democracy.*

**TAKE UP THE SPEAR OF OUR FALLEN COMRADE!**

# CHARLES NQAKULA - OUR NEW GENERAL SECRETARY

Meeting in an emergency session on April 24, the SACP Central Committee confirmed Charles Nqakula as our new General Secretary.

Comrade Charles Nqakula has been serving as assistant general secretary to Chris Hani since the end of 1991.

He was born, the ninth of ten children, 50 years ago in Cradock. His father, a contract labourer working on farms, died when Charles was young. His mother, Ida, worked as a washer-woman earning one pound a month. Charles and his younger brother were the only children in the family to receive schooling.

## FROM WAITER TO JOURNALIST

After matriculating at Lovedale High School, Charles worked as a garage petrol attendant then as a waiter in Cradock. In 1966 he started working as a journalist, for the Midland News, ImvoZabantsundu and, then, the Daily Despatch.

Charles remembers imbibing ANC politics from an early age. "The Rev James Calata had turned Cradock township into an ANC bastion. Even in the years of heaviest repression, in the 1960s and 70s, the congress tradition was kept alive by Calata's Anglican church. To be a member of the church meant, in effect, being an ANC member."

As a journalist, Charles served as vice president of the Union of Black Journalists, and then of WASA and MWASA. After Zwelakhe Sisulu's banning, he succeeded for a time as president of MWASA, until he too was banned in 1980.

## "PROHIBITED IMMIGRANT"

In 1982 Charles was declared a "pro-



■ Charles Nqakula

hibited immigrant" and confined to the Ciskei. Determined to carry on with journalistic work, he established the Veritas News Agency in Kingwilliamstown.

In 1984 comrades in his underground ANC/SACP network were captured, and Charles was instructed by the underground to leave the country. He went to Lesotho, Tanzania and Zambia. In 1985 he received military training in Angola and the Soviet Union.

At the end of the year he was appointed to direct from Lesotho underground work in the Cape and Free State. This was the machinery earlier developed by Chris Hani.

## OPERATION VULA

In 1988 he returned clandestinely to South Africa, as part of Operation Vula. In December 1991, Charles was elected assistant general secretary of the SACP.

Comrade Charles Nqakula is an extremely modest and hard-working person. "Nobody must expect me to step into comrade Chris Hani's shoes. I will, as in the past, give everything to the party, inspired by the example of comrade Chris, and strengthened by the collective that he helped build."

## STATEMENT

### "DEEPEN POPULAR PARTICIPATION"

- CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The CC met in emergency session on April 24 to assess the assassination of our general secretary, comrade Chris Hani, and the mass response in the two weeks following the murder.

In a statement after the meeting the CC warned De Klerk:

*"we are not going to take attacks on us lying down. We also warn the right-wing that our patience is not limitless, our discipline is not a matter of cowardice, and our non-racialism is unshakeable."*

## CHRIS HANI CAMPAIGN

The CC announced a "Chris Hani campaign, which, amongst other things, will include a recruitment drive of revolutionaries to take up the fallen spear of Chris Hani."

## DEATH OF COMRADE TAMBO



■ ANC National Chairperson, O.R. Tambo... his death is a great loss to our revolutionary cause

*The SACP's CC expressed its deep sense of sadness at the loss of ANC national chairperson, comrade OR Tambo. "Comrade Tambo was an outstanding patriot who, more than anyone else, helped to build and unify our ANC-led tripartite alliance, through the long years of exile. He will be deeply missed by all communists, his memory will long be cherished by our party."*

# Joint Control Now

The assassination of comrade Chris Hani has underlined the urgency of bringing all armed formations in our country under joint, multi-party control.

This joint control must form part of a multi-party Transitional Executive Council in the run-up to democratic elections. This joint control must be introduced within the coming weeks, there is no excuse for further delay.

All armed formations - SADF, SAP, MK, Apla, the Transkei Defence Force, the KwaZulu Police, the Ciskei and Bop Defence Forces, etc. - must be placed under joint control.

The urgency for such a move is now all the more necessary considering that:

★ De Klerk's parliament has just voted R3,7 billion of taxpayers' money to the SADF's secret account. What on earth do they need this fortune for, if they are really serious about democratisation and peaceful change?

★ De Klerk has failed to disband his dirty tricks departments. Under massive pressure, following Inkathagate, the Boipatong and Bisho massacres, the CCB revelations, the Goniwe death signal and numerous other indicators of a systematic low intensity war strategy, De Klerk has simply retired a few senior officers and other (still unnamed) agents. The Department of Military Intelligence, under the notorious General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen still exists. The Askari units, under SAP General Krappies Engelbrecht, still exist, as do numerous other dirty tricks departments and operations.

**We demand the full, and transparent, disbanding of all these covert operations and special forces.**

**We demand joint control over all armed formations in the next weeks.**

## Joint control also means community control

The mass-driven events in the weeks following comrade Hani's assassination gave birth to a new reality. In numerous mass actions, including at the funeral itself, policing and protection was not (and could not be) provided unilaterally by the SAP.

Under enormous pressures and in the face of racist provocation, thousands of ANC marshals, MK units in uniform, international monitors, and National Peace Accord structures co-operated to maintain peace and uphold the right to peaceful mass action. The SAP did not always co-operate with this network (notably at Protea police station). But where there was co-operation, an effective police service was provided.

Even before we have won our negotiating demand for a transitional multi-party control over policing, the masses in action were winning this demand in an embryonic form, on the ground.

This is an experience that we must analyse and build upon. Joint control must not be understood simply in a formal way. Joint control must not be reduced to some bureaucratic, national multi-party committee. Joint control must be something concrete, it must, above all, be a reality on the ground.

**In building a grass-roots approach to joint control, we need to take forward Chris Hani's call for township-based Peace Corps.**

**POLICING BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE!**

### CHRIS HANI ON

# PEACE CORPS

*"We need to think creatively about the future of self defence units (SDUs). We have never seen SDUs as private armies for the ANC and its allies, nor have we thought of them as a cover for building MK. SDUs were conceived in response to the desperate pleas of township dwellers. All along we said they should be non-partisan, community based, not politically affiliated. At the same time we, as political formations, in the face of a massive escalation of violence, were duty bound to assume responsibility for their organisation. It has not always been easy to get the balance right..."*

*"We need now to debate the merits and possible problems of formally locating township SDUs within the structures of the National Peace Accord. In this way we might be able to make both the SDUs and the NPA more effective. The SDUs might be able to receive proper*

*training and equipment, the NPA might increasingly be able to move away from an over-reliance on the SAP at the ground level. We need, at least, to think and debate this possibility.*

*"Right now, we need to be building a broad Peace Corps within our townships and places of work. Our conception of SDUs must not be simply short-term...Should we not have township based, non-partisan SDUs...funded and trained by a future democratic state? I am thinking of paid or voluntary service, let us say 500 people for (and from) a township like Sebokeng doing a 2-year stint assisting with crime-control, patrolling, clean-up campaigns and general service to their townships."*

*- Chris Hani, April 2, 1993  
East Rand Summit on Peace and Political Tolerance.*

**JOINT CONTROL OF ALL ARMED FORCES NOW!**

**Joe Slovo,  
SACP chairperson:**

“Chris Hani was a rare combination of different strengths. He was an intellectual who could speak the language of the poor. He knew how to lead, and he knew how to follow. He was a revolutionary who did not confuse revolution with noise. He was neither a hawk nor a dove. When the time came to fight, he fought like a tiger. When a peaceful way forward became possible, he had the courage to say so. He was always sensitive to popular feeling, but he never pandered to it.

Above all, Comrade Chris was a Communist. A true Communist. For him Communism wasn't big words. For him, communism was jobs for the jobless, homes for the homeless, a living wage for workers, hope for the youth, a life of dignity for the old, free health care and decent education for us all.

*This is what he stood for, and for this he died.*”



Pic: Phumla Radu, ANC DSP

**Flower-carrying MK  
Combatants leading cortege**

**Nelson Mandela,  
ANC President**

“I would like to address a final word to Chris himself — comrade, friend and confidant.

In our heart, as in the heart of all our people, you are irreplaceable. We have been struck a blow that wounds so deeply that the scars will remain forever. You laid down your life so that we may know freedom. No greater sacrifice is possible.

We lay you to rest with the pledge that the day of freedom you lived and died for will dawn. We all owe you a debt that can only be repaid through the achievement of the liberation of our people, which was the passion of your life.

Fighter, revolutionary, soldier for peace, we mourn deeply for you. You will remain in our hearts forever.”



Pic: Phumla Radu, ANC DSP

**Part of the tens of thousands  
of Mourners at FNB Stadium**

# CHRIS HANI



**Champion of  
peace, freedom,  
democracy & equality**

**Fighter for the  
Workers and the poor**



**Fidel Castro  
President, Cuba**

“It was with deep sorrow and indignation that we learned of the vile murder of Comrade Chris Hani, whom we had the opportunity to meet during his visit at the head of a solidarity delegation of the South African Communist Party.

At this juncture — which is not exempt of repeated acts of violence, but in which the negotiating will and the ANC's ability to express the feelings of the South African people have prevailed — it is confirmed that the forces of reaction are the only ones which benefit from the political violence to which the South African people are daily [subjected to]. The survival of sectors and forces contrary to the elimination of racial segregation regime, even at the price of such a heinous crime, also confirms that — although the future looks promising — the anti-apartheid movement will have to wage great battles and face unforeseeable obstacles.”



**Cde Chris had great support  
amongst the millions of youth  
in our country**



Pic: Courtesy of ANC DSP

**Paying their last respect... contingent of MK  
marching past the coffin of cde Chris Hani**

# Tribute to a fallen hero

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# Tribute to a fallen hero

# Death by bullets, death by disinformation

*Who killed Chris Hani? It seems fairly clear, now, that the man who pulled the trigger was part of an ultra-right conspiracy. But is that the end of the story?*

The SACP is not convinced that, behind the ultra-right conspiracy which directly killed Hani, there is not a more substantial conspiracy within the security forces of the regime. This more substantial conspiracy is related to a broader low intensity warfare strategy. Unlike the ultra-right, its aim is not to unleash a race war and sabotage negotiations.

Rather, it wishes to soften up the ANC, and in this way steer the process of change into a neo-apartheid agreement. Part of this low intensity warfare strategy is a co-ordinated campaign of disinformation against ANC leaders.

Whether De Klerk's security networks were directly behind Hani's assassination or not, there can be no doubt that they launched a major disinformation campaign against him in the months before his death. At the very least, this disinformation campaign encouraged the direct assassins to carry out their terrible action.

In the months before his killing the disinformation campaign claimed:

- Hani was forming a black liberation army of dissident MK, Apla and other forces in Zimbabwe;
- He was splitting the SACP from the ANC;
- He was conspiring with Winnie Mandela;

The campaign of lies even tried to make him a master-mind in a bank robbery.

The huge national and international outrage at the assassination of our comrade underlines that this campaign of lies failed miserably. Nevertheless, those behind it must not be allowed to go unpunished.

**DISBAND DE KLERK'S DIRTY TRICKS DEPARTMENTS NOW!**

## RICHARD ELLIS - CHARACTER ASSASSIN

Richard Ellis is the Johannesburg based correspondent for the London Sunday Times. He has been one of the most active journalists in the disinformation campaign against Chris Hani.

In the days after the release of a Markinor poll, which showed Hani to be easily the second most popular political leader in our country (after Nelson Mandela), Ellis published a vicious character assassination of Hani. It was called: "South Africa's Saddam stakes his claim" (London Sunday Times, 31 January).

Ellis claimed Hani was planning to break away from the ANC and to "capitalise on growing black disillusion". Ellis also tried to link this disinformation with a supposed Hani-Winnie Mandela cabal.

At the time, the SACP and comrade Chris himself absolutely rejected the story. "Over the decades, tens of thousands of SACP members have helped build the ANC into the major force that it is. Virtually all our members are today active ANC members. Millions of non-communist ANC members and supporters share with us the basic commitment to a thoroughgoing social transformation. As a party committed to socialism, the SACP is certainly not about to abandon the ANC."

But it was one week after Hani's assas-

sination that Ellis made an even more sinister intervention. He published a completely unsourced story, alleging that Winnie Mandela claimed Hani was murdered by rivals within the ANC.

When questioned, Ellis admitted he had not interviewed Mrs Mandela. When asked why he had failed to speak to the ANC's information department, he claimed to have left a message with AutoPage. As it happens, AutoPage records all messages. Ellis had left no such message.

Worse still, in the days following the London publication of this terrible lie, Ellis approached Democratic Party MP Lester Fuchs to raise the allegation in parliament. A last minute intervention by DP leader Zach De Beer stopped Fuchs. The CP did, however, try to make some mileage out of the story in parliament.

We do not know if Ellis is a hired hand in the pay of some dirty tricks department. Certainly the pattern of behaviour of this South African-born journalist is typical of the kind of work in which the apartheid dirty tricks departments engage.

These departments have infiltrated the media, including prestigious international publications. When a piece of disinformation is either too ridiculous, or too defamatory, to be launched directly here in South Africa, then they use foreign based newspapers. They also try to use the privilege of parliament to be able to make libellous claims.

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**"Discrediting political leaders in the opposition camp is a popular strategy, especially in the SADF. In Namibia one of the major themes against SWAPO was the discrediting of the senior leadership corps of the party. In South Africa, this strategy has also been deployed very fruitfully."**

- Major Nico Basson, former head of the SADF Department of Military Intelligence "Comops" operation in the run-up to Namibian independence elections in 1989.

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■ **THE MQAQENI AFFAIR**

On March 26 this year, Solomon Mqaqeni and two others appeared in the Rand Supreme court. They were charged with murder and the robbery of a bank. The three charged were all, allegedly, ANC members and self-defence unit activists.

In a statement made under interrogation, Mqaqeni said that the bank robbery had been master-minded by Chris Hani and Tokyo Sexwale (ANC PWV chairperson). Mqaqeni's statement added that a portion of the stolen money was subsequently handed over to Sexwale in the ANC head office.

At his court appearance, Mqaqeni insisted that the statement had been coerced out of him. The judge, however, admitted the statement as evidence.

On the evening of their first court appearance, Mqaqeni and his co-accused were reported to have mysteriously escaped from Diepkloof prison.

According to prison officials, on disembarking at Diepkloof, they had commandeered the prison truck and driven back out of the mysteriously wide open front gates.

Mqaqeni's statement implicating Hani and Sexwale was widely published in the local media. And two days later, Minister of Law and Order, Hernus Kriel, launched a wild attack on MK, accusing it of being involved in crime.

The next day, the SACP held an urgent press conference in which Chris Hani asked:

★ why, given the seriousness of the allegations against himself and Sexwale, did the investigating officers handling Mqaqeni never once visit, phone or in any way question him or Sexwale?

"These so-called public servants, the police and the prosecutor, seem to be more intent on making political propa-

ganda", said Hani, "than on investigating a serious crime."

★ how did Mqaqeni escape so easily from a maximum security prison?

"Having been used as a pawn to make a propaganda point, I am frankly now worried for Mqaqeni's safety. In the past, fake prison escapes have been used to eliminate people".

★ "Was Hernus Kriel in any way involved in what has all the hallmarks of a stage-managed operation?"

*The SACP has requested the Goldstone Commission to look into the behaviour of the investigating officers in this case, the circumstances of the mysterious escape, and any possible involvement by Kriel.*

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Answer the question below and complete the entry. Detack the entry form and send it, with R10 entry fee to the SACP, PO Box 1027 Johannesburg 2000. All cheques and postal orders must be made payable to the SACP. Entries must reach us by 5 July 1993.

**COMPETITION ENTRY FORM**  
PLEASE PRINT IN BLOCK LETTERS

**Question: In which country is the world's largest wall?**

**Answer:** .....

**Name:** .....

**Address:** .....

**Phone: (Home)** .....

**(Work)** .....

*I agree to abide by the rules of the competition.*

**Signature:** .....

**UMSEBENZI EDUCATION SERIES**

Question and answers on:

# The ANC-led alliance negotiations package

**Question:** *I really don't understand the new negotiations package. What are its main features?*

**Answer:** The ANC, the SACP and our allies are proposing an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) for the period that the elected Constituent Assembly is drawing up a new constitution. Once this is complete, we are proposing that a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction (GNUR) should oversee the phasing in of the new constitution. Overall, this whole process, from the election of the Constituent Assembly to the final phasing out of the GNUR, must not take longer than five years.

The composition of the IGNU and the GNUR will be based on the number of seats a given party wins in the Constituent Assembly elections. All parties scoring over a certain percentage of seats (we are suggesting over 5%) will be entitled to a presence in the IGNU/GNUR. If the ANC alliance wins 65% of the seats, it will be entitled to 65% of cabinet posts in the IGNU/GNUR.

The majority party will appoint the president of the IGNU/GNUR. The president will have the final say on most matters, but a special majority will be required on exceptional issues (like declaring war, for instance).

**Question:** *Some comrades argue that this is not "power-sharing", others say that it is. What's the truth?*

**Answer:** The words "power-sharing" are the regime's words. The above proposal is certainly not the terrible form of power-sharing which the regime was originally suggesting. In terms of their proposals:

- ★ the top three, or more, parties would all have an equal presence in the government;
- ★ the arrangement would be permanent, and entrenched in the constitution;
- ★ there would not be a single president, but a rotating presidency, with three or more individuals taking turns.

Nevertheless, what we are now proposing is, indeed, a form of temporary

power-sharing. The SACP believes that this should be admitted openly and honestly.

**Question:** *Do you mean that we have been struggling all these years, so that we can share power with De Klerk and the National Party?*

**Answer:** The proposal is not based on any love or admiration for our oppressors. The aim is to ensure the speediest possible process of transition away from apartheid. The proposal has made it much more difficult for De Klerk to prolong the process of negotiations. He is now under growing pressure from many sides to settle quickly. The aim of the package is also to ensure as much stability in the transition period as possible.

**Question:** *But won't De Klerk and others use their positions in a future cabinet to undermine our ability to move ahead, and to deliver to our people?*

**Answer:** Yes, we can almost certainly expect attempts of this kind. But will they cause more damage in, or out of the cabinet? It is important to remember that even without an interim power-sharing arrangement, a future ANC government will, effectively, be sharing power for many years to come. Even with 100% of cabinet posts, an ANC government would be confronted with a massive army and police force, with an entrenched bureaucracy, all inherited from the apartheid era. There is also a powerful economy in other people's hands. Of course, all of these left-overs from the past must be radically reconstructed, and democratised. But that will take time.

All of this underlines the central point. With or without interim formal power-sharing in the cabinet, we cannot rely simply on a democratic constitution and an election victory. Without the ongoing mobilisation and involvement of the masses of our people, the process of democratisation and reconstruction will be undermined on all fronts.

Where to contact the  
**SOUTH AFRICAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY**



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**PWV**

Phone: (011) 834-4657, 834-4665  
Fax: (011) 834-6161

**WESTERN TRANSVAAL**

Phone: (018) 462-1395  
Fax: (018) 462-6996

**EASTERN TRANSVAAL**

Phone: (0132) 2-9097  
Fax: (0132) 2-9097

**TRANSKEI**

Phone: (0471) 31-1745  
Fax: (0471) 31-1745

**NATAL MIDLANDS**

Phone: (0331) 94-5168/9  
Fax: (0331) 42-1190

**EASTERN CAPE**

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

**BORDER**

Phone: ((0433) 2-5357, 2-5374  
Fax: (0433) 2-2673

**SOUTHERN NATAL**

Phone: (031) 305-6186/7  
Fax: (031) 305-4233

**WESTERN CAPE**

Phone: ((021) 448-7908  
Fax: (021) 47-7167

**BLOEMFONTEIN DISTRICT**

Phone: (051) 30-5136  
Fax: (051) 47-5657

**KIMBERLEY DISTRICT**

Phone: (0531) 3-1458  
Fax: (0531) 3-1590

**NORTHERN TRANSVAAL**

Contact No.: (01521) 91-4311

**WELKOM DISTRICT**

Contact No.: (0171) 5-6831, 5-6800

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