

I'll form my own army, says Gqozo

City Press 29-8-93

IF Umkhonto weSizwe was not dismantled, Ciskei would establish a "private army" for the African Democratic Movement (ADM), Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said on Friday.

Opening the homeland's National Show in Bisho, Gqozo warned that unless MK's activities in Ciskei stopped "we will have to start building up a similar force to back up the ADM".

"No-one will have the legal or moral justification to stop me from forming the ADM's private army for as long as the ANC retains Umkhonto weSizwe. It's called levelling the playing fields."

Gqozo alleged the ANC was to blame for 99 percent of the violence in Ciskei. He had statistics to back up this claim and would make them available to anyone, he said.

He also accused the ANC of being the "common denominator" of the violence throughout SA.

In a speech punctuated with Bible verses, Gqozo spelled out Ciskei's position on multi-party negotiations.

While "legitimate credible parties like the ADM" had not been allowed to participate in the talks, other parties

"with only three people plus a leader" – such as the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress – were taking part.

Ciskei insisted that the constitution negotiated at the World Trade Centre should be a "final document".

"We insist on a single phase process – no interim government, no constituent assembly – just a straight multi-party process culminating in general elections."

Gqozo said the multi-party negotiating council had outlived its purpose.

"Real negotiations should be conducted through bilaterals, trilaterals or even multilateral summits, for example ... Christian Federalists versus Communist Revolutionary Unitarists."

He urged the SA government not to proceed with the special session of parliament scheduled for September 13.

If crucial issues such as "constitutional principles, boundaries, powers, functions and competency of federal states, violence and intimidation" continued to be shelved, Ciskei would certainly pull out of this futile process, Gqozo warned. – Ecna

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20 SUNDAY TIMES, August 29 1993

OPINION

A new struggle against tyranny

THE finding of the Motsuenyane commission that the ANC has been guilty, in its treatment of prisoners in Quadro punishment camp, of torture, cruelty and evidently also murder, has exposed as nonsensical the claims of the ANC to moral superiority over the National Party. There is nothing to choose between those who tortured Steve Biko, and those who tortured the inmates of what should perhaps be called the ANC's Stalag IV.

This is not to suggest that the leaders or members of the ANC are uniquely evil; on the contrary, they are all too human. Like the National Party's leaders, and the leaders of all other parties, they are not to be trusted with unfettered power. Given power they will, sooner or later, abuse it, and descend into the depravities which, on both sides of the political divide in South Africa, we know all too well.

This is what makes the progress of constitutional negotiations at Kempton Park alarming. If the outcome is to put too much power in the hands of two political parties, neither of which can be trusted with power, then that outcome is unacceptable, and the constitution which permits the outcome is defective.

This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the latest version of the draft constitution put forward at Kempton Park, except to say that it is too concerned to secure power for the politicians, and too unconcerned with the threat which politicians pose to ordinary people. This

newspaper last week published, only half in jest, an alternative constitution which set out to curb the powers of the central government, and to protect the people against government. Our proposals were brief, and sufficient, and close enough to the American constitution to justify the claim that its underlying ideas have been tested, in civil war and against slavery, and have stood the test.

The constitution offered at Kempton Park, deeply influenced by the ideas that brought Eastern Europe to utter ruin, is a lengthy document (69 pages, and growing), tailored by bureaucratic minds for bureaucratic purposes, and its purpose is to divvy up power between power brokers. One example will make the point: our constitution defined, and thus limited, the powers of the central government, leaving the regions free to govern themselves except when they violate the rights of individuals or act against the common weal; the Kempton Park constitution defines and so limits the rights of the regions, and allows the central government to impose its will across the spectrum of human life.

Time is running out, and it may well be impossible to escape from the deficiencies of this authoritarian charter, but a warning must be sounded: the process at Kempton Park is being designed to secure excessive power for two parties, both of which stand convicted of cruelty, torture, murder, and pervasive abuse of power. A new struggle against tyranny lies ahead.

P.3

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This week the long-awaited report of the Motswagole commission into atrocities in the ANC's Angolan punishment camps in the 1980s was released. Among the accounts of torture, murder and starvation is this one — the tale of the good soldier Norman Phiri...

REPORTS OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO CERTAIN ALLEGATIONS OF CRUELTY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE AGAINST ANC PRISONERS AND DETAINEES BY ANC MEMBERS

Name:
NORMAN PHIRI

Qualifications:
A highly intelligent and committed MK soldier

Allegations:
Imprisoned without trial and tortured by his own comrades

LIKE hundreds of other Soweto pupils caught in the 1976 revolt against Bantu Education, Norman Phillip Phiri crossed the border into Swaziland to join the African National Congress.

Phiri is now back in Swaziland after almost 17 years in exile — four years and nine months of which he was held in prison camps without trial and tortured.

He has been unemployed since his return in December 1987, but remains a loyal member of the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, even though members of its leadership were his prison guards.

His personal nightmare started in the uprising in the MK camps in Angola in the early 80s.

An intelligent, articulate and highly trained soldier, Phiri quickly rose through MK's ranks after initial training and was made political commissar at Fazenda camp in northern Angola in 1979.

The cadres in the camp were disillusioned with the ANC's leadership and thought that the war in South Africa should be escalated.

Frustrated

They were frustrated that they had not seen any combat after years of military training and began to disobey orders.

In addition to disillusionment, the cadres in Fazenda also faced disease — malaria and yellow fever caused the closure of the camp in 1980.

Some cadres were sent to other camps and three men were arrested in 1980 and sent to Quadros, a camp in northern Angola which was dubbed 'hot' in Portuguese after the high-security prison Number Four in Johannesburg.

Phiri was next sent to Pango in northern Angola in 1980 as political commissar.

As in Fazenda, the cadres at Pango were anxious for engagement with the SA forces and frustrated because the leadership did not appear to be intensifying the armed struggle.

The cadres also feared the ANC's security department, whose tactics to rid MK of cadres were in the 70s were viewed as oppressive.

In 1981, the then ANC president Oliver Tambo,

visited all the camps in Angola. At Pango, he said some people in the movement were trying to sabotage it and suggested that cadres should meet to suggest ways to help improve the ANC.

The cadres elected Phiri chairman and formulated a series of demands which included the suspension of the security department. They also levelled the serious accusation that some MK commanders in the Frontline states had "sold them out" and were working for the "enemy".

Phiri met with a hostile response when he presented the cadres' demands to Pango's camp commander Dan Peterson. He accused Phiri of leading a mutiny.

Peterson reported the details of the meeting to the leadership in Luanda and two days later a then NEC member and now MK political commissar, Andrew Mazono, met cadres and "dressed them down".

labelling their accusations as nonsense.

Mazono accused Phiri of instigating the cadres against the leadership at Pango and having fuelled the dissension at Fazenda camp in 1979.

Later, cadres under Phiri's command in Caxuso and Kungedala were sent to Viana Transit Camp after firing their guns into the air and refusing to fight Unites.

When they arrived, the Viana camp commander ordered them to disarm. But the cadres suspected that they would be abused if they agreed to do so. Many cadres, including Phiri, did not follow this order.

The cadres elected a group of 10 and drew up a list of demands which they were never able to present to the leadership. Early the next morning Angolan government troops (FAPLA) surrounded the camp.

Chris Hani, then MK

political commissar, asked the cadres to surrender their arms. They did.

Mandela's bodyguard named by commission

By EZRA MANTINI

ONE of Nelson Mandela's bodyguards is among the dozens of ANC members waiting to hear their fate today after being singled out by the Motswagole commission into human rights abuses.

He is Mr Basil Mavuso, 39, who returned from exile in 1990. He left South Africa in 1975 and was deployed as a bodyguard to then ANC president Oliver Tambo in 1981.

He deposed evidence before the commission that he was involved in beating former security department member Felix Nkosi, whom he allegedly arrested in 1985 without proper cause.

He admitted he was present when Mr Gabriel Setlabe, still an ANC member, was interrogated. Mr Setlabe claimed he was arrested after a personal dispute with Mr Mavuso.

The commission supported the allegations of Mr Nkosi and Mr Setlabe.

Hard talking but soft hearted

Peter Mokaba is really a gentle guy at heart

29-08-93
City Press

WHAT lies behind the angry and bitter image of ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba? He recently angered government officials and one of the strongest ANC allies, Cosatu. Both disagreed with his call for the township youths to take the struggle to the white suburbs and to turn their guns on State President FW De Klerk. The man behind these words is gentle, peace-loving and ready to save the life of a white farmer or a boer. He showed his other side to City Press during a recent interview.

From his war-talk when he addresses the youth, it is easy for anyone to think that Peter Mokaba hates whites. Because of his slogans at rallies, most people think he is really encouraging his supporters to take up arms against whites, especially farmers.

Sitting in his newly-furnished office on the 14th floor of the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, Mokaba seems like a leader who wants to reach out to his people and be heard, but who has not got the means of doing so.

"The press has a grudge against me. I'm always misquoted in the newspapers. They are doing the work of the system to discredit me," he says.

What steps will Mokaba take to stop the media from doing him more harm before it's too late?

"There's nothing I can do about it now. But the ANC government will have to change the whole media system in this country. Our media is very destructive. It is not educative. All the newspapers are worried about is increasing their profits at the expense of ruining our society."

Not only are the newspapers trying to put him out into the political wilderness, he says, but they are trying to put him up against other leaders in the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the ANC.



"I don't hate whites, in fact I don't hate anyone because of his skin colour," says Peter Mokaba.

The tension that is supposed to exist between him and ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa has been made up by journalists, he says. Not only are he and Ramaphosa the best of comrades, but they respect each other's political views.

When Mokaba recently tipped Thabo Mbeki as the next deputy president of the ANC, he did not say so to spite Ramaphosa. Mbeki was one of the many names the youth league thought of. Ramaphosa was well informed about this before Mokaba mentioned it to the press.

However, at 34, the chubby youth leader thinks he has done enough to serve the young lions. He will not stand for re-election as the youth league's president at the annual congress later this year.

"As a member of the NEC I want to serve my main organisation full time. I know the

press is going to think I'm quitting under pressure. No, it's not so.

"I think I'm going to run in the forthcoming elections in one of our regions. At this stage I'm not sure where, but I'm ready to do so in any part of SA because every town, city and rural area is the ANC's stronghold. The people will tell me where to stand for election because I'm their servant."

After the elections he wants to start his own family so he can join his colleagues in the youth league who are already married. "I've devoted almost my entire life to the struggle and neglected my marriage. I'm yearning to come home to the comfort of my wife's arms and my child and feel like a father."

Despite his "kill the farmer, kill the boer" chant, he is not a killer.

"I'm prepared to go out of my way to save the life of a farmer who is being robbed or killed. My slogan on them is not an empty one. It's about the days of our armed struggle when the farmers in the northern Transvaal borders, with Zimbabwe were mobilised and armed as commandos against our people."

He remains clear about his passionate hatred for the State President, because of what he calls "his double agenda in the peace process".

"He speaks peace with our leaders on the one hand, and unleashes violence on our people through his security forces on the other," he says.

It is the same violence that has made the ANC guard Mokaba 24 hours a day. Since his release from Robben Island, he has never slept at his home nor had a chance to chat for long hours with his mother and sister.

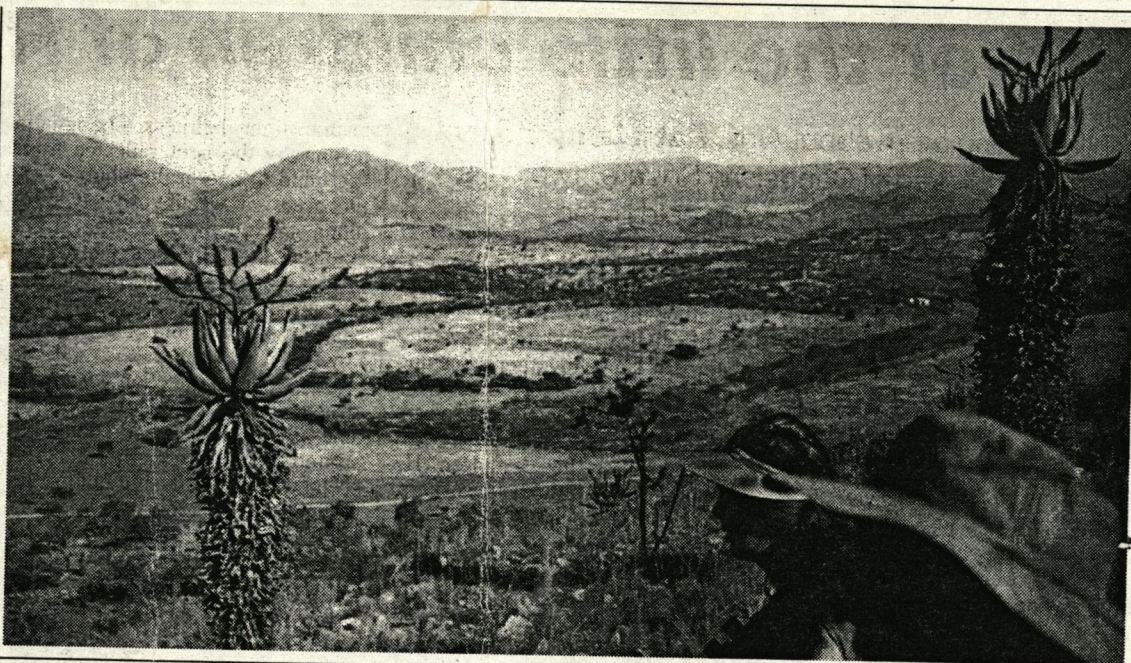
A Country Diary

Michael Wren

KA'NGWANE, Eastern Transvaal: Laura had selected the camp site carefully — a clearing in the trees by the banks of the Komati, relatively safe from prowling hippo. Hippo can be unpredictable: spending the day dozing in the river, at night they emerge and may travel several kilometres in search of good grazing. It is not a good idea to get between them and the river. Ka'Ngwane is a small national park, begun only 20 years ago. Already the land has substantially recovered from overgrazing by cattle and is returning to African bush, dotted with thorn and scrub. On the hills the aloes stand in their thousands like sentinels. What a strange and wonderful plant is the aloe: its yellow

flowers born on stems like antlers bear nectar on which sunbirds feed; its seeds are devoured eagerly by bulbuls, drongos, mousebirds, shrikes and many others. In the scrub we see kudu and the diminutive duiker, on the lush grass plains wildebeest, hartebeest, the sad-faced blesbok and the impossibly beautiful impala. By the river waterbuck feed and warthog rear their large families. A walk along the bank in the warm winter sun brings us fine views of jackal buzzard, red-breasted sparrowhawk and the mysterious gymnogene. We laze on flat rocks while the sluggish Komati flows by. In the reeds waxbills and firefinches feed, pied kingfishers flash by and we hear the liquid call of the black-headed oriole.

Aloes at Ka'Ngwane



Ian

Cannabis on a new high in Britain

The hemp plant is once again a legal crop, writes **David Sharrock**

THE NEXT time someone sidles up to you and suggests you retire somewhere discreet for a smoke while listening to some crusty mood music from the latest Ozric Tentacles' album, you may care to reflect on the less publicised merits of the cannabis sativa, or hemp, plant.

That album sleeve the New Ager is using as a tray on which to blend the tobacco is actually made from cannabis, as are the papers he's

using to build the funny cigarette. Hemp is climbing out of its flares and cheese-cloth shirt and putting on a City suit.

Its new tailors are two men from very different backgrounds, both of whom profess to see the potential in a crop which, they say, makes both environmental and economic sense but which has been restricted until now by its classification as a schedule B controlled drug.

The first is Pete Messenger, who runs Ecologically Sound Paper, or ESP, out of which he pays himself a salary of £40 a week. The second is Ian Lowe, director of Harlow Agricul-

tural Merchants. They both successfully applied to the Home Office for licences to begin commercial production of hemp, a crop which has not been legally grown in the United Kingdom for more than 100 years.

Messenger has planted five acres, within sight of Oxford's dreaming spires. Beyond that, he is not prepared to divulge its exact location. Lowe has a rather more ambitious 1,500 acres under seed, spread among 30 farms in Essex and southern East Anglia. The police have detailed maps of the fields.

This is where the re-education programme must begin, the hemp

growers say. For the ventures to succeed, it is essential that the marijuana law-breakers understand they will not get high from stealing a smoke from these crops. Indeed, one of the Home Office's strict regulations for permitting the reintroduction of hemp to Britain was that the plants contain negligible quantities of tetrahydro-cannabinol, or THC — the bit that makes people feel high.

What remains, however, could be far more precious. Hemp yields 10-14 tonnes of dry fibre per hectare per year, from which high grade paper can be produced. In France some of the 10,000 acres per year goes to making cigarette papers.

Hemp-based paper, which can in-

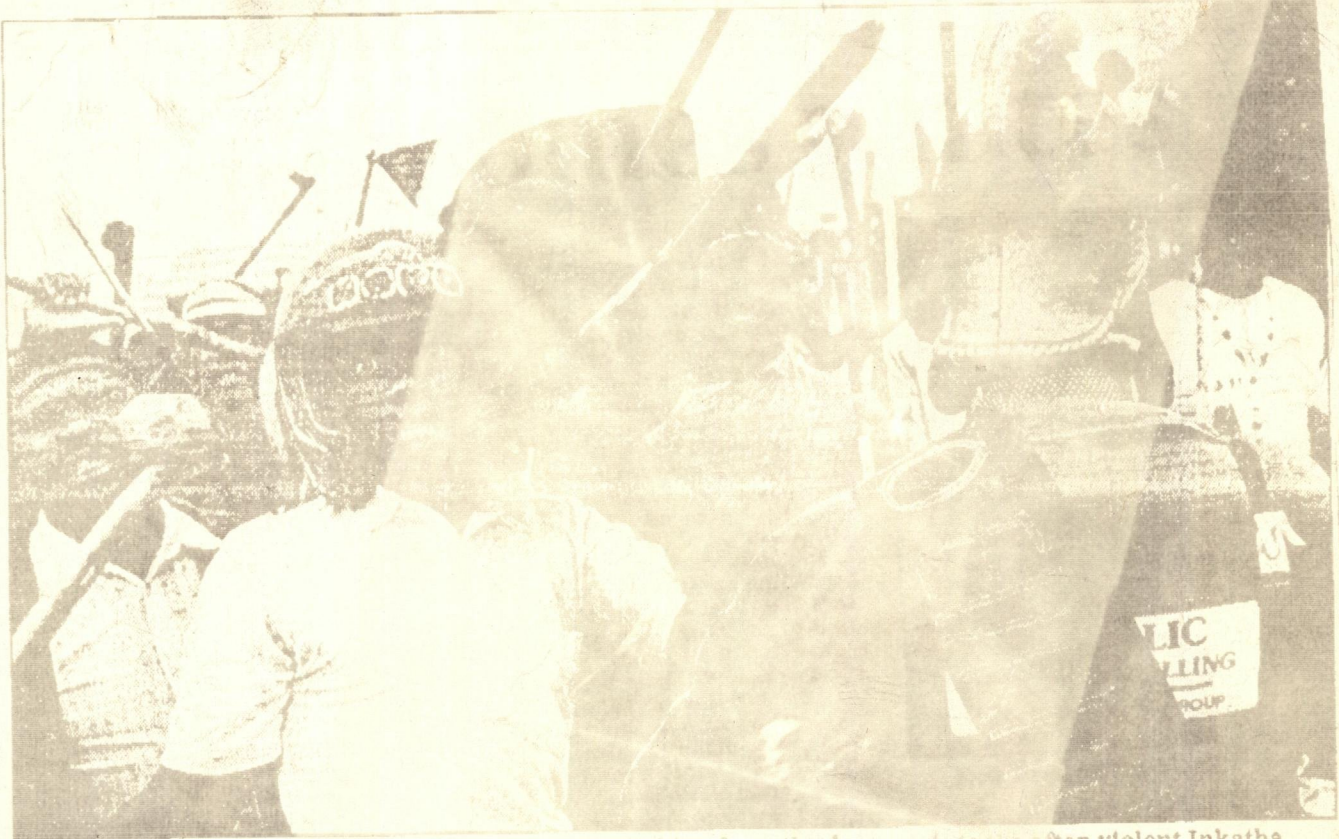
clude wood pulp and other plants, was used by the New Ageist Ozric Tentacles for their new album sleeves and posters. A guaranteed "tree-free paper" made only from European hemp and cornstraw is being marketed by a Mr John Hanson of Dorset, while on Ian Lowe's desk in Harlow sits a sample of east European hemp cloth, which he describes as "a bit like linen, but extremely hard wearing".

The soft inner centre of the tall plants — up to 15ft tall by harvest time next month — produce a superior livestock bedding to replace traditional wood chippings. The possibilities seem bountiful. "It's a plant to save the planet," declares Messenger.

FOREIGN NEWS

ANC socialist past gives Inkatha a lift

D. BARRIT



MP Mike Tarr rejects charges of opportunism in switching from the democrats to the often violent Inkatha

the ANC that senior officials committed serious human rights abuses in Uganda and Angola during the organisation's years in exile sparked a spate of "I told you so" comments around dinner tables.

The ANC leaders counter that Inkatha has by no means a monopoly of Zulu support and that theirs is the coun-

try's only truly multi-racial political organisation.

But while the ANC's top echelons are open to all races, the rank and file, reared on the liberation struggle, is less tolerant of white participation in the political process. A recent attempt by the Democratic Party to take its message to the Orange Farm township

ended in a riot, with the party's speakers forced to retreat under a hail of stones thrown by black youths.

In the short term such intolerance will only intensify whites' siege mentality. But after the elections, English-speaking whites' support for Inkatha might give the mainly rural party the input it needs to become a

credible opposition — something the new South Africa will urgently need.

As for the ANC, it can console itself with a quick reference to the numbers game. While English-speakers may affect the result in Natal, as six per cent of the national electorate they will hardly impinge on the overall outcome.

Sunday Telegraph
29/8/93 - London

(2)

THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH AUGUST 29 1993

South Africans' fear of the The Zulu nation welcomes whites

by Alec Russell
in Pietermaritzburg

GAP-TOOTHED, squatting in silence, with large brass rings dangling from their ears, the huddle of Zulus waiting for their induna (chief) would have set Rider Haggard's fingers feverishly itching for his pen. Only the odd pair of faded jeans and the plush upholstery of the Inkatha Freedom Party's Natal Midlands headquarters gave away the 20th-century context of the gathering.

Then in strode a local leader. "Sawubona, sawubona," (hello, hello) chanted the ensemble respectfully. Blue-eyed, with a vigorous "public-school" handshake, Mike Tarr is a stereotypical Anglo-Saxon. As a former MP for the liberal Democratic Party, he is also one of the highest-profile white recruits to the Zulu-based Inkatha.

With eight months to go before South Africa's first exercise in democracy, the old political certainties of apartheid, when most English-speakers voted for the liberal opposition parties as a token protest against the Afrikaner-dominated National Party, are over.

Many of the estimated three-and-a-half-million white voters are now desperately unsure of their allegiances. For the more conservative, Inkatha seems the best of a bad lot.

In the eyes of many in the West, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, whose negotiators have walked out of the multi-party democracy talks, is the greatest obstacle in the way of a political settlement. He threatens civil war if he doesn't have his way, even though outside the rural communities in Natal and the migrant-workers/hostels in Johannesburg townships he has minimal support among South Africa's non-whites, who make up 86 per cent of the country's population.

But within South Africa, many English-speaking whites have succumbed to fear that the African

National Congress — seemingly the inevitable victor in the elections — may revert to the radical socialist policies of its early years, including a redistribution of wealth.

With the National Party apparently moribund after 45 years in power, Inkatha is the only remaining plausible alternative for these fearful whites. The killing of a white American student last Wednesday by a black mob chanting anti-white slogans will harden these prejudices.

Mr Tarr said: "The IFP has never done anything to alienate whites — it has always stood for free enterprise. Under apartheid it was against sanctions and the armed struggle. For most whites it is the most obvious and compatible party."

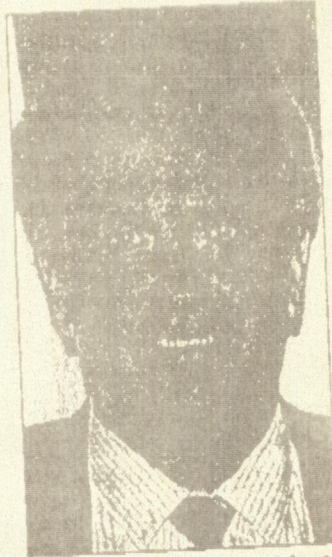
A recent opinion poll by Johannesburg's Radio 702 and the Star newspaper gave Inkatha the support of 27 per cent of whites in the central Witwatersrand region. In the eastern region of Natal the level of support is believed to be higher.

To justify their support for Inkatha, whites have to indulge in a considerable feat of selective reasoning. The party, whose supporters are responsible for some of the worst massacres in the past few years, is hardly a model of democratic rectitude.

But Mr Tarr, one of three white MPs to have joined Inkatha this year, said: "We [whites] have to accept the reality of the new South Africa. Unless you have a party which commands substantial black support you won't figure. We [the Democratic Party] were making no progress with blacks."

"The legacy of apartheid is that whites have the majority of political and administrative skills. They can make a significant contribution."

The main reason for Inkatha's potential supporters to hesitate is Chief Buthelezi himself, a volatile politician who runs the Kwazulu homeland like a one-party state. On a prominent television talk-show last month he lost control completely and started ranting at his interviewer. "Buthelezi can go a bit off the wall," said a senior



New head on the block:

Inkatha politician in Johannesburg. "It doesn't help our case."

But as South Africa stumbles closer to an election — although the provisional date of April 27 looks more untenable by the day — in the drawing-rooms of Pietermaritzburg the old suspicions of the ANC bubble away.

Last week's admission by

Sunday
Telegraph
29/8/93
London

(1)

Blacks turn their anger on the ANC's white elite

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

SUDDENLY the most sensitive of taboos has been broken in South Africa. Black supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) are complaining that their movement, which fought to end white rule, is itself dominated by whites.

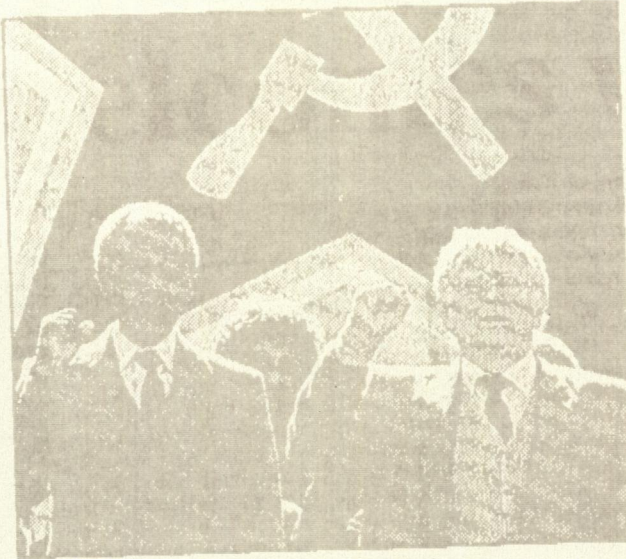
White ANC figures previously regarded as untouchable have come under attack as black critics complain that "non-racialism", the ANC's most sacred tenet, has enabled white liberals to establish a stranglehold on the movement.

Charges of "black racism" are being made as critics point out that although most senior positions in the ANC are held by blacks, behind the scenes it is a different story. White and Indian experts shape economic and constitutional policies; two of the ANC's most visible media spokesmen are white; the head of the pro-ANC trade union movement is Indian; and even the ANC commission on land — a crucial issue to blacks — is headed by a white.

The row, which goes to the heart of who will really run the new South Africa after elections next year, was triggered by a recent televised debate on power-sharing. Inkatha, the Zulu-dominated party, had a white spokesman. The ANC and its smaller rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, were represented by Indians.

Mondli Makhanya, a business journalist, was incensed by the absence of black Africans as he watched. "I thought, 'Whose power are they discussing sharing here?' It was so glaring." He sat down and wrote an article for his newspaper, the white-run liberal Weekly Mail.

Why, he asked, were so-called black political movements, unions and non-governmental organisations dominated by non-blacks? Their strategies and policies were drawn up by whites and



Men of influence: Nelson Mandela relies on Joe Slovo's advice

Indians; even the future shape of South Africa was being determined by "people other than those whose liberation is being sought — people whose only experience of apartheid is sympathy for the victims".

He went on: "So immense is the influence of non-blacks in supposedly non-racial organisations that it is said that no lesser a personage than Nelson Mandela values white advice higher than black input."

Makhanya accused white ANC leaders such as Joe Slovo, the Communist party leader, and Albie Sachs, one of its foremost intellectuals, of deciding the movement's positions in crucial negotiations with the government.

Blacks, he said, only had themselves to blame for the crisis, because they had been intellectually lazy. "Blacks, fearful of tearing away at the veneer of hunky-dory non-racial harmony in their organisations, have been content to do the legwork and leave the strategising to others."

"South Africa," Makhanya concluded, "faces 'liberation' with a white intellectual elite determining policy for the black majority. And with a minority elite running the economy, blacks will still not control the country where

they are overwhelmingly in the majority."

The reaction was explosive. White letter-writers to The Weekly Mail accused Makhanya of being a "racist bigot" and of spouting "black consciousness crap". But Makhanya was overwhelmed with calls from black ANC supporters praising him for being brave enough to speak out. At a lunch of several black ANC supporters, mention of Makhanya brought spontaneous applause. They echoed his criticism of Sachs and Slovo and accused Ronnie Kasrils, a white ANC communist who led a march last year that left 28 ANC blacks dead, of "climbing to the top on the bodies of black people".

A columnist in the Sowetan, the biggest black newspaper, praised Makhanya's forthrightness and warned against accepting any form of "non-racialism" that would entail the rejection of "Africanness".

"I had no idea it would strike such a chord," Makhanya admitted last week. "Black people had been talking about it for a long time, but it had been in whispers." He dismissed the criticism of "white leftists" in the ANC, saying: "Their argument is that they did not come in to dominate, they came in to

make a contribution. But it's very hard for them to argue: they are dominating."

Carl Niehaus, one of the white ANC leaders singled out, rejected the accusations last week as "malicious, utter nonsense". "There is no truth that either Indians, coloureds or whites dominate the organisation," he said. "All the senior officers happen to be black."

But, spurred by Makhanya's outburst, many blacks are seeking ways to make the movement more reflective of South Africa's 40m strong population, which is 76% African, 13% white, 8% coloured and 3% Indian.

Many believe that liberal whites and Indians, who have spent years agitating for blacks, will have to be forced to give up their positions of power. "There's still too much of an attitude among whites that 'We know what's best for you'," said one black ANC member.

Blaze Nzimande, a member of the ANC's national executive, has called for a policy of affirmative action for "African Africans" within the movement. One senior white ANC member who supports the initiative admitted: "It seems galling that when we are demanding affirmative action as a policy for South Africa as a whole, we have not yet practised it fully ourselves."

Others, though, believe the fundamental problem lies within black South Africans themselves and the appalling legacy left not only by an abysmal apartheid education system, but the feelings of inferiority caused by 300 years of white domination. "Apartheid has worked in many ways that people don't realise," said Eugene Nyathi, one of the country's leading black political analysts. "There are many capable black thinkers out there, but some of them think they are inferior."

Makhanya agreed. "Until we start seeing black people in government, fully in control of this country, it won't change," he said.

Sunday Times
29/8/93 - London

The tragedy of Amy: how a dream died in a black township

SHE was the epitome of the all-American young woman: a bright, blue-eyed blonde in a baseball cap whose energy seemed as limitless as her devotion to help build a new South Africa. In between researching her university thesis on women's rights, Amy Biehl ran marathons, learned township dances, studied Xhosa, preached peace and developed voter education programmes. Black friends dubbed her an honorary African.

Surrounded by such friends, the fun-loving, hard-working 26-year-old Californian honours student lived in a pleasant, multi-racial world in Cape Town. Her days were spent with African National Congress academics; her nights at parties, dancing, "she had so much rhythm," her coloured flatmate said.

Her crime was to forget, or never to learn, the first rule of survival in a South Africa that stands on the brink of a race

war: that the colour of a person's skin is reason enough for murder. It was a mistake that last week cost Biehl her life.

On Wednesday, the day before she was to fly home after spending 10 months as an exchange student in the Cape, Biehl drove three black friends to Guguletu township outside the city. A mix of black teenagers began stoning the car. Her passengers urged her to drive faster, but the rear ended behind a slow-moving vehicle.

Even when stones shattered the car's windows, she seemed unable to comprehend the danger. "She was always surrounded by loving and committed black people, never thinking for a moment she could come to such a close the enemy," said Khoda Kadali, who taught Biehl at the University of the Western Cape. Forced to stop, Biehl tried to run for safety but was trapped. Still she had a naive faith.

"She always said, 'I know these people, I love them'," said Anna Wang, a friend. "When they first started chasing her she tried to talk to them." It was no good. Biehl's work for the liberation struggle, her knowledge of Xhosa, the bumper sticker on her car reading Our Land Needs Peace, meant nothing to the youths. All they saw was that she was white — a "settler" in their terms — and therefore a target.

They hit her in the face with a brick and began stabbing her repeatedly in the head and body. She screamed for mercy and tried to fend off the blows with her arms, but eventually collapsed.

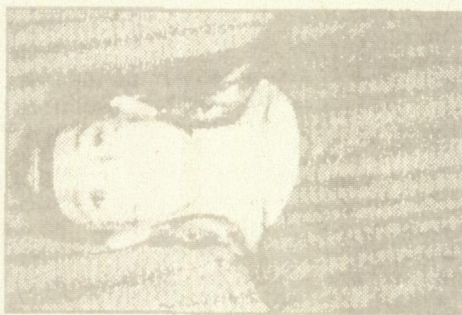
As they killed her, the youths reportedly chanted "One Settler, One Bullet", the slogan of the radical Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). It was, without doubt, a racist murder. Only one of Biehl's three black passengers was harmed: Singiswa Bevu was

by Richard Ellis
Johannesburg

stabbed in the right arm as she tried to protect her. After Biehl collapsed, Bevu and her friends rushed her to a nearby police station, but she died shortly after arriving.

Though exact figures have yet to be calculated, Biehl was probably about the 53,000th person to be killed violently since F W de Klerk's speech announcing the end of apartheid on February 2, 1990 (the toll stood at 52,880 at the beginning of this month). It is more than four times the number of South African troops killed in the second world war and about as many as the number who died in the Boer war. South Africa has the highest murder rate in the world.

Though most of these deaths are criminally rather than politically motivated, most experts and politicians



Biehl: first American to die

no longer argue about whether South Africa is in the grip of a civil war, just about its intensity and how much worse it is going to get in the run-up to April's elections.

So many are being killed that new township mortuaries, built to handle the over-

flow, cannot cope, bodies are piled on top of one another. Many have been mutilated beyond recognition. There is no longer any respect for the dead or dying. Ambulances going to rescue the injured are hijacked, their drivers shot. Bodies of opponents are stuffed from funeral homes, or dug up and burned again.

In white areas, elderly farmers and their wives are murdered in their homes almost on a daily basis; black gunmen periodically mow down whites in bars, golf clubs and churches. Last week, eight people were injured when gunmen, thought to be from the PAC's armed wing, opened fire on a bus.

So numbingly routine has it become that most incidents merit little more than a paragraph of two in the newspapers, which carry long lists of the latest murders rather like local papers in Britain carry the names of church rifle winners.

But the murder of Biehl, the first American to die in the political violence, has stunned South Africans, black and white. How, they asked, could a foreigner who did so much good end up the way she did? Overnight, she became a symbol of the terrible malaise.

Hundreds marched to where she was killed, carrying banners saying, "Comrades come in all colours". Friends spoke of her compassion and commitment to the plight of blacks. "She was the epitome of life," said Wang. "When I look at the pictures of Amy bleeding and in pain, I don't see her in pain. I see her dance moves and hear her laughing and practising her Xhosa."

Kadali, her lecturer, told how Biehl had feared she might be killed in South Africa. "Amy had her premonition that she would die. She kept on saying how lucky she was that nothing happened to her all the time she was here, but it was all too

good to be true." Melanie Jacobs, a flatmate, said that had Biehl still been alive she would have been the first to explain that her attackers' hate was built up by the apartheid system.

By yesterday, however, the outrage over her death had slipped into a familiar pattern. Opposing parties tried to score political points over her murder. With two PAC supporters, aged 17 and 18, arrested, the ANC accused its rival of engaging in racial murders. PAC leaders, in turn, speculated why so much attention was being given to a white person's death when scores of blacks were being killed every day.

Biehl's death was also pushed off the front pages by an armed attack on a bus and the murder of a white farmer's 21-year-old daughter in Transkei. Just three days after the American's death, South Africa had moved on, busy counting the new corpses.