

Govt 'was shaken militarily' by ANC

GOVERNMENT wanted to talk to the ANC because it had been "shaken militarily", ANC stalwart Elias Motsoaledi told a rally near Groblersdal in the northern Transvaal at the weekend.

Speaking in Phokoane village, he said it was not appropriate for the ANC to abandon the armed struggle while the SADF was still armed.

He also called for an intensification of the liberation struggle, saying people should fear deceit rather than blood.

Motsoaledi, a militant former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander in Johannesburg, called on youth to gain education to further militant ideals.

"To shoot down the enemy's aircraft you need mathematical knowledge, so get into the classrooms and learn military science," he said.

He appealed to ANC supporters not to be hostile to homeland chiefs.

Chiefs who were not members of the ANC-supporting Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) should be educated politically until they were won over by the people.

The ANC welcomed homeland leaders who were sympathetic to the people's demands, because they had been brought away from "the enemy", he said.

Homeland leaders who recently refused to meet President F W de Klerk for talks had done so because the ANC had told them not to go, Motsoaledi said.

Speaking at the same rally, UDF publicity secretary and ANC official Patrick "Terror" Lekota condemned organisations who criticised ANC strategy. — Sapa.

New deaths push security force toll in Natal up to 36

BUSINESS 17 APRIL 1990

DURBAN — At least 36 security force members in Natal had died in unrest and murder incidents since January last year, police liaison officer Lt Bala Naidoo announced yesterday.

He said this following news that two security force members had been killed and a third injured when fired on in separate incidents by unknown gunmen in Natal over the weekend.

An apparent upsurge in Natal violence on Sunday had left 10 people dead — this included one of the soldiers — bringing to 41 the total killed in Natal unrest incidents since last Wednesday.

Nine of Sunday's deaths reported in yesterday's official police unrest report were in the Port Shepstone area.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Steve van Rooyen attributed the violence to "faction fighting over land possession".

Police said the two security force members who were killed over the weekend were Cape Corps rifleman Stanley van Wyk, 24, and Constable Bern McDade, 24, a British immigrant.

Van Wyk was shot in the leg while on patrol in Mpumalanga on Saturday. He died on Sunday from the injury. Four men were arrested and an R1 rifle recovered, Lt Naidoo said.

McDade was found dead with a bullet wound in his neck on a grass verge alongside his car late on Saturday night after a duty call to a farm outside New Hanover on the Greytown road.

Const B P Shangase of the Pietermaritzburg SAP reaction unit is in a "satisfactory" condition in Edendale

hospital after he was shot in the neck by an unidentified gunman on Saturday.

On Sunday ANC interim leadership corps chairman Walter Sisulu came out very strongly against reports that the SADF's 32 Battalion would be deployed in Natal.

He told Sapa 32 Battalion was "a unit consisting mainly of notorious Angolan civil war soldiers and mercenaries from other European countries".

"We cannot but protest very strongly about such an action. We are sure that their presence will aggravate the situation instead of bringing peace."

An SADF spokesman said in reply the battalion was not yet in Natal.

"The reason for the choice of people who had fought in Angola is the fact that they are neutral."

"Earlier, accusations were made that black policemen were taking sides in the Natal unrest. The Angolans are presently undergoing orientation briefings," the spokesman said.

□ A Katsieng town councillor was killed in a handgrenade attack on his home in the East Rand township late on Sunday night, police said.

Police spokeswoman Lt Henrietta Bester said D Mlangeni was killed and his girlfriend, who was not named, was wounded by shrapnel.

BIDAY Group to disband

KANGWANE's Inyandza Youth Movement would disband in December to allow members to join the ANC Youth League, the homeland's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza said yesterday.

17 104/90

17/4/90 B/D Day

Asherson had to say.

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Natal security force deaths rise to 36

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To Page 2

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Debt hurdle

That is our biggest headache.
For the past two years, SA's current account surplus has not been enough to cover total capital outflows. Last year's

From Page 1

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NATAL UNREST DEATHS

September 1987 — January 1989	668
February 1989 — April 11 1990	874
Past 120 hours' official toll	41
TOTAL	1 583

From Page 1

est rates in the first quarter should ensure these outflows are not a problem this year," Stals said.

A stable rand is a major weapon against

or prove to be wind.
The survey included of both sexes in the upper income group, aged 18 to 25.

"The student group negative and exhibited cynicism for the state expected change," i
McCann's caution of the black population the age of 24 and considerable influence.

The respondents differences in ideology the ANC and PAC, a evidence "to stress that the ANC could bility problems for willingness to negoti. Nationalist governm

Students felt it must ... be intense extent that if necessary turned into a 'sector

"One group said not be trusted, habitability, and wanted struggle to continue

Although negoti the first option, appeared to have little in them. They believed should step down.

They believed the commodating of v tions and the PAC to be) leading town They also sa

Help us to run last mile — Winnie

LONDON. — Mrs Winnie Mandela, on Sunday entered briefly the political shell she retreated into when her husband Nelson was released in February.

She spoke at a meeting in London and called on anti-apartheid activists to help Black South Africans "run that last mile to our liberation".

Mrs Mandela and her husband arrived in London on Sunday to attend an Easter Monday pop concert in honour of Mr Mandela.

Mrs Mandela, known in recent years for her fiery speeches and defiance of the South African authorities, retreated into the passive role of merely being Mr Mandela's wife when he was released, clearly leaving public politics to him.

Addressing activists who packed the Brixton Academy in south London on Sunday night, Mrs Mandela reportedly said: "Standing here I feel I am standing in Soweto."

Inferno

"Coming from that inferno of racial hatred, seeing these thousands of white faces before me tonight identifying with us makes me feel overjoyed."

"You have identified with our call for sanctions and you have carried out demonstrations."

Mandela would never have been released from prison if it was not for the pressure you exerted on South Africa."

Earlier, Mrs Mandela also visited Wembley Stadium where the pop concert was to be held, to meet some of the stars in Saba.

Mandela is likened to fiddling Nero

By Erik Larsen
and Saba

THE International Freedom Foundation (IFF) yesterday launched a scathing attack on the ANC deputy president, Mr Nelson Mandela, in an advertisement in The Times of London.

The advert, entitled "While Nero fiddled, Rome burned", was placed to coincide with an Anti-Apartheid Movement-organised pop concert held at London's Wembley Stadium yesterday in honour of Mr Mandela.

The advert said that while Mr Mandela was receiving the accolade of a crowd of 72 000 people, men, women and children continued to be slaughtered in bloody internecine warfare in Natal.

"Why can you, Mr Mandela, spare three days to attend this pop concert but not two hours to attend peace talks in Natal — talks which you recently unilaterally cancelled?" it said.

The ad said that after 42 years of apartheid and repression, all South Africans now had the opportunity to create a free and

democratic South Africa, but this process would not be an easy one.

"Across South Africa, recent weeks have seen escalating violence, driven by radical elements within the ANC. Your movement, Mr Mandela, is out of control and chronically divided — it is becoming an obstacle, rather than an instrument of change."

"Your place now, surely, is in Natal, Pretoria and Cape Town — not Wembley, Blackpool and Stockholm?" the ad concluded.

17/4/90 Citizen



Nelson Mandela, left, with Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal during supper at Ramphal's London residence on Sunday.

ANC dissidents seek inquiry

17 April 1990

BUSINESS DAY

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dissident ANC guerrillas yesterday urged ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela to appoint a commission of inquiry into torture allegations, which one said continued in ANC camps.

On Saturday Mandela admitted that some of the men who had made the torture allegations had been tortured by ANC security members, but said that "immediate steps were taken to discipline those guilty".

The leaders of the camp were also immediately dismissed, he added.

Mandela said the ANC hoped SA's government would act as quickly in addressing the allegations of torture directed against its security forces.

Speaking from Nairobi, dissident guerrilla Amos Maxongo said the torture would not stop as long as "the people responsible for all the atrocities were still in power" and that dissidents had written to Mandela urging appointment of a commission of inquiry into continuing torture in the ANC.

He levelled certain allegations against Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) commander Joe Modise.

Mandela said on Saturday he wished to make it clear that the allegations were not made against himself or the ANC leadership but against the organisation's security department.

Maxongo said it was disturbing that "enemies of democracy" were included in the ANC delegation to hold talks with President F W de Klerk next month. He referred to the inclusion of Modise in the delegation.

Asked whether the group feared for their safety in the wake of their revelations, Maxongo said that Mandela "must commit himself to secure us".

He and the other men were anxious to return to SA.

□ News agencies reported that the letter said dissidents were bitter because they had been tortured and claimed they had been silenced by MK chief of staff Chris Hani and Tanzanian ANC representative Stanley Maibeleza.

They said they remained loyal to the spirit of the ANC, and hoped the letter would clear up misunderstandings as to their motives.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Mandela's admission that ANC members had tortured dissidents had come as a big shock, said Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk moderator Prof Johan Heyns.

"I am thankful that Mandela said torture was not the policy of the ANC," he said.

● Comment: Page 8

CHERYL Carolus, western Cape publicity secretary of the UDF, is one of the youngest and, many would argue, most radical of the ANC team chosen for exploratory talks with government next month.

Carolus, an energetic UDF campaigner, was born in the Cape Flats suburb of Silvertown in 1957. Politically active at the age of 13 and the first woman to be detained in the western Cape, she believes her inclusion in the team has much to do with her leading role in women's politics.

"I think my election is a very concrete manifestation of the ANC giving life to the anniversary statement in which it acknowledged the role and under-representation of women in politics," she says.

Apart from her relative youth, Carolus's political profile is different from that of most of the other members of the 11-member team. She has not been in exile and, as a regional leader of the UDF and the Federation of SA Women, has been involved in much of the groundwork which has maintained the momentum of black defiance and political action within the country.

A delegate for black youth

BUSINESS DAY
17 APRIL 1990

LESLEY LAMBERT
in Cape Town

While she could never have the charismatic or mythical appeal of many of the exiled or jailed ANC members, she has been closer to the people they represent and probably has a clearer understanding of one group in particular — the black youth of whose support ANC leaders appear most uncertain.

Carolus, a teacher who is currently employed in a non-academic position with the University of the Western Cape's Education, Resource and Information Project, has also established close links with exiled ANC members during her political career.

In 1986, she was a member of the first UDF delegation to meet the ANC. The delegation was limited to those who were allowed passports and Carolus was detained for a second time on her return to SA. She also attended the OAU meeting last year at which the ANC endorsed the Harare Declaration, outlining its preconditions for negotiations. And

it was at the Paris indaba in November last year that she learned that she had been elected to her current position as publicity secretary of the UDF's western Cape branch.

Carolus says members of the ANC team will attend the meetings on May 2, 3 and 4 with a strong national mandate which they hope to achieve by active consultation with exiled and domestic ANC members. The mandate will be built around the conditions of the Harare Declaration, which include indemnity for returning exiles, the release of the 3 000 political prisoners still held throughout the country, an end to the state of emergency and the removal of troops stationed in townships.

She disputes suggestions that the

ANC is not ready to negotiate, saying the process of "talks about talks" would have started earlier if government had not been unwilling to grant indemnity to leading ANC exiles wishing to return. And she is angry that people questioned the justification for calling off the April 11 talks after the Sebokeng shootings, in which it is claimed 19 people were killed and many more injured.

"If Umkhonto we Sizwe had planted a bomb in a supermarket which killed and injured the same number of people, would there have been the same argument against the justification?"

On whether the decision to go ahead with the talks was based largely on concern at the outbreaks of violence, particularly in Natal, and the apparent inability of the ANC and government to solve the underlying causes, Carolus says: "The ANC has consistently tried to find a solution to the problems in this

country, but up to now the National Party has refused to become involved in discussions. The ANC has decided to go ahead with its commitment to a peaceful solution in our country. It is not posturing."

Of the negotiations which will follow if the obstacles are removed and the "right political climate is created", Carolus says a constituent assembly is the ANC's favoured constitutional mechanism.

"There is a lot of confusion about the negotiations. The ANC does not arrogate itself a place in the negotiations. It wants to be democratically elected to the position and is confident of substantial support."

That Carolus is committed to her cause is without question. In an attempt to track her down for an interview, I was informed by a colleague that she was off sick.

"It's either flu or exhaustion," he said nonchalantly.

It is also understood she and her new husband, UWC lecturer Graeme Bloch, decided to postpone their honeymoon because they wanted to attend an ANC motorcade protest after the wedding reception.

LETTERS

Mandela: retreating from the facts

BUSINESS DAY 17 APRIL 1990

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

Dear Sir,
NELSON Mandela is usually adept at Press conferences: he comes across as sincere.

Mandela, seeming to be a breath of fresh air, came as a relief despite being portrayed as the black messiah, a notion not of his choosing. In reality he is the popular leader of the ANC-UDF-Cosatu axis.

Bearing this in mind, I was sorely disappointed at what he had to relate at a conference called after a tour of strife-ridden Natal. Speaking off the cuff is never easy, but the quality of his reply to questions made one think that where the facts intruded, he retreated.

While it was safe to echo F W de Klerk that the events in the Natal killing fields are "shocking", how wise could it have been to impart his

revulsion at seeing the charred remains of a person burnt to death? Rightly or wrongly, the burning car tyre method of political killing is generally perceived to be a method of the axis forces.

Secondly, his remarked indignation at "uncontrolled" violence in our country came across as a bit tongue in cheek considering the fact the "armed struggle" is still to be waged.

Thirdly, while it is a national tragedy that our compatriots are murdering each other, and a bigger one that some whites, abroad and at home, are unmoved at this spectre of gross inhumanity, how useful can it

be for Mandela to introduce a racial category in the light of the espoused anti-racism of the axis?

ETIENNE PHILBY
Northcliff

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,
A REPORT appeared in your issue of April 12 under the heading "Bafokeng acting chief sues for return of R4m mine royalties". While not factually incorrect in any of its material

contents, it is misleading, more particularly in the following respects:

□ The article creates the incorrect impression that our firm opposed the application. Our firm did not oppose the application, but elected to abide the decision of the court, our attitude being that our position was merely that of a stake holder;

□ Acting as his attorneys, we represented Chief Edward Lebone Molotlegi in his defence of the application, but this in no way detracted from our attitude in relation to our personal position;

□ The chief himself has at no time been exiled as your article suggests,

but elected voluntarily to leave Bophuthatswana due to the alleged harassment of himself and his wife;
□ In his defence of the application, Chief Edward relied not only on the merits of his position, which is that he continues to remain the chief of the tribe, but on two points *in limine*, namely:

That the courts of the Republic of SA do not have jurisdiction to hear the matter by virtue of the fact that both he and the applicant are peregrini of the Republic of SA; and that the applicant should have foreseen the disputes of fact that existed prior to launching the application, and should not have proceeded by way of application.

S E HURWITZ
Joel Melamed and Hurwitz
Johannesburg

LAST week I wondered whether SA might not be a lot better off if the ruling party stopped thinking of whites as an endangered species that could survive only on some special constitutional reservation, and started instead to sell itself as an indispensably integral part of the country's economic and political future by, among other things, opening its ranks to all comers.

The odd idea that "non-white" South Africans deserved a say in their fates even if they chose to remain outside the ANC was greeted with hoots of derision in some quarters. Perhaps in expectation that this innocent abroad will provide yet more merriment, I have been asked to defend myself.

The principal objection to my argument is that it is based on a hopelessly millenarian disregard for the SA's history and culture and therefore "strains the tragedy out of the situation". In other words, it is as though I had reacted to Hamlet by saying: "Gee, wouldn't it have been neat if the prince's stepfather hadn't poisoned his real father because then there would have been no ghost demanding vengeance, and the poor boy would have been able to dither on happily ever after."

Of course, had there been no initial murder and family intrigue, we would all be deprived of a great play and the cathartic thrill of seeing a stage piled with bodies as the curtain comes down. Perhaps, for my critics, the play's the thing...

So let me plead guilty as charged. Yes, I believe SA's script is in need of drastic emendation so as to achieve the dulllest of dull denouements — a society, like America's, where most people cannot be bothered to vote because they have every reason to believe their continued pursuit of happiness is constitutionally protected from whatever ambitious clown or faction their fellow citizens might choose to govern them. If that is a millenarian aspiration, so be it. At least it is preferable to the defeatist

Fatalism could be dangerous flaw in white bargaining

BUSINESS

SIMON BARBER

DAY

17 APRIL 1990

determinism that appears to have infected so much of this country's intellectual elite.

In this regard, Rian Malan's book, *My Traitor's Heart*, tells a quite different story now that I am down here than it did when I first read it at home in Washington. There, it seemed a badly needed jolt to Americans who insist on seeing in SA a re-enactment of the civil rights morality drama: no, said Malan, it is not Selma, Alabama, all over again when a drunken white man shows off to his friends and family by beating the maid's boyfriend to death at a braaivleis, or striking miners daub themselves with ritual potions before marching off to do battle with the management's security force, or a mass murderer in Zululand is motivated by the anger of his ancestor's shades.

This, I now realise, was only part of Malan's point. He reserves his real scorn for the adolescent romanticism of the white student he sees toying-toying like a broken marionette in a Cape Town demonstration.

His conclusion, reached after the death of Neil Alcock in a Zulu faction fight at Tugela Ferry, is that if the white man wishes to stay in Africa (or cannot obtain an Irish passport),

he has two choices: either to stockade himself behind razor wire and superior firepower — at best a temporary expedient — or to go gently and acceptingly into Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. A more despairing fatalism is hard to imagine, but I have heard it echoed, with varying degrees of subtlety, almost every day for the past month. And that is scary.

Fatalism is scarcely an ideal frame of mind in which to enter a negotiation on a new constitutional order; much less to manage the preparatory phases which will determine in advance just how representative of popular sentiment any new constitution will be and, therefore, how much bloodshed and chaos will ensue thereafter.

Because it feels trapped by history, government is apparently preparing to cut a deal much in the manner of an executive of a major manufacturing facility I spoke to last week. His plant, despite offering some of the best employment conditions in its industry, has been racked by unrest of an increasingly quixotic and intractable nature.

Even when it seemed to want to be

helpful, the union wasn't. No agreement ever stuck. Grievances of an ever more illogical nature kept proliferating. Either the union couldn't control its shop stewards or their rank and file. Or hidden agendas were at play. There was nothing left for management but to treat with the strongest higher power. That power was the ANC and in the end not even it could guarantee the peace. The plant was closed indefinitely a few days after our conversation.

This, it seems to me, is in microcosm how government is proceeding in the management of the nation's future. In the company's case the recourse was at least understandable in that the ANC was, for the time being at any rate, the single most powerful organised force in the area. However, the same cannot be said of the ANC's hold over the country as a whole. Indeed, the question is hotly disputed even within the nominally ANC-aligned mass democratic movement.

So how does the government respond? Not only does it seek out the ANC, as the factory management did — it goes the additional step of helping it develop the authority and cohesion it does not yet possess.

In essence, President FW de Klerk and his men are working to build an organisation sufficiently confident to be kind in setting the terms of the National Party's surrender (whites will have a comfortable internment camp of entrenched protections) and formidable enough to abide by and enforce those terms in the face of whoever, to right or left, might be disposed to object. It is a project breathtaking and unprecedented, and surely, in its numbingly undemocratic method, doomed to trigger savage reaction from those left out in the cold.

Eastern Cape UDF leader Mkhuzeli Jack gave a flavour of what may be in store when he casually predicted to me last week that the new SA would quite likely have its very own Unitas and Renamos. Not everyone could be expected to submit quietly to the new arrangements that were being worked out for them.

"Our ambition as an organisation is that everyone should join," Jack explained. "We are committed to a multi-party system, but would rather not have to have one because everyone supports us."

Of course, one also had to understand that "no amount of accommodation will save us from reactionary elements" — whether they be the Conservative Party, the PAC or Inkatha.

With regard to the last, Jack felt it most important that Nelson Mandela not talk to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, especially now that the latter looked to be on his last legs and would only be strengthened by a meeting with Madiba.

Such thinking is a recipe for hell. The most frightening thing is it comes from an otherwise admirably sensible man. Capitulation to Jack might almost be a pleasure. After all, he regularly takes tea with the very security policemen who until quite recently were dangling him out of helicopters. He will easily forgive, and perhaps even employ, those who put him in power. But what about the rest?

☐ Barber, *Business Day's* Washington correspondent, is visiting SA.

FINANCIAL TIMES

17-04-90

FINANCIAL TIMES

17/4/90



Mandela warns on talks with Pretoria

By Patti Waldmeir in
KaNyamazane, Transvaal

MR NELSON MANDELA (above), deputy president of the African National Congress (ANC), yesterday warned he would call off negotiations with the South African Government unless Pretoria did more to "control police and right-wing white vigilantes".

Speaking at the annual conference of the South African Youth Congress, the country's largest youth organisation, Mr Mandela delivered a hard-line message aimed at Pretoria, and at black homeland leaders who support the Pretoria Government.

"If Mr de Klerk, the South African president, continues to sit down with his arms folded while police shoot our people, and right-wingers defiantly march around shooting innocent people, then negotiations have no future whatsoever," he told a crowd of 1,500 young activists, many of them dressed in paramilitary uniform and chanting military slogans.

He claimed police had continued to use violence to break up peaceful demonstrations, despite his meeting last week with Mr de Klerk, called in protest at police action.

In some conservative towns in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, right-wing whites have formed armed organisations dedicated to the protection of white interests.

In a recent incident in Welkom, a mining town in the Orange Free State, a black man was beaten to death by whites; community activists report a number of other such attacks.

Addressing a youthful audience, many of whom find Mr Mandela's policy of negotiating with Pretoria too moderate, the ANC leader was careful to balance his criticisms of Pretoria and its representatives in black homelands with a firm call for discipline and tolerance of rival political organisations.

Homeland leaders who had recognised the "mistake" of participating in administrative structures created by Pretoria should be welcomed into the ANC with open arms, he said. Those who continued to "defy the wishes of the people," however, were "headed for disaster."

Mr Mandela stopped short of calling for insurrection in black homelands, many of which have been convulsed with violence since political activity was liberalised two months ago.

Traditional chiefs in the homeland should be shown respect, the ANC leader said, stressing that it would be difficult for the ANC to organise in the homelands unless it had the co-operation of chiefs.

However, in a subsequent address to the conference, Mr Mohammed Valli Mossa, assistant general secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said the anti-apartheid movement might try to turn the homelands into "liberated areas."

He identified a number of recent policy shifts from the UDF, including a decision to urge supporters to occupy what he called "unused land", in an attempt to deal with the problem of landlessness among blacks.

An unprecedented level of mass protest was occurring in homeland areas, he said, noting that the focus of protests had shifted from urban areas to rural areas, including homelands.

However, he admitted that the upsurge in mass protests, which had taken place since Pretoria unbanned the ANC on February 2, was unco-ordinated and largely beyond the control of the anti-apartheid movement.

Protests were based on local demands only, and needed to be orchestrated into a nationwide campaign to put pressure on Pretoria.

The aims of such a campaign should be to insist on the formation of an interim government to rule the country, and on non-racial elections to a constituent assembly.

South African activists must not make the same mistake as those in East Germany and Nicaragua and lose touch with the grass roots.

They should organise street committees to prepare for "people's power," and an anti-crime campaign to deal with one of the main preoccupations of blacks - the high rate of crime in South Africa.

17/4/90 Star

48 deaths in a week, but Easter 'quiet'

By Craig Kotze

Natal township fending yesterday, bringing the death toll in the region since last Wednesday to at least 48.

Seven of those killed were murdered in the Port Shepstone area, police said.

A man and two women were dragged from their homes at Izingolweni and hacked to death. Their bodies were set alight near the Qinga River.

Another four people were murdered yesterday in the area, while fighting in Natal on Sunday left 10 people dead, including a soldier.

A baby was burnt to death last night when a house was set alight in Imbali near Maritzburg, according to a DP monitoring group. The baby's mother was injured and admitted to hospital.

Nine of Sunday's deaths were reported from the Port Shepstone area, police said.

The bodies of four men shot dead were found at Msimini.

A 43-year-old man was murdered after a mob attacked a house in Oshibini.

Two men and a woman were killed and nine people were wounded at Kolokolo near Paddock after a mob attacked a kraal with rifles and shotguns.

Also in the Paddock area, the body of a man was found at Nkulla.

A South African Defence Force soldier, Rifleman Stanley van Wyk of the Cape Corps, was killed on Sunday when gunmen opened fire on an SADF patrol in Mmualanga near Hammarsdale.

Three suspects were arrested. The attack was the second on security force members at the weekend.

An unknown gunman shot and wounded Constable B Shangase in the neck in Imbali on Saturday as he entered a shop to buy food.

According to the DP monitoring group, the township unrest in Natal over the Easter weekend was "quieter than expected".

Townships 'far from stabilised'

Crime Reporter

Unrest in strife-torn Maritzburg townships was still far from being stabilised and the situation was nowhere near normal, despite security force action, the police commander entrusted with suppressing township violence in Natal said today.

And the factors contributing to the outbreak of bloody warring between the UDF and Inkatha were still present, and still largely unaddressed, says Brigadier Jaap Burger.

"It is a very complex problem and the whole of Natal is affected. We can only take care of the symptoms of this situation, but the real causes are still there and have not been removed.

"The security forces cannot fight the causes of the violence. People must start talking in Natal," he said.

Brigadier Burger said policing actions had dramatically reduced organised violence in areas such as Edendale's "Valley of Death" but individual attacks and assassinations were continuing.

He said the violence, which has left more than 100 people dead, hundreds injured and hundreds of houses burnt down over the past month, had gone beyond the original Inkatha/UDF power struggle and was now characterised by revenge attacks.

"Natal is still a tinderbox and the situation is still very fluid," Brigadier Burger said. His strategy had been to saturate the affected areas with as many security force members as possible.

"Our main priority has been to pacify the Maritzburg and Mmualanga townships."

British tabloid newspapers attack 'no saint' Mandela

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela's whirlwind visit to Britain has been bathed in an intense media spotlight, with several conservative newspapers launching bitter attacks on the ANC leader and a claim that the Reverend Jesse Jackson had likened Mr Mandela to Jesus Christ.

Yesterday morning three tabloids — the Daily Mail, the Sun and the Daily Star — published highly critical reports.

The Mail devoted two pages to stories under the general headline of "Savagery behind the Saint".

Reporter Paul Johnson wrote that Mr Mandela should "listen to the advice of Mrs Thatcher rather than that of his admirers".

And he concluded that: "The rest of us should remember that he is neither a saint nor a political genius, but a man of some goodwill but also with a lot of impractical and dangerous ideas."

A report on the alleged torture of ANC guerillas is headlined: "His organisation has the brutal viciousness of the regime it's fighting."

A third report in the same paper by Michael Streeter claimed it is "surely a great irony that ... Mr Mandela,

spiritual head of an avowed Marxist organisation, will preside over a demonstration of the free market economy working overtime".

The Sun whipped up a storm on its front page, claiming that the Rev Jackson "called him the new Jesus Christ".

Mr Jackson had said Mr Mandela won the respect of the world "in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering". He described Mr Mandela's release from jail as a "resurrection".

The Daily Star calculated the cost of the concert at about R720 000.

A far more positive slant was put on the coverage by the left-wing Daily Mirror, which has had unhindered access to Mr Mandela by virtue of the Mirror Group's part sponsorship of his visit. It splashed a colour picture of Mr Mandela holding a white baby line: "the hug of hope".

The newspaper quoted him as saying in an exclusive interview that he "learnt in prison not to hate the white man".

He also said he hoped to meet Mrs Thatcher in May and described her as a "very powerful lady — one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy".

'Victory to be in our lifetime' at Wembley

The Star Bureau

LONDON — In an address to about 400 South African exiles here yesterday, ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela said that "the (country) we have worked so long for and dreamt of is likely to be realised in our lifetime".

But he added: "The people of South Africa have reached a new level of militancy which sometimes frightens me."

"I have no doubt that the signal has been clearly given to the Government that a political solution between the ANC and the Government is the only way in which South Africa can be saved from a conflagration never seen (there) before."

He criticised those in the movement opposed to negotiations until the Government had fallen, saying there was no reasoning to their argument.

On the question of black unity, Mr Mandela said a great deal of progress had been made, but more was needed as the opposition could not afford the luxury of a divided movement.

He was clearly encouraged by the spirit of the exiles: "I would have expected that exiles who have been away from home for up to 30 years to be overwhelmed by gloom and frustration. However, the high status of morale is absolutely staggering."

By Sue Leaman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr Nelson Mandela was given the full superstar treatment at Wembley Stadium last night by an ecstatic 72 000 crowd.

Musicians more used to being the objects of adulation themselves tried to outdo one another in heaping praise on the ANC deputy president.

Patti LaBelle, who met Mr Mandela backstage, was thrilled at just having made eye contact with him. "It was like the blood of Jesus just washing over me," she enthused.

Little Steven called on the crowd and millions watching in 26 countries to join Mr Mandela in stepping up the fight against apartheid. "Mr Mandela is going back to negotiate. We've got to give him something to negotiate with — that means sanctions."

Such statements from performers were officially frowned on, but after Mr Mandela had delivered his rousing sanctions call, most of the performers ignored the BBC's injunction to keep political comment to a minimum.

When Mr Mandela moved from the royal box to the stage, the crowd treated him to a tumultuous ovation which lasted a full five minutes.

His 20-minute speech was punctuated by more rapturous cheering.

The
Star
17/4/90

ANC man justifies the torture of mutineers

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — A top-ranking member of the African National Congress, Mr. Steve Tshwete, has justified the torture of former members of the organisation, saying they had been South African agents or mutineers.

He added that it was not the ANC's policy to torture its prisoners and that those responsible for the torture had been "properly dealt with".

Speaking at the closing session of a conference on health in southern Africa, Mr Tshwete said some of the cases of detention arose from a mutiny in 1982 among members of the movement's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"No army can play with mutineers. We had to suppress the mutiny with all the force at our disposal, just as any army would do when faced with a mutiny," he said.

He accused the South African Government of sending "assassins" into Zambia and Zimbabwe to kill ANC leaders.

"We cannot be expected to play ball with agents of the enemy whose avowed aim is to kill and eliminate leaders and members of the movement."

There had been "excesses" during some of the interrogations but "those responsible for this have been properly dealt with", Mr Tshwete said.

He added that the ANC had a code of conduct which laid down the rules of how people detained should be treated.

Nearly two weeks ago, a group of former ANC guerillas said they had been beaten and tortured in camps in Angola after a rebellion against the ANC leadership.

The men, who fled to Kenya from Tanzania, have since then said they fear for the fate of 110 to 120 fellow ANC dissidents detained at camps in Uganda.

Cosatu wants to run country warns Buthelezi

ULUNDI—KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a scathing attack on the Congress of South African Trade Unions, yesterday accused the organisation of aiming to become a government.

In his policy speech delivered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Dr Buthelezi said Cosatu was building power bases which went far beyond that which a trade movement would require to do its trade union job.

'I predict ... that we will yet see the Cosatu dog bite the ANC master and shake it like some vicious brute turned master killer,' he said.

'Trade unions have a job to do. Black political parties have a job to do and God help South Africa if we do not keep these two separate.'

'The way Cosatu is developing, it is quite clear that Cosatu is looking forward to becoming a Cosatu government over a Cosatu-run South Africa.'

Leper

Dr Buthelezi said he would not tolerate political interference in trade unionism. 'Nor ... will I tolerate trade union interference in my politics.'

'There are two totally incompatible roles that Cosatu is trying to play — it is trying to use workers and it is trying to spend workers in the pursuit of national political objectives, while it is trying to define a worker role to increase South Africa's economic efficiency.'

Dr Buthelezi questioned how Inkatha could sit down and talk peace with Cosatu while the union continued treating him as a leper and Inkatha as a pariah organisation.

Dr Buthelezi said the demoralisation of Inkatha came from the fact that he had never given the word for Inkatha to go out on pre-emptive attacks.

Committed

'God knows if I had to say yes, let us go and clean that mess up there would be an awesome spectacle of absolute brute power sweeping all the muck out of the greater Pietermaritzburg area.'

However, this would not be right, he said, adding: 'Do not win victories by violence and have to govern by violence afterwards.'

Dr Buthelezi said Inkatha was committed to establishing a fair and just society through negotiation.

'There is going to be a new dynamic in Inkatha this year — a new claiming of new areas of centre-ground politics, a new striking of new alliances and new accords to create ever-widening circles of support bases for the politics of decency and justice.' — (Sapa)

Natal Mercury
(page 3 lead)

17/4/90

Two roads to peace in Natal, says Vlok

CAPE TOWN—Security action alone could not end the Natal violence and the Government was using political and socio-economic programmes as well, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

He was replying to a mini-debate introduced by Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg North, Mr Mike Tarr, questioning the Government on what steps it was taking in the country in general, and in Natal in particular, to end unrest.

South Africa had been the target of revolutionaries for decades and was attempting to find a permanent solution to the problem through the release of political leaders from prison, the unbanning of certain organisations, allowing protest marches and negotiating with various leaders.

It was also trying to eliminate grievances in education, housing and unemployment through socio-economic upliftment programmes.

There were various reasons for the unrest, such as revolutionary attempts to make the country ungovernable, power struggles within various factions and ordinary criminality.

Mr Tarr said the DP supported the steps to supplement the security forces and deplored the attacks on them and sympathised with their families.

However many questions remained to be answered, such as, whether Inkatha imps were simply being allowed to gather and launch attacks on opponents.

'How is it that with nearly 2 000 murders in the areas there have been less than 10 court cases?' he wanted to know.

Justice had to be seen to be done and the 'warlords' could not simply be allowed to continue intimidating witnesses.

There were many allegations of police bias and the perception of Mr Vlok visiting only Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not good.

He repeated the party's call for a commission of inquiry into the trouble while another DP MP, Mr Rob Haslam of Pietermaritzburg South, repeated a call to declare the region a 'disaster area'.

Mr Haslam said the steps which had been taken were 'too little too late'.

Compensate

He said the security forces would have to make it safe for displaced people to return to their homes, and bases would have to be established in KwaZulu

to encourage those who want to do so.

'But, some do not want to return and new settlements will have to be established,' said Mr Haslam.

'Secondly, community assistance will have to be provided. A team of assessors should be appointed to determine the losses families have suffered and funds should be made available to compensate them.

'We in Pietermaritzburg watched the swift response of the State to the tornado disaster in Welkom, surely the Pietermaritzburg area should be declared a disaster area,' he said.

Mr Vlok strongly rejected suggestions that he had spoken only to Chief Buthelezi. He pointed out, however, that local newspapers had shown that he had also spoken to the UDF, church leaders and other organisations. He had seen Chief Buthelezi in particular because he was also Minister of Police for KwaZulu and most of the violence was in KwaZulu areas.

Mr Moolman Mentz, the Conservative Party's spokesman accused the Government of not being able to apply the Internal Security Act.

Natal Mercury
(page 2 cont)
17/4/90

MERCURY

DOWN TO EARTH

RADICALS were again given a dose of realism in Parliament yesterday and it might well sensibly dampen some of their misplaced euphoria over the process leading to the new South Africa to which President de Klerk committed Government at the opening of the session in February.

There will be, he said, no 'victory' of the kind being predicted by the ANC in some of their propaganda about the country. There will be negotiations — not about partition; not about simple majority rule and certainly not about any formal 'handover' of power.

In what was clearly a broad introduction to the four-day parliamentary debate on his Vote — more specific issues like the future of the Group Areas Act and other issues to come later — President de Klerk emphasised that what he hoped for was full participation by all in a sharing of power at all levels with protections for minorities which all could acknowledge.

The route would be through negotiation and leaders outside, specifically the ANC, should moderate their language in the interests of furthering the peace process.

In reminding Mr Mandela and his followers that the continuation of the 'armed struggle' — reiterated by the ANC deputy president again at the London pop concert in his honour on Monday night — was totally inconsistent with a commitment to seeking peaceful solutions, Mr de Klerk emphasised that this was one of the obstacles in the way of negotiation which would be raised as a

major issue when he meets the ANC talks-about-talks team from May 2 to 4.

And considering that he leaves for an extensive European tour less than a couple of weeks later, his firm line on violence — while it might upset those bleeding hearts already confident of 'victory for the struggle' — should remind the more coherent and wise of the international community that solutions are yet a long way off, and also that Mr de Klerk is not about to tolerate whites being steamrollered into capitulation.

It should help the confused, the arrogantly confident as well as those claiming a 'sell-out' to blacks to get their thinking straight to hear it said plainly and with conviction by President de Klerk that government is 'not going to let the freedom and values that have been built up over three-and-a-half centuries be thrown overboard.'

Negotiations towards full participation by all, yes. But 'those who presently enjoy full political rights are not planning to apologetically disappear in any new dispensation' is a De Klerk sentiment we'd consider was unquestionably endorsed by the majority of whites.

And the sooner that is understood by all, the better — meaning mainly those of the Right who seek to make mischief in the hope of derailing the negotiation process as well as those already quite foolishly breaking out the champagne to celebrate the sort of 'uhuru' that brought abject poverty and successive disasters to the rest of Africa.

Buthlezi launches scathing attack on Cosatu

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a scathing attack on the Congress of South African Trade Unions, yesterday accused the organisation of aiming to become a government.

In a policy speech delivered in the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said Cosatu was building power bases which went far beyond that which a union movement would require to do its trade union job.

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He questioned how Inkatha could sit down and talk peace with Cosatu while the union continued treating him as a leper and Inkatha as a pariah organisation.

The demoralisation of Inkatha came from the fact that he had never given the word for Inkatha to go out on pre-emptive attacks, he said.

"God knows if I had to say yes, let us go and clean that mess up, there would be an awesome spectacle of absolute brute power sweeping all the muck out of the greater Pietermaritzburg area."

He said, however, that this would not be right.

Inkatha was committed to establishing a fair and just society through negotiation, he said. — Sapa.

halal W. Truurs (P1)
17/4/90

STAR 17 APRIL 1990

ANC must be a normal political party — Boraine

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — One of the ways in which some of the current violence in South Africa could be prevented would be for the ANC to move beyond being a liberation movement to becoming a normal political party, says the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine.

"It would be in their own self-interest to establish their headquarters inside South Africa and more especially to open branches in all the major centres of South Africa," Dr Boraine said.

"This would not only give them a visible face and base which is essential for any successful political party, but it would also enable them to use their quite considerable clout to lead people away from violent confrontation towards discussion, debate and argument."

In his editorial in the latest issue of *Democracy in Action*, Dr Boraine said there could be no doubt that the convulsions experienced in the newly

emerging South Africa had become fertile ground for right-wing forces.

"There has been a backlash and a lot of education is going to be necessary. Whites have to come to terms with the consequences of the long legacy of apartheid.

"An example of this is the popular uprisings in the Ciskei and other so-called homelands which were tragically accompanied by widespread arson and looting.

"It is inevitable that a society which has been repressed for so long will demonstrate in an exuberant manner. This can so often be capitalised on by a minority who desire to seek material and personal gain from the downfall of dictators and the joy and celebration of the oppressed."

Dr Boraine said what white South Africans were inclined to forget was that the homelands were a direct result of the National Party policy of divide and rule, which had meant that blacks were compelled to forsake their South African citizenship.

He said political changes and reform had to be reflected in the improvement of the quality of life of

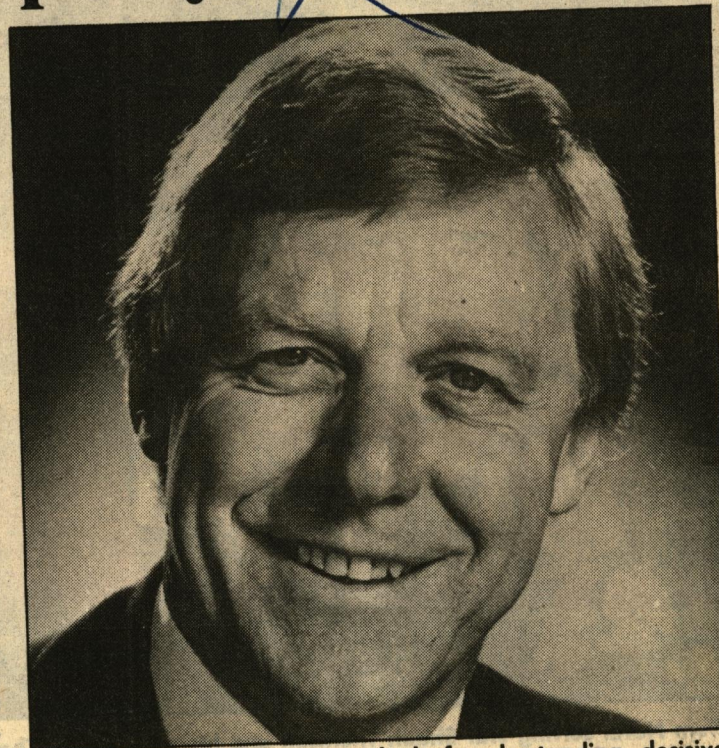
people if they were going to have any impact on the attitudes and mood of blacks.

"This is particularly true of the legitimate black grievances regarding the present economic system.

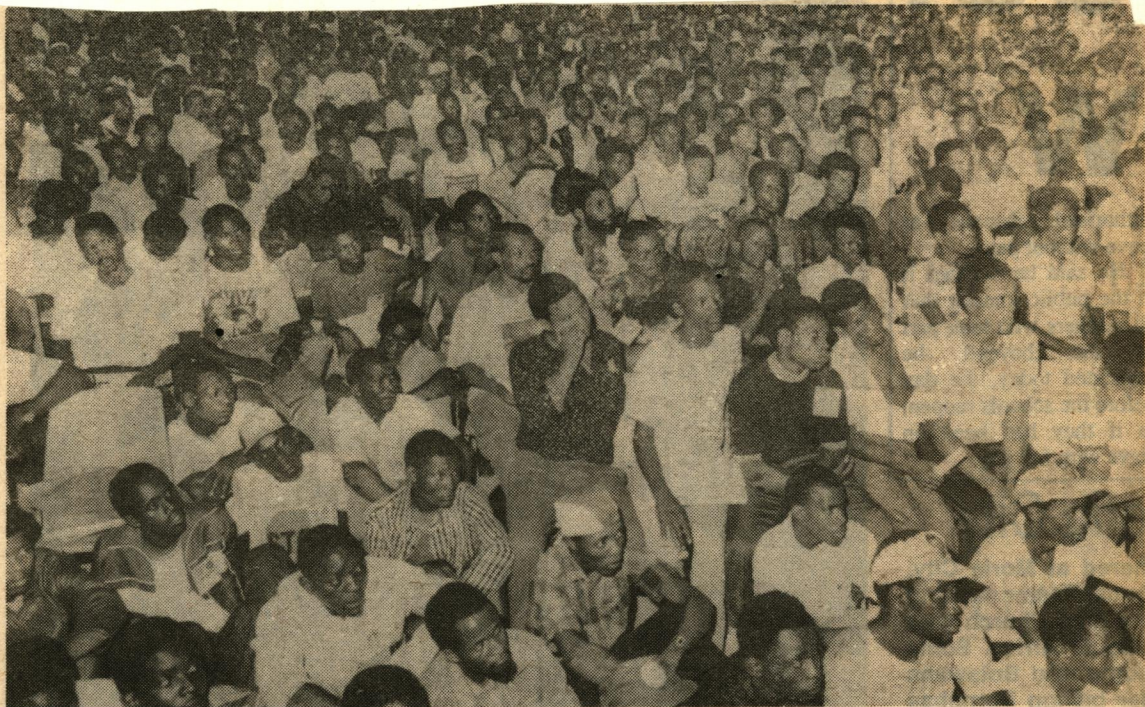
"It is unhelpful for the business community to simply denounce nationalisation and redistribution without clearly acknowledging that these genuine grievances exist and that demands made by the black community for a restructuring of the economic system are justified.

"If one can find common agreement that the restructuring of the economic system is necessary, then the debate can start as to whether nationalisation will bring this about or whether there are any other ways and means of restoring a just economic system in South Africa.

"The painful reality is that we have a vast chasm between a minority who are well fed and well clothed ... and the vast majority who are not only very often poorly clad, badly housed and unemployed, but in many of the rural areas actually face starvation."



"What is required is a great deal of understanding, decisive action, strong hearts and cool heads," says Dr Alex Boraine.



More than 1 500 delegates from all parts of the country attended the first annual congress off the South African Youth Congress at Likazi Community Centre in KaNgwane at the weekend. The four-day congress was officially opened by ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela on Friday.

Be peaceful ambassadors, Mandela urges ANC youth

36000000 17 April 1990

By SY MAKARINGE
THE Deputy president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, at the weekend made an impassioned plea to members of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco) to stop using coercion, violence and harassment against people who differed with them politically.

Delivering a keynote address at Sayco's first annual congress at Likazi Township, KaNgwane, Mandela said the youths must respect the views of other "freedom fighters" outside the movement.

"You must persuade our people to join our

organisation. Any form of violence, coercion and harassment is against the policy of the ANC. Those who have attacked other people who are hostile to their aspirations are not disciplined members of the ANC. We sincerely hope that this appeal will not fall on deaf ears," Mandela said.

He said, as future leaders, South African youths had a special responsibility as far as discipline was concerned. He said he did not wish to see members of other political organisations assaulted.

The four-day congress - the first since Sayco was established about three

years ago - was attended by more than 1 500 delegates from all parts of the country.

Local guests included the Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, members of the Inyandza National Movement, Inyandza Youth League, members of the National Union of South African Students and South African National Students Congress.

Messages of support were received from as far as Denmark, Sweden and the United States of America.

In a hard-hitting speech, Mandela said the leader of the Conservative

Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was "involved in the process of frightening away whites". He was responding to claims that the CP was in possession of an ANC secret document which allegedly outlined a campaign by the organisation to eliminate right-wingers.

"His (Treurnicht's) only message is that of naked racism. He thinks only of whites in this country. Treurnicht wants to destabilise the forthcoming meeting.

Most Gazankulu civil servants back at work

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

Most Gazankulu government workers have returned to their jobs, and scholars in some rural areas are back at school, a Gazankulu government spokesman told The Star yesterday.

But other reports indicated that a widespread class boycott was still being observed in most areas throughout the homeland.

It has been established that 43

people are still detained in terms of emergency regulations.

The stayaway of scholars and civil servants in Gazankulu began six weeks ago, amid demands for educational grievances to be addressed. This was followed by widespread violence and unrest, which left 30 people dead and 300 huts destroyed.

Two members of the Giyani Youth congress yesterday said a decision had been taken to discontinue all boycotts immediately and urge scholars to return to school on Monday.

They said the decision was taken in the light of the Chief Minister Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi's undertaking to the United Democratic Front to release all political prisoners and pay all government workers their full salaries for March, despite their stayaway from work.

He also undertook to withdraw SADF and SAP units from all townships.

Meanwhile three members of the SADF, injured in a shooting incident at Nkowankowa last Thursday, have been discharged from the Tzaneen Hospital.

A fourth soldier, Rifleman D Ludicke, was transferred to the Pietersburg Hospital at the weekend, suffering from serious internal injuries which necessitated surgery. His condition was given yesterday as "serious but stable".

Anglo, NUM concerned over mine violence

By Shareen Singh

The recent spate of violent incidents on the mines, particularly in the Free State, is of major concern both to employers and the National Union of Mineworkers.

In the past six weeks there have been numerous work stoppages, sit-ins and protest marches against racial discrimination in the workplace. Segregated amenities, hoisting practices and racist attacks on black miners in Welkom have sparked industrial action.

Intervention by mine security during these protests has often resulted in violent clashes.

Mounting racial tensions in the Wel-

kom area between white rightwingers and black workers is intensifying the conflict and causing major problems in the area, NUM spokesman Mr Jerry Majatladi said.

A black mineworker wearing an ANC T-shirt was allegedly kicked and beaten to death by six white men last month. NUM also reported incidents of workers allegedly being abducted and beaten up by whites.

But the white Council of Mining Unions said the union was disturbed about the increasing number of attacks against its members by black workers since January.

The issue was raised in Parliament a few weeks ago and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok pointed

out that according to official reports, the incidence of whites attacking blacks was considerably more than blacks attacking whites.

Anglo American said NUM's campaign for "peace, justice and democracy", which calls on mineworkers to protest against alleged racial discrimination, was not in accordance with laid-down procedures.

The company's public affairs manager, Mr Adrian du Plessis, said last week that Anglo opposed racial discrimination in any form. Where evidence of racism existed, Anglo was committed to its removal, in consultation with those involved.

Anglo did not regard differentiation on the basis of seniority as discrimina-

tion. Management would not tolerate violence, as channels and procedures existed for the peaceful resolution of conflict, Mr du Plessis said.

NUM assistant general secretary Mr Marcel Golding criticised Anglo for making public statements on democracy and non-racialism but not putting them into practice.

NUM was concerned about the tense situation on the mines, in particular the excessive use of force by mine security personnel in dealing with mineworkers' peaceful protests against racial discrimination.

The cycle of conflict and tension was likely to continue if the issues were not seriously addressed, Mr Golding said.

Natal: police role questioned

Star - 17 April 1990

On March 28, South Africans woke up to the fact that something ugly was happening in Maritzburg. Headlines trumpeted the news in huge bold print: "Natal on the boil", "Thousands in impi attack".

Over the next few days there was a continuous stream of stories, documenting this fresh carnage. A force of up to 12 000 men, many carrying guns and some even armed with automatic weapons, attacked the same areas again and again. Gezibuso, kwaShange, Vulisaka, kwaMyandu, Caluza, Ashdown — these obscure place names kept appearing in a grim litany of mayhem.

Riding on the back of stories of young women gratuitously shot in their beds, babies drowned as refugees fled across the swollen Msunduze river, the glib explanation: on Sunday March 25, youths in Edendale stoned buses carrying Inkatha supporters to a rally at King's Park Stadium in Durban. The ensuing violence constituted their response.

By and large, this explanation was accepted uncritically. The superficial logic of cause and effect was not questioned, just as the deceitful term "black-on-black violence" is accepted for the explanation it isn't.

But parallel to these reports of what appeared to be an incomprehensible and general savagery, a second account emerged, put out by the ad hoc crisis committee, established after the initial attacks, with its headquarters at the Centre for Adult Education.

Members of the crisis committee, on call 24 hours a day, took statements from refugees, from the wounded, from people who had lost family and property. They travelled the lawless roads of Edendale and neighbouring Vulindlela and helped establish refugee camps. They ob-

In the first of a three-part series of articles, **MATTHEW KENTRIDGE**, a political researcher who has worked extensively in Natal, examines the background to the faction fighting in the province.

Political researcher Matthew Kentridge . . . has undertaken a detailed study of the recent Natal violence.



served first-hand the behaviour of the impis, the actions of the police.

In a report circulated on April 2, the committee stated that the violence was overwhelmingly one-

sided, and that Inkatha forces based in the Elandskop rural area were waging a massive, concerted and planned attack on non-Inkatha settlements in Vulindlela and the Edendale valley.

After collating a week's worth of information, the report demonstrated that over 90 percent of those killed were either anti-Inkatha or non-Inkatha supporters, and that out of more than 11 500 documented refugees, at most 100 people were Inkatha supporters.

The report also identified a number of other crucial points.

Stonings

● A week of murder and pillage which left more than 80 people dead is totally disproportional retaliation to the stoning of buses, particularly as such stonings are regular (though lamentable) occurrences, indulged in by both sides.

● Although the stonings occurred in Edendale, most of the areas attacked were distant from Edendale and the main highway.

● A force of 12 000 men does not simply coalesce spontaneously. Massive resources and logistical planning are necessary to co-ordinate its movements, provide transport, weapons, ammunition and sustenance.

● On the nights before the main attacks, large crowds gathered at the kraal of Mr David Ntombela, Inkatha branch chairman of kwaMncane and kwaZulu Legislative Assembly MP. Mr Ntombela, known locally as "Inkatha warlord number one", was also observed on the scene.

● This most recent eruption of fighting is marked off from previous cycles of violence in the region by the vast number of guns, and consequently, gunshot fatalities. Had the guns been stockpiled over a long period in anticipation of this offensive? Was some malicious third party running guns to Inkatha? The questions remain unanswered.

By far the most disturbing question, however, is why violence on this scale was allowed to happen at all. Where were the police? While houses were firebombed and communities attacked, where were the forces of law and order?

In Parliament the police stated that they were doing everything possible to contain the violence, but they were seriously undermanned.

The State President conferred with the Minister of Law and Order and the Minister of Defence.

About 2 000 troops were sent to Natal. Mr Vlok conferred with his generals; he appeared on television.

The police were wearing their responsible face for all to see.

But on the ground the story was quite different, yet grimly familiar for the residents of the area who have come to distrust the police, and, by extension, the whole apparatus of the law. Reports came in of police collusion with Inkatha; of police failing to respond to urgent calls for help; of police telling residents to leave besieged areas as they could provide no help.

On the other hand, the police intervened quickly and vigorously to disarm youths going to defend the borders of areas under attack from Inkatha. They also acted firmly to disperse a march by 500 unarmed women on Plessislaer police station.

The women were protesting against police partisanship towards Inkatha and many were arrested for their pains.

But beyond these perceived sins of commission were those of omission. Members of the crisis committee took statements from eyewitnesses who alleged that the police were actually preventing the SADF from intervening.

The army can only be deployed under police orders and these were not forthcoming. Through some of the worst fighting, platoons of soldiers stood by idle, halted on the Edendale highway unable to proceed.

These are serious allegations against the police, and the worst of it is they are not new. Political conflict in the Natal Midlands is endemic. The current wave of violence is part of a much longer and more deeply rooted process than many realise.

And there can be no resolution to it until the police start acting in a non-partisan, compassionate but professional manner.

Likewise, it is not enough to accept quick explanations for specific outbreaks of violence. It is necessary to dig more deeply in order to find the roots of the conflict.

THE NATAL MERCURY, TUESDAY, APRIL 17, 1990

THE FORUM

Letters
to the
Editor

Mandela hailed as a saviour

SIR — The ANC has announced its entry into the political arena and soon we can expect its constitution to be formulated and political candidacy to begin. This will make the ANC the only political party with a military wing with the exception of the current Government.

I hear rumours that the ANC intends staging a coup within three years if its demands for one man one vote and a black government are not met. One can hardly ignore this in the face of Nelson Mandela's refusal to attend peace talks, his call to intensify the armed struggle on all fronts, the increase of sanctions, and his call for nationalisation of the mines and restructuring of the economy.

The irony of it all is that this advocate of terrorism who stands proudly before communist flags is hailed as a saviour by Christian leaders. Desmond Tutu threw open the gates of Bishopscourt and prepared beds for Mandela and his wife Winnie, the very same Winnie who threatened to liberate the country with her matches, necklaces, hit list and football team.

The Ciskei and our local townships are suffering the devastation of those matches now, 185 000 rendered jobless in the Ciskei, 25 000 rendered homeless around Pietermaritzburg.

As surely as day turns to night, so will those who eulogise Nelson Mandela as their saviour reap their harvest in the hereafter.

BLACK IS NOW WHITE

MANDELA ON WAY HOME FROM LONDON

DAILY NEWS 17 APRIL 1990

LONDON: African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela left London last night, returning to the problems of South Africa after urging the world via a live television broadcast, and 70 000 people at the pop concert held in his honour, to maintain sanctions against his country to end apartheid.

Rain and temperatures in the single digits and plunging did not deter the Wembley Stadium crowd from jiving at R80 a head to the music of a phalanx of international stars for five hours, and from giving him a thunderous, minutes-long ovation when he walked on stage to address them. Mr Mandela stood with his wife Winnie and Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of ANC president Oliver Tambo.

Moments earlier, as a lone trombonist played the tune of Nkosi Sikilele iAfrika, thousands raised their fists in silent salute, while others sparked disposable cigarette lighters and held them high.

Addressing the crowd, and a claimed television audience of a billion people, Mr Mandela called for a firm rejection of any suggestion that the campaign to isolate apartheid should be wound down.

He and a few other political prisoners might have been freed, and the ANC unbanned, but apartheid — "a crime against humanity" — was still in place.

"Do not listen to anyone who says you must give up the struggle against apartheid."

In a clear reference to British Premier Margaret Thatcher having recently lifted some of her country's sanctions measures against South Africa, he said:

"It is only those who support apartheid who can argue that the Pretoria government should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken."

Mrs Thatcher said in a letter to the Anti-Apartheid Movement a few days ago that sanctions were "yesterday's issue".

Mr Mandela said: "The reward the people of South Africa, of Southern Africa and the rest of the world seek is the end of apartheid and the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy." — Sapa

ABOVE: Nelson Mandela raises his arms to a cheering crowd at Wembley Stadium yesterday.

RIGHT: British comedian Lenny Henry (left) and American actor Denzel Washington. Washington played Steve Biko in the movie Cry Freedom.

BELOW: Canadian rock star Neil Young performs at the concert in honour of Nelson Mandela.



Torture charges

time-bomb

Nelson Mandela admitted on Saturday that the ANC had tortured dissident members: "Once we discovered that malpractices were going on... we took immediate steps and made sure that these things do not happen again."

Former ANC members in Sweden and Kenya have given accounts of torture, execution and detention under appalling conditions by the ANC's internal security organs. They spoke of dissidents being given random beatings, burned with melting plastic and pelted with stones at detention camps in Angola. They said those who had criticised the ANC leadership had been executed or disappeared.

Last year similar revelations about Swapo, the Namibian liberation movement, cost it many votes in the election there, perhaps even losing the movement the two-thirds majority it sought in the assembly. The Swapo leadership mishandled the issue, suggesting anyone who asked a ques-

tion about dead, missing or tortured dissidents was a South African agent.

The ANC, or at least its recently released leadership, is in a better position to limit the damage. Mr Mandela and his colleagues cannot be held responsible for what has been happening while they were in prison. They can also point to the assassinations by South African agents which showed that the ANC had been thoroughly infiltrated by agents.

But the disturbing element is that most of the torture reported has been carried out on people who criticised the ANC leadership, not on suspected spies. The most serious known incidents were the result of a mutiny in Angola in 1983 owing to poor conditions in the ANC camps and incompetent organisation. The reaction of the Mbokodo, the ANC security organ, to the mutiny was vicious and uncompromising.

One leader of the mutiny interviewed in Sweden recently said he was put in an underground cell and beaten up for

RICHARD DOWDEN, Africa editor of the Independent in London, reports that the execution, torture and detention of alleged South African spies by the African National Con-

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MR NELSON MANDELA... we took immediate steps.



Mandela attacked by British papers

STAR 17 APRIL 1990

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela's whirlwind visit to Britain has been bathed in an intense media spotlight, with several right-wing newspapers launching bitter attacks on the ANC leader.

Yesterday morning, three tabloids — the Daily Mail, the Sun and the Daily Star — published highly critical reports.

The Mail devoted two pages to stories under the general headline of "Savagery behind the Saint".

Reporter Paul Johnson wrote that Mr Mandela should "listen to the advice of Mrs Thatcher rather than that of his admirers".

And he concluded that: "The rest of us should remember that he is neither a saint nor a political genius — just a muddled, out-of-date politician with some goodwill but also with a lot of impractical and dangerous ideas."

A report on the alleged torture of ANC guerillas is headlined: "His organisation has the brutal viciousness of the regime it's fighting."

A third report in the same paper by Michael Streeter

claimed it is "surely a great irony that ... Mr Mandela, spiritual head of an avowed Marxist organisation, will preside over a demonstration of the free market economy working overtime".

The Sun whipped up a storm on its front page, claiming that the Rev Jesse Jackson "called him the new Jesus Christ".

Mr Jackson had said Mr Mandela won the respect of the world "in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering". He described Mr Mandela's release from jail as a "resurrection".

Luxury

The Daily Star calculated that the cost of Mr Mandela's "two-day junket" for the Wembley pop concert was £80 000 (about R720 000), pointing out that he was staying in a luxury hotel and being whisked from appointment to appointment in luxury cars.

It commented in an editorial that it was "a very far cry indeed from the squalor experienced by his followers in South African townships like Soweto".

The Daily Express took him

to task in an editorial for not seeing Mrs Thatcher.

It asked if Mr Mandela was "altogether wise to allow himself to be enticed to a Wembley pop concert organised by those old-time hacks of the anti-apartheid movement who still refuse to concede that anything has really changed?"

At the weekend the Sunday Telegraph took a waspish look at the marketing of the concert, saying that "waiting in the wings to extract their pound of flesh will be the merchants of Mandela".

A far more positive slant was put on the coverage by the left-wing Daily Mirror, which has had unhindered access to Mr Mandela by virtue of the Mirror Group's part sponsorship of his visit. It splashed a colour picture of Mr Mandela holding a white baby across page one with a banner headline: "The hug of hope".

The newspaper quoted him as saying in an exclusive interview that he "learnt in prison not to hate the white man".

He also said he hoped to meet Mrs Thatcher in May and described her as a "very powerful lady — one I would rather have as an ally than an enemy".

'Youth must gain education to further militant ideals'

STAR 17/4/90

The Government wanted talks with the ANC because it had been "shaken militarily", ANC stalwart Mr Elias Motsoaledi told a rally near Groblersdal in the northern Transvaal at the weekend.

Speaking at Phokoane village, where he was born 66 years ago, Mr Motsoaledi said it was not appropriate for the ANC to abandon the armed struggle while the SADF was still armed.

He also called for an intensification of the liberation struggle, saying people should fear deceit rather than blood.

Mr Motsoaledi, a former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander in Johannesburg, called on the youth to gain education to

further militant ideals.

"To shoot down the enemy's aircraft you need mathematical knowledge, so get into the classrooms and learn military science," he said.

Mr Motsoaledi appealed to ANC supporters not to be hostile to chiefs.

Chiefs who were not members of the ANC-supporting Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) should be educated politically until they were won over by the people.

He said the ANC welcomed homeland leaders who were sympathetic to their people's demands, because they had been brought away from "the enemy". — Sapa.

ANC fighters

NATAL MERCURY

urge probe into torture

17 APRIL 1990

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Dissident ANC guerillas yesterday urged ANC deputy-president Nelson Mandela to appoint a commission of inquiry into torture allegations which one of them said was still continuing in ANC camps.

Mr Mandela admitted at the weekend that some of the men who had made the torture allegations had been tortured by ANC security members but said that 'immediate steps were taken to discipline those who were guilty of torturing other people'.

The leaders of the camp were also immediately dismissed, he added.

Speaking from Nairobi, one of the dissident guerillas who made the allegations, Mr Amos Maxongo, said that the torture would not stop as long as 'the people responsible for all the atrocities were still in power'.

Mr Maxongo said the dissident guerillas had urged Mr Mandela in an open letter to appoint a commission of inquiry into continuing torture in the ranks of the ANC.

Executions

Mr Maxongo claimed that Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) commander Mr Joe Modise was one of the people responsible for the 'executions in 1984'. (The men alleged earlier that seven ANC members were executed in 1984, following a mutiny by ANC cadres in ANC camps in Angola.)

'The torture is still going on today,' he added.

Mr Mandela said he wished to make it clear that the allegations were not made against himself or the ANC leadership but against the organisation's security department.

Mr Maxongo said it was disturbing that 'enemies of democracy' were included in the ANC delegation to hold talks with President de Klerk next month.

He referred to the inclusion of Mr Modise in the delegation.

Asked whether the group feared for their safety in the wake of their revelations, Mr Maxongo said that Mr Mandela 'must commit himself to secure us'.

He and the other men

were anxious to go back to South Africa but their return depended on preparations by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, he said.

● In the open letter the dissidents said they were bitter because they had been tortured and claimed that they had been silenced by MK Chief of Staff Mr Chris Hani and the Tanzanian ANC representative, Mr Stanley Maibeleza, who refused to allow them to tell other ANC cadres of their experiences.

Loyal

The dissidents said they remained loyal to the spirit of the ANC, and they hoped the letter would clear up misunderstandings as to their motives.

● Mr Mandela's admission has been slammed by the moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Africa.

The Rev Sam Buti said Mr Mandela's reaction to the torture allegations 'was pathetic' and that Mr Mandela should act immediately.

He said it was a shame that the ANC had tortured dissident members but welcomed Mr Mandela's admission and his courage in admitting the torture allegations.

The moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, Professor Johan Heyns, said the revelations had come 'as a big shock' to him.

'I am thankful that Mr Mandela said torture was not the policy of the ANC,' he said.

Archbishop Tutu was not available for comment yesterday.

Adulation and outrage

NATAL MERCURY 17 APRIL 1990

over concert for Mandela

Activists urged to help S A blacks

LONDON—Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday emerged briefly from the political shell she retreated into when her husband was released in February, to speak at a meeting in London and call on anti-apartheid activists to help black South Africans 'run that last mile to our liberation'.

Mrs Mandela and her husband arrived in London on Sunday to attend a pop concert yesterday in honour of Mr Mandela.

Mrs Mandela, known for her fiery speeches and defiance in recent years of the South African authorities, retreated into the passive role of Mr Mandela's wife when he was released, clearly leaving public politics to him.

Addressing activists who packed the Brixton Academy in south London on Sunday night, Mrs Mandela reportedly said: 'Standing here, I feel I am standing in Soweto.'

'Coming from that inferno of racial hatred, seeing these thousands of white faces before me tonight identifying with us makes me feel overjoyed.'

'You have identified with our call for sanctions and you have carried out demonstrations.'

'Mandela would never have been released from prison if it was not for the pressure you exerted on South Africa.' — (Sapa)

LONDON—Britain's major newspapers reacted with characteristic diversity — ranging from adulation to outrage — to Nelson Mandela's London visit to attend a pop concert in his honour last night.

Three of Fleet Street's 'quality' newspapers, The Times, the Independent, and the Guardian, gave front-page prominence to reports that Mr Mandela had chatted with two Foreign Office officials invited to an Anti-Apartheid Movement reception on Sunday night, and that a meeting with Premier Margaret Thatcher was at last confirmed for May.

Tenderness

The Daily Mirror tabloid, whose publisher's offer last week to fly Mr Mandela to London in a private jet was declined by the ANC, claimed in a 'World exclusive' that the organisation's deputy president flew into London 'pledging peace' and saying he had learned in prison not to hate the white man.

Under a banner headline 'The hug of hope', a large picture of Mr Mandela holding a white South African baby in his arms dominated the front page.

'This is the picture of tenderness that explodes the myth about Nelson Mandela spread by South Africa's apartheid rulers,' the Daily Mirror said.

Mr Mandela had been portrayed for so long as a violent revolutionary, but the picture was 'moving proof' of his tenderness.

At the other end of the spectrum, another tabloid, the staunchly conservative Sun, reported Mr Mandela 'flew into a storm when black American leader Jesse Jackson called him the new Jesus Christ', adding that clergymen and MPs were outraged at

the 'Easter insult'.

Mr Jackson, who flew to London to meet Mr Mandela again and attend the pop concert, said the ANC leader had won the respect of the world 'in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering', and described Mr Mandela's release from jail as a 'resurrection'.

The Sun gave prominence to Mrs Thatcher's reported snub of Mr Mandela from her Bermuda meeting with US President George Bush, when she declared: 'I will not stay in a four-star hotel in Europe and condemn the people in South Africa to poverty because of sanctions.'

Mr Mandela and his wife, Winnie, are staying at the Churchill Hotel in London, reportedly in the same suite occupied by President de Klerk last June, and the one used by President Bush.

The Daily Mail, also conservative, went further, calculating that costs of first class flights for the 15-strong entourage and other expenses, such as the hotel and limousines, to be footed by concert organisers, totalled about R350 000.

Suffered

Another article, under the headline 'Rock sells out as Marxist ideals dance to a capitalist tune', drew attention to the multi-million-rand concert and the sale of associated souvenirs to raise money for the 'cause'.

The Daily Express said Mr Mandela had arrived in Britain to be 'hailed as a modern-day saviour', and quoted Mr Jackson as saying: 'It is like Easter. After 27 years in the tomb the stone was rolled away and he was resurrected. New life and new hope abound everywhere.'

Mr Mandela had 'literally suffered his way into power ... no one else in the world ... has

gained the respect of the people of the earth as he has in the same way that Jesus did, through suffering'.

The Times, Independent and Guardian concentrated their reports on Mr Mandela to the subject of his having finally confirmed he would meet Mrs Thatcher in May on a second visit.

Mrs Thatcher invited Mr Mandela — by name and not the ANC collectively — to meet her even before he was released in February, but her invitation was not taken up in retaliation to her move to lift some sanctions measures against South Africa. — (Sapa)

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

17 APRIL 1990
Desecration

IN times of tension, the Jews are made the scapegoats, and the present spate of anti-Jewish incidents forms part of that tendency.

We cannot, however, find any relevance whatsoever between the mounting Right-wing backlash against the government's reforms and the Jews.

The Jews are not the government — and are not even in the government.

Therefore, what the government does cannot be blamed on the Jews.

Similarly, the Jews as such have nothing to do with the African National Congress.

Yet Right-wing extremists have singled out the Jews for attack, for no seeming reason other than that they find it necessary to vent their frustrations and hatred on this community.

In recent incidents, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging burnt an Israeli flag.

A pig's head was placed in front of the door of a hall in Kempton Park that was previously used as a synagogue.

A pig's head was placed on the seat of a Jewish councillor in Boksburg's Town Council chamber.

And now the Jewish section of Pretoria's Rebecca Street cemetery has been desecrated, with nine tombstones overturned and damaged and a room in the burial house set on fire.

Ugly slogans were also painted on walls and on tombstones.

The slogan, "Viva ANC", on a tombstone was supposed to suggest that the attack was carried out by the ANC. It has not been in the nature of the ANC to desecrate cemeteries, though it is not unknown for Right-wing extremists to do so.

We do not know who perpetrated this particular outrage, but those who did so are utterly despicable creatures.

Cemeteries are sacred ground and nobody can be forgiven for desecrating them, whether they contain the graves of Jews, Christians or adherents of any other faith.

Civilised people expect the dead to be left in peace — and the living to mourn their loved ones without their graves being defiled.

The painting of vile slogans, and the attempt to burn down a room in the burial house, adds to the depravity of those responsible for this particular attack.

We can understand the bitterness being felt by the Jews, who remember the six million co-religionists who died in the gas chambers of the Holocaust and who have a right to expect that in this day and age the evil of anti-Semitism has been finally destroyed.

That it has not been — that anti-Semitism is growing in a country in which Jews have made such tremendous contributions to the development of the economy, in medicine, the arts and other spheres of life — is a cause for grave concern.

Jews have also been upset by ANC Deputy President, Mr Nelson Mandela, embracing Palestine Liberation Organisation leader, Yasser Arafat, remembering as they do the terrorist atrocities for which Arafat has been responsible.

Not only that, they were offended by Mr Mandela's curt dismissal of their feelings when he said that it was "too bad" if they were upset. We had urged previously that Jews should not over-react to anti-Semitic incidents, but the cemetery desecration gives warning that they are not just targets for isolated attack, but that further attacks may be expected unless the culprits are caught and punished.

There have been reports that the Jewish Defence Organisation in America is training Jews here for their own defence, although Jewish leaders have denied this.

While we accept that synagogues, cemeteries and communal places must be defended, if necessary, by the Jews themselves, we do not believe that the Jews should build up any defence organisation that goes beyond this role.

In the final event, it is for the police to ensure that no section of the community, including the Jews, is singled out for attack, whether by Right-wing extremists or anyone else.

This makes the arrest of the culprits all the more urgent.

NATAL MERCURY 17 APRIL 1990

Escape from an alcoholic hell

'I HAVE no doubt I was born an alcoholic,' said Kim, a 29-year-old sales representative.

Both Kim and Bev (these are not their real names) serve AA's public information section, encouraging women alcoholics to join the AA fellowship so that they too can rebuild their lives through the support, understanding and shared experience of others at some 50 meetings held in the Durban area every week.

'I can honestly say that my first drink — a brandy and coke in a nightclub at the age of 15 — turned me into a fully fledged alcoholic,' said Kim.

'I hated the taste but I changed from a wallflower to the belle of the ball — I only ever drank for effect.'

By 17 she had had her first nervous breakdown, having taken on five 'A levels' (in the former Rhodesia) and, paranoid through alcohol abuse, she was terrified of not being able

Society still tends to look with tolerance or even amusement on a male drunk, but recoils in distaste from a woman in the same position. Even more tragic is the fact that the woman alcoholic often shares this bias, drinking in secret and feeling doubly guilty. But although women were once a negligible percentage of Alcoholics Anonymous' worldwide membership they now constitute a third of the members. With AA about to celebrate its 55th anniversary, WENDY KNOWLER spoke to two Durban women who both turned their lives around when they courageously admitted to being alcoholics two years ago.

to cope.

She dropped out and became an airhostess, a job with irregular hours which made it easy for her to conceal her habit.

'By the time I was 21 I would get home after an international flight at 7 am and before I collapsed into bed I'd crack open a bottle of brandy.'

'I used to feel like a million dollars when I was drinking, but the next day I'd feel like a million pieces.'

Growing increasingly paranoid, she lost her nerve for flying and moved down to South

Africa where she was employed as a 'rep'.

A second nervous breakdown followed.

'I would lie to my doctor about how much I drank so he didn't know what was causing my life problems.'

Five days 'sleep treatment' was prescribed and Kim continued on her cycle of self-destruction, all the while swallowing tranquilisers and anti-depressants prescribed by her doctor.

'I used to buy one of those big jugs of wine on the way home from work and polish it off before I went to bed,' she said. Like many alcoholics she was also eating badly.

Aged 27 Kim was diagnosed a manic depressive. 'I couldn't get into a lift, walk across the street on my own or go into a crowded restaurant,' she said.

Her boyfriend at the time was attending AA meetings and urged her to do the same.

'I went to that first meeting for his sake but I was made to realise that the only way to beat it was to do it for myself.'

'It was like an enormous weight being lifted off my shoulders. If I hadn't looked at AA I would either be in an asylum or a suicide case by now — I could not have carried on like that.'

The secret of AA is that those who suffer from what is universally accepted as the disease of alcoholism are told to take each day at a time.

'If someone had told me then that I could never drink again I probably would have gone out and burgled a bottle store, but I wake up each day and concentrate on getting through just the next 24 hours.'

'All those days have now added up to two and a half years... but although I've got rid of the alcohol, I'm still an alcoholic.'

LACK OF PEACE MOVES SLAMMED

THE NATAL WITNESS APRIL 17, 1990

LONDON—The International Freedom Foundation (IFF) has questioned Mr Nelson Mandela's presence at yesterday's Wembley Stadium pop concert billed in his honour by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In an advertisement it placed in The Times of London yesterday, timed to coincide with the concert, it said the slaughter of women and children in South Africa continued while Mr

Mandela and 72 000 pop fans enjoyed themselves.

Entitled 'While Nero fiddled ... Rome burned', the advertisement said that 3 000 black South Africans had been violently killed in the past three years.

It asked: 'Why can you, Mr Mandela, spare three days to attend this pop concert but not two hours to attend peace talks in Natal?' — (Sapa)

S A will be free soon says Mandela

NATAL MERCURY

17 APRIL 1990

LONDON—Nelson Mandela told a world-wide television audience last night that South Africa would be a free, non-racial and democratic nation 'sooner rather than later'.

His message to a live audience of 70 000 at Wembley Stadium and the vast global television and radio audience was dominated by a call for sanctions to be maintained.

In a sharp attack on British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher he said anyone seeking to 'reward' Pretoria for the few changes so far was a supporter of apartheid.

Mr Mandela had been spectacularly greeted by wave after wave of deafening cheering and whistling, and tens of thousands in the crowd giving the clenched fist salute.

The reception continued for several minutes as Mr Mandela stood with his wife Winnie and Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of the ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo.

By Ian Hobbs

He said: 'We are here today because for almost three decades you sustained the campaign for the unconditional release of all South African political prisoners.'

'During all the days we spent buried in the apartheid dungeons, we never lost our confidence in the certainty of our release and our victory over the apartheid system.'

He also said: 'We must however remember that only a few have been released. A greater number remain in prison.'

'We must also view it as a day of renewed commitment to the furtherance of the struggle against the system which keeps those outstanding sons and daughters of our people in jail.'

'The apartheid crime against humanity remains in place. It continues to kill and maim. It continues to oppress and exploit.'

THE FORUM

Letters to the Editor

NATAL MERCURY

17 APRIL 1990

Mandela hailed as a saviour

SIR — The ANC has announced its entry into the political arena and soon we can expect its constitution to be formulated and political candidacy to begin. This will make the ANC the only political party with a military wing with the exception of the current Government.

I hear rumours that the ANC intends staging a coup within three years if its demands for one man one vote and a black government are not met. One can hardly ignore this in the face of Nelson Mandela's refusal to attend peace talks, his call to intensify the armed struggle on all fronts, the increase of sanctions, and his call for nationalisation of the mines and restructuring of the economy.

The irony of it all is that this advocate of terrorism who stands proudly before communist flags is hailed as a saviour by Christian leaders. Desmond Tutu threw open the gates of Bishops court and prepared beds for Mandela and his wife Winnie, the very same Winnie who threatened to liberate the country with her matches, necklaces, hit list and football team.

The Ciskei and our local townships are suffering the devastation of those matches now, 185 000 rendered jobless in the Ciskei, 25 000 rendered homeless around Pietermaritzburg.

As surely as day turns to night, so will those who eulogise Nelson Mandela as their saviour reap their harvest in the hereafter.

BLACK IS NOW WHITE

Britain's reds search for a new identity

NATL MERCURY

17 APRIL 1990

STEVE PAGANI reports from LONDON

B RITAIN'S communists, latecomers to perestroika, are about to embark on their own mini-revolution which could spell the end of the party after 70 years.

Reflecting on a year which saw Communist governments collapse under the weight of popular protest, leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) say they too often turned a blind eye to corrupt rule in Eastern Europe.

Death knell

Chris Myant, the party's new international secretary, welcomed the events of 1989 which he said sounded the death knell for communism around the world.

'There is no longer an international communist movement and this is good.'

'Some who flaunt the label "communist" are among the perpetrators and supporters of some of the worst abuses against human rights and the environment,' he said in a hard-hitting report to CPGB leaders.

British communists are preparing for what is being billed as a 'make-or-break' congress early next year in which the party could transform itself beyond recognition or simply disappear.

'We cannot call for democracy, openness and truth on the part of others without accepting that we were wrong to welcome Stalinism,' Myant said.

Nina Temple, the party's new general secretary, said in an interview that British Communists should have condemned more strongly what was happening in Eastern Europe.

She said communists in the 1930s and 40s would not believe Stalin had begun a reign of terror, ordering massive purges.

'I think they should have believed it because there were a lot of communists who went to the Soviet Union and came back to say these things were happening.'

'I cannot make excuses for their attitudes,' said Temple, 33, who took over the party leadership in January.

Thousands left the party in 1956 when it backed the Soviet invasion of Hungary but 12 years later a moderate swing in the CPGB led its congress to condemn

the crushing of Czechoslovakia's Prague Spring reform movement by Soviet-led Warsaw Pact troops.

The CPGB also criticised the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 and the imposition of martial law in Poland in 1981.

Ties with China's ruling communists were broken after the Tiananmen Square crackdown last June, but despite their more critical stance leaders recognise reform of the party is long overdue.

Temple is heading moves towards one member, one vote, before the party launches its search for a new identity — at present officials are elected by the executive committee.

'Some who flaunt the label "communist" are among the perpetrators and supporters of the worst abuses against human rights and the environment.'

Reforms will probably lead to the CPGB dropping the word 'communist' from its name — a once unthinkable development turned commonplace as communist parties in Europe vote themselves out of existence or veer towards 'social democracy'.

'We have three options — to stay as we are, to give up altogether or change drastically.'

'The third way, which is the way I want to see things go, seems to be the one favoured by most of our members,' Temple said.

She said the CPGB could even dissolve itself as a party to re-emerge as an association or a forum for 'progressive' political thinking open to people from other leftist groups or parties.

Temple does not believe a communist party will ever get a candidate into parliament again.

The last time a communist sat in the

House of Commons was in 1950 when membership was at an all-time high of more than 50 000.

The CPGB power base has always been in Britain's trade unions rather than in parliament.

Communists still sit on the ruling executives of nearly all Britain's major unions.

CPGB leaders are calling a conference of delegates representing its 7 500 members in autumn to debate party reforms, and proposals will be hammered out at an extraordinary congress next spring.

'We feel there is space for peaceful, civil demonstrations to change some of the inequalities in Britain and maybe that's the area of politics which we will be putting our efforts into rather than standing as another party in elections,' Temple said.

New party

In 1977 a pro-Soviet group broke away from the CPGB to form the New Communist Party.

In 1985 a hardline faction controlling the party's newspaper the Morning Star was expelled from the party for campaigning against its policies and some later set up the Communist Party of Britain.

Sales of The Morning Star slumped to 10 000 in the mid-1980s when it ceased to be the party's newspaper but the glossy magazine Marxism Today, which took on the mantle of CPGB mouthpiece, tripled its sales in the 1980s.

'One of the things I think was wrong over the past 20 years was that we did not develop relations with other Left-wing progressive forces and dissidents in Eastern Europe,' said Temple.

'We have made absolutely clear that we do not want any special relationship with a communist party.'

'We may now have more in common with a socialist party or a social democratic party.'

Row over resurrection remark

LONDON—Conservative MPs and clergymen have attacked black American leader the Rev Jesse Jackson for likening Nelson Mandela's Easter visit to London to the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Evangelical preacher Mr Jackson said on Sunday that Mr Mandela's release from prison had been as much 'resurrection' as Christ's emergence from the tomb after crucifixion. He said the ANC deputy president had 'won the respect of the world in the same way Jesus got it, through suffering'.

N/Mercury
17/04/90
By Ian Hobbs

Right-wing Conservatives John Carlisle and Terry Dicks said the comparison between Mr Mandela and Christ was 'appalling and distasteful' at any time, let alone Easter.

Mr Dicks added: 'The sooner Mr Jackson gets psychiatric treatment in a secure hospital the better. How can any sane person compare Jesus Christ with a convicted terrorist?'

● See also Page 9

NATIAL WITNESS 17 APRIL 1990

Intimidation

THE report by Tony Oosthuizen on Clive Napier and Phil Mthimkulu's investigation into the relative calm prevailing in Sobantu was one I read with interest because I was closely involved with Sobantu at various times when I was the PFP MP for Pietermaritzburg North. Sobantu fell in my constituency. Some of their conclusions reached seem curious.

By the standards of most black urban townships Sobantu is quite a pleasant place and largely because a good deal of its infrastructure pre-dates ideological apartheid. Its small size, its old established families, its closely knit heterogeneity are all factors making for stability as Napier and Mthimkulu point out. The last houses were built in 1961, not 1954.

They make no mention of the vital role that the Committee of Twelve and its secretary, Mr Thami Mthlane, played in healing the wounds of violence and defusing other incipient violence. That Committee had ANC and Inkatha members on it but their real concern was to put Sobantu first and sink any political differences. The shield-bearing Inkatha members who marched in 1986 were rightly resented because most were from outside Sobantu and the residents did not want more violence. They had probably had enough of the ANC's violent strategy of ungovernability. The very poor and shameful results from the Sobantu High School are largely the fruit of the ANC's boycott policy as well. The alleged Black Consciousness refugees also became victims, according to Napier and Mthimkulu, of ANC vigilantes who are not strangers to murder.

Sobantu may or may not be largely ANC supporters and when there is a free, fair, democratic election without intimidation from political thugs we will know. To conclude that it is a "peaceful" place because the researchers believe it is homogeneously ANC supporting, is a theory which does not take into account the political intimidation and killing by the ANC and its allies, including those in the trade unions. As a small and socially homogenous community, the people of Sobantu decided to concentrate on local issues rather than be battered by political fascists. Certainly, the Committee of Twelve tried to do something positive when others could only boycott, kill and burn. Maybe the article should not have been headlined "Sobantu: the politics of Peace" but "Sobantu: the politics of intimidation?"

GRAHAM McINTOSH
Ntunda Farm, Estcourt

Justified criticism

I MUST congratulate and salute Mr Nelson Mandela, deputy president of ANC; and Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Namibia, for their concern and justified criticism of Israel's continued human rights violations against the just struggles of the Palestinian people.

It seems that the Jewish community of South Africa are upset by these leaders' heroic criticism of Israel's ruthless and barbaric oppression against the Palestinian nation. The Jews, it seems, are always screaming "anti-semitism" or "pro-Nazi", whenever concerned people speak out against Israel's terrorism and violation of human rights against the Palestinian people.

Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Sam Nujoma have not allowed themselves to be hoodwinked by the Zionist media. They have taken the trouble to dig a little deeper and have discovered that the Palestinian struggle is similar to the black people's struggles in South Africa and Namibia, with the exception that Namibia has been liberated and the process of change has begun in S.A., whereas in Israel the oppression against Palestinians is on the increase. Let the whole world know that Palestinians' homes are being blown-up indiscriminately. Ruthless massacres of innocent men, women and children are continuing every day in the occupied territories; and that Palestinian youth are being detained and jailed without trial. The Jewish people should not be upset by justified criticism of Israel's human rights violations but rather be ashamed of protecting the activities of Israel, whose record of violence against the Palestinian people for the last 40 years knows no parallel.

E. MAHOMED, Durban
• Letter shortened — Editor

INSIGHT

Torture charges time-

bomb

Nelson Mandela admitted on Saturday that the ANC had tortured dissident members: "Once we discovered that malpractices were going on... we took immediate steps and made sure that these things do not happen again."

Former ANC members in Sweden and Kenya have given accounts of torture, execution and detention under appalling conditions by the ANC's internal security organs. They spoke of dissidents being given random beatings, burned with melting plastic and pelted with stones at detention camps in Angola. They said those who had criticised the ANC leadership had been executed or disappeared.

Last year similar revelations about Swapo, the Namibian liberation movement, cost it many votes in the election there, perhaps even losing the movement the two-thirds majority it sought in the assembly. The Swapo leadership mishandled the issue, suggesting anyone who asked a ques-

tion about dead, missing or tortured dissidents was a South African agent.

The ANC, or at least its recently released leadership, is in a better position to limit the damage. Mr Mandela and his colleagues cannot be held responsible for what has been happening while they were in prison. They can also point to the assassinations by South African agents which showed that the ANC had been thoroughly infiltrated by agents.

But the disturbing element is that most of the torture reported has been carried out on people who criticised the ANC leadership, not on suspected spies. The most serious known incidents were the result of a mutiny in Angola in 1983 owing to poor conditions in the ANC camps and incompetent organisation. The reaction of the Mbokodo, the ANC security organ, to the mutiny was vicious and uncompromising.

One leader of the mutiny interviewed in Sweden recently said he was put in an underground cell and beaten up for

RICHARD DOWDEN, Africa editor of the Independent in London, reports that the execution, torture and detention of alleged South African spies by the African National Con-

gress has been a time-bomb ticking away for nearly a decade. The political impact of the revelations will depend on how the ANC's leadership handles it.

nearly three weeks after the mutiny was put down. The man, who asked not to be named, said the reign of terror began in 1981 when South African spies were uncovered.

"Any act of indiscipline was regarded as sabotage and then you were under suspicion," he said. "Some were executed for smoking dope. Others were forced to stand in the sun for hours or run with sacks of sand while being chased and beaten. I didn't expect people fighting apartheid to be guilty of such things."

The man, who had already been a secret member of the ANC when he fled from South Africa in 1981, said discontent grew because of the discrepancy among the lifestyle of the officers of Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the

ANC's guerrilla army and the ordinary troops.

Many who had fled from South Africa in 1976 were young people from townships who only wanted to pick up a gun and return to kill whites, he said. Instead, they were transported to the Angolan bush and kept in poorly supplied military camps. According to many dissidents, they were demoralised by poor food and living conditions and frustrated by never being sent on missions back to South Africa.

The rebellion finally erupted in 1983 when ANC fighters were deployed to fight Unita rebels in Angola. The leaders called a meeting to demand that Oliver Tambo, the ANC President, and Chris Hani, the political Commissar of MK, came to the camp to address their complaints.

Instead, the Angolan army was sent into the camp and eight leaders were publicly executed. At least three others were killed secretly. Others were sent to a punishment camp.

Gordon Moshoele said in a statement in 1987 that he was a camp political commissar in Angola until he was detained in solitary confinement from 14 February, 1981, until 22 July, 1982.

"The beatings are just random," he wrote. "Any warder who feels like beating up an inmate does it at any time. They use sjamboks, electric cables or sticks. The beating is done under the feet so people cannot walk... the worst of all is that there is no court and no sentence. I spent four years in this prison."

As the ANC exiles return to South Africa, there will be more revelations and calls for an enquiry. Those who have spoken out so far direct their anger at Joe Modise, the MK commander-in-chief. He is a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee and is on the ANC negotiating team which is to meet the

Government on May 2.

Some dissidents ask if the tortures and executions are still going on. The ANC has a prison in Zambia but many suspected spies or members of the 1983 mutiny have been transferred to Tanzania.

The ANC leadership has never denied that torture has occurred in the camps. Pallo Jordan, ANC Information Secretary, said recently that when spies were found, some members became paranoid but he insisted that those responsible for the torture had been disciplined.

Mr Hani told The Independent:
"We have always insisted in the movement that the morality of the ANC must be seen to be different from that of the other side. Torture is not our policy and it is important for us not to get dehumanised in fighting an inhuman system. But I want to say that sometimes enthusiastic young people committed such excesses."

Mr Hani said he did not know how many were still detained: "...not hundreds, we don't have many."

Torture Charges
Time-bomb.



MR NELSON MANDELA... we took immediate steps.

Mandela's plea to world: Don't provide prop for apartheid

No 'rewards for reforms'

Star 17 April 1990

The Star Bureau

London

Mr Nelson Mandela delivered a strong plea for sanctions to an international audience last night, attacking Mrs Margaret Thatcher's "rewards-for-reforms" approach as a prop for apartheid.

He told an enraptured Wembley concert audience and TV viewers in 26 other countries that "it is only those who support apartheid who can argue that Pretoria should be rewarded for the small steps it has taken".

Despite his criticism of Mrs Thatcher, the ANC deputy leader had earlier confirmed that he planned to meet the British premier, possibly next month.

Mr Mandela told an estimated 72 000 concert-goers: "There are some in the world who wish to support the South African Government by giving it rewards and carrots.

"But we, representing the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, turn to you for support, which we now need more than ever before."

He exhorted his audience to make a fresh commitment in the fight against apartheid, to "refuse to be demobilised, even if those who seek to demoralise us plead that they are doing so out of a new-found concern for the oppressed, and out of the goodness of their hearts.

"Reject any suggestion that the campaign against the isolation of the apartheid system should be wound down", he said. The reward that the people of South Africa wanted was the end of apartheid and "the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy.

'Wrong signal'

"That prospect will only become reality as a result of the struggle, including the struggle represented by the sanctions campaign."

He was optimistic about reaching his goal: "The dreams of millions of people to see our country free and at peace will be realised sooner rather than later."

At a Wembley media conference earlier, Mr Mandela said Mrs Thatcher was not welcome to visit South Africa as this would send a "wrong signal. We are opposed to her coming unless there is a settlement to end apartheid".

When he took the podium Mr Mandela was given a five-minute standing ovation by the crowd, which had braved a hailstorm to see him.

They were rewarded when he warmly thanked all those who had "chosen to care" about the anti-apartheid struggle.

The British government has welcomed Mr Mandela's decision to meet Mrs Thatcher. The Foreign Office said he had confirmed during a brief meeting with two British diplomats "that he plans to return to London later this year, when he hopes to see Mrs Thatcher".

He told the Daily Mirror that the first stop on his world tour, starting next month, was likely to be London to visit the British leader. A Downing Street spokesman said she remained "ready and willing, diary permitting", to see Mr Mandela.

● See Page 3.

2 security force members killed in unrest

CITIZEN
DURBAN. — Two security force members were killed and a third wounded when fired on in separate incidents by unknown gunmen in Natal over the weekend, police said yesterday.

At least 36 Natal security force members have died in unrest and murder incidents since January last year, according to police liaison officer Lieut Bala Naidoo.

Constable Bern McDade (24), a British immigrant, was found dead with a bullet wound in his neck — apparently from a small calibre pistol — on a grass verge alongside his car late on Saturday night.

Another bullet hole was found in the door of his car.

Const McDade was returning to the police station from a duty call to a farm outside New Hanover near Greytown when he stopped his vehicle for an unknown reason.

His body was found by police after a truck driver reported a stationery vehicle alongside the road with its lights blazing.

Cape Corps rifleman Stanley van Wyk (24), was shot in the leg while on patrol in Mpumalanga on Saturday. He later died from the injury. Four men were arrested

and an R1 rifle recovered, Lieut Naidoo said.

Constable B P Shangase of the Pietermaritzburg SAP reaction unit is in a "satisfactory" condition in Edendale hospital after he was hit in the neck by a bullet from an unidentified gunman on Saturday.

He had left the reaction unit headquarters to go to a shop when he was shot.

The SA Police daily unrest report says the bodies of four Black men who had been shot were found at Msimini, near Port Shepstone.

At Slagsbruit near Pietermaritzburg, a Black policeman was wounded in the neck when an unknown person fired at him.

At Nkulu in the Paddock area, police found the body of a Black man.

At Makobeni in the Umkomaas area, a cara-

van was damaged in a petrol bomb attack.

At Alexandra a number of shots were fired at a group of SAP members and a special constable was wounded in the left foot.

At Boichoko at Postmasburg in the northern Cape, a group of Blacks set fires in the road and stoned a police vehicle. A man was arrested in connection with this incident.

At Oshibini in the Port Shepstone area, a group of Blacks set fire to a house and murdered one of the occupants, a 43-year-old Black man. The house was extensively damaged.

At Kolokolo in the Paddock area, a group of Blacks attacked the kraal of a Black man, Duma (no first name available) with rifles and shotguns. Two men and a woman were killed and nine people injured.

17 APRIL 1990

Manhunt for slayer of New Hanover constable

By Rita van Graan

NATAL Midlands murder and robbery detectives have launched a massive manhunt for the killer of a young New Hanover police constable who was shot dead while on duty on the road between Greytown and Pietermaritzburg early yesterday.

Const Ben McDade (21), who joined the

police last year in June, had planned to get married on May 19.

Const McDade was found lying on the ground next to his police van with a bullet wound in the throat.

Indications are that he had personally stopped a vehicle and was shot.

He staggered towards the police vehicle some metres away before he collapsed and died.

Police said the police vehicle's blue light and other lights were still operating when the constable's body was found just after midnight.

Const McDade was dressed in complete uni-

form with his official firearm in his holster.

The incident occurred about one kilometre outside New Hanover while Const McDade was on patrol duty.

Detectives headed by Capt Pops Myburgh are investigating the murder.

COMMENT

Regimen of lies

THE return to normal politics in South Africa, it is becoming clear, will be neither quick nor easy. The violence which continues in Natal is one aspect of it; the lust for violence which manifests itself in the purchase of weapons among right-wing whites or in the slogans, such as "Mandela sell-out" or "One settler, one bullet" among blacks, is another aspect. However, the glorification of violence — and the rhetoric which accompanies it — is perhaps less corrosive than the culture of dishonesty in which violence thrives.

The attempt made in recent days by Nationalist mouthpieces to tar Nelson Mandela with the torturing of ANC dissidents in the camps in Angola and elsewhere is an example. The best retort is that Mandela was in prison when the atrocities occurred, and in admitting the truth he has acted more forthrightly and more honestly than the South African government in dealing with the atrocious activities of the murder squads which operated while the National Party leaders were certainly *not* in jail.

In smearing Mandela, the Nationalist Press not only runs the risk of discrediting a black leader who is more likely to be part of the South African solution than of the South African problem; it also invites reciprocal attacks on all members of the Botha Cabinet, including President F W de Klerk, who bore collective responsibility for the already admitted attempts of the CCB to commit political murder. A game of

moral tit for tat in South Africa will not leave many leaders untainted; the past does not bear too close an inspection.

The sad truth is that apartheid has had an effect on this country similar to that which Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel discerned during his own imprisonment by a totalitarian regime: life was reduced to a regimen of deceit. The pretences of the National Party in talking, for example, of "separate freedoms" when it meant integrated serfdom, or "the extension of university education" when it meant the restriction of university education, are well-known examples, refreshing in their dishonest simplicity. By a more devious route security services descended to murder and corruption.

Anyway, the deceit of government is matched by the deceit of its various opponents. To this day, the membership of the SA Communist Party remains a secret, enabling its agents to hide within other organisations and to corrupt them. Political intent is concealed by misleading titles and false definitions. The gathering of affidavits, and the pursuit of court interdicts which may confer on untested evidence a veneer of credibility, has become an industry. Much of our political discourse can be seen, now that it need not operate "underground", as simply an exercise in deceptive propaganda.

Neither President de Klerk nor Nelson Mandela needs to be deified; but neither should be tarred with blame for sins he did not commit.

Burned homes, mob attacks cause chaos Refugees in Natal live like Sowetan 17/4/90 animals, running and hiding

Mrs Patience Dlamini wishes she was dead. She is a 65-year-old refugee seeking protection from Inkatha in one of many UDF camps in the Maritzburg area.

"I can't live like an animal any more, running and hiding. I am too tired and old. My home has been destroyed and I don't know where my children are or if they are still alive.

"I have nothing to live for anymore. Life is too hard to bear," she said.

Ran Away

Mr Jabulani Sosibo ran away from his home when Inkatha youths burnt his house down and shot him in the arm.

In the ensuing chaos, he lost track of his wife and children.

He spends his day lying on the floor at a refugee camp in Georgetown, a picture of abject misery.

"I've lost all hope of a decent life - I don't care what happens to me now. I am just giving up," he said.

Dlamini and Sosibo are just two of 13 000 UDF people allegedly forced out of their homes into refugee camps to save themselves from being another death toll statistic.

Men, women and children streamed into the make-shift camps when violence escalated dramatically at the beginning of April. However, for some, the price of survival is too high and just waking up alive every day is not enough reason to exist.

Crowded

With thousands of people crowded into cramped quarters, there is no privacy and there are very low hygienic standards.

Most camps have only one tap of running water and a couple of toilets. The floor is hard and the noise level high, especially since many children cry themselves to sleep.

Camp co-ordinators said there was a need to create more camps and drastically improve security measures in case they were attacked.

They also called for better



With thousands of people crowded into cramped quarters, there is no privacy for refugees and there are very low hygienic standards in the make-shift camps.

FOCUS

sanitation conditions, for refuse removal and improved water supplies.

Refugees separated from their families said they were desperate to find out if they were still alive. Although volunteer relief workers were working on the problem 24 hours a day, they said it was difficult task, especially reuniting lost toddlers too young to know their names with parents.

Nearly all the refugees had tragic stories to tell of houses being burnt and broken down, of family members being killed or injured or of frightening attacks by large Zulu impis.

"Hundreds of Inkatha members arrived at a neighbouring village in trucks and cars and burnt houses, killed people and stole anything of value.

"They shouted across to our village that we were next. So I had to escape," said a distraught woman carrying a sickly baby on her back.

Although people want to return

home to collect belongings and check on family, they are too scared to leave the camp.

A number of people who tried to were short and killed.

Scabies and lice were rife and many people suffered severe dysentery and diarrhoea due to the poor living conditions.

To help prevent the spread of disease, children were inoculated at clinics which are situated in every camp.

Eating was a communal experience, with camps offering huge washing tubs of food like porridge and mealie meal which people scooped into bowls.

Relief

According to relief worker Mrs Penny Haswell everyone at the centre is issued with blankets and food. Relief workers get a detailed list of every item needed and deliveries are made to all the camps every day.

"We try our best to offer a varied diet and have started taking meat now," she said.

The Government announced last week that R250 000 was to be donated to the refugees. Haswell said that although organisations and the public had donated money

generously, enough money to support the refugees was a problem and funds were urgently required.

However, she agreed that morale was very low in the camps and the biggest problem was to get the people relocated and settled in their own homes again.

"We are faced with a unique problem and there is no way to predict how long people will have to stay. We just take one day at a time," she said.

Control

The relief workers recently introduced a system where every refugee gets issued with an identity card to record personal details so workers can monitor and control the camps better.

"It has really been heartening to see how enthusiastically voluntary workers from the South African Council of Churches have rallied to our aid - its a modern day miracle," she said.

Schools were closed down due to the violence and many people are afraid to catch buses to work, so most refugees sit around day after day, waiting for some kind of solution.

But they say every day it gets harder to keep their spirits up.

2 security force CITIZEN members killed in 17 APRIL 1990 unrest

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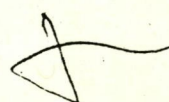
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COMMENT



Live by the sword

EVIDENCE is accumulating to suggest that the ANC's satellite organisations, if not the ANC itself, have embarked on a strategy of eliminating their rivals for political support in the townships by assassination and terror. The Institute of Race Relations reports that so-called "black on black" violence is at its highest level, occurring in all four provinces. The term "black on black" is, we suspect, a misnomer; what we are seeing is the initial stages of a campaign to wipe out dissidence, and it has very little to do with race: who is not for the ANC is against it.

The nature of the struggle is illuminated by the fact that 60 out of 692 black town councillors have been frightened into resigning in the past few months, following the release of former detainees into the community; councillors' houses have been burned, their businesses destroyed, and their lives threatened. The terrifying nature of the threats, symbolised by the return of the evil necklace, has been underlined by the poignant story of a councillor aged 75 in Newcastle who shot himself in the head, apparently to avoid capture by the mob.

The issue has been clouded by events in Natal where there has been a systematic campaign of propaganda intended to place the blame for violence on Inkatha. The conflict between Inkatha supporters and UDF supporters has indeed reached the stage where blame rests on both sides, and shifts to and

fro with each shift in the fortunes of battle, but it is no longer possible to exonerate the ANC satellites simply by excoriating Inkatha. For one thing, the violence is spreading far beyond Inkatha's territory; for another, the ANC-UDF-MDM axis is the one constant factor, whether the conflict is against Inkatha in Natal, or against Africanists in the eastern Cape, or against black consciousness groups elsewhere.

Anyway, the rise in violence follows closely on the release of the thousands of leaders swept up in the mass detentions at the height of the state of emergency. Indeed, the resurgence of the evil practice of necklacing coincides neatly with the release of former prisoners into the community. This is emphatically not an argument for mass detentions; to the contrary, it demonstrates the futility of detentions if the killing resumes as soon as the detainees are set free.

Nor does the future look any more comfortable. The surge of violence which has followed the liberalisation of government policy is nastily reminiscent of the surge of killing by which the FLN re-established itself in Algeria when a liberal administration called off the army. Unless the ANC can persuade its satellites, and their followers, to abandon violent methods, it is all too likely that we shall sooner or later see the securocrats return in triumph, and the conditions we see in Natal may well spread to the rest of the country.