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UNINTENTIONALLY, maybe, but warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed, by turning the lunatic UN â\200\234peacekeepingâ\200\235 operation in Somalia into a farce, has presented SAâ\200\231s new Freedom Alliance with a foreign policy plus. For years, SA faced the enormously dangerous threat of invasion by US/UN hordes, in support of the ANC/SACP. This was no fantasy. In a presentation to the US Congress, former US Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, mentioned SA as a possible area for UN â\200\234peacekeeping intervention,â\200\235 this to make conditions â\200\234more fertile for negotiations.â\200\235 The construction of the giant, US-financed military air base in Botswana reinforced fears of such armed action.

Now, thanks to the Somalia fiasco, together with the overwhelming UN failure in Bosnia, plus increasingly urgent Western intelligence reports that the UN is â\200\234not up toâ\200\235 its self-appointed task as â\200\234world peacekeeper,â\200\235 means this threat to SA is much diminished. In the US the whole debacle has exploded into a huge political hot potato. Writing in Memorandum, monthly journal of RAUâ\200\231s Institute for American Studies, Professor Carl Noffke reports that Clinton has come under â\200\234stridentâ\200\235 con-

ONE LESS WORRY?

servative attack, accused of being a â\200\234foreign policy tool of the UN.â\200\235

Internationally, top Anglo/American foreign policy experts are also in revolt at the growing UN trap: and, very significantly, are demanding a new Atlantic defence coalition, not under UN command. Dr Jeane Kirkpatrick, former US Ambassador to the UN, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Reaganâ\200\231s Secretary of State, George Shultz, are among signatories to a letter condemning UN policy in Bosnia. They stress that while Bush made successful use of the UN umbrella for a coalition of forces in the Iraqi War, the UN then exercised no control. The panel called for a new coalition, not under UN command, â\200\234to

stop Serbian ethnic cleansing and to exercise the right of self defence for Bosnia.â\200\235 In her syndicated column, Dr Kirkpatrick called on the US Congress to intervene, â\200\234to prevent the progressive loss of control by Americans over our (US) resources and future.â\200\235 She accused the Clinton Administration of â\200\234merely following the dictates of the UN Security Council and of the UN Secretary General in Somalia, Bosnia, Cambodia and elsewhere.â\200\235

Hopefully, that puts paid to ANC/SACP calls for armed UN intervention in the SA crisis.

#### NATAL ANC PREPARES FOR WAR

MANDELAâ\200\231s Nobel Peace Prize notwithstanding, more and more evidence is accumulating that the ANC is preparing for outright war and â\200\234ethnic cleansingâ\200\235 in the beautiful but already blood-soaked garden Province of Natal. Even as things stand now Natal, heartland of Dr Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha movement, is drenched in some of the most vicious, intractable violence in the world today, a war pursued without mercy against women, children, the aged, the infirm, against animals and everything Zulu, often with a grotesque cruelty that would shame even the IRA.

What analysts now fear is that the ANC is preparing to do to the Zulus what Mugabe did to their cousins, the Matabele, after Zimbabwean independence. The Zulus, descendants of Shaka and other militarists whose name is legend, will fight to the bitter end, but the fact remains that they are pitifully ill-equipped to withstand the supremely well-equipped and internationally financed men so eager to break their back. The

pointers to a major ANC build up are all there.

In terms of the D F Malan Accord, signed between the SA Government and the ANC, 12.2.91, â\200\234training insideâ\200\235 SA by â\200\234the ANC with specific reference also to Umkhonto we Sizwe and its organised military groups and armed cadres ... will not take place.â\200\235 That provision is clearly being flouted. Ilanga, the mass circulation Durban-based paper serving SAâ\200\231s Zulu community, confirms that reports are being received from all over Natal that ANC supporters are receiving military training throughout the Province. IFP estimates are that in Durban townships alone the ANC is providing military training for 3 000 of its members.

In early October an IFP camera team, at considerable risk, filmed some 300 trainees marching up the main street of Kwa Mashu, one of Durbanâ\200\231s largest townships. Though many were carrying wooden replicas of AK-47 assault rifles, the team counted six very real AKâ\200\231s, four R4 assault rifles and a fully

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automatic Draganov sniper rifle. These weapons are clearly visible on the video footage. While marching and drilling, the group sang ANC and MK songs. Some wore ANC T-shirts and caps.

When IFP went public with its evidence, Jeff Radebe, ANC Southern Natal chairman, claimed the footage was â\200\234fake,â\200\235 that the whole thing had been â\200\234stage managed.â\200\235 Sâ\200\231bu Ndebele, ANC Southern Natal secretary, said: â\200\234There is no training going on in Southern Natal or elsewhere in South Africa.â\200\235 Giving the lie to these statements, MK National Commissioner Mandla Sithole said that in preparation for a new national peacekeeping force, MK was training its members around the country. That claim, too, is suspect. In terms of agreements between the Government and the ANC, the deadline for submitting names of MK members for the peacekeeping force has already expired.

APN can disclose that IFP investigation since has established that military-style training is also taking place in these areas: Kwa Mashu D Section at Inhlakanipho High School; Kwa Mashu U Section at Sport Ground No 7; Kwa Mashu E and F Sections at Sports Grounds opposite the Thembalihle Railway Station; Kwa Mashu F Section at a Sports Ground adjacent to the cemetery; Kwa Mashu B, C, I and M Sections; Ntuzuma â\200\234Gâ\200\235 Soccer Field; Umlazi A Section at the Mbalasi Lower Primary School. Training is also reported in Inanda, Clermont, Kwa Makhuta, Lamontville, Chesterville, Umgababa and Umbumbulu.

A press statement issued by IFP national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, but virtually ignored by both the local and international media, said: â\200\234The IFP is outraged by the ANC's flagrant disregard for the laws of the land and the terrifying implications for the coming elections, as reflected in the activities of the ANCâ\200\231s private army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. MK is openly conducting military training in the townships around Durban, in public venues such as school playing fields and on public roads.

â\200\234Many thousands of people, many in camouflage uniforms, have been involved in this training, which includes the display of firearms. IFP notes with dismay that though this training is now common knowledge in the townships, we have not heard a single word of condemnation from Judge Goldstone or his Commissioners, or from those so-called violence monitors who lose no opportunity of criticising the IFP, but are strangely silent over this training and the activities of MK in general. :

â\200\234More important, however, is that the SA Government seemingly condones such activities. Weeks ago, in bilaterals with the SAG, the KwaZulu Government presented a memorandum documenting the revolutionary activities of MK. Evidence was presented of MK'â\200\231s recent recruitment of nearly 5 000 cadres, the majority from Natal/KwaZulu and the

PWV/East Rand areas, and who have been flown abroad for military training, mostly in Uganda.

â\200\234Evidence was presented on the importation of Cuban uniforms, and of arms and ammunition on a large scale, of the planned deployment of these cadres in the run up to, and during, the coming general election.

â\200\234The military assault upon the IFP has reached unprecedented heights, with nearly 350 of our partyâ\200\231s office bearers assassinated to date. The present rate of murder is that one IFP leader is assassinated every six days. Since the signing of the National Peace Accord, we have documented the deaths of more than 800 of our members, an undercount since a great many of their deaths go unrecorded.

â\200\234Yet, weeks after the SAG/KwaZulu Government bilateral, MK brazenly prepares itself for more war. There is no let-up in the violence, and it is clear from what is taking place that the onslaught is to be intensified. The Pretoria and Groote Schuur Accords signified a cease-fire between the ANC and the SA Government. ANC attacks against Pretoria have in large measure ceased. This does not apply to ANC strategies against IFP. Here, it is important to note that the SAG was party to another agreement with the ANC, explicitly permitting continued recruitment and training of MK outside the country.

â\200\234Since the altercation between the State President and the ANC President at the CODESA 1 plenary, and subsequent agreements between the two as expressed in the Record of Understanding, the Government has manifestly failed to deal with MK for fear of alienating the ANC. In so doing, it has failed in its foremost duty, to protect the people of SA. In our view, this is tantamount to legitimising the ANCâ\200\231s revolutionary onslaught against the people of SA in general, and against the IFP in particular.

â\200\234We believe that the ANC has embarked on a planned campaign to render the IFP impotent before and during the elections, and that it intends to try to dominate this region (Natal/KwaZulu) in particular through fear, intimidation and violence. The whole position is, to put it mildly, extremely worrying. IFP demands that the strongest possible action be immediately taken to address the status of MK.â\200\235

All this ties in with APNâ\200\231s own information: that large numbers, perhaps as many as 40%, of MK members are to be drafted into Natal before the New Year, and that large supplies of AKâ\200\231s and other weaponry is being shipped into the Province. What does seem probable is that the ANC desires to have an independent military capacity outside the neutralised security forces, either to assist in seizure of power at some point down the road or, more likely, to deal with political opponents such as IFP in the run up to the April 27 election. What cannot be argued in any way is that IFP remains under heavy attack in all parts of the country and continues to lose office bearers and members in large numbers.

## THE MANDEILA HOAX

IF ever we needed proof that the world is suffering from some form of collective dementia, the (shared) award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Nelson Mandela is it. Oh, yes. We fully accept that this was a natural, coming as it did from the Scandinavians who, along with the Americans, have laboured long and hard to force revolutionary socialism on SA. They, Norway and Sweden alike, have invested hundreds of millions in the ANC/SACP: inevitably, they wanted to make sure their investment paid off . . . that, come next May, their candidate would become SA's first Black President.

Further, of course, the award of such a prestigious, if phoney, accolade conferred jointly on De Klerk and Mandela would go far in helping to roll up the pesky rightwing and IFP. The glaring political intent behind this year's award was confirmed even by the Johannesburg Star, 15.10.93, when it commented that the Nobel would prove a blow to parties trying to hold up the transitional process and next year's elections.

Like many others among his international admirers, the liberals in Oslo obviously did not want to be troubled with any of the less admirable facts about their hero. But this is our future we are talking about, so it behoves us to study the ANC's No 1 very carefully indeed, to take some of the stern real realities about this one-sided worship into sober account.

## PERSISTENT FOLK HERO

Mandela is presented to the world as a man of reconciliation, as essentially moderate, a man of special discernment, a courageous freedom fighter. He has been variously compared to Moses, George Washington, Martin Luther King: even, by the fatuous Jesse Jackson, to Jesus Christ. Well, is he the historic figure so widely advertised?

Okay. We do agree that Mandela, one of the most persistent folk heroes of our time, projects pretty well, far better indeed than his White co-Laureate. Sardonically, he is impeccable. Personable and glib, he undoubtedly has style. A consummate actor, he has like many other former African terrorist leaders before him assumed the grand air of an old-style British gentleman. The Americans, not exactly kings of social discernment, invariably depict him as tall and stately, of patrician bearing. Maybe he is: until you look into his machine gun eyes, set in that staring Griqua face.

In a world hungry for heroes, few men in all history have been so mythologised, myth heaped on myth. Still, at some time in our lives we have to look into a cold mirror and see the hard facts. It is time that someone called Mandela's bluff, that we take note of the alarming facts . . . facts which our Scandinavian friends chose to ignore when awarding what is hyped as one of the world's highest honours.

Mandela long ago made some very serious mistakes:

tactical mistakes, and never mind the morality. First and most important was his early decision to ally the ANC with the tiny, Stalinist, unrepresentative and dogmatic SA Communist Party, a move guaranteed sooner or later to sink this country into self-destruction. The SACP's goal has never been democracy or human rights. It has always sought to exploit Black nationalism in order to create revolution in SA. Joe Slovo knows that, and said so in Luanda in 1985: that the Marxist/Leninist revolution could only be won under the banner of the ANC.

#### LED BY THE NOSE

Mandela has consistently denied that he is, or ever was, a card-carrying member of the SACP. However, if he has not accepted SACP membership, then all we can say is that he has served them very satisfactorily. The ANC - and Mandela have been led by the nose by the SACP for decades. So incestuous is the relationship that even The New York Times has on occasion suggested that the ANC is no more than a Communist front. To this day, as is proved by its dominance on the ANC National Executive, the SACP continues to be the guiding force behind the ANC.

Mandela's support of the SACP has been explicit. He has made no bones whatsoever about the interlock between the two organisations. In his first speech after his release from Pollsmoor, he described his old friend and comrade-at-arms, Comrade Joe, as one of our finest patriots.

Second major blunder was the espousal of violence, a seriously bad idea, regardless of the morality of terrorism. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (his second name can be translated from the Xhosa as stirring up trouble) is not a man who has ever believed in peaceful solutions. He believes, and has always believed, in violent nationalism. He has always believed, and sought, the forcible overthrow of the SA state through terror-imposed revolution.

The ANC's dedication to violence is an unsavoury fact that the media, here and overseas, prefer to ignore, an omission that, as is only too plainly demonstrated today, has done the people of SA a most cruel disservice. Throughout this present period of extreme violence, it has been ANC strategy to mobilise the township youth. Only recently Mandela advised these violent young thugs: 'If you want guns, join MK.' With his foolish, frequently reiterated and utterly irresponsible statements about the armed struggle, Mandela must accept a large portion of the blame for the genocidal violence of the past four years. Surely all this effectively destroys his carefully cultivated posture as a moderate?

Millions of young Blacks have been led to believe that the only way forward is through violence. Deny this as he may, Mandela has sent an emphatic message

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to the masses primarily young, Black and angry that revolutionary violence remains an acceptable means to an end. Compassion or feeling for the human condition have seldom if ever played any role in his actions. Stripped of its emotive language, the armed struggle was a licence for anarchy. Moreover, through violent intimidation, the ANC has told Blacks that either they support the ANC: or die. A strange conciliator, indeed.

Has Mandela now become a disciple of peace and non-violence? Evidence suggests that if he has, his message of peace still comes through an AK. In published statements made after the announcement of the Peace Prize, the ANC went on record as saying that Mandela has in the past contributed generously to the ANC military wing, MK, and might give a substantial amount of his share of the R3,1 million to MK. So much for Oslo!

ILL OMEN

Mandela's famed walk to freedom from Pollsmoor Prison was an ill omen of things to come. In his first post-imprisonment speech in Cape Town on February 11, 1990, he not only lauded the policy of violence, but once again embraced the SACP. In typically confused fashion, he followed this up with the remarkable statement that there is not a single political organisation in this country, inside or outside Parliament, which can even compare with the ANC in its commitment to peace. He reiterated this highly ambiguous statement at a press conference the next day. He was allowed to get away with it. So great is the propaganda wall built around him that no one dared challenge him. His untouchable status seems to render him immune to any serious criticism.

Reinforcing the mantle of martyrdom, he is monotonously described as a political prisoner, the inference being that here was an innocent man railroaded by a racist government. As recently as May this year the London Independent had this to say: Nelson Mandela is a noble man ... imprisoned for 27 years for his dedication to the cause of Black majority rule in South Africa. The writer surely knew that to be an out-and-out lie. Mandela himself claims to have been a political prisoner, convicted on technical violations. Another lie.

Mandela was not a political prisoner, or a prisoner of conscience. He was a convicted saboteur. No human rights organisation was ever prepared to list him as a political prisoner. In a letter to the Finnish newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat, 13.9.85, Amnesty International pointed out that, as Mandela had participated in planning acts of sabotage and violence ... he could no longer fulfil the criteria for the classification of political prisoner. At the end of his trial, Mandela delivered a speech. He said that ... he had concluded that the only choice for change in South Africa was through violence

While men of violence are not these days considered with any particular revulsion, not even by the spon-

sors of the Nobel Peace Prize, the facts show Mandela to be neither a saint nor a political genius, but a terrorist tactician with a great number of provenly unworkable and dangerous ideas.

His imprisonment was neither a human rights issue or an injustice. There was no question of trumped-up charges. He was not detained for his political views. He was sentenced, in open court and after a scrupulously fair hearing, in which it was proved beyond all reasonable doubt that he had helped initiate and been intimately involved in plans to launch violent revolution in SA.

Many have lamented Mandela's wasted years in prison, from 1964 to 1990. Conveniently forgotten is that he was first offered freedom in exile by John Vorster as far back as 1976: the proposal that he be released to the Transkei, then led by Kaiser Matanzima, his brother-in-law. Mandela refused. Later, he refused to be traded to the Marxist MPLA in Angola, in exchange for a SADF major captured in the Cabinda enclave.

Of his 27 years in prison, therefore, he was in effect for 14 of these jailing himself. Said P W Botha, who was known to be eager to get him out: "The moment he renounces violence and undertakes to come to the conference table in a friendly and peaceful way, he will be out of jail." But that was not the way Mandela wanted it. Throughout his years inside, he emphasised his dedication to violence, refused to reject it as a political instrument.

In January 1985 Lord Nicholas Bethell, vice-chairman of the European Parliament's Human Rights Committee, became the first foreigner authorised to visit Mandela. He quoted him: "Personally, I still support the armed struggle. I am a socialist . . ."

#### RECRUITING GROUND

Mandela joined the ANC in 1944, helping to form the ANC Youth League, a militant group intended to serve as a recruiting ground for potential communists and which became part of the pro-Soviet World Federation of Democratic Youth. In 1961, under the banner of the SACP, he and Slovo launched Umkhonto we Sizwe, designed to serve as a terrorist strike force and act as the primary instrument to achieve Communist revolution in SA. A high command was set up to control MK, with Mandela as its first Commander-in-@hicfSe

By the end of 1962, the ANC/SACP largely under Mandela's direction had sent hundreds of ANC youths for training in revolutionary terrorism, killing and destruction, in Cuba, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, North Korea, the USSR, East Germany, Red China and Czechoslovakia. Those going into African states were instructed never to disclose the fact that they were

Communists. :

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On July 16, 1963, after a lucky investigative break, the police raided the farm Lilliesleaf, Rivonia. Mountains of documents were recovered. One document provided in the most minute detail the plans for MK's Operation Mayibuye, a blueprint for seizing control of the country by means of sabotage, terrorism, revolution and guerrilla war.

These plans closely paralleled the actions used in the bloody Algerian revolution: scarcely surprising, seeing that Mandela had previously travelled to Algeria for personal instruction in revolutionary tactics, his tutors some of the worst killers of the 20th Century, men such as Ait Hamouda, whose advice was to drive the masses into the extremist camp by trapping them in a sandwich of terror. Moderates on all sides should be eliminated, as brutally as possible. One mutilated corpse in a suit is always worth more than 20 in uniform.

Mandela learnt his odious lessons well. One of the captured papers was a 94-page tract on revolution, in his own writing, declaring that traitors and informers should be ruthlessly eliminated. He advocated cutting off their noses ... pour encourager les autres ... to encourage the others.

#### MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

Another document, also in Mandela's own handwriting, How To Be a Good Communist, held that only revolution and not the slow change or reforms the reactionaries and liberals often advise, could bring about the transition from capitalism to socialism. One therefore must be a revolutionary, not a reformist. Further: The aim of studying Marxist philosophy is to enable us to direct more effectively revolutionary mass struggles ... the Communist movement still faces powerful enemies which must be completely crushed and wiped from the face of the earth before a Communist world can be realised.

In recent years it has been argued that Mandela, with this, was simply copying the text of a Chinese revolutionary document. Experts in this field have compared the two documents and challenge this explanation, saying that the Mandela document is an original bearing little resemblance to the Chinese manuscript.

At no time during the trial did the defence challenge the authenticity or authorship of the documents submitted. On the contrary, counsel for the defence stated that in the face of the overwhelming bulk of evidence against his clients, it would be futile to refute any of the charges. So incriminating were the documents that the prosecution believed it could have obtained convictions on these alone.

The court found that Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and Slovo planned to overthrow the SA Government as early as 1964 or 1965, using the Algerian revolution as their model. For reasons never satisfactorily explained, the men were not arraigned on the capital charge of high treason. Had that been done,

and had they been executed, SA's later history would have been very different.

Be that as it may, Mandela's record is hardly one would expect of a Nobel Peace Laureate: his actions, say, not those of Mother Theresa or a Mahatma Gandhi. What it does suggest is that, far from being a Martin Luther King, Mandela more properly represents an African Ayatollah Khomeini. Under the criterion imposed, Saddam Hussein or Aideed of Somalia should be strong contenders for next year's Peace.

#### MEDIA EVASIVENESS

The deliberate media evasiveness about Mandela's well-documented past does not auger well for the future. And it must be stressed that De Klerk himself has helped connive at the protective cover-up, apparently in the belief that too much public exposure about its background would hurt the ANC. APN itself can vouch for that. Every effort was made by top Government spokesmen to stop us publishing the first full expose, in January 1991, of the ANC torture camps in Northern Angola and elsewhere.

Against that background, could Mandela really be entrusted with the future of the New SA? Cantankerous and not very astute, often (as with his attacks on De Klerk) mean and petty, could he be expected to produce lasting and realistic solutions to the immense problems of this deeply troubled country? With his particular record, his psychological hang-ups, would it be logical to expect him to achieve an enduring settlement and reconciliation?

Frankly, we very much doubt it. We believe that those Big Business in particular who delude themselves that the ANC/SACP alliance can deliver a democratic, free market, prosperous SA, a thriving multiparty democracy, are riding for a very hard fall indeed. Rather than producing a stable, productive and safe SA for members of all races, it today looks more and more as though the New SA, under any ANC government, would be built on the lines laid down by Operation Mayibuye in 1964. Put Mandela in Tuynhuis and chances are that most South Africans, Black and White, would find themselves longing for the good old days of apartheid long before this century is out.

We think this because we do not believe that Mandela, with his lingering socialism, his push for votes for 14-year olds, his antique notions of a People's Democracy, his fond embrace of his brothers in Terrorist International, Arafat, Gaddafi and Castro, simply does not possess the substance needed to deliver the goods.

We look, too, at the gross incompetence of his organisation. The myth persists that the ANC is a united and comprehensively representative body of Black aspirations. In hard fact, the ANC is a chaotic organisation split between Marxist/Leninists, Stalinists, Trotskyites, Black nationalists, the

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township elders and the township â\200\234comradesâ\200\235 â\200\224 now totally out of control â\200\224 and a substantial proportion of venal, third-rate characters whose sole aim for themselves is an affluent life style.

We do not believe that Mandela is any more representative of SA Blacks than we are. The ANC, with its unbridled violence, its intimidation, its communist links, is cordially detested by millions of Black South Africans. As for Mandela, they have little use for a lifelong fellow traveller now enjoying a lifestyle the vast majority of his followers cannot even attempt to envisage.

Summing up, we believe that SA Blacks need and deserve a much, much better way of life: and that the chances of the ANC delivering on that are exactly zero. For confirmation you have only to look north to see what a hash their ideological comrade, Robert Mugabe, has made of â\200\234democracyâ\200\235 in Zimbabwe, let alone the appalling bloodletting in Angola under the US-supported, Marxist MPLA. Is it necessary that we repeat the mistakes of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia? Obviously, Mandela â\200\224 and the Nobel Peace Prize Selection Committee â\200\224say yes, it is.

In our opinion, the granting of this yearâ\200\231s â\200\234Peaceâ\200\235 is a shame and a sham. May God forgive them.

#### A TRUE MESSIAH OF PEACE?

EVERY concerned South African should acquaint themselves with the true facts concerning the Rivonia trial and draw correct conclusions from them. The problem here is that the name of Mandela is so familiar that very few any longer remember who he really is or why he went to prison for life. From the very beginning of the trial Mandela, Accused No 1, was made the centre of a worldwide propaganda campaign: a great deal of this, as with so much of the mystique surrounding him, built on myth.

Mandela declined to take the oath and therefore did not enter the witness box, which meant he could not be cross-examined. At the conclusion of the trial, he made his historic speech from the dock. It was eloquent, moving, appeared spontaneous and explained why he was â\200\234prepared to die for freedom.â\200\235 Only problem here was, as many suspected from the start, that it was not his own work. In a 1990 interview with Jeremy Brooks in London, British journalist Anthony Sampson, former editor of Drum magazine, confirmed that he prepared the speech on the basis of a few rough notes scribbled by Mandela.

#### MANDELA â\200\234INCOMPETENT>

Last year, further questions about Mandelaâ\200\231s famed defence in the trial came with the release of official papers by the British Foreign Office. These included a report compiled at the time by Viscount Dunrossil, First Secretary at the British Embassy in Pretoria. Writing to Mr Peter Foster, head of the West and Central

Africa Department at the Foreign Office, he suggested that the trial showed Mandela as â\200\234incompetent.â\200\235

Dunrossil reported how Mandela was in danger of ruining his own defence. He was doing so badly, he said, that at one point the prosecuting counsel broke precedent and came to his rescue. He added: â\200\234Mandela is determined to extract the maximum political advantage from the trial. Thus yesterday several witnesses were little more than pegs on which, during cross-examination, he was able to hang long political speeches of his own.â\200\235

Dissecting Mandelaâ\200\231s effect on the court, Dunrossil

wrote: â\200\234Practically none of his cross examinations were of a technical nature related to his actual legal case. His technique of cross examination is noticably weak and he has twice been helped by the prosecuting counsel who, on one occasion, pointed out that Mandela had forgotten to comment on the second of two letters about which he wanted to examine a witness.â\200\235

The report concluded: â\200\234He clearly has reckoned that the political advantage to be gained from defending himself outweighs his own technical lack of ability.â\200\235 Of the trial itself, even the liberal, now defunct, Rand Daily Mail, for many years the main SA media voice against apartheid, found no fault with the manner in which it was conducted. In an editorial, 17.6.64, it said:

â\200\234WISE AND JUSTâ\200\235

â\200\234The sentences pronounced by Mr Justice de Wet yesterday at the conclusion of the Rivonia Trial were both wise and just. The Law is seen at its best where there is firmness tinged with mercy, and this was the case yesterday. The sentences could not have been less severe than those imposed. The men found guilty had organised sabotage on a wide scale and had plotted armed revolution. As the judge pointed out, the crime of which they were found guilty was essentially high treason.â\200\235 Other editorial comment was that the â\200\234convictions would have been obtained in any civilised Western country.â\200\235

Of the summing up by the Judge-President, the RDM in its front page report said: â\200\234The judge said he had heard much from the accused and their counsel of the disabilities under which the non-Whites suffered in this country, but he doubted very much whether the motives for their crimes were as altruistic as they would have the court believe. Those who planned to overthrow governments by revolution almost inevitably contemplated replacing those governments themselves.â\200\235

It was striking that nowhere in his defence statement did Mandela refer to himself as a nationalist. Which brings us to a very important point. When the

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ANC began in 1912, as a Black self-help organisation, it had not the slightest hint of communism. Its stated purpose was to secure better treatment for Blacks, and its membership consisted of Black intellectuals, mostly teachers, lawyers and clergy.

By 1928, the USSR had targeted the ANC for takeover. The Sixth Congress of Communist International in Moscow resolved: 'The Communist Party of SA should pay particular attention to the ANC. Our aim should be to transform the ANC into a fighting nationalist revolutionary organisation against the White bourgeoisie ...' (Umsebenzi. SACP journal, Vol 2, No 1, 1986).

Dr Igor Glagolev, who defected from the USSR in 1976 after being closely involved for many years in Soviet support for Southern Africa terrorism, declared: 'The decision to begin an offensive for the conquest of Southern Africa was taken by the Politburo of the USSR near the end of the 1950s. The Soviet leadership controls (through Yusuf Dadu, chairman of the SACP) not only the SACP but the ANC as well.'

Till that time, Southern Africa had probably been the most peaceful part of the entire world. That all

changed with the outbreak of the Soviet-sponsored civil war in Angola in 1962, followed by similar wars in Mozambique, Rhodesia, Namibia and, eventually, by mass terrorist action in SA. Today the US is the main sponsor of revolutionary action in SA, with ANC/SACP funding coming now almost entirely from the West. It is the Americans and the Scandinavians who have most actively promoted Mandela as 'the man who will save SA.' It is this concentrated Western support for the ANC that explains the eerie absence of any criticism of its campaign of violence.

So: what about Mandela? Is he a democrat? A Christian? A real leader? Does he believe in the democratic process? Could he produce a government which allows diversity, freedom of expression, opportunity, a return to peaceful change? Most important of all, is he a genuine nationalist, or a Marxist masquerading as such? Has he changed from a man of violence to a messiah of peace? Those are immensely urgent questions. Put them to Mandela and you will never get a direct reply. It is the greatest tragedy that the media shows so little interest in getting truthful answers.

#### MOCKING THE CAUSE OF PEACE

SHOULD anyone ever create an international award for political mockery, for hypocrisy, humbug and hoax, the Nobel Peace Prize Selection Committee would undoubtedly win hands down. But what, after all, should we expect? The prize is named after Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite. Historically, it commemorates the day when Nobel's nitroglycerine factory exploded. Five people were killed, among them his younger brother, Emil.

The prizes there are five separate categories were an act of penitence, both for Emil's death and for the invention of dynamite. The rest of the world has been paying a different price ever since: this in lip service to a merit system set up by self-appointed, self-important Scandinavians living in a far-off country, a sort of Nordic Ruritania, remote from world opinion, but whose decisions are intended to suggest world approbation and approval.

#### GREATEST SCAMS

No one could have quibbled with the 1901 Peace Prize which, very correctly, went to the Red Cross and the French Peace Society. It has been in the post-WW2 period that the Peace prizes have shaped up as among the greatest scams of the 20th Century. Again and again the selection committees appointed by the Nobel Institute in Oslo have awarded the coveted Peace to some socialist, communist, arch-leftist or New World Order scoundrel, or group of the same. Very few true peace-setters have been honoured: Mother Theresa, Andrei Sakharov, a few more.

Otherwise the awards have given the prize an inter-

national notoriety, leaving the selection committees looking like hypocrites, fools or worse. The 1946 co-winner, American Emily Green Balch, was later dismissed from the Wellesley College faculty for radical leftist activity. In 1947 the US communist front, the American Friends Service Committee, was awarded the accolade. The 1950 winner was Ralph Bunche, protégé of Alger Hiss, Soviet agent, convicted perjurer and most notorious American traitor of the 20th Century.

#### TARNISHED A

Next came the fellow-travelling Linus Pauling, followed by the Marxists Leon Jouhaux of France, 1951, Lester Pearson of Canada, 1957, and Philip Noel-Baker of England, 1959. The fame of the Peace was still further tarnished when the award went to Irish leftwing revolutionary, the since-deceased Sean McBride, Irish Foreign Minister and terrorist, firmly believed by the Dublin police to have been implicated in the murder of the Irish Free State's Minister for Home Affairs as he walked to church on a Sunday in 1927.

In 1971 the former Communist, Willy Brandt, one-time German Chancellor and four-times chairman of Socialist International, was awarded the Prize, this as author of the policy of Ostpolitik, intended to cut West Germany's moorings from the West and from the US in particular. Creating as it did immense new dangers for West Germany's NATO partners. Ostpolitik seemed a strange basis for a Peace award. US, French and British intelligence agencies all insisted that

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Brandt was a KGB agent, though there is evidence that he at times also worked for the CIA.

There was again international uproar when, in 1973, Henry Kissinger smilingly accepted the Nobel for negotiating â\200\234peace with honourâ\200\235 in Vietnam. In the next three years more than 3 million people were butchered like animals, this while Kissingerâ\200\231s loot gathered interest in the bank. The 1976 award to Uls-terâ\200\231s â\200\234Peace Peopleâ\200\235 was another catastrophic miscal- culation.

The 1984 award went to Desmond Tutu, a political priest then busy spearheading the anti-SA sanctions campaign, deliberately designed by the SACP to pauperise this country. Tutuâ\200\231s pro-revolutionary activities were already dividing his own church and inflicting huge damage on the Christian faith in SA. Just what a hoax the â\200\234Peaceâ\200\235 had become was amply demonstrated when, around this time, this great Christian gentleman and peacekeeper told BBC inter- viewer John Humphreys that if the ANC campaigns to make SA â\200\234ungovernableâ\200\235 failed, â\200\234then we will have to look to our requiem masses, because I think the blood bath will be upon us.â\200\235 And would he support â\200\234the men of violence?â\200\235 â\200\234I am not a pacifist . . . I cannot close that particular option entirely.â\200\235

The 1985 award was granted to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, an integral part of the Soviet â\200\234peaceâ\200\235 movement and an important part of its â\200\234active measuresâ\200\235 apparatus.

In 1989 the chosen Peace Laureate was Mikhail Gor-

batchev, honoured for his â\200\234contribution toward peace- ful cooperation and co-existence in the world.â\200\235 Among some details the guardians of the Nobel seemed to forget or overlook was the USSRâ\200\231s 10-year occupation of Afghanistan, where Red Army troops murdered more than a million defenceless civilians, maimed thousands of small children with booby trap- ped toys dropped over the mountain villages and forced 4 million Afghans into foreign-based refugee camps. And, of course, it was this same Mikhail Gor- batchev, in the same year, whose Red Army suppres- sed popular demonstrations in Tbilisi with poison gas.

Now De Klerk and Mandela have joined this odious parade. Here we should remember that it was Nor- way, a host to the Nobel Institute, which gave the world Quisling, a man whose name today is synony- mous with ultimate treachery. It is then perhaps fitting that it should be Norway that bestows the Peace Prize on De Klerk.

Yes. We in SA today have good cause to reflect on that day in 1864 when Alfred Nobelâ\200\231s nitroglycerine factory exploded. Back home in Oslo, do they really regard the necklace as a peace symbol? One wonders. The very idea of the dynamite-dispensing Nobels dis- hing out prizes and loot, while all the time selling exp- losives to every side since Crimea, seems as fatally flawed as many of the recipients of their largesse. The London Times once commented that â\200\234all too often the selection of recipients for the Nobel Peace Prize verges

onblack comedy.â\200\235 The London Times was right, never more so than this year.

LEST WE

SO LONG as you ignore what he says, Mr Mandela seems a very courteous and reasonable old gentleman. At a press conference In Cape Town he said: â\200\234Whites are fellow South Africans and we want them to feel safe and to know that we appreciate the contribution they have made towards the development of this country.â\200\235 That was very kind of him. But â\200\224 contribution?

Everything in the â\200\234developmentâ\200\235 of South Africa is the â\200\234contributionâ\200\235 of the whites. They have contributed its cities, its farmlands, its roads, its harbours, its schools, its hospitals, its power stations. They have contributed the cars and aeroplanes in which Mr Mandela travels.

They have contributed the means of printing the newspapers in which his words are reported and the means of distributing them. They have contributed the microphones through which he speaks at press conferences and the means by which what he says is transmitted to the world.

They have contributed the education without which he could not have become a modern political leader. They have even contributed the concepts of â\200\234equalityâ\200\235, of â\200\234one-man-one-vote democracyâ\200\235 and of

FORGET

â\200\234majority ruleâ\200\235 which fill his mind and proceed continually from his mouth. They have also contributed (though they probably cannot claim the â\200\234necklacingâ\200\235 technique as theirs) the petrol, tyres and matches with which Winnie Mandela once declared her people would liberate the country.

Without the contribution of the whites, there would be no South Africa. True, South Africa has not been created without great injustice (what country has?). But only those who created it can preside over the process of making amends, of creating a South Africa in which all its various and still unequal peoples may take their rightful place.

In such a wicked world as ours there is no more than a small chance that such an ideal South Africa â\200\224 it would be a kind of African Switzerland â\200\224 will come into existence. But because the odds against it are so great (and the alternative so dire), we who are not, after all, risking anything ourselves, should do nothing to make them greater. Instead of abuse, suspicion and malicious interference, the white South Africans deserve the worldâ\200\235s sympathy â\200\224 and indeed its active help.

â\200\224 Peter Simple, London Daily Telegraph



OCTOBER/NOVEMBER, 199

APART, obviously, from the ANC, the SA Communist Party and the fast-dissolving National Party, most South Africans view the Nobel Peace Prize awarded jointly to Messrs De Klerk and Mandela with dismay and disgust. Together with the Philadelphia Peace Award and other honours recently showered on this unlikely couple, all this is seen as a transparent foreign effort to influence the coming elections in favour of the ANC.

Further, the granting of such awards, in the midst of so much uncontrolled and uncontrollable violence, at a time when SA faces dangers of potentially apocalyptic proportions, typifies the West's blindness and indifference to the tragedies this country has lived through since our reformist President released Mandela in February 1990.

#### ANGUISH

Seldom has the anguish of so many of our people been more poignantly expressed than in a paper prepared by Suzanne Vos, senior IFP representative on the National Peace Secretariat since its inception two years ago. This was read out on her behalf at an Inkatha workshop convened by the Democratic Development Programme in Johannesburg, October 17/18. Extracts:

"The death and destruction continues ... you, my friends, still live in terror and we mourn and bury our dead day after day. We do this alone and in isolation. We have failed to bring to the attention of the world what is happening to our people. We have produced the proof of the murder of our leaders, members and supporters ... and there is silence.

"The leader of the ANC/SACP alliance is praised and our leader is damned by omission for the role he has played all his political life in pursuing the cause of non-violence and negotiation.

"Our leaders are being assassinated. Our branches in the townships are being smashed. Our people are being forced to flee their homes. Hostels are repeatedly attacked, residents cut off from access to food, transport and their places of employment. Few of our people have regular incomes, even fewer have phones or car.

"You are all extremely disadvantaged and your party asks you to do more and more in the face of all this horror and deprivation. A campaign of terror is being waged against IFP.

"Insofar as Peace Accord structures are concerned, many of you are disillusioned and I can understand why. I am, too.

"Now we learn that Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are the joint recipients of this year's Nobel Peace Prize. The head of the SA Defence Force and the head of Umkhonto we Sizwe have been internationally proclaimed as the fathers of peace and reconciliation in our land ... for (one presumes) all they are said

## THE NOBEL PROPAGANDA PRIZE

to have done to stop the violence in SA. Not that anybody here has noticed.

â\200\234The message is clear. MK has been sanctified. Brace yourselves, comrades. You havenâ\200\231t seen anything yet.

â\200\234In the week in which an ANC member, Mr Michael Phama, received 21 life sentences for the cold-blooded murder of 16 of our IFP members and another 192 years accumulative for 16 attempted murders, Mr Mandela receives the Nobel Peace Prize.

â\200\234In a week in which a Supreme Court judge said Self Defence Units (MK in disguise) are private armies, Mr Mandela receives the Nobel Peace Prize.

â\200\234In the week in which Mr Mandela received the Nobel Peace Prize, the ANC admitted it was openly training MK in townships around Durban. Mr Mandela has told his people: â\200\230If you want guns, join MK.â\200\235 They are joining MK. A total of 3 258 members of MK have been arrested for crimes of violence during the past 12 months.

â\200\234You, my comrades, are literally fighting for your lives. All of you are victims of apartheid. Many of you are illiterate and innumerate. Few speak English. For this you are looked down upon. My heart goes out to you. I hear you. I see your anguish. I salute your pride.

And now MK and its Commander-in-Chief have achieved the ultimate accolade. We are told that Mr Mandela might give some of his prize to MK. Let it be. We must now double and re-double our efforts to expose what is happening to us, the propaganda, the secret MK killing machines.

## QUEST FOR PEACE

â\200\234Our leader has witnessed the smashing of our homes â\200\224 he has seen our houses burning â\200\224 he is aware of the attacks on our hostels. He has met our refugees. He has seen the lists of our dead, our injured. He has attended the funerals. He is grieving with us. He has sent us messages of support, of love.

â\200\234For us, the quest for peace, for decency, democracy and truth is a dream. How are we going to make it a reality?â\200\235

APN COMMENT: Incredibly, it is reported, that the Nobel Selection Committee gave Mandela and De Klerk preference over the Salvation Army. All we can say is that the cherished word, â\200\234peace,â\200\235 has these days taken on some very strange connotations. Spoken by certain men, it means strife, struggle and war. The Nobel Institute is on record as saying that it is â\200\234uncomfortableâ\200\235 about some of the Peace Awards granted, that it is aware there have been â\200\234gaffes.â\200\235

Had some of these eminent Nordic gentlemen spent a few months in those outposts of awfulness, the SA

townships, watching the ANC-aligned â\200\234comradesâ\200\235  
necklacing opponent, including small children and  
family pets, had they gone into the countryside,  
watched the merciless slaughter of the old, the help-

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less, the defenceless and the infirm, they might well have had second thoughts about the ANC's ideas of peace

But who knows? Considering that the Leninist definition of peace is that condition when there is no longer any opposition to communism (a condition MK is striving valiantly to achieve) maybe the Nobel committee is just telling it like it is, and has given the prize and the loot to the right people. Talk about truth on the scaffold and treachery on the throne!

We suggest that, to purge their conscience, both our new Laureates should donate their prize money - all their prize money to buy food, clothing and shelter for the millions of South Africans now starving, homeless and workless, in no small part thanks to the actions of these same two peace lovers.

#### PEACE CONCEPT HIJACKED

ALSO speaking at the Inkatha workshop, Mr Hennie Bekker, MP for Jeppe and Chief Coordinator for IFP, made an equally telling declaration on the ongoing, ANC-inspired violence. The National Peace Accord, he said, specifically lays down (Page 15, Clause 373) that no private armies shall be allowed. Despite this, the ANC has ignored all calls to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe and its Self Defence Units (SDUs) well knowing that certain of these SDUs as well as individuals are out of control.

No less than 3 000 of the ANC-aligned cadres have already been arrested for criminal and other violence-related incidents. It is common cause that thousands of our card-carrying members have been assassinated in recent years.

Against that scenario, it is ironic that the ANC, with the support of the Democratic Party and other political groupings, should criticise Dr Buthelezi's call for the establishment of Self Protection Units for the Zulu nation, IFP members and other, non-aligned persons. The SPU envisaged by Dr Buthelezi will be established under strict discipline, strictly in terms of Clause 3 (7) of the National Peace Accord, to protect the lives and properties of people under our jurisdiction, or who are in association with the Zulus and IFP.

More than any other political organisation, the IFP has the most to lose from violence. The party has based its entire strategy on the need for peaceful change in SA. As a result, it is targeted as the prime impediment to the insurrectionary seizure of power. Key dates here were in 1979, when the IFP refused to take orders from the then-exiled ANC, and in 1983 when the UDF was formed as the internal surrogate of the ANC.

Large-scale political violence broke out the following year, ungovernability and People's War being the strategies adopted and leading to massive violence, primarily against fellow Blacks. IFP supporters

and members were drawn into the violence, but only because they were under attack. A deadly spiral of violence, counter-violence, retaliatory violence and revenge violence was set in place, devastating SA to this day. Indeed, despite the signing of the National Peace Accord in 1991, it is worse now than ever before.

â\200\234 Apart from the thousands of ordinary IFP members slain, Inkatha has had some 350 of its officials and lead-

ers assassinated, all of this having a dreadful impact on the partyâ\200\231s ability to organise and mobilise. The IFP desperately wants peace in our land. It has never advocated using violence for political ends, and has invested huge efforts in trying to build peace.

â\200\234 Various interest groups debate how a relatively peaceful election process could be attained. One suggestion is to bring in an international peacekeeping force, with the Police and SADF then confined to barracks. What these clergy and other do-gooders fail to realise is that it would require a foreign force of probably 120 000 to replace the Police and SADF within the unrest areas and to maintain sufficient levels of calm. I am sure that international observers and even the UN would agree that this would be totally impractical and unachievable.

â\200\234 On our side, we believe it would be far more effective to have sufficient and reputable international monitors to oversee events. The emphasis must be on the strict impartiality and reliability of such observers. Those organisations and governments which have already shown partiality, prejudice or hospitality towards certain of the participatory political parties would have to be excluded.

â\200\234 As far as a local peace force is concerned, the IFP has no fundamental problems with this proposal. Indeed, we initially quite favoured the idea. However, the mysterious and suspect manner in which the ANC and its communist alliance partners seem to have hijacked the peace force concept has forced an IFP re-think. IFP was astonished that, in terms of the proposals at the Multi-Party Talks, the peace force would in effect become an employment agency for Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres. To equate MK with the SADF and the KwaZulu Police is an insult.

â\200\234 Inkatha has been stigmatised as â\200\230spoilers,â\200\235 and accused of stalling the present negotiating process at the World Trade Centre. The question must rightfully be asked: What led to our re-appraisal of what is now happening there?

â\200\234 We signed the Peace Accord. We are involved in all the peace structures. We played a meaningful and constructive role in CODESA I and II. We had no part in the breaking up of CODESA and the stalling of the

Â® Continued opposite

negotiating process for 14 months. Neither did we take part in the mass actions and strikes that have brought the entire country to a standstill.

â\200\234Inkatha was, however, not part of the Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC/communist alliance. Neither were we part of the secret â\200\230bush beraadsâ\200\231â\200\235 where a joint government of national unity was agreed upon.

â\200\234We were right there when the Multi-Party Talks reopened in April. Recognising our responsibility as a major player, we participated, with optimism and sincerity, in helping draw up the first agenda, insisting

however that the major items on this should be (1) the violence and (2) the form of the future state. Then, all of a sudden, everything turned round.

â\200\234The previously agreed agenda had to be superseded, and an election date decided before the form of the future state had even been discussed. Inkatha warned, without avail, about the fallacy of such a process. We are committed to peace, and we will explore every avenue to establish a peaceful settlement. However, it will be futile if we settle for a quick-fix solution, which must inevitably plunge the country into still greater long-term turmoil.â\200\235

## FREEDOM

FACED with a virulent communist threat since the early 1960s, one which has escalated enormously since February 2, 1990, SA has long urgently needed, but never succeeded in establishing, a powerful anti-communist coalition. Now circumstances have forced this upon us. With SA now like a ship heading straight into the Bermuda Triangle, crewed by idiots, crooks and cowards, moderates and anti-communists of all races, creeds and cultures have been compelled, willy-nilly, into the new Freedom Alliance.

We donâ\200\231t suggest for one moment that this powerful new coalition will turn things rosy overnight. What we do say is that the alliance unquestionably does represent a major new factor in the entire SA power equation. All those in it favour: A constitutional society in which political power rests with the states and not an all-powerful Central Government. All are in favour of a free market economy. All are in favour of a true negotiated settlement, specifically to bring the fighting to a halt.

The new formation represents something unique in SA politics. The NAT Party professes to be multi-racial: it remains 99% White. The ANC also claims to be multi-racial: it remains 99% Black. The Freedom Alliance represents the entire SA ethnic and cultural spectrum. More real and genuine negotiation has taken place under its banner, and that of its forerunner, COSAG, than ever seen at the highly suspect Multi-Party Talks.

Oddly, in many ways, the Black participants have a much clearer understanding of the magnitude of this

giant new development than do most Whites. APNâ\200\231s long-time friend and associate, Mwezi Twala, former ANC political commissar and five-year graduate of Quatro detention camp in Northern Angola, now an IFP organiser, sees it as the most critical political step forward in SA since 1910.

That year, of course, saw the deeply flawed Act of Union become law in SA. At the National Convention which drew up the new Constitution for a new country, all the delegates were White: not even an African or Coloured representative from the Cape Colony. No

#### ALLIANCE

account whatsoever was taken of the wishes and aspirations of the Black inhabitants of the proposed Union. So a political colour bar was entrenched: and remained entrenched for 80 years. Not only did this mean the permanent and legal subordination of the Black people of SA, but above all it meant that Blacks and Whites were totally polarised.

As Mwezi points out, the gulf between Black and White from then onwards widened and widened. In 1948 the National Party came to power and the position was still further-exacerbated. â\200\234Now the threat of a Communist takeover, and the steady erosion of our values, of a proud heritage, have forced the anti-communists on all sides to come together, on the basis of mutually seeking a patriotic solution to all our political goals. As things stand now, both the ANC and the National Party have solutions prescribed for them by Washington and London. They are therefore not speaking or acting honestly, from the heart.

â\200\234The ANC, which through the SA Communist Party previously had Moscow as its master, has now found new masters in Washington: masters who have decided that the political solution for this country rests in a unitary state with a government of national unity, this comprising two parties: the ANC/SACP alliance and the National Party. Foreign efforts to promote this â\200\230government of national unityâ\200\235 are demonstrated by the various â\200\230peaceâ\200\231 awards being conferred on Messrs De Klerk and Mandela. Both these parties have agreed to accept IMF loans, a certain way of enslaving our people and eroding our national sovereignty.

â\200\234In the Freedom Alliance, our people have agreed to accept that they have differences, culturally, ethnically and politically, but have also accepted that we have one overwhelming binding factor: love of our country and a total determination to live as free men.â\200\235

Right on. And we on APN are particularly proud of all this, because it was in these columns that Grantland Bray first urged both the concept and the name, Freedom Alliance. Please join us in this struggle. If you want membership registration forms for IFP or the Volksfront, please write to us.

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WE note that Bill Clinton and other world leaders rushed to congratulate Messrs de Klerk and Mandela on being awarded the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize. For our part, we would like to take this opportunity to commemorate and pay tribute to the 343 IFP leaders butchered since 1985 by the ANC and its aligned groups, this in a savage and deliberate campaign aimed at destroying the Inkatha command structures.

We believe that if the new Peace Laureates had



one grain of decency between them, they would ask

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VICTIM

1985

Mrs J Mkhwanazi

Mr Shadrack Dlamini

Ms Nokuthula Gumede

Mr C Buthelezi

1986

MrMthuthuzeli Ngcobo

(18)

Mr Msizi Skhosana

MrE T Dlamini

MrSNdlovu

1987

MrBM Dlamini

Mr P Lembede

Mr Nhlanhla Nugbane

Miss Bongiwe Ndzaba

Mr Bhekithemba Nene

Mr A Dlamini

MrJoseph Duma

Mr Sizwe Zondi

Mr W SHill

Mr Elliot Mncwabe (18)

MrMusa (Mshini) Ndlovu

Mr O R Dlamini

MrKKubheka

MrS Ngubane

MrN M Shange

Mr Thamsanga Masinga

Mrs Mlambo

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PLACE

Soweto of ZolaNorth, Tvl  
(Vice Treasurer)  
KwaMakutha, Dnb  
(Chairman)

Dambuza, Pmb

(Y/B Secretary)

Hare Wood, Pmb  
(Chairman)

Dambuza, Pmb

(Y/B Chairman)

Imhali, Pmb

(Y/B Vice Chairman)  
KwaMashu, Dbn (CCM)  
Sobantu, Pmb  
(B/Chairman)

KwaMakhutha, Dbn  
Sewula, Dbn

(Deputy Treasurer)  
Mpumalanga,  
Hammarisdale (Treasurer)  
Willowfountain, Pmb  
(Vulindlela Y/B Regional  
Committee Member)  
KwaMncane, Pmb  
(Y/BBranch Chairman)

Henly, Pmb  
(Organiser)  
Sweetwaters, Pmb  
(Organiser)

Imbali Ward 4

(Y/B Organiser)  
KwaMakhutha, Dbn  
(Y/B Leader)  
Dambuza, Pmb

(Y/B Publicity Secretary)  
KwaPata, Pmb

(Y/B Chairman)

Inanda, Dbn (Chairman)  
Henly, Pmb (Chairman)  
Sweetwaters, Pmb

(Y/B Chairman)

Woody Glen,  
Hammarisdale (Chairman)  
KwaMakhutha

(Y/B Chairperson)  
Emachobeni, Dbn  
(Chairlady)

INCIDENT

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hacked

stabbed

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INKATHA\200\231S MA

the Nobel Selection Committee either to defer making the award till such time as they could show some real achievement in the cause of peace and

reconciliation: till the time the country is once again

cleansed of violence. Alternatively, that th  
should allocate their shared R3,1 million in priz  
money to the widows and orphans of the man  
many thousands who have perished as a result Â«  
the merciless political power struggle now bein  
waged in the country.

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VICTIM  
Mr Mtolo

Mr Gunundu  
Mr V Mnomiya  
Mrs D Ndlovu  
1988

Mr S Sibiya  
MrMthethwa  
MrM Nkosi  
MrSS Cele

Mr] Ngcobo  
Mrs Dlamini  
MrM Makhanya  
Dumisani Awetta  
MrNdebele

Mr A Mtolo

Mr S Ngcobo

Mr B Dlamini  
MrH Bhengu  
MrNzuza

MrMbhele

Bongani Buthelezi

MrD M Mbanjwa  
Miss Thandeka Nkehli

Fanyana Moses Majola

1989

MrM Zondo

Mr Phungula

Mr Sandile Sibiya

Mr Ntombela  
Mr Dlamini

V Ntimbane  
Mr Luthuli

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PLACE

Inanda, Dbn

(Publicity Secretary)  
Inanda Newtown, Dbn  
(Ward 1 Chairman)  
Inanda Newtown, Dbn  
(Executive)

Munywini, Pmb  
(Branch Treasurer)

KwaMashu

(Ward 2 Secretary)  
Mpumalanga

(Unit4 Chairman)  
Mpumalanga

(Committee Member)  
Mpumalanga Unit9  
(Chairman)

Mbabane, Pmb

(Vice Chairman)  
Mpumalanga

(Unit7 Chairperson)  
Ntshongweni

(Y/B Organiser)

Imbali Ward 4, Pmb

(Y/B Chairman)

Inanda (Chairman Inanda  
Newtown Ward B)  
Mpumalanga (Chairman)  
Munywini, Pmb (Treasurer)  
Mpumalanga (Secretary)  
Dindi, Pmb (Ward Leader)  
Ekuthuleni (Chairman)  
Bhambayi, Pmb  
(Committee Member)  
Phayiphini, Pmb

(Y/B Chairman)  
KwaMakhutha (Chairman)  
Mpumalanga

(Y/B Secretary)

Pmb (Ashdown, Chairman)

Inanda (Induna)

Inanda (Publicity Secretary)  
Kwa-Mashu Ward 2  
(Secretary)

Umlazi (Chairperson)  
Bhambayi, Pmb

(Publicity Secretary)  
Dalmeriy Farm (Chairman)  
Dalmeriy Farm

(V. Chairman)

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Here, in mute testimony, we present the list

INCIDENT  
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stabbed

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burned  
stabbed  
necklaced  
stabbed  
stabbed  
necklaced  
hacked

petrol bombed  
shot

stabbed

shot & stabbed

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shot

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shot/stabbed

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OCTOBER/NOVEMBER, 1993

those Inkatha leaders martyred by their ANC opponents. You will note that the campaign to liquidate IFP structures has expanded steadily over the years: four dead in 1985; 21 in 1987; 51 in 1990; 63 in 1992; 72 so far this year. ANC tactics in seeking to eliminate IFP leaders is a mirror image of those used by the FLN in its â\200\234victory through terrorâ\200\235 campaign in Algeria.

The FLNâ\200\231s strategy of employing torture, the more brutal the better, was specifically designed (1) to decimate trained leadership; (2) to discourage

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VICTIM

MrKhuzwayo

Mr Ntobelo

MrDladla

Mr H Nxumalo

MrM Kubheka

Mr Z Mkhize

Mr Sdu Ndlovu

Mr Z Nkehli

MrM Gwala

Mr Shabalala

Mr Cele

Mr TM Ngubane

Mr P Blose

Mr D Bhengu

Mr P S Nzimande

Mr S Gwala

Mr S Buthelezi

Mr Mbabiza Goumisa

Mr S Makhathini

MrMhlongo

Mr A Gasela

77 MrDManyoni

78 Mr]Mtolo

79 Mrs Phakathi

80 MrHlongwane



R.Fg BB

AR R R TR

Mr Buthelezi  
MrShame  
MrM Mbewu  
MrNkosi

MrNxumalo  
Mr] Zikhali

PLACE

Dalmeriy Farm

(Publicity Secretary)  
Inanda Newtown  
(Publicity Secretary)  
Ekuphakameni

(Vice Chairman)

Umlazi (Chairman)  
Ntshongweni (Treasurer)  
Inanda Newtown

(Y/B Publicity Secretary)  
Mpumalanga (Y/B Keadar)  
Mpumalanga Ward 10  
(Central Committee)  
Ntshongweni (Organiser)  
Inanda Newtown

(Vice Publicity)

Amawoti (Chairman)  
Mpumalanga Ward 7  
(Chairman)  
KwaNdwalande, Nobamba  
Portshepstone (Organiser)  
Kwa-Ngcolosi (Chairman)  
Swayimane (Organiser)

Emophela (Y/B Chairman)  
Swayimane (Chairman)  
Swayimane (Organiser)  
Swayimane (Organiser,  
Induna)

Matikwe (Executive)  
Imbali, Pmb (Y/B Vice  
Chairman Ward 6)  
Slangspruit, Pmb (Y/B  
Secretary)

Imbali, Pmb

(Treasurer Ward 4)  
Inanda Newtown  
(Secretary)

Inanda Newtown C  
(Y/B Leader)

Inanda (Committee  
Member)

Bhambayi, Pmb  
(Publicity Secretary)  
Ezimangweni (Disciplinary  
Committee Member)  
Ezimangweni (YBDC  
Member)

Inanda (Secretary)

Tongaat (Chairman)

INCIDENT  
stabbed

shot & burnt  
shot & burnt

shot  
shot & stoned  
stabbed

hacked  
shot

shot & burnt  
hacked

shot  
stabbed

chopped &  
burnt

shot

stabbed  
chopped &  
stone

shot

shot & stabbed  
shot

shot & stabbed

shot  
shot

decapitated  
stabbed  
stabbed  
stabbed  
shot  
necklaced  
necklaced  
stabbed

stabbed  
petrol bombed

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others from serving and (3) to provoke target groups into reprisal: to create a situation where they had to kill to survive. It was in Algeria, of course, that Mandela was taught the fearful but potent power of political violence. The difference is that there FLN atrocities provoked global moral fury. In SA it is rewarded by the Nobel Peace Prize. The abbreviations used in the list below are: Y/B, Youth Brigade; W/B, Women's Brigade; B, Branch; CCM, Central Committee member.

#### VICTIM PLACE INCIDENT

87 Mrs]Hlophe Matikwe (Vice Secretary) ~ burntina house with her family

88 MrM Mkhize Ngcolosi (Member) slit throat

89 MrBMkhize KwaNgcolosi shot

(Publicity Secretary)

90 MrsMbele Matikwe (Treasurer) burntina house with her family

91 MrGGumede Matikwe (Chairman) shot

92 MrBKhumalo Inanda Stop 8 (Vice burnt

Chairman)

93 MrsKhumalo Inanda Stop 8 (Vice burnt Chairlady)

94 MrMhlongo Inanda Newtown shot (Publicity Secretary)

95 MrMhlongo Inanda Newtown (Y/B shot Secretary)

96 MrNgiba Ohlange (Executive) shot

97 MrGwala Ezimangweni (Vice shot & burnt Chairman)

98 MrZMkhwana Ecabazini (Y/B Secretary) shot

99 MrM Mthethwa Ezimangweni (Y/B shot Publicity Secretary)

100 MrL Mbonambi Ezimangweni (Vice shot Secretary)

101 MrDlamini Ezimangweni (Vice shot Chairman)

102 Mr]Majola Ecabazini (Secretary) shot, stabbed & burnt

103 MrMNzama Inanda Newtown stabbed

104 MissMargaret Matikwe (Y/B Committee) throatslit & : burnt

105 Rev]Ngcobo Smero, Pmb (Branch stabbed, throat Chairman) slit

106 MrMandlaZondi Slangspruit (Y/B Chairman) ~stabbed/shot

107 MrM Goumisa Swayimane (Organiser) shot

108 MrBGowensa Mkhazini (Head Man/ shot Organiser)

109 MrBMsomi Mkhazini (Induna/ shot Organiser)

1990

110 MrTwoNgcobo Imbali, Pmb (Vice shot Chairman)

111 MrMzizi Inanda (Chairman) throat slit  
112 MrBPMhlongo Umbumbulu (Chairman) stabbed  
113 MrTNDlovu Ntuzuma (Y/B Chairman) throatslit  
114 MrFMbongwa Mbabane (Induna/ shot  
Organiser)  
115 MrBManyoni Slangspruit (Committee shot & stoned  
Member)

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& 159  
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VICTIM

Mr L Mhlongo

Mr S Nokwe  
MrMgenge  
Mr H Mzindle

Miss Z Shandu  
Mr] Mbhele

Mr Z Phungula  
MrM Mcoyi

Mr Msibi  
MrDladla  
MrNgubo  
MrMlambo

Mr S Ngcobo

Mr P Ngcobo

Mr Ntshangase  
Mr Jerrome M Mncwabe  
Mr EMkhize

Rev T Xaba

Mr B BMbhele  
Mr T Nkwanyana  
MrNzimande  
Mr] Ndlovu

Mr S Ndwalande  
Mr A Ngcobo

MrMkhize  
Mrs D Luthuli

MrW Luthuli  
MrGwala

MrKhuzwayo  
Mr AP Shange  
Mrs Duma

Mr M Shinga  
Miss B Dlamini  
Miss P Shandu  
Miss N Shandu

Mr DE Mchunu  
MrM Msani

Mr S Khumalo  
Mr Mbhele  
MrL Lombo

Miss BMajola  
Mr P Mbatha  
MrC Cele

Mr K Makhaye

Rev A Ngcobo

PLACE

KwaMashu L (Publicity  
Secretary)

Tongaat (Chairman)  
Bhambayi (Chairman)  
KwaNdwalande (Organiser)  
Tribal Police (Betania)  
Umgababa (Youth C  
Member)  
KwaNdwalande (Vice  
Organiser)

Vice Secretary  
Emagabheni (Vice  
Chairman)

Ntuzuma (Chairman)

Ekuphakameni (Chairman)

Woodyglen (Executive)  
Inanda, Emachobeni  
(Organiser)

Ndwedwe (Publicity  
Secretary)

Ndwedwe (Secretary)  
Taylors Halt (Chairman)  
Imbali Stage 2 (Chairman  
Ward 6)

Emagabheni (Chairman)  
Greytown (Secretary)

Emagabheni (Y/B Chairman)

Ezimangweni

(Publicity Secretary)  
Bhambayi (Publicity  
Secretary)  
KwaNdwalande, Nurchison  
(Organiser, Tribal Police)  
KwaNdwalande, Mbotsha  
(Treasurer, Councillor)  
Mthwalume, Qologolo  
(Organiser, Councillor)  
Esikhawini (Chairman)  
Ndwedwe (Organiser)

Ndwedwe (W/B Committee

Member)

Ndwedwe (Branch  
Committee Member)  
Umgababa (Induna)  
Azalia (Chairman)  
Sweetwaters, Pmb  
Emawoti (Chairman)  
Imbali (Secretary)  
Umgababa (Secretary)  
Umgababa (Committee  
Member)

Umgababa (Secretary)

Emagabheni (Vice  
Chairman)  
Ezimangweni (Vice  
Secretary)

Matikwe (Publicity  
Secretary)  
Mvundleni, Pmb  
(Chairman)  
Greytown (Secretary)  
Dube, Jhb (Chairman)  
Wema Hostel (Chairman)

Sweetwaters, Pmb  
(Chairperson)  
Smero, Pmb (Chairman)

INCIDENT  
shot

stabbed  
not clear  
burnt in his car

burnt to death  
burnt

stabbed  
shot

necklaced  
stabbed  
stabbed/shot  
shot

shot

stabbed/burnt  
shot  
shot

shot & stabbed  
shot  
shot  
shot

throat slit  
burntalive  
burntalive  
chopped

shot  
burntina  
house  
burntina  
house  
stabbed

shot

slit throat  
shot

shot



shot  
burnt  
burnt  
  
shot  
shot &  
burnt  
shot  
  
burntinacar  
shot

shot  
shot  
burnt  
shot  
  
shot/throat slit

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VICTIM

1991

Mr Frank Dube

MrJack Maphumulo

Mr P Mthalande

Mr Alfred Duma

MrDumisani Nsindane

Rev CNdwalane

MrMdingi Maphumulo

Mr Mkhize

Mr P Mthembu

Mr Thulani Mlambo

MrK Lamula

Mr Ntanzu

MrS] Hlela

Mr E Khumalo

MrM Khumalo

MrZ Ngubane

Mr K Mthembu

Nzama Ndabazini

MrM Gasa

Mr Ntama Mtolo

Mr S Sibisi

Mr S Sibisi

MrV C Zulu

MrM Nsindane

Mr] Nzuza

MrJotham Mkhize

MrMantayi Zondi

Mr Mantayi Zondi

Inkosi Dingizwe Jerome

Ndlovu

Mr Sibusiso Bhengu

Mr Nxele

Mr Ndodi Thusi

Mr Absolom Zulu

Mr Wilfred Sabelo

Mr Bangukufa Cele

Mr Petros Fana Ngcobo

Mrs Kedibone Mokalao

Mr Cele Obert

MrMfungelwa Ngcongo  
Mr Mbhekiseni Gwala

Ndlovu Walter

Mr Sipho Mthembu  
Ms Doris T Caluza

MrMgoduso

Mr Wiseman Mthembu  
Mr Canwell Ngidi

PLACE

Mbubu, Pmb (Organiser)  
Swayimane (Chairperson)  
Mnkangala (Organiser)  
Zayeka, Pmb (Organiser)  
Zayeka, Pmb (Organiser)  
Mbotshana (Mbotshana)

Maqonggqo (Vice Chairman)

Richmond (Ward Leader,  
Organiser)

Vosloorus (Youth  
Chairman)

Transvaal (Leader)

Murafe (Youth Leader)

Richmond Farm (Organiser)

KwaMashu (Organiser)  
KwaMashu Hostel (Vice  
Chairman)  
Meadowlands (Mayor/  
Chairman)

KwaMpande, Pmb (Ward  
Leader, Organiser)  
Umgababa (Ward Leader)  
KwaWosiyana, Ndwedwe  
(Leader)

Emalangeneni (Y/B Leader)  
Endaleni (Organiser,  
Ward Leader)

Imbali Stage 2

(Publicity Secretary)  
Imbali (Publicity Secretary)  
Malukazi (Chairman)  
Phatheni (Y/B Treasurer)  
KwaMashu, Dbn

(Branch Chairman)  
Mafakatini (Secretary)

INKATHA\200\231S MA

INCIDENT

shot/hacked  
shot  
hacked  
hacked  
hacked  
shot

shot

shot

shot

shot &

burnt  
handgrenaded  
shot

shot

shot

shot  
shot

bombed  
shot

shot  
stabbed

shot  
shot  
stabbed  
shot  
shot

shot

Wembezi (Branch Chairman) shot  
Wembezi (Branch Chairman, shot

Estcourt)  
Ixopo (Leader)

Umkomaas (Branch  
Secretary)

Maqongqo, Table Mountain

(Organiser)

Ndalení (Organiser)  
Mjika, S. Coast (Organiser)  
Ngwelezane, Empangeni  
(Publicity Secretary)  
Mtongwane, Murchison  
(Leader)

[mbali stage 2, Pmb  
(Secretary)

Reagile (Organiser)  
Greytown, Nhlalakahle  
(Organiser)

Umbumbulu

Mbalenhle, Secunda (Y/B

National Executive Member)  
Elfndskop, Pmb (Organiser) shot

Bhidla, Bulwer (Organiser) ~ setalight  
Matimatolo, Greytown shot

(W/B Secretary)

Mathulini, Tongaat shot

(Branch Chairman)

Mtengwane (Local Leader) ~ gunned down

Dube Hostel, Tvl (Chairman) shot

shot

stabbed

shot

shot

bombed

shot  
shot/throat slit

shot

stabbed/burnt  
shot

shot  
shot

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER, 1993

"YRED LEADERS e

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.~ VICTIM PLACE INCIDENT VICTIM PLACE INCIDENT \$  
; R  
207 MrThomas Geabashe ~ Maqongqo (Table Mountain) shot 245 Simelani Mr Odondolo, Ngwelezan  
e ~ shot g  
208 MrMomomoNdwalande Bhomela (Murchison) stoned/shot (Committee Member) =3  
(Ward Leader) 246 Ngobese Mr Blebelands Hostel shot ,'.  
(Chairman) u  
1992 y iy â\200\230 247 MrOupa Smith Boipatong (Publicity necklaced 5  
09 MrSonias Mthembu Esî-\202q\ewml, Empangeni stabbed/ Secretary)  
(Activist) 4 chopped 248 Magubane Khulekani Matshana, Mpangeni shot  
â\200\23110 MrMlozane Mhlongo Nseleni, Empangeni burnt toashes (Organiser)  
; (YouthLeader) 249 Miss Zoleka Miya Alexandra (Y/B shot  
'11 MrJoshua Jazangeni Enseleni, Empangeni shot Secretary)  
(Chairman) : 250 Nzimande Fana (45) Mkhobeni, Richmond shot  
'12 MrWinnington Sabelo Umlazi (Central Committee shot (Ward Leader, Organiser) A%  
Member) y ; 251 SobisoMapuDuke (50) Ndeleni (Ward Leader, shot 5  
'13Â° MrMadlala KwaMbonambi (Organiser) shot Organiser) â\200\231;\_%  
'14 MrMnandiDladla Wembep, Escourt shot 250 ShelembeBheki Enkanyezini, Table shot â\200\231  
rî-\202;  
, (Organiser) ) Mountain (Branch Secretary) 56  
115 MrMdlalose Tobias Isitingini, Table Mountain shot 253 DlaminiSigaxa Ngale Dam/KwaNyavu  
, shot %5  
(Branch Chalrmz.m) Table Mountain (Leader, â\200\230B  
116 Ngubane Simon Umlazi (Y/B Regional shot & stabbed Tribal Councillor) b  
Siphosenkosi Organizing Committee 254 MrZuma KwaNyavu, Table Mountain shot ye  
Vice Secretary) , (B Committee Member) s  
17 MrElton Gumede Esihlonyaneni (Organiser) shot 255 MrMthembeni Xulu Ningizimu (Organise  
r) hand grenade 36  
18 MrNgwenya Chris Wesselton, Tvl (Leader) shot 256 MrGidion Sibiya Ningizimu (Organiser) h  
and grenade o)  
19 KhanyileJohn Enkanyezini, Table shot 257 MrNdondiya Ngcobo Umbumbulu (Organiser) stabbe  
d g%  
Mountain (Branch Vice 258 MrMNgcobo Umbumbulu (Organiser) stabbed X  
Chairman) ) 259 Shandubhekuyise Gadali Niew, Empangeni(Ward ~ shot  
20 MrAlison Goqo Soweto, Dube (Chairperson) shot Leader, Organiser)  
21 Nxumalo Simon Alexandra, Tvl (Chairman) shot 260 MrJotham Xaba Alexandra (Y/B Deputy s  
hot  
22 ZunguRobert Sithebe, Mandini shot Secretary)  
(Organiser) 261 Khanyile Alison Odlameni, Swayimane burnt  
23 Dlamini Mnycle (75) Phatheni, Richmond shot (Tribal Councillor)  
(Leader) 262 Bhengu Zachariah Odlameni, Swayimane shot R  
24 Madlala Masenti Phatheni, (Leader) shot (Induna, Organiser) P2  
25 Mbambo Alson, Mr Esikhawini, Mpanger}i stabbed 263 MrNicholasNzimande ~ Umbumbulu (Organ  
iser) stabbed â\200\230:  
(Ward Leader, Organiser) 264 Ndlovu Velias (26) Hlathikhulu, Escourt shot >  
26 MrKhumalo Nembe, Mandini (Branch shot (Constituency Organiser, f-  
ot Chairman) Branch Chairman) A  
27 MrDominic Mhlongo Etholem, Umbumbulu shot 265 MsibiPeter Ezakheni C Section stabbed/ston  
ed { E  
: (Organiser) â\200\230 (Y/B Committee Member) v  
28 MrLolo Shezi Hopewell, Ixopo (Organiser) shot 266 InkosiMdlaloseâ\200\231sInduna Bhukumt  
hetho, Nquthu shot &  
29 MrAnthony Zulu Ezingolweni shot (Ward Leader) Q'  
(Chairperson) 267 NgcoboNhlayenza Imbali Stage 2, Pmb shot G  
30 XabaMeshack Bruntville, Mooiriver shot, stoned Fanuel (29) (Branch Chairman) o3

(Committee Member) & stabbed 268 Masondo Robert Ezakheni (Committee stabbed/stoned b  
 31 MkhwanaziJothan Enseleni (IFP Y/B Organiser shot Member) â\200\234â\200\235,  
 Mjabhiseni and Advisor) 269 Mdakane Themba Ezakheni C Section shot &  
 | 32 Shiyabekhala Mr (35) Folweni, Umbumbulu shot (Deputy Secretary) 27  
 (Organiser) 270 MrKubheka Ezakheni C Section necklaced e  
 33 MrShiyabekhala Umbumbulu (Organiser) shot (Committee Member) 5,  
 34 MrMdwelwa Shoji Folweni (Organiser) shot 271 ZuluAnthony Izingolweni, Harding shot i\ s  
 135 Shoji Joseph Mdelwa, Mr Folweni, Umbumbulu shot (Branch Chairman) gâ\200\231  
 (Organiser) 272 Muvelase Bhekani Ezakheni (Y/B Committee) shot&  
 36 Mswane Isaak, Mr (49) Wembezi, Escourt shot necklaced %  
 (Branch Treasurer) 273 Madududu Mcitsheni, Ladysmith necklaced (only -;â\200\230&  
 37 MrBhabhalaza Dladla Murchison (Organiser) shot (Local Leader, Publicity ash of his body  
 L  
 38 Nxumalo Zephaniah Umlazi, Dbn (Organiser) stoned Secretary) was left) -r 7  
 Jabulani 274 Mrs Sesi Khumalo Tembisa (W/BOrganiser) shot FLg  
 39 MrSamson Majola Murchison (Leader) shot 275 NlabaFranceKenny, Mr Sundumbili, Mandini sh  
 ot =4,  
 10 Najola Samson B, Mr Mntengwane, Murchison shot (Y/B Chairman) 2  
 (Organiser, LDRCrep.) 276 DumaMthokozisiRalph ~ KwaNyavu, Table Mountain shot 3  
 tl MatulaJohannes Gengeshe, Richmond shot (18) (Y/BOrganiser) 2  
 (Organiser) 277 MrSilomo Gazu Boipatong (Publicity necklaced &  
 2 ThusiDumisile, Mrs Nomganga, Wartburg shot Secretary) : \$d  
 (Organiser) 278 Mnqayi Gadi Mazawula Ward, shot â\200\234Ar  
 | #3 MlondoJohn Sigisi, Mpangeni shot/stabbed Empangeni (Branch .  
 | (Organiser, Councillor) Chairman) By  
 14 Mchunu Mvimbezeli Nomganga, Wartburg shot & burnt 279 Mr Andrias Khoza Tigane (Y/B Regio  
 nal shot Â¥t  
 | (Chairman) Deputy Secretary) Â® ToPa ge 16 â\200\230i,,  
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INKATHA\200\231S MAI

VICTIM PLACE INCIDENT VICTIM PLACE INCIDENT

Sibiya Thethelela KwaMashu Hostel shot 297 MrKubheka Ezakhem CSection necklaced  
 o (Chairman) (Committtee Memtfer)  
 = 281 MrKhandalesizwe Cele Ezingolweni (Ward Leader, shot 298 Zulu Anthony Izmgolwem,. Har  
 ding shot  
 v i. IFP Leader) (Branch Chairman)  
 Ay 282 ZuluMbongeni Mazawula Ward shot 1993 . : \200\230  
 3= (Empangeni) 299 Madududu Mcitsheni, Ladysugth necklacgd (onl  
 \202-, 283 Ndebele Bhkuyise Umlazi T Section shot (Local Leader, Publicity ash of his bod  
 y,  
 2 Ephraim (Councillor, Regional i Secretary) 3 was left)  
 % Member) 300 Mrs SesiKhumalo Tembisa (W/B Orga.m'ser) shot  
 "!.? 284 Dlamini Caiphus KwaMbonambi (Branch shot 301 MlabaFrance Kenny, Mr Sundumplh, Ma  
 ndini shot  
 .\200\230% Chairman) i (Y /B Chalrman) .  
 o 285 Ngubo Vikinhlahla Dalmeny Farm shot 302 DumaMthokozisi Ralph KwaNyam, Table Mountain  
 shot  
 ii Leonard (Ntuzuma) (18) (Y(B Organiser) B  
 \201g 286 SenzelabaniMr KwaWoyane, Indwedwe shot 303 MrSilomo Gazu Boipatong (Publicity nec  
 klaced  
 K (Local Leader) s \201 Secretary)  
 o 287 CeleMandlenkosiJacob CSection, Umlazi shot 304 MnqayiGadi Mazawula Ward, shot  
 % (59) (B/Secretary) Emgangem (Branch  
 2 288 Mtshali Julia Phola Park necklaced \201 Chalrman) .  
 g 289 Marcus Makhanya Hopewell, Ixopo shot, stabbed, 305 MrAndrias Khoza Tigane (Y/B Region  
 al shot  
 3 (Y/B Chairman) burnt 133 Deputy Secretary)  
 290 MrNicholasNzimande ~ Umbumbulu (Organiser) stabbed 306 Sibiya Thethelela KwaMashu Hoste  
 l shot  
 a3 291 Ndlovu Velias (26) Hlathikhulu, Escourt shot y (Chairman)  
 i-\201 (Constituency Organiser, 307 MrKhandalesizwe Cele Ezingolweni (Ward Leader, shot  
 bt Branch Chairman) IFP Leader)  
 ES 292 MsibiPeter Ezakheni C Section stabbed/stoned 308 ZuluMbongeni Mazawula Ward shot  
 g (Y/B Committee Member) (Empangent)  
 E\201S 293 InkosiMdlalose\200\231sInduna Bhkumthetho, Nquthu shot 309 Mvelase Bhkani Ezakh  
 eni (Y/B Committee) ~ shot\201  
 i (Ward Leader) necklaced  
 294 Ngcobo Nhlayenza ImbaliStage 2, Pmb shot 310 Ndebele Bhkuyise Umlazi T Section sho  
 t  
 Fanuel (29) (Branch Chairman) Ephraim (Councillor, Regional  
 295 Masondo Robert Ezakheni (Committee stabbed/stoned Member)  
 Member) 311 Gumede Siphiwe Ubombo (KLA member) shot  
 296 Mdakane Themba Ezakheni C Section shot 312 Dlamini Caiphus KwaMbonambi shot  
 (Branch Chairman)

(Deputy Secretary)



LeAgt Yo

THE formidable Polish-born philosopher, Leszek Kolakowski, described mendacity as â\200\234the immortal soul of Communism,â\200\235 adding that â\200\234the gap between reality and the facade has become a sort of normal, natural way of life.â\200\235 We will now turn to the hugely successful Sonke (â\200\234All Of Usâ\200\235) Festival staged, at a cost of millions, by the ANC/SACP at Durbanâ\200\231s Kingâ\200\231s Park Stadium late in October. The ANC-supporting Johannesburg Star gave the attendance at between 60 000 and 80 000. Indeed, so great was the turn out that it allowed Nelson Mandela to intone that â\200\234it proves the ANC calls the shots in Natal . . .â\200\235

Maybe so. Maybe not. Inquiries by APN suggest that the widely used full-page ads used to draw the crowds could hardly qualify as â\200\234truth in advertising.â\200\235 Many, if not most, of the Zulus present were drawn there on false pretences. Many went, expecting to get messages from their ancestors. All they got was an electioneering message from Nelson Mandela: as a Xhosa, hardly able to shape up as a Zulu tribal father.

Suspecting that there was a lot more to this event than met the eye, APN invited two independent observers to comment on the proceedings. 5

OBSERVER NO 1: â\200\234The ad placed in the IFP paper,

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Ilanga, and The Sunday Times was a deliberate move to confuse and mislead not only the media but the rank-and-file Zulu into believing he would â\200\230hearâ\200\231 what his ancestors predicted. The draw card was therefore not the ANC but, if the ad is evaluated for its impact, was designed to attract persons steeped in their traditional tribal habits and therefore attendance cannot be assessed as being political. The strategy of holding such a meeting immediately before bilateral discussions between the SA Government and IFP is quite obvious. Any inference that IFP is on the wane is misleading and dangerous because of the nature of the event staged.

â\200\234A large part of the crowd comprised children and teenagers well below voting age, confirming the manipulatory aspect of the gathering. Further, Kingâ\200\231s Park cannot hold 60 000. It only holds 42 000 when full, the figure given when King Zwelethini held his imbizo. Intimidation is escalating at such an alarming rate that many people are now avowing ANC membership,

"YRED LEADERS swsveyimsmpessstomesnn \_

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER, 1993

VICTIM PLACE INCIDENT

Khawula Tollman Paddock, Mqantsheni shot  
(Chairman)

Nkwanyana Mbadleni Nsingweni (Local Leader) shot

Madoda

Mkwanazi Mzofikile Egunjaneni, Mtubatuba shot  
(B/Chairman, Ward Leader)

Luthuli Thokozani Montobello (Leader) shot

Hadebe Bhokokwakhe Bethal, Bergville shot

(58) (B/Secretary)

Malinga Ethelbert Cabazini, Ixopo (Leader) ~ shot

Ndlobu Thembi Bhomela, Paddock, shot  
Portshepstone (Y/B  
Chairperson)

Luthuli Thokozani Montobello (Local Leader) shot

Hadebe Bhokokwakhe Bethal, Bergville shot  
(B/Secretary)

Malinga Ethelbert Cabazini, Ixopo (Leader) ~ shot

Ndlovu Thembi Elizabeth Bhomela, Portshepstone shot  
(Y/B Chairperson)

Nkosi Dumisani (22) Mbabe Ward (Y/B shot  
Chairperson)

Ndwalane Funzuyise  
Mbongwa Duke

Leader (Betania, Murchison) shot  
Wembezi, Estcourt (Leader) shot

VICTIM PLACE INCIDENT

313 Ngubo Vikinhlahla Dalmeny Farm shot 330

Leonard (Ntuzuma)

314 NzamaNdabazini KwaWosiyana, Ndwedwe shot 331  
(Leader)

315 Senzelabani Mr KwaNoyane, Indwedwe shot 332  
(Local Leader)

316 CeloMandlenkosi C Section, Umlazi shot 333

Jacob (59) (B/Secretary) 334

317 MitshaliJulia Phola Park necklaced

318 LuthuliZakhele Phineas Ngwelezane, Sigisi shot 335  
(V/B Chairman) 336

319 Marcus Makhanya Hopewell, Ixopo shot, stabbed,  
(Y/B Chairman) burnt

320 NzamaNdabazini Ndwedwe, KwaWosiyana ~ shot 337  
(Ward Leader, Branch 338

Secretary)

321 ButheleziMkhombiseni ~ KwaMthethwa, Ekusayeni shot 339

(Chairperson) 340  
 322 ZuluMcupheni Ozwathini, Emathulini shot  
 (Organiser) 341  
 323 MitshaliMandla Emakhashini, Wembezi shot  
 (Committee Member) 342  
 324 KhwelaMandlenkosi Umlazi Unit 17 shot 343  
 (39) (Leader)  
 325 BasiNP Zakheni, Ladysmith shot  
 (Councillor, Leader)  
 326 MitshaliMandla Wembezi (Committee shot  
 Member)  
 327 LuthuliMr Sigisi, Empangeni shot  
 (V/B Chairman)  
 328 Sithole Bonginkosi Wembezi (Chairperson) shot  
 Ggiba  
 329 MzothoJapan Gamalakhe, Portshepstone shot

A A N e R I e T

(Chairperson)

-,

\*\*This list was prepared by the Violence Study Unit of the Inkatha Institute, Box 2415, Durban 4000. APN is very well aware of the appalling sufferings that have been inflicted on the IFP and Zulu people. If you can offer any financial support, we urge you to do so. It is most desperately needed. Send your cheques either to APN, marked Inkatha Relief, to the Inkatha Institute, or directly to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Executive, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Ulundi 3838. We particularly address this most urgent appeal to our overseas subscribers.

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whereas in fact they are far from being members.â\200\235

OBSERVER NO 2: â\200\234The ANCâ\200\231s Southern Natal Region was involved for months in the planning of this Festival. ANC members were bussed in from all over Natal to the venue, from areas as remote as Weza on the Transkei border. Many at the event appeared to be ANC supporting youths, though it was equally clear many more were not ANC supporters.

â\200\234An extravaganza on this scale is unprecedented in the Natal region. The cost of the event has been placed at millions of rand. About 40 sangomas and 5 000 singers and dancers were engaged to perform at the event, many of them well known in Natalâ\200\231s Black community. The event was preceded by saturation advertising, including full page advertisements in Natal

newspapers. The ANC even hired space for a full page Zulu ad in Natal's IFP-supporting Ilanga, with an estimated one million Zulu readers.

Natal's Daily News claimed attendance of about 60,000, but according to the Natal Rugby Board, own-

ers of the stadium, maximum capacity is 42 000. Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini declined an invitation to the Festival, ostensibly aimed at paying tribute to past heroes such as Zulu King Dinizulu and Mahatma Gandhi, lumped together with sundry radicals such as Rick Turner, the late SACP leader, Yusuf Dadoo, Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi and others.

In a display of hypocrisy exceptional even by ANC/SACP standards, ANC leaders who customarily scorn Zulu traditionalism paraded around in traditional garb. ANC Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe wore a head-dress that in Zulu tradition would be worn only by members of the Zulu royal family. Whether Radebe meant to give insult by this or was simply displaying his ignorance of Zulu culture is unclear.

The festival seemed to make more of a media impact than anything else. It was shunned by almost all Zulu traditional leaders, and Zulu traditionalists are angered by the offence given by inviting the Zulu monarch to this jamboree, with its implied equation of the monarch to ANC activists. The festival represented little more than an attempt to get a traditionalist band wagon going for the ANC in Natal, with very limited success.

## APN AND THE HANI CASE

QUITE obviously, the ANC/SACP alliance has a vested interest in seeking to punish or destroy anti-communist activists in this country at this time. Equally obvious APN, with its particular philosophies, has never been a big hit with the radical alliance or with its many willing collaborators in the media. Accordingly, - from the day that Hani was killed in April last year, we suspected that, given half a chance, our adversaries would in some way attempt to link us with the assassination: this because our published views on the gentleman rather powerfully conflicted with the idea of an innocent man, a â\200\234peacemaker,â\200\235 ruthlessly gunned down in his prime.

And so it transpired, though ironically it was the defence that opened this particular can of worms. In his plea on behalf of Janusz Walus, his older brother, Wytold Waluz, handed in to court four separate issues of APN. In these we had dealt with Hani as leader of the SA Communist Party and his involvement with violence and terrorism while heading up Umkhonto we Sizwe.

## PUBLICLY REPUDIATED

Particular note was made, in court, of APN No 134, a special issue based on the SACP document, The Path To Power. In this, we recalled that on occasion Hani had been publicly repudiated by former ANC leader, the late Oliver Tambo, both for his bloodthirsty rhetoric and the merciless attacks on â\200\234softâ\200\235 civilian targets â\200\224 â\200\234a classic example the July 1986 bomb blast at Johannesburgâ\200\231s Ellis Park Rugby Stadium, killing two and injuring 30. Tambo insisted at the time that such attacks were â\200\230not ANC policy.â\200\235â\200\235

We continued: â\200\234Hani boldly and directly contradicted this, telling the SA Weekly Mail: â\200\230We are prepared to see a wasteland if that is the price of freedom â\200\224 the bombs were to tell Whites that we can creep and crawl next to you. It is ... a position of armed propaganda.â\200\235â\200\235 We completed the article with this sentence: â\200\234South Africans would do well to pray that Hani never gains power of any sort in this country.â\200\235

The older Waluz argued that his brother had studied these documents closely, and taken the warnings much to heart. Having suffered under communism in Poland, he had no wish to see the same miseries inflicted on his new homeland.

Later, after Judge Eloff had handed down sentence, ANC leaders addressed the excited crowds, and the international TV cameras, outside the Rand Supreme Court. According to a report in The Citizen, 15.10.93, such ANC spokesmen â\200\234... slammed the alleged role played by rightwing publications such as Die Patriot and the Aida Parker Newsletter, which made the assassination of Hani acceptable. This was confirmed by the evidence of Wytold Waluz, and the constant references he made to these ultra-rightwing propaganda rags. The role these publications have played

in this sordid conspiracy must be deplored.â\200\235

It was further stated that justice has not been done and, we are told, there were demands that APN in particular be made the subject of a judicial commission of inquiry and arraigned as central to the conspiracy to assassinate Hani.

Who on earth, we asked ourselves, could take such paranoia seriously? We soon found out. Hours after the verdict, we were phoned by Ms Peta Thornycroft of the Johannesburg Sunday Star, whose subsequent article, 17.10.93, appeared under the headline 'Waluz's View of SA Twisted by Radical Rants'. Final two paragraphs of Ms Thornycroft's article read: '... the court heard evidence that it was her (Gaye Derby Lewis) propaganda scribblings in Die Patriot and the raving but profitable newsletter produced by right-winger Aida Parker which Waluz and his brother pored over for years. These two publications helped shape their views on SA.' Our comments:

1. We have long believed that, finally, it is only South Africans who could defeat SA. We believe The Sunday Star to be busy helping to do just that. Reading Ms Thornycroft's remarkable journalism, could there be any question where her sympathies rest? Further, positively and negatively, the weight of the Star's stable has for many years fallen on the side of radical socialists. The Sunday Star, a strange and disappointing paper pushing the politics of surrender, carries this tendency to the point where it becomes virtually impossible for the views of anyone other than radicals to obtain a fair and impartial hearing. In the case of Ms Thornycroft and certain other Sunday Starwriters, the

benefit of the doubt is always given to the radicals, a privilege seldom extended to non-communists or anti-communists. And they call it journalism!

2. What the ANC - and, by inference The Sunday Star - seeks to convey to the public is that those presenting the facts about the communist threat in SA, as APN has sought to do over the past decade, represents nothing more than a criminal conspiracy. The communists don't threaten SA of its future, they argue. Anti-communists do, so they must be neutralised or destroyed, their names smeared, their friends and supporters frightened and alienated.

3. We, on the contrary, believe with US publisher William A Rusher that should the SACP indeed succeed in coming to power amid all the chaos they have done so much to create, this country will become a giant, open-air shooting gallery for decades to come. What we can do to stop that, we must.

4. By inference the ANC and The Sunday Star suggest that APN encouraged, perhaps actually welcomed, the death of Hani. That is a flat lie. Hani had many enemies, both on the right and on the left. He was mentioned again and again in the Douglas Report

Â® Continued opposite

into atrocities in the ANC detention camps in Northern Angola and elsewhere. He had become a major propaganda liability to the ANC. As such, we believed that he was infinitely more valuable to the right alive than dead.

5. All the statements made by the ANC and The Sunday Star constitute defamation of the worst kind. We defy any impartial reader of APN to find anything we have written to be an invitation to murder.

6. The ANC/SACP has plenty of old scores to settle with APN. These came to a head in January 1991 after we broke the ring of media silence and, against the most urgent Government requests, published the first full expose, complete with photographs of many of the dead and missing, of those who had suffered internment in Quatro and other ANC detention camps.

7. Seeking to soften and brighten their image, both the ANC and the SACP are today desperately attempting to present themselves as â\200\234centristsâ\200\235 â\200\224 an illusion vastly facilitated by the withering of the National and

Democratic Parties. Against that, all citizens, Black and White, who are Christian, patriotic, anti-communist, who favour laissez-faire capitalism and social morality are nailed as â\200\234rightwing,â\200\235 â\200\234ultra-rightwing,â\200\235 probably fascist, even neo-Nazi. Communists â\200\224 and the media â\200\224 are very good at character assassination.

8. The evidence given by the older Waluz therefore provided a most useful opportunity for the ANC to allege â\200\234guilt by association.â\200\235 Their out-of-court statements provide a substantial and most disturbing pointer to what we can expect should these radical groups indeed come to power. Their opponents will be harassed and persecuted, on the same pattern as occurred in the old USSR, with its gulags and â\200\234psychiatric unitsâ\200\235 for dissidents and recalcitrants opposed to Marxist ideology.

\*\*APN No 134 is central to this debate. For those subscribers who are curious about this issue, copies are available at R10 each, APN address on back page.

#### THE HAITIAN SNAKEPIT

SOUTH Africans who take note of such things were flabbergasted to see that Bill Swing, former US Ambassador to Pretoria, is now Ambassador to Haiti. A career set back? Not at all. A blue-chip senior US foreign service office, Swing arrived here in August 1989 as Washingtonâ\200\231s hatchet man: mission ... to supervise the end of more than 330 years of White rule and its replacement by â\200\234majority democracy in a unitary state,â\200\235 preferably in the hands of the US-supported, US-financed, Communist-dominated, violence-prone ANC.

During his tour of duty here, Swing many times crossed the line of acceptable diplomatic tactics. Now this aggressive exponent of the New World Order and what he terms a â\200\234global democratic surgeâ\200\235 is busy preparing for Haiti what he had already sought for SA: the achievement of US-style â\200\234democracy.â\200\235 His message to Haiti, even more explicit than to SA: â\200\234Do what we say,

or else. Accept our form of democracy! Or die!

#### COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE

Many even in the US Congress find what Washington is doing to Haiti to be completely unacceptable. Poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, Haiti is totally defenceless against its giant aggressor, against the modern US model of conflict resolution... the brutal club of sanctions and all-out oil embargo. Even before sanctions, the majority of Haiti's 6 million people were earning less than US\$50 a year.

Each of the 70 000 workers who have since lost their jobs because of sanctions was feeding seven mouths: 500 000 people. So great is the resultant human degra-

dation that even The New York Times now reports

this murderous punitive action?

To return to power the deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide with, on US demand, Rene Theodore, Haiti's Communist Party leader, as his Prime Minister. Haitians sang and danced in the streets when Aristide came to power, by popular vote, on December 16, 1990. Their joy was soon over. Within seven months he had already driven his people to the wall. He was ousted by the Army in October 1991.

#### NECKLACING

The Army had good reasons for deposing Aristide, a strange sort of democrat in any man's language. Among other things, he implicitly endorsed the traditional Haitian tactics of political protest, dechouage and pere le brun. Dechouage, a Creole word meaning uprooting, occurs when a mob descends on a house and literally destroys everyone and everything in it. Pere le brun is a Haitian form of necklacing, though unlike the ANC the mob hacks off both arms before the victim is incinerated.

According to the Canadian Globe & Mail, 9.10.91, Aristide the democrat â\200\224 wholeheartedly endorsed necklacing. It quoted him as saying: â\200\234It's a beautiful instrument, a beautiful device, it's beautiful. Such a nice smell. You like to breathe it everywhere you go ...â\200\235 Yet, as colleague Simon Barber has pointed out, in the US State Department pantheon of heroes, Aristide enjoys the same saintly status as Nelson Mandela. Possibly for much the same reason.

A protege of Socialist International, with particular support from Danielle Mitterand, wife of the French President, Aristide is often described in the US media as â\200\234a popular Roman Catholic priest.â\200\235 This seems



something of a distortion, seeing that he is shunned by the Vatican and was expelled from the Salesian Order in 1988 for â\200\234glorifying class struggle.â\200\235 He has also been repudiated by most of the Haitian Bishops, this because of his active encouragement of violence against his own people and assassination plots against political rivals.

Quite soon after his inauguration as President, this defrocked priest was recruiting members of the dreaded Ton Ton Macoutes death squads operated by former president â\200\234Papa Docâ\200\235 Duvalier, this to set up a Special Presidential Service (SPS). At the time Aristide was thrown out of office, he had 3 000 of these murderous thugs on the Government pay roll. On his direct instructions, police chief Roger Lafontant was murdered: while in September 1991 Pastor Silvio Claude, the head of Haitiâ\200\231s Christian Democratic Party was necklaced, mutilated and dragged through the streets of Le Cayes by Aristide supporters.

#### MASSIVE STARVATION

During his exile, Aristide lived in utmost luxury in Washington, sustained by payments drawn from blocked Haitian funds, authorised by the State Department. When, at a conference at New York City Hall with Black Mayor, David Dinkins, reporters noted that the embargo was causing massive starvation, Aristide replied that â\200\234the peopleâ\200\235 were willing to â\200\234accept these big sacrificesâ\200\235 since â\200\234the solution is having democracy back in Haiti.â\200\235

In a press conference dealing with US efforts to restore him to office, Aristide threatened that his â\200\234Lavalosâ\200\235 mobs would make Haiti â\200\234burn like Los Angelesâ\200\235 unless he did regain power. US officials do not deny that Aristide is a man obsessed with violence.

An unnamed US diplomat, interviewed by the Washington-based publication Human Events, agreed that â\200\234Aristide promoted mob violence, necklacing and social discord. He was intent on settling old scores. He scared the hell out of people.â\200\235

Under unrelenting US pressure, Haitian Army Commander General Raoul Cedras signed an accord on July 3, whereby Aristide would be returned to power. He was forced to sign the accord, said Cedras, because the UN/US oil embargo was slowly killing the' nation. â\200\234Food is running out. Children are dying. The country will be ruined.â\200\235

#### RECOLONISE

The accord was not well received by most Haitians, who fear it is an excuse to recolonise them. With justification. Haiti has felt the American whip before. In 1915, the US invaded the island, a military occupation that lasted till 1934. Now it is desired to bring Haiti under UN trusteeship, this on the grounds that it, like Somalia, is not a â\200\234viableâ\200\235 nation.

Once Aristides is returned to power, the people have been promised, all sanctions and embargoes will be lifted, US and UN aid will flood in, and, enough to terrify anyone, 1 000 foreign experts will be sent in to re-organise the country's civil service, police and military. In other words, accept our domination, surrender your sovereignty, welcome home as your leader a dangerous psycho, and all will be forgiven. No wonder so many Haitians, including the Army, are totally baffled by the course the US is determined to inflict upon them.

And so it goes. Haiti, seemingly, is to join Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands as yet another US Caribbean colony. Peru and Cuba are probably next on the list for US democratisation.

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