

MANCHESTER UNION LEADER

Saturday Sep. 20, 1986

Front page (p. 1).

Thomson Tours South Africa

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — Former Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr., touring South Africa, said yesterday he believes Archbishop Desmond Tutu favors civil war in South Africa, if that is necessary for blacks to obtain power.

Thomson said he interviewed Tutu at Bishops Court.

Thomson said he had asked the archbishop if apartheid were fully eliminated, would that satisfy the blacks and then sanctions might be dropped.

Thomson reported Tutu said blacks would not be satisfied with anything less than full political power.

Thomson reported he then asked if civil war came, would

not the communists take over and fill the vacuum left.

Thomson, governor for three terms from 1973 to 1979, reported that Tutu told him he would become a communist if that is what were required to gain full political power for blacks.

Thomson also reported that Tutu said domestics would use means other than weapons if war became necessary, and that the war would be a very different kind of war.

Thomson plans to explain more fully what transpired in his conversation with Tutu in his column in The Union Leader after he returns from South Africa.

South Africa Black Infighting: Fuel for Propaganda

149

By Glenn Frankel

Washington Post Service

The following report was written under state of emergency restrictions imposed by the South African government. The restrictions forbid reporters to refer to actions taken by security officials unless authorized by government officials or to report statements that the government considers subversive.

JOHANNESBURG — It has been, by recent South African standards, a fairly normal week of civil unrest: 29 black persons have died, a little below this year's weekly average.

But what has made the deaths stand out is that all but one of the victims were killed by other blacks, according to the state Bureau for Information.

Several of them were by the "necklace" method, the grisly execution ritual in which a victim's hands and feet are bound and a gasoline-filled tire is set around the neck and set alight. Two others were reportedly saved from a similar fate by the police.

For both the government and its opponents, the question of what is officially

called "black-on-black" violence has become a crucial propaganda issue, and the fiery necklace its most potent and troubling symbol.

The deaths fuel Pretoria's assertion that

NEWS ANALYSIS

the unrest is no longer a conflict between a white-minority government and a disfranchised black majority, but rather a war among blacks themselves.

Each black-on-black death is cited as evidence that blacks are not ready to govern each other, let alone whites, and furthers Pretoria's assertion that it is struggling to resist not legitimate black aspirations but a faceless, barbaric mob that would trample Western values and wreak havoc on whites if it came to power.

Thus the information bureau in statements this week categorized the killings as "a desperate reaction of radicals against the restoration of order and to gain a hold over the peace-loving majority by intimidation."

Anti-apartheid opponents, in turn, contend that the government is concealing the fact that many of the deaths are committed by blacks considered allied to Pretoria, many as self-appointed vigilantes who enjoy the tacit and at times active support of local police.

Ultimately, these opponents hold the apartheid system responsible for creating and capitalizing on splits within the black community and for a process of brutalization that has transformed many young blacks into urban warriors who condone, and even celebrate, the necklace ritual.

"I believe necklacing is horrible and I can't agree with it," said Seth Mazibuko, a top official of the Soweto Civic Association, which is affiliated with the United Democratic Front, the country's leading anti-apartheid coalition.

"I understand why people do it," he said. "The apartheid system puts such a terrible anger into the people it hurts. But it actually stigmatizes our struggle."

There is an uncomfortable ambivalence among many blacks about the war inside

their townships. While disliking the necklace, many believe it has served to erode and frighten off the vast network of police informers that has been a major factor for the state in the past in undermining the organization of an effective opposition.

"We want to make the death of a collaborator so grotesque that people will never think of it," Tim Ngubane, an official of the outlawed African National Congress, said in California last October.

Winnie Mandela, wife of the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, told black mourners at a funeral in April, "With our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country."

One measure of the intensity of the propaganda war being waged here is that both statements were repeated by the government this week in its effort to characterize

See BLACKS, Page 6

Western labor leaders have arrived in South Africa to show their solidarity with the black labor movement. Page 6.

(Continued from Page 1)

"black-on-black" unrest as the last gasp of desperate militants.

As the daily death rate has doubled during the past year, the percentage of deaths attributable to black-on-black violence has also risen.

Between September 1984 and January 1986, according to South African police, nearly 60 percent of the deaths were blacks killed by security forces. But for the first six months of this year, according to the police and independent researchers, the figure dropped to about 33 percent.

UN Extends Lebanon Force

United Press International

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The Security Council unanimously agreed Friday to extend the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon, for a further six-month period.

Since the emergency decree took effect June 12, the information bureau, which is now the sole body authorized to release news on civil unrest and police activities, contends that more than 75 percent of the 157 deaths have been blacks killed by other blacks. Because of restrictions on news coverage, it is not possible to verify those figures.

Many opponents argue that the police distort the numbers by underreporting black deaths, an allegation police officials deny.

The state's "black-on-black" figures, they note, do not offer a breakdown of who killed whom and thus lend little support to the contention that radicals are responsible for most of the deaths.

The black-on-black issue lies at the heart of the new state of emergency, which the government says it imposed to restore order and end the rampant intimidation that terrorizes the silent majority in many of South Africa's black townships.

But churchmen like Bishop Desmond M. Tutu and leaders of the

United Democratic Front say the police crackdown and the arrests of at least 4,000 activists, many of them with affiliations to the front, have had the opposite effect by taking off the streets those who can impose a measure of order on younger militants.

Mr. Mazibuko, the front leader in Soweto, interviewed in central Johannesburg where he has been underground from the security police for several weeks, described how youths were enforcing a rent boycott by going from house to house and threatening elderly residents with burnings if they pay.

"We've got to stop this one or else there could be chaos," he said. "They wouldn't do this if members of the Soweto Civic Association were still around. But we're all in hiding or in jail."

Mr. Mazibuko and other front leaders say they are also troubled by increasing conflict between their supporters and the followers of the Zulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. More than 60 persons died in

Durban last August in clashes between the chief's Inkatha movement and front members, and a low-scale war has burned ever since.

The Zulu chief is a relatively conservative among blacks. Several front leaders believe that despite differences in ideology, it is time to conclude a truce with the chief to cut down on black deaths. They say they are seeking to arrange a private meeting with him.

Whether the Zulu chief will agree remains unclear. But few of the government's opponents would argue with his words at the rally three weeks ago.

"If we do not do something about the high toll of deaths of blacks at the hands of blacks," he said, "we are on the verge of a civil war situation which will never be stopped, even if liberation is achieved tomorrow. I tell you bluntly today that we will never win the struggle for liberation if we divide ourselves one from the other through violence."