



“LIBERATORY INTOLERANCE”

The phrase “liberatory intolerance” was used by the ANC at Dakar in July 1987 when they met a delegation led by Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA).

The ANC explained that when they “took power” in South Africa they would *not* accord any safeguards to minorities but would safeguard individual rights under a majority government. As the leaders of the liberation movements they would *not* tolerate any political rights for “reactionaries and racists”.

This outlook was summarized in their slogan of “liberatory intolerance”. The ANC would decide who was “racist” or a “reactionary”.

In an article in the Sunday Star (August 2, 1987), Dr Andre du Pisani, director of research at the South African Institute of International Affairs, reported on various views expressed at the Dakar meeting with the ANC which he also attended.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, of the

University of the Witwatersrand, had argued the case for “unity within diversity” and hinted at a system capable of balancing a variety of power centres.

“In response to Professor Schlemmer’s pleas for ‘open pluralism’, the ANC argued the case for a more restricted form of pluralism, based on the principle of ‘liberatory intolerance’.

“This implies that, in the name of ‘true liberation’, certain ‘reactionary’ and ‘racist’ forces will not be allowed to operate politically . . .”

At the ANC’s Kwabe conference the following organisations were declared “reactionary”: Inkatha, the PAC, the Black Consciousness Movement, the Unity Movement and the Workerists.

It therefore appears that any organisation or its members or its supporters in the liberation struggle that have opposed the ANC will be classified as “reactionary” or “racist”.

“What we need is a culture of tolerance”

“Undisciplined behaviour by members of the United Democratic Front and COSATU would not be tolerated and perpetrators would be punished, about 10 000 of the organisations’ supporters were told at a peace rally held in Edendale.

“Mr A S Chetty, chairman of the Midlands branch of the UDF, said supporters at the rally were warned that disciplinary action would be taken against any members who participated in violence or acted in an undisciplined manner — such as, for example, attempting to force other township members to join their organisation . . .”
The Natal Mercury

“Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned Inkatha members at the weekend that it could be suicidal for black politics if they took the law into their own hands ‘to mete out instant justice as they see it’.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said: “Inkatha’s unity is sacred to the nation. Let none destroy it. It has mechanisms for peace and structures for handling conflict which must be employed . . .”

“I have seen signs of fracticidal developments in some of your local conflicts. As your elected leader, all I can do is hang my head in shame, for these developments will be suicidal if we allow them to increase within the black body politic.”
The Natal Mercury

“CERTAIN CURRENTS REPRESENT THEMSELVES AS THE SOLE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE AND THEY WANT TO MONOPOLISE POWER . . .”

“The violence in the community is related to an absence of a democratic ethos and a lack of political education and understanding of the social dynamics of this country.

“Certain currents in the movement as a whole have taken it upon themselves to represent themselves as the sole representatives of the people and they want to monopolise power.

“It is laughable and reprehensible that a part of the movement which calls itself ‘democratic’, systematically denies these rights of democracy, such as the right to present different political points of view.

“If you believe in absurdities, such as intolerance, you end up committing atrocities.

“The totalitarian mind is intolerant of other people’s viewpoints.

“At the University of the Western Cape in 1986, the SRC took an absurd decision not to entertain political activity from any group other than the one they had committed themselves to.

“The result was violence.

“This kind of thing repeated itself on a number of other campuses.

“We have to create a culture of liberation in which tolerance is encouraged. We have to develop a culture of tolerance of other people’s songs, slogans, symbols and ideologies . . .”

“Political organisations will have to play the main role in creating this democratic ethos to prevent more political violence.”

— DR NEVILLE ALEXANDER, Cape educationist and social scientist, speaking at a seminar on violence in Durban in October. *Sowetan*, October 20, 1988.

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If one looks at South Africa as a whole — and taking into account the national State of Emergency regulations — the levels of violence being experienced are unprecedented.

In Cape Town, for example, both in the “coloured” and black townships, the violence among the rival gangs such as the Ntsaras, the Adderleys, the Young Americans and the Bad Boys has extremely detrimental effects on the life of the communities.

Soweto is internationally

accepted as one of the most violent cities in the world with murders, burglaries, rapes and other assaults a daily occurrence. In the Eastern Cape gangsters, “kangaroo courts” and tension between various political groups torment residents.

And in Pietermaritzburg the killing continues, in spite of the recent COSATU/Inkatha settlement which is still in the process of being put into action. To date more than 1 000 lives have been lost.

A researcher at the University of

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"I have to take into account that there are activists (in the UDF) who are radical and influential, very influential . . .

"Recently I met with youths in one of the townships. We were talking about this very violence. I found there were rife arguments about splitting the UDF.

"When I pointed out that the attacks were in the black community, that no people in white townships were victims,

and that therefore we had to look for the answer in the black townships, I was told I am a racist.

"Some agreed with that accusation, others didn't. I found people at leadership level in that group very much more inclined towards, should I say, coercing others to comply with their requests and understanding . . .

"Well, the expression I heard used was that he (somebody who did not

know about or did not comply with a call for a work stayaway) must be steamrollered and run over. That is talk that is somewhat popular with some people who feel they are in a position to coerce people into doing what they want done."

MR ARCHIE GUMEDE, CO-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT. Interview, *Leadership magazine*, Volume Six, 1987



". . . No matter our differences, then and now, I stress the urgency of the (Pietermaritzburg) situation . . .

"When I wrote to you (previously) about black unity, I meant it. I made it clear that I was not advancing "elaborate suggestions" (as I put it) about how best we can achieve this. I was asking you and the UDF to think about our joint responsibility to this country and, specifically, our duty to positively reach out to our brothers and sisters who have

suffered so much for so long . . .

"Men, women and children are being butchered. Apartheid continues to kick us in the guts. And yet, we are pathetically shouting at each other from public platforms. It shames me. It shames us both . . .

"In some way, however tentatively, is it not possible for us to stand back, pause, and think positively as to how we can motivate the considerable constituencies around us into action for the

common good. Can we not agree to disagree?

"Both nationally and internationally we are seen as foes whose supporters are engaged in a "fight to the death". Did we personally author this so-called "battle"?

What is happening around us both sickens and disgusts me."

DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI — LETTER TO UDF CO-PRESIDENT, MR ARCHIE GUMEDE, February 1988

MP tells of roaming bands of homeless youngsters

Natal's child bush gangs shock



Mr Pierre Cronje

DAILY 3-10-88

Martin Challenor
Political Reporter

POLITICAL violence has created bands of children "a couple of thousand" strong who roam from one trouble spot to another between Durban and Howick and run protection rackets, Mr Pierre Cronje, National Democratic Party MP for Greytown, said at the weekend.

Mr Cronje spoke to a report-back meeting of the Thousand Hills Partnership in Waterfall about the children, whom he likened to pirate gangs and flocks of birds.

The Thousand Hills Partnership is an organisation set up to help refugees from the fighting in the Umgeni River Valley area.

Protection rackets

"We have a couple of thousand displaced children who live in the bush and get chased from

place to another," he said. "They are answerable to nobody except themselves."

They used bogus ruses to collect money and also ran protection rackets with security guards, collecting money from them on pay days.

About 600 of the children moved into Molweni, armed with axes and pangas to protect people from local chiefs who had threatened to evict residents who they felt did not belong in the area.

Mr Cronje said the bands were created when political organisations began forced recruitment drives. Parents threw them out of their houses when the fa

The Daily News, Durban, October 3, 1988

Political violence has created bands of children "a couple of thousand" strong who roam from one trouble spot to another between Durban and Howick and run protection rackets.

The above was a headline story in the Durban Daily News of October 3, quoting Mr Pierre Cronje, National Democratic Party Member of Parliament for Greytown.

Mr Cronje, was speaking to a report-back meeting of the Thousand Hills Partnership in Waterfall about

the children, whom he likened to pirate gangs and flocks of birds.

The Thousand Hills Partnership is an organisation set up to help refugees from the fighting in the Umgeni River Valley area.

Mr Cronje said: "We have a couple of thousand displaced children who simply live in the bush and get chased from one place to the other. They are answerable to nobody except themselves."

They used bogus ruses to collect money and also ran protection rackets with security guards, collecting money from them on pay days.

Mr Cronje said many of the

children had been "thrown out of their homes" by their parents when the families became targets for political violence.

He added that peace initiatives between COSATU and Inkatha could not deal with the problems as they were not under the organisational discipline of any movement.

"What needs to be done is to bring some security into their lives, some place such as a school or recreation centre, rather than a rehabilitation centre"

At the report-back meeting, five black women asked for protection for themselves and 21 others.

Living conditions in Pietermaritzburg

The 350 000 to 500 000 inhabitants are workers, middle-class people, unemployed, housewives and retired persons. Many are the victims of forced removals.

Investigations suggest that there is on average one breadwinner for every 15 people and that these people earn on average R150 to R200 per month. It is estimated that 70 percent of people in the Pietermaritzburg townships are living below the breadline.

The locations are situated far away from the main town centre, isolated from bus routes and most remain

completely undeveloped with untarred roads, few or no street lights, no drainage, poor service of bucket latrines, few water taps and water supply shortage.

Electricity is scarce and too expensive to afford. The increase in rents has created more problems.

An average of 11 people occupy each house, almost all houses being one or two-roomed.

Most of the houses are of poor quality and very few have electricity. In many areas people use communal taps and latrines.

Health services are inadequate, education is of a poor standard and

there are few, if any, recreational facilities.

The poor living conditions worsened after the floods and damage was estimated at between R5-million and R10-million. Hundreds, possibly thousands, of huts were destroyed in the area.

Unemployment is as endemic in the township as is violence.

The economically depressed state of the area offers little or no opportunities for regular work.

Large numbers of residents are totally dependent on handouts and relief supplied by Christian agencies and other organisations.

NATIONWIDE INTIMIDATION

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Natal in Pietermaritzburg, Wendy Leeb, was quoted by the Sunday Tribune (October 16, 1988) as reporting that the violence has begun escalating in the city centre of Pietermaritzburg as people move from trouble spots in the townships.

An estimated 20 000 refugees have fled their homes in the townships to escape the killing.

"The violence has been occurring mainly at black gathering points like bus depots," she told the Sunday Tribune.

"They are mostly revenge murders for violence committed in the townships."

In this article and elsewhere in Clarion Call, the violence in Pietermaritzburg and in other parts of the country is examined with emphasis on research conducted in the areas concerned.

Criminal elements

Township residents belonging to both the UDF and Inkatha indicated in interviews that many deaths which were *supposedly* politically motivated, were nothing more than "revenge killings".

The research noted that one of the "most crucial" elements was the role of the criminals in the townships concerned.

The "comrades" (who use this term about themselves) were "on the rampage" in the Pietermaritzburg townships.

They operated in gangs or packs of between 15 and 25 members.

They killed political persons indiscriminately but also indulged in murdering ordinary people in the townships so that rival organisations would be blamed for the killings.

The researchers reported that various "political murders" committed by criminal elements were carefully planned and that activists

"Terror acts" increasing

There has been a dramatic upswing in the number of "acts of terror" in the past three months, Brigadier Herman Stadler, chief of intelligence with the Security Branch of the SAP, said in the College Road Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg in October.

According to statistics produced in court by Brigadier Stadler, there had been 31 "acts of terror" in July, 19 in August and 46 in September.

Brigadier Stadler was giving evidence at the trial of five men charged with fourteen counts relating to terrorism, taking part in ANC activities, illegal possession of machine guns or rifles, ammunition, grenades and bombs and possessing unlawful publications.

He said the total number of attacks stood at 184 at the end of September. October's total (so far) was 32 bringing the total to 216.

In his evidence to the Supreme Court, Brigadier Stadler gave the following breakdown of attacks as at the end of September; 62 were aimed at civilians, 44 at the police, 12 at the military, three at the judiciary and 37 against "the system", a catch-all phrase embracing anyone or anything associated with the government. Four attacks were termed "miscellaneous".

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in October: "The total number of terror attacks this year is more than 200, half of which have already been solved. In some areas the success rate in solving terror attacks is as high as 90 percent."

The Star reported that the latest wave of attacks was preceded by a statement from Mr Chris Hani, deputy commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, justifying attacks on white civilians as the beneficiaries of apartheid. He was later repudiated by the ANC.

"Since then, however, there have been attacks in which civilians have died and in which it has not been easy to identify a "strategic" target, indicating that ANC leaders either are not in full control of their men or that the repudiation of naked terrorism is a cynical public relations exercise," said reporter Patrick Laurence.

South African Press Association, October 19, 1988 The Star, Johannesburg, October 26, 1988

of varying political persuasions were killed because it was believed that the murders would destroy any seeds of alliances between various organisations.

In other words, the criminal element had taken strong advantage of the UDF/Inkatha political/ideological conflict.

Political killings were only one aspect of their activity. The

"comrades" rampaged in the townships. They controlled the drug and sections of the drinking traffic and many taxis.

The survey stressed the following:

"Unless both organisations (the UDF and Inkatha) join the struggle towards the complete elimination of the activities of the thugs, there is no chance for real peace in the townships."

Youth, unemployment and frustration

In independent research conducted into the nature and causes of the violence around Pietermaritzburg, intense frustration was noted in 68 percent of the youth sample. They felt circumstances blocked them from prospects of a better future.

It was these young people who found themselves generated towards group formations from where aggressive expression and violent intent were inevitable.

Only 12 percent of the total research sample identified the UDF/Inkatha conflict as a vital component of the continuing violence.

When the researchers questioned youth who were directly involved in the violence, 95 per cent of the activists — despite using the names Inkatha and UDF — had no political or ideological understanding of these movements.

They had no formal or even informal connection with them and quite often did not recognise the names of the leaders of the political movements they claimed to belong to.

Yunus Carrim, a sociologist and Natal Indian Congress (a UDF affiliate) executive member, has noted the following:

"People (in Pietermaritzburg) simply do not have the basic material

conditions to live humanely and in their frustration and outrage they hit out at each other instead of the system, which is more difficult to attack".

This statement corroborates evidence gathered in the survey when the researchers were repeatedly told:

The chief cause of the violence is unemployment and frustration . . . "

About 80 percent of the unemployed are under 35 years of age, 46 percent less than 25 years old and 15 percent under 20 years of age.

Of men interviewed in the study, 85 percent had been out of work for more than six months, eight percent for more than two months and the rest were partially employed.



Psychological stress

Numerous research has proved with any doubt that the loss of a job leads to anxiety and severe psychological stress, which are effects of economic instability and poverty.

The majority of people interviewed in Pietermaritzburg expressed themselves in terms of self-inadequacy and depression.

Researchers witnessed several important effects of the unemployment issue among the residents. There were signs of serious disorientation and confusion

regarding the future. There was a direct relationship between joblessness and the violence and a great many people in the community were shocked at both their personal and the collective experiences of violence.

High anxiety and distress characterised many people interviewed because money was scarce and attempts at job-seeking had proved fruitless.

The researchers noted: "At this stage anxiety and distress can easily be transformed into aggression and militancy of all sorts."

There were "significant factors" leading to the correlation and connection between unemployment and conflict/violence.

The UDF/Inkatha conflict was not rated highly among those interviewed. Only 12 percent of the people regarded this political issue as a vital part of the violent situation in their areas.

The words more often used were not "Inkatha", "UDF", "Buthelezi" or "Gumede", but "thugs", "poverty", "sickness", "starving", "no jobs", "no prospects of work" and "crime".