

Now ANC says renegade unit slaughtered family

Sunday Times NOV 15/92

THE ANC has blamed renegade members of one of its own self-defence units for the slaying of a family of six in Sebokeng this month.

When the family of Mr Ephrain Zwane, believed to be ANC supporters, were shot dead this month, the ANC claimed that an assailant wearing an SADF T-shirt had been seen running away from the scene.

ANC members called on the authorities to find quickly the perpetrators of the "heinous crime".

But now, after investigation by a committee co-ordinated by Mr Obed Bapela, deputy general secretary of the ANC's PWV region, the organisation believes members of one of its own self-

defence units were responsible for the killings.

Members of the investigating team say that there appears to be a power struggle in the Vaal between returned exiles and internal members.

They add that they also suspect the involvement of criminals and "third force elements" from the state security services who have infiltrated the self-defence units.

SA Communist Party head Chris Hani, who has been involved in peace efforts in the area, said the renegade SDU members were involved in vehicle hijackings, forcing traders to pay "protection

money", setting up roadblocks and barricades, and robbing people.

"Rape has become prevalent, with schoolgirls being raped and killed. We feel some SDUs have been infiltrated by the system, and criminals have taken over due to the volatile situation in the Vaal."

Mr Hani added: "The situation is very dangerous for the ANC alliance. People are beginning to say these people call themselves Comrades and they are killing us. It is a situation the government,

By CHARLENE SMITH

military intelligence and the National Intelligence Service would enjoy. I suspect they are fishing in troubled waters.

"But it is not enough for us to make pious statements opposed to the violence; we have to take affirmative steps to end the violence."

Mr Hani said an urgent summit would be convened in the Vaal before the end of this month to try to find ways to end the violence.

He said a contributing factor to renegade forces within MK was that large numbers of former soldiers had returned with no jobs or prospects into violence-ravaged communities which expected assistance from MK cadres.

A R330 000 fraud recently uncovered at the National Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles had also meant that large numbers of returning exiles had received little or no money to assist them to re-integrate into society.

Two ANC commissions are investigating increased lawlessness among its alleged supporters in the Vaal. The first, headed by Mr Bapela, is concentrating specifically on violence in the area.

The other, headed by the organisation's deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob Zuma, is investigating problems being experienced by Umkhonto we Sizwe, including the involvement of some of its members in the Vaal violence as well as elsewhere.

The Vaal commission has paid particular attention to conflict between the National Union of Metalworkers of SA

and self-defence units under former MK cadre Ernest Sotsu.

Mr Sotsu's wife and two children were killed by unknown assailants while he was attending the ANC national consultative conference in Durban last year.

After that Mr Sotsu went to live in the

Sebokeng hostel. This coincided with the outbreak of hostilities between Numsa unionists and a rival committee called Top 20, with which Mr Sotsu is involved.

These units have been blamed for the killing of eight Numsa members, including five shop stewards, since May this year.

Similar

ANC leaders also admit that similar hit-squad activity is taking place among SDUs in other parts of the Vaal, the Natal Midlands and southern Natal.

Other incidents in which the involvement of rogue self-defence units is suspected are:

- The gunning down of Mr Prince Mhlambi, a community worker in Phola Park, who became the third member of that community's civic association to be assassinated after MK members had seized control;

- The death of an elderly woman in the Witbank area;

- The attempted assassination a fortnight ago of Mr Bavumile Vilikazi, a senior ANC Vaal activist;

- The shooting of two teenage girls, Jacobeth Rantso, 18, and Rose Mohalane, 19, in Evaton after an ANC SDU claimed they fraternised with Inkatha residents in the Kwamadala hostel.

- MPHO GIFT SOLOMON MOSEBI, 14, the youngest victim of the Sebokeng massacre, was buried at Evaton cemetery yesterday to the rattle of AK-47's fired in salute by youngsters.

At the funeral, a child — no older than 13 — was seen to borrow an AK-47 from a youth, cock it, fire rapidly into the air and then return the weapon to its owner.

AP1992-17-11-15

16/11/92

Unpopular, but Nats still supported by most whites

MOST whites think the government is making a mess of running the country, but are prepared to continue supporting the National Party.

The reason, it would appear, is that they are even less impressed with the performance of its chief rival and only serious contender for power — the ANC.

A survey conducted among 1 000 whites by Market and Opinion Surveys for the Sunday Times in October this year shows whites think the government has handled most issues poorly.

Crime

The running of the economy received the worst rating, with 69 percent of respondents believing it was being handled poorly or very poorly.

The surveyors ranked respondents' opinions on an index of 0 to 100. The government's handling of the economy received an index rating of 25, its handling of negotiations with the ANC 41, its response to ANC

By EDYTH BULRING
Political Correspondent

demands 31 and the manner in which it dealt with the controversy surrounding the national anthem and flag 29.

The only two issues perceived as being reasonably handled by the government were crime prevention by police (65) and relations between the Ciskei and South Africa (51).

Despite this vote of no-confidence in the government's performance, 51 percent of the respondents said they would vote for the National Party if a parliamentary election was held today — a growth of five percent in support since March this year.

Voter support for the DP increased by three percent to 13 percent, while support for the Conservative Party dropped nine percent to 21 percent. The ANC would receive a meagre 0.4 percent support among whites in an election, the survey shows.

Most of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents said

they would vote for the NP (58 percent) or the CP (29 percent) while most of the English speaking respondents said they would vote for the NP (47 percent) or the DP (30 percent).

The survey shows a sharp downward rating of the ANC and its president Nelson Mandela.

Blow

Over 80 percent of the respondents held a poor opinion of the ANC while over 70 percent held the same opinion of Mr Mandela and the organisation's chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa.

Over 65 percent of the respondents said their opinion of Mr Mandela had worsened and 70 percent indicated their opinion of the organisation had also changed for the worse over the past eight months.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi emerged as the political leader that 56 percent of respondents held in high esteem, second only to President de Klerk who was favourably rated by 66 percent.

Sun. Times 15/11/92

Calls for Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate massacre on BLOODY FRIDAY

FRIDAY'S massacre in Umlazi of 18 people — including 15 women and a child — has led to calls for Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the matter urgently.

Archbishop Denis Hurley and other members of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee have asked the judge to convene a commission of inquiry into the war waged at Umlazi over the past three months.

Jeff Radebe, regional chairman of the ANC said they specifically wanted the commission to investigate the role of the KZP in the violence.

Kim Hodgson, of the Inkatha Institute, also wanted the judge to investigate, but denied collusion between KZP and Inkatha.

Police have stepped up their presence and have been urged "to do everything in their power to prevent further violence this weekend", while

the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC's Jeff Radebe have been requested to appeal for calm.

This week 26 people were killed in the squatter camps of Umlazi. The death toll in the area for the last month is reportedly 80.

The ANC has claimed that the KwaZulu police led Friday's dawn attack. This has been denied by the head of KZP, Colonel Moses Khanyile.

Residents of Uganda squatter camp who spoke to the *Sunday Tribune* claimed the attack was carried out by IFP-supporting Unit 17 hostel dwellers led by a 200-strong KwaZulu police force in full uniform.

Men interviewed at Uganda ascribed the high number of deaths among women and children to the fact that they were shot in their beds while the men were in the hills.

Thabo Thulo

The attack came from an unexpected direction and when the men rushed to the rescue of their women and children a high number had already been killed.

In a press statement the ANC further charged that the SAP, instead of calling for reinforcements, "ran away" and only returned 90 minutes later, claiming that there were too many KZP members who were also better armed.

The SAP denied the ANC claims and said the force had reacted promptly and managed to disperse a mob of about 500 people.

Squatters said the aim of the attacks was to chase all ANC supporters in the area away.

One of the squatter camps that have been flattened and cleared of its inhabitants is Ekuthuleni. After the people had fled, their shacks were looted and burned down.

Mr Monty Moodley, a lawyer representing many of the squatters, also called for the commission to investigate the KwaZulu Police.

His clients, who previously occupied Ekuthuleni, but are now refugees in a church, had wanted to interdict the KZP from attacking them, but reached an agreement out of court when the KZP gave an undertaking to protect them.

Mr Moodley said after the incident at Uganda this week, his clients would no longer have confidence in the KZP.

Mr Hodgson denied that the IFP was assisted by the KZP during the fighting but agreed that the incident

needed to be investigated by the Goldstone Commission because of the high number of people who had died.

Mr Hodgson said at about 3.30am on Thursday last week Unit 17 hostel was attacked from a section of Uganda. The invasion, about three hours later, of the squatter settlement by the hostel dwellers was in retaliation, he said.

Mr Hodgson said the death of Mr Winington Sabelo, the IFP Central Committee member who was assassinated in his shop recently, had inflamed feelings in Umlazi.

The situation was still tense, he said.

Leaders of the ANC who had been arrested in possession of firearms or arms caches were criticised by Mr Hodgson, who said they were setting a bad example and their actions had the effect of condoning violence.

BLOODY FRIDAY.

MARCH 15, 1992



A mother and her child lie dead in their Umlazi, Durban, home, victims of the massacre on Friday.

AUBREY MOKOAPE, Azapo deputy president

FW's taking the wind out the sails of the revolution

Sunday Tribune 15 March 1992

WHETHER the knife is 30cm in your back or 20cm is a difference which makes no difference, says Dr Mokoape, referring caustically to the difference between the Conservative Party and the National Party.

"My instinct tells me the situation doesn't alter for us (blacks) whether De Klerk is in power or Treurnicht is in power: there is very little difference between the two devils!"

This sounds like rhetoric, but the 45-year-old Umlazi doctor — who cut his political teeth as a founder member of Steve Biko's Black Peoples Convention — offers a shrewd analysis of the negotiation process to back his claims.

"FW de Klerk offers no negotiated settlement — he holds all the cards and dictates what is going to happen."

"That fact is demonstrable throughout the whole process leading to and emerging from Codesa. Mr De Klerk has not dismantled his army and crawled into the enemy camp the way the ANC has."

"If you consider the amount of havoc his security forces (the so-called third force) have wrought ... This strategy is absolutely deliberate: to unleash a tide of violence in the black community which has the affect of bleeding people to fatigue and making them susceptible to any settlement dictated by war weariness."

"With the secret support of Western powers, De Klerk has successfully adopted a strategy to take the wind out of the sails of the revolution and entrench the protection of white privilege."

While the battle for the hearts and minds of the white nation on March 17 hots up, and despite the endorsement of a Yes vote by the ANC, many blacks watch from the sidelines with a mixture of trepidation and outrage. Some, however, like the deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, feel the referendum is a giant non-event.

SAM SOLE reports.

Dr Mokoape said Azapo was not opposed to negotiation, but a situation where the "oppressor is able to dictate terms" was not acceptable.

Given a Yes vote, the outcome of Codesa would not be the unitary democracy that Azapo was fighting for, but a "coalition government between the ANC and De Klerk in a dismembered country, with the protection of minority rights and a capitalist economy".

"Such a government will not satisfy the aspirations of black people and will generate great frustration. The new coalition will also be forced into repression — it will become a jackboot regime."

"What we will end up with is not so dissimilar to the bantustan concept of Verwoerd, not dissimilar to Treurnicht's confederation of tribal/ethnic states."

"All the representatives at Codesa except the ANC are based on ethnic affiliation and they are not going to legislate themselves out of existence."

Dr Mokoape said the strong "regional" government that Codesa had agreed to, coupled with the ANC's proposal for a 'Xhosa region' was evidence that the new South Africa would look very much like the old blueprints for grand apartheid.



"This process of atomisation, which is taking place in Eastern Europe also, will leave the country at the mercy of the imperialist powers. In the long term this will not benefit whites."

Dr Mokoape said the ANC's participation in such a process was a

contend with. And it would be a growing percentage.

"De Klerk called the referendum now because he knew in 12 months' time he might not win. Those reformers looking for white consensus and support are facing a cold winter."

sign of battle fatigue.

"In effect, they have accepted that white society is crucial, they have accepted a white veto. They have lost faith in the capacity of the masses of people to prosecute their struggle and achieve their liberation with or without the

support of whites as a whole."

In terms of a referendum outcome, Dr Mokoape said he feared the "silent Afrikaner majority", but even if De Klerk won, it would be a Pyrrhic victory.

"If he gets a 60-40 win, there are still 40 percent of whites to

Battle for white souls

PERHAPS the most irksome thing about voting "yes" as a non-Nat is having to forgive the Nats for the monstrous nightmare of apartheid.

This referendum is not about supporting the NP, but about surviving as a democracy. We must be big enough to accept the Nats about-turn in good faith, and do the only rational and moral thing possible — vote "yes".

Some of our key emo-

tions at this time are: frustration, anger, humiliation, disillusionment, puzzlement, fear, hope, forgiveness and pride.

The first six negative feelings can be transcended by the constructive power of the latter three. They are a challenge to a crucial spiritual and moral triumph. As Nelson Mandela has put it: "The battle for the soul of white South Africans is on."

No explanations have

been given for how the villains of yesterday have become the heroes of today. This puzzles and humiliates us; we feel tricked, disillusionment sets in and, with crime and violence on the increase, fear grips our hearts.

Yet these need not be our only feelings. In the battle for our souls (and our vote) we need to open our hearts to hope for a new era of co-operation, forgiveness for what has burned out in moral bankruptcy, and a pride in being called on to approve the negotiations that will make the new era possible.

All who vote "yes" on March 17 have the privilege of assisting the government in doing the (moral) thing it has to do. — DR LJ MICHELL, King William's Town.

ANCA calls off vote on Ciskei

By PETER MALHERBE

THE ANC has suspended plans to hold a symbolic vote for the removal of Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Voting was due to have taken place in the territory yesterday, but was put on hold after a meeting between a high-level national ANC delegation and regional ANC structures on Friday.

Controversial elements of the ANC campaign for an interim government in Ciskei were dropped after the meeting between the national and regional delegations.

Noticeably absent from the "reformulated" version of the campaign were the original intentions to weaken Ciskei's and South Africa's positions at Codesa and to isolate Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sources said ANC heavyweights Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Patrick Lekota, Steve Tshwete and Raymond Mhlaba had decided on a meeting with the regional executive because "head office" was unhappy with the way the dispute with Ciskei had been handled.

Sunday Tribune

15 March 1992

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, IFP leader

I DO not believe that the results of the Potchefstroom by-election reflect a general white South African rejection of the politics of negotiation and the leadership of the State President Mr FW de Klerk. The whole of institutional South Africa and virtually the entire range of white opinion makers now support the call by churches, education institutions and business and professional institutions for the scrapping of apartheid and establishment of a multi-party democracy which shall be race free.

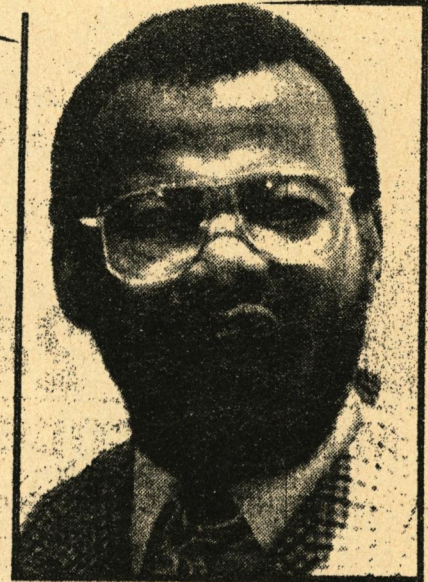
It is therefore gratifying to know that the State President has called for a referendum to establish his right to lead as he is leading. I, and Inkatha Freedom Party, are on record as stating that the State President's commitment to hold a whites-only referendum before any constitutional changes are made, was ill-conceived. This would be detrimental to constitutional development in this country. The holding of a whites-only referendum now at the commencement of negotiations is an entirely different matter.

The holding of a whites-only referendum now would not be to say yea or nay to any particular constitution which was negotiated into being in an open multi-party endeavour to establish a democracy. A referendum now would simply be a testing of white South Africa's support for progress towards a new constitution. One will have to wait to see the final wording of what is being tested for acceptance or rejection, but if it is the right of the government and the ruling National Party to continue multi-party race-free negotiations I urge that every white South African should not only go to the polls, but should support the South African government's commitment to negotiate openly among all parties for a new constitution.

Apartheid is doomed with or without Codesa. Apartheid is doomed with or without the National Party's commitment to negotiate with all other parties. Apartheid is doomed because blacks reject it and apartheid is doomed because it leads to economic disaster.

The whole world is ready to receive South Africa back into the international community. The South African recess-

Essential to support the peace process



The leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week publicly rebuffed the No-vote campaigners who tried to draw him into the constitutional debate on their side. In a policy speech in Ulundi he called for the establishment of one sovereign parliament in South Africa, the opposite of the CP model that calls for the country to be broken up into independent nation states. On February 20 he released a statement urging white voters to support President FW de Klerk in the referendum. This week he reaffirmed his view and referred the Sunday Tribune to the contents of that statement.

ion is beginning to bottom out. Investors are looking at South Africa with new interest. International bankers are ready to support economic development in South Africa. We must continue with negotiations.

Above all, the politics of negotiation go hand-in-hand with the peace process. It is vital that the peace process continues and we need to make a lot more progress in it than we have thus far made. The peace process depends on political reform and political reform depends on full white participation in it. I have urged Dr Treurnicht and the Conservative Party to participate in Codesa. Any attempt by white political parties to determine their own future unilaterally and to determine the destiny of South Africa unilaterally can only end up a total failure.

The strong understandable call for self-determination, by linguistic, cultur-

al, and religious groups must be a call which is legitimised by every ethnic group putting South Africa first and commonality first. This is the only way any ethnic group can serve its own interests. Self-determination does not negate the need to negotiate openly with all political parties present so that all race groups are represented.

I pay tribute to Mr FW de Klerk for the bold way in which he is responding to the Potchefstroom by-election results. I urge him so to run the referendum campaign and so to word the questions being put to white South Africans that he moves away from a commitment by the National Party to give white South Africans what really amounts to a veto right over constitutional development. That is racist politics which belongs to yesteryear. In the spirit of the new South Africa we must all come together and decide together how we shall live together.

Vote for freedom

THERE is no question that we must vote "yes" in the coming referendum, but let us be clear what it is we vote "yes" for.

We vote "yes" for the end of secret government, social engineering and political, social, cultural and religious domination.

We vote, I hope, for freedom of the individual, freedom of thought and expression, freedom of the press, equality before the law, tolerance, accountability of public representatives and of the civil service and a future where people will have the integrity and courage to stand up and be counted wherever and whenever these are threatened. — ELIZABETH CLOGG, Johannesburg.

Look to army and Zulus

I TAKE issue with you on two of the articles which appeared in your editions of February 23 and March 1.

First, you write that the West in moments of "moral consensus" wants white rule in South Africa ended. Nonsense. All it is doing is looking to its black voters and to trade.

The second point is your contention that the blacks can overrun the whites. Have you forgotten the army, air force

and navy, and the Zulus? In a recent interview Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the Zulus would not accept the ANC as a unitary government. He pointed out there were 7,5-million Zulus and added: "We are warriors".

As for the SADF, a few years ago a military journal stated that the three most efficient armies in the world were the British, Israeli and South African. — MARGARET JOHNSON, Graaff-Reinet.

White shimes sellout

I FAIL to follow Ken Owen's logic (Sunday Times, March 1). When the ANC was unbanned he predicted a new black government with communism at its core. Yet now he is promoting the very process which will enable such a government to take power.

He ignores the fact that the economic consequences of an ANC government will be exactly the same as his prediction if the CP wins. The only difference is that the ANC's economic fruits will occur in a few years. The CP's may not occur at all.

The ending of SA's isolation is the whites' reward for surrendering their political relevance to a black government. Our future as part of the free world is not — like Ken Owen's thinking — of any immediate concern. — P NAZTILL, Krugersdorp.

OPINION

Political killings

THE surge of violence in the past fortnight, closely correlated with a moment of critical choice in national politics, has followed a familiar pattern which suggests very strongly that the violence is orchestrated to serve political ends.

There is a good deal of evidence which shows that the SADF, the police, elements of Inkatha and the ANC have all been guilty of using violence in this fashion. The question to ask now is which of these organisations — or which others — are best served by unleashing the killing squads on the eve of the referendum.

The interests of Inkatha, the ANC and the government, coinciding for once, lie in a peaceful transition and a "yes" vote, but all three organisations have elements within them that rebel against negotiation and compromise. The "comrades" are out of control, and many — like the murderous "hero" whose story is told elsewhere in this issue — are simply depraved. Inkatha warlords have been convicted in the courts of operating autonomously, and heaven knows who controls or leads the imps in the hostels. Both SADF and the police have been guilty of unlawful conduct in the past, and in some case

of utterly depraved conduct, and both organisations still harbour guilty men.

Assuming the white electorate votes "yes" on Tuesday (since a "no" vote would unleash the killers on all sides to operate without restraint), it is time for the government and its partners in Co-

desa to recognise the corrosive effect on political life of this continuing slaughter, and to make it a priority to bring violence under control.

That would require more than support for the Peace Commission or additional policing, although intensive policing is necessary, and the Peace Commission does require better support. It requires special investigative units, special courts, quick trials, and deterrent sentences — sentences which should have the explicit support of the ANC and Inkatha, so that criminals may be disabused of the expectation that they will soon be released into the streets by a political amnesty.

It may be possible to make sociological excuses for the petty, and even the violent, crime that has overtaken our society. Economic depression is an obvious explanation, if not, justification, for criminal behaviour, and it may be possible to take a rela-

tively lenient view of the person who steals, or kills, to feed his family.

Political killing — the cold-blooded unleashing of professional murderers in order to achieve a particular political result — is an entirely different phenomenon. Quite apart from the depravity, it is an act of outright warfare against the democratic and peaceful people who constitute the majority of all South Africans, and it should be treated accordingly. No resources should be spared in tracking the killers, and their masters, and bringing them to trial.

FW takes orders from communists in Codesa

IN A recent ANC/SACP statement, whites were urged to vote for President De Klerk's reforms to prevent "the right-wing torpedoing Codesa".

The reason for the alliance's concern is obvious. Mr De Klerk has said that he consults Codesa on every issue before he makes decisions. In other words, he receives his reform instructions from the ANC/SACP alliance through Codesa.

If Mr De Klerk wins the referendum, Codesa will be the tool through which the destiny of South Africans and their descendants will be determined.

Thus, it is essential that voters are aware of the following facts about Codesa:

● Mr Pravin Gordhan, the body's chairman, is a senior ANC official, who in 1990 was charged with terrorism and the illegal possession of arms, ammunition and explosives;

● In spite of claims, Codesa represents very few people legitimately, or other-

wise. Mr De Klerk, for example, does not represent the majority of whites, Nelson Mandela has never represented a constituency and Bantu Holomisa is the head, by a coup, of a foreign state;

● Another fallacious claim is that Codesa has the power "to change everything". The reality is that the intrinsic power of most of the signatories is a figment of their imagination, with most unable to sustain themselves without overseas funding and handouts from the government;

● As Codesa signatories, Mr De Klerk and his party have committed themselves to a "one man, one vote" political system in a unitary state.

If voters give Mr De Klerk a "yes" vote, it would be tantamount to them throwing away Codesa's reins and urging it to gallop blindly along a suicidal road to a black, communist-controlled, socialist government with subjugation of minority groups. — J.L. BUYS, Umhlanga.