

unit slau

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 deputy general secretary of the region, the organisation be-

stated that one of its own self-defence units were involved in the slaying of the family.

The investigating team said that there appears to be a power struggle

in the Vaal between returned exiles and militant members.

. They add that they also sus-

pect involvement of criminals and a high proportion of

elements of the ANC from the state security services who have infiltrated the self-defence units. One of

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,

Sadio y Rimes

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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. 0

He said a contributing factor to rene-
gade forces within MK was that large
numbers of former soldiers had returned
with x; (: jobs or prospects h:ghoqĩ-\\201Ã@lenceâ\\200\\224
ravaged communities which expected
assistance from MK cadres. Y

A R330 000 fraud recently uncovered at
the National Committee for the Repatri-
ation 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 investigat-
ing 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 organisationâ\\200\\231s
~ deputy secretary-general, Mr Jacob
| Zuma, is investigating problems being
. experienced by Umkhonto we Sizwe,
including the involvement of some of its

â\\200\\224 members in the Vaal violence as well as |

elsewhere. X 4 [
The Vaal commission has paid particu-
lar attention to conflict between the

National Union of Metalworkers of SA

' and self-defence units under former l
cadre Ernest Sotsu.
Mr Sotsuâ\\200\\231s wife and two children were

here

| 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, in-

- cluding five shop stewards, since May this.

" year. »

i Similar

| ANC leaders also admit that similar

| hit-squad activity is taking place among SDUs in other parts of the Vaal, the Natal

outh

. @The gunning down of Mr Prince
| Mhlambi, a community worker in Phola

| Park, who became the third member of

@ The death of an elderly woman in b
@ The attempted assassination a fortnight ago of Mr Bavumile Vilikazi, a sen-

ior ANC Vaal activist; ;
Â® The shooting of two

- 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-47s fired in salute by youngsters. L
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.

â\200\2314

" 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

teenage g, |
| Jacobeth Rantso, 18, and Rose Mohaiâ\200\230;â\200\230nl'g,â\200\231 ' . 19, in Evaton after an ANC SDU claimed |

says renegadeâ\200\231
d family

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 than the ANC.

A survey conducted among 1000 whites 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 a Jan 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

Unpopular, but supported by

By EDYTH BUYBRING
Political Correspondent

demands and the manner in which it dealt with the controversy surrounding the national anthem and flag. The only two issues perceived as being inordinately handled by the government

were crime prevention by police (85) and relations between the - (iskei and South Africa (51). Despite this 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 fall in growth of five percent support since March year. Voter support for the DP increased by three percent to 13 percent, while support for the Conservative Party dropped from 21 percent to 21 percent. The

vote of

ANC would receive a measure of 04 percent support |

among whites
tion, the survey)

Most of the
speaking respondents said

in an elec-

| line per- 10°

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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 63 percent of the

respondents said their
opinlon 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 Mango
suthu Buthelezi emerged
as the political leader thag

6 percent of respondents

elg in high esteem, second

nly to President de Klerk
who was favourably rated
by 86 percent.

L4_1, its response to ANC

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SUNDAY

TRIBUNE

Calls for Mr Justice Goldstone to Investigate massacre on

FRIDAY'â\200\231S massacre in Umlazi of 18 people â\200\224 including 15 women and a child â\200\224 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 â\200\234to do everything in their power to prevent further violence this weekendâ\200\235, while

the IFPâ\200\231s Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANCâ\200\231s 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 Fridayâ\200\231s 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.

LOODY FRIDAY

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. g

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 indict 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 Winnington 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.

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MARCH 15' ?

TETT TR TTTTTY

AUBREY MOKOAPE, Azapo deputy president
FV\?â\200\231%t_aking the wind out

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the sal

HETHER the knife is 30cm

in your back or 20cm is 2 dif-

ference which makes no dif-

ference, says Dr Mokoape,
referring caustically to the difference
between the Comservative Party and
the National Party.

â\200\234My 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 be-
tween the two devils!â\200\235

This sounds like rhetoric, but the 45- 5

year-old Umlazi doctor â\200\224 who cut his
litical teeth as a founder member of

teve Biko's Black Peoples Convention

â\200\224 offers a shrewd analysis of the nego-
tiation process to back his claims.

â\200\234FW de Klerk offers no negotiated

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settlement â\200\224 he holds all the cards and
. Âçy that Azapo was fighting for, but a

dictates what is going to hag{:e ;
â\200\234That fact is demonstrable through-

out the whole process leading to and |
country, with the protection of minority

emerging from Codesa. Mr De Klerk
has not dismantled his army and
crawled into the enemy camp the way
the ANC has. :

â\200\234If 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
to any settlement dictated by war

weariness. -

â\200\234With 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.

and making them susceptible-

Maxita

the revolution

LA

While the battle for the hearts and minds of the white nation on March 17 heats up, and despite the endorsement of a Yes vote by the ANC, many blacks watch from the sidelines with a mixture of trepidation like the deputy president

and outrage. Some, however,

of the Azanian People's Organisation, 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 â\200\234oppressor is able

' to dictate termsâ\200\235 was not acceptable.

Given a Yes vote, the outcome of Codesa would not be the unitary democra-

â\200\234coalition government between the

ANC and De Klerk in a dismembered

rights and a capitalist economyâ\200\235.

â\200\234Such a government will not satisfy the aspirations of black people and will generate great frustration. The new coalition will also be forced into repress-

dissimilar to the bantustan concept of Verwoerd, not dissimilar to Treurnicht's confederation of tribal/ethnic states.

â\200\234All the representatives at Codesa except the ANC are based on ethnic af-

filiation and they are not going to legis- - :

late themselves out of existence.â\200\235

Dr Mokoape said the strong â\200\234regionalâ\200\235 government that Codesa had agreed to, coupled with the ANC's proposal for

a â\200\230Xhosa regionâ\200\231 was evidence that the
new South Africa would look very much
lgk& the old blueprints for grand apart-
eid.

" jon â\200\224 it will become a jackboot regimie. .
â\200\234What we will end up with is not so |

Dr Aubrey

. â\200\234This process of atomisation, which is
! taking place in Eastern Europe also,
will leave the country at the mercy of

â\200\230 the imperialist powers. In the long
term this will not benefit whites.â\200\235

. Dr Mokoape said the ANC's par-
"ticipation in such a process was a

contend with. And it would be a
growing percentage.
. â\200\234De Klerk called the referen-
" 'dum now because he knew in 12
monthsâ\200\231 time he might not win.
. Those reformers looking for
white consensus and support are
facing a cold winter.â\200\235

sigr; of t;fattle fatigue.

â\200\234In effect, they have ace

â\200\230; that white societ; is crucial,e lt)l::g

-have accepted a white veto. They
have lost faith in the capacity of

. the masses of people to prosecute

. their struggle and achieve their

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su po;;t of whfites as a whole.â\200\235
rms of a referend -
come, Dr Mokoape said h:?eaï~\201ti
the â\200\234silent Afrikaner majorityâ\200\235
but even if De-Klerk won, it

wgâ\200\230uld be a Pyrrhic victory. :

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

%Undâ\200\234\J R \owâ\200\231\â\200\231
MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, IFP lea57\

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Misxeh

DO not believe that the. re;ults of :
the Potchefstroom by-election re- -

flect a general white South African
~uirejection â\200\230of the po
;ton and the: leadership of the tate
President Mr FW. de Klerk. The whole
)pt institutional South Africa and vlt-
tually the entire range of white .
makers now support the cql b

churches, education institutions andâ\200\230

buslness and i-\202'ofesslonal institutions

for the scrapping of apartheid and es-
i tablshment oi & multi-party democra-
cy which shall be race free

- 12" lt Is therefore gratifying to know that
- +the State President has called for a ref-
-erendum to establish his right to lead as
ke I8 leading. I, and Inkatha Freedom
'Party. are on record & stating that the
State President's commitment to hold a

- i3whites-only re!auï-\202dgu@ .before any con- -

. 'stltutiml â\200\230changes are made, was ill+
~gonceived: This would. bedetrlnental to
i constitutional develo it in this coun-
~ ry, The holding of a whites-only refer-
â\200\230endum now at the commencement of

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he holdng ofa whites-only refer-

b enidum now would: :atr be tous:y
yea or nay to any parttc constitu-
-tion which was negotiated into being in

i &n open multi-party endeavour to estab-

: â\200\231llsh a democracy. A referendum. now
. would simply be a tut&t;jo{ white South
A!ricah â\200\230support for progrÃ@ss fowards a-

- niew constitution. One 'have to wait

' nrreibcuon. but if
] he go hient and the
â\200\230uling to continue multi-
party raceÃ«ree negotiations I urge that
every wlut&e South Abfrtican slâ\200\230:!ould not
to polls, but should support
; ,x â\200\230the gxm â\200\230African governmentâ\200\231s com-
mitment to negotiate openly among all -

% parties for a new constitution. -

5 A.partheld is doomed wlth or without
;. Codesa. Apartheid Js doomed with or

+ ument to negotiate with all other parties.

xAparthdd is' doomed because blacks re: -

ftand a eld is doomed becï¬\201use
t uda to economic disaster.

The whole world is rÃ©ady to receive
i â\200\230South Africa back into the international
community. The South African recess-

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*_ready to support economic

- negotiatlons.

process

1= 95

Thi¬\202oid.ronholnknmaFmdun Plï¬\202!iMCHlomli¬\202hhro!
KmZum,Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week publicly robumd the
- No-vote camnpaigners who tried to draw him lntotlueomï¬\201luâ\200\231ï¬\202qmlz} :
mummmmtmbymnmm h!'."

statement ummwhmvmwmrmmmuxm in
the referendum. muwnkh-mummoammndmm
Sunday Tribune to the contents of matmtomont.

fon is beginnning to bottom ou&

are Iooklnf at South -Africa

interest. nternmonal bankers â\200\230are

dey opment
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in South We must con!

Above -all, the â\200\230;- of negotia
0 hand-in-hand w'?t)h}i the peace piÃ«

t is vital that the peace process contin- -
e a lot more .

_progress in it thah we have thus far

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- made. The peace process dÃ© on
- political reform and political reform

"~depends.on full white partici

" Ainilaterally and.to determingiÃ@he mâ\200\224?f &
' tiny of South Africa \m!htaully â\200\230can,

only end upâ\200\230total failure.

"The strotig understandable. &ll for,.'Â»._ ?i'
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which is legitimised by ev

tion in if, .
.l have ur cd Dr Treurnic t and the o

.. without the: National Party's commit- i " -ment:b

al, ind religious- groupa Thust be a thc:in '
:ethnic
group putting South Africa first and
commonality first. This is the only way
any ethnic group can serve its own in-
terests. Self-determination dces not ne-

â\200\234'gate the need to negotiate openly with
- -all â\200\230political parties present so that all -
â\200\230.uue â\200\230groups are re

presented.

g:{ tribute to Mr FW de Klerk forÂ»
the bold way in which he is responding
to the Potchefstroom by-election re-
sults. 'I urge him so to run'the referen-
dum campaign and so to word the ques-
tions being put to white South Africans
that he moves away from.a commit-
th Ntî-\202onai Party to give

â\200\230 t over constitu-
tics which be.b .ntto ttu ramtl potlllll;
cs whic â\202-8 ear. In
rlt of the ne:rpSoutin Ama we must
-and decide together =
how we sha Ilve together

Vote for~
freedom

THERE is no question that
we must vote â\200\234yesâ\200\235 in the
coming referendum, but let
us be clear what it is we
vote â\200\234yesâ\200\235 for.

We â\200\230vote â\200\234yesâ\200\235 for the
end of secret government,
social engineering and
political, social, cultural
and religious domination.

We vote, I hope, for free-
dom of the individual, free-
dom of thought and expres-
sion, 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 threat-
ened. â\200\224 ELIZABETH
CLOGG, Johannesburg.

19~
I TAKE i 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 â\200\234moral consensusâ\200\235 wants
white rule in South Africa ended. Non-
sense. 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

Logk to'army and

Zulus

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:

â\200\234We are warriorsâ\200\235.

.AsiortheSADF,afewyearsagoa
military journal stated that the three
most efficient armies in the world were

. the British, Israeli and South African. â\200\224

MARGARET JOHNSON, Graaff-Reinet.

occur at all.

The ending of SA's isolation is the whites' reward for surrendering

their political relevance
lack government.

Our future as part of the
free world is not a like

Political

HE surge of violence in the past fortnight, closely correlated with a moment of criti-

cal 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 evi-

dence 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 â\200\224

or which others â\200\224 are best

served by un eashing the killing squads on the eve of the referendum.

The interests of Inkatha, the ANC and the overnment, coinciding for on.__, lie in a peaceful transition and a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote, but all three organisations have elements within them that rebel against negotiation and compromise. The â\200\234comradesâ\200\235 are out of control, and many â\200\224 like the murderous â\200\234heroâ\200\235 whose story is told elsewhere in this issue â\200\224 are simply depraved. Inkatha war-
| lords have been convicted in the
| courts of operating autonomously, and heaven knows who con-

trols or leads the impis in the

hostels. Both SADF and the police '

have been guilty of unlawful conduct in the past, and in some case

OPINION

killings

of utterly depraved conduct, and both organisations still harbour - guilty men. 2%

Assuming the white electorate votes â\200\234yesâ\200\235 on Tuesday (since a

â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote would unleash the kill- .

ers on all sides to operate without restraint), it is time for the gov-

ernment and its partners in Co- â\200\230

desa to recognise the corrosive effe_ct 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 â\200\224 sentlfn(t:m which should have the â\202xplicit 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.

I.t 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 reia-

tively lenient view of the person who steals, or kills, to feed his family. g Political killing â\200\224 the cold-blooded unleashing of professional murderers in order to achieve

. a particular political result â\200\224 is i an entirely different phenom-

epon. Quite apart from the depravity, it is an act of outright warfare against the democratic

and peaceful people who consti- -

tute the majority of all South Af-

| ricans, 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

SUNDRYS WMES

communis

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

. 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 will be the tool which 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-

- away Codesa's reins and

VO

s in Codesa

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's. 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 the::; throwing

blindly along a suicidal road to a black,

communist-controlled, socialist govern-
ment with subjugation of minority groups.
â\200\224 JL BUYS, Umhlanga. e