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ANC asks for deaths probe

D/NEWS 11/9/92

THE African National Congress, southern Natal region, has made an urgent call for the Goldstone Commission to investigate what the organisation has called "the growing number of summary executions by the police especially in Natal".

In a statement, ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the organisation was concerned about the increasing number of deaths of their members in the hands of the police who seem to be interested in shooting rather than arresting them.

"The police start by criminalising our members by linking them to crimes ranging from armed robbery to murder, so as to justify the brutal way in which they deal with them."

Expressing his concern about the deaths, Mr Makhaye said the police were creating a dangerous situation where people sought by the police would "fight to the last bullet" rather than surrendering to their summary execution by the police.

Police spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said the police had no objection to the Goldstone Commission investigating the allegations.

IDO LEKOTA
Daily News Reporter

However, he said that at least 160 policemen had been killed in the course of their duty and the police were not going to allow their members to be shot by criminals who produced guns whenever they were being arrested for their crimes.

The call on the commission comes in the wake of growing controversy surrounding the recent death of the Lamontville-based ANC member Sylvester "Baba" Mabaso, who died a week ago at the hands of the police while he was visiting his grandparents at Ezingolweni, near Port Shepstone.

Captain Naidoo said Mr Mabaso died from being shot in the stomach and in the left eye after he had grabbed a gun and tried to fire at the police who were searching his grandparents' house.

A .357 Magnum revolver and six rounds of ammunition were found in the house, said Captain Naidoo.

However, a report by a doctor instructed by the Mabaso family

lawyer to be present during Mr Mabaso's post-mortem raises suspicions about the sinister circumstances under which Mr Mabaso died.

According to the report the holes on the top shirt the deceased was wearing at the time of the shooting do not match the holes on the shirt underneath and the holes on the body.

The report further explains that the bullet completely shattered the left eye, went on to hit his left arm and went through his body, damaging the liver.

"This could suggest that he was shot with the upper limb held in an elevated position."

Based on the report, the ANC claims that Mr Mabaso was apparently trying to ward off the impact of the bullet with his bare arm when he was shot. This shows that Mr Mabaso was killed in cold blood, says the ANC.

Contradicting the police report, Mr Makhaye said no weapon was found with Mabaso and the only items seized by the police were his diary, his girlfriend's wristwatch and money.

16/1/11

STAR

11/7/92

Scene set for top-level talks on violence

ANC agrees to summit

By Peter Fabricius
and Kaizer Nyatsumba

The ANC announced last night it was prepared to take part in a summit on violence at top leadership level with the Government.

The surprisingly conciliatory decision was made after a two-day meeting of the national working committee (NWC) to discuss the ANC's reaction to Ciskei's shooting of up to 28 ANC marchers on Monday.

A meeting between the ANC headed by its president Nelson Mandela and an SA Government delegation led by President de Klerk could soon be on the cards, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

The decision followed an invitation by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday for a top-level meeting of Government and ANC delegations — led by himself and Mr Mandela — to discuss violence.

Mr de Klerk effectively suspended the Government's further participation in constitutional negotiations pending resolution of violence.

The Government, under increasing foreign pressure to bring Ciskei military lead-

er Brigadier Oupa Gqozo into line after the Bisho massacre, said it was now ready to use "coercive measures" against him.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded this warning to the Ciskei leader at a press conference in Pretoria last night and also announced that he had invited the United Nations to step up its presence in SA to try to end political violence and get talks back on track.

The ANC's decision to attend a summit on violence pleased observers who had feared an uncompromising reaction.

Earlier foreign governments had urged the ANC to attend the meeting and not to put impossible demands on the Government — such as the removal of the Ciskei leader — as a condition for resuming negotiations.

They urged instead that the ANC should call for the Government to pressure Brigadier Gqozo to allow free political activity in Ciskei. Mr Botha's threat to use coercive measures — possibly financial sanctions — against Ciskei was seen as helpful in this regard.

The contest between the ANC and the Government to win international favour in the wake of the Bisho tragedy heated up yesterday as Mr Mandela interrupted the NWC meeting to brief ambassadors, and Mr Botha announced that he had taken the Bisho row to the UN.

He said he had written to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to persuade the UN Security Council to condemn "provocative" ANC actions — like the Bisho march — which led to loss of life.

Mr Botha stressed that he was calling for the UN to play more than just the observer role it has so far played in the SA conflict.

He also warned at the press conference for media and diplomats that coercive measures would be taken if the Ciskei government rebuffed SA Government attempts to persuade it to use more enlightened methods to control protest marches.

He did not specify the methods, but Government sources said they could start with financial sanctions.

Mr Botha was referring to Mr de Klerk's announcement that he would call together all homeland governments to ensure that they handled marches in an "effective and responsible" way.

Mr Botha said he had written to the UN secretary-general urging him to send a representative to South Africa as soon as possible to help strengthen the National Peace Secretariat.

Mr Botha suggested that the UN representative attend, as an observer, the special meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord which President de Klerk called for on Wednesday to improve measures to curb violence.

The UN representative should also enter into discussions with the main political players to help end violence and remove obstacles to negotiation.

In his 20-page letter to the UN secretary-general, Mr Botha slammed the ANC for deliberately ignoring the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission's guidelines and the conditions imposed by a magistrate for the Bisho march.

He said the ANC had targeted Ciskei for mass action, not because it did not allow free political activity, but because it was anti-ANC.

Mr Botha added that incidents like the Bisho massacre in which ANC members were victims attracted worldwide publicity but the world virtually ignored massacres of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

16/1/11

Business Day 11/9/92

ANC may call for homelands sanctions

THE ANC was considering calling for the imposition of economic sanctions on the homelands, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed yesterday.

Niehaus said the ANC was looking at the way in which business interests contributed to the "propping up of the homelands", and was considering ways to isolate homeland economies.

A decision on the imposition of sanctions would only be taken by the ANC leadership once the extent of business involvement had been ascertained, he said.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Niehaus said in the light of the Bisho massacre, businesses should reassess their support for an "undemocratic regime that behaves the way it does".

ANC confirmation of its investigation into the relationship between business and the homeland states followed a statement earlier this week in which SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso raised the issue of possible

sanctions. Mayekiso stated that "the democratic movement is considering a call for business sanctions against the homelands".

Mayekiso said specific demands concerning financial institutions' involvement in the homeland states would be forwarded by Sanco to the Council of SA Banks soon.

"The banks in particular must now come to realise that to support an undemocratic government through loans and financial services can only lead to trouble," he said.

16/1/11

Armed struggle is an option: ANC's Sexwale

CITIZEN 11/9/92

Citizen Reporter

A RETURN to the armed struggle was an option the ANC would have to seriously examine although it would probably not happen yet, the chairman of the ANC's PWV region, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, warned yesterday.

At a memorial service in Johannesburg for the victims of the Bisho massacre, Mr Sexwale said that before the ANC went back to the armed struggle, many considerations had to be taken into account.

"It will be a difficult decision to make. We will have to think very carefully and will have to think of civilians who get caught in the cross-fire. The decision must be a responsible one," said Mr Sexwale.

But he asked where the ANC could go next if the weapons of mass action and boycotts was taken away from them.

"We roll with the mass action but bodies are going to roll as they (the enemy) continue to kill us."

Calling Mr De Klerk a man who had lied through his teeth, a man who had lied to Mr Mandela, Mr Sexwale said the State President would not take any action in the light of the international spotlight, but he would do it in neighbouring countries with hit squads.

It was the thinking of Mr De Klerk that the ANC was led by the SACP and that the mar-

chers had been misled by these two bodies.

"He is wrong. We know our people have no vote, and we don't need the SACP or Cosatu to tell us that. We are all members of the same National Liberation Movement who pursue the same goals through different strategies," Mr Sexwale said.

He asked where the Ciskei's seconded "Boer" officers had been during the massacre and why the SADF escort the marchers had to the border had disappeared before the shooting.

Mr Sexwale said the fire which fell on the marchers had not even been equalled by the SAP, except perhaps at Sharpeville, and was an attempt to wipe out the ANC leadership who were at the front of the march.

"Ciskei needs to explain how one of its soldiers died and why live ammunition was used. We had no weapons. Did so many people need to die?" he asked.

"De Klerk, if he insists that Ciskei is an independent country, should not have made any comment on what happened at Bisho. He should have kept quiet," said Mr Sexwale.

He warned that the next target was Bophuthatswana and then KwaZulu, both homelands he said which did not allow freedom of political expression.

Transkei and Venda, although military govern-

ments and not democracies, at least seized power from corrupt regimes and were awaiting the right moment to come back into South Africa. That was why they had not been targetted.

About 200 singing, chanting people crammed into the oppressively hot small hall to listen to representatives of the ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu alliance rail against the government and that of Brigadier Gqozo.

16/1/11

'ANC wants to take over arts'

Citizen Reporter 11/9/72
THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) yesterday slammed the ANC for what it termed that organisation's "bid to take over the existing performing arts councils", and warned that in so doing the ANC would "destroy all that has been achieved by these councils over the years".

Mr Maurice Mackenzie, chief executive officer of the IFP's national office in Durban, said that the ANC and the existing

arts councils were only negotiating with each other to the exclusion of all other parties, including the IFP.

As an example of this, he pointed out that the recent collapse of negotiations between the performing arts council of the Transvaal and the ANC had come about because of the "unacceptable, unrealistic and irrational demands" made by the ANC.

Mr

Mackenzie

slammed the ANC for taking it upon itself to "prescribe the future of the performing arts in South Africa. Who gave the ANC a mandate to talk on behalf of Black South Africans about their cultural aspirations?"

The IFP also expressed its opposition to the decision by Mr Justice Kriek, chairman of the Natal Performing Arts Council, to "only work with ANC-

affiliated arts and cultural bodies".

"Is Judge Kriek unwittingly aiding and abetting the ANC in its objective of dominating the negotiation process to the exclusion of all other players," Mr Mackenzie asked.

The IFP demanded that a "democratic multi-party organisation" be established to help determine the future of the performing arts in South Africa.

16/1/11

ANC says it can talk with government

Suggestion of thaw still has conditions

By TOM COHEN
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — ANC leaders said Thursday they were willing to meet with President F.W. de Klerk, but set tough conditions that have blocked previous bids to restart political talks.

The announcement was the first indication of a possible thaw in icy relations between the African National Congress and the white government since the ANC broke off talks in June to protest chronic violence in black townships.

Both sides have accused each other of causing Monday's clash in the Ciskei black homeland in which troops opened fire on ANC protesters, killing more than two dozen people.

De Klerk on Wednesday proposed a summit with ANC President Nelson Mandela to discuss the violence, saying further political talks were impossible in the present climate of unrest.

In response, ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said Thursday that the ANC "was prepared to participate in a summit" between delegations led by Mandela and de Klerk.

He warned that the nation would have high expectations of such a meeting, and its success would be crucial to restarting political negotiations aimed at giving the vote to the black majority.

"The failure of such a high-level meeting would take the country irretrievably backwards," he said.

He reiterated long-standing ANC demands for a comprehensive ban on weapons in public and for action against workers' hostels the ANC claims are used to launch attacks against its supporters, along with the release of political prisoners.

A failure to agree on those issues has prevented new talks between the government and ANC since relations soured in June.

He said ANC leaders also demanded the removal of Ciskei's leader, Brig. Gen. Oupa Gqozo.

Earlier, Foreign Minister R.F. "Pik" Botha warned that the government could take "coercive" steps if Gqozo failed to curb his forces.

He said the government would meet with homeland leaders to ensure that forces observe a peace accord outlining the way in which unrest must be handled.

W. Mandela resigns from ANC positions

By BARRY RENFREW
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, quit her posts in the black organization Thursday after the publication of a love letter she allegedly wrote to a younger man.

In the letter printed Sunday in the South African press, Mandela allegedly told Dali Mpofu she feared an investigation into misuse of funds from the ANC's social welfare department, which she once headed.

The letter also says her love for Mpofu caused her marriage to disintegrate.

Mandela, 58, and Mpofu, 30, have denied having an affair.

Thursday, Mandela said gossip forced her to leave her African National Congress posts, but she denied wrongdoing.

She resigned from the ANC's ruling body, the National Executive, and her posts in the ANC's Women's League. She said she would remain an ANC member.



Mandela

ANC ready to meet govt on violence

Business Day 11/9/92

FAILURE would spell disaster

THE ANC is prepared for a delegation led by its president Nelson Mandela to meet a government delegation headed by President F W de Klerk — but has warned of possible disaster for SA if the meeting fails to produce results.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC's national working committee which considered De Klerk's invitation to Mandela on Wednesday for discussions on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in Johannesburg last night that the ANC was "ready, willing and prepared to start with the process of preparing for the summit".

A working committee statement said: "A meeting between delegations of the ANC and the government ... could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence. But it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results."

"The ANC is prepared to participate in a summit between ANC and government delegations led by Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk. However, such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations through the present channel existing between the government and the ANC, as well as practical steps in relation to the demands made by the ANC."

The failure of such a high-level meeting would take the country "irretrievably backwards", the statement said.

Ramaphosa said government would have to take practical steps to show it was serious about meeting the ANC's preconditions for a return to talks.

At present, formal contact between the

PATRICK BULGER

ANC and government is restricted to a channel of communication between Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The statement said government now seemed to realise that constitutional negotiations could not proceed meaningfully with the current levels of violence.

"This realisation must mark the beginning of practical actions on the part of the government to address the demands of the ANC and to implement the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, for instance, on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of some hostels as launching pads for attacks against communities."

"We trust, too, that the government will take immediate steps to release remaining political prisoners," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the demands referred to in the statement were the 14 which the ANC had placed before government when it pulled out of constitutional talks in June.

Ramaphosa said the removal of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo "who is an obstacle to the creation of a peaceful climate of political activity is a question that is now firmly on the agenda".

He said the ANC would put "the question of Gqozo" to government.

The working committee also called for the security forces of homeland governments to be restrained.

"The steps announced by President de Klerk about consultations with the 'self-

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16/1/11

Blood and tears

ONCE again the crackle of gunfire in South Africa has thrown into question the entire future of the sub-continent leaving political analysts desperately trying to gauge the consequences of a massacre, which are as predictable, and as difficult to predict, as the path of a ricocheting bullet.

Perhaps the most significant impact which the Bisho massacre will have is on the African National Congress itself, which — despite its public face of outrage — must be suffering some misgivings in its leadership at the strategy which led its supporters (and some of their leaders) into the Ciskei guns.

The thinking which took them there is well-known and to some extent understandable. In the face of deadlock in the constitutional negotiations and with the realisation that the status quo always benefits those in power, the ANC had to develop political leverage. Their strength being in numbers, they had to mobilise crowds. Requiring a focus for their mobilisation, they turned almost predictably on the weak points in what might be described as the enemy alliance — Pretoria's homeland puppets of whom Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, a creation of South African military intelligence and its proxies, was a prime example.

But by taking the mobilisation across the border, from the demonstration of power to the attempted exercise of it (the declaration of the organisers that their intention was to occupy Bisho and force the resignation of the brigadier) they were engaging in brinkmanship of a kind which must be questioned, if with hindsight. They were making that mistake familiar to the hunters of Africa; of cornering a quarry and rendering the hunt doubly dangerous.

It is also unfortunate for the ANC, if only in propaganda terms, that those who took the lead in organising the Bisho march — the likes of Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner — are also prominent members of the South African Communist Party. Despite the line constantly trotted out by government politicians, there is no evidence of a communist-nationalist split in the ANC. But it is a line for which more

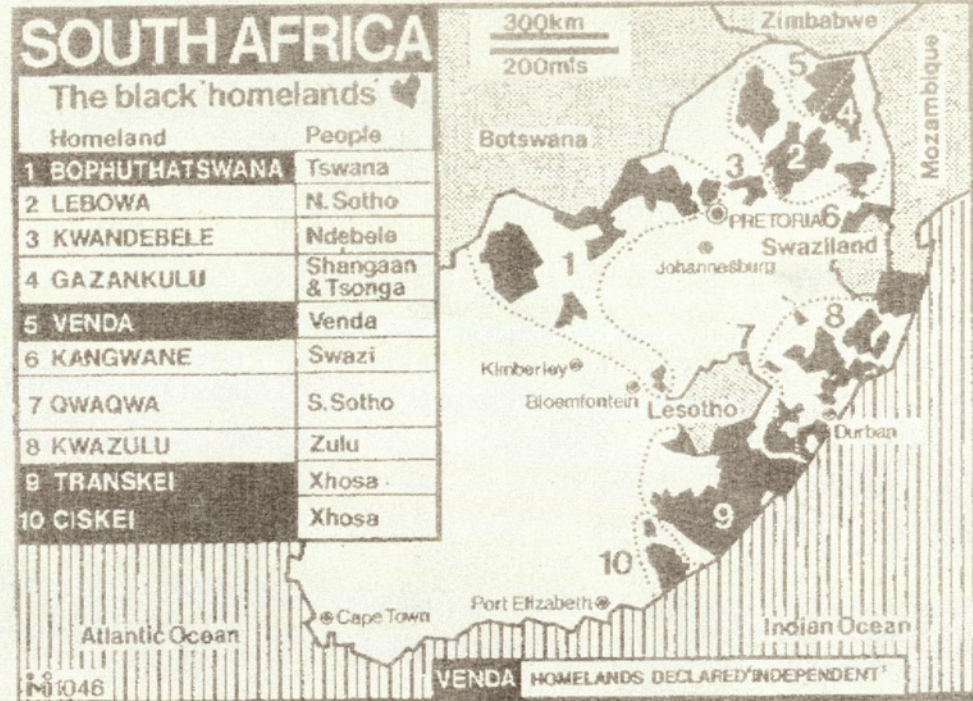
ammunition has been provided; it will be only too easy to present the Bisho march as the work of frustrated revolutionaries, romantics of the gun determined to provoke a situation which will facilitate a call to the barricades of which they have been robbed by negotiations.

Among the ANC's supporters such arguments will carry no weight; just the opposite. And that is the problem for the leadership and the price they (and the country) will have to pay for Monday's events, over and above the lives and pain of the dead and the injured.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the government were on the brink of another significant negotiating breakthrough before the massacre took place. Political insiders insist that it was a matter of weeks — and some face — saving theatre — before the deal would have become apparent. It requires little in the way of imagination to picture the frustration now felt by Nelson Mandela, who has been so anxious to break the deadlock that he has had to be specifically prohibited by his national executive from engaging in personal contact with government ministers.

But Mandela, above all others in the ANC leadership, will appreciate the impossibility of now being seen to reach a settlement, in the face of the popular fury in the townships which pays little attention to the distinction between the brigadier and president, between puppet and puppet-master. In the longer term, emotions will no doubt subside and the path towards a settlement re-open. But it is at that point that the path of the ricocheting bullet becomes so difficult to assess.

There is a possibility that Brigadier Gqozo, a product of the P. W. Botha era, will be dumped by F. W. de Klerk for the sake of peace and a deal. It would be easy to do — the brigadier (who has previously shown himself vulnerable to whispers in the ear from his South African military advisors) only has to be persuaded that his life is dependent on his submitting himself to the popular test of a referendum on reincorporation. It is a test he would undoubtedly lose and the administration of the



Six areas (Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, Qwaqwa and KwaZulu) are now designated as self-governing states. A further four (Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda) are regarded as independent republics by the South African government but are not recognized as such by the UN.

territory would return to direct rule from Pretoria, presumably with the approval of the ANC.

It would be the sort of refreshing move that the world has come to expect from President de Klerk. But there are indications that divisions within his own cabinet — reinforced by white perceptions (as always so different from those in the townships) that the massacre was all the ANC's fault — may make it a difficult path for him to follow.

What also has to be assessed is the psychological impact which the massacre could have on other homeland leaders. At the weekend there was a massacre which went largely unnoticed by the South African press as well as the international media — as ever (some would say) when the victims are the members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Twelve delegates were shot dead on Fri-

day night last week by gunmen while on their way to a conference of the Inkatha Youth League. It was an incident which had the bellicose chief declaring on Saturday that it was time to "bugger up" the ANC, a fantasy which on Monday he saw brought to realisation by a man whom he must regard as by far his inferior in the warrior stakes.

Gunfire, say those who have experience of pulling the trigger, has an addictive effect. In addition it offers the appearance of an easy way out for men already addicted to power — men such as Brigadier Gqozo himself, Chief Buthelezi, and the Bophuthatswana leader, "President for Life" Lucas Mangope, who must have been feeling increasingly threatened by the bi-lateral negotiations which have been taking place in secret over the last few months between the ANC and the government. It is in their reaction to the events in the Ciskei that ricochets could find unintended targets.

The Guardian Weekly 11-17 Sept 1992 (1)

2 Ciskei killings wreck peace hopes

THE South African peace process was torpedoed by a massacre again when soldiers in the Ciskei homeland opened fire on Monday on tens of thousands of African National Congress demonstrators marching across the border against the Ciskei ruler, Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo. When the dust cleared at least 28 were dead and 190 injured.

Hopes of a resumption of the stalled peace negotiations between the ANC and the government of President F. W. de Klerk appeared in tatters as each side blamed the other for the massacre.

"It's impossible to negotiate with these people because they don't stick to agreements... We must study if we can

continue negotiations with the ANC-Communist Party alliance," South Africa's foreign minister, Pik Botha, said. The ANC accused the South African government of complicity in the killings.

Senior ANC and government officials held emergency talks in the nearby South African town of King William's Town. Mr de Klerk announced that South African security forces had been sent to the Ciskei capital, Bisho, to maintain order.

Ciskei troops poured two bursts of automatic fire into a crowd of tens of thousands of ANC supporters who had marched on Bisho. The first fusillade lasted for two minutes, then there was a

pause followed by another one-minute burst of shooting. Bodies lay scattered in pools of blood along the line of razor wire erected to contain the march.

No ambulances came to help the injured, some frighteningly still and others writhing in pain. Instead, private cars came and went with wounded people bundled into open boots and bleeding limbs drooping from open doors.

The march was headed by leading figures in the ANC, including Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general, and the South African Communist Party chief, Chris Hani. There must now be doubts about the wisdom of their tactics.

David Beresford, page 12

WHILE the de Klerk government has at its disposal the full power of the state, ranging from its army and security forces through government-controlled television and radio, the ANC now has neither the threat of armed struggle nor international sanctions, says *Barbara Harmel, writing in the International Herald Tribune*. The most powerful weapon for the ANC is that of protest and other forms of "people power."

The 1980s provided striking evidence of the potential of non-violent action in fighting political oppression. It was a decade in which the term "people power" came into its own. In the Philippines, China, Argentina, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Un-

ion and elsewhere, "people power" challenged long-standing dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, prompting important political changes. In South Africa, "people power" forced the government away from repression and into negotiations.

The ANC has much to gain in its struggle to achieve a democratic society by developing a program for the strategic use of non-violent direct action. Most immediately, it could provide vital leverage at the negotiating table when talks resume. Swift deployment of well-timed strikes or well placed boycotts would be

far more effective than time-wasting walkouts from the negotiations. Through the strategic use of "people power," the ANC could impose short-term but real costs for heel-dragging.

A platform of non-violent mass action would underscore both the ANC's commitment to peaceful change and its militancy. It would sharply distinguish the ANC from Inkatha, whose members have so frequently been captured by television cameras brandishing their "traditional" weapons, while enhancing the ANC's appeal to those who demand a tougher stance from it.

Nonviolence is a better bet

Further, a program of non-violent action could make contributions to the ANC's organizational capacities. Communications between leadership and the rank and file have been less than satisfactory. Lack of information about the talks has been a frequent complaint from ANC members. The strategic use of "people power" would require tight communication with the people on the streets via well-functioning channels of information.

The ANC has vast resources to tap among its membership, some of whom have felt increasingly alienated from the political process.

Directly engaging members in a process of creative thinking about tactics would develop a repertoire of non-violent actions and mobilize the membership.

South Africa lacks a democratic tradition. Authoritarian rule and decades of conflict have characterized the society. Perhaps the most important role the adoption of a program of non-violent action could play is establishing a solid base for a democracy.

The writer is director of The South Africa Program at the Albert Einstein Institution, a non-profit organization that promotes research and education on non-violent responses to political violence.

The Guardian Weekly 11-17 Sept 1992

The march on Bisho was the Communist Party's "Letting Option" turned sour, argues BRIAN POTTINGER

When wild men seize the moment

der and each act of repression merely invoked further enticement to revolution, a long process culminating in this week's event.

A generous interpretation of the government's inertia is that it has become so used to supporting tribal despots with public money that it does not know when, exactly, to draw the line. A more cynical view is that it was keen to seduce Gqozo into a Codesa alliance on the basis of Lyndon Johnson's famous dictum: "They may be bastards but they are our bastards."

Yet no original sin on the part of the government can condone the single-minded determination of the SA Communist Party, with the ANC in tow, to martyr its followers and jeopardise

Inertia

Sponsorship for the Bisho tragedy is being laid at various doors, but it is worth beginning with a consideration of where the original sin lies. The Ciskei, much unloved by everybody and most of all by those who have to live within its borders, is a creation of the National Party government.

True, in recent months the South African government has assumed some administrative powers in the territory. It has more than once rapped Gqozo for his excesses: he has recently taken to writing to other homeland leaders complaining that he is tired of being subjected to "wicked baaskap and old-style apartheid domination" by the government.

Yet it was not enough. Gqozo got away with mur-

THE week began with gunfire at Bisho and ended, predictably, with political shadow-boxing between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Who should speak to whom, when, how.

Yet there is a new urgency to this familiar pantomime. The incident on the Bisho road this week which took at least 29 lives and injured 200 was a tableau of an appalling moment of illumination for all South Africans about what happens when wild men seize the moment.

For when Ronnie Kasrils rushed the Ciskeian guns, he carried more than a few hundred supporters with him. He trailed along a revolutionary tradition which remains undimmed by all the compromises, negotiations and trade-offs since February 2, 1990. Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo, for his part, commanded not just a handful of bandit troops: he defended a monstrous yet dying ancien regime.

the fragile peace process.

Kasrils, a dedicated revolutionary and communist, this week insisted he did not expect the Ciskeian army to open fire when he led his crowd into their guns at Bisho. Yet his opponent, Gqozo, has in the past made little secret of his deadly intentions to defend the ersatz capital of his ersatz state from mass occupation.

Why then this heroism — or cynicism? Why this frontal attack on a febrile regime whose very insecurity is based on the knowledge that it will soon disappear, submerged in a new political system to which Gqozo has already given his reluctant consent at Codesa, a satrap about to be denied an empire?

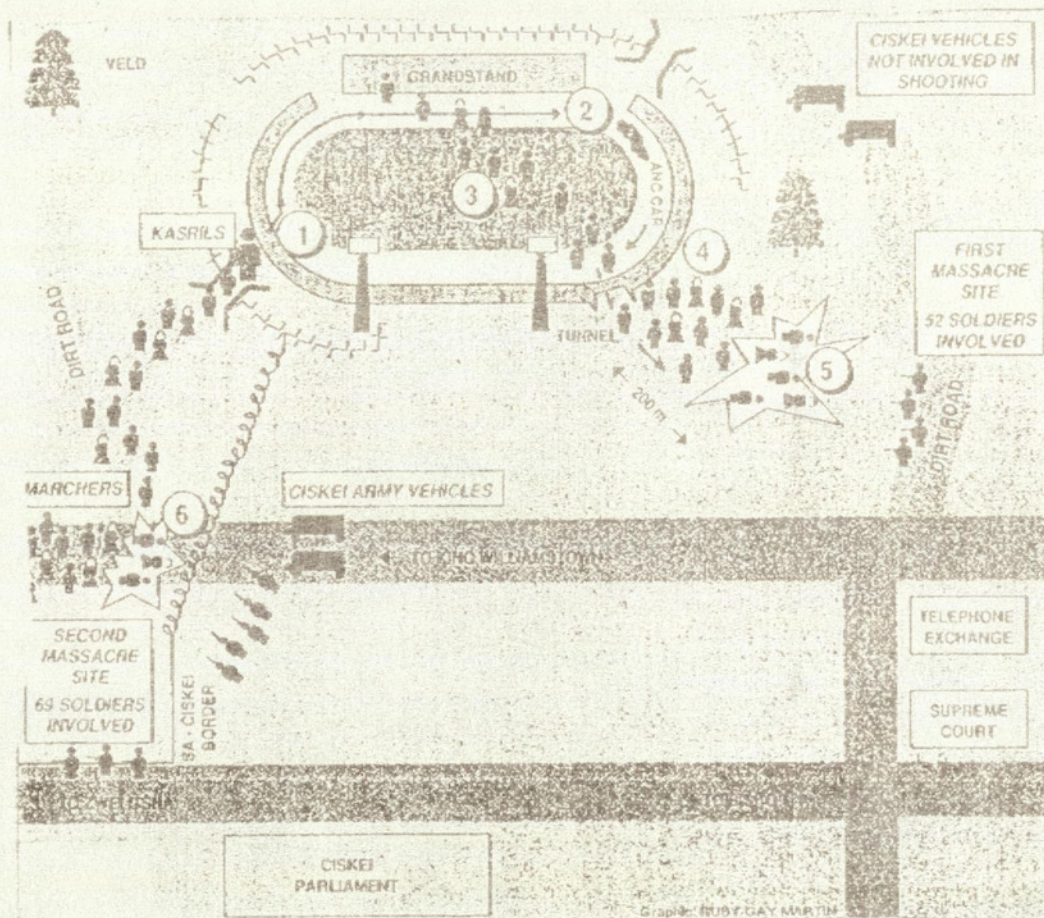
The ANC's ostensible reason for the march was to prove that free political activity must be honoured throughout South Africa. It was also a protest against the homeland system.

The first reason is legitimate, if utopian; the second, frankly suspect. Trz

Sun Times 11-09-92

THE MAYHEM

- 1 Ronnie Kasrils leads a trotting crowd of protesters into the stadium and heads for the main stands
- 2 A white car carrying ANC officials suddenly emerges from behind the grandstand and makes for an exit tunnel
- 3 The crowd races across the stadium field and follows the car into the tunnel
- 4 The crowd emerges from the tunnel and runs towards Bisho
- 5 Ciskeian soldiers fire with live ammunition, driving back the crowd
- 6 Moments later the troops blocking the border, some several hundred metres away, open fire on the marchers and observers still on the road



Sun Times 11-09-92

A 'fun run' turned to bloody death beyond the razor wire

THE sign in a pharmacy window in King William's Town read: Closed For Stocktaking. But except for bottle stores and cafes, just about everything else had shut down, too.

In a field near Grey hospital — where five hours later hundreds would mill anxiously for news of the wounded — ~~blacks~~ ~~disobeyed~~ cars dominated an army vehicle park.

Before the march, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa addressed the throng. The goal was Bisho and the overthrow of the tyrant Gqozo and some Ciskei soldiers. Mr Ramaphosa declared, had told the ANC they would disobey orders to shoot. The crowd roared its approval.

After Gqozo it would be the turn of Mangope, then Buthe-lesi.

People got up and moved leisurely towards the exit. It was a crush, but a good-natured one. It could have been the start of a fun run.

That five magisterial districts had been declared unrest areas seemed hardly relevant.

Shortly before 1pm the vanguard reached a crucial junction, a razor wire barrier at the border with the Ciskei.

At the barrier, with soldiers at peak alert, ANC mass action co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils opted to do his thing.

He raised his fist and set off at a trot, a boyish smile on his face.

What followed was a stampede. Thousands swarmed along a dirt road to an open gate in the stadium fence.

BILL KRIGE was at Ronnie Kasrils's shoulder when he led demonstrators into Bisho stadium this week. He describes the 'fun run' that turned to mayhem and murder

Here was where the speeches would be delivered in terms of an agreement with the Ciskei. People rushed for the best seats, the grandstand filled rapidly.

Then a white car filled with ANC officials drove into the arena. It made a fast quarter circuit of the athletic track and headed for a concrete exit tunnel facing Bisho — and, in a flash, everything changed.

Suddenly the way to Bisho was open. Thousands rose and charged after the car.

Through the tunnel, a few Ciskei soldiers were visible on a dirt road 200m away. More were hidden in the long grass.

THE volley was sudden. For a moment people continued running uncertainly towards the sound. Then they turned and fled.

Five minutes earlier I had run into the stadium at Kasrils's shoulder. Soon I would see him help carry a badly wounded man from the killing field.

The massacre at Bisho occurred in two places. The tunnel was the first, and possibly the worst.

The second was about 300m away, at the razor wire barrier from where Kasrils had led the stampede.

At the tunnel, where I was, the terror was palpable. Despite the crack of gunfire and ~~smell of gunpowder~~ ~~curiously~~ mute tableau.

People dived wordlessly into heaps, writhing desperately to make the bottom layer. Bullets smacked into the stadium's embankment and dust hung in a thick haze.

The concrete tunnel became a refuge, people jamming against the walls. After the stragglers came the lightly wounded, shocked and trickling blood. A man dragged himself in, his hip twisted unnaturally but giving me a clenched-fist salute.

A boy aged about nine was too shocked for tears and too scared to lift his shirt to see if he'd been shot. He was lucky. It was just a bruise.

There were incidents of great courage.

Without hesitation, men returned to the killing field, walking into the silently menacing grass to search for fallen comrades. The soldiers stayed hidden.

The wounded were carried in, men, women and children with shattered limbs, ripped flesh and guts hanging out.

There were ghastly head wounds and the concrete was red with gore. The wounded were laid in the shade or the soccer pitch to await help.

Overhead, four helicopters circled incessantly — three

South African — but none landed.

At the tunnel, Red Cross officials staunched wounds and covered the dead with blankets. Soon the first cars and bakkies drove in and the severely wounded were driven away. Many looked as if they wouldn't make it.

At about 2pm, a Ciskei Defence Force ~~Caecilia~~ ~~rolled~~ slowly past and gave us 10 minutes to evacuate the stadium. We walked in a group through the veiled fire smoke to the national road, scene of the second massacre, where a group of ANC marshals stood guard over four bodies.

THE shooting here started after the massacre at the tunnel and, according to most journalists, the ANC leadership and peace observers, was unprovoked. Ciskei sources claim the soldiers began shooting after a Private VS Nqabisa was shot dead.

A Makarov pistol was found and handed to Ciskei Police Commissioner General Johan Viktor. He refused to confirm this because "a commission (under Chief Justice R Pickard) has been appointed".

He is also said to have been handed a map showing the ANC planned to use the tunnel to storm Bisho.

Thousands began to drift back to King William's Town, ignoring the exhortation of Ramaphosa, riding on a bakkie and using a loud-hailer, to stay for a 24-hour vigil.

Eventually, about 2 000 spent the night in the open.

THK
 Independent - London
 11 Sept 92
 11/9/92

LETTERS

Interpretation of events in South Africa after the Ciskei massacre

From Mr Feizel Mamdoo
 Sir: Following the Ciskei massacre, the media here seem increasingly to interpret events in South Africa through terms cast by the South African government. Thus the undue focus on "ANC irresponsibility", "negotiations at all costs", "ANC divisions between moderates and radicals", and so on. Sight has been lost of:
 1. The legitimate demand of the African National Congress for an undivided, non-racial and democratic South Africa.
 2. The government's historically staunch defence of apartheid, including through violence.
 3. The fact that negotiations were forced on the government only through national mass action and international pressure.
 Any earlier hope for a genuine commitment from government to negotiate transfer to a democracy, has now evaporated. It has evaporated in the face of the township killings evidently sponsored by the security forces, as well as through the negotiations process itself. Note the government's stance for an unreasonably high majority required to usher in a new constitution. It now promotes "federalism" as a means to secure the division of South Africa on the

basis of the hated "homelands".
 It has become clear that for the South African government, negotiations are a means to defuse pressure for meaningful democracy and to maintain undemocratic power and privilege. Thus our people are forced on to the streets again to suffer consequences they have always suffered for legitimate demands against an intransigent government.
 Yours faithfully,
 FEIZEL MAMDOO
 Wivenhoe,
 Essex
 9 September

From Mr Peter Hain, MP
 Sir: Your leading article on the Ciskei massacre (9 September) shows that even supposedly responsible and liberal newspapers apparently cannot rid themselves of a neo-colonialist mentality when addressing events in South Africa.
 Thus the ANC is damned with faint praise because it "did not place bombs in planes, or gun down travellers", and then unreservedly damned for "irresponsible street theatre", for involving "innocent people in such a hare-brained enterprise" and for "being foolish to provoke the rulers of

Ciskei". F. W. de Klerk and his government apparently bear no blame either for the carnage in Ciskei or for the breakdown of negotiations, nor does it appear to have occurred to you that he may deliberately have refrained from instructing his "surrogates to restrain their murderous instincts" (as the ANC could reasonably have expected him to do) in order to scupper the resumption of negotiations.
 Of course the march into Ciskei was provocative — any action that genuinely threatens apartheid cannot avoid being provocative to those whose power depends upon apartheid. But what should always be kept in mind is that apartheid is itself the ultimate provocation, that the only way to end that provocation is to end apartheid and that this will not happen until South Africa has a government elected by all its peoples.
 Negotiations can only be meaningful if the participants each have real bargaining cards. The De Klerk government's cards are that all constitutional and legal powers are still in its hands. Lacking political representation, the ANC's cards are that it speaks for the voteless South African majority and that by persuading this major-

ity to use its numbers in mass action it can exert pressure on the government. What realistic alternative action would you suggest for the ANC?
 The fact remains that successive Nationalist governments have been responsible for those provocations and that the onus is therefore on the current one to remove the continuing provocations which are behind the unrest and violence.
 There will be little point in "the stationing of United Nations observers at flashpoints" — overseas observers were present at Ciskei — unless the Western powers that have for so long propped up apartheid display the integrity and courage to take sides, to act for democracy, to assist the ANC in forcing Mr de Klerk to discover that will. They should do this by informing him that unless he accepts the ANC's negotiation conditions by a specific date — say 1 October — then sanctions (diplomatic, travel, sporting) will be reimposed.
 Yours sincerely,
 PETER HAIN
 MP for Neath (Lab)
 House of Commons
 London, SW1
 10 September

Sun Times 11-09-92

In search of the winnable battle, the Ciskei fairly clamoured for the communists' attention

both a homeland and not greatly democratic (Inkatha Freedom Party branches do not flourish in Transkei), yet it is not marked down by the ANC for revolutionary overthrow. But then, the Bantu Holomisa administration can best be described as the ANC at tribal devotion.

The real motive for the Kasrils sprint should rather be sought in a recent statement by Jeremy Cronin, the poet-conscience of the SA Communist Party. He warned about the "elitism" of the negotiating process and pointed to the need to keep the rank and file mobilised and ready.

He was merely reflecting a wider view among many ANC and particular-

ly SACP supporters — the feeling that talking in closed rooms has achieved little of substance, that there is no substitute for direct action.

The ANC's vaunted "mass action", meanwhile, has met with little success inside South Africa — hardly shaking markets, disrupting commerce, provoking the security forces or inconveniencing citizens.

In search of the winnable battle, then, the Ciskei fairly clamoured for the communists' attention. An impoverished country with a rapacious leadership, a nationhood largely fabricated by state-employed African anthropologists, a population 10-to-one ANC

supporting, a weak public service and a rag-tag army.

Here, indeed, was the one place in South Africa where the communists' long-cherished ideal of a "Leipzig Option" — the overthrow of a government by massive, peaceful civil resistance as happened in central Europe — might work. And the communists tried.

The suggestion that this was a wholly ANC initiative is belied by the fact that the foremost organisers were all top communists — Raymond Suttner, Ronnie Kasrils, Chris Hani.

If the Ciskei army had not been true to its murderous nature, there is little doubt Kasrils (or somebody of his ilk) would now be sitting in Oupa's chair, although for how long remains an open question.

End

Such success would have made irresistible the temptation to try the Leipzig Option on other homelands antagonistic to the ANC — Boputhatswana and Kwazulu. The consequence of that, as predictable as Monday's tragedy, would be unspeakable violence, a repressive state response and an effective end to negotiations.

The struggle for power would revert to the streets — where many unreconstructed revolutionaries, romantics and communists within the ANC believe it should have remained all along.

The question now remains: who will take the first step towards curbing the wild men? The ANC, by calling off its proposed actions against Boputhatswana and Kwazulu, or the government, by deposing Gqozo?

Sun Times 11-09-92

Land where terror reigns X

CHARLENE SMITH reports from a country standing on the brink

THIRTEEN-year-old Onke Nokhele, his small frame badly bruised, battles to peer out of one eye. A deep, oozing sjambok wound from chin to forehead seals his other eye.

He is a small victim of the enormous crisis gripping Ciskei since the tragic events of Monday. The territory has descended into paranoia, fear and vicious revenge attacks.

Onke and some friends were playing near Zwelitsha, a short distance from Bisho, on Tuesday. Stones and boulders littered the road, where the day before comrades set up road-blocks. Ciskeian soldiers ordered them to remove the stones, beating them as they worked.

They were then driven to a place nearby flooded with

effluent from a leaking pipe and ordered to leopard crawl through it "like Chris Hani does", Onke claims. Their torment ended only when nearby villagers protested at the soldiers' conduct.

Some Ciskeian soldiers — 24 of whom have had their homes petrol-bombed — have apparently gone on the rampage, severely beating people.

Phakamisa Phike, aged 22, of Diki Dakane, near King William's Town, was allegedly beaten to death by soldiers on Wednesday. Mr Phike's death happened shortly before the ANC was granted an urgent interdict in the Bisho supreme court to prevent members of the Ciskei Defence Force from "unlawfully harassing, assaulting, threatening and

verbally abusing" ANC members in Ciskei.

They applied for the interdict after four elderly members were admitted to hospital with serious baton injuries.

On Thursday, Ciskei's Minister of Defence, Colonel S Pita, failed to secure an interdict restraining members of the ANC from "petrol bombing, torching and burning houses of members of the CDF". Judge Mike Claasens found there was not enough evidence to suggest ANC supporters were responsible for carrying out the attacks.

Some ANC members have fled Ciskei. Border is the ANC's largest branch with some 150 000 members, of which they estimate 70 percent live in Cis-

kei.

Three headmen have been killed (following the murder of five last week) and three houses belonging to bodyguards of Ciskeian leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, were firebombed on Wednesday, the same day 10 soldiers' houses were destroyed.

Brigadier Gqozo said that "a lot of soldiers' wives are panicking, they are asking to be removed from the area; little children have been sent to them with notes that say 'your house will be next'.

"Soldiers are asking what they should do with their children. They are tense. I am reluctant to move them, because if people in the countryside see them moving out they will say the government has been defeated."

X Sun Times
11-09-92

Taking us beyond the Bisho road

AFTER the massacre it can no longer be business as usual in South Africa. The country now hovers on that border between relative sobriety and unimaginable madness. Peace or outright civil war: the options for 30-million people were brutally defined on the Bisho road this week.

Power, the manner of its surrender or its seizure, is at the heart of the matter. While the National Party and the ANC have between them proprietorially started divvying up the spoils of office, other and still important actors have made their moves.

One of the most significant of these groups in the short term will undoubtedly be a newly emergent, reactionary Triple Entente involving Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu. Once the beneficiaries of the apartheid state, these semi-feudal states are now the immediate victims of its demise.

While whites can bargain their way to the new South Africa with resources of expertise, skills, wealth and privilege, apartheid's black orphans have little but ramshackle administrations, pork-barrel politics and synthetic forms of ethno-nationalism with which to ensure a stake in the future.

Posturing

Their fate has in any case virtually been sealed by the agreement in principle at Codesa to reincorporate them, and, if the ANC had not stalked out of that forum, there is a good chance the homelands would by now already be well on the way to being dragged back into a unified South Africa, kicking and screaming, by fair means or foul. It is precisely because of this vulnerability that they are so tetchy and, as we saw in Bisho this week, violent. Fools ignore this at their peril.

Yet ignore it, the ANC does. The movement's march on Bisho and the actions of its revolutionary provocateurs did not merely court violence — they guaranteed it. The pledge to try the same at Bophuthatswana and (God forbid!) Ulundi has the possibility of similar outcomes. The sanctioned tumult to which "mass action" has now degenerated damages not only the country, but the ANC itself, for — let there be no mistake

— a considerable number of South Africans, including virtually the entire white community, are sick to death of the ANC's posturing, adventurism, immaturity and confusion. Many very serious people, here and abroad, now believe we will not succeed in distinguishing ourselves from the wasteland that is much of the rest of the continent.

Thus the first step back to sanity must be for both the ANC and the government to stamp some form of authority on those whom they nominally control. For the ANC, that means ending mass action immediately and getting back to the less romantic and intellectually more challenging business of negotiating a future for all South Africans. The revolutionaries within their ranks will oppose it and it will be up to ANC leader Nelson Mandela to ensure they acquiesce. Whether he has the capacity or will to do so is an open question: many doubts now exist over his grasp of events.

Respect

But there is an even heavier burden resting on the South African government. Its pious bleatings that its hands are tied by international law in regard to the homelands will not wash. As long as Pretoria pays the board and lodgings, which it does, it can insist the homelands keep clean houses, which they do not.

There is international precedent. For the last five years, at least since the end of the bipolar era, Western donor countries have insisted that aid must be tied to respect for human rights and visible progress towards democracy in recipient countries. Pretoria can begin by demanding that the homeland military regimes — Ciskei, Vends and the ANC's Transkei — call general elections immediately. For the Ciskei, the most unstable of the lot, the government should insist Brigadier Gqozo immediately surrenders his army to South African command and that it undergoes complete retraining or, even better, retires himself.

The possibility of a summit between President De Klerk and Mr Mandela is encouraging: it at least takes us back to where we were two years ago. But it will take much honesty, discipline and sobriety on the part of all parties to take us beyond Bisho.

The Weekly Mail 11-17 Sept 1992 (2)

SA's negotiations by massacre

**Behind the
showdown:
Both sides
have an eye on
elections**

THE African National Congress and the government are headed for a bloody showdown in the homelands. After this week's confrontation and massacre in Ciskei, the ANC is targeting President Lucas Mangope; the organisation has announced a plan to march on Bophuthatswana next Saturday. Tension is also building up between the kwaZulu government and the ANC.

The government yesterday signalled a hard-line determination to resist the attack on its homeland allies. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said ominously that the government was

ready to use "coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region".

Both sides are driven by election strategy. The ANC sees it as essential to establish free political activity in these repressive areas before any voting campaign can begin. The organisation has also been under severe pressure from its members in these areas to do something about tough conditions in the homelands.

The National Party feels it has to defend its potential election allies if it is to survive a vote. Botha has said that with the help of homeland leaders, the NP can win an election.

At stake also is the government's notion of a federal state, with strong regions counterbalancing central government power. Without the homelands and homeland leaders, its federal option will be shortlived.

The ANC this week presented the government with a simple choice: either ditch your homeland friends, or shoot us.

The government and its allies chose the latter — setting the scene for a bloody confrontation that has little to do with the drive for peace, and everything to do with winning votes.

●See PAGES 2, 4, 5 & 19

Govt will X block ANC takeover at all costs

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE government is convinced the African National Congress alliance has decided to use every tactic possible to bring all the homelands under its control in order to assume power when negotiations restart — and that it has no alternative but to resist this strategy.

It also believes that the Bisho massacre will look like a picnic if the ANC alliance takes its campaign to Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. Conflict would fan out through Natal and the Reef hostels would erupt.

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent a memorandum to United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to send a representative to hold discussions with key political players and to demand that the ANC and the South African Communist Party abandon "any further provocative actions".

In a hard-line document released at a Pretoria press conference, Botha charged that the ANC/SACP actions at Bisho and withdrawal from Codesa violated UN Security Council Resolutions 765 and 772. Mass action, he said, was "aimed at eliminating leaders of those parties who refuse to be cowed and intimidated by them".

He warned that the government was ready to use coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region.

One of the major spinoffs of the massacre, say government sources, is

that levels of trust between the government and ANC have plummeted to a new low: they say agreements were reached at Bisho but the ANC leadership deliberately decided to break them.

They did not expect Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's troops to use live ammunition as the first line of fire, but ultimately Gqozo was in power, legally and politically, and it was his responsibility.

"It was a grab for power. The ANC wanted to change the chess board," one source said. "The ANC broke the agreed conditions and wanted to occupy Bisho. They should have known that Gqozo had his back to the wall. They wanted to oust him and they got their come-uppance."

The government believed the march

was aimed at taking control of Ciskei and the occupation of Bisho was the first stage of a campaign to bring all the homelands under its wing. "After this, all other issues pale into insignificance. It could not be tolerated."

The source said the government had made a concerted bid to prevent conflict despite its scepticism about the real aims of the march.

It sent representatives down a week before, the National Peace Committee was alerted, the minister of law and order and two deputy ministers were on hand, the ANC leadership was continually contacted, diplomats were briefed, and broad agreement was eventually reached, but these conditions were deliberately broken.

In the circumstances, it would be

very difficult to restore reasonable levels of trust for meaningful negotiations to be resumed.

The sources also said Pretoria wanted to ensure that whatever happened, it would not be linked to the Ciskei government.

Botha had even phoned the SACP secretary general Chris Hani in the presence of foreign diplomats to reinforce the fact that it wanted to keep its distance from the Ciskei and persuade him not to force confrontation.

One source said the major beneficiaries of the massacre were those, on both sides, who did not want to see negotiations succeed. "Only two people, Gqozo and Ronnie Kasrils, had their planning right," the source said.

The Weekly Mail
11-17 Sept 1992

The Weekly Mail 11-17 Sept 1992

Was there a deliberate ambush at Bisho?

By ANDREW TRENCH and
LOUISE FLANAGAN

MAJOR questions have been raised about the Ciskei's preparations for Monday's march on Bisho, amid suggestions of a deliberate ambush.

Mystery surrounds two key aspects of the homeland's crowd-control provisions: why a gap was left in the stadium fence, enabling the protesters to try to move on Bisho; and why soldiers officially there to deter such a move were hidden in the grass.

In another development this week, the German publication *Geheim* claimed that South African Military Intelligence chief General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen had sent a signal to Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Marius Oelschig "instructing him to use force and 'all means necessary' to crush the demonstration". The publication said it received this information from "one of our sources within the South African intelligence community", but offered no further substantiation.

Oelschig is seconded to the CDF from the South African Defence Force, which means that he is still accountable to the SADF. The Bisho demonstration would also have been discussed in Joint Intelligence Councils and Joint Operation Councils between the Ciskei and South African forces in the region.

The South African security forces appeared to have known something was going to happen. Not only did South Africa declare the areas immediately surrounding Bisho unrest areas two days before the action and fly in crack troops for assistance, but the South African forces quietly pulled back from the border for the crucial period of the shooting.

Ciskei had prepared the area well. Five days before the march, the two officers in charge of troops on the ground on Monday, Chief of Staff Operations Colonel Horst Schubesberger and Colonel Jaco Roussouw, were seen surveying the area with what appeared to be maps and mea-

suring sections of the road. Both men are former SADF officers now contracted to the CDF.

And days before that, it was an open secret that the ANC was planning to have at least one column of protesters push through to Bisho, although it was not clear just how or where this would happen.

On the day of the march, Ciskei deployed soldiers alongside the road from King William's Town to Bisho and in the stadium, but waited until the last minute to put up razor-wire barriers. By the time the march reached the border, soldiers had been withdrawn from inside the stadium but were deployed alongside the road from the border and halfway around the stadium.

A razor-wire barrier was thrown across the road some 20m on the Ciskei side of the border, preventing marchers from moving along the main road into Bisho and channelling them into the stadium. Marchers moved up to the barrier and, while

their leaders negotiated over the barrier with National Peace Secretariat officials, other demonstrators moved into the stadium — where they were permitted to be in terms of a Ciskei court order.

A small group led by the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils then charged over the grass embankment in the north-east of the stadium and through the wide gap in the fence — straight into the line of fire of the soldiers hidden in the long grass and uneven ground.

The Ciskei government has stated that the gap in the fence was made by demonstrators pushing it down. However, witnesses had clearly seen the gap long before the march took place.

Oelschig could not be contacted yesterday. A spokesman for his office said he was "out of the country". It was later established that he was at the South African embassy to the Ciskei in King William's Town.

● Louise Flanagan is a researcher for the Independent Board of Inquiry

SA govt holds the reins in Ciskei

By CLAIRE KEETON and LOUISE FLANAGAN

THE South African government and its army have a pervasive grip on the power structures of Ciskei — however much President FW de Klerk may try to distance himself from the homeland's actions.

The Ciskei Council of State signed a treaty with the South African government last year agreeing South Africa would have more direct control over the homeland's finances and allowing for South Africa's assistance in maintaining law and order.

Now the entire power structure in the homeland — the army, police and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement — is controlled by South African security force personnel.

Gqozo signed the agreement with South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on February 27 1991, less than a year after Gqozo seized power from former life president Lennox Sebe.

At the time it seemed Gqozo was inviting assistance to prop up his position as he headed on a collision course with the African National Congress, civics and unions. He appointed a number of South Africans, including former South African Defence Force officers, to top posts.

A year later, in April, the minister of finance and director general of finance resigned. The minister, Arnold Pretorius, who had been seconded from South Africa, was replaced by another seconded official: Vice-Admiral William Bekker from the South African Navy.

The commissioner of police is Brigadier Johan Victor, who has been named by renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee as a former commander of Vlakplaas, centre of alleged hit-squad activities. Victor was on the scene at Monday's shootings.

Officers seconded from the SADF and former SADF men also have a stranglehold on the Ciskei military. Leading the South African contingent is Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Marius Oelschig, a direct SADF secondment.

Early this year, Oelschig appeared to have become one of Gqozo's chief advisers, taking over this role from Anton Nieuwoudt, the former head of South African Military Intelligence (MI) front organisation International Researchers/Ciskei Intelligence Service (IR/CIS). Oelschig's background is in MI.

Second in command in the CDF is Colonel Dirk van der Bank. He spent a period as the acting commander of the CDF after an alleged "coup attempt" resulted in the removal of all top-ranking officers, an action that was

attributed to IR/CIS.

Ciskei's Military Intelligence is headed by Ockert Swanepoel and his deputy, Hendrik Chris Nel. Last year, Ciskei MI chief at the time, Colonel Gert Hugo, claimed both Swanepoel and Nel had links with the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Hugo said Swanepoel was previously from 32 Battalion, while Nel was the main interrogator of captured Swapo guerrillas in Oshakati.

The man in charge of the troops at the scene of Monday's massacre was Operations Chief of Staff Colonel Horst Schubesberger, assisted by Colonel Jaco Roussouw. Both are former SADF officers under contract to the CDF.

The CDF's Finance Chief of Staff is former Eastern Province Command and Special Forces member Colonel Raymond Williams. Williams is also a formerly seconded officer who is now contracted to the CDF.

The ADM is run by secretary general Basie Oosthuysen, who has been credited with setting up the East London branch of Dynamic Teaching, an extension of the MI front company Adult Education Consultants, in 1988. — e!news

We had confrontation in mind, says Kasrils

By PHILIPPA GARSON

IF everything had gone according to plan, "people's power" would have coursed through the streets of Bisho and, perhaps with a nudge from mutineering soldiers, swept Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo from his illicit throne.

Instead, Gqozo's soldiers opened fire on marchers running through the gap in the Independence Stadium and hopes of a glorious Leipzig victory were dashed with the same brutality as those of the demonstrators on Tiananmen Square.

After restrictions were placed on the protest march, the crowd was to proceed from King William's Town to the stadium and not to Gqozo's Bisho headquarters. But organisers had decided that if the opportunities presented themselves for marching peacefully towards Bisho, the large crowd would do so.

Hours after the massacre, African National Congress campaigns head Ronnie Kasrils, who attempted to lead a column of people to Bisho through a gap in the stadium fence, said: "We had taken reconnaissance of the place. We had confrontation in mind. We were banking on numbers and national leadership being here and on an idea to find a different way of outflanking them and then reassembling in town. We were willing to challenge them by our mere presence in numbers. We didn't come here with weapons at all."

The plan was to hold a "people's assembly" in Bisho and wait for an answer to a memorandum sent a few days earlier by the ANC's Border region, demanding the resignation of Gqozo. The people intended to stay there until Gqozo stepped down.

There were indications to alliance leaders of growing dissatisfaction of the Ciskei police with the strong-arm rule of Gqozo's army, widening cracks in his security council and the waning loyalty of Gqozo's soldiers, some who seemed prepared to cross sides once the crowd thronged Bisho.

Said Kasrils: "We had decided to avoid the soldiers and head for the north-western side of town. I was in front, trying by example to lead people through. I was with the regional chairman of the eastern Cape and Border region. (The soldiers) kept moving over in the vehicles. We were trying to show them we weren't running for the line. We didn't expect them to fire. We felt that because of the large numbers, plus the leadership of the ANC alliance, plus the press and members of the National Peace Accord that they wouldn't dare fire into a crowd of that size ... The ones that fired on us fired from vehicles and positions at the telecommunications station."

The barrage of gunfire that ensued for several minutes had crisp-shirted Peace Accord leaders John Hall and Antonie Gildenhuys, ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa, Steve Tshwete, Chris

Hani and Gertrude Tshope and scores of journalists face down in the dust with everyone else.

"There was no warning. They didn't fire above people's heads. There were continuous volleys of fire. All of us hit the ground. The sound of bullets over us was like a continuous swarm of bees. Comrade Bushy was 10 yards away from me shouting at me that he'd been shot but there was nothing I could do until the shooting stopped," said Kasrils.

"I crawled over to him, turned him over and found that he was very badly wounded, bleeding profusely and in severe pain. I had to drag him back to the stadium — literally on our bellies. When I arrived at the stadium it was just a scene of carnage. I counted four people who had had their brains blown out ... the actions of a madman who relies on boer officers."

Cynics have blamed the alliance leaders for playing a dangerous game with people's lives, of perhaps seeking the political advantages that ironically follow when action against unarmed supporters ends in carnage. Others have merely slammed the organisers for a "tactical blunder" in assuming that Gqozo's men, loyal for the moment to their frenzied, illegitimate ruler, would do anything else.

But the people who readily stormed the gap, the citizens of Ciskei living daily under Gqozo's rule, understood the risks probably better than anyone else. Kasrils, who had campaigned in the area over the past week, seemed at pains to stress this.

No doubt grappling with his own personal trauma of having unwittingly led people to their deaths, he spoke of the intense resolve of people grown fearless from months of accumulated anger. Perhaps they were over-confident after a similar march a few months earlier. Then, the crowd had managed to storm through the troops, who turned and fled.

Asked if he regretted the leadership's decision to try to push on to Bisho, Kasrils replied: "One can't regret whatever one does in good faith, with the judgment of collective leadership. Casualties take place all the time but we are deeply saddened by the loss of life. We can't play with people's lives."

The former head of ANC military intelligence predicts that a "people's war", without military help from the ANC, will take place in Ciskei.

"People here in the villages are going to have to take up arms. That's natural. Every democrat in this country must give them support."

In Kasrils' view, the massacre has precipitated a national crisis, putting the negotiations process in jeopardy: "Our action is for free political activity in Bophuthatswana, kwaZulu and the Ciskei ... If peaceful change is made impossible, then violent change becomes inevitable."

2001-10-17 11:17 AM
Bisho
The week

... THE LATEST ROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA'S NEGOTIATION BY MASSACRE

bloodied border

gruity was quickly lost in a political sermon which, while lacking the measured cadences of a Martin Luther King, stood the comparison in terms of passion and nobility.

Greeting them in Afrikaans, laughing with them, performing for them, he developed his theme — of freedom as God's gift, rather than man's — to a climactic scene as his battered congregation, open hands waving above their heads to denote the absence of guns, roared joyfully: "We will be free. All of us, black and white. Together. Freedom is coming. For all of us. Black and white. All of us."

And then he was gone, up the hill with his fellow clerics, past the puddle of brains, on an urgent mission to try to persuade the brigadier it was time for freedom.

The hours stretched on down by the imaginary line as the crowd waited for more pilgrims. Journalists hovered around the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils, peppering him in relay with questions about his role in Monday's tragedy.

A short, stocky figure, with a comfortable belly and his own bald spot glowing pinkly

among the black curls under the afternoon sun, Kasrils promises to be one of the most romantic figures in the legends which will no doubt grow around the liberation struggle. A former ANC intelligence chief, the "Red Pimpernel" led the charge on the Ciskei guns, escaping by a miracle. Obviously suffering under a private burden of self-examination, he doggedly answered the challenges as to the justification for the charge which was ended so brutally.

"One cannot regret what one does in good faith and to the best judgment of the collective leadership," he pleaded. "Casualties take place all the time — people are dying in the struggle ... we can't regret trying to go forward."

But there was a wistful look on his face as he walked off, tossing back to me the words: "The trouble is, I always was the best runner at school. There were others (leaders) with me, but they just could not keep up."

But the agonising was forgotten as a fresh stampede of photographers signalled another pilgrim coming down the country road. Strid-

ing with that stately air, immaculate in black suit, it was almost a re-run of that memorable moment at the end of another lifetime when he walked through the gates at Victor Verster Prison. The barricade of armoured vehicles was hurriedly opened to give him passage. The police officers, all white, formed flanking lines — effectively, if unbelievably, a guard of honour, but facing outwards, cocking their assault rifles threateningly towards the combat-clad Ciskei killers on the hill.

Advancing to a position between a broken line of razor-wire entanglements, Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa, Kasrils and other ANC officials knelt to re-join the line with wreaths of yellow roses.

They sang a lament composed for dead guerrillas — "Go gently ANC soldier" — before turning back to the crowd. A police squad car driven by a white South African major led the way. It stopped as it reached the crowd. An ANC official asked the major if they could use the car's loud hailer.

A woman took the microphone and led them in the singing of the ANC's anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*.

Unheard, a few yards away, by a puddle of brains.

The Weekly Mail 11-17 Sept 1992

Monitors race against time

By ARTHUR GAVSON: London

SHOCK effects of the Bisho massacre have galvanised key world governments into action amid mounting fears that bloody new confrontations could engulf South Africa in full-scale insurrection.

Four international organisations hustled this week to dispatch monitors to bolster the shaky structure of the National Peace Accord.

An advance contingent of a 50-strong United Nations observer mission is due to fly to Johannesburg from New York today. Significantly, they will be deployed in the flash-point areas of Natal-kwaZulu and the Transvaal.

Organisation of African Unity, European Community and Commonwealth teams are to follow soon.

The German government has joined the United States and Britain in pinning political responsibility for Monday's shoot-out on President FW de Klerk's regime. All have condemned what they regard as a disproportionate use of force.

Diplomats at the UN, EC and Commonwealth headquarters reported in telephonic interviews their main concern now is that the

African National Congress will set out to switch its campaign of mass action to Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. Such a move, they said, would suck in South African Defence Force units and almost certainly have consequences far more serious than at Bisho.

"We see the situation developing as a race against time," one British official said.

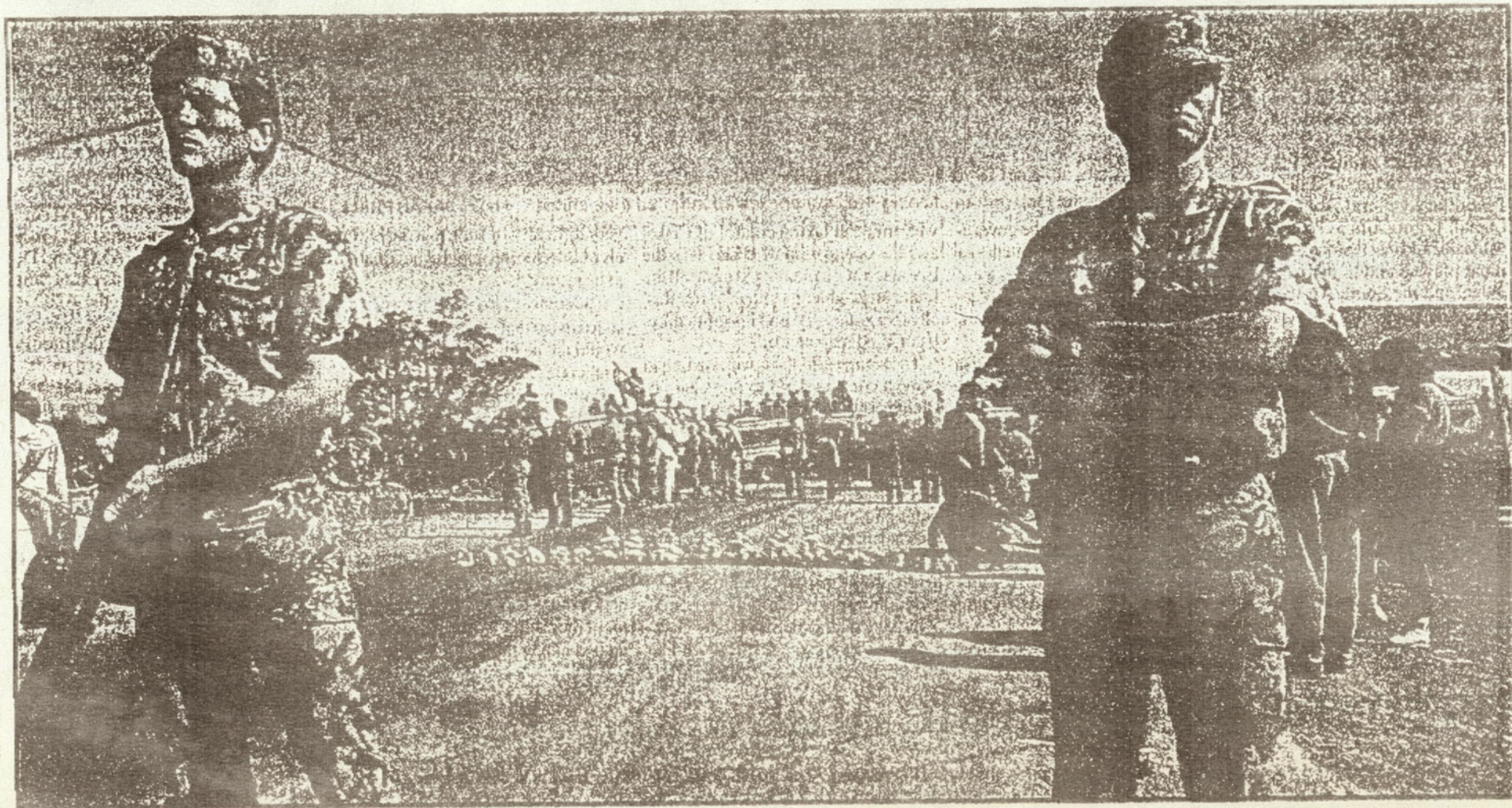
US President George Bush and British Prime Minister John Major were reported to be among the heads of government who have been in touch privately both with De Klerk and Nelson Mandela in the past few days. They urged the greatest restraint and decisive action to end violence and restart negotiations.

Officials of the four international bodies have already begun the process of co-ordinating their planned monitoring arrangements.

The scale and nature of the Commonwealth's role is down for discussion next week, when the organisation's Secretary General, Emaka Anyaoku, meets UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York. Anyaoku has publicly raised the possibility of reintroducing sanctions if De Klerk's reforms are torpedoed.

The Weekly Mail 11-17 Sept 1992 (1)

D-DAY FOR HOMELANDS



Symbols of a tragedy: The imaginary Ciskei border is marked by soldiers and wreaths

Photo: SARAH PRALL

B1 Day 11/9/92

FEDERAL systems are not all equal, nor are meanings of the expression "self-determination" always the same. On the contrary, they differ enormously.

Inkatha is proposing a federal state based on the principle of regional self-determination. The Inkatha proposal is entirely different — in terms of content, vision and political culture — to anything the ANC is talking about.

The ANC advocates diluted forms of decentralisation, which will preserve the mostly exclusive role of the unitarian central government.

Self-determination, as advocated by Inkatha, is the right of the people to choose their destinies, form their own governments and adopt their own laws and regulations. The people represented by Inkatha are exercising this right by wishing to be part of the SA republic and by demanding a federal form of state.

Self-determination — or autonomy — is a fundamental principle to ensure long-term successful co-existence and development for several regions in an organised society. This is not meant as apartheid or separate development, but rather as com-

mon and mutual development of all regions within a structure which respects and protects the cultural, linguistic, religious and social differences of each region while promoting social and economic development and protecting human, social and political rights.

Autonomy is both territorial and personal. Local or territorial autonomy for states, regions, provinces and local jurisdictions means forms of independent organisation and government. The powers of these governments are not unlimited, and may range from zoning and education to the organisation of a state militia.

Personal autonomy involves the right of the people to govern themselves without governmental interference, or in co-operation with the government. There are different types of personal autonomies: the parent-teacher associations to govern schools, and the contractual autonomy to regulate one's own interests in financial and commercial

ALBERT BLAUSTEIN

matters, are two examples.

Autonomy is the strongest means available to defend and promote freedom, liberty and individual rights, to train the people in democratic participation, and to preserve cultural, linguistic, ethnic identities and backgrounds.

Autonomy prevents the development of authoritarianism and widespread corruption, all of which are possible only in centralised and unitarian states.

Local governments are far more efficient and just than centralised governments, as they are closer to the people they govern, more sensitive to their needs and more accountable to them.

Local autonomy involves a system of checks and balances which perfects and ensures democracy. It also

ensures that a major political party or formation cannot be completely excluded from the democratic process, as it is likely that different major parties are going to be in power at the same time in different regions.

Inkatha believes that local autonomy must be the rule, not the exception. Only those functions of government which cannot be adequately exercised at local level are to be exercised by the central government. All the residuabowers should be vested in the state government, not in the central federal government. The powers of the state government should be exercised when possible through regions and local governments. The institutions of the states shall indicate which functions are to be exercised by the various regions.

The central federal government shall be entitled only to those functions and powers listed in the constitution. This type of federal system is

used in Germany and the US, among others.

The ANC wants to maintain the inherently undemocratic, oppressive and inefficient centralised system of government. This decision seems to be based on political greed and neglect for the needs of all SA's people.

The ANC seems to dislike the participation in democratic process, and envisages a state which can be easily taken over by one party, can be staffed with a central, ever-growing bureaucracy which can easily be appointed on the basis of centralised political chenteles.

The ANC's vision is for a state capable of controlling and taking over the whole of society — conducting centralised nationalisation programmes and mass-standardisation programmes to break down any inconsistent linguistic, ethical, social, cultural or religious formation. The ANC's vision is for a potentially totalitarian state.

□ Blaustein is emeritus professor of law at Rutgers Law School, New Jersey, and was an Inkatha delegate at Codesa.

B/Day 11/9/92

Sanctions against homelands mooted

THE ANC is considering calling for the imposition of economic sanctions on homelands, says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Niehaus said yesterday the ANC was looking at the way in which business interests contributed to the "propping up of the homelands", and was considering ways to isolate homeland economies.

A decision on the imposition of sanctions would be taken by the ANC leadership only once the extent of business involvement had been ascertained, he said.

Niehaus said in the light of the Bisho massacre, businesses should reassess their support for an "undemocratic regime that behaves the way it does".

ADRIAN HADLAND

ANC confirmation of its investigation into the relationship between business and the homeland states followed a statement earlier this week in which SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso raised the issue of possible sanctions. Mayekiso said "the democratic movement is considering a call for business sanctions against the homelands".

Specific demands concerning financial institutions' involvement in the homeland states would be forwarded by Sanco to the Council of SA Banks soon, he said.

B/day 11/9/92

Tutu leaves Harvard

ANGLICAN Archbishop
Desmond Tutu had resigned
from Harvard University's
Board of Overseers because of
the "volatile" situation in SA,
the university said yesterday.
Tutu has been a member of
the board since 1989 and was
to have served until 1995.

B/Day 11/9/92

ANC defends Bisho charge led by Kasrils

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night defended the actions of ANC members led by Ronnie Kasrils who broke from Monday's protest march to storm Ciskeian soldiers whose gunfire resulted in a massacre.

However, national executive committee member Mac Maharaj said the ANC had "begun looking into the question of how that mass action was conducted". Maharaj and Ramaphosa were addressing a Johannesburg news conference after a two-day meeting of the ANC's national working committee which met to review the events at Bisho and the constitutional crisis.

Maharaj said the plan to march into Bisho was "open and public and communicated to De Klerk". Maharaj said the question of the tactics used at Bisho had to be located in the context that the march was "peaceful and public and under the eyes of monitors". ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the peace had been disturbed by soldiers shooting at the marchers.

Ramaphosa said that according to Goldstone commission recommendations, transgressions at protests were supposed to be dealt with in discussions afterwards.

"The action by (Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa) Gqozo was in conflict with the recommendations that Goldstone approved and published and which state that even if protesters do not follow the route, no firing should take place," he said.

The statement rejected a commission of inquiry appointed by Gqozo, and said

PATRICK BULGER

Judge Goldstone should head a commission. The commission repeated demands for the removal of Gqozo, the removal of officers seconded from the SADF and the repeal of repressive Ciskeian legislation.

"We are convinced that in due course, the full facts about the complicity of the SAP and SADF in the planning and execution of the massacre will come out into the open," the statement said.

RAY HARTLEY reports ANC national executive member Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday top ANC officials, including Ramaphosa, had planned to defy the Ciskei court order regarding the march.

He said Kasrils had consulted leaders "every inch of the way".

Sexwale said the fire had been aimed at ANC leaders on the march, including Ramaphosa, SACP general secretary Chris Hani and ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala. He claimed SA security forces stood by instead of intervening.

Government officials have pointed to the breaking of the court order as a key reason for the killings.

Sapa reports from Bisho that Ciskei said yesterday three headmen supporting the Ciskeian government had been killed since Monday and the homes of 24 Ciskei Defence Force had been members razed.

Ciskei's Council of State blamed the ANC/SACP alliance.

The Citizen

11/9/92

ANC, IFP clash on E Rand: Two dead

By Sapa and Kevin Flynn

POLICE reinforcements have been sent to the East Rand township of Ratanda, scene of clashes between ANC and IFP supporters in which at least two men were killed and three people were injured over the past 24 hours, the SAP said.

A man was murdered in a squatter hut early yesterday, while his wife and five-year-old daughter were injured. On Wednesday night a man was shot dead in a private house, and a person was injured, said SAP spokesman Capt Ida van Zweel.

She said a hostel dweller had been arrested in connection with yesterday's murder of the squatter. His wife had since been released from hospital but his daughter was undergoing treatment at the A G Visser Hospital.

Five youths aged between 13 and 19 had also

been arrested, Capt van Zweel said, and a man was arrested for carrying an axe.

Capt Van Zweel said, "Shortly before noon on Thursday a gang of about 20 men tried to hold up two policemen in Ratanda and tried to relieve them of their firearms".

The policemen had fired in retaliation but nobody was injured.

Later in the day patrolling police had noticed a man carrying an AK-47 rifle in the squatter camp behind the Ratanda Hostel, but the man managed to get away, Capt Van Zweel said.

At least 10 homes were petrol-bombed or shot at by gangs on Wednesday night, she added.

Battles pitting hostel inmates and residents raged for at least an hour yesterday morning and police sent in reinforcements to quell the fighting, ANC local deputy chairman Solomon Dlamini said.

Police said seven houses were set on fire.

A house in Protea Street was attacked with petrol bombs, which caused R400 damage when a window broke.

The bombs did not ignite.

The windows of another house were smashed and a bakkie was set alight in Blesbok Street, causing an estimated R100 000 damage and a house in Tshabalala Street was also petrol-bombed, causing about R3 000 damage.

"According to information it appears that the attacks were made on the houses of IFP members. Nobody was injured in the attacks," police said.

The police took "subsequent action against about 70 rampaging people," but could not say whether anyone had been injured in the police action.

Police formed a barrier between the hostel and the residents to prevent a confrontation, while reinforcements were summoned.

Police and political activists said yesterday afternoon the situation had been brought under control.

According to Mr Dlamini fighting erupted only hours after ANC and IFP officials ended a meeting to establish a local dispute resolution committee. He said the agreement to set up the committee had not been ratified by the IFP.

The IFP could not be reached for comment but Mr Dlamini said Inkatha would report back to them on September 21.

Police earlier linked the feuding, which has disrupted schooling in the area, to two local strikes, suggesting non-strikers and striking workers were at each other's throats.

Meanwhile, Mr Dlamini also said a shooting incident on Tuesday at a local school had scared away pupils. At least two pupils were wounded, he said. Police have not confirmed this claim.

Earlier yesterday, police disputed claims the attack had been launched from the local hostel, saying policemen in armoured vehicles had been guarding the complex since Monday.

A spokesman on the scene said the measure had been taken following rumours of an imminent attack on Ratanda township.

He said mobs of youths wielding knobkerries, spades, garden forks had rampaged through the township, setting houses on fire.

Ratanda township has been the scene of recent bloody clashes between the ANC and Inkatha. The battles have pitted hostel inmates against the township's residents.

The Citizen

11/9/92

ANC placard demo at Pta embassies

A FEW supporters of the African National Congress alliance yesterday held placard demonstrations at the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana embassies in Pretoria demanding the removal of leaders of the two homelands.

The demonstration at the Bophuthatswana Embassy saw fewer than 10 people turning up to demand the removal of President Lucas Mangope while about 20 people gathered before the Ciskei Embassy for the removal of Brig Oupa Gqozo.

The Ciskei Embassy looked deserted throughout the demonstration and even when two members of the South African Police tried to gain entrance into the premises there was no one to answer their call.

Also absent at the Ciskei Embassy was the homeland's national flag as the mast stood empty during the demonstration.

At the Bophuthatswana Embassy a few staff members were seen at the entrance and five demonstrators only appeared at 1 20 pm. Later a few were transported to the place to picket.

Placards being carried included those saying: "Mangope must go now", "Mangope on whose mandate are you presi-

dent" and "Who is this Cronje" referring to the Bophuthatswana Minister of Defence, Rowan Cronje, who promised "appropriate action" during the ANC march in the homeland on September 19. — Sapa.

The Citizen 11/9/92

DP lashes out at govt, ANC: Will stage march

THE Democratic Party yesterday lashed out at the government and the ANC, and said it would seek to mobilise the millions of South Africans who desired a moderate centrist solution to the country's political problems.

Beginning with a march in Johannesburg next week, the DP would seek to gain the active support of "ordinary people ... sick and tired of the violence", the party announced at a meeting.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the ANC and the government were "squabbling like naughty schoolboys" while violence

continued unchecked. They had to work together if the country was to be saved.

The government had sought to blame the ANC for the breakdown in negotiations, without apparently taking into account its own history of apartheid, from which much of the country's problems flowed.

Criticising the revolutionary element in the ANC, he said the impression given by SA Communist Party leaders like Mr Chris Hani and Mr

Ronnie Kasrils in the Ciskei was that they had rejected negotiations.

With reference to Monday's shootings in the Ciskei, Dr De Beer said State President De Klerk had to get rid of the independent homelands.

Mr De Klerk had to act pro-actively, before such decisions appeared to be forced on him, however. "I think he knows this."

Also referring to the incident, in which 28 people were killed by security forces in the Ciskei, DP

Transvaal leader Mr Tony Leon said: "A South Africa led by the Gqozoos and the Kasrils of this world ... is to descend down the slope to anarchy".

Mr Leon said that while the DP believed some of the ANC's 14 demands had merit, they had to be addressed within the framework of negotiations.

The DP also believed there were elements in the ANC who were looking for causes for war beyond the resolution of these demands.

The launch of the DP peace campaign would start with a march in Johannesburg on September 15, he said.

"We are heartily sick of what is going on. Ordinary people want to have a say. Unless there is peace through negotiation, South Africa's future is very bleak."

Dr De Beer noted that the DP had never supported apartheid or socialism, and had never been involved with corruption or violence.

"There are millions who share a desire for a moderate centrist approach" — Sapa.

The Citizen 11/9/92

Russian 'regret' at Bisho deaths

MOSCOW — Russia yesterday expressed regret at the "tragedy" that occurred Monday in South Africa when security forces opened fire on ANC demonstrators in the Ciskei.

"The tragedy shows again that violence takes South Africa away from the main goal of settlement — the construction of a non-racial

democratic society," a Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"We urge the sides in South Africa to show wisdom, to restrain passions and resume the quest of mutually-acceptable solutions at a negotiating table," said the spokesman, quoted by Itar-Tass news agency. — Sapa-AP.

The Citizen 11/9/92

Pik in UN call over massacre 'disparities'

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha, in a document to the United Nations, has highlighted "disparities" in the way South African massacres are reported and treated, depending on whether the victims are IFP or ANC supporters.

In his memorandum to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Mr Botha accused the African National Congress and SA Communist Party of always being the "common denominator" in violence wherever it occurred.

Mr Botha said he was astounded at the public response to tragedies where ANC supporters were involved as compared with those in which IFP members were slain.

"Tragic as the loss of life at Bisho is, it is not more tragic than the loss of life of supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party."

Massacres of IFP supporters however went largely unnoticed in the media, he claimed.

The number of known IFP members and supporters killed in attacks totalled 376, excluding

the figure that had to be added since June 1992.

Mr Botha said apart from the Bisho shootings there was at the weekend "a massacre which went largely unnoticed by the South African Press as well as the international media — as ever (some would say) when the victims belong to the IFP movement".

He referred to the Boipatong and Crossroads massacres. At least 39 people — including a grandmother and a nine-month old child — were killed at Boipatong and more than 20 people died in an attack at Crossroads, a squatter settlement on the edge of Boipatong.

Mr Botha said the fundamental difference was that Boipatong was a township in which the ANC was the dominant political organisation, while the IFP was paramount in Crossroads.

"The public response to these tragedies is astounding.

"Boipatong, labelled by the ANC as a national tragedy, has become a national crisis. Cross-

roads, reported almost perfunctorily in the Press, quickly disappeared from public consciousness."

Mr Botha claimed the different responses could be attributed to the superiority of the ANC propaganda machine as compared with that of the IFP.

He cited another incident at Richmond, Natal, where men clad in army-type uniforms, who falsely identified themselves as policemen, lined up an Inkatha-aligned family — the parents, together with three sons and two daughters — and shot them dead.

In another incident last Friday, he said, 10 young Inkatha supporters were killed by gunfire and 16 were wounded as they waited to catch a bus to an IFP Youth Congress in Ulundi, Natal.

"The picture which incontrovertibly emerges is that different parties are involved in violence but the ANC/SACP alliance is the one common denominator; it is the only party always involved in violence wherever it occurs." — Sapa.

The Citizen 11/9/92

Bisho report 'within next month': Judge

BISHO. — Ciskei's Chief Justice, appealing for patience yesterday, said he expected "some sort of report" on Monday's fatal Bisho shootings to be ready within the next month.

Justice B de V Pickard, appointed by Ciskei to investigate the tragedy, said he intended to complete his investigation as soon as possible — and also appealed to people not to pre-judge the issue as this could possibly lead to more violence.

"I have started already and am in full fling (with the investigation)," he said in an in-

terview.

"We are obviously busy at the moment with the preliminaries...inspections, looking at the scenes, etc.

"I have not started hearing evidence yet (but) I am doing nothing else at the moment (other than preparing for the investigation)."

He added: "I intend to complete my investigation as quickly as is humanly possible."

"There could be some sort of report within the next month but it is difficult for me to say exactly when."

"It depends on what crops up during the in-

vestigation... However, what I can say is...I will finish my investigation quicker than people anticipate."

He said the shootings were still fresh in everybody's minds and he wanted his investigation completed before the tragedy became "old news".

"I have read in the newspapers conflicting reports of what took place on Monday. If people pre-judge and make up their minds now, it can only promote the possibility of more violence."

— Sapa.

The Citizen 11/9/92

ANC man jeered at during banquet at Univ of SA

JEERING and heckling met African National Congress National Executive Committee member Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa when he addressed a banquet at the University of South Africa in Pretoria last night.

Television personality Freek Robinson, who acted as master of cer-

emonies, had to reprimand some of the delegates at a function presented by the university's department for administration.

Speaking on the future of local government in South Africa, Mr Moosa said the South African

Government should not use "gangsters" like Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to prop up a system that was on the way out.

"Is (SACP and ANC executive member Ronnie) Kasrils not a gang-

ster?" shouted one of the members of the 200 strong audience.

When Mr Moosa asked for a moment's silence for those who died in Monday's Bisho bloodbath, a member of the audience loudly proclaimed Mr Moosa had sipped his drink while some of the diners bowed their heads.

After his speech, Mr Robinson refused to take questions from the floor, saying "either you want to hear a point of view or you don't".

"Let us ask questions then," was the reply from one of the audience who added: "Who is murdering the farmers on the farms?" Sapa

The Citizen 11/9/92

Not their prayer for peace

AFTER the Ciskei incident, let us go to church this Sunday, as suggested by the leaders of our "liberation religion" so prominent in the Ciskei lately.

We cannot, however, pray for their concept of peace.

Let us first ask God's blessing on the silent thousands who have paid the price of the power

struggle in this country and the example that they have set, using the price we may all have to pay for our beliefs.

Secondly, let us pray that God will touch the hearts of the leaders and remove the greed, hypocrisy and power incentive that blurs the true mean-

ing of democracy.

Only then can true peace follow.

A blanket prayer for peace is merely asking God to put right a mess which is not of His making, with no recognition of His Glory.

MRS JOY FUTTER

Donnybrook

The Citizen 11/9/92

Three cheers for Gqozo

THREE cheers for Brigadier Gqozo! Thank Heavens there is someone who is prepared to stand up to the ANC. In a country of gutless men, Brigadier Gqozo is like a breath of fresh air.

Whether or not he is a military ruler is not the point. Transkei and Venda are headed by military rulers, but the ANC has not targeted these coun-

tries for mass action because they are sympathetic to the ANC.

Brigadier Gqozo has more fans than he can count.

Let's hope that conservative Whites will be prepared to defend him against the ANC mobs and the hit men, because the government is too

namby-pamby to do it.

De Klerk's regime is disgusting, allowing Ciskei to be attacked from South African soil. And they still want to "talk" to the ANC!

Don't give up, Brigadier Gqozo. And watch your back.

MRS M JOHNSON

Petervale

The Citizen 11/9/92

**Gqozo born
before his
time**

I DON'T blame the ANC and SACP for their action against Brig Oupa Gqozo. I would have done the same had I been in their shoes.

After all, Brig Gqozo's contribution at the United Nations was sufficient to disturb his opponents. To their cause, he is a tangible enemy, a subtle threat.

What better than to assail him with a force of ANC supporters, threatening to thrust him out of office? Some might think he is a weak leader with misguided priorities, since real leaders supposedly wield propaganda in place of honesty, coercion in place of democracy and force in the face of resistance.

This definition does not apply to the leader of the Ciskei. A more fitting definition would be "a man born before his time." Brigadier Gqozo, you have my vote.

GLYN RICHARD

Johannesburg

The Citizen

11/9/92

Pik: We'll let UN mediate on violence

THE government was prepared to accept UN mediation in the violence and negotiations problem and take coercive steps against homelands such as Ciskei, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha

said yesterday.

He addressed an international media conference and released a letter to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in which he asked for a UN representative to be sent to

South Africa to help in dealing with violence and deadlock.

Mr Botha said this was a change which went against the traditional hostility towards the UN in South Africa and which was a result of changed circumstances since the ending of apartheid.

He saw the role of such a UN representative as that of a catalyst to change hardened elements in the South African situation.

He also said that if the Ciskei refused to accept agreed uniform measures in dealing with mass action, the government had reached the point where it was ready to use action "of a coercive nature".

A spokesman for the Minister later clarified this as being a direct reference to the Ciskei and said it was part of an effort to ensure that public action was uniformly addressed in accordance with civilised standards.

He told the conference that no matter what happened, the ANC and the government would eventually have to talk to each other.

Mr Botha also released

Pik on UN mediation

FROM PAGE 1

the text of a 20-page letter to the UN secretary-general setting out the government's position on the Bisho massacre and in which he accused the ANC/SACP of being in breach of UN Security Council Resolution 765 and 772.

He rejected the interpretation that State President De Klerk's statement on Wednesday, calling for a meeting with Mr Mandela, was a suspension of talks.

He said such interpretations were partly incorrect but added: "In a way you can interpret it as a suspension of constitutional negotiations. It says we must first resolve the violence issue. We cannot make headway with constitutional talks

which harm confidence."

Asked whether the limited contact between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Rieff Meyer would continue if the ANC National Working Committee refused Mr De Klerk's request, he said he would first like to hear their reaction before commenting.

"If the ANC rejects this meeting then there isn't much the SA Government can do. We cannot force them to meet us.

"We are not dealing with a debate here, trying to score points, but (with) a profound desire in the hearts and minds of the majority of South Africans wanting their leaders to meet in order to give them hope.

"If the ANC reject it, they will reject not only a

sincere proposal by President De Klerk but a wish of a large number of their own supporters."

Mr Botha said the principle of accepting UN observers was accepted along with the UN Security Council resolutions on South Africa.

A second facet was the establishment of UN operational centres in hot spots. In addition the UN secretary-general was being asked directly to assist in strengthening the National Peace Secretariat and its regional structures.

"We want him to strengthen our own structures and all parties should support this wholly and unconditionally.

"We do not envisage an observers role only but (rather) help and involve

effort to curb violence and remove obstacles to negotiations."

Mr Botha said it was impossible to go ahead with constitutional reform without the participation of the ANC.

Commenting on the precise role of a UN facilitator requested in the letter, Mr Botha said he understood it best in the chemical term of a catalyst. "I believe it is an ingredient which, when added to two other hardened ingredients, transforms or changes them."

Mr Botha said he had never believed that in his lifetime he would ask the UN secretary-general to send a representative to come and discuss South Africa's internal problems. "It must be indicative of the turnaround," he commented. — Sapa.

TO PAGE 2

ANC READY TO JOIN FW SUMMIT

But govt
should
remove
obstacles

A MEETING between the ANC, headed by its president Mr Nelson Mandela, and a South African Government delegation led by State President De Klerk could soon be on the cards if such a summit was aimed at taking the country forward.

This was said by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, last night when he revealed the decisions of the organisation's National Working Committee at its extended meeting yesterday.

"The ANC is prepared to participate in the summit suggested by Mr De Klerk.

"The government,

however, should address the obstacles standing in the way of negotiations, and should implement the Goldstone Commission recommendations with regard to bringing about peaceful political activities."

Mr Ramaphosa also said such a summit be-

TO PAGE 2

ANC ready to join

FROM PAGE 1

tween the ANC and the government should be preceded by practical moves to remove the stumbling blocks to negotiations such as the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

The ANC condemned what it called the pre-meditated murder of its supporters in Bisho on Monday, but said the primary responsibility lay with the De Klerk government.

"The ANC National working committee is convinced that the com-

licity of the South African Government and the SA Defence Force will come out."

Mr Ramaphosa said there was an urgent need to remove Ciskei leader, Brig Oupa Gqozo, to establish an interim administration in the territory, free political activity in the area, the removal of all officers seconded to Ciskei by the Pretoria government and the repeal of Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which prohibited free political activity.

"The ANC views with serious concern the lack of free political activity in

certain parts of South Africa.

"Peace-loving South Africans have the responsibility to rid the country of all kinds of despots who have turned their territories into personal fiefdoms."

The NWC, according to Mr Ramaphosa, also rejected out of hand Brig Gqozo's commission of inquiry into the massacre.

"Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's Commission of Inquiry into the prevention of intimidation and violence should conduct the investigation."

— Sapa.

The Citizen

11/9/92

Kill Gqozo call by ANC official

CAPE TOWN. — People believed Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo should die, African National Congress Western Cape secretary Tony Yengeni told a picket near the homeland's besieged Cape Town embassy yesterday.

"Gqozo cannot continue killing our people alone. Gqozo must die," Mr Yengeni said in English, breaking briefly from Xhosa while reporting back on the sit-in protest

on the fifth floor of 44 Hertzog Boulevard on the Foreshore.

About 80 people had gathered outside the building housing the Ciskei mission, singing and waving anti-Gqozo posters protesting the killing of 28 ANC supporters by Ciskei troops on Monday.

Later, Mr Yengeni explained to reporters that his remarks reflected "the general sentiment of the people" and was not a formal ANC position.

"Gqozo has killed 32 people. The general senti-

ment of the people (is that he) and his people should die. It echoes a sentiment and mood in general. It is not an ANC decision. We are very angry."

Addressing a Press briefing on the fifth floor corridor where the locked and deserted embassy and consulate are situated, he said 13 ANC protesters would continue their 24-hour sit-in at the diplomatic suite.

The demonstrators entered the building on Tuesday, saying they would not leave until the Ciskei ended its diplomatic presence in the Western Cape.

Mr Yengeni said the situation would be reviewed today.

The owners of the besieged building, Southern Life, yesterday confirmed in a statement that the sit-in would be tolerated.

Mr Yengeni said Southern Life had turned down ANC demands that the Ciskei diplomats be evicted from the building and that the demonstrators be given the keys to the diplomatic suite.

"Comrades" outside the building had demanded to be allowed in and, if the keys were not produced by this after-

noon, protesters could "physically try and get into the office".

The company had a moral obligation to hand over the keys, he claimed.

"If (Southern Life) does not do anything to remove these people, there will be increased numbers (of people) who will force their way through, leading to more injury and death, which we do not want."

Speaking outside earlier, Mr Yengeni said: "The sit-in is going to continue until our demand that the Ciskei Consulate is removed from the Western Cape is observed."

"Also, we need (Southern Life) to put pressure on the Ciskei. These are murderers of our people with blood on their hands. Otherwise (Southern Life) will be inconvenienced for a very long time."

The ANC also demanded that "security police" be removed from the building, failing which the ANC wanted to be allowed to install its own security people to monitor the situation.

The Press should also be allowed free access to the protesters inside, he said. — Sapa.

The Citizen

11/9/92

ANC protest, QwaQwa show compete

THE African National Congress and the QwaQwa Government noisily competed for the crowd's attention at the official opening of the QwaQwa Agricultural Show in Phuthaditjhaba yesterday afternoon.

The tripartite alliance planned its protest "People's Assembly" alongside the show, which was opened by South African Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach.

Both events took place in the stadium, causing a degree of pandemonium.

Mr Breytenbach, in his address, dismissed the People's Assembly as a circus and warned the ANC that its mass action was having a polarising effect.

"Toyi-toyi has never filled anyone's stomachs. The ANC mass ac-

TO PAGE 2

Protest alongside show

FROM PAGE 1

tion is threatening people's basic rights."

Mass action would have to stop if a better future for all was to be built, he said. Negotiation was the only way forward and the government's door was open.

"This applies to the ANC and its Communist bosses as well. They must come to their senses and stop this disruptive mass action."

The tripartite alliance in QwaQwa on Wednesday and yesterday held protest action to highlight their call for Chief Minister Dr T K Mopeli to resign and for the

installation of a government of national unity.

Early attempts by the South African Security Police to get the ANC supporters to voluntarily disperse failed. The supporters maintained they had paid their entrance fee and would not leave.

A large contingent of heavily armed South African and QwaQwa Police are present at the show. The security forces have so far acted with restraint and no arrests have been made.

Dr Mopeli, at an ear-

lier presidential luncheon, told guests that a leader's task was a thankless one.

"The more you try to improve your people's lot, the more unjust criticism will roar down upon you like a rockslide."

"It is when you are accomplishing something and you are worthy of attention that people around you begin to denounce you."

The show, which officials have described as a great success, was well attended yesterday.

The Citizen 11/9/92

UN depllores killings

UNITED NATIONS.

— The Security Council yesterday deplored the killing of 28 demonstrators and the wounding of nearly 200 others "by security elements in South Africa" on Monday, and emphasised the responsibility of the South African authorities for maintaining law and order.

The council was commenting on the shooting of African National Congress demonstrators by troops of the Ciskei, which the United Nations still considers a part of South Africa.

The statement, issued after closed-door consultations on a wide

range of topics, said: "Members of the council reiterate their grave concern at the continued escalation of the violence in South Africa.

"They emphasise once again the responsibility of the South African authorities for the maintenance of law and order and call on them to take all measures to end the violence and to protect the right of all South Africans to engage in peaceful political activity without fear of intimidation or violence."

Alluding to the loss of thousands of lives in re-

cent years, mainly in clashes in Black townships between the ANC and the rival Zulu-based Inkatha movement, the council emphasised the need to put an end to the violence and create conditions for negotiations leading to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa.

The statement welcomed a recent decision by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send an advance party of 13 UN observers to South Africa today. A total of 50 are to be deployed within a month to monitor and help deter further clashes. — Sapa-Reuter.

The Citizen 11/9/92

Buthelezi warns ANC against toppling him

DUNDEE. — In a stinging attack on the African National Congress yesterday, KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that ANC that actions to topple him would not be tolerated.

South Africans, he told business leader in Dundee, Natal, had been too tolerant of the ANC for far too long.

The ANC, he said, had abandoned the Codesa because it had been roundly defeated in its bid to gain the upper political hand through an early election of a constituent assembly.

Unable to foist its will on others democratically, it turned instead to mass action to wreck the economy and make the country ungovernable.

"The ANC is a revolutionary organisation,

and I know of no country in the world in which revolutionaries returning home to take power have developed a true multi-party democracy in which parties opposed to them could win an election.

"Revolutionaries come home either to seize power or to create the circumstances in which power is handed to them."

He predicted bilateral negotiations between the ANC and the government would also fail and that opposition to the ANC would turn militant.

"The final option for the ANC will be to destroy the country, make it ungovernable and seize power," he said.

"The ANC's march on Bisho to topple (Ciskei leader) Brigadier (Oupa) Gqozo, and its boast that it will then go on to topple President (Lucas) Mangosuthu (of Bophuthatswana)

and myself must be taken seriously.

"The IFP will not tolerate that procession of events," he warned.

"It is not a question of serving the interests of the IFP or KwaZulu that the ANC's rolling mass action be resisted. It is to save the interests of South Africa that their reckless political games be stopped. These people do not care two hoots in hell whether what they do now completely destroys the future of the people of this country."

Also in Dundee, Chief Buthelezi told workers at a local dairy yesterday there were cracks in ANC ranks.

The ANC was increasingly being dominated by the South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions, and "it is common knowledge that

the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and its promotion of the mass action campaign has met with the disapproval of more than one of the ANC's more pragmatic leaders".

The fact that the ANC had been unprepared for the fury of the violence which followed the breakdown of talks with the government and the IFP had been conceded by the ANC itself.

"As the forces of mass action spin out of control, more and more cracks in the ANC alliance are likely to surface," Chief Buthelezi told the dairy workers.

Young ANC supporters had been raised in a culture of intolerance and they were a law unto themselves, using force and intimidation to achieve their ends, he said. — Sapa.

Questions as dust settles

THE PROMINENT role of known communists in the run-up to and during the ANC march on Bisho has rekindled suspicions of communist manipulation and even control of the ANC.

President de Klerk has focused attention on the high-profile role of communist leaders in the Bisho march, charging that they are deliberately trying to sabotage negotiations.

"They have evidently taken the ANC in tow at the expense of those in the ANC who are not in favour of violence and the politics of confrontation," he says.

Mr de Klerk's words, made in the wake of the Bisho massacre, echo his warning to ANC president Nelson Mandela after the Boipatong massacre in June.

"Insurrectionist thinking is currently flourishing within the ANC and is being propagated by a cabal with close links to the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions," Mr de Klerk stated in a memorandum.

Contempt

Mr de Klerk's indictment, and that of the governing National Party, has to be treated circum-spectly: it is standard NP strategy to use every chance to drive a wedge between nationalists and communists in the ANC-led tripartite alliance.

Mr Mandela has rejected these allegations in the past as "part of the baggage of apartheid ideology". Thus, he says in a letter responding to Mr de Klerk's memo: "We reject with contempt your propagandistic version of what is supposed to be happening inside the ANC and the alliance. It has been the tradition of successive National Party regimes to try to discredit our movement on the basis that you know black people hate black people more than black people know themselves."

Having, however, recorded all these caveats, the fact remains that communists were particularly conspicuous up to and during the march.

It is on record that the man who played a pivotal role in organising the march was Chris Hani, general-secretary of the SACP, not Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC.

It is true that Mr Hani is a high-ranking member of the ANC as well as being South

Communist played a leading role in the Bisho march, unleashing anew fears that they are using their ANC positions for their own ends, reports
PATRICK LAURENCE

Africa's most prominent black communist.

But when Mr Hani chose to accept nomination to the key position of SACP general-secretary last December against the wishes of Mr Mandela, he was effectively declaring that his first loyalty was to the SACP.

An advertisement in the Daily Dispatch calling on "the people" to join the march on Bisho serves as an illustration on the dominant role of communists: it lists the names of 10 march leaders, eight of whom are known communists.

The advertisement contradicts the view of ANC spokesmen that the objective of the march was primarily to assert the right of people to exercise basic freedoms in Ciskei.

The advertisement leaves no doubt that the central aim of the march was the overthrow of Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo. Doubt about that is removed by a sentence informing ANC sympathisers of the marching song: "Gqozo must go!"

Speeches by Mr Hani and Ronnie Kasrils, another key communist, in villages near Bisho before the march can have left no doubt that the purpose was to oust Brigadier Gqozo.

In Ndevana, Mr Hani is recorded as having said: "We are not going to talk much today. We are preparing for battle tomorrow. The battle is to remove parasites."

The speeches evoke apocalyptic expectations that the march would precipitate the fall of a trio of "puppets" — Lucas Mangope and Mangosuthu Buthelezi are named with Brigadier Gqozo — and, ultimately, the Pretoria puppet master himself.

Then, too, there is the prominent role of Mr Kasrils on the day of the march: on his own admission he led the marchers out of the sports stadium in Ciskei on the road to Bisho in direct contravention of the condi-

tions under which a magistrate gave permission for the march.

He must have been aware that there was a grave risk that his action might provoke gunfire from the waiting soldiers. According to his own propaganda, Brigadier Gqozo is a "mad man". It is surely prudent not to take risks with "mad men", especially with the lives of thousands.

Mr Kasrils's role raises inter-related questions. Why did the ANC apply to court for permission to hold the march if it had no intention of honouring the court ruling? Were ANC leaders overruled or taken by surprise by Mr Kasrils?

Responding to the criticisms voiced by Mr de Klerk, Jeremy Cronin, a member of the SACP central committee and a leading party theorist, attributes them to bitterness and anxiety in NP ranks.

The party which was written off after the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has shown that "it enjoys popular support" and that opponents have badly miscalculated, he says.

Reckless

"We don't apologise as a party for the very active, energetic and often courageous involvement of prominent communists in the mass campaign. We are proud of what people like Hani and Kasrils and many others have been doing."

"Suggestions that they are cynically manipulating ordinary people are without foundation."

"Unlike De Klerk, who operates through all sorts of proxy forces, Ramaphosa, Hani, Kasrils, and all the others were leading from the front at Bisho. If they were reckless, they were reckless about themselves. There was no cynical manipulation from behind."

He rejects charges that the undeclared objective behind mass action is destabilisation and insurrection, a favourite stratagem of communist militants in the past, and defines the aims as the holding of elections for a constituent assembly, the formation of an interim government of national unity and the attainment of serious action to end the violence.

"These are not insurrectionary demands," he observes. □

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for 2025

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The Star Friday September 11 1992

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Needed now: statesmen

WHAT WE do not need from our political leaders is precisely what we have been getting in recent months. One must now hope that the Bisho massacre has presented President de Klerk and Mr Mandela with such a chilling preview of anarchy that both will draw back immediately and look into themselves anew.

It is instructive to remember that just before Yugoslavia slid into the vortex from which not even the United Nations can rescue it, its leaders had been negotiating and were experiencing a few problems. Before they knew it, deadlocks had been transformed into deaths.

Mr de Klerk went only halfway towards statesmanship in his media conference on Wednesday, and undercut the good sense he imparted by launching yet another attack on the ANC. It is a source of encouragement that the ANC appears prepared to attend an emergency summit, with Mr de Klerk, and we hope that conditions will not be exploited for party political gain.

It is surely obvious that the crisis in which we find ourselves calls for a swallowing of pride, and an indication that the leaders can see beyond the immediate battles of the day. How easy, and how rewarding, it would have been for Mr de Klerk to say to all South Africans: We have serious differences, but we must put them aside right now to stop the killings. How much admiration Mr Mandela would have earned if he had said the price of the Bisho march was simply too high for this country to pay.

There is a dispiriting element involved in making calls from the sidelines for the leaders to recognise what all ordinary citizens, unschooled in power politics, can see for themselves. We remain convinced that there will be a negotiated settlement in South Africa. But we question the blood-price which the politicians appear prepared to allow us to pay.

2 killed, homes set alight at Ratanda

Staff Reporters
and East Rand Bureau

At least two people were killed and about seven houses set alight on Wednesday night and yesterday in clashes between hostel dwellers and residents at Ratanda, Heidelberg.

Residents braced themselves for more attacks last night and police stood between Ratanda hostel and groups of residents in order to prevent further con-

frontation.

Police said a man was backed to death and his wife, daughter and five-year-old granddaughter were injured when a mob attacked them with pangas in their hut yesterday.

On Wednesday night another man was shot dead and a person injured in a house, said SAP liaison officer Captain Ida van Zweel.

She said a hostel dweller had been arrested on a charge of

murder and three counts of attempted murder.

Five youths aged between 13 and 19 had also been arrested and a man had been held for carrying an axe.

The township was tense throughout yesterday. Youths barricaded streets with rocks.

A Food and Allied Workers' Union statement alleged that IFP-supporting scabs living at Ratanda hostel had spearheaded the attack, aimed at intimi-

dating union members from taking back their jobs at Escort Bacon Co-operative after their wage dispute was settled last Friday.

The company's assistant general manager Paul Watlough confirmed that an agreement had been reached.

Mr Watlough said the firm's temporary contract with the scabs ended last Friday. He said that the firm's 260 workers resumed work this week.

for 11-09-02

MI 'turned Gqozo against ANC'

Staff Reporter

South Africa's Military Intelligence (MI) establishment was actively involved in turning Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo from an ANC supporter to an opponent of the ANC alliance, former MI officer Gert Hugo claimed yesterday.

He said on a Radio 702 talk show that events in Ciskei were merely an example of similar influences exerted in all the homelands.

Mr Hugo made head-

lines a month ago when he told The Star of contingency plans for a military takeover if the Government ever seemed to be losing control.

Yesterday he said "Gqozo was in line with the progressive alliance (the ANC). Their structures helped to bring Ciskei under control after the coup."

But a man he identified as an SADF officer and long-standing friend of Brigadier Gqozo arrived in Ciskei and started a front company

which fed disinformation to the Ciskei leader.

"Soon thereafter, Gqozo made a 80-degree turn," Mr Hugo said, adding that Brigadier Gqozo was constantly told of an alleged Unkhonto we Sizwe plot, originating in Transkei to kill him.

"That situation led to Gqozo becoming so paranoid that he went totally anti-ANC," Mr Hugo said, adding that six or seven other sources could confirm this.

Mr Hugo said he was

not saying the operation was totally controlled by Pretoria; the SADF officer could have overstepped his bounds.

"But then at least Pretoria has to admit there is some sort of ... invisible force running around and sowing discord."

He added that there was still a group within the security forces "hell-bent on countering the total onslaught".

It was these activities which finally convinced him to go public with his revelations, he said.

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'Massacre hatched in Pretoria'

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The plan for Ciskei soldiers to shoot ANC marchers was "hatched" in Pretoria, said South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani.

Addressing a Finance Week breakfast today, he said the Bisho massacre was not an accident or the result of panic on the part of the soldiers.

"The triggers were pulled in Bisho, but the plan was hatched in Pretoria," said Mr Hani.

The SACP general-secretary, who was one of the leaders of the march on Monday, pointed out that the soldiers used hard-nosed ammunition and not rubber bullets, and had rifle-grenades loaded and not teargas canisters.

"The massacre option was their first option...

"Looking back now, why did the heavy SAP escort that accompanied us from King William's Town suddenly melt away just minutes before the massacre, only to return soon after when the firing had stopped?" said Mr Hani.

He questioned whether President de Klerk had gambled that fingers would be pointed at the planners and victims of the march and not the soldiers.

"Why have De Klerk, Pik Botha and Hornus Kriel failed to make one single critical comment on the conduct of the Ciskei Defence Force?" said Mr Hani.

He conceded that the violence in the country was not totally organised by the state or plotted by "some nasty securocrats in Pretoria".

"Some of the political violence is the result of

ill discipline on our side, of political intolerance, of comrades turning into 'tsotsis', of the legitimate right to self-defence being hijacked for personal ends."

He reiterated his party's belief that the Government's strategy was to negotiate with the ANC and simultaneously destabilise the organisation.

The use of strategic violence was not aimed at a military victory but a political victory.

"Yet, peace has a chance, although it seems to be getting slimmer by the day," Mr Hani said.

But, to give peace a chance, those who continued to deploy strategic violence for political ends needed to be stopped immediately and socio-economic problems needed to be addressed, he added.

Star 11-09-92

ANC member!

Soldier held after murder

A South African soldier has been arrested in connection with the murder of an Inkatha official and his family in Ukobeni near Richmond in the Natal Midlands last month, army spokesman Major Merle Meyer confirmed yesterday.

Rifeman V Khubane, a member of 121 Battalion, was arrested on August 27, four days after the killings.

The Inkatha Freedom Party had accused the ANC of shooting Fana Nzimandi, his wife and four children. — Sapa.

Sigh of relief as ANC opts to resume talks

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH Africa can today breathe a sigh of relief, since President de Klerk's government and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress have sufficiently settled their differences to be able to agree that the two leaders should again meet for talks.

In fact much of the movement towards the meeting has come from the government. The ANC's leaders have recently been publicly congratulating themselves because weeks of mass action and refusal to negotiate face-to-face with the regime have advanced the organisation's cause a good deal further and faster than it went while the constitutional talks in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) were still in progress.

Already the ANC's leaders have announced that the gov-

ernment has moved sufficiently far on constitutional matters to satisfy the list of demands they made when they first broke off talks. Yesterday, they expressed satisfaction that the government had now come round to the ANC point of view -- that the constitutional negotiations could not in any case proceed given the current level of violence.

Also yesterday, K. F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister, made additional moves towards adopting attitudes previously the province of the ANC by issuing a surprising appeal to Boutros Boutros Ghali, the United Nations secretary-general, to urgently send a representative to South Africa to try to end the violence and restart the stalled constitutional talks.

The government has moved a long way from the days when it and most other UN members were in opposing camps and it regularly inveighed against interference in its internal affairs by foreign powers. Inviting the UN to intervene marks a significant detachment from the attitudes of the past.

ANC officials have recently counted as a victory the internationalisation of the South African political impasse, and Mr Botha yesterday stole even more of the ANC's clothes by saying that the government and other parties to Codesa were considering "whether any useful purpose will be served by continuing to negotiate with parties who had demonstrated no desire or intention to keep their commitments".

With Pretoria exposed to international criticism in the aftermath of the killings at Bisho in Ciskei, Mr Botha sent a memorandum to Dr Boutros Ghali urging him and members of the security council to demand that the ANC and the South African Communist Party abandon "any further provocative actions which put at risk the lives of innocent South Africans".

Mr Botha also said that the government was prepared to take steps "of a coercive nature" against those such as the leaders of the black homelands who did not agree to uniform measures to deal with protests. Yesterday, Mr Botha condemned Ciskei troops for their actions at Bisho.

Ministers as well as the country's right-wing press have hitherto been keen to put the blame for the killings on the rashness or cynicism of senior Communists who led demonstrators towards the troops at Bisho.

Mr Botha's memorandum asked Dr Boutros Ghali to consider sending a special representative as soon as possible to assist in strengthening the peace secretariat and its regional structures, established under an accord signed a year ago by the government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The observer would also attend the meeting of the accord's signatories proposed by Mr de Klerk.

At a press conference in the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Botha said the government was still committed to a negotiated democratic constitution and to elections being held as soon as possible.

THE TIMES - LONDON 11/9/92



Mandela: resigned from all ANC posts

Winnie's downfall complete

FROM RAY KENNEDY
IN JOHANNESBURG

WINNIE Mandela's fall from power in the African National Congress is now complete. She has announced her resignation from its national executive and her positions in its powerful Women's League. Yesterday, she became just another card-carrying member of the organisation.

Her decision came in the wake of fresh controversy over her relationship with Dali Mpofu, a young black lawyer, and the appeal court decision on Tuesday to commute to life imprisonment the death sentence passed on Jerry Richardson, former coach of her team of bodyguards, for the murder of a child activist. The judges found that Mrs Mandela's influence over Richardson had to be regarded as a mitigating factor.

In a statement, she blamed her political downfall on "enemies... inside or outside our ranks". She said: "Those who have rejoiced in reading about our problems, and those who for selfish political and personal reasons have waged a vicious and malicious campaign against me, and through me [against] the leadership of my husband and our organisation, have unfortunately partly succeeded in their aims."

Letters, page 13

Way forward after Ciskei massacre

From the Reverend Kathleen Richardson and the Reverend John Pritchard

Sir, One of those who narrowly escaped death in the Ciskei massacre (report, September 8) was the presiding bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, vice-chairman of the National Peace Accord committee, an independent body set up by a wide range of groups including the South African government and the African National Congress. Along with other committee officials, Dr Mogoba was there in the hope of facilitating communications between the leaders of the demonstration and the Ciskei troops, but had to dive for cover as the bullets flew.

Dr Mogoba has called for the establishment of a joint peace-keeping force, including components from ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from the South Africa Defence Force and police, and from troops of the Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda (since, though their governments have no international recognition or credibility, the armies exist).

In effect he is calling for the creation now of the unified force which must in due course be set up by the elected post-apartheid government. The force should be given a distinctive uniform and the power to intervene in every situation where there is unrest, which the South Africa forces have signally failed to do hitherto.

Dr Mogoba has appealed to all parties to use more moderate, less confrontational language, and instead to work together to find negotiated solutions. This is a brave voice in an inflammatory situation. We are greatly impressed by his personal and political courage and believe his proposal should be speedily implemented.

Yours etc.,
KATHLEEN RICHARDSON
(President, Methodist Conference),
J. R. PRITCHARD
(General Secretary, Methodist Church Overseas Division),
25 Marylebone Road, NW1.

From Ms Maggie Paterson

Sir, Now that the possibility of an enfranchised black population looms, the South African government is finding the notion of genuine democracy increasingly uncomfortable.

The African National Congress has proposed a proportional representation voting system with a two-thirds majority required for constitutional decisions; yet suddenly, for Mr de Klerk, this becomes "simple majority rule" against which "power sharing" and "federalism" are the reasonable and mature solutions.

To describe the ANC as a "radical centralising elite", as your correspondent, R. W. Johnson ("The danger of majority rule", September 4) and the South Africa government both do, indicates a tenuous grasp of reality.

The ANC wants a mixed economy and multi-partyism: "radical" presumably means the desire to address questions of structural poverty and inequality, with which few would quarrel on grounds of moral justice.

The highly centralised National party government, which has been guilty for five decades of gross economic mismanagement, corruption and human rights violations, now seeks a "special democracy" in which it can retain power and wealth through constitutional machinations designed to prevent black South Africans from making a democratic choice about their own destiny.

That choice is precisely what ordinary South Africans were trying to achieve at Bisho. Last Monday's horrifying massacre illustrates with painful clarity the de Klerk government's double agenda.

Yours,
MAGGIE PATERSON
(South Africa Desk Officer),
Catholic Institute for International Relations,
Unit 3, Canonbury Yard,
190a New North Road,
Islington, N1.
September 8.

THE TIMES - LONDON
11/9/92

The Times London 11/9/92

ANC agrees to de Klerk summit

FROM MICHAEL HAMILYN IN JOHANNESBURG

THE African National Congress stepped back from the brink last night and agreed to a summit meeting between Nelson Mandela, its president, and President de Klerk. After a two-day meeting of its working committee, the ANC said that such a meeting "could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence".

Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, said the summit "would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results". It must be preceded by thorough preparations. Mr Ramaphosa made clear that there should be significant steps towards the release of those political prisoners the movement claims are still behind bars, and towards implementing the recommendations of the

Goldstone commission on the migrant worker hostels which have figured largely as a source of township violence.

The commission of enquiry led by Justice Richard Goldstone, investigating violence and intimidation, has proposed that the hostels should be fenced, that they be guarded by security forces and that they should be searched regularly. The working committee noted that practical action was needed, "for instance on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of hostels as launching pads for attacks".

The preparations towards the summit will be agreed through a channel of contact that has remained open: a series of confidential meetings between Mr Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, minister of constitutional development.

The idea of a summit meeting to discuss the violence was mooted by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday after an all-day cabinet meeting which discussed the aftermath of the Bisho killings in which at least 28 people died when Ciskei troops opened fire on a huge ANC march attempting to break into the so-called independent black homeland to call for the dismissal of the Ciskei military government.

The removal of Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo, the head of state of Ciskei, was "firmly on the agenda", Mr Ramaphosa insisted, but he did not make it a precondition of the summit. Mr Ramaphosa welcomed the move by R.F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister, to summon a special representative of the United Nations.

The ANC also announced

last night that it planned a series of actions both regionally and nationally to coincide with next week's funerals of the victims of the Ciskei killings. No details were given, but the ANC statement said the organisation "views with serious concern the lack of free political activity in many parts of our country", naming Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

● **Township strife:** Violence erupted in the black township of Ratanda, southeast of Johannesburg yesterday, with police and the ANC reporting that homes had been set on fire in an early-morning raid. Police said one person had been killed in the attack, but the ANC said two township residents had died. (AFP)

Relief in Pretoria, page 11
Letters, page 13

Ramaphosa warns summit failure would be disastrous

ANC risks talks with De Klerk

David Boesford
in Johannesburg

THE stalemate between the South African government and the African National Congress appeared to have been broken last night with the unexpected announcement by the ANC that it was accepting President F. W. de Klerk's invitation to talks about the current level of violence in the country.

The decision represents a volte face on the part of the ANC, which had adopted a hitherto resolute policy of no talks with the government following the Boipatong massacre on June 17. But this week's Ciskei massacre, in which the known death toll rose yesterday by one to 29, appears to have prompted a high risk strategy.

At the same time the ANC warned that the talks about violence would have to be carefully prepared and produce results, otherwise the country would be hurled irretrievably backwards.

The ANC decision followed what is believed to have been a rumbustious two-day meeting of the organisation's national working committee — effectively the country's shadow cabinet — to decide how to respond to Monday's killings by troops of the nominally independent homeland.

The ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, told a Johannesburg press conference that

"the ANC is prepared to participate in a summit," but he added that "it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results".

He also said that the ANC leadership remained convinced that "the complicity of the South African government and the South African Defence Force" in the "premeditated" massacre in the Ciskei "will come out".

That view was echoed by the United Nations Security Council which said in a statement that it deplored the Ciskei killings carried out by what it described as "security elements in South Africa".

Members of the council said they wished to "emphasise the responsibility of the South African authorities for the maintenance of law and order and call on them to take all measures to end the violence and to protect the right of all South Africans to engage in peaceful political activity without fear of intimidation or violence".

Earlier in the day in South Africa, the government announced that it had invited the UN secretary-general to send a representative to act as "a catalyst" in finding a solution to the endemic political violence in the country.

The foreign minister, P. W. Botha, said with some justification that this represented a turnaround in his government's traditionally hostile attitude towards foreign interference.

At a Pretoria press conference Mr Botha also said that

the government was prepared to take coercive steps against the Ciskei leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, if he failed to co-operate in establishing agreed standards when dealing with protest action.

While attention has focused on fall-out from the Ciskei massacre there is evidence of an alarming escalation of tension in Natal.

Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, seems to be becoming increasingly infuriated by the rhetoric being used by the ANC — lumping him with Brigadier Gqozo as a "tin-pot dictator" and "the butchers of Ulundi and Bisho" — as well as by physical attacks on his organisation.

There are suspicions in Inkatha that a guerrilla war has effectively been launched against them by the military wing of the ANC. The suspicions have been encouraged by a well-planned attack on an Inkatha house in Natal last Friday in which 10 heavily armed men, allegedly dressed in South African-style military uniforms, killed 12 youths on their way to an Inkatha youth conference.

Chief Buthelezi signalled his growing anger yesterday by allowing a walk-out from a "local dispute resolution committee" — set up under the terms of a national peace accord agreed by participants in constitutional talks — in the strife-torn Durban township of Umlazi.

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10 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Winnie Mandela quits ANC leadership posts

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

WINNIE MANDELA has finally bowed out of the South African political arena, resigning all her leadership positions in the ANC with a characteristically emotional outburst at her "enemies" inside and outside the organisation.

Her capitulation follows publication in the South African press earlier this week of a passionate letter to a young lover, which appeared to indicate maladministration of funds in the ANC's social welfare department which she headed.

In a statement issued overnight the one-time "mother of the nation" said she was giving up her seat on the ANC's national executive and the national and regional executive committees of the Women's League. In what appears to be a bitter gesture towards female members of the ANC for their part in her downfall, she also withdrew her membership of the Women's League, while de-

claring she remained a "loyal" member of the ANC.

The rambling statement gave no clear indication why she had finally taken the decision to go, other than saying it was "primarily in the interest of my dear husband and my beloved family." She said it had nothing to do with her administration of the social welfare department.

"You who know of my detention without trial, my imprisonment, my banishment to Brandfort, my separation from my husband over 27 years and my trials, will understand."

Addressing herself to her family "and to all my people in South Africa, in our squatter camps, in our villages, in the violence-torn and poverty-stricken areas," she said: "There is no reason to be overwhelmed by a sense of isolation and abandonment. I have only been a mere servant to you and I will always be."

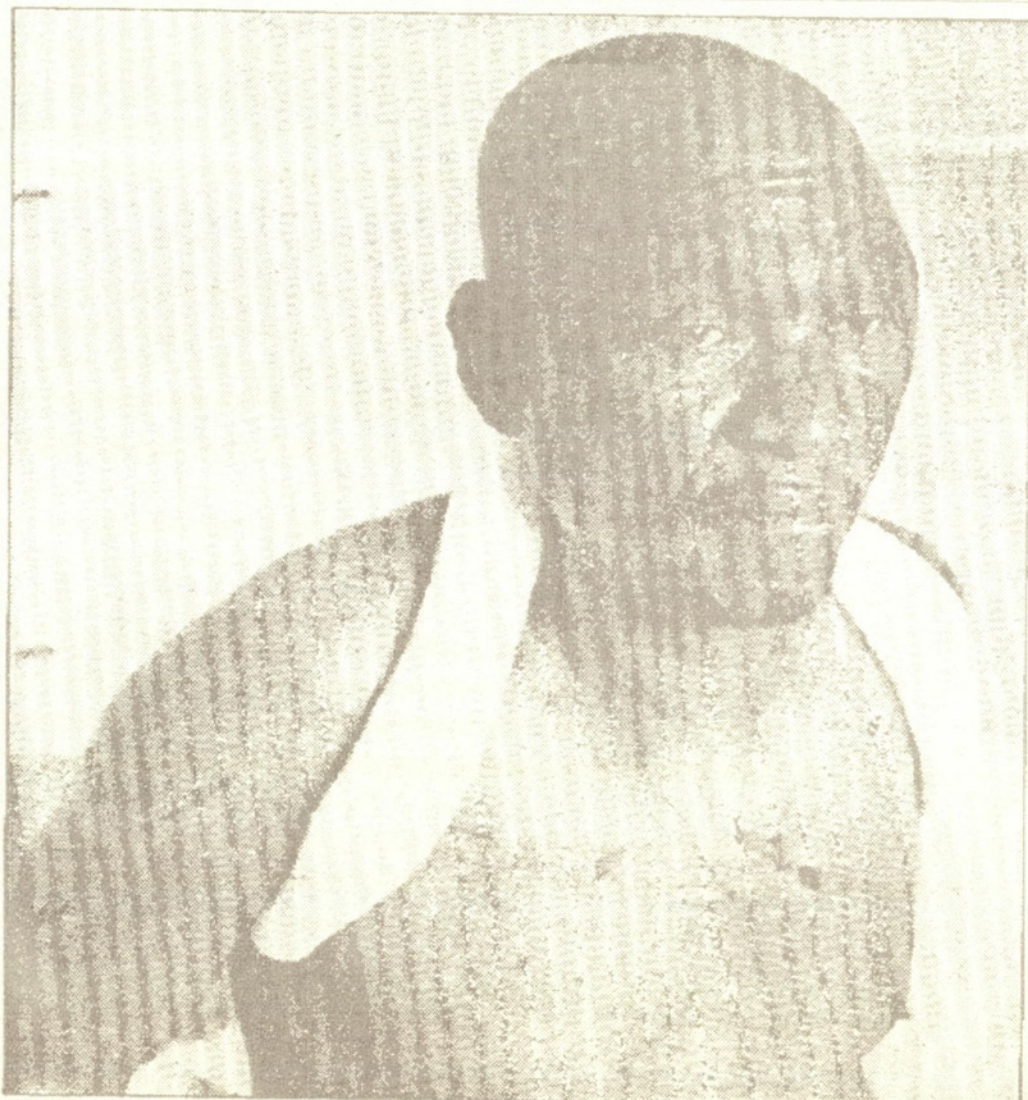
In its self-aggrandisement and apparent delusions of innocence the statement was in a way a fitting farewell from a woman whom the generous would characterise as a tragic

figure. Others would describe her as the betrayer of a cause.

Mrs Mandela is awaiting the outcome of her appeal against a six-year jail sentence for her part in the abductions of and assault on four youths in 1988 and 1989. Her reputation was damaged by the murder one of them, the teenage activist Stompie Moeketsi Seipei. Just this week her former right-hand man, Jerry Richardson, who was sentenced to death for the murder, had the sentence reduced to life imprisonment.

It was the disclosure of the circumstances of Stompie's disappearance by the Guardian and the Johannesburg Weekly Mail in January 1989 which led to what has become known as the Winnie Mandela scandal.

At one time she appeared to be on the brink of shaking off the effects of the scandal through the support of her husband, Nelson Mandela, after his release from life imprisonment in 1990. In April this year, however, he publicly announced their separation. There now appears to be little chance of political rehabilitation.



Second round . . . A man recovering in King William's Town hospital after being beaten by Ciskeian soldiers on Tuesday. Since Monday's killing of 28 ANC supporters there have been beatings of civilians and burnings of soldiers' homes

PHOTOGRAPH © GREG MARINOVICH

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ANC leaves door open to Pretoria talks

THE African National Congress (ANC) moved closer to breaking the deadlock in constitutional negotiations by proposing talks about talks on the government's call for a summit meeting between Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk following Monday's Ciskei massacre.

But the ANC stood by previous demands that before the two leaders meet the government take visible steps to counter spiralling violence, including a ban on weapons in public, the closure of migrant hostels from which much of the violence emanates and the release of political prisoners. The government may have helped provide a face-saving way to meet some of those demands by asking Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations Secretary General, to send an envoy who would in effect act as an intermediary in an attempt to restart negotiations.

Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC's Secretary-General, said "the ANC is prepared to participate in a summit... However, such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations". He said last week that differences over constitutional issues were largely resolved and the main obstacle to agreement was now the violence.

It appeared that talks were close to resuming before the slaughter in Ciskei. While the killings contribute to the bad blood between the government and ANC, they may have provided the impetus for a deal by strengthening the hand of more moderate elements of the ANC, such as Mr Ramaphosa, after hardliners pressed for the confrontation in Bisho that cost so many lives.

Last night after a two-day leadership meeting at which it appears the Ramaphosa faction reasserted

From Chris McGreal
 in Johannesburg

itself, the ANC said it was reviewing how such marches are conducted. That may mean the cancellation of similar demonstrations planned against the anti-ANC governments of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu. While the ANC will not admit the strategy in Bisho was a mistake for fear of diminishing the greater responsibility of the Ciskei government and its masters in Pretoria, calling off other marches would ease the way for the government to make the concessions necessary to get talks back on track.

Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, said the government wants to bring a UN envoy in to help smooth the process by talking to all the main political players on ways "to bring violence to an end and removing the remaining obstacles to the resumption of negotiations". But added a political rider, saying that Pretoria also urged the UN Security Council "to demand that the ANC-Communist Party alliance abandon any further provocative actions which could risk the lives of innocent South Africans".

The ANC welcomed the proposal for a UN envoy as a victory for its insistence on international participation, including the deployment of UN monitors expected to arrive this weekend.

■ Winnie Mandela resigned from the ANC's national executive and the Women's League following publication last weekend of a letter to her lover, Dali Mpofu, in which she admitted misappropriating ANC funds. She will remain an ordinary member of the ANC.