

| SOUTH Africa's key political
| negotiators, Mr Roelf Meyer,
Minister of Constitutional De-
velopment, and Mr Cyril Ra-
| maphosa, secretary general of
the African National Congress,
are expected to meet early next
week to prepare for a round of
talks between delegations led by
President de Klerk and ANC
leader Mr Nelson Mandela.
Ll) e d
"It's the end of next week."
| a statement yesterday,

comed Mr Mandela's acceptance
of my invitation to a

President de Klerk said he wel-

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MARTIN CHALLENGOR Political Correspondent

meeting to discuss violence,
What is now of critical im-
portance and what our coun-
try and its people demand of us
is that we should meet as ur-
gently as possible.

Additional issues raised by
the ANC could also be placed on
the agenda of the meeting.

. ~~~ "Mr Meyer and Mr Ramapho-
elegations could meet i = .

Sa can now give attention to the
determination of a date, the ar-
rangements for the meeting, the
agenda and other related prepa-
rations, President de Klerk
said. :

Meanwhile, National Party
sources said all NP MPs were
to hold a caucus meeting in the
Eastern Transvaal this week-
end. This would give President
de Klerk a chance to brief them
on the latest developments in
negotiations. - -

President de Klerk could seek
caucus backing for the tough,

dramatic decisions he has to
take to restart negotiations.

This could include releasing
about 380 political prisoners, an
ANC precondition to constitu-
tional talks. The ANC says it

overnment, ANC meet to prepare for talks
is now limiting itself to discus-
sing ways to curb political vio-
lence.

The ANC's decision for Presi-
dent de Klerk and Mr Mandela
to meet is a setback to hardline
South African Communist Party
elements in the ANC who want-
ed nothing to do with negotia-
tions, preferring to put their
faith in mass action in the hopes
of toppling all the governments

in South Africa.

The meeting between Presi-
dent de Klerk and Mr Mandela
would be their first since Code-
sa 2 in May.

HE prominent role of

known communists in

the run-up to, and dur-

ing, the ANC march on

Bisho has rekindled suspicions

of communist manipulation and
even control of the ANC.

President F.W. de Klerk has fo-

| cused on the high-profile role of

communist leaders in the Bisho
march, charging that they are de-

(liberately trying to sabotage ne-

gotiations.

â\200\234They 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 confron-
tation,â\200\235 he says.

Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s words, made in the
wake of the Bisho massacre, echo his
warning to ANC president Nelson
Mandela after the Boipatong mas-
sacre in June.

â\200\234Insurrectionist thinking is cur-
rently 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,â\200\235 Mr

de Klerk states in a memorandum to
Mr Mandela.

Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s indictment, and that
of the governing National Party, has
to be treated circumspectly: it is
standard NP strategy to use every
chance to drive a wedge between
nationalists and communists in the
ANC-led tripartite alliance.

Loyalty

Mr Mandela has rejected these al-

| legations in the past as â\200\234part of the
| baggage of apartheid ideologyâ\200\235.

Thus he says in a letter responding

to Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s memo: â\200\234We re-
ject with contempt your propagan-

| distic 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 better than black people
know them ac

Jat et o

Comfrdnists played a,leading role in the march on Bisho, raising anew fears that they are
using their key control positions
in the ANC to attain their own insurrectionist ends. PATRICK LAURENCE reports from Johannes
burg.

COUNTING THE COST: Chris Hani, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, was
one of the ringleaders of
the ANC march this week that led to the bloodbath in Bisho.

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noatnÃ@ygg]l:gal Secretary of the SACP
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NC â\200\224he is a member of jts â\200\234inner

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Daily Dispatch calling on

cabinetâ\200\235 or national workj

C ng com-
mittee â\200\224 a5 we)) as being Soutgh ifi¬\201
black commu-

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But against that g counter-point

made: when Mr Hani choge
ke i-
general secretg 4 pl:s;t

An advertisement Placed in the
â\200\234the peo-

pleâ\200\235 to join the march on Bisho
serves as an illustration on the domi-
nant 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 primari
ly to assert the right of people to ex-
ercise basic freedoms in Ciskei, in-
cluding freedom of assembly and
- freedom of speech.

The advertisement leaves no doubt
that one of the central objectives
of the march was the overthrow of -

or Aemc BT g/\mo

mission for the march was granted.
Mr Kasrils 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 was a â\200\234mad manâ\200\235. It is surely
prudent not to take risks with â\200\234mad-
menâ\200\235, especially when the lives of

" thousands of people are at stake.

Mr Kasrilsâ\200\231s role raises two 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 criticism voiced
by Mr de Klerk, Jeremy Cronin, a
member of the SACP central com-
mittee and a leading party theorist,
attributes them to bitterness and

. anxiety in NP ranks.

The party which they wrote off
after the collapse of communism in
the former Soviet Union and Eastern
Europe has shown through mass ac-
tion that â\200\234it enjoys popular supportâ\200\235
and that they have badly miscal-
culated, he says.

â\200\234We donâ\200\231t apologise as a party for
the very active, energetic and often
courageous involvement of promi-
nent communists in the mass cam-
paign. We are proud of what people
like Hani and Kasrils and many
others have been doing.

â\200\234Suggestions that they are cynical-
ly manipulating ordinary people are
without foundation.

â\200\234Unlike De Klerk, who operates
through all sorts of proxy forces.

Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo. = (Cyril) Ramaphosa, Hani, Kasrils and

Any doubt about that is removed by
a single sentence informing ANC
sympathisers of the marching song:
â\200\234Gqozo must go!â\200\235

Rabble-rousing speeches by Mr
Hani and Ronnie Kasrils, another
key communist, in villages near
Bisho before the march can have
left no doubt in the minds of the peo-
ple that the purpose of the march
was to oust Brigadier Gqozo.

At the village of Ndevana, Mr

Hani is recorded as having said: â\200\234We

- are not going to talk much today. We
- . are preparing for battle tomorrow.

The battle is to remove parasites.â\200\235
Their speeches contain scathing
references to Brigadier Gqozo as a

= â\200\234kitchen boyâ\200\235, a â\200\234puppetâ\200\235 and a |
â\200\234dogâ\200\235, who â\200\234deserves to be buried
at nightâ\200\235. : -

â\200\230They evoke apocalyptic expecta-
tions that the march will precnpx}ate
the fall of a trio of â\200\234puppetsâ\200\235 â\200\224
Lucas Mangope and Mangosuthu Bu-
thelezi are named with Brigadier
Gqozo â\200\224 and, ultimately, the Pre-
toria puppet master himself.

Weapon

- They create the impression that |
mass action is conceived by these
- ' communist leaders as a weapon for.
- ~ the overthrow of black â\200\234homeland |

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.â\200\235

Mr Cronin, who suspects that a
gap was deliberately left in the fence
around the sports stadium to lure the
marchers into an ambush, contends
that it was a â\200\234sheer flukeâ\200\235 and â\200\234blind
luckâ\200\235 that none of the leaders were
hit in the fusillade of bullets un-
leased by the soldiers.

Stratagem

He rejects charges that the unde-
clared objective behind mass action
is destabilisation and insurrection, a
favourite stratagem of communist
militants in the past.

Mr Cronin declares that the objec-
tives of mass action were openly
discussed at meetings attended by
ANC, SACP and Cosatu delegates,
not secretly decided on at the SACPâ\200\231s
head office and then foisted on the
alliance. A constituent assembly, the
formation of an interim government
of national unity and the attainment
of serious action to end the violence.

â\200\234These are not insurrectionary de-
mands,â\200\235 he observes.

~leadersâ\200\235 who have refused to join the
ANC camp as political auxiliaries.
Then, too, there is the prominent
role of Mr Kasrils on the day of the
â\200\230march: on his own admission he led
the marchers out of the sports sta-
dium in Ciskei on the road to Blshp
in direct contravention of the condi-
tions under which magisterial per- |

Nâ\200\230

A

ANC seeks

homelands

referenda

Pâ\200\230jï¬\201 Saturday News

'L Correspondent

PRETORIA: The ANC has

raised further hopes for a sum-
mit meeting between President

de Klerk and Mr Nelson Man- \â\200\230
dela â\200\224 but at the same time

pressed home the need for the \
holding of referenda in Ciskei

and other homelands.

Speaking at a memorial ser- ;
vice for victims of Mondayâ\200\231s
Bisho massacre in the St Albanâ\200\231s
Cathedral in Schoeman Street
yesterday, the ANCâ\200\231's PWV Re-
gion chairman and NEC mem-
ber, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, ex-.
pressed further hopes that a ne-
gotiated settlement was being
touted seriously in the higher
ranks of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP
alliance.

Mr Sexwale, one of the lead-
ers who was in the firing line
when Ciskeian security forces un-
leashed a hail of gunfire on pro-
testers on Monday, said: â\200\234It does.
seem we are in a desperate situ-
ation ... lLet me assure you the
situation in South Africa is not
totally lostâ\200\235.

Mr Sexwale said the ANC had
suspended the armed struggle
because the organisation be-
lieved in a negotiated settle-
ment, but said the Government
frustrated these efforts in many
of its actions. f

He said had theÃ© Government

accepted the ANC's â\200\234ridiculousâ\200\235
compromiise at Codesa 2, South
Africa would be at the stage of
an interim government.

â\200\234We would not be having tra-
gedies like the Bisho killings.â\200\235

10 minutes of *

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unutterable horror

POLITICAL Reporter ESTHER WAUGH,
who covered the fateful march in
Ciskei on Monday, says no dry and
factual news report can convey the
trauma of that day. This is her
account of the few hours which will
be forever remembered in South
Africaâ\200\231s bloodstained history as the
â\200\230Bisho massacreâ\200\231,

(â\200\230:"Mâ\200\230i

S

Moy s o g e

K plans to kill Gqozo â\200\224 army chief

THAE ANC's military wing, Umkg-
honto we Sizwe, intended assas-
sinating Ciskei leader Brigadier
Oupa Gqozo, S& Army chiel Lieu-
tenani-Genera! George Meiring
claimed vesterday.

Meiring said reports indicated
that MK chief Âçf operations Lam-
pert Meloi was expected to arrive
in the eastern Cape yesterday to
co-ordinate planping and activi-
ties in the area.

â\200\234FThere it information which in-
dicates MK inlends assassinaling
Ggoze. This can hardly be con-

â\200\234strued as adhering to the require-
meris for peaceful demonstra-
tions.â\200\235

Meiring said his information in-
dicated weapons, including small
arms, a 122-mm -rocket launcher
and Ciskei police and military
uniforms were heing stockpiled.

He was concerned at reporis

that MK members from the PWV
area and Trauskei, and self
defence units from Motherwell,
New Brighion, KwaZakhele and
Cradock, had been sent (o lhe
area to initiale violence

Meiring said Ciskei Defence
Force and Police members wert
heing assaulted and robbed of
their weapans. â\200\234Since the fragedy
Ciske! is experiencing violence om
a seale not seen in a long time. At
least 15 houses of members of the
Ciske! Delence Force and Felice
have heen burnt.â\200\235

Meiring said there were â\200\234bla-

tant attemplsa\200\235 by the ANC to im-
plicate the SA Army in the blood-
baty, and charged that MK was
responsibie for the deaths.
Statemenis by the ANC's de-
partment of information and pub-
licity (DIP) that 32 Bailalion was
deployed in Ciskel and on its bor-

ders, and that 31 and 32 Batialions
were 10 be tncorporated into the
Ciskei Armny, were absoed

He also rejected as â\200\234scorcilous reports originaling from a German publication claiming Lieutenant-General C P van der Westheizen, SADE Chief-of-Staff Intelligence, had sent a signal to the Ciskei Defence Force "Instructing him to use force and all means necessary to crush the demonstrationâ\200\235. The allegations appeared in New Nation yesterday

â\200\234â\200\234This is absurd and no more than disinformation from the DIP aimed at trying to cover MK's responsibility for the deaths. It was never their intention to hold peaceful demonstrations in Bisho. They openly stated that they intended to occupy Bisho itself and to overthrow Gaozo.â\200\235

in We use force, Bop warns ANC

IN A thinly veiled threat to repeat Monday's events in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope indicated yesterday that the homeland would use force to protect its sovereignty if the African National Congress march went ahead next Saturday. It had the resolve and means to do so if necessary, he said.

Tension is already mounting in the light of Mangope's hardline rhetoric and the South African Government's warning that it would use "coercive action" to regulate mass action.

Mangope, in a memorandum to United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this week, said his government had intentions of allowing lives and property in our country to be threatened.

He appealed to the UN Security

to

HELEN GRANGE
Pretoria Bureau

Council to influence the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance to desist from actions which could put at risk the lives of innocent people.

He said the Biko massacre was the direct result of the breakdown of the negotiation process, and that unless this process was speedily restored, further incidents will almost certainly follow.

Mangope said the ANC's action could not be justified in light of the fact that mechanisms to change the Bophuthatswana government were freely available through the ballot box.

Indeed, had the ANC-Communist Party alliance chosen to do

so, they could have registered as a

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political party in Bophuthatswana -

and fought a general election in
October this year.

But, despite numerous public
appeals by members of my gov-

ernment and myself for them to

do so, they refused he said

Mangope added that the ANC-
SACP alliance's withdrawal
from the negotiation process and
its attempts to enforce its de-
mands under the guise of demo-
cratic mass action was unac-
ceptable. | 225, E

Slamming the ANC for its "con-
venient omission of Transkei and
Venda, he said: The truth of the
matter is that they have targeted
only Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and
KwaZulu, because these leader-
ships have refused to toe the line
and be browbeaten and intimidated
into submission. 231

THIS week things went horribly

wrong for Ronnie Kas

5. The

ANCs man of action, who 5 used for
taking risks and staring death in
the face, took one risk too many in
Bisho and 28 people got killed, Bui,
as he told Deputy Editor KEN
VERNGN, he thinks it was worth it

THE ANC's 200/231s Ra
Kasrils is a
who takes risks

He has stared death
in the
times and lived
Laugh about it

This week at I
WS OICE again
loves to be
Leading edge of &
leading by 2027
things went wrong

1 28 people died

5 srils o blame?

Was (he dash away from
the main march on Bisho
and through the stadium,
friggering the shooting
another case of Kasrils
derring-do go wrong!
Was the march itself an
WNNecessaTy PIOVRE -
Lioa

In a hard-hitting interview
view he denied that he,
or his organisation, was
responsible for the Bisho
tragedy. 200/234The men who
killed those people
are the men who pulled
the triggers and the men
who ordered Lhero 0 0o
8Â¢ they are the ones
who are responsible

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ple killed, would so-called
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internatinnal observess
the Peace Commission.â\200\235
Kasrils says those who
followed him oo his dash
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the Ciskeinn ormy sympathised with us and would waver and either run or join us

â\200\234We really believed Â¢ major element of
@ Photograph: STEVE HILTOM -BARBER

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potential that the gap in the march was planned fice we w Perhaps Ggezo macy.

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we approached the wire, e e peo Pretoria Â¢ right tc exert pressore

was taken wintly.â\200\235 Ciskei were crying keep hm through mass action

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Speaking at a dll ner o massacre were made Known at nI t march B d Umkhoa ane o march on Ui
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Councit of Ciskei, Buibelez

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KEN VERNON
Duputy Editor

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at Bisho â\200\224 the ANC has
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tion woold pot â\200\230have anv
contact with Ciskel uatil
Brigadier Ggozo had
been removed.

â\200\234He has t0 go, there's
no two ways about if,â\200\235
' he said, adding that if
the Ciskei leader was
present at future Codesa
aegotiations, the ANC
would not take part,

He <aid, however, that
be felt the military lead.
er's days were aum-
bered. "We have precipi-
tated a crisis for the De
Klerk regime and they
will bave to get rid of
bim."â\200\235

@ Full report ~ Page 2

THE Bisho massacre pushed South Africa to the brink of disaster and a return to the armed struggle this week and joined the Government and the African National Congress back to talks.

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gone up sharply
â\200\234QOpe wonders if these
measures Wil |
to have ad effect. Somme
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Since Gluckman went munication problem 1n
public on July 26 with = the olice,â\200\235 Leon said
claims of police â\200\234While the Minister an
Â\$ prisoners, an gome of the genera"m
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say eight commnitted guj-"~ " pot seeil to have perâ\200\235
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Kriel said police were j
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revent these tragedies for notl responding to
Gluckman, 1 hospital Gluckmanâ\200\231s allegations
for tests siace last week in detail despite the fact
end, was unavailabie for that the Mipister had
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DP justice gpokesman them in February
qaid Kriel colleagues and I are
worried and frustrated

of the cI ticisms 1 by the facl that where
neart. But the disturbing QOVernmeux depart-
thipg is that after the ments are confronted

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PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

THE Bisho massacre pushed South Africa to the brink of disaster and a return to the armed struggle this week and jolted the Government and the African National Congress back to talks.

It took the slaughter of 28 ANC marchers by Ciskei military dictator Oupa Gqozo's troops to prod the two warring parties into agreement on a summit on violence which would be the first meeting of full Government and ANC delegations in months.

The killings also shocked the international community to turn the screws on both of them to get back to talks and to accelerate the conflict.

The United Nations |
responded within 24

hours to an invitation

by Foreign Minister

|

Pik Botha to dispatch

a special envoy to address the violence, and teams of violence monitors from the UN and other international organisations are due to start streaming

into the country from

the weekend.

A special envoy Virendra Dayal is due to arrive in Johannesburg on Wednesday, preceded by an advance party flying in today. UN sources said special envoy Cyrus

Vance, who visited South Africa recently, would have been sent had he not been deeply involved in the Yugoslavian peace effort.

® See Pages 2, 3
and Undercurrent

Officials working for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were hurrying to arrange a meeting between the two men to plan the all-important summit on violence which President de Klerk proposed and the ANC, rather surprisingly, accepted.

It is understood that Meyer may leave an important weekend strategy meeting of the Na-

' tional Party caucus to
| meet Ramaphosa, if this

can be arranged.

De Klerk had impressed upon both parties the need for the meeting to take place urgently.

ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said the ANC's decision to attend the violence summit - despite the immense anger in the organisation over the Bisha killings â\200\224â\200\234reflected our concern that the country was sliding into the abyss. The killing was so shocking that I think it jolted people on both sides to their sensesâ\200\235.

But it was a close and nerve-racking week for the country. After the Bisho slaughter it looked

. for a few days as though

a return to the dark days of armed struggle and violent repression was imminent.

South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani virtually abandoned the route of negotiations in favour of armed struggle when he

said Bisho had taught his
people a lesson that only

& 70 PAGE 2.

Get into
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Cosatu
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JOHN PERILMARN

Chief Reporter
MASS action rmus
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lections
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they should not be giddy
with the success,

â\200\234It is important to an
alyse what De Klerk is
doing and respond ac
cordingly. We need to
pul our organisations oo
an election footing,â\200\235 he
saud,

â\200\234The National Party is
already focused on win
ning an election. We are
the majority but we
have to work hard to re
tain that status

â\200\234The election for a constituent assembly will be the most crucial test of our struggle. Unless we put our organisations and leaders on an election footing we will be surprised at the polls.â\200\235

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet the Government on violence, as recommended by the organisationâ\200\231s national

once certain preparatory work had been finished.

This included the immediate release of all political prisoners with no link to amnesty, the fencing of hostels and continuous searches of their premises and effective steps to prevent the carrying of dangerous weapons,

â\200\234Tyranny in the so called independent homelands will have to be addressed, particularly the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana.

â\200\234â\200\234Another problem needing attention is the KwaZulu Police and the havoc they continue to wreak on our structuresâ\200\235 said Ramaphosa

â\200\234Only after the apartheid regime has done all that will we be able to agree that they have taken sufficient steps to warrant a full meeting.â\200\235

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they could free them-

selves. â\200\234They cannot be

freed by nice talks

around negotiation

. \ables,â\200\235 he said.

" And Botha responded

â\200\23441 similar kind when he

â\200\234â\200\234told TV viewers that

â\200\234+'there seerned little point

â\200\230%R pursuing negotiations

~o'with the ANC when it

> was being led by the

7 'SACP into confronta-

T tional politics.

"SIIt took a degree of

brinkmanship to save

. the pegotiation process.

_~Joe Klerk had, in effect,

- 10 lose a queen to save

- his king.

â\200\230fys Emulating a familiar

.~ Strategy of the ANC, he

effectively suspended

~~the Government's parti-

...-&ipation in constitutional

.. Degotiations, pending a

resolution of violence.

ANC sources said\ this

â\200\234eNew approach struck a

Jiehord with them â\200\224 at

2~ last the Goverament was

-~ acknowledging, as they

â\200\234~had done long before,

7 that constitutiopal nego-

~wtjations were futile

= while violence raged

<% But diplomatic sour-

~gÂçes Said it also took

some international arm-

. twisting to get the two

- sides to agree to meet.

" â\200\234They said the ANC had

â\200\234'been reprimanded for

" SACP executive mem-

â\200\234â\200\234ber Ronnie Kasrils's

" dash out of the Risho

- stadium â\200\224 in defiance of

7 the march conditions â\200\224

*"â\200\234which provoked the mur-

" derous volley from Cis-

kei troops.

w~+The diplomats also

. urged the ANC not to put

demands to the Govern-

: â\200\230Inent that could not be

met -~ such as the im-

mediate removal of
Brigadier Gqozo

In turn the Govern-
ment came under pres-
sure to â\200\234get a gripâ\200\235 on
Gqozo and other home-
land leaders.

Both sides seemed to
reï\201pond favourably. The
ANC did not present its
demands for action
against Ciskel as condi-
tions for resuming for-
mal pegotiations.

And Botha warned for
the first time that the
Government would use
â\200\230â\200\230coerciveâ\200\231â\200\231 measures
against the military dic-
tator if he refused to use
more enlightened meth-
ods to deal with protest
marches.

But although the im-
mediate crisis had been
averted by weekâ\200\231s end, it
was clear that many
dangers still lay shead.

Ramaphosa told a
Congress of South Afri-
can Trade Unions con-
ference in Johannesburg
yesterday that the ANC

stiiil intended to continueâ\200\231

with its plans to hold
similar marches in Bo-
phuthatswana and in
right-wing controlled
towns.

Amnesty

He also suggested that
the summit on violence
would take place only
once certain â\200\234preparato-
ry work"â\200\235 had been done.

This included the im-
mediate release of all
political prisoners, with
no link to the general
amuesty required by the
Government, the fencing
of hostels and the
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en fire on them at Bisho on Mondoy.

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7ad fired. On o S
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were mortars. Then Halli and Gildenhuy

stopped
â\200\230I've made

heard the sol- fusitiade

L40 pm. [was bun-
: 10 "â\200\230:viâ\200\230\' "nâ\200\230iâ\200\234 I\Lâ\200\230 Mâ\200\231El_" lot

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again. These peop
been walkin
ing only rau
Now L
Whatever shock is, m
cally, [felt it then. 5

At midnight | ade
my way, frightÃ@ted
back to the bordedâ\200\231;On
the way through CisÃ¥ei i
could make out soldjersâ\200\231
visors in Â¢
sight which greeteqdâ\200\231
on the South African'si
was the most eerie 'â\200\231
moving I have 'â\200\231
nessed.

Thousands of mawch-
ars were still therce,
holding a vigil in~the
darkness. Fires Hickared

here and there, ;4nd
shadows moved silemily
all around. Many pegd
were sleeping n
road, packed like
dines aga:ast each g
for warmth.

Like a low
song was bein i
.â\200\234L"Pâ\200\235hâ\200\231 and slo fios
and over: â\200\234Mayibuye
Al Â¥ {Come
Africa). |

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Bisho: SAâ\200\231s crossroad between
Armageddon and Damascus

REMARK made recently by a colleague
/@ Das lodged itseif in my mind, shouted
louder with each disastrous development
in the week just paszed. The journalist,
jie of the most experienced and respected {n
i5 country, was driving with me to Pretoria to
tend yet another Goverament briefing. The
NC had held fis own that morning. Negotia-
ons were going badly, the leadersâ\200\231 rhetorie had
ossed the line between politicking and war
ik, and neither side looked like giving an inch.
At dusk the familiar Ben Schoeman highway
4% busy, as always. Rows of cars, tightly
cked, edged along on either side of the motor-
iy island. Lights were coming on at filling sta-
pris and [o heuses dotted around the once-bare
untryside which is now inexorably joining the
â\202¬3 of Johannesburg and Pretoria. Life was
ing on in ordered pormality; the faces ia the

3 wera serious and distant, thinking about the

y's work, hurrying horpe to families, listening
Âçar radios absent-mindedly,
My friend was unusually silent apd gloomy,
iring at the traffic intently. Eventually he
phe his mind. He had a strong sense of â\200\234lucipi-
t chaosâ\200\235, he gaid. Of how the social orderliness
nbolised by thousands of commuters will
Ly obeying the same rules could suddeniy dis-
pear,

e made me think of highways in cities like
auda aod Dubrovnik, Beirut and Sarajeve,
ere the order of decades â\200\224 even centuries â\200\224
appeared in a cordite puff, and never re-

e citizens of those bepighted towns dido't

ect it, either. They are not so different from
ny of us, those middle-class commuters who

d themselves catapuitied by political catas-
phe into an unthought-of life wherchy the
rch for water and warmth became their

est priority. They found out that the â\200\234state
natureâ\200\235 is not something that passed with the

VIOUS, primitive centuries; it le2 in wait for

UNDERCURRENT
AFFAIRS

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Johnmson

BISHO gave us a taste of Bosnia on Monday. For an excruciatingly long time political leaders stared into the black hole, angry enough to consider jumping in,

any humans who are foolish enough.

Since the miraculous turn of events in February 1990, I have argued as an article of faith that we South Africans are not so stupid as to throw away the political life-jacket that appeared in our hands so unexpectedly. -

Having stopped short on the road to Armageddon, we would turn towards Damascus instead. Well, the earlier part of this past week tested that faith sorely.

It angers and frightens me, as I wrote several months ago, when politicians on all sides blithely repeat the great fallacy that there will be a negotiated settlement in South Africa because there is no alternative. What they mean to say is that there is no rational alternative to negotiations. There are many forms of irrational alternatives, the most obvious being anarchy and

- civil war,

After all, we polyglot South Africans have no reason to regard ourselves as being more civilised, and by implication more rational, than the people of what was once Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia, too, a negotiated settlement was on the cards, and difficulties in the process were put no higher than that: hiccups, stumbling blocks, ob-

stacles to peace, all surmountable.

But in an apocalyptic instant it is up to future historians to identify the precise moment of dissolution of the country put a foot over the abyss, and tumbled in. The carnage of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the result, and the world seerless powerless to pull it back to where it was so very recently,

The people look back at the frustrating

mode of negotiations, complete with alternating deadlocks and breakthroughs, as a political paradise lost.

Bisho on Monday gave us a taste of Bosnia. For an excruciatingly long time - four days to be exact - political leaders stared into the black hole, unwilling to step back for fear of accusations of cowardice, and angry enough to consider jumping in. Blame was apportioned without nuance: it was either all their fault, or all yours. For the first time since 1980, both sides expressed doubt that a negotiated settlement was possible at all. In their different dia-

lects, both sides breathed words of war,

It would not take a lot to start a war here; a real one, not one confined to isolated and poor pockets inhabited by black people who paid the Tuost for the congtruction of aparthe:d and are nNow paying the most for its dismantling. [donâ\200\231t think we reailse just how close we came this week to unleashing that nightmare.

The Government could have said: â\200\234To heil with the ANC, we will impose a new 2ystem without themn,â\200\235 and the ANC could have said: â\200\234To hell with the Government, we march on Ulundjâ\200\235

Hello Bosnia with African place-names.

By yesterday the politicians had drawn back. We must be thankful, but watchful. The ground around the edge of the abyss is dry and brittle. It Beld our weight this time, but there was the sound of crumbling. We must not test the strength of that edge again. We must choose g | surer footing far, far back,

Why we need
the UN

7 UR YEARS, the South African
Government firmly registered
what it termed unwarranted in-
terference by outsiders -- and

in particular the United Nations - in
this country's domestic affairs. Even
when the then secretary-general sought
agreement for a visit by a UN delega-
tion in March 1990, President de Klerk
said the visit had to be without preju-
dice to the position of my Government
on the question of non-interference in
our internal affairs.

This week, Pik Botha had the grace
to look embarrassed at the memory of
his decades of UN-bashing as he invited
the world body to step up its small
presence here and send a special envoy
- not only to observe but to mediate in
the growing internal conflict in SA.

The Foreign Minister may hope that,
by this gesture, he will gain support
from the Security Council in his efforts
to have the ANC censured for its mass
action campaign. Of more significance,
however, is the belated acknowlege-
ment that the UN can play a construc-
tive role in bringing about peace,

The futility of resisting repeated
offers of help often genuine and
well-meaning seems at last to have
dawned on Pretoria. The calming effect
of a UN presence was seen during the
recent visit by the respected statesman
Cyrus Vance. At least for the short
period he was here, all sides were on

- their best behaviour,

Now, after the massacres at Boipa-
tong and Bisho, nerves are frayed once
more and tempers are running high,
Both the Government and ANC are
looking for ways to return to the nego-
tiating table without loss of face. This
is precisely where the UN could help.

All parties should realise, however,
that the UN presence could play both
ways. Where the Government is found
to be in the wrong, it could find itself at
the receiving end of international cen-
sure, and so could the ANC. Both sides
will have to accept the bona fides of the
world body and its desire to see peace
and stability return to one of the

world's troublespots,

The ANC, too, will have to forswear its tactics of negotiating while engaging in mass action. If it hasn't realised this yet, it can expect the UN to tell it so. More and more foreign governments are demonstrating their disgust at political speeches being made over the bodies of innocent people. Through the UN, they will insist that all South Africans come to terms with the realities of negotiation and compromise.

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means of addressing so.
cial imbalances, saig SA
Communist Party sec-
retary-gencral, Mr Chris

am yesterday.

He was addressing a ga-
lp business-
Men at a Finance Week
breakfast at the Transvaal

I Automobile Club.

Mt Hanj faced an aud:

| â\202~nce which questioned
| him on Communist Party

cconomic policies, its
vision of the new South
Africa and its approach to
United Nations involve-

| ment in the country's bid

te control escalating viols
Ã©nce.

Mr Haat's view of re-
distribution of wealth was
that a onc(or-you-one.
for-tneâ\200\231 jdeai was not
what the SACP had in
mind. Rather, it believed
that the disadvantaged

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mAjority who were excluded from the market; at Present should be brought Gastream to help sustain economic growth and investment,

â\200\234The SACP subscribes to a mixed economy which should address the irregularities in South Africa. People are crying out for basic needs, especially education, to equip them with the necessary skills which would give them their independence,â\200\235 said Mr. Mafant

â\200\230But I don't think we should be prescriptive of the type of economy we should have. There should be no labels such as capitalist or Communist. But there should be more concentration on human problems,

â\200\234The poor must be pulled out of the slums. Although there must be adequate housing it should not necessarily be free and this could be addressed by introducing

Hani

an annual public housing scheme, " he said.

The role of workers needed to be redefined and they must be brought into decision-making procedures in the workplace as well as in the running of the country

â\200\234In the end, I have a fear that most of the parties in South Africa will ignore the aspirations of the lower classes and pandering only to these of the middle class and the rich

â\200\234We therefore have a role to play and that is why the ANC pays a lot of attention to economic problems. The relationship between us and the

ANC needs to be debated
in full but 3 socialist
Government cannot function
without an effective
Communist Party,â\200\235 Mr
Hani said

On the question of violence,
Mr Hanpi welcomed
The coming role of United
Nations observers in
South Africa,

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Summit\202r

WE welcome the ANC's decision to attend a summit on violence called by State President De Klerk, with Mr De Klerk leading the government delegation and Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC president, leading the ANC\200\231s

While the ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyni Ramaphosa, seems to have set some preconditions, the ANC would not have given its approval if it intended to back out.

It is left to Mr Ramaphosa and Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer to make arrangements and set the agenda, Mr De Klerk said yesterday, welcoming the ANC decision.

The ANC is under pressure to resume negotiations \200\224 and the summit could be the forerunner.

The government has been criticised by foreign governments because Ciskei is regarded as part of South Africa and the government is blamed for not preventing the massacre

The ANC, on the other hand, is under strong criticism because Mr Ronnie Kasrils, the intelligence chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe and a leading member of the South African Communist Party, led a charge of ANC supporters through a gap in the fence at the Bisho stadium, a kilometre from Bisho itself, in an attempt to march on Bisho, thus provoking the shooting.

Mr De Klerk wisely decided that, while condemning the ANC over the massacre, he should get a summit going to end the violence

Wisely, because the Battle of Bisho could be resumed at any time.

The Western Cape secretary of the ANC, Mr Tony Yengem, told a picket near the besieged Ciskei Embassy in Cape Town:

\200\234(3gozo cannot continue killing our people. Gqozo must die.\200\235

The chief of the South African Army, Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring, has accused the ANC of planning to assassinate the Ciskeian

leader

Although the ANC has demed General Meir-
ingâ\200\231s claim, lt has whipped up such hatred
against Brig Gqozo that his assassination
could well be attempted, if not by the ANC
then by 118 supporters.

We behieve the South African Government,
whatever lt feels about Bng Gqozo, should
take every precaution {0 prevent any attack
on mm, for if he were assassinated, it would
encourage assassination attempts on other
leaders and the country would be plunged
o even worse violence than we have yet
experienced

Inl\another development, Foreign Minister Pik
Botha has urged the United Nations Sec-
retary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali,
to send a UN envoy to South Africa to medi-
ate among parties and help to get negotia-
tions back on track.

We have cnticised the internationalising of our
problems by allowing United Nations and
other observers from the European Com-
munmt, the Organisation of African Unity
and the Commonweaith to descend on South
Afnca,

By asking the UN to mediate, Mr Botha is
placing South Africa-on the road to a Nami-
bia-style settlement that led to a Swapo take-
over of that country.

The settlement provided for the implementa-
tion of UN Resolution 435. This required ap
election under UN supervision, with the |
presence of a UN peacekeeping force. :

UN intervention not only derogates from this |
countryâ\200\231s sovereignty, but also plays into the |
hands of the ANC, which expects to be fa- !
voured by the presence of the observers,

It also wants international control over the se- |
cunty forces as a prelude to the dispatch here
of a United Nations peacekeeping force. '

Despite Mr Botha's confidence that the Nat-
ional Party can win an open election, we
warn him (or betier sull, the government):
Beware. S

If you donâ\200\231t take care, we'll land up like Nami- |
bia, Zimbabwe or other African countries |
â\200\234liberatedâ\200\235 in the pame of freedom and

democracy. |
And all hope of peace and prospetity will van- |

P
e o B e T S |

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Ciskei: Buthelez
slates govt, AN

JLUNDI. â\200\224 After a
blistering attack on the
ANC and the South
African Government
herc last night, Kwa-
Zulu E.xef Mm:sicr
Mangosuthu Buthelezi
warmly welcomed Cis-
keian lcader, Brig
Oupa Gqozo, us a
brother and a comrade
In arms.

Speaking at a dif
honour of the Char
of the Military C ounc
Ciskei, Chief Bu h" ez
accused the ANC of cal-
lous brutality and hyp
risy, and the gu\:rnnmn
of expediency and be-
traya.

The ANC aitiance had
heid the Ciskeian Gov-

ernment and the court in
contempt by lgnoring
conditions laid down for

lts ill-fated protest march.

He described as absurd
Â¢ ANC's rejection of
findings made by a
iskeian commission of
inquiry because it did not
recognise the homeland
legality.

"â\200\231"xc ANâ\200\231C,

said Chief

misa, the militaty
acer cf Transkei, â\200\234and
he Venda Government.

â\200\234The ANC uses Trans-
kel for military training
bases, and I understand
the ANC's Umkhonto
{we Sizwe} personnel are
being taken, into the
Transker Army.

*â\200\234Mr Mandcla
ing a home in

is build-
Transkei

He is prepared to accept
the legitimacy of Transkei
zmâ\200\231 Venda, but he rejects
the Cisker Government |

reslly do find such hypoc.
risky truly, truly aston-
ishing *

The SACP and Umk-
honto we Sizwe lead-
ership should be held di-
rectly responsible for the
Biko killings, hes main.
tained, because they were
responsible for ignoring
the court's conditions

He was d"n:l)" by re-
ports that Foreign Affairs
Minister Mr Pik Botha
had said his government
was prepared to take co-
ercive steps if Ciskei did
not agree to um farm

the South African
government? - Sapa.

Âç

measures to deal with

mass action

If the reports were ac-
curate, said Chief Buthe-
lezi, Mr Botha's state-
ments amounted to be-
trayal

He called the South
African ~ Government's
readiness to sacrifice Brig
Gqozo and Ciskei to pla-
cate the Communist-led
ANC *a disgrace

*There seems to be 2
willingness to sacrifice
any of us on the altar of
expediency.

He demanded to know
from Mr Botha whether
Ciskei was independent
or not

And if it is, how can
Mr Botha threaten to use
coercive methods to force
Ciskei to do what the
ANC is demanding from
Gov

I STILL can't believe I'm alive, and
I can't believe I'm
writing these words.
I have read them
written by so many
other journalists re-
calling other- situations, and "have-
ways. thought them

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The scene transferred,
on Sunday night to bi-
zarre court proceedings: in his dining-room,
Ciskel magistrate DB
lali was deciding wheth-
er to give permission for
the march, with journal-
ists waiting for the out-
come in his lounge.

At 1.50 am he gave the
conditional go-ahead,

Ronnie Kasrils appeared, ahead of
the march, and fingered the
razor-wire barrier. It would be
easy to cross, he joked. The ANC
would be marching into Bisho.

self-indulgent
melodramatic,

But for me, after
Bisho, the words are
no more than the sim-
ple truth. Not one per-
son who was in that
80 000-strong crowd
will deny them; we all
feel the same and al-
ways will

I spent the week-
end before the march travel-
ling to villages in and
around Ciskei, winning
the organisers whip up
Support. It was clear
that the activists were
ploughing fertile ground
and the local people were
ready and willing to
challenge Brigadier

Oupa Ggozo â\200\224 but it
was also cÂçlear that the

and

Saying the
could not proceed be-
yond Bishoâ\200\231s stadium
into the capital itself,
The next morning, Na-
tional Peace Secretariat
chairman Dr Antonse
Gildenbuys remarked
Warily that in spite of
the court order, the po-
tential for conflict re-
mained high,

This uneasy feeling
Wwas strengthened when [
left Bisho for the Vie.
toria cricket ground in
King Williamâ\200\231s Town,
where crowds of ANC
Supporters were gathey-
Ing in & carnival aimo-
sphere. On the short
drive I saw â\200\230that hun-
dreds of Ciskei Defence
Force soldiers had taken
up positions around the

" wanted to tell people to stop

running, that they

d be shot if they

didnâ\200\231t, but I made no sound. There
was no other sound, no screaming,
Just the long death-rattle of the

rifles.â\200\231

African National Cop-
gress-South Alfrican
Communist Party alli-
Ance meant this to he
like o other protest
march.

Villagers applauded
a3 they heard the feared
Ggoze described as â\200\234De

lerkâ\200\231s kitchen boyâ\200\235 and
â\200\234a dogâ\200\235. The hills rang
with the chant â\200\234Pang
Gagozoâ\200\231 Down with

stadium and near the

road connecting the two
towns. They, too, clearly
meant business,

When we eventually
reached the nominal
border point separating
South Africa and Ciskei,
soldiers were pulling
razor wire across the
tarmac. I latched on to
Gildenhuys and National
Peace Accord chairman
Jolin Hall. They stepped

marchers:

across the invisible
boundary just as the sol-
diers prepared to close
the remaining few centi-
metres.

I realised, vaguely,
that the mood was very
different on this side of
the border. There was no
carnival. Soldiers lay in
position, most of them
behind tripods on which
were balanced menacing
light machine-guns. Gil-
denhuys remarked: 'I'll
see if I can be of help.'

ANC leader Ronnie
Kasrils appeared, ahead

of the march, and fin-
ished the wire

gered the
barrier. It would be easy
to cross, he joked. The
ANC would be marching
into Bisho.

At 11 pm the soldiers
capped their rifles in
unison. It was a clear,
unmistakable sound, but
I paid little attention. I
had heard it before, dur-

It was standing next to these
corpses, staring at them, that made
me feel alive again. These people

had been walking and

going only

minutes before. Now they were

still, Whatever shock is,
medically, I felt it then.â\200\231

ing the peaceful march
on Bisho last month.

Five minytes later
Border ANC vice-chair.
man Andrew Hendricks
Came up to â\200\234testâ\200\235 the
fence. He and Haj
laughed about being
trapped on opposite
sides â\200\224 Hendricks want-
ed to know which was
â\200\234Westâ\200\235 and which was
â\200\234Eastâ\200\235.

The heat was stifling;
Wwe wailed for the last
marchers to bring up the
rear. Flippantly, I point-
ed to a smail heap of
hard sand on my left and
said lo a ecolleague that |
would take cover there
in the event of shooting,
He laughingly pointed
out a better hiding place,

By then the march hag
reached the border. Stil}
it was no different from
the protest of the previ.
Qus month,

At that moment (he
deadly crackle of auto-
matle gunfire burst oge
behind me, at the far

those lying in front of
the Fort Hare externa
campus and in the adja-
cent parking ot â\200\224
Opened up. They were |
im from where we |
stood.

I fell on to the road :
heavily, along with Gil. |
denhuys and Hall. My
first thought was that
the soldiers were firing
blanks: I couldn't See
bullets or fiery flashes,
25 you du in films, and
nothing 1 wag feeling
told me differently.

Then 1 hecame dware
of others falling, rus-
ning, and I saw biullets
thudding into the dirt |
crawled to the heap of

sand I'd seen before |
Wanted to tell people to
stop running, that theyâ\200\231d
be shot if they didnâ\200\231t, but
I made no sound. There
Was no other sound, no
screaming, just the long
death-rattle of the riffes.

Bullets were hitting
the sand heap, so close
that I thought the sol.

THE African National Congress military wing, Umkhonto we Sirwe, intended assassinating Ciskei leader, Bng Oupa Lmvo Army Chief Gen Georg Meiring, auctd yesterday
The

members from the PWV area, ske; and seif- from
New kwele been

Police were being assaulted and robbed of their weapons,

â\200\234Since the tragedy at the stadiura, Ciskei is

peniencing viglence on a scale not seen in a long tune. At ieast 15

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defence

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TO PAGE 2

ANC den
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his reports indicated

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Defence
Police
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the requirements for 0wt isket De

ce Force Chief â\200\234in
.J.â\200\230g him to use
and all means
necessary to crush the
demonstrationâ\200\235 on
Monday

re is no truth ir
that statement wwhats

ever,â\200\235 he said
weapons, in- Mr Nvanda

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1 rocker launcher

skei Police and

â\200\230orms, were

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Mr M

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sponsibility tor

P;r;"?rn.f:"

â\200\234But even if the
whole of MK conver
on Ciskei, it does
mean weÂ¢ have de
on Gqoze. We
vOlved in ONgoing Orga- 5â\200\2311"
nisational work every-
where

â\200\234Why should we wor-
ry about assassinati
man Â° who' has
demned himself in

people.
It was never their in-
tention

are demonstrated;

overthrow

Gqozo

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eyes of
already?â\200\235

General

the people
4 at the poi

Meiring on Smbarrassm

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Friday rejected â\200\234biatant
attempisâ\200\235 by the Afri-
can National C
to implicate the SA
Army in the C

ONEress
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isked
bloodbath, and chasped
that MK was in fact re-
sponsible for the deaths
An ANC Departm

of Information and Put

licity (DIP) statement
that 32 Battalion was
deployed in Ciskei and
on its borders, and that
Battalions

31 and 32
er

were to be incorporated

advert
from thi

Army.

â\200\234I cannot allow this to

stand

Gen Meiring said

As far as the

Army wWas concerne

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Casket only after

shootings i Bish

unchalicngedâ\200\231

SA

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preserve life and protect

property. This was

rect contrast to

ANC actions in

arca. -~ Sapa

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FW WANTS TALK
URGENTLY

By Brian Stuart

\ > . CAPE TOWN =1
g ~L _ B :â\200\230 3 oy ST j e P e State " President De |
o Â£) N Klerk has welcomed

/ Mr Nelson Mandela's

{J â\200\230; â\200\234 acceptance of 2 meet-
2 i ing between the two

lcaders to discuss the
violence, and called for
il 10 take place urgent
Iy

Mr De Klerk confirmed
yesterday that M: Roel
Meyer, Minisier of Con
stMutional Development
and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa
secretary-general of the
ANC, would meet
make the meoessary 2
Fangeimnents

Mr Meyer aad M
Ramaphosa will aiso draw
up aB agenda It 1Â¢

meeumg, at which Mr [e

Klerk wall lead a govem
ment tcam and Mr Man

i delathe ANC team

| TO PAGE 2

Mangope appeals to UN,
on ANC's Bop march

Ry Sapa and
Citizen Reporter

BOPHUTHATSWANA
president Lucas Mangope
has appealed to the United Nations Security
Council to encourage the
ANC not to go
ahead with a planned
march on the homeland
capital Mbabatho next
Saturday.

In a letter to the UN
secretary-general, Mr
Boutros Boutros-Ghali,
Mr Mangope said his govern-
ment would not allow
lives and property to be
threatened

Arguments put forward

by the African National

Congress demand
action against Bophu-
thatswana could not

be

justified
e

the ANC
has not to partici-
pate in Bophuthatswana's
elections. process
is though it could do

irrigation

more the direct

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lOn was in viola.

Of the spirit and

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tent of the National Peace
Accord

Mr Mangope said the
shooting at Bisha earlier
this week should never
have occurred and was a
direct result of the break-
down of the negotiation
process

The callous disregard
for life displayed by too
many leaders in the re-
gion had dealt the demo-
cratic process another
crippling blow

Any action in Bophu-
thatswana by the albance
was totally unnecessary
because democratic
mechanisms to change the
government through the
ballot box were in place
and freely available.

Had the ANC decided
to do so, it could have
registered as a political
party in Bophuthatswana
and fought a general elec-
tion which is to be held in
October this year.

THE Order Boerevolk's

the death of 28 people on

Boerevolk abhorred the

He warned in a

[Piet Skiet praise
for Bisho action

Piet - 200\234Skiet-200\231-200\231 Rudolph has
sent a letter of congratulation to Ciskeian leader
Bng Oupa Gozo for the action he took against
African National Congress marchers which led to
his death on Monday,
Mr Rudolph said in the letter that while the Order
"total lack of moral cour-
age-200\235 displayed by the SA Government, it saluted
;gez0 for the statesmanship he had displayed
in fighting his enemies with the -200\234contempt they de-

Press statement accompanying
the letter that "If White people were threatened or
White people abused, there would not be enough
policemen or soldiers to protect squatter camps and
! - Bluck (Q-200\231})S}IEDS; "QSM-200\230DB

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ULUNDI. â\200\224 Mewmbers
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Party president,
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Chicf Buthelezi sai
statement

He welcom

cussions, â\200\230Le f g them
as â\200\234'a sign &t faith in Âço
mon Sotuth Afr icanismâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231

. He welcomed the del-
egation, including AVU
feader, Mr Andries Bey-
ers, and Mr Moolman
Mentz

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andum for discussion be-
tween the parties Chief
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and hospility

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press had created

He called on those who

oved the country and
cared for its people to
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er ncing the â\200\234alliance
o lislingers, gangsters,

militant *s;na!.x; and
hard-core Communists
which infest the ANC

Cosatu SA Com-
munist Partyâ\200\231â\200\235.
He told the AVU mem-
s that â\200\234â\200\234the pnice Afri
nationahism must
pay for anv alliance of in-
terests, is a
faat South Africans
share a common destinyâ\200\235
He wamed that if Atri-
kuners attempted Â¢ s

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ranks to â\200\234form lttle ls-
laadsâ\200\235 the economy
would extinguish them

adding that Blacks would
lot easily JrL.;â\200\230(the poit-
tics of partition
Extreme Black nut
inalism heid no more ac-
ince for the
hites than White ree

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presence

A A A R Y A 8

Buthelezi in talks with
Aflâ\200\230llx?lll1Ã@lâ\200\230 Volksunie -

presence of Blacks â\200\234Tha

cannot continue,â\200\235 Chief
Buthelz: sard

While politics were at |
the moment minated

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liberal middic was su
merged, Chief Buthelz: |
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Six killed in violence

in Empangeni township

DURBAN 200\224 At least six people, including a three-month-old child, were killed in renewed political violence in Empangeni's Esikhawini township yesterday. Durban police spokesman Maj Coert Marais said three separate attacks had taken place in the troubled township at

around 1 am yesterday, |

leaving six dead and at least one seriously injured

uiec

Although 15 police officers were deployed by the KwaZulu Police, Mayor Mkhamsi said SA Police reinforcements would be sent there following appeals from the ANC and other organisations for their presence in

the township

The KZP have been accused of participating in violent attacks in the

township and the region with incidents 200\230ot

{

the ANC making several calls for their withdrawal from the area and for Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to investigate allegations of KZP complicity in the violence. Meanwhile, an ANC-Cosatu/SACP joint working committee spokesman said four members of the Gumede family were

killed in one of yesterday's attacks.

The other two killings occurred at a separate house, he said

The spokesman said
the community in the area
had absolutely no confidence in the KZP, adding that it was necessary
for the SAP to patrol the
area Sapa

Arms: Over
50 held

EAST LONDON. = Dg-
zens of ANC Youth
llcague members were
detained after police last
night swooped on the ol
gamsationâ\200\231s offices
Kingwilliamstown and re-
covered two stolen auto
mane nfles and maga
zines of ammunition
Police said the two R-4s
ind Six magazines â\200\224 sio
ien from three Ciskei De
fence Foice soldiers on

Thursday were found

concealed in the ceiling of
one of the offices.

The detasned ANCYL
members were desenbed
by the Afrcan Natonal
Congress carlier as tctu
gees who had fled the v
olence in Ciskelr to seek
refuge in the orgamsa
tion's offices

Barder police liason
otficer, Licut-Colonel
Christo Loaw, pat the fig-
ure of those in detention
at between 50 and 70
- 3apa

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1

The expectation is that only a small group of representatives will meet initially and that this will take place possibly within the next two weeks

Welcoming the ANC statement, Mr De Klerk said he would comment on other unwarranted points which were contained in the ANC statement,

He will express my views on these points during the discussion. The additional questions to the ANC's statement can also be placed on the Agenda of the Meeting.

What is now of tactical importance and what Our country and its people

2y)

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demand of us that we

should meet as urgently

as possible," said Mr De

The National Party yesterday welcomed the planned meeting as a ray of hope in the present situation.

However, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, NP secretary-general, said that while the ANC's statement called for an end to petty party political propaganda, the statement was riddled with inaccuracies, misrepresentations and petty political propaganda.

The ANC claimed that the international community blamed the government for the tragic deaths in Ciskei

Instead, the international community is increasingly seeing the event for what it really is:

The result of 3 coldly calculated action of the South African Communist Party and ANC as part of Phase Four of their mass action programme, aimed at overthrowing governments and authorities and grabbing power in an undemocratic manner

Dr Van der Merwe said the NP recognised mass action as a democratic right, but the Communist Party and ANC were now abusing this as a means of forcing their political programme on the rest of the country in an authoritarian manner, with large-scale violence and intimidation, by

â\200\234This is in flagrant violation

FW wants talk

o S, WD W

4ton of the ordinary citizen's rights to freedom of expression and of movement

â\200\234It is common knowledge that to express a dissenting view in an ANC stronghold is to invite threats, arson and even murder

â\200\234On Tuesday, the Communist leader, Chris Hani, promised that they would hit back. Since then more than 30 houses of security force personnel in Ciskei have been burnt down, 16 chiefs have been attacked and at least one necklaced murder took place

â\200\234This is some freedom and democracy!â\200\235

It was patently evident that the ANCSACP justification in Bisho on Monday had nothing to do with the exercise of free political activity in Transkei. The Communists' red plans tarpered some homelands, but others,

â\200\234The dimming

feature is not the degree
of democracy or civil lib
erty, but whether these
governments support the
ANC or not '

There was 2 grave re.
sponsibility on church
leaders to address the
shocking admission by MÃ¢
Ronsie Kasrils that: the
SA Communist Party;
ANC alliance)iy deiib
crately gambled with
peopleâ\200\231s lives in Bisho o
Monday

Alliance leaders had

led people into 3 known

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danger zone, ::pp{zrem;'y
counting on the Ciskej so.
Curity forees nor 0 shoot,
0 spite of an open and
provocative disregard of
the jaw by the demon.
strators, headed by Mr

Kasrils
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'3 headmen killed in
petrol-bomb attacks

Citizen Reporter

THERE have been more than 40 attacks this week on the lives and property of people known to be opposed to the ANC, including headmen and Ciskei military and police personnel, according to official reports made through crime intelligence channels,

There were 40 attacks on Tuesday and Wednesday alone, in which three headmen were killed in petrol-bomb attacks in Zwelitsha, in the Ciskei,

In Alice, there were

four petrol-bomb attacks, one handgrenade was thrown, and a vehicle of the Department of Agriculture was set alight. Those attacked included a policeman, a headman and a member of Ciskei's Defence Force.

At Mdantsane, the homes of four police and military personnel were set alight or petrol-bombed. The home of a member of the PAC was also attacked

At Zwelitsha, three headmen were killed in petrol-bomb attacks,

while the homes of four other headmen were the targets of petrol-bombs

The homes of a further

14 people, all members of the police or Ciskei Defence Force, were attacked in Zwelitsha

In Whittlesda, there were two cases of petrol-bomb attacks and two cases of arson aimed at the property of officials and another person.

During this two-day period, the Ciskei Farmers' Association building in Peddie was also petrol-bombed.

PRI L L

2 Govt UN call first/
tep to armed forces

SRR

By Sapaand
Fred de Lange

CAPE TOWN. The
call by the Boveramen:
01 3 WUnited Nations
mediator to help solve the
problems of viplence and
negotiation m South Afrn-
â\202\21 was gthe firge step fo-
wards armed UN forces
being called in, Dr Wijije
Snyman, chief Conserva
e Party spokesman on
SeCuwnily maiters, said yes-
terday

Addressing (he) 15
Cape oongress in the
Goodwood Crvic Centre,
Dr Snyman, Mp {or Pre-
weesburg, said *â\200\234we canNot
allow thys

The congress unani-
mouwsly endozsed 5 nme-
tion thanking he sa
Police and the SA De-
fence Foree for the Way in
which they were perform-
ing their duties under dyf-
ficult circumstances,

h calted on CP support-
Cis 10 help the SAP and
SADF by getan 8 mvolved

| in the police FEServiss;

tocal Defepce Force comm-
mandosâ\200\235 angd jp neigh-
bourhood watch Organisa-
tions.

cepted o motion tha
Subth Africaâ\200\231s cwrent
flag and nativnal anthem
(Die Stem) be honowred
and that Afvikaans and
English be retaineg as of-
ficwat iy ges

Â® The BNP yesterday
condemped q),Â¢ gover-
ment's call for 5 United

lions representative 1o
be sent 10 Sout, Aftica
and said this coylg be a
Serfous effect on the sov.
ercignty of Sough Africa,

The HNps spokesman
on law and order, My Os.

car Hartung, said this step
was a careful repeat of the
same tactic which was
used in South West Africa
and which had led 10 5

in that country

is unthinkable that
someone like Ryo (Pik;
Botha can be so naive as
to think the UN can help
the government against
the ANC, History has
shown that the 1975 the
end of the White man
in Africa and in every
country in which the UN
has played a role; a Black
Communist government
has been formed

â\200\234The UN would like to
do the same in South
Africa if it could only get
the opportunity to do so
Mr Botha has now cre-
ated that opportunity by
â\200\230dividing it as an 20% par.
1% in the dispensation

The congress also accepted Communist government he said.
â\200\230â\200\234â\200\224â\200\234â\200\234*\Mâ\200\230u ==

4A @ THE T!NNESSEAN'- Satl;dt!' EE"FMBER 12,1992 :

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DeKlerk

â\200\230welcomes

ANC talks

: JOHANNESBURG South Africa

_(AP) â\200\224 President F.W. de Klerk

-yesterday welcomed the ANC's will-

ingness to discuss violence, but the
army chief accused the black oppo-
â\200\230sition group of seeking to assassi-
nateahomeland leader. - - . .

...} = African National Congress and
. security forces accused each other
of waging terror in the black home- !
land of Ciskei since Monday, whelp |
Ciskei troops opened fire gn ANC
- marchers, killing 25 protesters. .
The shootings further strained re-
lations between the government -
" and the ANC, which were already
frozen â\200\230over chronic .violence in -
- black townships. The ANC broke off L
political negotiations in June to pro-
testthe bldodshed. "~ -

De Klerk this week requested an
urgent meeting with the ANC aimed
at finding ways to end the violence.
ANC leaders said Thursday that .
they were willing to meet with de -
Klerk, but they also attached condi- â\200\234:
tions that have blocked previous â\200\235
bids to revive they talks. P

Still, it was the closest the ANC\ i
has come to agreeing to new talks *.
since negotiations were halted in .. -
June. VR gt

.De Klerk welcomed the ANCâ\200\231s '
tentative acceptance yesterday and .
said a summit should be held imme- .
diately. He said the ANC's condi- ' :
tions could be discussed then. g =}
The ANC demands include the Â°
release of more than 400 political ::
prisoners and a ban on carrying
weapons in public. ANC Secretary- -
General Cyril Ramaphosa said yes- .:
_terday that the country faced disas- !;
â\200\234ter if the government failed to ad- e
dr&thedemands. - -â\200\230.Â»â\200\230~ A ot {

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