

High-stakes power play  
in the homelands

Monday's massacre in Ciskei has damaged the prospects for  
compromise in South Africa, says Patti Waldmeir

South African politicians  
spend a remarkable  
amount of time vowing  
not to speak to one  
another, and Monday's massa-  
cre in the Ciskei black home-  
- land has prompted yet another  
round of dark threats from  
both sides about the future of  
constitutional negotiations.  
Indeed, for most of the two  
and a half years since Mr Nel-  
son Mandela was released from  
prison in February 1990, the  
official position has been that  
the African National Congress  
(ANC) and the government are  
not negotiating. Meanwhile,  
there has been almost continu-  
ous contact between officials  
from both sides, discussing  
everything from political pris-  
oners to constitutions. But  
those contacts are described as  
talks about talks, or talks  
about why there are no talks.  
Officially, the ANC and the  
government are not speaking.  
That is the situation now: SOUTH AFRICA  
the ANC says it cannot talk to "  
the â\200\234regimeâ\200\235 because it holds Lebowa  
Pretoria responsible for the Â»  
Monday killings, carried out by | b Gezankulu  
the security forces of Ciskei, . Kangwane  
one of the black homeland gov- s  
ernments which survive only in Kwandebele

BOTSWANA

through South African sup-  
port. The government says it is  
â\200\234reassessingâ\200\235 talks with the  
ANC because the organisation  
seeks to impose its will by vio-  
lence, through the kind of pro-  
vocative mass action which left  
23 dead in Ciskei.

There is fault to be found on both sides, and each is now busy finding it. But independent politicians believe the real fault lies in the fact that neither side is serious about negotiation â\200\224 not serious enough to face real political compromises over power sharing; not serious enough to agree on an interim government which alone can restore stability; not serious enough to settle the future of the homelands. Put simply, neither side yet feels

enough pain to make compro-

mises aimed at stopping it. Mondayâ\200\231s march in Ciskei, organised by the ANC with the aim of overthrowing the government of military dictator Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was

~ meant to step up the govern-

mentâ\200\231s pain. ANC officials disagreed over whether such a strategy was worth the risk, but the strategic gain for the ANC is now obvious. 3 ; For Ciskei is rightly seen, internationally and domestically, as South Africaâ\200\231s responsibility. Pretoria created the homelands, and Pretoria sustains them with financial security and political support. With Mondayâ\200\231s deaths the government of Mr FW de Klerk can no longer delay dealing with the homeland problem.

In reality, of course, the

T S hzen

THE CITIZEN  
[COMMENT  
Expose plot

AS we expected, the African National Congress is blaming State President De Klerk for the Bisho massacre.

He (De Klerk) was warned to keep Gqozo under control and we believe it was within his power to do so, said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa in a statement on behalf of the ANC and its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and Cosatu.

The Ciskei is the creation of the apartheid regime and they are responsible for the atrocities committed in its name.

In an earlier statement, the ANC accused the De Klerk government of doing everything calculated to encourage Gqozo in his insubordination.

Mr De Klerk, on the other hand, blames the ANC's mass action, saying the Ciskei conflict occurred because there was mass action. I did not start that mass action. The ANC did not.

Mr De Klerk disclosed that he had exchanged 2 number of letters with ANC president Nelson Mandela in a bid to prevent what had happened in Ciskei.

In one letter on Monday, he urged Mr Mandela that his side should comply with the chief magistrate's decision that the marchers would be allowed into Ciskei between 12 noon and 4,30 pm; could hold a rally at the Bisho stadium, a kilometre from the capital, but would not be allowed into Bisho itself.

The ANC rejected the order and announced it would march on Bisho and occupy it until Brigadier Gqozo had been deposed.

It is clear that the ANC was deliberately seeking a confrontation.

If the 50 000 marchers had entered and occupied Bisho, the ANC would have staged a virtual coup against Brigadier Gqozo.

The alternative, for Brigadier Gqozo to fight it out in the streets of the capital, would have been too ghastly to contemplate.

After Brigadier Gqozo, the ANC intended to oust President Lucas Mangope and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe.

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S|\t

This was announced by Mr Chris Hani, the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, on Sunday as he whipped up support for the march,

Since the attempt to march on the capital J would be resisted, the ANC showed a total disregard for the lives of its supporters by turning them into cannon fodder.

We repeat our view that the casualties inflicted Â\$ on the marchers were shocking and unnecessary.

But there would have been violence, of one | kind or another, whatever happened, and Mr De Klerk, Peace Accord Jeaders and every- Â\$ one else had been warning of the possibility. Â\$

As we predicted, the Bisho massacre is being Â\$ used by the ANC for propaganda purposes, here and abroad, both to denigrate Mr De Klerk and his government and to encourage Â\$ further international intervention. )

Sadly, from Britain to Australia, the massacre Â\$ is being seen as the slaughter of innocent protesters; the background, including the ANC's Â\$ deliberate sacrifice of the protesters, is ignored. :

Adding a sinister aspect to the incident is the fact that Mr Hani led the march and Mr Ron- Â\$ nie Kasnils, Communist revolutionary, was at [g the head of the hundreds who used a gap in a g fence to move out of the stadium in a bid to Â\$ march on Bisho. =

Knowing the Communist Party's revolutionary Â\$ strategy, it would appear that the whole sorry Â\$ business was engineered by the Communist Party as part of its plan to make South Africa {Â\$ ungovernable and seize power. 2

The massacre will, of course, set back the ne- Â\$ gotiations, with neither side wanting at this Â\$ point to resume the talks.

We hope that, for its part, the government will Â\$ stick to the statement by Foreign Minister 4 Pik Botha that it is not prepared to reopen B negotiations with the ANC as long as it con- Â\$ tinues with the Communist plan to destabilise South Africa.

The government should expose the Commun- Â\$ ist plot and let it be known it will not tolerate Â\$

"~ any further â\200\230attempts to topple â\200\234Jeaders or make the country ungovernable.



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P A T

THE CITIZEN

Wednesday 9 September 1992

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By Anton Ferreira

The biggest army de-  
' ployed by the African  
National Congress to  
topple State President  
de Klerk is composed  
entirely of corpses â\200\224  
the 13 000 black vic-  
tims of township wars.

ANC leader Nelson  
Mandela cites the dead as  
the greatest single reason  
to remove Mr De Klerk  
from power. accusing him  
of using u s secret â\200\234third  
forceâ\204¢ to sow chaos in  
Black communities and  
entrench White rule.

But the independent  
South African Institute of  
Race Relations (SAIRR)  
has challenged this view,  
saying human rights  
groups are twisting the  
facts to suit the ANC's  
position in a propaganda  
war against the govern-  
ment.

One-sided

SAIRR director John  
Kane-Berman said Am-  
nesty International, the  
International Commis-  
sion of Jurists and South  
Africaâ\200\231s Human Rights  
Commission (HRC) were  
conducting "a worldwide  
disinformation campaign  
about violence with a  
definite strategic pur-

., poseâ\204¢.  
' â\200\234A1

best the recent

reports of these agencies  
are one-sided and simplis-

tic...the success of the dis-  
information campaign is  
one of several reasons to  
be deeply apprehensive  
about this country's fu-  
ture.

Citing the June 17 Boi-  
patong massacre, Mr  
Kane-Berman described a  
strategy to place security  
forces under UN control,  
rendering them incapable  
of countering ANC plans  
to make the country un-  
governable.

The ANC, pledging to  
make Boipatong a  
Klerk's Waterloo. used  
the massacre to back a re-  
quest for UN intervention  
in South Africa. The Se-  
curity Council is to send  
30 observers.

ANC spokesman Carl  
Niehaus dismissed Mr  
Kane-Berman's analysis

as "very wrong", but it

carries weight because of  
the SAIRR's reputation  
for impartiality and its  
long history of fighting  
apartheid.

Veteran liberal Helen  
Suzman is president of  
the privately funded re-  
search institute, which  
was frequently attacked  
by the state before Mr De  
Klerk began his reform  
programme in February  
1990.

Mr Kane-Berman gave

the root cause of town-  
ship violence as apart-

heid, but said the escala-

tion in conflict between  
the ANC and the Zulu-  
based Inkatha Freedom  
Party in 1985 coincided  
with the ANC's decision  
to launch a 'people's  
war' aimed at making the  
country ungovernable.

High on list

'People's war un-  
leashes forces which have  
no command structures to

control them.â\204¢ he said.  
â\200\234In the ungovernability  
strategy. Black people  
were high on the list of in-  
tended targets, â\204¢

The strategy included  
â\200\234necklaceâ\204¢ Killings of  
Blacks seen as collaborat-  
ing with apartheid and co-  
ercion of township resi-  
dents to observe strikes  
and consumer boycotts,

Mr Kane-Berman ac-  
knowledgeed police had  
been convicted of mur-  
dering ANC sympathisers  
and had an often justified  
reputation for brutality,  
but added:

â\200\234The third force theory  
does not explain why  
more than 550 policemen  
have been killed in the  
last six years...the theory  
starts with a grain of truth  
which is enlarged to cast  
all blame onto one side

and obscure the wider

picture.â\200\235

The SAIRR presented  
2 report containing its dis-  
information allegations to  
three European Com-  
munity ministers who visi-  
ted South Africa at the  
beginning of September  
to assess ways of ending  
the violence. .

\*One-sided assessment  
is dangerous,â\200\235 the report  
said. â\200\234It raises the ire of  
those falsely accused and  
rouses a sense of right  
eous indignation among  
these exonerated. It sets  
the scene for heightened  
confrontation.â\200\235

Mr Nichaus disputed  
Mr Kane-Berman's asser-  
tion that the ANC was  
trying to demoralise the  
security forces, saying:  
â\200\234The police do a much  
better job of discrediting  
themselves than we could  
do.â\200\235 -~

Backfired

But the ANC has  
made two recent verbal



attacks on the police  
which have backfired.

ANC officialy last  
month announced the  
death of 18 Blacks in Ivo-  
ry Park squatter camp  
north-east of Johanncs-  
burg, saying they had  
been killed by a joint  
police/Inkatha force.

When the truth

Human rights groups  
â\200\230twist violence factsâ\200\231

emerged, the death toll  
stood at four and the  
cause was found to be a  
feud between Black taxi  
operators.

Days later an ANC in-  
formant in the eastern  
Cape, Andre de Villiers,  
was murdered on his farm  
and the ANC immedi-  
ately suggested he had  
been silenced by state  
agents.

Buct two of the suspects  
arrested â\200\224 whose trial is  
still in progress â\200\224 were  
members of the ANC.  
Police said they had killed  
De Villiers in an armed  
robbery. :

â\200\234Both sides are at fault,  
the police and the ANC,â\200\235  
said political risk consul-  
tant Wim Booyse. â\200\234The  
war of words between  
them is totally unaccept-  
able and the only way to  
end itis to depoliticise the  
police.â\200\235

Law and Order Minis-  
tec Hemus Krel an-  
nounced measures last  
month to restore polics  
credibility in Black com-  
munities, but Mr.Booyse  
said they did not go far  
enough.

"What we need is to  
scrap the Law and Order  
Ministry and place the  
police under supreme  
court control until a  
democratic government is  
in place.â\200\235 ~â\200\224 Sapa-Reut-  
er.



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people

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Woman te

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died

Citizen Reporter

WOMAN

husband ducing an arae

on the Swaniesyijja squat-

ter camp, pear Krugers.

P, in May lag; year.

â\200\234After [ lefe my hus-  
band at the hospiral, |  
went home to look for my  
son. I found him lying  
dead in the streer. His in-  
testines were hanging oyt.  
side of his body, and he  
had an open wound in his  
right thigh,â\200\235 the woman  
told Mr Justice Â¢ Botha.

(37),

Majolz (21), Mr Joseph  
Khanyite (51), Mr Bakers

lamin; (32), Mc Pheyj  
Madlango (54), Mr Bheko.  
Wakhe Mdlaloge (#1) â\200\224~an  
of whom teside ar Q4  
Hostel in Kagiso and  
Mr Flash Sithole (H) of  
the Attville Hostel, in  
Benon;.

Ie s alleged p the  
State, representeq by M;  
K Atwell, thar the mep  
Panticipateq re-  
dawn atack On the squat.  
er camp in which 23  
were killed, 2ng  
IRjure).

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Charges of Murder,  
e Turde

charge of public violence,  
as well as coupeg of jl-  
legally Possessing fire.  
arms,

The meq Pleadet nop  
8uilty 0 all the charges.

The woman said yester.  
day that she ang her fus.

band were awakened by  
Stones being thrown on  
their \*windows early on  
May 12, 1991

She and her husband  
hid under the bed,

It is how soon  
an attack

Mr Dlamini; Was part of  
the group, she testified,

Beath the pod,

The woman scrambled  
out from underneath the  
bed. :  
One of the men, and

Mr Dlamini . who was  
armed with 3 Spears  
then poured Paraffin or  
petrol onto the bed and  
set it alight,

The case continues.

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ANC wants â\200\230violenceâ\200\231  
as probe priority

THE Afrncan Nanonal  
Congress yesterday re-  
commended that the  
Goldstone Commission  
committee inquiry into  
the future of hostels  
should give priority to  
hostels associated with vie  
olence and crime in the  
past two years,

The national co-ordi-  
nator in the ANCâ\200\231s De-  
partment of Local and  
Regional Government  
and Housing, Mr Billy  
Cobbett, said the ANC  
had identified at least 18  
hostels of which the ma-

jority of original hoste]-

dwellers had either been  
forcibly evicted or they  
fled as a result of intimi-  
dation.

\*In addition, thousands  
of residents have been  
displaced from their  
homes through continued  
acts of aggression.

â\200\234The security forees  
failed not only in investi-  
gating and arresting per-  
petrators of violence, but  
also in failing to plan for  
the prevention of further  
violence from hostels,â\200\235  
Mr Cobbett said.

He submitted the com.-  
mittee, with the assist-  
ance of other members  
seconded to it, shoulg es-  
tablish who were the pres-  
ent residents of the hos-  
tels and who were legal  
tenants of the hostels, and  
those who had taken oc-  
cupation by virtue of dis-  
placing previous tenants,

Mr Cobbett also sug-  
gested the committee  
should establish whether  
arms and ammunition  
were being massed or  
stored at each of these

hostels and

whether para-military

style operations existed.

Mr Cobbett submitted further the should recommend access control to each of the hostels; satellite police stations be established; and that monitoring committees consisting of representatives from hostel dwellers, the residents of the area, any interest parties and international monitors be established to monitor both incidents of violence, as well as police efforts to prevent public violence.

He proposed that these monitoring committees should report to the Goldstone committee at regular intervals and when circumstances and events required.

Mr Cobbett said hostels not - recently associated with violence should also

committee

be looked into in 2 manner they, deserved with

the needs, aspirations and

demands of hostel-dwellers being combined and integrated with those of the communities in which they were located.

He said the phasing out of hostels, over the longer term, was the reverse side of the phasing-in of decent accommodation for migrant workers.

In resolving the prob-

lems associated with hostels, negotiations and community involvement were essential.

It is a matter of concern to the ANC that the R300 million earmarked by the government for the upgrading of hostels is being utilised in a policy and

process vacuum.

â\200\224 Sapa,

investigate

The S e R e L

NPE condemns lack  
of political tolerance

THE National Peace Ex-  
ecutive and its National  
Peace Secretariat last  
night condemned and ex-  
pressed dismay at the lack  
of political tolerance in  
South Africa.

\*As horrific as the Bi-

- sho bloodbath and the re-

cent Natal violence have  
been, these are yet fur-  
ther manifestations of the  
unacceptable, ongoing vi-  
olence brought about by  
the absence of political  
tolerance.

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.accord to be fully effec-  
â\200\234vg d Sapat W VES ST

â\200\234We are going to de-  
mand that all political  
leadership utilises the  
Ppacc Accord mechan-  
isms and that the laws of  
the land be protected by  
the signatories,\* said Nat.  
ional Ppacc Committee  
chairman John Hall.

He added that without  
the will of Leaders to hve  
up to the tolerance de-  
manded by the Peace  
Accord, it would be ex-  
tremely difficult for the

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" Two believed killed in Alex

TWO people were alleged to have been killed in Alexandra near Johannesburg yesterday in the wake of mounting political tension in the township, unrest monitors and activists said.

A hostel inmate was shot dead yesterday afternoon, said Alexandra Interim Crisis Committee convener Dr Liz Carmichael.

chel.

A pregnant woman was stabbed and beaten to death yesterday morning at the corner of First and Second avenues, Wynberg, while on her way to the Alexandra Clinic, claimed African National Congress spokesman Grant Rex. )

Police liaison officer Capt Pieter van Deventer

was unavailable for comment last night. According to Dr Carmichael tension among both ANC and Inkatha supporters in the township has increased since Sunday in relation to general political unease.

The climate worsened yesterday, probably because of the killing of 28 anti-Ciskei demonstrators

on Monday, she said.

Mr Rex claimed a -

hand-grenade was thrown at the Alexandra Town Council's ambulance depot about 8 pm yesterday.

Dr Carmichael said one hostel leader believed an

inmate was shot dead  
from the yard of the de-  
pot. - - Sapa.

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Govt may tell ANC: ,

Get rid of

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The:

Cabinet mesats in Pre-  
toria today amid grow-  
ing speculation that the  
government may tell  
the ANC bluntly to get  
rid of the Communists  
in its ranks whose stra-  
tegy is the violent over-  
throw of political op-  
ponents.

Political sources both  
inside and outside the  
National Party said yes-  
terday they had noted the  
active presence at Bisho  
of SA Communist Party  
leacders, inciuding Mr

sis Hani. Mr Ronnie  
Harry

Kasrils and Mr

Gwala.  
D: Stofie! van der  
Merwe, NP secretareye

genetal, and Mr Ken An-  
drew, Democratic Party  
national chairman, both  
yesierday remarked on  
the fact.

pP leadÃ©r, Dr Zach de

Beer, said that the publicâ\200\231

needed clarification of  
what Mr Hani meant by  
saying that the people  
were not going to be lib-  
arated by negotiation, tut  
were going to â\200\234liberate  
themselvesâ\200\235. This cÃ©on-  
tradicted the commitment  
to negotiation.

Speaking in Kingwil-  
fiamstown before th2  
Bisho march, ANC sec:  
retary-general, Mr Cyril

Ramaphosa, said that  
after toppling Ciskeiâ\200\231s  
Brigadier Oupa Ggozo.  
there would be similar at-  
tempts to overthrow  
KwaZulu's Chief Mango-

suthu Buthelezi and Bo-  
phuthatswanaâ\200\231s Dr Lucas  
Mangope.

Indications were yes-  
terday that the govern-  
ment was considering  
action to halt what were  
described as â\200\234Commun-  
ist-inspired . tacticsâ\200\235 to  
take over mass action for  
purely revolutionary pur-  
poses.

A government source  
said: â\200\234The ANC has al-  
lied itself with these out-  
worn Communist tactics.  
It is just not possible to  
talk to somebody who  
says publicly he will ge-  
rid of his political oppo-  
nents.

â\200\234You cannot do that in  
any civilised country. It  
has got to stop.â\200\235

The Cabinet team re-

Reds

. boskeraad in the Trans-

. Kasrils, as well as Mr

sponsible for negotiations  
held its weekly meeting in  
Pretoria yesterday, and is  
likely to lay specific pro-  
posals before todayâ\200\231s  
Cabinet meeting on the  
future of talks with the  
ANC. }

The possibility of 2:  
statement by State Presi- |  
dent De Klerk after the:  
Cabinet meeting has not  
been ruled out.

A media briefing is  
scheduled for tomorrow  
morning, probably by Mr  
Rolf Meyer, Minister of  
Constitutional Develop-  
ment, and Mr Herus  
Krie!, Minister of Law

and Order. It is likely to  
reveal much stronger govern-  
ment action to halt  
revolutionary tactics.

The full National Party  
caucus is due to hold a

meeting on Friday and Satur-  
day. While this was in-  
itially expected to discuss  
the October sitting of Par-  
liament, it will now also  
deal with the conse-  
quences for the negotia-  
tion process of recent  
events.

Dr Van der Merwe said  
yesterday the ANC knew  
its mass action at Bisho  
could result in bloodshed.  
The ANC had been urg-  
ed, even by diplomats and  
United Nations observ-  
ers, to call it off.

They went ahead,  
with a callous disregard  
for human life and suffer-  
ing.

The statements made  
by such Communist lead-  
ers as Mr Hani and Mt

Ramaphosa, had been re-  
vealing. Far from express-  
ing sympathy for the  
Bisho victims. they stated  
they would go after and  
remove the leaders of  
, Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bo-

phuthasswana. ... -,

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ANC sit-in at Ciskeiâ\200\231s  
Cape Town consulate

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 Thir-  
teen ANC members  
started an indefinite sit-in  
at the Ciskei's consulate  
in central Cape Town yes-  
terday, and refused to  
leave until the offices are  
permaneatly closed.

The occupation fol-  
lowed a day-long series of  
protests demanding that  
Ciskeian military ruler,  
Brig Oupa Gqoz0, resign  
after homeland troops  
shot and killed up to 28  
ANC-supporting march-  
ers near Bisho on Moa-  
day.

â\200\234They arc determined  
to see that the Embassy is  
closed permanently,â\200\235  
lawyer and ANC support-  
er, Mr Essa Moosa, told  
about 400 people gath-  
ered outside 44 Herzog  
Boulevard late ye\_st\_cfd\_ay.;;

afternoon. g

Western Cape ANC ex-  
ecutive member, Mr  
Dullah Omar. said the  
owners of the building,  
Southern Life, had  
agreed that protesters  
could remain on the fifth  
floor until tke occupation  
was ended.

Mr Omar also said pic-  
kets would be mounted at  
the building, where sever-  
al wreaths commemorat-  
ing the dead were laid by  
representatives from the  
ANC, Congress of South  
African Trade Unions  
and SA Communist Par-

ty.

The number of protesters outside the consular offices would be kept at 13, said Mr Omar. ANC

posters had been up in the \* ton and Ciskei's reincorporation. == \$2pa., s.;2-

D

fifth floor, corridor hous:â\200\231

â\200\230-

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ing the consular suite.

The sit-in was led by ANC national executive committee member, Mt Reggie September, and included \*Independentâ\200\235 MP and ANC member, Mr Jan van Eck.

Earlier, an ANC delegation allowed inside by police found the Ciskeian

diplomatic offices to be |

locked and apparently deserted. No senior Ciskeian representatives could be reached to accept the ANC demands. Police guarded the entrance to the building since the morning, when about 250 ANC supporters marched through the city to highlight demands for Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s resignation:

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s,  
N (â\200\2315, 4

SIMON WILLSON

LONDON â\200\224 The Bisho massacre may have helped spoil SAâ\200\231s chances of negotiating a final foreign debt repayment arrangement to succeed the interim arrangement, creditor bank sources in London indicated yesterday.

The existing foreign debt repayment structure, the third interim arrangement, expires at the end of next year. The SA authorities had hoped it could be followed

by a final arrangement which would"

amortise all the remaining foreign debt still caught up in the 1985 standstill.

Successive interim arrangements have amortised only chunks of the \$13,6bn in foreign debt originally caught in the net. At the end of last year about \$5,5bn remained in the standstill net.

Since scheduled repayments this year are expected to reduce total standstill debt - to less than \$5bn, the chances were at one

time thought quite good that the whole of

the remaining debt in the net could have ; been honoured within the next repayment

arrangement, thus making the successor to

the current third interim arrangement the

fourth and last in the series. Such an arrangement would also effectively have ended SAâ\200\231s foreign debt problem.

The Finance Departmentâ\200\231s economic review Published with the 1992/93 Budget said, â\200\234before the present debt arrange-

ments lapse, an attempt will be made to -

secure final and more permanent arrangementsâ\200\235 with SAâ\200\231s creditors. j

But opinion among some of the creditor banks in London was that, after the events at Bisho, a final arrangement to succeed the third interim arrangement at the end of next year was now a tall order. As initial reports indicated the Bisho incident had

â\200\230significantly set back constitutional nego-



tiations, the feeling was that a fourth interim arrangement was now more likely. Implementation of a final arrangement, with its accelerated repayment schedule, presupposed the restoration of links with the IMF and World Bank, and normalised access to international capital markets. These contacts largely depended on the installation of an interim government.

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#### Foreign debt

The bank sources said the Bisho violence had almost certainly ruled out a 'dream scenario' on SA debt, which envisaged the establishment of an interim government ahead of negotiations on a successor to the

' third interim arrangement, and restored

links with the IMF and World Bank.

Under the scenario, the SA authorities would then announce that there would be no fourth or final debt repayment arrangement, and that creditors were free to call in matured loans from end-December 1993. But, because of SA's improved status and the creditors' own needs for diversified portfolios, the facilities would be rolled over and not called in. With barely a year

C From Page 1

of the third interim arrangement 0 rue. and formal talks on a successor structure likely to begin early next year. creditors now accept the dream scenario 2s likely fantasy.

The Bisho incident is seen as making a

final debt arrangement almost as unlikely.

leaving SA unfavourably compared to some of the most indebted South American nations.

In the wake of Bisho a fourth interim arrangement, effective from January 1994, is now odds-on favourite to succeed the present debt arrangement. But, as one analyst remarked, after four successive instalments an arrangement ceases to be interim and becomes almost fixed.



05 VOS-IFF 444 3193 ,  
Churches push for referendum

Ciskei lead  
prepared to  
test support

BISHO 200\224 Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa  
Gqozo 200\224 under pressure to resign  
after his troops opened fire on ANC  
marchers on Monday, killing at least  
28 people 200\224 told church leaders yes-.  
terday he would accept his support  
being tested in the homeland. ;

Church leaders, who held a vigil for the  
dead yesterday, are engaged in negotla-  
tions on several fronts to get Gqozo to  
agree to a referendum.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu  
telephoned President FW de Klerk on  
Monday night to get his support for the  
referendum. A church source said De  
Klerk had not yet responded. The ANC  
agreed on Sunday to a referendum.

200\234While Gqozo is able to say he is pre-  
pared to test the will of the people, he was  
not in a position to say that will be in the  
form of a referendum, 200\235 SACC secretary-  
general the Rev Frank Chikane said after  
leading 2 delegation to visit Gqozo.

Chikane said negotiations were being  
conducted around a possible referendum -  
question. He said Gqozo would not commit  
himself to a timeframe, although church  
leaders were proposing a poll within six  
weeks. Chikane said only a2 referendum  
would ease the tension in the homeland.

Gqozo, quoted on Ciskei Radio, said he  
would be prepared to hold a referendum if  
his winning it meant full UN membership  
and international recognition.

Border Council of Churches executive  
member Simon Gqubule told reporters  
Gqozo was 200\234highly emotional and angry200\235  
during the talks. He said Gqozo had said his  
soldiers did not have time to think about

- what was happening when they opened fire

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|

PATRICK BULGER ]

on unarmed marchers.

SA police and troops maintained a heavy presence in the King William's Town area bordering Ciskei yesterday. Police vehicles blocked the road at the border to prevent about 5000 marchers who had stayed overnight from crossing into Ciskei. They formed a cordon around ANC president Nelson Mandela when he arrived at the site of the shootings to lay wreaths.

Mandela said: "What happened here was not just the action of a bantustan leader. There were bigger forces behind him."

He told a news conference that Bishop will rank alongside Boipatong on that roll call of infamy that recounts the past two years of F W de Klerk's incumbency. He said De Klerk's emphasis on strong regional government outside a democratic process and within the context of the homelands had signalled to repressive structures that they could do what they liked to entrench their authoritarian rule.

Mandela demanded an independent investigation, the removal of Gqozo and the installation of an interim-administration, the repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity, and the removal of SA military intelligence officers.

He said government had a responsibility to create a climate for free political activity in the homelands as well as in SA. He said the killings were a serious stumbling block towards negotiations.

O To Page 2

Ciskei N  
Meanwhile, ANC executive member

ie Kasri did not  
onnie Kasrils said yesterday he has  
expected to be fired on when he led march-

rs out of )  
concealed ahead. "I always considered

they might open fire but frankly they  
thought they would not. He surprised them by surprise.  
He said the charge through a gap in the  
fence had been preconceived strategy.  
The plan was to move as fast as possible

into the centre of Bishot;vhe're we would  
a peaceful occupation.  
mâ\200\230Ã@:;ozoptold Sapa last night he had no  
intention of fleeing Ciskei. â\200\234I am absolute-  
ly not going to give credxbxlxtg to the non-  
democratic methods of the ANC and SACP  
and their mass action by fleeing.

the stadium towards soldiers

[ From Page 1

He said the SA government had not put  
any pressure on him since the massfaqr:..  
O An -emergency joint meeting of e  
national peace executive and secretariat  
last aight decided to collate monitors ag-  
counts of events at Bisho. Peace comris-  
tee chairman John Hail aad peace secre-  
tariat chairman Antonie Giidenhuys would  
then brief political groups and other inves-  
tigating bodies concerned. AE

Hall said because of the continuing vic-  
lence resulting from political u:tolergr\_xcei  
â\200\234we are going to demand that all polmcad  
leadership utilises the peace ac:cord  
mechanisms and that the laws 41{ the lan  
be protected by the signatories.

@ See Pages 3 and 4

Y?)\QQ% i b i S

Homelands issue a major obstacle to resuming talks, warns ANC T

TRE ANC, in the wake of the Bisho killings, has identified the home)and issue as a major stumbling block n the way of resumed constitutional talks.

As government negotiators struggled to evaluate the repercussions, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would say only. "This will have a major impact on negotiations.â\200\235 Government will) issue a comprehensive statement today on the prospects for negotiations.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday reincorporation of the homelands and the removal of Ciskei military leader

Brig Oupa Gqozo were prime obstacles to resuming constitutional talks.

Two months ago the ANC set 14 conditions for the resumption of talks.

In a separate statement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said Gqozo had to be removed as head of Ciskei and an interim administration â\200\234established immediatelyâ\200\235 in consultation with all parties.

Niehaus said: â\200\234The whole issue of reincorporation of the homelands has moved right up the agenda. Gqozo is running wild and it has now become a matter of urgency to remove him.â\200\235 The ANC would tell Presi-

t BILLY PADDOCX |

dent F W de Klerk be had the power to remove Gqozo and he must do this â\200\234even if it does mean more violenceâ\204ç,

He did not rule out demands for economic sanctions and said government and business, which had kept the administration afloat, would have to assess if they wanted to continue bearing the responsibility of association with Ciskei's ruler.

Meyer said reincorporation had been comprehensively dealt with at Codesa and all parties were in broad agreement that

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this would happen in a phased and orderly

way, and would include plebiscites.

Juslice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the ANC slhance bad failed its first test of democratic politics, showing it could not deal with opposing political views and was intoterant of minorities. :

Sapa reports from Pretoria thaf Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh said last night goveroment bad done al) it could (o try %o prevent the Bisho massacre.

Myturgh said: â\200\234The incident was not a spontaneous outburst of democratic rage ... bul an integral part of phase four of Ibe

ANC programme of action.â\200\235 Tbis constitu-  
ted part of the ANC'â\200\231s policy of targeting  
Ciskei, Bophutbatswana and XwaZulu. He  
said it was ioweresting thal the mibtary  
governments of Venda and Transkej â\200\224  
ANC allies â\200\224 were not targeted. â\200\234Their  
criterion is thus not the democratic nature  
ol the governments in question, but wbe-  
ther they support tbe ANC.â\204ç

While government accepted the prinei-  
ple of reincorporation of the TBVC slates.  
the mass action was â\200\234unnecessary, arbi-  
trary, unilateral and coerciveâ\200\235.

Transkei a base  
for MK raids,

Inkatha claims

INKATHA has called on Maj-  
Gen Bantu Holomisa to  
investigate allegations that  
Transkei is being used as a  
springboard by Umkhonto we  
Sizwe to mount incursions into  
Natal to eliminate Inkatha  
members, and to transport  
weapons and SAP uniforms.  
Inkatha youth brigade

national organiser Otto  
Kunene said in Durban  
yesterday the Transkei  
Defence Force was involved.

~ Holomisa said he viewed  
the allegations as serious and  
that Inkatha president  
Mangosuthu Buthelezi should  
furnish this information to  
Foreign Affairs Minister Pik  
Botha. The matter could then  
go through diplomatic  
channels. '

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Business confidence  
â\200\234dealt a new blow

Chlzen Reporter  
BUSINESS confidence,  
~ which has already becn  
. highlighted as one of the  
major reasons for the  
economyâ\200\231s slow recovery  
from recession, has been  
dealt another blow by the  
Ciskei slayings,

Financial markets  
Wweakened in jintery trade  
yesterday, and Â° share  
prices on the JSE fe)f  
across the board as inves-  
tors left their money in  
the bank while they wait-  
ed for a clearer picture  
about the effect on politi-  
<al negotiations.

â\200\234The only good pews js  
that we seem to Dhave  
avoided a magsive sell-  
off,â\200\235 said 3 JSE tfroker.

Some shares bounced  
off their low points to.  
wards the close of stock  
cxchange trading, and the  
financial rand found sup-  
Port at lower levels afiar

it had fallen from Mon-  
dayâ\200\231s opening of R3,80/82  
to R3,89/91 yesterday, re.-  
flecting a fall of 7Â¢ during  
the day.

The JSE overall index  
fell 46 points to 3 131,  
and the industria] index  
Was also 46 points lower  
at 4 056, just four poiats  
above its low for the day.  
The gold index shed 15  
points to close st 928,

A dealer said the fa)s  
reflected a markdown of  
prices across the board  
rather thag heavy selling  
of particular shares,

â\200\234The Weakening in the  
London market in the  
afternoon and ap casier  
Wall Street at the Opening  
did not help the JSE eith-  
er,â\200\235 said 3 dealer.

A regional affiliate of the country's biggest business organisation, the SA Chamber of Business, has called for an urgent meeting on the Ciskei turmoil.

The Border Chamber of Business has called on the SA, Ciskei and Transkei governments and the ANC to convene a meeting to discuss developments.

In London, UK, SA Trade Association spokesman Nick Mitchell said the central issue was how the massacre would affect stability and constitutional talks.

It was obviously horrific, said Mr Mitchell, Nothing can scupper the talks entirely, but this will make them more difficult. We are looking at a delay of months now rather than weeks ;

A London broker, Neil Ryder, of Sage and Partners, said the tragedy would not lead to an investment pull-out as people. cause no-one is jumping into South Africa,

Martin Kingston, director of the international division of Morgan Grenfell in London, said that South Africa could not take foreign investment for granted.

There are a number of competing environments for limited foreign private sector capital, and South

ica is just another symptom.

Investors are adopting an increasingly prudent approach to the basis and timing of their investment there,

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9:00 VOS-IFF 444 3

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ANC storming the gap

was planne

BISHO. â\200\224 A charge by African National Congress marchers through a gap in the fence surrounding the Independence Stadium in Bisho, Ciskei, which led to the death of 28 people, was a pre-conceived strategy to occupy Bisho.

This was disclosed yesterday by Mr Ronnie Kasrils, intelligence chief of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, at

the scene of the shooting by soldiers of the Ciskei Defence Force.

Mr Kasrils said march organisers had â\200\234given instructions for another column' to go through the stadium and leave the stadium and to go through the gap into townâ\200\235.

â\200\234The plan was to move as fast as possible into the centre of Bisho where we would stage a peaceful occupation.â\200\235

March organisers had known of the gap in the fence on the north-eastern side of the fence before reaching the razor-wire border line, Mr Kasrils said.

As he had leapt over the fence and saw the deployment of troops to the north of the stadium, he attempted to move away from the troops hoping to clear their flank.

â\200\234As we pulled through

d: Kasrils

soldiers began shooting.  
Lying under the volley, it  
seemed like it lasted half-  
an-hour.â\200\235

He said the â\200\234columnâ\200\235

bad been taken by sur-

prise thinking with the  
eyes of the world on the  
event that the . troops  
would not dare open fire.

Mr Kasrils denied the  
crowd was armed.

â\200\234There were no  
weapons,â\200\235 he claimed. â\200\224  
Sapa.

03:59 VOS-IFF 444 3198

L U T N

ANC marchers deface  
cars, buildings

police

" Citizen Reporter

ABOUT 1 000 ANC sup-  
porters marched on the  
Ciskei Consulate in  
Braamfontein, Johannes-  
burg yesterday, to protest  
against the killing of 28  
people by Ciskei security  
forces on Monday. |

The march was led by  
ANC executive commit-  
tee members, Mr Alfred  
Nzo, Mr Axiz Pahad, Mr  
Jacob Zuma and Mrs Al-  
bertina Sisulu,

Police closely monitor-  
ed the demonstration  
which, although tense,

produced few incidents

apart from the tearing

down of the South Afri-

. Acan flag from a flagpost  
L 2 ]

outside the Braamfontein  
Hotel in De Korte Street.

The demonstrators  
were prevented from en-  
tering the consulate  
premises.

Police said the march  
was illegal, but allowed it  
to go ahead under escort  
from Stiemens Street,  
down Rissik Street 10  
Plein Street, and then on  
to the ANC headquarters  
at Shell House where the  
marches dispersed peace-  
fully.

The consulate building  
in Sticmens Street was  
closed yesterday, appar-  
ently in anticipation of  
the protest. No consulate  
spokesman was available

to accept & protest note  
from the SACP-domi-  
nated marchers.

Some police vehicles & one of them & brand new van were spray-painted with political slogans and cars belonging to office workers were also daubed with red paint.

An elderly . White couple driving past the demonstration also had their car sprayed, but they drove off without stopping.

Red paint was also splashed on the steps of the consulate building

and on the pavement surrounding the premises.

A short confrontation between demonstrators and a police dog-handler was defused by a senior police officer, after the officer had tried to arrest demonstrators who were painting 'Viva ANC' and 'Gqozo must go' slogans on a building.

Other slogans called for President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana to step down from power, and warned that his country would be the next target for mass action.

At intersections along the way, traffic officers controlled vehicles as traffic piled up in the city.

/

&

ANC sought

DURBAN. â\200\224 The Inka-  
tha Freedom Party yester-  
day expressed horror at  
the Bisho killings, but al-  
Jeged the African Nat-  
jonal Congress and its al-  
lies bad planned the inci-  
dent and had sought con-  
frontation with the Ciskei  
security forces. .

In a statement in Dur-  
ban, IFP spokesman Mr  
Kim Hodgson said his  
party supported peaceful  
protest action. However,

et 220 O\O\ a2

the ANC march to Bisho  
was â\200\234plapned and delib-  
erately designed to spark  
confrontationâ\200\235.

Mr Hodgson alicged  
the discovery of maps de-  
tailing where ANC mem-  
bers were to break rank  
from the march, the pos-  
session of arms and am-  
mupition by marchers,  
the shooting of a Ciskei  
soldier and the destruc-  
tion of barrier fences â\200\234all  
reflect the strategy em-

ployed by the SACP/  
ANC with regard to the  
march and refute ANC  
statements that they  
would be able to effec-  
tively control the march-  
ersâ\200\231.

â\200\234All available evidence  
indicates that the SACP/  
ANC planned the whole  
incident. The internat-  
jonal community has now  
had the opportunity fo  
sce how their strategies  
are cartied

Stop ANC, demands HNP

out . at

THE leader of the HNP  
Mr Jaap Marais, said it  
was sad that the South  
African Government had  
al{owed the ANC 10 com-  
mit an act of aggression



against the Ciskei by ar-  
:g:kz:g th;: Ciskei with  
m of topplin

government, gt  
hâ\200\231rhe HNP insisted that  
the government act lo  
stop the ANC in its at-

tempts 10 topple the -  
emments of Black negi:l:-  
bouring states in order to  
get them under Com-  
munist control.

Mx: M\_arais said the Cis-  
kei incident was elearly  
th\_e. first move to creats  
military centres of power  
for the ANC outside the  
borders of South Africa  
t0 be used in its violent  
plans for the future.

confrontation: IFP

grassroots level.â\200\235

The IFP demanded 2  
full â\200\230ipvestigation into the  
incident as well as allega-  
tons around it levelled  
against the ANC and  
SACP.

Mr Hodgson said the  
IFP had been informed  
the ANC had prepared  
their news statements on  
the killings days before  
the incident and this re-  
quired investigation.  
â\200\224Sapa.â\200\231 ;

## THE CITIZEN

Now ANC to march  
in Qwa Qwa protest

By Sapa and  
Citizen Reporter  
AFRICAN National  
Congress activists in  
Qwa Qwa will march  
on a police station  
15 km from the Phu-  
thadijhaba capital to-  
day to demand the res-  
ignation of homeland  
leader Dr T K Mopeli.

With a serious violent  
confrontation looming  
between the community  
and the Bantustan ma-  
chinery, from Ciskei  
across 10 Qwa Qwa, the  
people of Qwa Qwa will

once again knock at the  
Dec Klerk government  
doors to say away with  
the Bantustan system, a  
statement said yesterday,

ANC northern Orange  
Free State official Joe  
Khambule said they  
would not apply for per-  
mission for the march,  
We do not recognise the

government of that par-  
ticular homeland, he  
said,

The announcement of  
the march came a day  
after Ciskeian troops  
opened fire on ANC mar-  
chers on Monday, killing  
28 people and wounding  
about 200.

Mr Khambule also an-  
nounced the ANC and its  
allies would hold a  
People's Assembly to-  
morrow aimed at under-  
mining Mr Mopeli when  
he opens a fair in the  
homeland.

\*We demand a govern-  
ment of national unity  
and Mopeli to resign, a  
statement said, The  
masses will be holding a  
People's Assembly along-

side the Qwa Qwa Nat.

"ional show to undermine

the event,

â\200\234The show is perceived  
as a ploy by the De Klerk  
government to legitimise  
the discredited rule of

Mopeli.â\200\235

Mr Khambule said they  
did not plan to disrupt the  
opening of the Qwa Qwa  
National Show.

In 2 tclephone inter-  
view, an ANC official in  
Qwa Qwa said he did not  
think security forces  
would adopt a hardline  
during the protest march.

The protest has been  
called by the ANC and its  
allies, the Congress of  
South African Trade  
Unions and the South  
African Communist Par-  
ty. The alliance has  
adopted 2 plan of mass  
action in the homeland.

Alliance supporters will  
march to the Mokodume-  
la Police Station where  
they will hand over a pet-  
ition pr- testing against al-  
leged intimidation by  
gangsters and police.

Dr Mopeli responded  
to the ANC by saying he  
would remain in his post  
until a new dispensation

came into being.

Hec added he was not  
Opposed to peaceful pro-  
test, provided there was  
no loss of lifc or Jamage  
to property.

The Deputy Minister of  
Defence, Mr Wynand  
Breytenbach, said vester-  
day â\200\230that the ANC was  
â\200\234'seeking confrontationâ\204ç  
through its mass action  
campaigns in the home-  
lands.

Mr Breytenbach, who  
is Free State leader of the  
National Party, will be at  
the opening of the Qwa

Qwa National Show near  
which the ANC is plan-  
ning to hold its People's  
Assembly,

â\200\234Mass action carries  
with it the possibility of  
bloodshed and violence,  
as [ witnessed in the Cis-  
kei on Monday,"â\204¢ he said.

\*Obviously no one has  
the right to take the law

â\200\230into their own hands. The

ANC planners and Icad-  
crs should come to their  
scnses and demonstrate  
responsibility,â\204¢ he said.

Mr\_ Breytenabach said  
the government had re-  
peatedly and clearly  
stated its standpoint,  
namely that the only rea-  
sonable way to deal with  
differences was through  
negotiations, involving al  
the role players,

Tz Czen . afal=z

US deplores use of force

WASHINGTON. â\200\224 The United States yesterday deplored what it called the excessive and YRjNS:

AL MO

against protesters in the Ciskei and said Pretoria was ultimatchly respon- sible for what happens there.

But it also urged organ- isers of protests to think carefully about any future A9 Avdh b da e gyaa: tions and exposed pcople to potential violence.

While admitting com- plete details on the inci-

dent were not yet clear,

US State Department spokesman Richard Bou- cher said: â\200\234WeÂ¢ deplore LA A G against peaceful demon- strators.

â\200\234Our long-standing position has been that the South African Govern-

ment is ultimately respon- sible for the actions of the homelands in South Afyi- aa M hotald cea. .

â\200\234But it's also clear that those who promptcd the demonstration should carclully reconsider fu- ture actions that distract from the primary issue at hand, and that is negotia- tions, and actions that ex- pose innocent supporters to violence,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Boucher called on all the parties to avoid further provocarive action which put at risk the lives of innocent South Afri- cans, warning that â\200\234con- frontation and violence

will play into the hands of  
those who do not want  
successful negotiations to  
a democratic non-racial  
South Africa.â\200\235

â\200\234We urge all the parties  
in South Africa to focus  
their efforts most urgently  
to achieve resumption of  
the negotiations that  
broke off in June,â\200\235 he  
said.

â\200\234Only an early and suc-  
cessful negotiation of the  
basic issues of transition  
Â¿an bring an end to the vi-  
olence and preduce the  
change that South Africa  
needs, including the re-in-  
corporation of the so-  
called independent home-  
lands that are anachro-  
nisms of apartheid.)â\200\235 â\200\224  
Sapa-Reuter.

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United

general's

8cneral,

Mr

s  
Jam

THE first batch of 13  
Nations op.  
Servers to South Afri.  
â\2027a is to Jeave New  
York on Friday,

The UN secretary.  
Spokesman,  
Francois Giuliani, said  
e group were to have  
left on Wednesday but  
their departure was de-  
layed as the secretary.  
Boutros

aican to head

observersg

Boutros-GhaIi,  
0 briaaf them  
they fefe,

Mr Boutros-Ghaj; re-  
turned to Neaw York  
yesterday from London.

â\200\234Now that the Sec.  
retary-General s back  
he wants to review the  
mission with the team  
before they leave on  
Friday,â\200\235 he saig.

he 8roup would be

wanted  
before

assigned lo KwaZuly  
Natal anqg the Wi  
Watersrand/vyag region  
and would be headquar-  
tered in Johannesburg.

Angela King, a Jamaican official at the United Nations, is to lead the UN mission, although her appointment would not be announced officially yet. til today, â\200\224 Sapa-Afp,

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

| 2nd march called off |

BISHO. â\200\224 A second African National Congress-led march in a bid to occupy the Ciskei capital, Bisho, was called off yesterday after a day of demonstrations and marches  
1. Against the killing of up to â\200\234 98Â°Fht-Gqozo protesters.

ANC deputy chairman for the Border region, Mr Andrew Hendricks, said after a rally addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Kingwilliams-

town, â\200\234everyone would

go homeâ\200\235. â\200\224 Sapa.



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05:55 VOS-IFF 444 3198

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, Myburgh: We did

THE South African

overnment did all jg  
could 10 try 10 prevent  
the Bisho shooting  
which claimed the lives  
of 28 people and left  
almost people  
Wwounded, Deputy Law  
and Order Minister  
Gert Myburgh said last  
night.

Addressing a news con-  
ference jn Pretoria, Mr

Myburgh said between  
e e NF

all w

September 4 and 7 State  
President De Klerk sent  
three lctiers to ANC Jead-  
Âçr Nelson Mandela in  
which he tried to find a  
formula in terms of which  
the ANC would have  
been able to procced with  
the proposed mass action  
on Bisho in a peaceful  
and lawful manncr.

On Monday Mr De  
Klerk issued a last-minute  
appeal to Mc Mandela to  
ensure â\200\234in the interests of  
peace and with a view to  
avoiding any loss of lifeâ\200\235  
that the ANC Âçomplied  
with the conditions as set  
out by the magistrate who  
granted permission for  
the march.

Said Mr Myburgh:  
â\200\234The incident was not 2  
Spontaneous outburst of  
democratic rage against  
the Ciskei government,  
but an integral part of  
pbase four of the ANC  
programme of actionâ\204ç.

This constituted part of  
the organisation's \*Cam.  
paign for Free Political

Activityâ\204¢ policy which stated that the main targets would be the Bantustan structures of the Ciskei.

KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and

Mr Myburgh said it was interesting to note that the military governments of Venda and the Transkei, which were allies of the ANC, were not targeted, â\200\234Their criterion is thus not the democratic nature of the governments in question, but whether they support the ANC.'1 \*

The ANC action was in contravention of the National Peace Accord, and the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission, said Mr Myburgh.

The Ciskei was regarded as an independent government and the future of the state had to be negotiated in inclusive negotiations, not in an unilateral and coercive manner which was â\200\234implicit in the ANCâ\200\231s mass action on September 77,

While the SA Government accepted the principle of reincorporation of the TBVC states, the

mass action was â\200\234typical.

â\202¬ Cou

federal and Coercive â\204¢,

The SA Government was not in favour of military governments and would like to see a speedy return to democratic civilian rule, not only in the Ciskei but in Transkei and Venda as well, said Mr Myburgh.

The government would like to return to negotiations despite the setbacks caused by the events in the Ciskei,

â\200\234From the governmentâ\200\231s side, the doors will always be open,â\200\235said Mr

Myburgh.

â\200\234We are bending back-

â\200\230wards to be accommodat-

ing so that an end-result  
â\202~an be achieved that will  
be positive for South  
Africa,â\204ç

Asked about the desii-  
ny of Ciskei military ruler  
Brig Oupa Gqozo, Mr  
Myburgh said; â\200\234The Cis-  
keian position forms part  
of discussions which will  
have to take place on a  
multi-party - basig,  
Sapa

~es

Id

necessary, arbitrary, uni. 5

L -

-BRIG Oupa Gqozo  
has no intentions of re-  
signing, he said yester-  
day from his home in  
Bisho.

Asked whether there  
was any truth in reports  
and speculation last night  
that he intended to flee  
after Monday's massacre  
of 28 people on the bor-  
der with South Africa, he  
said:

"Wow. That is abso-  
lutely not true. I am speak-  
ing to you from my home.

"I have no reason and  
no intention of ever aban-  
doning my people," a  
"very tired" Brig Gqozo  
said. ;

"I am absolutely not  
going to give credibility to  
the non-democratic meth-  
ods of the ANC and SA  
Communist Party and

their mass action by Nee-  
ing."

The tripartite alliance is  
mass action campaign was  
totally unacceptable.

"The ANC must go  
back to the negotiating  
table and stop using the  
lives of innocent people  
for their own selfish pub-  
licity stunts,"

Asked whether the

South African Govern-  
ment had put any press-

ure on him since Mon-  
day's massacre, when his  
security forces opened  
fire on thousands of pro-  
testers, Brig Gqozo said:

"No. I don't believe the  
South African Govern-  
ment will do that."

Brig Gqozo revealed he  
had appointed a commis-  
sion of inquiry to investi-  
gate the shooting. It  
would be headed by a  
judge.

"I am not very sure of  
what exactly happened  
there yesterday," he said.

"I have only received a preliminary report so far.â\200\235

He was â\200\234completely devastated and shattered" by what had happened,

"We (the Ciskei Government) are all de-

e â\200\224â\200\224

T

â\200\230No intention of

fleeing Ciskeiâ\200\231

Gqozo wonâ\200\231t qilit

FRAUM PAGE 1.

pressed. We are peace-loving people. It should never have happened.â\200\235

Brig Gqozo called on the ANC alliance to call off its campaign against the Ciskei and other such territories.

â\200\234They should stop vs-ing people as guinea Pigs-

Asked coping

how he was personally with

\_strators o  
: National Congress march

the situation, Brig Gqozo said: \*\*I have not slept ... I am under tremendous stressâ\200\231.

He accused the ANC and SACP of spreading the reports that he had Ncd the territory. â\200\234They are trying to subvert the confidence of the people in meâ\200\235 Brig Gqozo charged.

\*I will only step down through a democratic process.â\200\235

Earlier in an interview  
with BBC radio, Brigadier  
Gozo said demon-  
an Alrican

aimed at dcposing him  
had opened fire first, kill-  
ing a soldier,

\*1{ our troops acted ir-  
responsibly they would

I have Killed many people.

They acted with utmost  
restraint, he said.

\*The marchers shot at  
the troops and the troops  
returned fire in self-de-  
fence.

"I will not stand  
down, Brig Gozo said.  
The people that are call-  
ing for my standing down  
are foreigners to the Cis-  
kei country and they are  
all Communist Party  
members.

He also appeared to  
dismiss a referendum on  
his rule.

The people of Ciskei  
has had nothing to do  
with this. The organisers  
of this were South Afri-  
can Communist Party  
people and the ANC

leaders who are puppets |

and pawns of the Com-  
munist Party, he said  
when asked about any re-  
ferendum. Sapa-Rewt-  
ek

EELE P d4I-SOA

block t0"  
talks â\200\224  
Mandela

KINGWILLIAMS.-  
TOWN. â\200\224 Monday's  
massacre of 28 people  
on the Ciskei border  
was a serious stums-  
bling block to the re-  
sumption of negotia-  
tions, African National  
| Congress president  
| Nelson Mandela said  
yesterday afternoon.  
He was speaking during  
question time at a Press  
conference in Kingwil-  
liamstown, after he had  
laid a wreath at the scene  
of the shooting by the Cis-  
kei security forces.

- â\200\234A climate of free pol-

the whole country, in-  
cluding the Bantustans, is

an important condition -

for us returning to talks,â\200\235  
Mr Mandela said.  
â\200\234And what has hap-

peacd (on the Ciskei bor-  
der) is a scrious stumbling :  
block to the resumption :

of negotiations.â\200\235

Mr Mandela reiterated  
the ANC was â\200\234committed .  
not only to talks but to .

genuine negotiationsâ\204ç,

I must remind you for

the umpteenth time that  
we arc the architects of  
this initiative, and we are  
determined that it should

itical activity throughout

Mandela On IMassacre

succccd.

â\200\234But of course, it's dif-  
ficult for us to return to  
ncgotiations if the gove  
ernment Joes not address

the 14 demands we have submitted.

Asked by a reporter  
What went wrong? at the border with the Ciskei on Monday, Mr Mandela said: Permission was given by the magistrate for the march to proceed.

In fact, the chief magistrate of Zwelitsha gave permission for the march under three conditions:

1. The marchers would be allowed into the Bisho Stadium less than 50 m from the border, but would not be allowed into Bisho itself.

2. They could gather there between 12 noon and 4.30 pm; and,

3. The carrying of weapons was not allowed.

Mr Mandela added that the march took place within the parameters which have been set by the National Peace Accord along the

Goldstone Commission's process, sion

There was therefore no reason whatsoever to put any obstacles in that march.

I think it is the common consent of all journalists here that the firing took place without any provocation, without any threat.

Referring to statements by senior ANC alli-

ance officials that they planned to occupy the Ciskei capital Biko until Brig Oupa Gqozo was ousted, Mr Mandela said that whatever was said by anybody did not justify the killing of innocent and unarmed individuals. We condemn that without reservation.



Mr Mandela called for  
an independent investiga-  
tion into the massacre,

He said his organisa-  
tion proposed â\200\234there be 3  
full, mckpendcnt investi-  
gation into the massacre -  
and the circumstances  
that led to it (and) that  
Brig Gqozo be removed  
as Head of Stateâ\204ç.

An interim administras  
â\200\230txon should be put in  
" plach. eV i Âç 8 %

with visible movement on  
the outstanding matters  
placed before it by the  
ANC, would help create  
the climate so essentjal  
for the tesumption of  
meaningful negotiations.â\200\235

Ciskcian troops had  
used lethal force as the  
first ~ option in cireum-  
stances that did not even  
remotely warrant its use.  
â\200\234We condemn these kill  
ings in the strongest poss-  
ible terms.

â\200\234The staccatto ol those  
automatic weapons added  
one more grisly episode  
to the already blood-  
stained annals of Z(nh  
Century South Africa,â\200\235  
Mr Mandela said, adding:  
â\200\234From this day, Bisho will  
rank alongside Boipatong  
on that roll call of infamy  
that fccounts the ...  
years of F W de Klerkâ\200\231s  
incumbency.â\200\235

White calling for the re-  
moval of Brig Gqozo, M  
Mandecle po:mcd out that  
the govcrrnmuns insist-  
ence on regional govern-  
ment was at fault.

â\200\234De Klerk's continued  
emphasis on strong re-  
gional government, out-

ide of the 'dmmcr.\ug,  
'coÃ@lblÃ@d""l â\200\234)u\_\ \ â\200\234nd Wlnld ! v

context of the homelands,  
has given a signal to the  
repressive structures built  
up over the years by the  
apartheid regime that  
they can do what they like  
to eotrench their author-

itarian rule,â\200\235 Mr Mandela  
said.

Mr Mandetla, protected  
by South African police-  
men, entered about 20m  
into Ciskei territory to lay  
a wreath for those killed  
and wounded in Mon-  
dayâ\200\231s clash.

Mr Ramaphosa ncgo-  
tisted with a. sirong SA  
Police presence to allow  
Mr Mandela and his en-  
tourage of scnior officials  
into Ciskei for the cer-  
emony.

"We have to protect  
him (Mandela),â\200\235 a senior  
SAP officer said as he or-  
dered armed policemen  
to form a human corridor-  
down which' the ANC  
group walked into Ciskei.

The SAP members  
were facing bundreds of  
heavily armed Clskct se-  
curity force members!

A minuteâ\200\231s silence was  
observed by the ANC del-

\_egation once the wreaths

â\200\224 cxgh( inall â\200\224 hâ\200\230!d been  
Jaid: â\200\224 S"lp'\

BRUSSELS. â\200\224 Euro-  
pean leaders yesterday  
expressed shock and  
dismay at the killing of  
African National Con-  
gress prolesters 10  
Ciskei, holding South  
African authoritics re-  
sponsible for not prc-  
venting such violence.

A Foreign Ministey  
communique in Brussels  
said Mondayâ\200\231s massacre  
would be discussed this  
weekend by â\200\230European  
Community Foreign Mi-  
nisters at an informal  
meeting outsidc London.

The 12 EC members  
â\200\234will try to adopt a com-  
mon position on rccent  
developments in South  
Africaâ\204ç,

In Bonn, German Fot.  
cign Minister Klaus Kin-  
kel said: â\200\234I am horrified  
by the brutal behaviour 9{  
the security forcesâ\200\235 in  
Ciskei.

â\200\234The South African

Government bears politi-  
cal responsibility for this  
behaviour in a homeland  
whose purported inde-  
pendence has ncvcrc'becn  
recognised by the inter-  
national community.  
\*This incident

proves once more that  
there is no reasonable  
alternative lo negotia-  
tions over a peaceful and  
democratic future for  
South Africa,â\200\235 he said.  
Belgium also blamed  
Pretoria for failing to con-

trol the regime in Ciskei,  
which it called â\200\234an artifi-  
cial creation of South  
African apartheidâ\204ç.

A statement by the

l

grm'c

Europe is shocked

.FROM PAGE tÂ°

Foreign Ministry in Brussels said â\200\234the maintenance of law and order in that region is the responsibility of the South African Governmentâ\200\235.

In Brussels, the 12-na-

" tion European Communi.

ty offered to send 15 or more people to South

Africa to bolster the force -

of observers monitoring the situation for the United Nations.

â\200\234â\200\234This dramatic episode shows that negotiation is the only way to reach a democratic solution in South Africa,â\200\235 French Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Daniël Bernard said yesterday in Paris.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said:  
\*â\200\234These terrible massacres threaten the prospects for peaceful change in South Africa, We look to the South African Government to exert control over the security forces in Ciskei and other homelandsâ\204ç,

"It is clear that violence -

offers no solution and

only through negotiations -

can South Africa solve this problem,â\200\235 Mr Hurd

â\200\230~added in a statement re-

leased by the Foreign Office in London,

The Spanish Government issued a statement condemning the shootings and declaring Ciskei's regime to be â\200\234devoid of international legitimacyâ\204ç,

\*At the same time, the government deplores the

policy of certain leaders .  
of the ANC of deliberately  
provoking a confrontation  
whose fatal outcome,  
loss of lives and blood let-  
ting were inevitably fore- :  
seen,â\200\235 the Spanish state-  
ment said, adding that ne- -  
gotiations were the only  
way to dismember apart.  
heid.

Australiaâ\200\231s Foreign Af-  
fairs Minister Gareth  
Evans yesterday charac-  
terised the shootings as â\200\234a  
deliberate, calculated,  
horrifying massacreâ\204ç,

\*â\200\234It shows the determi-  
nation of those who have |  
benefited from the apart- |  
heid system to cling on to i  
power and privilege at all  
costs,â\200\235 Mr Evans said.

The Calgary Sun, Wednesday. September 9, 1992  
Fa IO L )

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Calgary'â\200\231s Voice P Wâ\200\230 CHAE ZUM -  
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Devious ploy

ISKEI IS not the limit.  
Itâ\200\231s only the beginning of the next wave of blood-  
shed in South Africa, and the hook the African Na-  
tional Congress needed to punctuate its refusal to return  
to the negotiating table.

So what if it cost lives?

If the South African government of F.W. de Klerk can  
be made to look like satans to the rest of the world, then  
all the better for ANC strategists.

Those who believe the ANC had its supporters march on  
the Pretoria-backed homeland of Ciskei without knowing  
there would be bloodshed had best crawl back under their  
naivete blankets.

The ANC knew its march on Ciskei would provoke retal-  
iation by the Ciskei troops of Pretoria ally, Brig.-Gen.  
Oupa Gqozo. Then it made Mondayâ\200\231s slaughter a virtual  
certainty by promising to storm the capital of Bisho and  
ignore a court order to keep its rally within the confines of  
a nearby soccer stadium.

â\200\234We are going to occupy Bisho,â\200\235 ANC secretary gen- s iy et b e T ot  
eral Cyril Ramaphosa warned. â\200\234We wonâ\200\231t stop at the o)  
stadium.â\200\235

So, who then is really guilty of having blood on his hands today â\200\224 Ramaphosa or de Klerk?

The deaths in Ciskei on Monday were brutal and senseless, yes, but they were also categorically predictable to anyone who knows anything about South Africa.

What did Ramaphosa think? Did he think he could march tens of thousands into the supposedly independent homeland of Ciskei without invitation as if it were merely a walk in the park?

In the aftermath of the gunfire in Ciskei, Ramaphosa protested he had done nothing wrong â\200\224 he had not led his people into a death trap.

Well, let the facts speak for themselves.

What is certain, however, is that democracy in South Africa has now been set back months, if not years.

And that the next wave of bloodshed will be tidal.

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