

D-News

ANC strategy document for all-race elections

8/09/92

**VASANTHA
ANGAMUTHU**
Political Reporter

THOUSANDS of African National Congress activists are being engaged countrywide to get the organisation's election machinery running by October 1 for the start of the ANC campaign to woo a two-thirds' majority in South Africa's first all-race elections.

A document is being circulated in all ANC regions to brief members and fraternal organisations on the election strategy to be employed.

Although it is a discussion document, it provides a glimpse into ANC thinking on an election campaign, which could cost the organisation more than R200 million as it attempts to secure a two-thirds majority.

The "framework for election strategy" document is being dis-

Big bid to woo majority of two-thirds

cussed at all branches, regions and allied organisations of the ANC to spark debate that will form the basis of a national strategy workshop to be held at the end of this month.

The ANC in southern Natal met last weekend to workshop the proposals.

A key point is the organisation's acknowledgement that it will need hundreds of thousands of activists to reach the 21 million voters.

"The overall objective is clearly to win a two-thirds majority in the election," the ANC document states.

It also notes that a pre-condition to meet this objective is the

removal of obstacles — most importantly, that of violence.

Several options for contesting the election are being considered: the ANC standing as an organisation on its own; the ANC with the alliance; the ANC with the alliance plus Patriotic Front organisations; and the ANC with the alliance plus some selected PF organisations and/or non-PF organisations.

"The general feeling seems to favour a form that involves an ANC-led campaign, with participation on the basis of ANC symbols, lists etc, but which involves the alliance in an integral way. Other parties should be brought on board following bilateral discussion and agreement to participate in an ANC-led campaign.

"The ANC standing alone was not favoured as it will exclude many crucial partners in the democratic movement."

Accompanying what is likely to be a concerted push for popular support, with the use of mass action campaigns and the ANC's emphasis on its decades-long struggle against apartheid, will be a parallel campaign to ensure that voters understand the election process.

The ANC acknowledges in the document that it will need to "disaggregate the electorate" with different strategies for certain key groups that could see the organisation making use of sports and other "stars" to draw support.

Once an election date is set 15 000 full-time people, able to take leave for the last month of the campaign, will have to be mobilised.

This and the question of raising hundreds of millions of rands will be thrashed out by the ANC regions as the campaign gains momentum, the document states.

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16/1/92

SACP warns of national crisis

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO — SA Communist Party leaders last night predicted more conflict between Ciskei citizens and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government.

About 2000 ANC supporters spent the night on the South African side of the invisible border between South Africa and Ciskei.

South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani last night told *The Star*: "I can't see Gqozo being able to contain the anger."

"People will kill members of the Ciskei police and defence force. People will get revenge."

"There is so much anger and bitterness."

Speaking to *The Star* soon after midnight as some demonstrators were loyi-loying around fires and others slept in the road between King William's Town and Bisho, ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils said the killings by the Ciskei Security Forces (CSF) had precipitated a national crisis.

Mr Kasrils said he found it incredible that the CSF had not warned the protesters, fired shots into the air or had used teargas before using live ammunition.

Both leaders pointed out that some of the marchers had been shot on the South African side of the border by the CSF.

A vigil service will be held at the border today.

Mr Kasrils said the ANC would assess the situation and there could be occupations of Ciskei consuls around the country.

Mr Hani warned the massacre had grave and serious implications for the peaceful resolution of the country's problems.

He said the tragedy held serious implications for President de Klerk as some people were injured on the South African side of the border.

"The best South African security forces could do was to fly over us and to protect the whites in King William's Town," said Mr Hani.

Mr Hani was in the Bisho stadium when the shooting took place.

Mr Kasrils described the shooting as "very scary" and all



Kiss of life . . . help is given to a victim of the shooting by Ciskei security forces at Bisho.

Picture: Leon Muller

he could do was to keep his head "as close to mother earth as possible".

"It is the most intensive fire I have ever been under. It lasted for 10 minutes but seemed like double that."

"It was like a swarm of bees overhead. I expected to be hit any moment. The soldiers were 200 m from us and also firing from the casapirs."

"They launched grenades at us and probably a lot of the injuries came from the shrapnel."

One of Mr Kasrils' body-

guards, known as Bushy, was injured in the shooting.

"He said: 'Ronnie, I'm hit', and I said: 'Keep down, I'm getting to you'."

"I found him very badly injured, shot on the right-hand side just above the groin."

"I tried to give him first aid. He could not stand up. I pulled him along back into the stadium."

"At one point, he said: 'I'm going' and I told him: 'Hold on'."

"There was a scene of carnage. There had been a lot of

shooting in the stadium. About 20 people were lying around. Three or four were clearly dead. It was clear six (of the injured) were not going to make it."

"I examined the four who died instantly. One was shot in the head and the others were clearly shot in the back," Mr Kasrils said.

"I heard of a number of people who had been shot before they had reached the stadium."

"They had been shot on the South African side of the road."

Mr Kasrils denied rumours of him handing out weapons as soon as he had entered the Bisho stadium.

Addressing allegations that he had deliberately left the stadium and was heading for Bisho, Mr Kasrils said: "We had made it clear that we were not going to the stadium to have a rally. Our intention was to go into Bisho."

"The plan was that some would come through the border point while others would be going through the stadium."

"There were gaps in the fence (on the Bisho side of the stadium). It was in a state of disrepair. The decision was to go through the gap and into the town."

"I was in the vanguard. I saw soldiers being deployed ahead of us and shouted that we should move in a north westerly direction (away from the soldiers)."

"We wanted to outflank the soldiers. We did not want to confront them. We had no weapons," he said.

The Star
8/9/92

'Popular anger will follow'

Staff Reporter

The Bisho tragedy "marks a crucial turning point in the current phase of the struggle for democracy", the African National Congress said yesterday.

In a hard-hitting statement released shortly after the shooting, the organisation charged that Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President de Klerk would have to assume responsibility for the "popular anger" that would undoubtedly follow the killings.

The killings were unprovoked and the lives of the Ciskeian troops were never in danger, said the statement, released by the ANC's department of information and publicity.

The claim that the troops were fired upon by the demonstrators was "a brazen lie" that was contradicted by witnesses.

According to the ANC statement, the killings started "with a controlled burst of automatic fire lasting more than two minutes, followed by a second burst of shorter duration".

There was no warning or attempt to disperse the crowd by non-lethal means.

The media were ordered out

Then, shortly afterwards, teargas was fired into the crowd, which was forced to retreat to King William's Town, outside the jurisdiction of the Ciskei authorities.

"The struggle to attain free political activity in Ciskei will continue, even in the teeth of Gqozo's killing machine.

"We shall not be cowed by the bullets of Gqozo," the ANC statement said.

Journalist gets hit by shrapnel

Among those wounded in Bisho was Agence France-Presse reporter Clyde Russell who was hit by shrapnel in the left shoulder.

Russell, who was lying on the ground near the march leaders during the shooting, shouted across the razor wire that he had been shot in the shoulder and asked for an ambulance.

During the shooting, Russell's wound was treated by London Times correspondent Michael Hamlyn.

The Star

8/9/92

'Goldstone guidelines ignored'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The shooting in Ciskei could have been avoided if the ANC had adhered to the Goldstone Commission's guidelines for mass action, President de Klerk said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing delegates at his federalism summit, he said that from information available, it seemed conditions for the march laid down by a magistrate had not been adhered to.

Later, at a press conference, Mr de Klerk was asked who was to blame for the killings. He said that although information was "fragmented", ample video material indicated that ANC marshals "didn't successfully contain the crowd".

People had spilt over the wire mesh demarcating the area in which the demonstration was supposed to take place. "People scattered in different directions and the Ciskei security people started shooting."

He strongly rejected ANC accusations that he and his Government had "a lot to answer for" in the shootings.

Mr de Klerk said he and his Government had gone out of their way "to prevent exactly this".

"The conflict occurred because of mass action. I didn't start mass action, the ANC did."

Asked why the Government did not remove Brigadier Gqozo, Mr de Klerk said Code-sa 2 had agreed the status quo should be recognised until the wishes of homeland residents on reincorporation were tested.

Confrontation in QwaQwa looms

The ANC's northern Free State region is set on a collision course with authorities in QwaQwa. It has announced plans for a protest march tomorrow and a "People's Assembly" as Chief Minister TK Mopeli opens a fair on Thursday.

"We demand a government of national unity, and Mopeli to resign," said the ANC. "The masses will be holding a People's Assembly alongside the QwaQwa national show to undermine the event." — Sapa.

The Star
8/9/92

Archbishop Tutu and Nelson Mandela at Ciskei massacre scene

'God help us all'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Esther Waugh

BISHO — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu this morning visited the scene of yesterday's border bloodbath and ANC president Nelson Mandela was expected at noon.

He will address a rally at King William's Town's Victoria Ground, from where the doomed march started.

Archbishop Tutu, who was accompanied by the Rev Frank Chikane, joined prayers at the roadside led by the Archbishop of Grahamstown, Bishop David Russell.

Afterwards he told several hundred protesters: "We say

More reports
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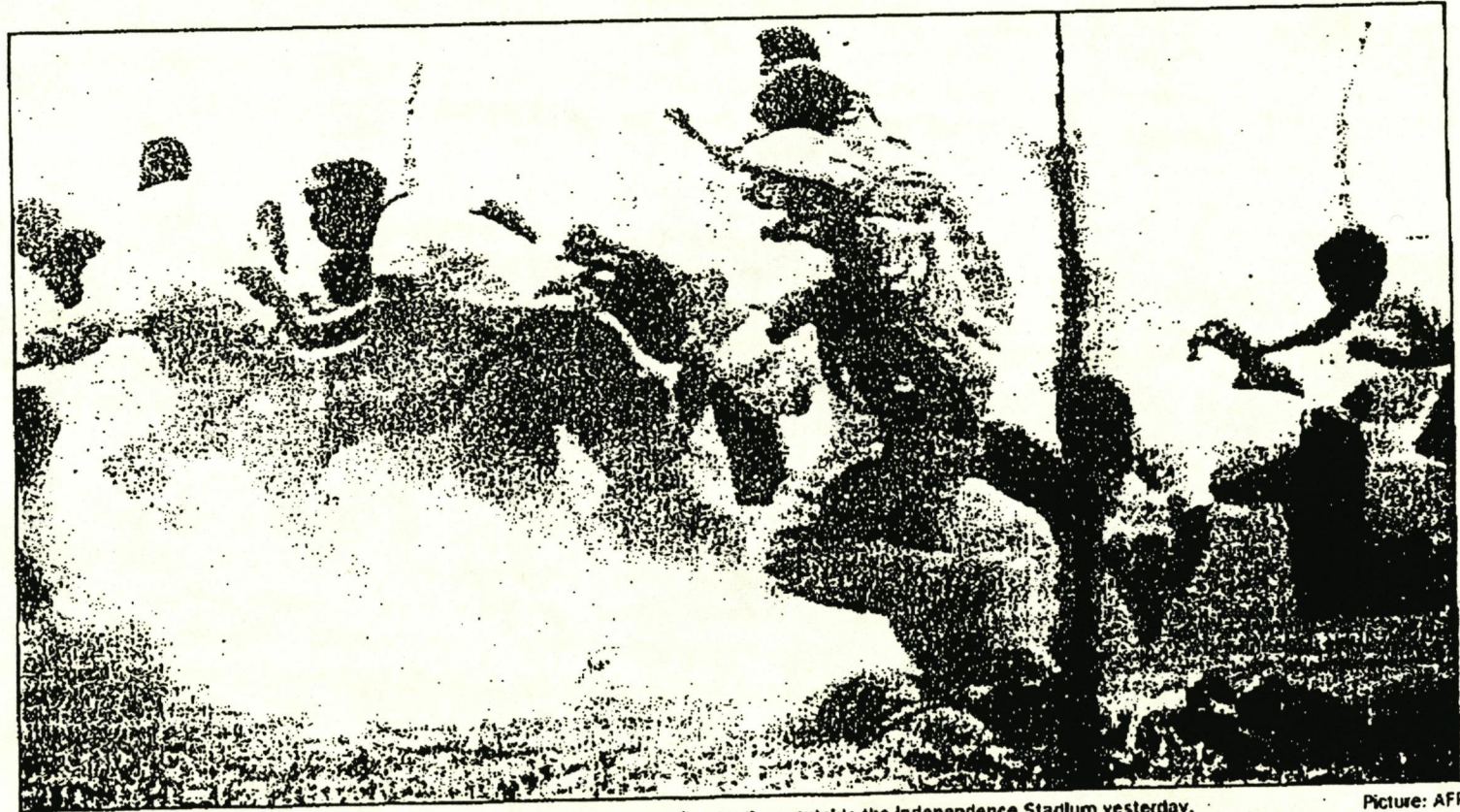
to whites, you will not be free until we are free."

The two men afterwards walked across the border to Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's office. They will later meet ANC leaders and after that hold a media conference.

Last night, about 2 000 bewildered and angry marchers spent a chilly night holding a vigil for the 28 people gunned down by Ciskeian troops.

National Peace Accord chairman John Hall, who had to dive for cover from the hail of bullets, said after the chaos: "If this is a taste of things to come, then God help us all."

There were still hundreds of people gathered on the King William's Town side of



Run for it . . . ANC marchers dive for cover as Ciskei security forces open fire on them outside the Independence Stadium yesterday.

Picture: AFP

the border early this morning. It appeared others were joining them from the main road out of the town.

The crowd was separated from hundreds of heavily-armed Ciskei security force members across the border by a few dozen SA policemen and SAP armoured vehicles.

Hospitals put the injury toll at well over 200 after the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's march to "occupy" Bisho and demand the removal from power of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo turned into a tragedy.

Some of the protesters

were shot on the South African side of the border.

By dawn, the exhausted and angry marchers — and some of their leaders — had refused to move and rumours were rife that they would make another attempt today to occupy the Ciskei capital.

Having neither the energy nor the inclination to toy-toy, the protesters spent the night huddling together, half-heartedly mumbling the same protest songs over and over, like a mantra.

Thousands more people milled around in the Victoria Ground in King William's

Town, and the casualty ward at the town's hospital looked like a wartime field hospital.

The ANC has described the event as "a crucial turning point in the current phase of the struggle for democracy in South Africa".

Last night the South Afri-

can Government deployed troops in Ciskei.

President de Klerk's office said in a statement Pretoria had decided "with the approval of the Ciskei government" to send in a company of defence force troops "to protect industrial property

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'If this is the future, God help us'

● From Page 1

and prevent looting — particularly after the fall of darkness". Demonstrators were cut down by two extended bursts of automatic rifle fire from Ciskei Defence Force soldiers, at 1.31 pm and 1.36 pm, witnesses said.

Journalists said the shooting came minutes after hundreds of protesters had stormed through an open back entrance at the stadium. This was confirmed by SADF spokesman Colonel Christo Louw.

The journalists were unanimous that both volleys were controlled shooting and not sporadic, and they had not seen any arms among the protesters.

The first volley came after part of the 60 000-strong crowd surged ahead of march leaders, witnesses said.

The fusillade sparked a stampede. SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC national executive committee member Tokyo Sexwale screamed at protesters to get down. A few minutes later the Ciskeian troops fired again.

Earlier, permission had been granted for protesters to march only as far as the stadium.

According to journalists, one of the earliest casualties was a Ciskei security force member. Also wounded was ANC sports chief Steve Tshwete.

Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Marius Oelschig said Ciskei security forces returned the fire of a group of marchers who had moved away from the stadium and attacked troops with handguns and grenades.

Brigadier Gqozo said today the soldiers had not had time to issue a warning, but had "fired as an instinctive reaction" after a shot, which he said was a signal for the marchers to storm the soldiers, fatally wounding one of the troops.



In serious discussion ... the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa (left) and Ronnie Kasrils yesterday after the shooting.

He said a map had been found showing ANC plans to break through the barricades and storm into the capital.

The first ambulances, which reportedly came from King William's Town, arrived about 45 minutes after the shooting.

By 2.45 pm there were still injured protesters and some bodies in the border area.

The entire scene was marked with pools of blood and abandoned shoes and clothing.

Local Red Cross and march officials treated the protesters.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday blamed the ANC's protest tactics for the bloodbath: "This tragic incident could have been avoided if the march conditions had been followed."

Mr Ramaphosa said last night Pretoria was responsible for the atrocity, adding that the already stalled negotiations

would "definitely" be affected. "The negotiation process was already in jeopardy before the latest killings.

"We cannot just continue as if flies have died ... as if nothing has happened," he said at a press conference in King William's Town.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night a march had been organised to start at noon today at the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg, to march on the Ciskei's embassy in Braamfontein.

Brigadier Gqozo toured the scene of the shooting about 45 minutes after his security forces had opened fire. He did not get out of his vehicle.

The Ciskei Council of State said a full inquiry would be held into the shooting.

A police spokesman said SA police has been in touch with

the ANC this morning and the South African embassy in King William's Town.

In terms of an agreement reached the ANC was to leave the South African/Ciskei border at noon to return to hold a rally at King Williams Town's Victoria Park. They are to disperse from there at about 3 pm.

Other reactions across the political spectrum were:

● The National Party deplored the massacre, which it said had come "as a result of the ANC's provocative actions".

● DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said responsibility for the massacre lay with the ANC in the sense that it had been clear the march would lead to violence.

● Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht condemned what he termed the "intimidation of the Ciskei government" by the ANC and SACP.

● SACP spokesman Essop Pahad charged that the "soldiers and others who committed these murders have to be brought to book".

● PAC president Clarence Makwetu said the PAC condemned all violence inflicted on unarmed protesters.

● Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said it was "sickening and nauseating that the State President can imply the unprovoked shooting of peaceful demonstrators was justified because certain guidelines were allegedly not adhered to".

● The SA Council of Churches again called on the South African and Ciskei governments to hold a referendum on Ciskei leadership.

● Rhema Ministries founder the Rev Ray McCauley appealed to Brigadier Gqozo to allow church leaders to intervene.

● Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe was convinced the killings were "done with the assistance and full knowledge of the South African regime".

The Star 8/9/92

Hostels: binding consensus demanded of participants

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Government, meeting increasing resistance to its hostel upgrading programme, has called for agreements between parties to be made binding.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration said in a statement yesterday that the R194,6 million earmarked for hostel upgrading in the Transvaal could be utilised only when consensus had been reached through consultation with all role-players.

And in order to maintain consensus, it was imperative to introduce a generally acceptable mechanism to bind the parties involved, "no matter what the substance of the agreement may be".

"The dilemma we are experiencing in the Transvaal, especially in the Witwatersrand region, is that it is, in some cases, extremely difficult to get the different role-players

around a table.

"In certain places, like Ethandakuthanya near Piet Retief and Emjindini near Barberton, consensus is being delayed because of the unco-operative attitude of the civics," the statement said.

The Government's only completely upgraded hostel, Hostel No 1 at Tokoza on the East Rand, has been criticised by the Hostel Residents' Association (HRA) as "patchwork over damage".

The R3,8 million rudimentary work to the hostel was indicative of a lack of real policy or consultation, the HRA said.

The TPA said a comprehensive process of consultation was under way in the Transvaal in order to get response to the Government's hostel strategy.

Of the 92 hostels in the province, consensus on upgrading had been reached at 11. Negotiations were in progress at 46 others.

The Star 8/9/92

Graves, skulls echo Fifth Brigade killings

HARARE -- More unidentified graves and human remains have been discovered in the western province of Matabeleland, according to a newspaper which said they were victims of the notorious Fifth Brigade of the Zimbabwe National Army in the early 1980s.

The Sunday News said its reporters had been shown sites near the village of Figtree, 40 km west of Bulawayo, where human skulls and bones still lay on the ground.

Villagers were quoted as saying they had been forced by soldiers to bury bodies after the corpses had been mutilated by vultures and dogs.

Yesterday Defence Minister Moven Mahachi expressed "regret" over the atrocities that took place in Matabeleland when the North Korean-trained Fifth Brigade put down an insurgency by former guerillas loyal to the Ndebele-based Zapu

party of Joshua Nkomo.

Mr Mahachi also appealed to people "not to open old wounds".

His statement was interpreted as the first attempt by the government to admit responsibility for the massacre of at least 1 000 civilians and the disappearance, torture and arrest of thousands more.

The Sunday News, owned by the State-controlled Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust, went into more detail than any other reports that have emerged in recent months on the Matabeleland atrocities.

One site at Figtree became a no-go area because of the stench of rotting human flesh from the bodies dumped there, one villager was quoted as saying. "We were usually afraid to do anything more than just throw a few branches to cover up the bodies and run away."

— Sapa.

The Star 8/9/92

FW calls for fuller summit on federalism

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk yesterday called for a fuller two-day summit on federalism under a neutral chairman at the close of the one-day federal conference organised by him in Pretoria.

The conference was overshadowed by the shootings of ANC marchers in Ciskei.

One Cabinet Minister said in private that he believed the ANC had deliberately moved the march forward to upstage the conference.

At the close of the conference, Mr de Klerk declared it a success, and obtained the permission of delegates for the Government to call together a steering committee to organise a fuller two-day conference on federalism under the chairmanship of a "prominent person outside party politics".

He said he hoped that parties which had not attended yesterday's conference would attend the two-day summit.

Its aim would be to build a broader consensus on federalism and greater direction to the federal debate.

Mr de Klerk assured delegates that the aim of yesterday's conference was not to "involve you directly or indirectly in any political alliance or association" and that the Government still intended including all major parties in negotiations.

He hoped yesterday would be written down in history as the day when the "constructive forces in SA took hands and made progress towards a nego-

tiated solution".

The conference was attended by all the pro-federal parties at Codesa, as well as the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaner Volksunie, which broke from the CP recently.

The Democratic Party attended as observers.

Professor Carel Boshof of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting addressed the conference as an observer.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, speaking for the KwaZulu government, delivered an impassioned plea for the autonomy of the Zulu people and monarchy to be recognised. He called on Mr de Klerk not to continue with negotiations unless the Zulu king was present.

Dr Francois Venter of the Department of Constitutional Development presented a "technical report" on how federalism could look.

It proposed:

- Regional powers should be entrenched in the central constitution and might not be removed without the consent of the regional authorities.
- The central government should have jurisdiction over only defence, national security, foreign affairs and constitutional planning, and all other functions — including finance — should be devolved to regional governments.
- Regions should be allocated adequate sources of revenue to carry out their devolved powers.
- Funds would have to be channelled to poorer regions to enable them to fulfil their devolved functions.

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

8/9/92

Blood on all hands

TODAY, the overwhelming feeling among South Africans who long for peace will be one of nausea. Sickness at the fact that more of our people have died in a hail of bullets; that there will be more funerals, more revenge attacks. Sickness at the fact that citizens are still dying because of the machinations of power-hungry politicians.

In any moral terms, the Ciskei situation is inordinately complicated. The homeland is run by an illegitimate, repressive dictator. It is open to serious doubt whether he enjoys the support of his people, and he has steadfastly refused to allow them to express their will at the ballot box. Ciskeians have an undoubted right to protest peacefully against him, and to fight against his draconian restrictions on free political activity.

But his political opponents have no greater right to use the avenue of peaceful protest in a manner which is so provocative that casualties became almost inevitable. Knowing full well that they were dealing with a beleaguered, ruthless and well-armed foe, the ANC's militant mass action proponents must have decided that the blood-price was worth paying. If so (and the unlikely alternative is that they were simply naive) this is political cynicism of an extreme kind.

There were many other ways of exercising the right of protest. The marchers could have presented a petition calling for a referendum, and the numbers alone would have made this an exceptionally powerful intervention. President de Klerk would have found it difficult to justify opposing such a request, and he could have been persuaded to use his considerable influence on the powers in Bisho.

But some ANC/SACP leaders went much, much further, saying they would occupy the capital until Brigadier Gqozo was removed — and adding that other homeland leaders could expect similar treatment. In effect they challenged the brigadier to a duel, and he drew first.

The negotiations process is an imperfect vehicle, and it involves many characters of dubious legitimacy. But once you commit yourself to that process — as the ANC and its allies have done — you are choosing the path of persuasion over brute force. Numbers can be used to persuade; but they do not have to be set up as human targets in a shooting gallery.

Brigadier Gqozo and his brutish henchmen will have to answer, of course, for the deaths in the Ciskei. But so will those who stretched a democratic right to its limits, ignoring the bloody consequences. As John Hall, the distraught chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, said so hauntingly after the shootings: "It seemed so absolutely unnecessary. If this is a taste of things to come, then God help us all".

Motor mouths

SUNDAY night's Agenda programme, on the subject of peaceful negotiations, looked like being derailed at one stage by an argument over whether or not one political movement could "bugger up" another peacefully. Author of the phrase in this instance was Chief Buthelezi, who is now saying publicly that the ANC has to be "smashed" and "buggered up" if the country is to be saved.

Chief Buthelezi's language goes well beyond acceptable limits, especially coming from one of the chief signatories of the National Peace Accord. But he is not alone: Harry Gwala and Ronnie Kasrils of the ANC are two of several others given to making inflammatory statements that call their good faith into question.

If these leaders do not watch their tongues, they should be called to account by the National Peace Committee and repudiated in public. There is no point in pursuing peace when signatories to the accord continue to flout its provisions by allowing their members' mouths to run away with them.

The Citizen 8/9/92

NP deplores Ciskei deaths, blames ANC

THE National Party deplored the fatal shootings, injuries and violence at Bisho in Ciskei yesterday, which, it said, were a result of the ANC's provocative actions.

In a statement from Pretoria, the NP said it sympathised with those suffering as a result of the incident "We appeal to all concerned to restore order and calm to this explosive situation."

The NP said the ANC had been repeatedly warned and appealed to by all pro-negotiation parties and organisations not to go ahead with "this provocative march".

Despite advice from the government, the National Party, leading members of the National Peace Accord and even diplomatic circles not to proceed, "ANC hot-

heads prevailed and the march ill-advisedly went ahead, as was pre-planned months ago", the NP said.

"Once permission for the march was granted, all concerned should have done their utmost to comply with the conditions laid down. First reports seem to indicate that the ANC was not capable of ensuring compliance by

all their supporters. This underlines the folly of their decision to go ahead with the march."

The NP said the ANC had to accept full responsibility for what happened.

"They have yet again illustrated their inability to put peace and human life before their own short-term political ends."

The NP said the conse-

quences of the ANC's "reckless action are now there for all to see. Although the final figures of the dead and injured are not available, one victim of such action is one too many as far as the National Party is concerned"

The NP urged the ANC leadership to abandon mass action and return to consultation and talks. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN

8/9/92

Eject mercenaries: Holomisa

UMTATA. — Ciskei should insist on all mercenaries and seconded personnel being sent back to their host countries, Transkeian leader, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said last night.

Reacting to the Bisho deaths, he said: "There is a definite link between those mercenaries or seconded officials with some

mischievous securocrats from Pretoria."

Commenting "in a spirit of non-interference", Gen Holomisa said that as long as mercenaries or seconded officials controlled the heads of Ciskei's security forces, Ciskeian leader, Brig Oupa Gqozo, could not expect honest advice, "especially in this climate of transition".

He suggested Ciskei and some other independent homelands send these people back to their host countries for retraining.

They regarded a liberation movement as the enemy, he said, and Ciskei's security forces were placed in the difficult position of having to accept orders from non-Ciskeians. — Sapa.

The Citizen 8/9/92

Cosatu slams 'firing on unarmed protesters'

THE firing on unarmed protesters in Bisho, Ciskei, was unprovoked, random and sustained, the Congress of South African Trade Unions said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

"Nothing could conceivably justify this senseless and brutal massacre. According to all reports received so far the marchers were peaceful and disciplined, and the fire unleashed on unarmed protesters was unprovoked, random, and sustained,"

Cosatu said.

Cosatu said it was "ludicrous for President De Klerk to attempt to shift responsibility away from his government by stating that it was not his security forces which were involved."

"It is common knowledge that (Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo, his administration, and his security forces are financed and backed by Pretoria."

South African security forces had been sent into Ciskei two days ago

under the pretext of 'maintaining stability' in the area, but in reality to protect (Brig) Gqozo from the anger of the people living in that region", Cosatu said.

Cosatu said they had "reason to believe that the action of the Ciskei security forces was not spontaneous, but was planned in advance".

Responsibility for yesterday's massacre lay at the door of Mr De Klerk and his government, Cosatu said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 8/9/92

PWV ANC to start campaign against Ciskei

THE ANC's PWV region is to launch a campaign against the Ciskei Government calling for the replacement of Brig Oupa Gqozo, following the Bisho massacre yesterday, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night.

He said in a telephone interview the PWV's action council at a meeting decided to hold a march today from ANC headquarters in Plein Street, Johannesburg to the Ciskei consulate in Braamfontein.

The consulate will also be picketed tomorrow and there will be a lunchtime meeting at the City Methodist Church in Pret-

chard Street, Johannesburg, on Thursday.

"The central message of all this mass action is that Gqozo must go," Mr Mamoepa said.

— Sapa.

The Citizen
8/9/92

FW blames mass action

FW blames mass action

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protect industrial property and prevent looting".

"We are deeply shocked (by the shootings)," Mr De Klerk said. "By co-operation, it could have been avoided.

SA Government spokesmen have said 24 people were killed while the ANC claims 28 people died when Ciskei security forces opened fire on ANC supporters marching from Kingwilliams-town in South Africa and over the border into Ciskei. About 200 people were injured.

According to his information, it was clear that the conditions laid down by the magistrate had not been adhered to, Mr De Klerk said.

No South African security forces were involved in the shooting, and everything happened on the Ciskeian side of the border, he said.

Mr De Klerk said last night there was "still a problem on the ground".

The crowd had not dispersed, but was on the South African side of the border, "making certain demands".

"We deeply sympathise with those who have been injured and the families of those who lost their lives.

"I would like to stress that the role of the South African Government throughout has been one of trying to avoid just this.

"We have been involved constantly now over days in discussions in order to ensure that whatever mass action takes place takes place in an orderly manner."

The incident could have been avoided by adhering to the guidelines which the Goldstone Commission laid down with regard to mass action.

Mr De Klerk said according to the fragmented information at his disposal, the incident occurred because the marshals failed to contain the crowd, which spilled over a wire boundary and then stormed in certain directions, "and the security people of the Ciskei then started shooting".

Mr De Klerk said he was not enthralled by the three homeland military governments, and would like all three to move to civilian rule.

He said Pretoria did not have the power to remove the military governments because it had not appointed them.

"The South African Government will continue to ensure the right of all those who, within the law, want to participate in peaceful and lawful mass action.

"In a volatile atmosphere what is needed is that we talk to each other

and negotiate," Mr De Klerk said.

He discussed the shooting with his Cabinet Ministers in a conference room adjoining the hall where the regionalism conference was held, at the Presidensie, through the day.

Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo did not attend the conference.

The homeland's delegate at the conference, Mr Jimmy van der Merwe, said he experienced no pleasure in seeing blood flow.

He said Brig Gqozo had said on Sunday night no bullets would be used on the marchers yesterday until circumstances necessitated this.

Mr Van der Merwe said Ciskei attended the conference because it was committed to negotiations. — Sapa.

STATE President De Klerk blamed the African National Congress' mass action programme for the Ciskei massacre yesterday, adding that every violent incident was a setback for negotiations.

Speaking at the conference on regionalism and federalism in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said he had exchanged a number of letters with ANC president Nelson Mandela in a bid to "prevent what has happened" in Ciskei.

In one yesterday, he urged Mr Mandela that "his side" should comply with the magistrate's decisions on the march. He said Mr Mandela had sent two replies to his letters, but did not divulge the contents.

Mr De Klerk said the Ciskei conflict occurred "because there was mass

action. I did not start that mass action. The ANC did".

He had pleaded all along that rather than participate in mass action, parties should sit around the negotiation table and sort the problem out through negotiations.

Mr De Klerk's office last night said South African troops would be deployed in Ciskei "to

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The Citizen 8/9/92

Action was defensive — Gqozo

BISHO. — Ciskei military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo, last night alleged his soldiers had

received the order to shoot in defence after shots were fired and handgrenades were flung at them from within an ANC crowd demonstrating at a stadium in the Ciskeian capital, Bisho, yesterday after-

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'Defensive'

FROM PAGE 1

noon.

Brig Gqozo claimed the African National Congress demonstration had been planned as an "armed attack with a battle plan to break through the stadium into Bisho".

He had received reports that while a group of ANC marchers had gathered outside the stadium, another ran through the stadium and rushed Ciskei Defence Force members deployed to keep control.

"We have received reports of gunfire directed from within the crowd at members of

the Defence Force, and of handgrenades which were flung from within the crowd.

"One Ciskei soldier was shot and killed and the rush continued at the troops.

"The order to fire was then given. The action taken by Defence Force members was defensive."

Brig Gqozo said protesters had acted in "flagrant violation" of conditions for the demonstration imposed by a local magistrate.

He reiterated the Ciskei Council of State had ordered a full investigation into the incident. — Sapa.

The Citizen

8/9/92

Pik: We won't reopen talks

THE massacre in Bisho yesterday was a result of a Communist strategy by members in the ANC/SACP alliance to take the homeland by force, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on the SABC's Agenda programme last night.

The South African Government was not prepared to reopen negotiations with the ANC as long as it continued with the "Communist plan" to destabilise the country.

"Internally, the massacre has shown the ANC will continue to adopt a hardline approach.

"There is a Communist short-cut to bring the economy to its knees, weaken the country and take over when it is weak," Mr Botha said.

The ANC had said it would bring about Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo's and Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope's downfall without any discussion on the matter.

Mr Botha said the South African Government was against the military regimes in Ciskei, Transkei and Venda and wanted a return to civilian rule.

Yesterday's massacre had done international harm to South Africa.

"The ANC with its action has further destroyed any investor confidence."

Mr Botha said despite

meetings called to discuss yesterday's march, the ANC went ahead with its action, knowing people were going to be shot.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, also on Agenda, said responsibility for the massacre rested squarely on the shoulders of the South African authorities.

"The government has given Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo the impression they would give him all the support necessary to keep his illegal regime in power."

Mr Niehaus said all local and international

news reports said the march was peaceful and the shooting was started with the blessing of the South African security forces.

The march was held to show the Ciskei Government did not admit to the right of people to hold democratic protests.

Those who were killed "lost their lives as a result of the actions of the Ciskei Government. (and) not because of the actions of the ANC".

"The Ciskei Government can obviously be seen as murderers," Mr Niehaus said. — Sapa.

The Citizen

8/9/92

No heroism during fatal bullet hail

BISHO. — There are no tales of heroism to tell after the Ciskei Army opened fire with automatic rifles yesterday at Black demonstrators seeking the overthrow of Black military ruler Oupa Gqozo.

Grey-haired priest Bob Clarke clutched a white flag embossed with a dove of peace as he hugged the ground while automatic rifle fire crackled overhead.

Five metres away three journalists squirmed into a shallow ditch and listened to bullets thudding into the sand at their heads.

But no one braved the bullets to help anyone else, and those who could flee, fled.

The shooting started when about 100 youths

led by Communist Party activist Ronnie Kasrils breached a corner of the border cordon and ran towards soldiers prone behind automatic rifles.

It quickly spread until troops were firing on a front several hundred metres long.

Some said later the shooting continued for 10 minutes, others said it lasted for two or three minutes.

But when the firing eased Mr Clarke, one of five independent monitors sent to mediate between Brig Gqozo's troops and the African National Congress (ANC) marchers, took his flag and scrambled onto a heap of journalists, soldiers and monitors sprawled in the back of an armoured truck retreating into Ciskei.

Even the sole white car

marked with red crosses scurried away from the battle line into Ciskei, leaving the march leaders exposed on the South African side of the coiled razor wire cordon erected by Brig Gqozo's troops.

It was impossible, at first, to tell whether the bodies piled on top of each other at the barricade were dead or alive.

No ambulances came to help the injured, some frighteningly still and others writhing in pain.

Instead, private cars came and went with wounded people bundled into open boots, and bleeding limbs drooping from open doors.

"If this is a taste of things to come then God help us all," said Mr John Hall, secretary of the multi-party National Peace Secretariat. — Sapa-Reuter.

The Citizen

8/9/92

Commonwealth condemns killing of 24

LONDON. — The Commonwealth Secretariat yesterday condemned the killing of 24 African National Congress protesters by troops in Ciskei as horrific and wholly unjustified.

"As long as bloodshed and violence poison the process of political dialogue and negotiation, there can be no peaceful solution," said the group's secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

"The reported killings and woundings by Ciskei troops of unarmed men and women in Bisho is a horrifying incident which can have no justification whatsoever and must be condemned by all," he said in a statement issued in London.

The Commonwealth is an association of 50 sovereign independent states which emerged from the British Empire. Its secretariat, or headquarters, is based in London.

He said: "This (massacre) gives added urgency to the proposals by the international community, including the Commonwealth, to assist by deploying observers, who can help bring to an end this senseless cycle of violence."

The ANC and the government of President De Klerk blamed each other for the shooting on the border of the homeland, whose ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo is a fierce opponent of the ANC.

Ciskei troops poured two bursts of automatic

fire into a crowd of about 60 000 ANC supporters who had marched on the homeland's capital of Bisho with the intention of ousting Brig Gqozo. As well as the fatalities, nearly 200 others were wounded.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said on Britain's Channel Four television news: "The South African Government has got to get a grip on these forces in the Ciskei and indeed in the other homelands."

He said in an interview: "It is absolutely necessary that they get back around the negotiating table. South Africa is sliding down a hill and only a negotiated settlement can prevent that." — Sapa-
Reuter.

ANC blames government

FROM PAGE 1

ANC blames FW

KINGWILLIAMSTOWN. — The ANC alliance last night laid the blame for the killing of at least 24 protesters by the Ciskei security forces squarely at the door of State President De Klerk's government. "We are blaming De Klerk for this and we do it without hesitation," ANC secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, told a Press conference in Kingwilliamstown yesterday evening. He said the massacre would definitely affect the already stalled negotiation process. "He (Mr De Klerk) was warned to keep

TO PAGE 2

Gqozo under control and we believe that it was within his power to do so," Mr Ramaphosa read from a statement on behalf of the ANC and its alliance partners, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, plus other organisations which attended yesterday's march on the Ciskei.

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

"We do not intend to respond meekly to this latest atrocity," Mr Ramaphosa said. The negotiation process was already in jeopardy before the latest killings.

"We are being urged to return to negotiations. Today's events demonstrate, again, that the regime is not committed to creating a climate in which such negotiations can take place."

Asked to expand on what the effect the massacre would have on the future of the negotiation process, Mr Ramaphosa said: "This tragedy is definitely going to have a bearing on the negotiation process.

"We cannot just continue as if flies have died ... as if nothing has happened."

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the ANC said: "The blood of the slain and the injured has indelibly stained the hands of Brigadier Gqozo and his henchmen. They must assume full responsibility for the popular anger that their repressive actions will undoubtedly unleash.

"An equal responsibility devolves also on the De Klerk government, who did everything calculated to encourage Gqozo in his intransigence. Rather than restrain their client, the men in Pretoria chose to deploy a police unit to protect him.

"Both Minister Kriel and Commissioner of Police, Van der Merwe were on hand in Kingwilliamstown yesterday offering further assurance.

"By his actions today, Gqozo has irretrievably opted for a course in opposition to democracy."

The ANC called for calm among its members and appealed to them not to let themselves be tempted into "rash actions by this provocation".

The ANC claimed the killing had been unprovoked and marked a crucial turning point in the struggle for democracy in South Africa.

Eyewitness accounts, the ANC said, belied allegations that the Ciskeian troops had opened fire after being shot at by demonstrators.

"At no time were the lives of the Ciskeian troops endangered

"It is clear from all accounts that the first shots were fired by the Ciskeian troops. The killing commenced with a controlled burst of automatic fire lasting more than two minutes, followed by a second

burst of shorter duration.

"Senior Ciskei military officers have admitted that their troops were issued live ammunition and, as is apparent from the sequence of events, they had loaded their weapons beforehand.

"No warning was issued and no attempt was made to disperse the crowd employing

non-lethal means." The ANC vowed to continue what it termed its struggle for free political activity in Ciskei, which it said included the right to peaceful demonstrations.

It further expressed alarm and shock at what it called "mealy-mouthed attempts" to justify the killings "by recourse to obscure legal technicalities". — Sapa.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Tragedy

A GHASTLY tragedy was just waiting to happen and it did.

We are referring to the shooting dead of at least 24 marchers and the wounding of 188 in the Ciskei yesterday.

Sadly, all warnings that the situation was explosive were ignored.

Sadly, the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance ignored a magisterial order granting permission to march in the Ciskei as long as the marchers did not enter the capital, Bisho.

They were, instead, to hold a rally at the Bisho Stadium between the capital and the border, about a kilometre from Bisho, between noon and 4.30 pm.

The ANC alliance rejected the ruling. "We are going to Bisho," one of its local office-bearers said.

Since the ANC had announced that it intended to oust Ciskeian leader, Brig Oupa Gqozo, even if the marchers had to sleep in Bisho until he was removed, the stage was set for conflict.

Everyone, from the Peace Secretariat chairman, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, to Eastern Cape Democratic Party Members of Parliament, had warned that a confrontation would result in bloodshed.

State President De Klerk, in a letter last Friday to ANC President Nelson Mandela, expressed his concern about the situation.

The government had been in close contact with the Peace Secretariat to ensure that the letter and spirit of the Peace Accord were observed, he said.

Mr De Klerk expressed the wish that a confrontation leading to possible loss of life should be avoided at all cost as it would have "incalculable implications for all of us".

Yet Mr Chris Hani, the SA Communist Party secretary-general, who was the chief organiser of the march, told villagers near King Williamstown on Sunday, "Tomorrow we are going to Bisho to oust Oupa Gqozo", whom he called Mr De Klerk's "puppet" and "kitchen boy".

He stressed: "We are going to stay in Bisho until De Klerk gives the positive answer that Gqozo is removed. We will sleep there if we have to."

"After him (Gqozo) we are looking at Mangope and Buthelezi, and from there to De Klerk himself."

Communist revolutionary Ronnie Kasrils added his bit, saying: "We know why the regime is hanging on to its puppet, Gqozo, and that madman in Zululand, Gatsha Buthelezi. They use their stooges to further oppress people."

"Enough is enough. Vat jou goed en trek. Their day is over and nothing will stop the people."

Such utterances are contrary to the provisions of the Peace Accord and show a total disregard for the consequences.

And so it happened that as tens of thousands started marching on Bisho, the shooting occurred.

It will take a full inquiry to establish how it started.

What we can say is that the Ciskeian forces should not have opened fire with live ammunition, whatever the provocation, since casualties on the scale suffered are shocking and totally unnecessary.

But irrespective of who was to blame, the tragedy would not have happened if the ANC had stuck to the chief magistrate's order.

It would also not have happened if the ANC had not decided it would oust Brigadier Gqozo despite all the evidence that he did not intend to allow the ANC to topple him.

The tragedy will now polarise the people of Ciskei into pro and anti-ANC factions.

The ANC and its allies will use the tragedy to whip up feelings not only against Brig Gqozo but President Mangope and Chief Buthelezi.

As with Boipatong, Bisho will also become a propaganda weapon against Mr De Klerk and his government, though South African police and soldiers took no part in the shooting.

As Mr De Klerk said, a confrontation with loss of life would have "incalculable implications for all of us".

If only men of goodwill had been able to work out a way to avoid the tragedy that was waiting to happen.

24 DIE, 188 HURT IN CISKEI SHOOTING

① The

Citizen

8/9/92

BISHO. — Thousands of protesters were camped at the border between the Ciskei and South Africa last night after at least 24 people were killed and 188 wounded in the Bisho shooting earlier in the day.

The ANC put the death toll at 28. Ciskei authorities reported one soldier killed.

The border protesters vowed to remain there for at least another day.

The situation was tense, with hundreds of heavily-armed Ciskei security force members facing them across the border.

Further back in Kingwilliamstown, along the road which leads to Bisho, the South African Police and Defence Force had moved in armoured vehicles and set up a roadblock.

At the border the razor wire had been removed and cut in places, and the

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② The Citizen 8/9/92

24 killed in Ciskei shooting

FROM PAGE 1

road to Bisho was open. By nightfall, most of the marchers had left and gone home, but a sizeable crowd of several thousand had remained behind.

They were determined to march on the Ciskei capital Bisho and occupy it until Brig Oupa Gqozo had been ousted.

"We are not going to move from here for another 24 hours because we are determined to push to Bisho and remove Gqozo," a defiant SA Communist Party secretary-general, Chris Hani said late yesterday afternoon at the border.

Mr Hani addressed the crowd from the back of a truck.

He was flanked by fellow senior SACP and ANC officials Ronnie Kasrils and Harry Gwala.

"Gqozo cannot stop the march through the use of bullets because he does not enjoy any support," Mr Hani said.

"But above all, our people here have learnt a lesson in struggle, and that lesson is that they're going to liberate themselves. They are not going to be liberated by nice talk at negotiation tables.

"We shall be with our people here, and we shall learn that lesson together.

"But I want to tell Pretoria," Mr Hani said, "that it takes two to do a tango.

"They've killed us today. Tomorrow we are going to hit back and our

people have got to prepare to defend themselves. There's no other alternative."

The African National Congress, SACP, Cosatu alliance last night accused the South African Government of impudence in apportioning blame for the killing of ANC-alliance protesters in Ciskei earlier in the day.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu said in a joint statement a night vigil was being held by 15000 people at the site of the deaths of protesters.

The alliance demanded immediate steps be taken to prevent a repetition of the killings and that the people of the Border region be allowed to pursue political activity without intimidation.

"In short, what is required is the removal of Gqozo and the establishment of interim structures, as part of the re-incorporation of the Ciskeian bantustan."

South African troops are to be deployed in the Ciskei to protect industrial property and prevent looting, the South African Government announced last night.

The Office of State President De Klerk said one company of soldiers would be deployed. This had been given the approval of the Ciskei Government.

Earlier there had been reports of looting in Mdantsane, near East London, about an hour's

drive from the scene of the shooting.

A 12-member ANC delegation staging a sit-in protest at the South African Embassy in Kingwilliamstown dispersed voluntarily.

ANC executive Steve Tshwete led the sit-in protest at the embassy in protest against Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel's refusal at an emergency meeting to remove the Ciskeian leadership.

Mr Kriel's response to the request had been that his government was not "in the business of removing other governments", Capt Kotze said.

Mr Ramaphosa, in the meantime, had led a sit-in of about 400 demonstrators in the streets of Kingwilliamstown in protest against the shooting at Bisho.

A full inquiry will be held as soon as possible to investigate the shooting, according to a statement from the Ciskei Government.

The Ciskei Council of State had learned with shock of the shootings, which it said had taken place after protesters breached conditions imposed by a local chief magistrate on the African National Congress-led protest march.

"We express our sincere regret at the conduct of these marchers and at the shooting which ensued. We further convey our sincere condolences

to the injured and the families of the deceased."

Mr Kriel blamed the shooting on the ANC's "flagrant violation of march conditions" set down late on Sunday night.

"This tragic incident could have been avoided if the march conditions had been followed. I must say that on the strength of information available that the incident was the result of flagrant violations by the ANC of march conditions set out by the magistrate involved."

The drama started with an estimated crowd of 40 000 ANC supporters marching from the South African border town of Kingwilliamstown to the Ciskei capital, Bisho, a few kilometres away.

According to journalists on the scene, the shooting took place shortly after some protesters stormed through an open back entrance of the Bisho Stadium, while another group of demonstrators had removed a section of razor wire adjoining the stadium.

Top ANC leaders, violence monitors and journalists dived for cover as Ciskei troops blazed away without warning, firing two volleys of live ammunition, followed by tear-gas.

Most demonstrators fled in panic down a valley towards Kingwilliamstown.

Reporters on the scene, as well as ANC spokesmen quoting witness accounts, agreed the first shots had been fired by the Ciskei Defence Force.

But Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo later insisted his soldiers had received orders to shoot in defence after shots were fired and hand-grenades were flung at them from within the ANC crowd.

The chairman of the National Peace Accord, Mr John Hall, as well as the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, and a number of NPS monitors who were waiting at the border to speak to the march leaders, dived for cover when the firing started without warning.

Chief Magistrate D B Tali granted permission for the march, with three provisos:

- No arms would be allowed;
- The marchers would be allowed into the Ciskei between 12 noon and 4.30 pm yesterday;
- The marchers would be allowed into the Bisho Stadium, about a kilometre from the capital, but would not be allowed into Bisho itself.

"The ANC will accordingly not be entitled at law to achieve its stated objective of occupying Bisho," the Ciskei Government noted at the time. — Sapa

Negotiations dealt a severe blow

24 die in rain of fire from Ciskei forces

BISHO — Negotiations were dealt what might yet prove to be a lethal blow yesterday when Ciskei soldiers opened fire on an ANC march, killing more than 20 people.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, still shaken after having been fired on with the rest of the crowd, said the incident would have serious repercussions for negotiations.

"The negotiation process was already in jeopardy before the latest killings. We are being urged to return to negotiations. These events demonstrate again that the De Klerk regime is not committed to creating a climate in which such negotiations can take place," Ramaphosa said.

Senior ANC leaders, outraged at what they described as an unprovoked massacre, said mass action would be intensified around the country.

The shootings took place as Ramaphosa was negotiating with national peace accord officials, among them chairman John Hall. SA authorities said at least 24 people died and 196 were injured. The ANC said 28 people died.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that President F W de Klerk told a news conference in Pretoria there had been close contact between himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela at the weekend and yesterday to try to avert bloodshed in Ciskei.

De Klerk had urged Mandela to get the ANC to abide by the magistrate's decision on the march, while Mandela had reiterated that the ANC did not recognise the Ciskei government or its courts.

De Klerk said that in the final analysis, the violence had occurred because of mass action. It could have repercussions for ne-

PATRICK BULGER

gotiations. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha echoed the view, telling Agenda that the massacre was a result of a communist strategy by members of the ANC alliance to take the homeland by force. He said government was not prepared to reopen negotiations with the ANC as long as it continued with the "communist plan" to destabilise the country.

Last night Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo said his soldiers had received the order to shoot in defence after shots were fired and hand grenades were flung at them from the crowd, Sapa reports.

Gqozo claimed the ANC demonstration had been planned as an "armed attack with

"It seemed so absolutely unnecessary. If this is a taste of things to come, then God help us all," — national peace secretariat chairman John Hall.

a battle plan to break through the stadium into Bisho". He said protesters had acted in "flagrant violation" of court conditions.

The day's proceedings began at a stadium in King William's Town, where Ramaphosa said: "We are determined to cleanse this country. After Gqozo we are going for you Mangope; after Mangope we are going for you Buthelezi."

The march, attended by tens of thousands of people, was part of the ANC strategy of conducting mass action against De Klerk's political allies.

The march took place under heavy SAP

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Ciskei

and SADF presence. It proceeded without incident until it reached the razor wire spanning the road separating SA from Ciskei. Shortly after midday, however, Ciskei soldiers — apparently unprovoked — opened fire on the crowd.

Ramaphosa and other NEC members as well as clerics and peace accord officials narrowly escaped injury. Some were bundled into a police Casspir to protect them.

Last night the road between Bisho and King William's Town was sealed off by police. A few thousand marchers were still camped out on the road, vowing to keep vigil for at least another day.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani said: "We are not going to move from here for another 24 hours because we are deter-

mined to push to Bisho and remove Gqozo."

He told the crowd: "Our people here have learnt a lesson in struggle, and that lesson is that they're going to liberate themselves. They are not going to be liberated by nice talk at negotiation tables."

Sapa reports that NEC member Ronnie Kasrils said the people of Ciskei had to take up arms and resist Gqozo. "For the people in the Ciskei, what can the answer be to the bloodshed like this except resistance, and resistance on this scale means taking up arms against tyrants like this."

Government deployed SA troops in Ciskei last night "to prevent looting and protect industrial property".

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B/Day

8/9/92

COMMENT

At the abyss

WHETHER it was planned that way or not, the events at Bisho have brought this country to a divide; it is a divide between negotiation and confrontation, between settlement and revolution, between peace and civil war. If all the progress of the past two years is not to be undone, we are going to need cool heads and strong, inspired leadership.

The loss of life at Bisho yesterday was tragic and predictable, and the arguments about who was to blame have only just begun. As important as charges of unprovoked shooting by Ciskei troops is the public confrontation which put people's lives gravely at risk in the first place. It is these arguments, the accusations already being levelled and those yet to come, which may test the resolve of all leaders in the negotiation process.

Elements in the ANC leadership have embarked on a revolutionary course which ANC president Nelson Mandela must either support or oppose. If Mandela is to abandon his commitment to negotiation and be led by the militants and hotheads, the future holds little hope for anyone.

The ANC has opened itself to the charge of orchestrating a course it knew would lead to violence, because that violence would ultimately suit its own ends. It is open to allegations that the marchers brought to the border in their thousands were expendable, because every cause must have its martyrs. The ANC is already warning of the

"popular anger" the killings will unleash; the SA Communist Party section of the alliance, led by Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils, is talking of war, and of returning today to ensure the downfall of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government.

The Ciskei march was part of the "exit phase" of the mass action campaign, designed to bring about the overthrow of homeland governments and, ultimately, of President de Klerk. Gqozo's sin, like that of President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, is not that he heads an unrepresentative homeland regime spawned by apartheid, but that he does not agree with the ANC. No marches have been planned on neighbouring Transkei, whose Bantu Holomisa is publicly sympathetic to the ANC.

Comparisons with the mass uprisings which toppled totalitarian governments in eastern Europe are not valid. No negotiations were in prospect there: Mandela, De Klerk, Gqozo and Mangope have all been part of the negotiation process designed to bring about a peaceful, democratic settlement.

The ANC's stated objective yesterday was to topple Gqozo; if it remains determined to do so, and then to seek the forceful overthrow of Mangope, and Chief Buthelezi in KwaZulu, and then seize power in South Africa itself, it is rallying the nation to the barricades.

Bisho has shifted us dangerously close to the abyss. It will take statesmanship and powerful leadership to put us back on the path to peace.

B/Day
(Letters)

8/9/92

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thing, especially when it refuses to
learn from the past.

GERSCHOM GREENE
Johannesburg

□□□□

Dear Sir,

ONE of the most authoritative and
respected voices in SA is the SA In-
stitute of Race Relations. Its direc-
tor John Kane-Berman is a man of
integrity and intellectual brilliance.
Because Kane-Berman has dared

criticise icons of the left and the hard
left in pursuit of the very indepen-
dence and honesty which has made
him so feared by the right, he is
suddenly under attack.

If your correspondent G K Botha
(Letters, September 7) is to be be-
lieved, Kane-Berman has become an
Inkatha propagandist. It is untrue.

No one is perfect. No one is above
criticism, not the SAIRR, not Kane-
Berman, not the Human Rights Com-
mission, not the SA Council of
Churches. But smearing is not criti-
cism, and genuine, honest criticism
is not denigration.

We need the institute. When it says
things we do not like, it may be
wrong; more often it will be right

and we should at least listen to a
voice which has earned its audience
over decades of excellence.

DOUGLAS GIBSON MP
Yeoville

Peter
WORTHINGTON



Twisting truth about the Zulus

Until relatively recently, conventional wisdom was that South Africa was headed for inevitable bloodbath because its degrading apartheid policies kept the majority repressed and in bondage.

Waves of foreign journalists, politicians, clergy, academics, and assorted activists relished predicting that the 80% non-white population would eventually rise up and drown whites in a sea of blood. (This was always more rhetoric than reason; if it ever came to white-black racial war, most of the blood would be black; five million whites backed by the army and weapons would be more than a match for 20 million blacks).

As so often happens in history, popular opinion had proved false. Even before sanctions were imposed against it, the Pretoria government had begun dismantling apartheid — not necessarily because it saw the immorality of its ways, but because it needed the black workforce, a black middle class, wanted prosperity and sought to defuse hostility.

Under Brian Mulroney, Canada has vehemently crusaded against South Africa. We uncritically support the African National Congress which seeks power for itself while sloganeering for democracy and equality that it doesn't practice within its ranks.

When Nelson Mandela addressed Parliament (a courtesy denied the Dalai Lama when he won the Nobel Peace Prize), Brian Mulroney gave him \$5 million dollars — which he brashly asked be in U.S. dollars. A bemused PM agreed.

Until F.W. de Klerk replaced P.W. Botha as president of South Africa and held a referendum that opted to give an equal vote to all citizens, Canada had deliberately, rudely boycotted Gatsha Buthelezi, paramount chief of seven million Zulus, on his periodic visits to Canada.

Joe Clark, then minister of External Affairs, only met Buthelezi on condition that it be in secret. Buthelezi felt insulted. He later said Clark merely echoed the ANC line and showed neither sympathy with nor understanding of the Zulu position.

On her celebrated voyage of discovery to South Africa, even Diane Francis showed little appreciation of the role Zulus play in the country's future. There's almost an international conspiracy to ignore or denigrate the Zulus.

Although the ANC is no longer guided, financed, supported by Moscow as it once was, its leadership is dominated by Communist party members who have a record of preaching peace and democracy while practising violence and intimidation.

Were it not for the Zulus, Chief Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), there'd be no opposition to the ANC; under de Klerk's policy, the government would be turned over to the ANC and that would likely be the end of civilization in South Africa — as has happened in neighboring countries which are now inefficient, corrupt and/or fumbling dictatorships.

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By comparison, the Zulus are public relations neophytes. Ironically, the Zulus are not a tribe, but a nation. There should be a natural alliance between South Africa's White, Colored and Asian "tribes" and the Zulus against the ideological tyranny of the ANC. Still, despite its troubles, South Africa is the only country in Africa that other blacks are trying to get into. That will likely cease if the ANC wins.

Even before sanctions, Pretoria began dismantling apartheid

South African march turns to bloodbath



By Philip Littleton, Agence France-Presse

BULLETS FLY: African National Congress marchers flee after troops opened fire on Monday in the black homeland of Ciskei.

Violence a deadly shadow of politics

By Chris Erasmus
Special for USA TODAY

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — The shootings in Ciskei brought a new reminder that political tension, and the violence it can trigger, remains high in South Africa.

Hundreds of Ciskei troops Monday opened fire on about 60,000 ANC demonstrators marching about 3 miles from King William's Town in South Africa to the Ciskei capital, Bisho, to demand the dismissal of Ciskei military ruler Brig. Oupa Gqozo.

Ciskei officials claimed

some marchers attacked troops with handguns and hand grenades.

South African Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said the ANC did not honor the terms of a court order allowing the protest but limiting it to a local stadium.

South African forces moved in today, manning roadblocks and searching vehicles carrying protesters.

Ciskei is one of several nominally independent homelands formed under previous South African white-minority governments to create separate "nations" for

blacks, thus depriving them of South African citizenship and the right to political participation.

That policy has largely been discredited as the government of President F.W. de Klerk and black leaders negotiate the end of apartheid, although Pretoria hasn't disbanded the homelands.

The Ciskei violence brings de Klerk into yet another confrontation with the African National Congress, largest of black nationalist groups.

South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha accused the ANC of trying to seize power,

and he said the government would not resume power-sharing talks until the ANC drops its "communist" plans.

The ANC, in turn, blamed the Ciskei and South African governments equally for the massacre, saying "the blood of the slain and the injured has indelibly stained the hands of ... Oupa Gqozo and his henchmen."

De Klerk was "warned to keep Gqozo under control," by ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, who led the marchers.

► Bloodstained protest, 1A

South African Homeland's Troops Fire on Protest March, Killing 24

Continued From Page A1

sho, the capital of Ciskei, until Brigadier Gqozo was forced from power. (His name is pronounced KO-zo by English speakers, who lack an equivalent of the click sound in the Xhosa language that begins the name.)

Brigadier Gqozo, a former South African military officer who was selected as leader of Ciskei after a 1990 military coup, initially courted the African National Congress. He vowed to restore civilian rule and called for the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

But within months, under the influence of veterans of the South African intelligence services who surrounded him, he grew convinced that the congress was his mortal enemy.

His troops now often break up congress gatherings in Ciskei and he has used government funds to promote his own new political party in order to thwart the congress in a region that has long been one of its strongholds.

Plan for Federation

Brigadier Gqozo is an important partner with President de Klerk in a plan to reintegrate the black homelands into South Africa, but as parts of a loose federation with powerful regional governments. The congress interprets this as a scheme to thwart fair elections and entrench its rivals.

Although congress leaders foresaw a risk in today's march, many believed that they stood a chance of forcing Brigadier Gqozo to resign. Judging from a four-day trip through the region last week, the brigadier is overwhelmingly unpopular with the 846,000 people in Ciskei and with much of his own 30,000-member civil service. The South

including Ciskei soldiers, said they had seen any shooting from the marchers.

Among those who seemed most dazed and despairing were the leaders of the South African National Peace Committee, a mediation group endorsed by all parties.

Mediators from the committee, who were caught in the gunfire, said they had been promised that there would be no shooting without warning.

"It seemed so absolutely unnecessary," said John Hall, chairman of the peace committee. "If this is a taste of things to come, then God help us all."



A volley of fire in Ciskei dashed hopes for a political accord.

African Government now views him as something of an embarrassment in a time of attempted reconciliation.

At the urging of mediators, Brigadier Gqozo grudgingly agreed this morning to let the protesters use a



Phillins

soccer stadium near the border, but left little doubt that he was prepared to order his troops to fire on those who trespassed farther into his domain. The congress rejected the compromise.

"We're going into the C.B.D.," or central business district, Ronnie Kasrils, a Communist Party firebrand who was among the march leaders, announced cheerfully to reporters. "It's a cinch," he said. "It's a cinch."

Accompanied by a large force of South African police officers and soldiers, the march proceeded in a festive mood more than three miles up the road toward Bisho, which resembles a large suburban shopping mall set on a green bluff.

"We will protect them up to the border, and then hand them over to the Ciskei Defense Force," said Brig. Wynand van der Merwe, a South African riot police commander who escorted the march. "What's going to happen on the other side, it's up to them."

When the first marchers arrived at coils of razor wire stretched across the border, they found much of Ciskei's 2,000-man army arrayed 200 yards away spread in a mile-wide arc, with machine guns mounted on tripods.

Most of the marchers were still stretched in a two-mile procession down the road and negotiations were under way on how to proceed when a few thousand protesters, most of them young, bolted across a field into the soccer stadium.

A Gap in the Wire

As the youngsters rushed to take seats, a small group led by Mr. Kasrils surged through the far exit. Mysteriously, they found a 20-foot gap that had been left open in the surrounding fence and some headed through it into forbidden territory.

Accounts differed as to exactly how the shooting started.

Some in the stadium said the first shots came from a blue Ciskei military helicopter hovering over the soccer field. A Ciskei Red Cross volunteer who was in the stadium throughout the events said the first shots came from gun emplacements outside the stadium as the marchers crossed the line.

The shooting quickly spread along the horseshoe of soldiers until the crowd was engulfed in gunfire. Many who fell were standing on the South African side of the border. Much of the shooting appeared to be into the air.

The first fusillade continued for nearly two minutes. After a series of percussions, apparently a belated round of tear-gas grenades, the gunfire again raked the retreating crowd for a minute.

"There are so many injured — legs, upper arms," said the Red Cross volunteer. "All bullet wounds, most in the back."

The panic-stricken marchers left a landscape littered with shoes and abandoned clothing, spotted with puddles of blood and smoldering with brush fires ignited by the shooting.

One man was seen fleeing the stadium carrying what appeared to be a rifle wrapped in his shirt, but no one interviewed afterward in the stadium,

R17

Peter
WORTHINGTON



Toronto Sun 8 Sept 92

Twisting truth about the Zulus

Until relatively recently, conventional wisdom was that South Africa was headed for inevitable bloodbath because its degrading apartheid policies kept the majority repressed and in bondage.

Waves of foreign journalists, politicians, clergy, academics, and assorted activists relished predicting that the 80% non-white population would eventually rise up and drown whites in a sea of blood. (This was always more rhetoric than reason; if it ever came to white-black racial war, most of the blood would be black; five million whites backed by the army and weapons would be more than a match for 20 million blacks).

As so often happens in history, popular opinion had proved false. Even before sanctions were imposed against it, the Pretoria government had begun dismantling apartheid — not necessarily because it saw the immorality of its ways, but because it needed the black workforce, a black middle class, wanted prosperity and sought to defuse hostility.

**Even before
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Under Brian Mulroney, Canada has vehemently crusaded against South Africa. We uncritically support the African National Congress which seeks power for itself while sloganeering for democracy and equality that it doesn't practice within its ranks.

When Nelson Mandela addressed Parliament (a courtesy denied the Dalai Lama when he won the Nobel Peace Prize), Brian Mulroney gave him \$5 million dollars — which he brahly asked be in U.S. dollars. A bemused PM agreed.

Until F.W. de Klerk replaced P.W. Botha as president of South Africa and held a referendum that opted to give an equal vote to all citizens, Canada had deliberately, rudely boycotted Gataha Buthelezi, paramount chief of seven million Zulus, on his periodic visits to Canada.

Joe Clark, then minister of External Affairs, only met Buthelezi on condition that it be in secret. Buthelezi felt insulted. He later said Clark merely echoed the ANC line and showed neither sympathy with nor understanding of the Zulu position.

On her celebrated voyage of discovery to South Africa, even Diane Francis showed little appreciation of the role Zulus play in the country's future. There's almost an international conspiracy to ignore or denigrate the Zulus.

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