

10 fear for their lives

by LAKELA KAUNDA

Shenstone-Ambledon residents sitting outside an old farmhouse which is to be turned into a community centre listen to co-ordinator of the KwaZulu Community Training Trust, Wilfred Mhlungu. Picture by ELAINE ANDERSON



TEN KwaZulu government employees are in fear of their lives after a pamphlet distributed in Ulundi townships described them as "ANC traitors".

The unsigned pamphlet has been circulating since last week and the 10 have taken it as a death warrant.

The pamphlet calls upon the 10 to leave Ulundi immediately. A few are reported to have gone on leave and a relative of one of the men said they are more frightened now that a Vusi Mdletshe was beaten up after being accused of being an ANC spy at the weekend IFP youth conference.

The pamphlet contains the names, home addresses and departments in which the 10 people work in Ulundi. Some are senior officials in the departments of finance and education.

The pamphlet reads: "Did you know that we live with communists, ANC and Mkhonto we-Sizwe in Ulundi, that Chris Hani visits in the darkness, that KwaZulu government vehicles transport comrades after hours, that the comrades sleep in hotels under the guise of doing government work, and that there is a campaign for an ANC branch to mushroom like an unavoidable explosion?"

It continues: "We give you these names for now, so that if anything happens in Ulundi you know with whom to start."

The ANC's northern Natal region says the 10 people are not on their membership register. Bongani Msomi of the ANC said there were "numerous" inflammatory pamphlets being distributed and "we are losing count".

The IFP has distanced itself from the pamphlet and said the authors are bent on discrediting the 10 and they are not party to that.

KwaZulu Police spokesman Colonel Lingelihle Khanyile said nothing has been reported to them but developments are going to be "meticulously monitored."

Facing an uncertain future

The unexpected decision by the Natal Provincial Administration to suspend development of the Shenstone-Ambledon squatter settlement angered residents who have started to put down roots there. NOMUSA CEMBI spoke to the people.

WHEN refugees from Howick were moved to Shenstone-Ambledon last year, the only distinguishing feature was a collection of white tents scattered across the expropriated farm. Later they were joined by refugees from Ndaleni who were moved there by the NPA, bringing the total to 270 families.

The development, 15 km from Pietermaritzburg, was criticised by the African National Congress for being too far away from jobs, employment opportuni-

ties and social amenities. The NPA was also criticised for not consulting with the people moved there.

The refugees who were moved there were also sceptical, pointing out the lack of social facilities and schools for the children. However, the NPA promised to build schools and develop the area.

A year later the picture has changed. Residents have renamed the expropriated farm, calling it Mpumelelo Village which means success.

With the help of the KwaZulu Community Training Trust (KCTT), development projects are underway. The original farmstead is being rebuilt into the Majuba Community Development Centre which will house a clinic, candlemaking room, road safety offices and a shop.

Also underway is a building block project which may well signal the departure of the tents.

What used to be the stables is being rebuilt into a primary school which, according to KCTT co-ordinator Wilfred Mhlungu, should be completed by the end of the year. Much of the finance is being provided by the Joint Service Board which has donated R120 000. But, according to Mhlungu, the NPA's decision not to develop the area as a low-cost housing complex is making it difficult to obtain funds for further development.

The decision has also upset the settlement's inhabitants, who read about the news for the first time in the press. At a meeting outside what will be Majuba Centre, the residents demanded to see MEC for Land and Planning Dr D.S. Rajah, whom they accused of taking decisions without consulting them.

"The government gave us this land and we are still waiting for titles. We are not going anywhere. We can't be driven all over," they said.

NPA public relations officer for community services, Raj Singh said that with the demise of the Department of Development Aid, the NPA was able to obtain land closer to the city which will be developed for low-cost housing. Mpumelelo Village will not be developed until the area near the city has been developed.

A colourful celebration

by NOMUSA CEMBI

THE amaXimba people near Cato Ridge celebrated their heritage at a colourful two-day ceremony over the weekend.

Women dressed in colourful, beaded traditional gear, bare-breasted teenagers in short colourful skirts, men carrying traditional weapons and some wearing amabheshu marked the occasion.

One of Saturday's highlights was the traditional killing of a bull with bare hands to cleanse "the blood which flowed during the faction fights of the 1950s in the Mlaba royal family".

Also on Saturday, reigning Chief Zibuse Mlaba spoke about the historical background of the amaXimba, saying they were Sothos who were defeated by Shaka, thus becoming part of the greater Zulu nation.

Mlaba paid homage to their role in the development of the African National Congress dating back to 1912 when, together with the Zulu royal family, they helped to set up the organisation.

Mlaba paid special tribute to his brother Msinga, who, before his assassination in 1987 was closely associated with Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mention was also made of 25 United Democratic Front supporters and members of the kwaXimba people who were killed between September and December 1989.

The traditional killing of the bull was a spectacular affair with scores of men grabbing the animal by its horns and wrestling it to the ground. The killing took more than an hour as men took turns to exhaust the bull and finally broke its neck.

Numerous cultural groups performed a series of traditional dancing routines, encouraged by ululating women dressed in colourful garb.

Sunday was marked by a political rally, addressed by Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise who said MK is preparing to become the future army of the country by sending its cadres overseas for training.

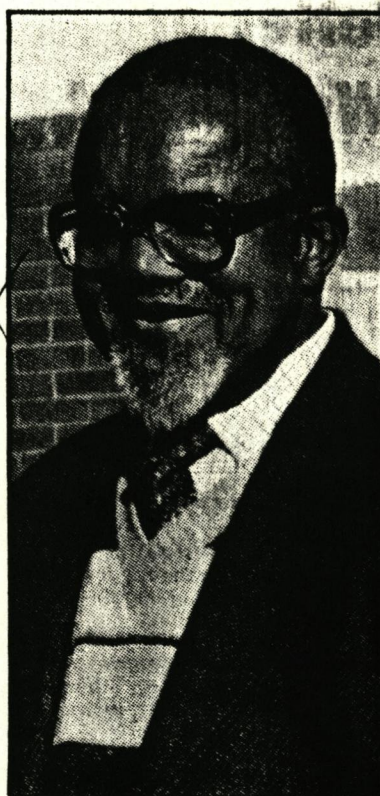
He also called on the people to form an army "to defend the people and the chief in the area".



AmaXimba chief, Zibuse Mlaba with the dead bull that was killed to "wash away the blood of faction fighting in the Mlaba royal family". The ceremonial killing formed part of the two-day celebration by the clan.

Picture by THABO BOFOKENG

'I thought **WITNESS ECHO** **that it** *10/09/92* **was** **hailing**



GWALA

MIDLANDS ANC chairman Harry Gwala thought the automatic fire by Ciskeian troops in Bisho on Monday was "hail in broad daylight" when it started.

Gwala was one of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance leaders who led the march to occupy Ciskei on Monday.

Gwala said he was in a car with former Robben Islander Elias Motsoaledi while midlands secretary Sifiso Nkabinde, Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils went to negotiate with the peace secretariat and the police about the route of the march.

"Within seconds I heard this huge noise, like thunder. I said to myself is hail falling in broad daylight? People were running in all directions. Those lunatics were firing indiscriminately."

Kasrils, Nkabinde and others took refuge under a car. Gwala's driver disappeared, leaving them stranded.

His aide Muzi Nkabinde quickly got him out of the car amid the flying bullets, into safety behind a toilet, a distance from the Ciskeians.

Thirty-five other Pietermaritzburg members were stopped by the Ciskeians shortly before reaching the border. They were in two minibuses and a sedan car.

"They searched us thoroughly and made us stand 200 metres from the car and they searched it. Only one of us had a gun and it was licensed," ex-

plained Thabo Neti, one of the 35.

Neti said the troops swore at them and said they were fooled by Chris Hani into believing they could topple Gqozo. The troops then told the minibus occupants to proceed and the occupants of the car to follow them as they were under arrest. "They kept whispering and we felt they wanted to kidnap us and kill us. They said in Ciskei they do not use teargas and they do not have bullets to waste by firing warning shots."

The minibus occupants said they would not leave their comrades so they all went to the police station. Neti said two members were assaulted and after a few hours all were released with instructions to leave Ciskei immediately. "The comrades in the minibuses saved our lives. If they deserted us we would have disappeared forever."

De Klerk urges talks about unrest

Leader blasts ANC over protests

By TOM COHEN
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk called Wednesday for urgent talks with Nelson Mandela to halt spiraling violence, warning that reform efforts could not continue until the bloodshed ceased.

He also lashed out at Mandela's African National Congress, claiming that communists in its leadership were trying to ruin the reform process with violent protests.

"It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily," de Klerk said in Pretoria.

South Africa's political crisis deepened after at least 28 ANC protesters were killed Monday when troops in the Ciskei black homeland fired on marchers calling for the removal of homeland ruler Brig. Gen. Oupa Gqozo (pronounced OO-pah KOR-sah).

ANC officials met Wednesday and issued a brief statement that said de Klerk appeared to have offered nothing new.

In June the ANC pulled out of constitutional talks aimed at ending white minority rule, but it has continued private contacts with the government.

New violence flared Wednesday in Ciskei when youths attacked and burned the homes of security force personnel. Homeland troops reportedly conducted searches, beating youths suspected of taking part in the ANC march.

Gqozo maintained that the ANC provoked the confrontation with his forces Monday and warned that there could be more violence. "It is probably going to happen in the future, because at the moment, the perpetrators of these deeds . . . are not apprehended," he said.

Some 2,000 ANC supporters marched Wednesday in the Qwa Qwa homeland, demanding the removal of Chief Minister T.K. Mopeli. Armed police watched, but there were no incidents.

ANC leaders say the homeland system is a major obstacle to resuming the stalled constitutional talks, and they are demanding the removal of all conservative homeland leaders.

Ciskei is one of 10 homelands formed by South Africa under apartheid to create separate nations for black people. Several are allied with the government.

Behind the Ciskei slaughter

WASHINGTON — The shooting on Monday of at least 24 African National Congress protesters in Ciskei, South Africa, has produced the usual storm of outrage from the usual hypocrites.

Australia's protest took first prize. Like other frequent critics of South Africa, it loudly heaped blame on the white government. Holier-than-thou, white Australia has no race problem because it never allowed blacks to settle there.

The real responsible party for Monday's massacre in the supposedly independent black mini-state of Ciskei was the ANC-Communist Party alliance. In a nice replay of primitive, tribal warfare, the ANC sent 60,000 militants to storm the "kraal" (stockade) of its enemy, Brig. Gen. Oupo Gqozo, ruler of Ciskei. The ANC announced its intention to oust the general from power and take over Ciskei. Gqozo just as clearly announced his tiny army would use force to resist.

ANC extremists and their communist allies, knowing full well that violence would erupt, cynically and brutally used their followers as cannon fodder. And, right on cue, the ANC's media supporters and lapdog churchmen blamed the government of President de Klerk for the massacre. It was all the fault of the wicked white racists, they chorused, who, in spite of on-again, off-again constitutional talks with the ANC and other black groups, are determined to preserve apartheid.

In fact, the Ciskei massacre showed clearly that South Africa is rapidly nearing a civil war in which blacks, not whites, will be the main combatants. Ciskei was created by South Africa in the 1960s as a nominally independent state for the Xhosa tribe. Many members of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela and its other top leaders, are Xhosa (pronounced Cosa). So is Brig. Gen. Gqozo. The ANC was trying to overthrow Gqozo because he interfered with its total control of the Xhosa. In other words, intra-tribal rivalry.

TIMWIT



Eric MARGOLIS



The march on Ciskei was also an attempt by young, ANC hardliners, notably its secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and communist boss, Chris Hani, to challenge the party's more moderate, elderly leaders, led by Mandela. And a ploy by the black extremists to sabotage constitutional talks with the white government. The militants, and the mobs of illiterate street thugs who back them, want to impose a Xhosa-run, Marxist dictatorship in South Africa, and to drive out whites and Asians — as they have been from most of black Africa.

At the same time, the ANC is locked in a bloody battle for power with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Zulu-based Inkatha Party. Buthelezi told me as far back as 1986 that the greatest threat to South Africa was not apartheid but the danger of black tribal war. He was sadly correct. In the past year, vicious fighting between moderate Inkatha and the ANC has left thousands dead. The toll would be far higher if the white-led army and police had not kept the two sides apart on many occasions.

Claims by the ANC and its foreign clique that the township fighting is the work of government agents merely serve to mask the fact that what we are seeing is tribal war between Xhosa and Zulu.

It's also increasingly evident that the ANC's moderate leaders are quickly losing control of their organization. They are caught in the middle between communists, militants and street gangs, on one hand, and the white government on the other.

Constitutional talks, now suspended, have so far failed to produce the key agreement on how to enfranchise the black majority while protecting the rights — and lives — of the white and Asian minority. In the midst of this dangerous impasse, both whites and blacks are themselves splitting into rival camps. Rather than a simple division along racial lines, white and black moderates are allying themselves against radicals, communists and black power militants. At the same time, white conservatives and extremists are warming up to ANC militants, and talking about dividing up South Africa into white and black zones.

All this means that we can no longer view South Africa as a simple passion play in which good blacks are pitted against wicked whites. Rather, the real South Africa is now emerging, an incredibly complex, fragmented and explosive land in which there is no longer any good and evil, just conflicting lusts among its tribes and leaders for power, wealth and ego.

Call it Yugoslavia with elephants.

ANC-PAC 'battle' hits Vaal townships

By Arthur Kemp

VAAL Triangle unrest is increasingly a battle between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, a Citizen survey has shown.

The ANC's deputy secretary-general in the PWV region, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, openly accuses "thugs within the PAC", as being responsible for "much of the trouble in the Vaal Triangle".

"The PAC cannot control its own supporters," he said. "It is they who hijack cars belonging to what they call White settlers and we cannot be held accountable for these thugs within the PAC."

Although Sharpeville is a traditional PAC stronghold, Mr Vilakazi says he knows "from personal experience that the ANC is the majority party in the area".

"Our membership has increased by 40 percent in the last two months alone. This itself may cause friction between the PAC and the ANC."

The secretary for publicity and information of the PAC, Mr Barney Desai, however, rejected the ANC's claims as "utter nonsense" and in turn accused the ANC of not

having control of its supporters.

We only need to remind the ANC of remarks made by Mr Chris Hani and Mr Nelson Mandela to the effect that they have lost control over their Self-defence units (SDUs) and that these people are responsible for many criminal acts."

Mr Desai said that "tension always arises between the PAC and the ANC when the ANC starts claiming Hegemony over whole territorial areas for itself, despite the fact that there may be other organisations present there as well".

"We have experienced massive intimidation and violence being perpetrated against our members, who have had to respond."

He mentioned an incident in which a PAC supporter was necklaced by people whom he described as ANC supporters. "Although the ANC claims to be a party of democracy, on the ground it supporters do not acknowledge democracy."

Mr Desai claimed that the PAC had developed enormous support within the Vaal Triangle "as a result of many people getting dissatisfied with the way the ANC has conducted affairs".

Many parents, for example, are angry that the continuing strikes, consumer boycotts and stay-aways are affecting their children's education — and the PAC, as a democratic party, is getting their support."

The Vaal Triangle has been the centre of many long and sometimes violent consumer boycotts. The most recent of these affected Zamdela township, near Sasolburg.

Although that boycott was provisionally called off after a meeting between local organisations in Sasolburg on Monday, several incidents of intimidation and violence were reported during the two-week-long boycott.

Of particular significance in the ending of the boycott was the role of PAC-aligned movements in opposing the ANC, which, they said, had unilaterally called the boycott without consulting local communities. Even the local "civic associations", which a short while ago were completely under the control of the ANC, came out against the boycott.

According to the PAC-inclined South African Chemical Workers' Union (Sacwu) representative in the area, Mr Masindi Mavhivha, several residents of Zamdela had

been forced to destroy their groceries by ANC supporters at the entrance to the township.

Mr Masindi also said some unfortunate people had been forced to drink cooking oil and detergents.

The bad blood between the ANC and the PAC is beginning to overshadow that of the more historically established fight between the ANC and the IFP in the area.

This older fight is the one which has captured more media attention because of its particularly bloody nature and for its culmination, to date, in the horrific massacre at Boipatong.

Supporters of both the IFP and the ANC in the Vaal Triangle have, however, long been the victims of many other brutal attacks — and each side has always insisted that the other is to blame.

According to the IFP, in attacks since September last year 29 of its supporters have been seriously injured. Eleven supporters' houses have been petrol-bombed, 16 supporters have been murdered in "conventional" manner and two necklaced.

Mr Themba Khoza, Transvaal IFP organiser, said the Vaal Triangle was "virtually uncontrollable because of the ANC's street committees".

These street committees are comprised of local "comrades" who have divided the residential areas into zones, with each committee being responsible for a certain zone. "Every member of the community who does not do what the ANC comrades say is in mortal danger."

The IFP also maintains that the ANC's street committees have established "people's courts" and that there is active MK (the ANC's armed wing) involvement in these courts.

16/1/14

B/Day

10/9/92

Marchers gave troops no choice but to fire, says Gqozo

PATRICK BULGER

CISKEI military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo said yesterday the killings in his capital Bisho on Monday could have been avoided had the ANC stuck to court conditions it agreed to beforehand.

In a telephone interview, Gqozo accused ANC marchers of ignoring the condition that they remain inside the Bisho stadium. He said his troops were stormed by a column of marchers and had no option but to fire to defend themselves.

Gqozo denied allegations that his security forces acted under instructions from the SADF in Pretoria, saying Ciskei's links with the SADF were the same as the SADF's with other homeland armies.

He said while he was prepared to test his support among Ciskeians in the form of a referendum, such a test could not be conducted in the climate of intimidation and violence that he said the ANC and SACP were responsible for.

"Ciskei's independence and authority will not be affected in any way by these events. We complied 100% with democratic principles and with the court order.

"We are not afraid of any testing of the will of Ciskeians on condition it is made clear that it cannot take place under conditions of intimidation. The homes of my

security force members are being burned. Everywhere the SACP is on the rampage. At the moment they have made things impossible for any testing of the will."

At the same time, Gqozo expressed his regret at what had happened. "I personally feel regret that people did not comply with the conditions. I feel sorrow and condolences for the people put here as cannon fodder by the ANC and SACP," he said.

He announced that he had appointed the territory's Chief Justice, Judge B De V Pickard, to investigate the shooting.

At a news conference in Bisho yesterday, Gqozo warned of a repeat of Monday's events if the ANC alliance continued to

provoke the Ciskei government and security forces, Sapa reports. "If democratic processes are going to be conducted this way, then our country can forget about ever having reconciliation, peace and stability." Events were being "orchestrated to ensure that there is another clash".

There were also reports yesterday that some Ciskei residents had claimed the homeland security forces were conducting door-to-door searches in villages, allegedly arresting and beating up residents who had participated in the march.

Our East London correspondent reports that the Bisho Supreme Court last night

□ To Page 2

Gqozo

□ From Page 1

granted an interim interdict against the Ciskei Defence Force, restraining the force from harassing, assaulting, threatening or verbally abusing ANC members in Ciskei. The return date is October 22.

SAP Border spokesman Lt-Col Christo Louw said yesterday the area was stabilised but remained tense. Louw said as far as the SAP was concerned, no people were killed on the SA side of the border although bodies had been dragged there. Autopsies were being conducted, but the SAP was not investigating criminal charges.

□ SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said on Agenda last night that the Ciskeian government had made contingency plans for the march which were not used.

He said his information was that a con-

tingent of Ciskeian police would form the first line of defence with teargas. Another contingent would be armed with rubber bullets. And the Ciskeian army would be the third and last line of defence with live ammunition.

Liebenberg said it appeared that the police had been used to channel the march to the border and were spread out along the road. When the group of marchers broke away and headed for the stadium, the police were behind them.

The army unit was on the other side of the stadium. He said he was told the unit was then the only line of defence between the breakaway group and Bisho.

● See Page 6

B/Day

10/9/92

NEWS**SADF member
arrested for
Inkatha killing**

A MEMBER of the SADF's predominantly Zulu-speaking 121 Battalion had been arrested in connection with the murder of Inkatha leader Fana Nzimande, his wife and four children in August, Inkatha spokesman Edward Tillet said yesterday.

The Nzimande family was reportedly lined up against a wall and gunned down by men wearing what appeared to be brown SADF overalls at a kraal near Richmond.

An SADF spokesman yesterday confirmed that Rifleman Khubane of 121 Battalion, which is stationed at Matubatuba, had been arrested.

THE Bisho massacre illustrates just how thin is the line that separates negotiations from outright war, and raises questions about the level of morality which accompanies political conduct in SA today.

The march was the subject of intense negotiations involving the ANC, the Ciskei government and the security forces of both SA and Ciskei. But in the excitement of the moment, the ANC's protest march dropped its civil rights pretensions and became a poorly co-ordinated attempt to overthrow the Ciskei government.

Chicken- and egg-like, it is difficult to apportion blame. Apartheid gave SA the Ciskei homeland and its leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. Were it not for apartheid, there would not have been 28 corpses lying around Bisho's stadium on Monday. Were it not for Ciskei's soldiers the shootings would not have taken place. In other words, the Bisho tragedy becomes a typical SA situation in which individuals are spared the blame. It is the system that is at fault.

The ANC, with the backing of prominent church leaders, refuses to accept that its engaging in certain protest actions can lead to disaster. The right of peaceful protest in a society in which the majority do not have the vote is accepted as inalienable, regardless of the unique circumstances in which we find ourselves.

THE ANC, convinced unshakably of the rightness of its cause, lays the blame for the shootings with President F W de Klerk. But what of the soldier who pulled the trigger, what of the commander who gave the order? What of the role played by ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils in leading unarmed people towards a line of soldiers lying concealed with cocked weapons? In a situation in which the system is blamed, the perception is created that individuals themselves are beyond reproach — it is circumstances and institutions that are at fault. In this moral mawkishness, personal responsibility is not at issue.

This, of course, is the thinking at play in societies at war. The deaths of men, women and children and the destruction of others' lives is insignificant. After all, it would be an eccentric history book that actually printed the names of the lowly

People the pawns in politicians' cynical war games

PATRICK BULGER

deceased.

It is difficult to dispel the feeling that SA's people are being short-changed by their politicians who profess a commitment to negotiations and yet engage in actions compatible only with a society at war.

In the Bisho context, if the objective of the exercise was to attempt a danger-ridden overthrow of Gqozo, could one not argue on a theoretical level that people should in fact have been armed if there was a strong possibility that they would be fired upon?

Kasrils argues in retrospect that he did not think the soldiers would fire upon unarmed protesters in the presence of senior ANC leaders and the world's Press. For a military man — Kasrils was prominent in the ANC's armed struggle while in exile — this was a naive assumption. A soldier approached by a throng of people who may or may not be armed, has little option but to save his own skin or risk being relieved of both his rifle and his life.

Such, however, was the ANC's belief in the disillusionment of Ciskei's soldiers, that its senior leaders came to believe their own propaganda. If anything, the Ciskei soldiers appeared to open fire with more than a dash of relish. Did the ANC's intelligence department not bother to inquire as to the loyalty or otherwise of Ciskei's soldiers?

The Bisho killings have grave consequences for the success of a peaceful transition in SA. The ANC, unable to achieve its objectives at the negotiating table, has now incorporated



ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils, right, describes the Bisho massacre to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

mass action into its long-term strategy, reasoning that the De Klerk government is dead to reasonable demands. On a national level, the ANC's commitment to negotiations will not be worth the paper it is written on if peaceful tactics can be replaced by gung ho military adventures as and when it suits the movement.

Is one to extract from the Bisho experience the following lesson: that the ANC is prepared to negotiate, that it is prepared to go to court to gain permission for a march and will abide by the court's ruling only up to

that point at which its aims are suited? Is SA to be led into a situation in which agreements are reached between political opponents not because they have finally agreed to set aside their differences but because the agreement provides a launching pad for the attainment of hidden agendas?

The predominant perception among ANC leaders is that the government has its back to the wall — without the right to govern and surrounded by security forces of questionable loyalty to the government of the day. Unlike at Bisho, the ANC

dare not allow itself to be deluded into believing the propaganda of its more excitable comrades cocooned in the school of struggle politics.

It may as well be said outright that the De Klerk government has no intention of relinquishing power in a manner that would leave it without a say in a future government. To the extent that the ANC and its allies are committed to the exercise of Leninist political principles — negotiating on the one hand, undermining on the other — the De Klerk government and its security forces will not let up on the covert war that is being conducted against the middle-level alliance leadership. Political cynicism cuts both ways.

Decades of apartheid have served to discredit SA's institutions — its courts, its security forces and indeed the very idea of authority.

Either we accept this state of affairs and begin rebuilding SA's institutions using the peace accord and the Goldstone commission as foundations, or the insidious slide towards a society at war will continue and accelerate. The ANC has a major role to play in both instances, and in the aftermath of Bisho must surely question whether the tactics it is employing serve not only to pluck the golden goose that is civilised society of its plumage, but actually kill the bird.

To be sure, the breaking of a rule — namely the foolhardy sprint at the soldiers from the stadium at Bisho — is not a capital offence. The Ciskei government left a long section of the stadium fence unattended before the event so that by the time the marchers arrived at the fence that was supposed to constrain them, they found it did not exist. That fence should have been there and the minutes it might have taken to break it down could have provided time for reflection, for a dissipation of adrenalin.

THIS is not to nitpick for the sake of it. The transition to democracy in SA cannot afford to go off the rails because fences are not mended. Factors like these will occur again and again. There is not a single detail that can be overlooked, not a single precaution that can be taken must be ignored.

The deaths of 28 unemployed peasants leaves a bitter aftertaste. In this depressing scenario, is it too much to ask our politicians to fight their own battles?

B/Day
10/9/9

Clampdown on 'revolutionaries'

FW calls for crisis meeting with ANC

PRETORIA — President FW de Klerk put constitutional negotiations on the back burner last night, calling instead for an urgent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela to resolve violence.

He told a news conference at the Union Buildings that he was taking strong action to deal with the violence and isolate "leaders and revolutionaries who continue to cling to violence".

Agreeing with the ANC that meaningful negotiations could not happen while the level of violence was so high, De Klerk asked the ANC to help — through talks — to find ways of resolving it.

He did not, as indicated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Monday night, threaten to suspend talks. He said the preparatory talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa could continue. But he said it was time negotiations were upgraded to a leadership level.

De Klerk said: "It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily."

"A meeting between government and the ANC has to take place urgently at leadership level now. ... I am prepared to lead the government delegation myself and urge Mr Mandela to do the same in respect of the ANC delegation."

De Klerk also announced three other courses of action government was initiating to quell violence. These were:

- ☐ That the national peace committee convene, within days, a meeting of the peace

BILLY PADDOCK

accord signatories so that parties' responsibilities could be reviewed and additional measures to help end violence could be worked out;

- ☐ That government would hold talks with all its institutions with security components to ensure uniform, effective and responsible action, within the framework of agreed codes, on public marches. Government would call all self-governing territories to an urgent meeting on this, and negotiate simultaneously with the TBVC states on the issue; and

- ☐ That government was seeking clarity on the causes of the Bisho killings and getting the Goldstone Commission to assist.

De Klerk said it was increasingly clear that the communists in the ANC were making deliberate attempts to render further constitutional talks impossible. "The vortex of violence in which the ANC/SACP is continuously involved is sucking the entire country ever deeper into it."

According to news reports, he said, the rules laid down for the Bisho march were deliberately contravened, with prominent communists reportedly leading the break-away group. Similarly, according to news reports, the peace accord was also breached by the Ciskei government. "That is condemned by us as well," De Klerk said.

The fact remained that the ANC, under the leadership of the SACP, could not escape the responsibility for having planned the Bisho march in the knowledge that there was a serious risk of violence, De

☐ To Page 2

De Klerk

Klerk said.

He said government was not able to continue constitutional talks and could not meet its obligation to the country and the other negotiating parties while "the ANC alliance or any other grouping is doing all it can to foment a climate of instability, revolution and violence". The ANC alliance's good faith in negotiations was under suspicion, he said.

"We have to concentrate now, as our first priority, on eliminating violence and everything that instigates violence and instability," he said.

☐ From Page 1

- ☐ The ANC said last night De Klerk's statement would be tabled at its extended national working committee meeting today, for an in-depth response.

It said, however, that at face value government seemed to be offering "more of the same". "The view of the ANC that needs no discussion is that mass action is not conflict-creating. It is the denial of free political activity by all kinds of government-supported petty tyrants that creates conflict."

● Comment, Page 6

B/Day
10/9/92

P.1

International Express

10-16/9/92

Curse of the ten hated homelands^X

THE Ciskei massacre is the worst atrocity since police shot and injured 56 people and injured 162 at Shatubville on March 21, 1960, the first day of a systematic campaign of civil disobedience against the hated pass law, which ordered Africans to carry identity cards wherever they went.

Ciskei is one of 10 black "homelands" set up in the 1960s under the government of Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd. But to the ANC they are hated relics of apartheid's plan to create a white South Africa. The ideal

was that all blacks would take citizenship of the homelands — becoming foreigners in white South Africa and tolerated as long as their labour was needed.

The homelands covered 13 per cent of the country but were designed to support 80 per cent of the population.

They became hopelessly overcrowded and evolved into poverty-stricken dumping grounds for "surplus" blacks. Few had any chance of becoming viable states because most were scattered around the country.

Military coups, attempted coups and authoritarian dictators scarred homeland politics.

Before President F.W. de Klerk publicly acknowledged in 1990 that apartheid had failed, at least three million blacks had been forcibly uprooted from homes in "white" South Africa.

Now ANC policy is that every homeland should be reincorporated into South Africa, but Ciskei ruler Joshua Gqozo is one of three homeland leaders opposed to giving up autonomy.

Tanzanian to lead first UN group

UNITED NATIONS. — A UN official from Tanzania, Ismat Steiner, will lead an advance party of 13 UN observers leaving for South Africa tomorrow to help monitor violence that has taken thousands of lives in recent years, a UN spokesman announced yesterday.

Additional observers will follow at intervals until a full complement of 50 is deployed, probably around mid-October, other sources say.

The observer team will be headed by a senior Jamaican UN official, Angela King. But she is not expected to leave for South Africa until late next week.

The observers are to work closely with South Africa's National Peace Secretariat, set up to curb violence under an accord signed last September by all the country's main political parties, trade unions, religious groups and civic organisations.

The announcement of Ms King's appointment.

TO PAGE 2

First UN group

FROM PAGE 1

and of Mr Steiner as deputy chief of mission, was coupled with a statement saying Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali "deeply deplores the loss of life which occurred in Ciskei on Monday last during a demonstration organised by the African National Congress".

Ms King, who holds the UN rank of director — one grade below that of an assistant secretary-general — heads the division of staff administration and training.

She has been a member of the UN secretari-

at since 1966, serving mainly in its department of economic and social affairs. Before joining the United Nations, she was a member of Jamaica's UN mission. She has not previously visited South Africa.

Mr Steiner, a 21-year veteran of the UN secretariat, serves in the UN office of ocean affairs and the law of the sea.

He told Reuters he paid a private visit to South Africa after serving in Namibia as part of a UN operation that led to the territory's independence in March 1990.

The advance party of UN observers will be assigned to the Natal/KwaZulu area, around Durban, and to the Witwatersrand/Vaal area, centred on Johannesburg.

When all 50 observers are deployed, the UN spokesman said, they will be stationed in nine additional regions so as to cover the entire country: Border/Ciskei; Western Cape; Orange Free State; Northern Cape; Far Northern Transvaal; Northern Transvaal; Eastern Transvaal; Eastern Cape; and Western Transvaal. — Sapa-Reuters.

Gqozo: We'll do it again if provoked

BISHO. — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned of a repeat of Monday's massacre if the ANC alliance continued to provoke the Ciskei Government and security forces.

He was speaking at his first Press conference since the killing of at least 32 protesters by the security forces of the quasi-independent territory.

It was held at the Ciskei

legislative complex in the capital, Bisho.

Brig Gqozo refused to discuss the details of the shooting because the Ciskei Council of State had earlier in the day approved legislation for the appointment of a commission "for the prevention and control of public violence and intimidation".

"All further comment in the incident is, therefore, subject to the well-known sub judice rule,"

he said.

An angry Brig Gqozo denounced the ANC-led mass action campaign, and the setting fire to houses belonging to Ciskei security force members since Monday.

"If democratic processes are going to be conducted this way, then our country can forget about ever having reconciliation, peace and stability.

"It is very sorrowful,

really, to countenance this which will eventually lead again, as it is a deliberate provocation of the (Ciskei) government and its security forces, which is orchestrated to ensure that there is another clash which is probably going to happen in the future."

Brig Gqozo said he was not prepared to hold a referendum in the Ciskei to test the will of the majority.

TO PAGE 2

Warning by Gqozo

FROM PAGE 1

ty as long as the ANC alliance continued with its "intimidatory activities".

Church leaders met Brig Gqozo and his Council of State on Tuesday in a bid to get them to agree to a referendum to defuse the situation in the Ciskei.

Brig Gqozo yesterday described himself as "an obstacle in the path of mass action".

"I don't believe that it's ever justifiable as a substitute to peaceful multi-party negotiations.

"On the question of a referendum, my council and my Cabinet are looking at all suggested proposals from various quarters especially the church people.

"But it is very clear that any reasonable testing of the will of people, or testing of the waters, can never be achievable in such a climate of intimidation.

"In this climate of ... intimidatory activities,

my government is not prepared to even think about it unless for a reasonable period of time there will be refrained from the ANC/SACP alliance to conduct acts of intimidation.

"And fear takes a hell of a lot of time to leave the hearts of people."

Returning to the massacre, Brig Gqozo said: "It is with great remorse and actually great distress that I want to place on record my government's and my Ciskeian people's total horror and sorrow at what happened on Monday.

"It shouldn't have happened.

"If these people (the ANC and allies) really respected norms and principles of a civilised society, that should never have happened.

"I hereby appeal to everybody in Ciskei to let this matter be settled by the courts, to remain calm and to avoid any further acts of senseless violence and retribution."

He announced he had appointed the territory's

Chief Justice, Mr Justice B de V Pickard, to investigate the shooting.

The judge had already started work and he was free to decide when and how he would give information about the inquiry to the media.

In a reply in which it called Brigadier Gqozo, the "butcher of Bisho" and a puppet, the ANC said: "It is the Pretoria Government that has made it possible for Gqozo to have the audacity to say he will do it again."

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and State President De Klerk had failed to condemn the massacre.

"The puppet is now learning new tricks from the master."

Referring to Brig Gqozo's announcement that he was to institute a commission of inquiry into the massacre, the ANC added: "It remains to be seen which judicial officers will associate themselves with Gqozo's murder."

The Citizen

10/9/92

Order: Don't assault ANC members

BISHO. — The Ciskei Supreme Court issued an urgent order late last night restraining the Ciskei Defence Force from "assaulting, harassing, threatening or verbally abusing ANC members" resident in the homeland.

The order, granted by Mr Justice M H Claassen, was a result of an application by the ANC against the Ciskei Minister of Defence.

The order directs the Minister to take the necessary steps to ensure the order be brought to the attention of all CDF members and its agents "as a matter of extreme urgency".

The CDF were ordered to pay costs and to show before October why the order should not be made final.

Earlier it was reported that the Ciskei Police and Defence Force yesterday conducted door-to-door searches in villages around King Williams-

town, allegedly arresting and beating up residents who had participated in Monday's march on Bisho.

A Sapa reporter who travelled to Ndevana Village, about 10 km outside King Williamstown, spoke to residents who made the allegations.

Several houses and government institutions were petrol bombed in Ciskei and damage estimated at more than R150 000 had been caused since the Bisho killings on Monday. Ciskei Police liaison officer Maj Bangile Tom, said.

A house in Zone 10, Zwelitsha, belonging to a civilian was extensively damaged when it was petrol bombed and stoned on Monday night. Damage was estimated at

R50 000.

A house, which formerly belonged to a policeman, was petrol bombed in Zone 8, Zwelitsha, causing R70 000 damage. The house was empty at the time of the attack and nobody was injured.

Late on Tuesday night, a house belonging to an employee of the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane was attacked with petrol bombs, but minimal damage of R300 was caused. No injuries were sustained.

The Whittlesea telephone exchange was extensively damaged when petrol bombs were hurled at it on Tuesday night. The police said damage was estimated at R17 000. A suspect was arrested, a Sapa reporter said.

FW CALLS FOR TALKS WITH ANC

Wants to
discuss
violence

STATE President De Klerk last night called for an urgent meeting between the government and the African National Congress at leadership level to discuss the problem of violence.

Reacting to the Bisho tragedy on Monday, he told a news conference in Pretoria that the ANC and the government

should also discuss the role which "conflict-creating mass action plays in the transition to democracy", the ANC's violation of the Peace Accord and other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

Mr De Klerk said the National Peace Committee should call an urgent meeting of all the parties who signed the Peace Accord so that the re-

sponsibilities of the participants could be looked at.

About the proposed meeting with the ANC, Mr De Klerk said: "I am prepared to lead the government delegation myself and urge Mr Mandela to do the same in respect of the ANC delegation."

"Both I and Mr Mandela should be involved di-

TO PAGE 2

FW urges talks

FROM PAGE 1

rectly in this discussion."

He announced the government would hold talks with all governmental institutions with security forces under their control, so that unanimous action within the framework of agreed codes, re-

garding the handling of marches, might be ensured.

The government would invite all of the self-governing territories to an urgent discussion on this matter and would negotiate simultaneously and directly with the TBVC countries on the issue.

Mr De Klerk said clarity should be achieved quickly on the causes of the events in Bisho and who should bear the blame for them.

"It is not in the national interest of peace that protracted propaganda campaigns should be conducted about this," he said.

Mr De Klerk added: "We are in contact with

the Goldstone Commission on this matter since we are of the opinion that the commission has a role to play in this regard."

The government was looking incisively at additional and improved methods on controlling mass action with a view to eliminating any violence that may ensue from them.

Mr De Klerk said: "It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily."

When all the parties to the Peace Accord met, hopefully within days, they could also look at additional measures to ensure the termination of violence. — Sapa.

The Citizen

10/9/92

The Citizen 10/9/92

Ciskei massacre: ANC holds memorial services

Citizen Reporter

A MEMORIAL service honouring the victims of Monday's massacre in the Ciskei will be held in Johannesburg today.

The service is one of several the African National Congress (ANC) will hold in the country's major centres this week for those killed and injured in the shooting.

Ciskeian security forces opened fire on ANC supporters at the border with South Africa on Monday, killing 28 and wounding more than 200, after the demonstrators breached a cordon and ran towards the soldiers.

Funeral details are not yet known, but the ANC will probably call

for a national day of mourning with marches throughout the country, said ANC spokesman, Carl Niehaus.

The ANC had called on its regions for peaceful action in protest against Monday's shooting and in sympathy with its victims, he said.

A leader of the Bisho march, ANC PWV region chairperson, Tokio Sexwale, will address today's memorial service in the Sached Basement Hall, corner of Bree and Rissik streets, at 12.30 pm.

Leaders of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the South African Communist Party and the

South African Student's Congress will also speak at the service.

A similar service will be held at the St Alban's cathedral, Schoeman Street, Pretoria, at 2 pm tomorrow.

A memorial is planned in Cape Town, but further details are not yet available.

• The ANC PWV region will hold a picket at the Bophuthatswana Embassy in Pretoria at noon today to demand a climate of free political activity in Bophuthatswana.

A march was held in Cape Town on Tuesday and a rally in the southern Free State next Wednesday will be accompanied by a protest march, Mr Niehaus said.

Growing homelands crisis: Security chiefs meet

Citizen Reporter

AN emergency meeting of South Africa's intelligence chiefs and security force leaders was held in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the growing crisis arising out of the ANC's mass action campaign to target the homelands.

This was confirmed yesterday by top-level government sources.

There were indications yesterday that the ousting of the regime of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is to become an ongoing national campaign, while QwaQwa, Bophuthatswana, Kwa-Zulu are also being targeted.

In addition, Right-wing towns are to be targeted, which brought a threat of mobilisation by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (See Page Four).

Dangerous

Details of what the intelligence chiefs discussed were not disclosed, but the agenda was said to have included measures to deal with what was described as an increasingly dangerous situation.

The Citizen was informed that the chiefs of all three branches of intelligence, the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Military Intelligence (DMI) and the Police, attended the meeting. Senior security force officers were also said to have been present.

It is believed that an input from this meeting was made to the Cabinet, which met in Pretoria yesterday.

Senior government of-

ficials told The Citizen of extreme concern at the ongoing campaign to make the country ungovernable, with programmes to oust government at local, regional and national levels.

It was pointed out that the staging of the Bisho march, which resulted in the deaths of 32 people and injury to about 200, was deliberately timed to coincide with the holding of President De Klerk's conference on regionalism and federalism.

Originally, the march was to have been held on September 9. However, on August 23, the National Alliance summit (the ANC, SACP, Cosatu alliance) decided that the "campaign for free political activity" in the Ciskei should be adopted as a national campaign, and it was agreed that the march, if possible, should be held on the same day as the conference called by Mr De Klerk.

It was also requested that the national leadership of the alliance should move into areas in and around Ciskei on the "mobilisation period" to popularise the march.

The presence of SACP general secretary, Mr Chris Hani, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, a leading SACP member and ANC national executive committee member, Mr Steve Tshwete (from the Border region, an NEC member and the organisation's chief spokesman on sport as well as former political commissar of Umkhonto we Sizwe, as well as lead-

ing activists, Mr Cheryl Carolus, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Raymond Suttner, Mr Tokyo Sexwale and Mr Tony Yengeni, was specifically asked for.

A programme starting on September 3, involving four separate teams simultaneously touring different regions in the area to mobilise support, was drawn up.

In addition, two other senior ANC members, Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Thabo Mbeki, were called upon to address a conference on violence in the region as part of the mobilisation strategy.

According to the government officials, the decision to launch the ongoing mass action strategy was taken on May 3, before the advent and collapse of Codesa II, which led to the breakdown in negotiations.

This had culminated in the August stayaway, the march on the Union Buildings and marches nationwide.

It was now being reflected in campaigns against the governments of homelands which do not support the ANC, boycotts and a multifaceted campaign aimed at bringing about a transfer of power to the ANC.

In respect of the Bisho incident itself, government officials said there had been intelligence beforehand of weapons being moved into the Ciskei, but this information had not been verified.

However, it was pointed out that a number of incidents in the Ciskei before Monday's incident, including attacks on the Ciskei's security forces, indicated that some form of an underground structure was already in place in the territory.

Officials last night confirmed that certain aerial video footage of Monday's events in Bisho had been taken by the South African security forces.

This was being studied to ascertain what had happened on the ground.

The Citizen 18/9/92

QwaQwa march peaceful

PHUTHADITJHA-BA. — Fears of a clash between African National Congress marchers and QwaQwa security forces in the homeland capital Phuthaditjhaba proved unfounded yesterday afternoon.

The march of about 2 000 people from the ANC offices to a police station eight km away was peaceful, with security forces keeping a low, al-

most non-existent, presence.

The marchers, who are demanding the resignation of Chief Minister T K Mopeli, descended on the Mokodumela Police Station to hand over a memorandum demanding that all bantustans be disbanded and that an interim govern-

ment of national unity be established.

ANC national executive committee member Terror Lekota said the people were demanding that the bantustans "go now".

"We are sending notice to Mopeli this afternoon that he must go. He has no support.

"Today's mass action will be followed up by a 'people's assembly' at a venue alongside the QwaQwa showgrounds, where Chief Minister Mopeli is scheduled to speak."

Mr Lekota charged the Chief Minister was "propping up the structures of apartheid".

"He must revise his position and break ranks with De Klerk, find common cause with the people, or resign," Mr Lekota told a cheering crowd gathered outside the police station.

Last minute permission

TO PAGE 2

QwaQwa march

FROM PAGE 1

for the march to take place was granted by Chief Magistrate Paul Mahosho, whose decision flew in the face of the expressed wishes of the authorities. However, he insisted the judiciary was independent and declared the march legal.

Security forces maintained a low profile with two armoured vehicles following the marchers.

No incidents were reported and the essentially peace-loving southern Sotho people, who make up the majority of Phuthaditjhaba, stuck to the spirit and letter of the magistrate's order.

However, confrontation today remains possible when Dr Mopeli officially opens the national show.

The ANC has vowed to disrupt the proceedings.

Dr Mopeli said earlier he regarded yesterday's mass action as a failure and said it proved the organisation did not have the support it claimed to have in the region.

He predicted today's mass action would also fail and warned that measures had been taken to prevent disruption of the show. — Sapa.

The Citizen 10/9/92

De Klerk slams ANC Reds

WHILE the government remained committed to a new negotiated constitution and felt elections would have to be held as soon as possible, it questioned the African National Congress alliance's bonafides regarding negotiations. State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said: "The ANC alliance's bonafides in respect of negotiation is strongly under suspicion."

It was becoming increasingly clear the Communists in the ANC were making deliberate attempts to render further constitutional negotiations impossible.

"They have evidently taken the ANC in tow at

TO PAGE 2

FW slams Reds

FROM PAGE 1

the expense of those in the ANC who are not in favour of violence and the politics of confrontation.

"They (ANC alliance) cannot pay lip service to negotiations while destroying the climate for negotiations through their actions."

As a result, before constructive progress with the development of a new constitutional dispensation was possible, "we have to concentrate now, as our first priority, on eliminating violence and everything that instigates violence and instability".

"The government remains committed to a new, negotiated and fully democratic constitution. Related to that is that elections have to be held as soon as possible.

"However, we have now reached a point at which violence is mak-

ing the realisation of these ideals increasingly difficult to attain."

It was simply not possible, Mr De Klerk said, to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence had been dealt with satisfactorily.

The government was not able to participate meaningfully in the constitutional negotiating process and could not meet its responsibilities to the country and all of the negotiating parties while the ANC alliance or any other grouping was doing all it could to foment a climate of instability, revolution and violence.

Mr De Klerk said the African National Congress, under the leadership of the SA Communist Party, proceeded deliberately with the march on Bisho which they knew could lead to bloodshed.

The South African Government had anticipated trouble and tried over days to persuade the parties to act in accordance with the Peace Accord.

"The tragedy is that nobody would have died at Bisho if the two parties involved in the conflict had fully honoured their obligations under the Peace Accord.

"I had letters delivered to (ANC president) Mr (Nelson) Mandela to involve him and try and persuade him to intervene."

According to news reports, Mr De Klerk said, the rules laid down were deliberately contravened.

"Prominent Communists such as (Ronnie) Kasrils were leading the breakaway group. Their planning was aimed at instigating violence."

Breaches of the Peace Accord by the Ciskei Government were also condemned by the government.

"However, the fact remains that the ANC, under the leadership of the SA Communist Party, cannot escape the responsibility for having planned Bisho in the knowledge that there was a serious risk of violence." — Sapa.

The Citizen 10/9/92

Govt bid to purge ANC futile — SACP

Citizen Reporter

ANY attempts by the government to get the ANC to purge its leadership of Communists would be futile, according to SACP Central Committee and ANC executive member Mr Jeremy Cronin. Mr Cronin's statement came after mounting speculation that the government may tell the ANC bluntly to get rid of the Communists in its ranks.

Mr Cronin told The Citizen that the speculation reflected a deep irritation in the government with the SACP, a party it thought would decline because of the events in Eastern Europe.

"Their expectations have not come true. Support on mass level for the party is growing enormously, and the popularity of senior party leaders, like Chris Hani (chief of staff of Umkhonto we Siz-

we), is immense," Mr Cronin said.

He reminded the government that, at the ANC's conference last July, the top-scoring person in the NEC elections was Mr Hani.

Mr Cronin said the re-emergence of the government's "Communist conspiracy theory" was a deliberate disinformation campaign aimed not at the SACP, but at the ANC.

"It is their reply to mass action. And it is also a foretaste of the kind of propaganda we can expect from the government in a future election campaign," he said.

While the SACP and the ANC were separate political organisations, it was a fact that some of the ANC's NEC members were Communists. That overlapping of membership would continue.

"The SACP has been in the trenches with the ANC since the late 1920s," Mr Cronin added.

"And the ANC generally takes a dim view of being told by the apartheid government who it should have as its members."

Political sources inside and outside the National Party expressed concern at the active presence of SACP leaders at this week's ANC march on Bisho, which resulted in the death of at least 24 people.

Following the incident, indications were strong that the government was seriously considering action to halt what was described as "Communist-inspired tactics" to take over mass action for "purely revolutionary purposes".

According to Mr Cronin, a Communist witch-hunt was in the offing every time the ANC took a firm, principled stand on an issue.

The SACP remained an independent party in alliance with the ANC, Mr Cronin said. It had no strategic differences with the ANC in regard to short- and medium-term objectives.

The Citizen 10/9/92

'ANC security staff could have been armed'

Citizen Reporter

ANC security personnel employed to guard the organisation's leaders were probably carrying licensed weapons during Monday's abortive march on the Ciskei capital, Bisho.

But the ANC was adamant yesterday that no shots had been fired at Ciskei security forces by demonstrators against Brigadier Oupa Qozo's administration.

Mr Raymond Suttner, an ANC National Executive Council member and an eye-witness to Monday's events, said he had not seen any arms among the demonstrators, and no shots had been fired.

To a question regarding a revolver which was seen on the ground next to dead and wounded marchers on TV news on Monday night, Mr Suttner said he personally had seen no weapons.

"But there is always the possibility that some of the people assigned to guard our leaders were carrying licensed weapons," he said, adding that if there had been a firearm it had "definitely not been used".

Violence was not part

of their plan on Monday.

"In fact, the march had an air of determination around it rather than being noisy. In comparison with our previous march last month, it was quiet. We would have heard any shots," he told The Citizen.

Mr Suttner said it was "complete lies" for Brig Qozo to say shots had been fired at Ciskei troops. Brig Qozo was alleging that only because he had no real defence to fall back on.

Asked about reports that a Stechkin machine pistol had been found in the ranks of the marchers after the shooting, Mr Suttner said he had no knowledge of such a weapon.

Regarding the finding of a map which apparently outlined the march route and pinpointed a break in the fence of the Bisho Stadium, Mr Suttner said he had not seen it but admitted the intention had always been to breach the fence and send marchers around the flanks of Ciskei Defence Force units into Bisho.

"Yes, we were aware of the break in advance but we intended to proceed peacefully," said Mr

Suttner.

He said freedom of political expression in a region was the paramount criteria of whether or not the ANC would take action in a targeted homeland.

OwaOwa people were unhappy with their leadership and with Chief Minister Mopeli. The people had asked the ANC to intervene which it had done.

"Whether or not the homeland agrees with us has nothing to do with it," he said, referring to allegations made by deputy Law and Order Minister, Mr Gert Myburgh on Tuesday night.

Mr Myburgh said it was interesting to note that the governments of Venda and Transkei, which were allies of the ANC, were not targeted. The criterion was not the democratic nature of the governments in question but whether or not they supported the ANC.

Mr Suttner said Mr Myburgh's comments were a complete misrepresentation of the facts.

He went on to deny reports that the ANC had cancelled another march on Bisho.

The Citizen 10/9/92

OZ PM blames it all on SA Government

CANBERRA. — Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating said yesterday that President De Klerk's failure to condemn the Ciskei, "massacre", put in question his commitment to ending violence and apartheid.

Keating said the South African Government must make sure the perpetrators of the massacre, in which Ciskei troops killed at least 28 and wounded about 200 African National Congress (ANC) supporters, were brought to justice.

"The president's failure to condemn the massacre puts in question his commitment to eliminating political violence and the structures of apartheid which Ciskei represents," Mr Keating said in a statement.

Mr De Klerk and his Ministers have blamed a planned ANC charge to "the other" Bisho for the shootings.

Mr Keating called in South African ambassador Mr David Tothill to tell him of Australia's "horror" at the killings.

Australian trade unions

yesterday began attempting to block deliveries to the South African Embassy here in protest.

The first act of the six-member picket, lined up with anti-apartheid banners outside the steel gates of the huge white-painted Canberra Embassy, was to persuade the driver of a parcels van to drive off without making his delivery.

"We have set up the picket line to prevent the delivery of goods and services to the embassy," Mr Charles McDonald, secretary of Canberra's Trades and Labour Council, the umbrella body for local unions, told reporters after a council meeting.

He has asked the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the nation's main union body, to pressure the Australian Government into reimposing certain sanctions, such as a ban on sporting links, which were lifted last year by Commonwealth nations.

"Has anything changed in South Africa in recent years," asked Mr McDo-

nald, referring to Monday's killings in Ciskei.

Ciskei, covering 5 300 sq km is one of 10 independent Black homelands created under Pretoria's former policy of racial separation.

Australia was maintaining trade, investment and financial sanctions until South Africa was irrevocably on the road to non-racial democracy, an Australian Government spokesman said.

But Australia will uphold an international obligation to ensure essential services to the embassy, he said.

Mr McDonald said the picket action would be peaceful and mainly concentrate on preventing delivery of goods. He said drivers would not be forcibly prevented from entering the embassy.

He conceded that other union pickets at the embassy in the past few years had not been totally successful.

"But if we sit back and do nothing we will never get anywhere," Mr McDonald said. — Sapa-Reuters.

The Star 10/9/92

Gqozo: another clash likely

by Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO — An unrepentant Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned of further massacres if the African National Congress and its allies continued to "provoke" Ciskei authorities.

Speaking at his first media conference since Monday's killings at Bisho, Brigadier Gqozo said it was "sorrowful to countenance" the likelihood that "another clash is probably going to happen".

His remarks — made in the face of widespread condemnation of his security forces' shoot-to-kill actions — came three days after the Bisho massacre.

In a heated response last night, the ANC's department of information and publicity said although it did not usually respond to the "venom that flows from the butcher of Bisho, Oupa Gqozo", his "audacity to stand up in public and say he would do it again" deserved to be

taken seriously.

The Ciskei Supreme Court issued an urgent order late last night restraining the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) from "assaulting, harassing, threatening or verbally abusing ANC members" resident in the homeland.

The order, granted by Mr Justice M H Claassen, was a result of an application by the ANC against the Ciskeian Minister of Defence.

Accused

Earlier yesterday, the border region was volatile.

Soldiers were accused of mounting a door-to-door terror campaign aimed at victimising participants in Monday's ANC march.

President de Klerk came under increasing international pressure to act against Brigadier Gqozo.

Western diplomats said last night that their governments were telling Pretoria directly that it retained responsibility

for the behaviour of homeland governments.

The homelands are not recognised by the international community.

It was clear yesterday that normality had not yet returned to the Border region.

The Star visited villages in the area and was told that CDF soldiers had been terrorising suspected ANC supporters. There were also reports of attacks on homes belonging to soldiers in Ciskei on Tuesday night.

In Ndevana village, near King William's Town, residents said CDF soldiers had beaten up several men.

In an interview with The Star, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys raised serious questions about the conduct of the CDF.

"It must be answered why the soldiers did not issue a warning before firing, why they did not first fire teargas followed by rubber bullets and whether it was really necessary to shoot for so long," he said.

The Star

10/9/92

Peace pact 'still useful'

By Brian Sokutu

Despite the National Peace Committee's (NPC) legislative inability to act against signatories who violated the National Peace Accord, it was not time to give up, NPC chairman John Hall said yesterday.

Mr Hall was responding to a question at the Lawyers for Human Rights annual meeting in Johannesburg on whether the NPC planned taking action against Ciskei leader and peace accord signatory Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, for the Bisho massacre.

"At their own peril politicians ignore the peace accord, which has brought people together and created friendships. We should not let Ciskei cloud the effectiveness of the accord," Mr Hall said.

The NPC had decided to appoint senior political leaders "to be ombudsmen for the NPC at grassroots level", he added.

The Star 10/9/92

'I saw my friend hacked to death'

By Philip Zoio

A Swanieville resident yesterday told the Rand Supreme Court how attackers hacked his friend to death with pangas during the massacre at the West Rand squatter camp in May last year.

The man, who may not be identified, also told the court how he feigned death to escape

the same fate.

He said he was awakened by the sound of gunfire on May 12. He, his wife and his friend hid under a bed, but ran outside after realising that the house had been set on fire. He saw many people around the gate.

Some of them approached his friend, demanding money. One of the accused, Bakers Dlamini, told the friend in Zulu: "We are not here to play around."

With help from the light shining from the burning house, the

witness saw the men start hacking his friend, he said. After co-accused Mzanywa Sithole had struck the first blow, Mr Dlamini and the others joined in, he said.

Mr Dlamini then approached him and said to his companions: "Why should we let this dog go?"

Another man then aimed a gun at his head. "The gun didn't fire, it just made noises," the witness said. He then knocked the man to the ground with a

wheelbarrow.

As another man was about to shoot at him, he lifted the wheelbarrow. The bullet pierced the wheelbarrow and went through his right forearm. A second shot struck him on the left arm, and he fell to the ground.

With the wheelbarrow covering his head, he pretended to be dead, and through the bullet holes he watched the men move away, the witness said.

The witness's mother told the

court how men entered her house and demanded money, her husband and her husband's firearm. Among the group was Mr Dlamini, who she said had been living in Swanieville for a long time.

One man slapped her, another kicked her and a third man lifted a spear before being told by a companion not to stab her, she said.

She then crawled to a toilet, where she hid until the attack was over.

Mr Dlamini, of Kagiso hostel near Krugersdorp, Mr Sithole, of Wattville hostel near Benoni, and five others have pleaded not guilty to 28 counts of murder, public violence and illegal possession of an AK-47, arms and ammunition.

The other accused are Vumisan Majola (37), Sizwe Majola (21), Joseph Khanyile (51), Bhikowakhe Mdlalose (41) and Pheyi Mlango (54), all of Kagiso hostel.

The trial continues.

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P. 25

The Star 10/9/92

10 The Star Thursday September 10 1992

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Butchery at Bisho

MISGUIDED revolutionaries in the SA Communist Party and ANC have deservedly been attacked for leading their followers into foreseeable mortal danger in Bisho. Mr Mandela must ensure that they are never again allowed to be so reckless as to turn legitimate protest action into outright insurrection. But the callous behaviour of some of these leaders in no way ameliorates the criminality which occurred under the orders of the Ciskei government.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is being called the butcher of Bisho by bereaved citizens of his region. He has earned the title. Shooting to kill with live ammunition can be justified only in the most extreme circumstances, and only when all other available measures have been exhausted. Brigadier Gqozo's soldiers were clearly told not to bother with the preliminaries — no warnings, no tearsmoke, no rubber bullets, no shots in the air or on the ground. It was a straightforward mass execution.

As this newspaper has reported, South Africans did not even see the full horror of the massacre on their television screens. Viewers abroad did, and this should be borne in mind when assessing the furious responses which have come from such level-headed observers as British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. Mr Hurd called on President de Klerk to assert control over homeland security forces immediately.

It is a source of shame that our Government could not, for selfish party-political reasons, bring itself to condemn its homeland ally without hesitation. It must now do so, and do so unequivocally. Brigadier Gqozo must not be allowed to get away with a whitewashed internal inquiry. We must know precisely who gave the orders for Monday's mass murder. And Mr de Klerk must, at the very least, tell the brigadier to hold a referendum to determine who has genuine support in the Ciskei.

The Star 10/9/92

12 The Star Thursday September 10, 1992

LETTERS

Kane-Berman 'consistent supporter of Inkatha'

The SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) is to be commended for its report "Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in South Africa" by Anthea J Jeffery, an edited version of which appeared in The Star last Thursday (September 3).

All organisations must be open to scrutiny and criticism, especially where one expects a high degree of objectivity, as one would, from those organisations referred to in the report. Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists and



John Kane-Berman... objectivity questioned.

the Human Rights Commission.

By publishing such a report the SAIRR, an organisation that has consistently previously

shown its objectivity in its long and proud history, is clearly showing that it believes it is maintaining those standards of rigorous research.

Would it not therefore be unreasonable if recent institute studies be open to the same standards?

A more rigorous examination than my own casual observations is necessary to dispel the increasing belief that the director, John Kane-Berman's highly publicised views has, to use Ms Jeffery's own words "the effect (of creating) a whole-

ly one-sided view of violence in South Africa, effectively convicting one side on the basis of hearsay while exonerating the other".

Quite simply John Kane-Berman consistently supports Inkatha whilst criticising the ANC, and supports research that reinforces that view.

If this lack of objectivity is found to be true it undermines the good name and reputation of the institute.

Keith S Peacock
Crown Mines

De Klerk in new plea to Mandela for talks

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT DE KLERK last night invited Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, to an immediate meeting to prevent a rapid slide "into the dark vortex of violence and anarchy".

His call came after an all-day emergency Cabinet meeting in Pretoria at which he convinced his colleagues he had to make one more man-like approach to talks.

Pretoria was angered and shocked by the world reaction to the Bisho massacre, in which 28 ANC supporters were shot dead by troops of the Ciskei independent homeland on Monday.

Condemnation of the government inundated the meeting. Australia and other countries threatened to reimpose sanctions while British investors brought the Johan-

nesburg Stock Exchange to its knees.

At last night's press conference, Mr de Klerk could hardly conceal his anger at Mr Ronnie Kasrils, an ANC executive member, who admitted he led a breakaway group of demonstrators to "storm Bisho [the homeland capital] and destroy the puppet dictator". Brig Oupa Gogoze.

As the United Nations announced that the first of 50 UN observers would arrive in South Africa tomorrow, Mr de Klerk said there was no point in pressing for a continuation of negotiations for a democratic South Africa until the question of violence had been resolved.

He called for an urgent meeting of the National Peace Committee and its signatories, including the ANC, to discuss the Bisho massacre.

cre and all other, less publicised, violence continuing in the country. He undertook to ensure that all armed forces in the country would be under unified command.

The ANC's National Working Committee met in Johannesburg to discuss the consequences of the Bisho killings.

Meanwhile, an ANC march against the smallest self-governing tribal state — Orange Free State province — fizzled out, with only 150 ANC supporters being allowed to deliver a petition demanding the removal of a police chief.

● **Ross Dunn** in Bisho writes: Young men in Ciskei yesterday burned soldiers' homes in retaliation for the massacre. Brig Gqozo described the revenge attacks as a "terrible provocation" and said he feared "another clash".

Bisho killings may ignite internal crisis for ANC

By Fred Bridgland in Johannesburg

THE killing of at least 25 people in Bisho, Ciskei, early this week may ignite the African National Congress's internal crisis, which has been lying dormant.

The ANC has always been a broad church with many divisions; between communists and non-communists; those who went into exile and those who stayed to fight, and between those who were jailed on Robben Island and those never imprisoned.

There has also been tension between "old guard" leaders and a younger, generally better educated generation that believes it is best qualified to guide the ANC to power.

But another division has lately become obvious. It is between "insurrectionists" and "negotiationists". The "insurrectionists" have always believed that constitutional negotiations with President de Klerk are a trap that will ensure the ANC can never win absolute political power through the ballot box.

The leader of the "insurrectionists" is Mr Chris Hani, an urbane scholar who is secretary-general of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and is also on the ANC's national executive committee. He recently stood down as chief-of-staff

of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The "negotiationists" are led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC director of international affairs, and Mr Jacob Zuma, deputy secretary-general. For more than two years after Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC leader, was released from jail, they had the upper hand.

They argued that it was possible to cut a fair deal with Mr de Klerk and begin to take steps to get South Africans, particularly black people, back on their feet financially.

They held the line until June, when supporters of the Zulu-oriented Inkatha Freedom Party killed more than 40 ANC supporters in the township of Boipatong.

The ANC leadership came under such pressure from the hardline "insurrectionists" that it felt obliged to withdraw from constitutional negotiations at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) unless Mr de Klerk acceded to a list of 14 conditions, including a demand that he put an end to the political violence.

Despite deep misgivings within ANC ranks, the "insurrectionists" won the argument in favour of launching a campaign of

mass action, strikes, boycotts and occupations of government buildings

Among those who rejoiced at the victory of the "insurrectionists" was Ronnie Kasrils, a leading member of the Stalinist wing of the SACP.

He is one of a number of white revolutionaries for whom South Africa represents the last chance for Marxism-Leninism.

He has a reputation for interrogations he conducted in ANC camps in Zambia during its exile and has been trained in bomb-making, military engineering and intelligence techniques.

He was appointed organiser of the ANC's mass action campaign in the wake of Boipatong. He immediately proclaimed that no ruling class in history had given way peacefully and said South Africa's would be no exception. He said Brig Qupa Gqozo, military ruler of the Ciskei homeland, would be the first to be overthrown followed by Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu.

Mr de Klerk was the final target of the "Leipzig option", named after the uprising by Leipzig's burghers which ended the rule of East Germany's communists.

LONDON - INDEPENDENT

10/9/92

PAGE 1/2

10 INTERNATIONAL ***

THE IND

Ciskei's spiralling c

From Chris McGreal
in Ndevana

HE HAD guessed that his tin home was a target so Buyisile Tyelentombi moved everything out — the fridge, the bed, the toaster — to a neighbour's care. The villagers who gathered after dark on Tuesday night seized Mr Tyelentombi's possessions, moved them back into his home and burnt it to the ground. He had paid the price of membership of Ciskei's army after Monday's massacre of 29 African National Congress marchers.

It did not take long for word to spread through the sprawling streets of Ndevana that Mr Tyelentombi and the other men snatching people off the street and forcing them into the boots of their red and grey Ford Sierras were out for vengeance.

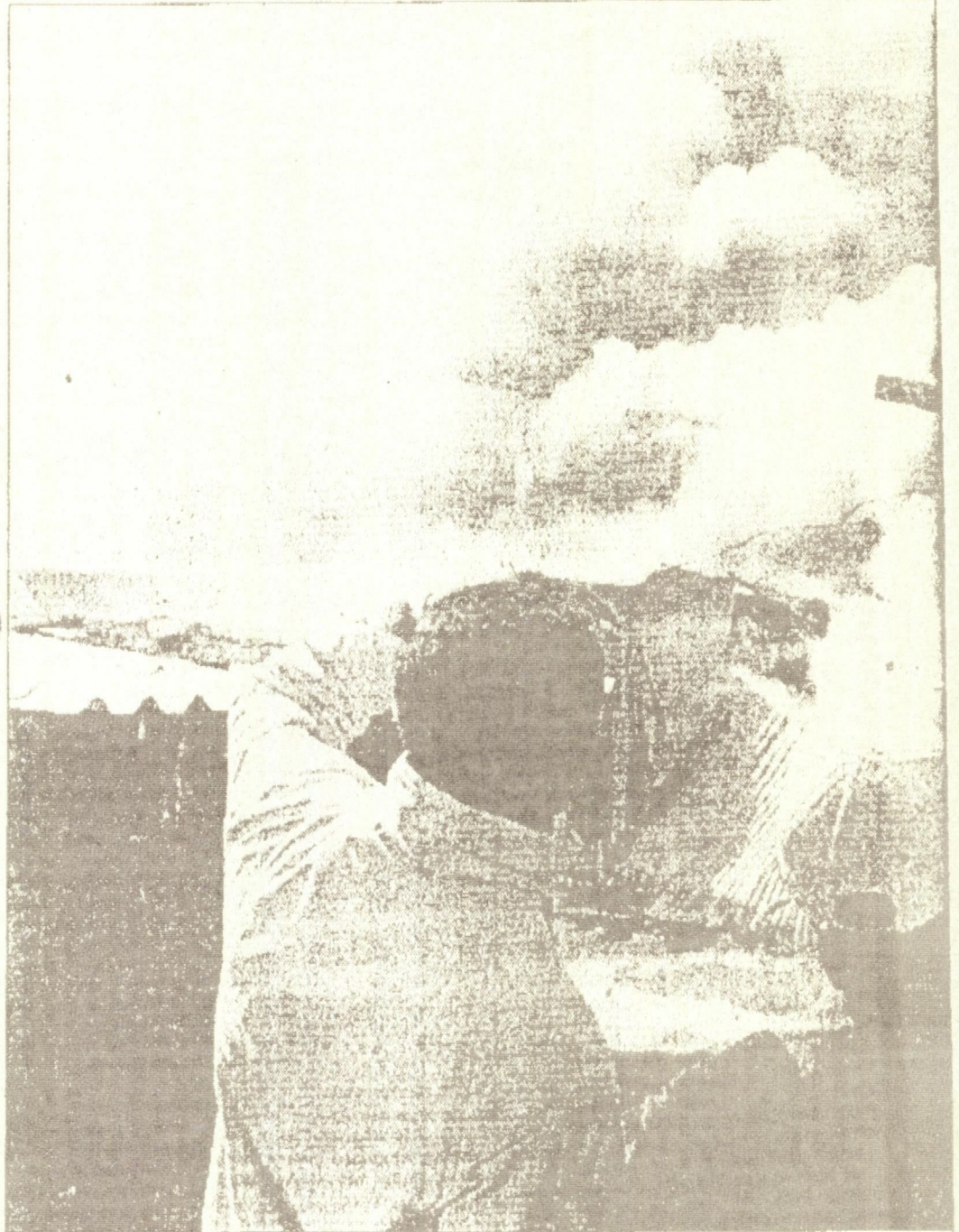
Retaliation and counter-retaliation for the slaughter of the marchers hit the black "homeland" yesterday. In scattered villages and townships, members of the Ciskei Defence Force and Ciskei police were burnt out of their homes. They hit back by hunting down ANC supporters.

No group has claimed responsibility for the attacks on the Ciskei military, but those from the "homeland" who were on Monday's march did not need very much more encouragement after Chris Hani, the ever-popular Communist Party chief, warned that soldiers who fired on the demonstrators would be made to pay some price.

Mr Hani had been in Ndevana on Sunday encouraging people to join the protest against their military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Many did. The Ciskei troops living there sensed the mood and left before the march. They had not returned by the time Mr Tyelentombi's and two other soldiers' homes were torched.

Yesterday Mr Tyelentombi's wife and brother were scouring the smouldering embers, waiting for him to return. She had little to say, but the brother, Ntsikeldlo, was more forthcoming. He said he knew his home was destroyed because his brother was a soldier.

A few minutes later Buyisile arrived in his red Sierra with two colleagues, pistols stuffed in their



Neighbours watch a Ciskeian soldier's home burn yesterday in the township of Zwelitsha, in the revenge

belts. Initially he looked surprised to see strangers when his neighbours were steering clear, but then returned surly and suspicious and walked away.

Makeshift barricades of rocks and old car parts littered Ndevana but they did not stop the red Sierras. Alfred Nkonve said the men

inside were responsible for the large weals across his back.

"I took my cows to the veld. When I was coming back to my house they stopped me and told me I must move all the rocks in the road, and then they started to hit me. One man hit me with a sjambok, one hit me with a stick.

They wanted to know who were the people who burnt the houses last night," he said.

Several other young men thought to be ANC sympathisers were picked up by Mr Tyelentombi. Mzolisi Ngalo was pointed out as a Communist Party supporter by a pastor in the Ciskei

De Klerk wants to see Mandela

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk called for an urgent meeting with Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress President, last night to discuss the violence hindering constitutional talks. But he probably killed the proposals by demanding that talks should include the role of "conflict-creating" marches and strikes by the ANC.

After Monday's shooting of ANC supporters on the Ciskei border, the government has quietly made it known that it considered abandoning negotiations as a way of holding the ANC leadership responsible for forcing the confrontation with the homeland's military. It would have been a significant gesture but not much more as the ANC suspended talks after the Boipatong township massacre in July.

The ANC Secretary-General, Cyril Ramaphosa, said he would respond after a national executive meeting to discuss the Ciskei killings today, but added that similar proposals have been rejected before because the meetings lack "foundation".

The ANC said the death toll from the attack on the marchers rose to 32 with the deaths of four more people from their injuries. In Ciskei the army searched for people who took part in Monday's

From Chris McGreal
in Bisho

march. Overnight the homes of soldiers and the police were burnt in at least half-a-dozen villages in retaliation for the massacre. The military hit back by arresting and assaulting ANC supporters, and burning homes themselves.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo warned of another massacre if the ANC continues to challenge his government. The brigadier, facing reporters' questions about Monday's killings, said he had appointed a commission to investigate the slaughter and therefore could not discuss it because the matter was *sub judice*.

Until the violence in South Africa ended, he said, he was not prepared to hold a referendum on his future, as church leaders are urging.

But he did not reject it outright, and church sources said the issue has yet to be resolved.

An ANC march by 2,000 people yesterday to demand the resignation of the government of QwaQwa, a self-governing homeland still incorporated in South Africa, unlike Ciskei, passed off peacefully.

Cycle of revenge, page 10
Letters, page 30

At a loss for words after Ciskei

From Professor Michael E. Brogden
Sir: I have before me a brochure from the Ciskei Tourist Board in which a smiling Brigadier Oupa Gqozo extols the virtues of a free society — and those of law and order. A few months ago, I drove from the capital of the "homeland", Bisho, across an invisible "border" into King William's Town. The latter was thronged with black workers heading back to their shacks in Ciskei (to which many had been "ethnically cleansed" under the Group Areas Act).

The poverty of Pretoria's human waste bin was appalling in contrast to the bustling affluence of the contrived white land peninsula of King William's Town. No residence rights in King William's Town for black people meant no cost to the South African economy of a plentiful supply of cheap labour, the latter being disciplined by the poverty of the artificial Ciskei state and by the notorious military thugs of the surrogate, Brigadier Gqozo. All the human viciousness of the neo-apartheid regime of F. W. de Klerk are apparent on those few miles between Bisho and King William's Town.

Next month I am participating in a conference on the reform of the South African police, in Johannesburg, a conference that police officials from the "homelands" are expected to attend. After Bisho, and its predecessor Boipatong, and many, many others, I am at a loss as to what positive contribution one can make. Words lose their meaning when addressed to some representatives

of the South African state, and especially to its senior security officers. But there is immediate need for positive action.

Last week's important visit by Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, must be followed by, at the very least, outright condemnation from the institutions of the European Community, of the Commonwealth, and of the United Nations — not just of the massacre itself, but of the continuing flagrant involvement of senior officers of the South African state in those affairs. The preliminary agreement to send international monitors to potential flashpoints must be extended wholesale across the length and breadth of South Africa's townships and crisis points. International monitors may have few sanctions, but they can cast the glare of publicity on the security officers of the South African state and its surrogates.

No progress is possible, and no meeting of minds feasible over the reform of the coercive apparatus of the South African state, until the South African government publicly rids itself of those who directly or indirectly perpetrate or connive at atrocities such as that of Bisho. A fortnight ago, with the retirement of a third of the police general staff, the Law and Order Minister, Hendrik Kriel, made a start. But the evidence of Bisho suggests he has a long way to go.

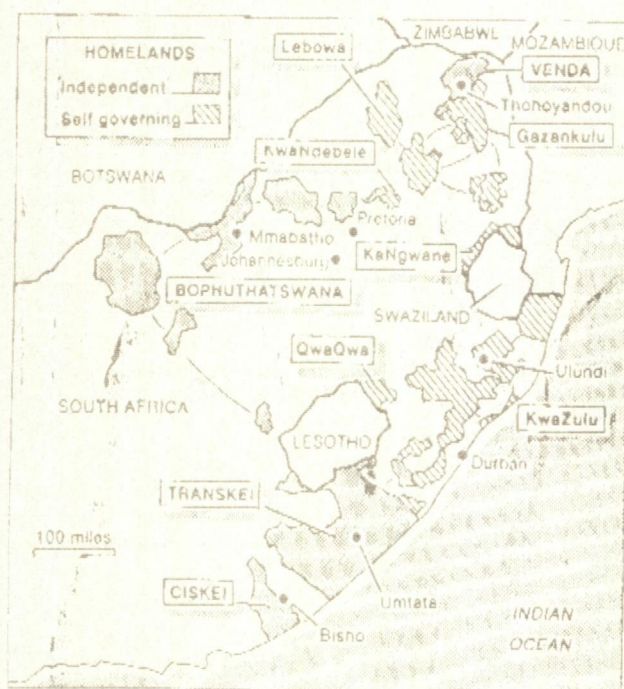
Yours sincerely,
MICHAEL BROGDEN
Professor of Criminal Justice
School of Social Science
Liverpool John Moores University
Liverpool

INDEPENDENT — LONDON 10/9/92

Page 2/2

TIMES - LONDON 10/9/92 5X SOUTH AFRICA 9

terest in preserving homelands



ner Nationalist prime minister and architect of grand map of the homelands legacy he created

da's president, Frank Ravele, agreed to hold a referendum. A month later he was toppled by Brigadier Gabriel Ramashwana.

□ **Bophuthatswana:** The Tswana nation was divided by the British colonial bound-

ary makers. The northern Tswana are fully independent in Botswana. Bophuthatswana is home to the rest. The various bits and pieces of "Bop" are all close to the metropolitan centres of the industrial heartland of South

Africa and it has thrived through exploiting the liberality of its laws in comparison to South Africa's. It became independent in 1977. Lucas Mangope, its president, survived a coup attempt in 1988.

□ **KwaZulu:** Its name literally means "the place of the Zulus". It is self-governing. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi rejected the option of spurious independence. It is made up of untidy fragments of Natal, together making a land area bigger than a dozen United Nations members. Dr Buthelezi has been its head since 1970. He opposes the ANC and advocates federalism.

□ **QwaQwa:** QwaQwa is the smallest of the homelands, nestling in a mountainous corner of the Orange Free State adjoining Natal and Lesotho. Kenneth Mopeli, its charmingly named Dikwankwele party, tends to support the ruling National party on the federal issue. The state is home to the South Sotho people.

□ **Lebowa:** Lebowa, home of the North Sotho people, is suffering from widespread drought. It is divided into three large chunks in the far north, adjoining the Kruger

National Park. Nelson Mandela, its chief minister, has called for the dismantling of the homeland system and urged members of his youth organisation to join the ANC. □ **Gazankulu:** Hudson Ntsanwisi, chief minister of Gazankulu, would not maintain indefinitely the separate identity of his homeland. Gazankulu has faced turmoil from ANC-supporting demonstrators. The state is home to the Shangaan-Tsonga people.

□ **KaNgwane:** Home of the Swazi people of eastern Transvaal, KaNgwane was the last homeland to be created. Enos Mabuza was the first homeland chief to ally himself with the ANC. Mr Mabuza resigned last year in protest against the perceived inadequacy of government aid to his territory. He was replaced by the more pliant Cephas Zitha.

□ **KwaNdebele:** The second smallest of the states, KwaNdebele, the home of the Ndebele people, was second last to be created. The question of its independence or reincorporation has caused widespread violence. The chief minister faces growing calls for reincorporation.

Gqozo hides behind inquiry

Ciskei's leader faced the press in Bisho yesterday. Some questions he would not answer and for others he lacked the information. Chris McGreal reports

IT WAS a neat trick. Ciskei's highest authority, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, knew that in the end he would have to answer serious questions about Monday's slaughter just a few hundred yards from his office. So he gathered the journalists who had occupied his tiny capital and announced that to get to the bottom of the shooting he had appointed a judicial commission. But unfortunately that meant the whole matter was *sub judice* and so he could not discuss it. Any other questions?

There were some other questions the brigadier was allowed to answer but could not. For instance: who was the Ciskei soldier supposedly killed by the ANC, sparking the five-minute barrage of fire against the demonstrators? The brigadier said he had not asked. And the funeral? The brigadier supposed there would have to be one.

Big Gqozo was unhappy with the tone of the questions. He decided the wider world should sip from a cup of Xhosa wisdom. "You can kill people every day and get away with it. People say the devil gives you all the luck. But in our culture we know that your ancestors some day will turn their back on you. And on that very day the devil will also forsake you," he said. It was not immediately clear if this was to be the brigadier's defence before his commission of inquiry.

Occasionally he looked for affirmation from a couple of the many white South Africans he keeps close to hand. On this occasion it was the appropriate combination of the head of the Ciskei army and the Health Minister. Unfortunately it brought to mind the doubts about who really runs the tiny black "homeland".

The brigadier was philosophi-



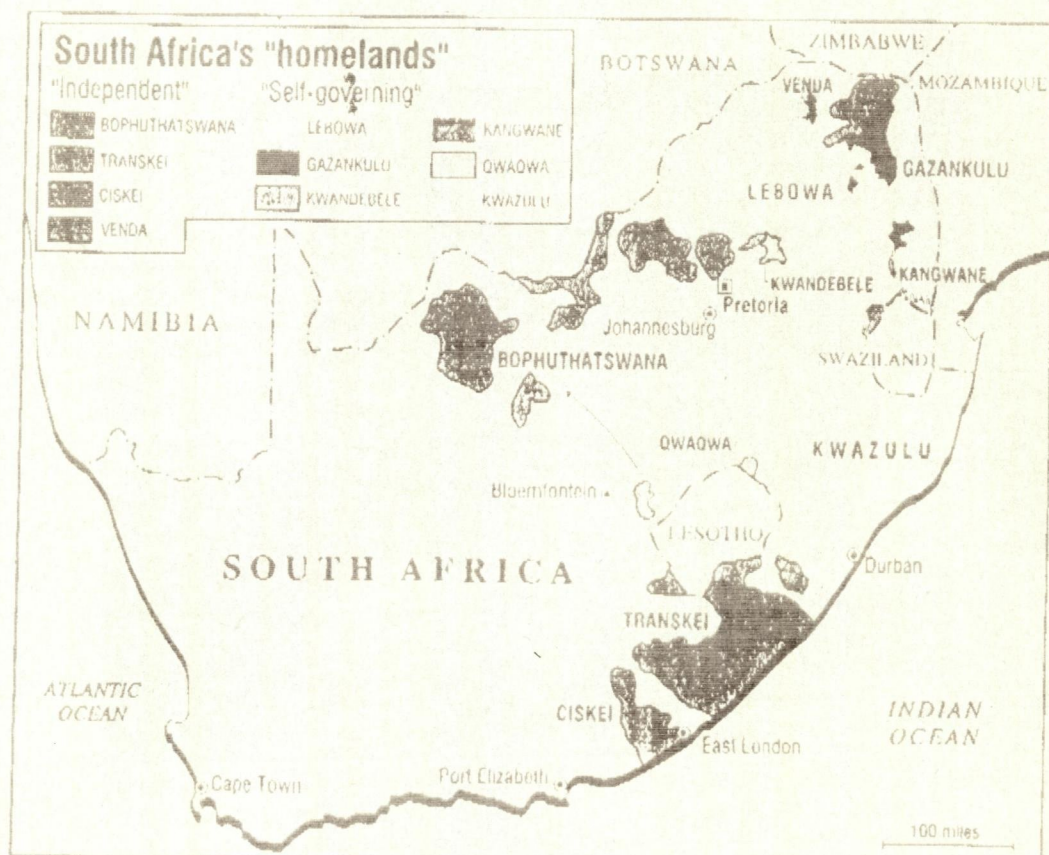
Nelson Mandela leaves Bisho stadium with Oupa Gqozo after a rally two and a half years ago when the brigadier was an ANC ally

cal. "They say that everybody's a puppet at one time or another. I feel that anybody who's a true South African — not a naive, ignorant person who has been out of the country like Rip Van Winkle for a long time — can know that the South African government in so far as homelands are concerned is the mother body and everybody looks up to it at one time or another for any assistance

"We are babies, whether we like it or not, of the South African government and everybody in this country is at some time or another a puppet of the South African government," he concluded.

One of the brigadier's problems is that he is firm but inconsistent. A few minutes later he denounced anyone who viewed Ciskei as anything but a country completely independent of any other.

INDEPENDENT - LONDON 10/9/92



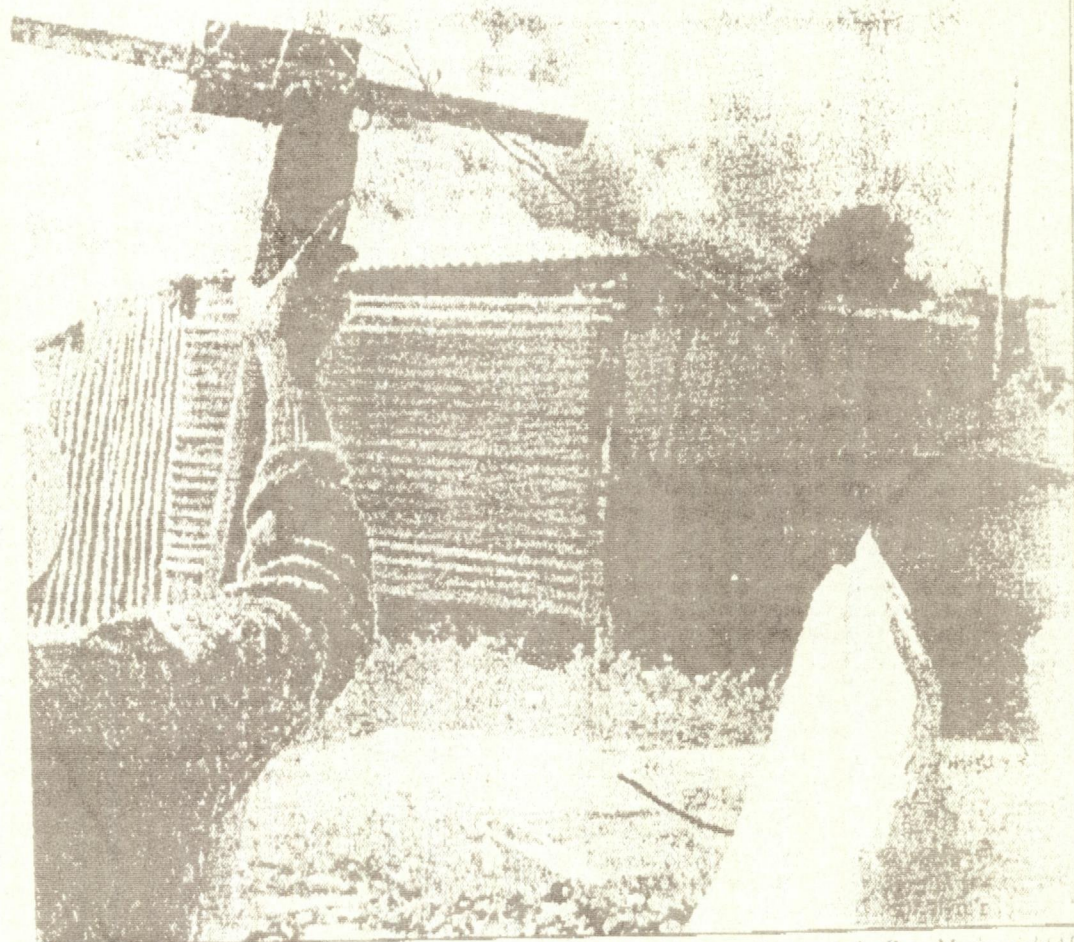
In terms of apartheid policy, the white government created 10 black tribal 'homelands'. Four of them are 'independent', but are still totally dependent on Pretoria. 'Self-governing' is an even lesser status

INDEPENDENT - London 10/9/92
PAGE 2/2

DEPENDENT

Thurs

ycle of revenge



being wreaked on the soldiers who took part in Monday's shooting Photograph: Greg Marinovich/AP

military. He was stuffed into the car boot and driven to a police station where he was held with more than 20 other people until it was his turn for the beating. Afterward the sjambok marks ran from his legs to halfway up his back. The hair on the left of his head had formed a small bloodied knot.

Finally Mr Tyclentombi and his colleagues went in search of Lennox Handi, the Ndevana ANC branch chairman. They arrived at his home carrying a five-litre can of petrol. They kicked his 18-year-old sister Lihani in the mouth and walloped another sister, Funeke, on the head with a gun. Then they

threatened to burn the house to the ground. "We just said Lennox left on Monday, but they said they'd seen him. He's gone. We're not staying here either. It's too dangerous. Soldiers said they'd be back later to burn the house after dark," said Funeke.

Letter, page 30

Page 1/2

THE TIMES THURSDAY SEPTEMBER 10 1992

LONDON

Anti-ANC forces have vested in

FROM the moment in 1990 when President de Klerk formally renounced the doctrine of apartheid, the days of the so-called independent black homelands were probably numbered. But the idea of keeping them going for as long as possible plainly crossed the minds of those who see a federal future for South Africa as a way of diluting the voting power of the black communities. They are joined by those homeland leaders who want to stay in power.

The tenacity of Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo of Ciskei in hanging on to power is a manifestation of this. The onslaught of the African National Congress on what used to be called Bantustans (homes for Bantu) is also explained by fear of the dilution of black power. The ANC is keen to dismiss those homeland leaders who are opposed to it, but is content to maintain those who are friendly. (The aim of the organisation is ultimately to reincorporate all of the homelands into a unitary South Africa.)

None of the homelands engenders any real confidence in the ability of their

Those who fear the dominance of the ANC in a democratic and united South Africa believe their salvation lies in preserving the homelands, writes **Michael Hamlyn**

leaders to conduct their own affairs democratically. Many of them are, like Ciskei, under military rule. Even the most prominent admirer of the ANC, Bantu Holomisa, the leader of Transkei, has the rank of major general and seized power by toppling two prime ministers in 1987.

There are ten homelands. Four have a specious independence, recognised by nobody outside South Africa. The other six are referred to as self-governing. Each is maintained, at considerable cost, by the South African exchequer.

The Bantustans were conjured into being by the late Hendrik Verwoerd, who, when he was prime minister, became known as the architect of grand apartheid. He removed the last vestiges of political representation for blacks (four white senators) and created the homelands as ancient tribal dwelling places where black political aspira-

tions would in theory be expressed. Every black person was officially deprived of his citizenship rights in South Africa proper and allocated to a homeland according to his tribal heritage.

Transkei was the first to become independent as the political home for the majority of Xhosa-speaking blacks in 1976. It is ruled by a military council under General Holomisa, who also favours reincorporation. Transkei is the largest and in many ways most successful of the homelands.

Ciskei: Separated from the Transkei by a narrow corridor of white South Africa, it was the last of the independent four to become so in 1981 as the home for the rest of the Xhosas. It is ruled by Brigadier Gqozo, who seized power. He started by favouring reincorporation and shared a platform with the ANC, but relations quickly soured.



Hendrik Verwoerd, the forerunner of apartheid, and

Venda: In the far north of South Africa, it is the home of the Venda tribe. It became independent in 1979. Soon after Nelson Mandela's release from jail there were demonstrations in favour of reincorporation before Ver-

De Klerk calls for ANC talks

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN
IN JOHANNESBURG

COMMUNISTS in the African National Congress are trying to sabotage further negotiations on a new constitution for South Africa, President de Klerk said last night. He called for emergency talks with the ANC leadership.

"It is becoming increasingly clear the communists in the ANC are making deliberate attempts to render further constitutional negotiations impossible," he said. "They have evidently taken the ANC in tow at the expense of those in the ANC who are not in favour of violence and the politics of confrontation. The ANC, under the leadership of communist party leader Chris Hani, proceeded with a march they knew would lead to bloodshed."

There was no immediate response from the ANC which said last night that it plans to march on the homeland of Bophuthatswana a week on Sunday.

Homelands threat, page 9

De Klerk asks Mandela for urgent talks

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN IN PRETORIA

PRESIDENT de Klerk threw down a challenge to the African National Congress and its leader, Nelson Mandela, last night to meet him "at leadership level" to discuss the violence ravaging the country.

As he spoke, burning barricades were erected in the black townships in Ciskei that surround the salient of "white" South Africa containing King William's Town. Houses belonging to members of the Ciskei armed forces, who opened fire on the ANC protest march from the town to Bisho, the Ciskei capital, were set on fire by vengeful mobs. In Monday's shooting 28 people died and about 200 were injured.

Ciskei troops for their part were accused of terrorising the township dwellers, picking up people they believed had taken part in the Bisho march and manhandling them. Soldiers fired warning shots at journalists who approached them to ask about the allegations.

A march yesterday in a second black homeland, this time in the tiny self-governing region of QwaQwa passed off peacefully. About 3,000 ANC demonstrators demanded the resignation of Kenneth Mopeli, its chief minister.

Both the cabinet and the national working committee of the ANC spent all day in urgent meetings. It was at first expected that the government, blaming the ANC for bringing about the Bisho slaughter, would break off all contact with it until it had rid itself of the communist element that appears to be dominating its decision-making.

The result of the cabinet meeting was exactly the opposite. Mr de Klerk addressed

an international press conference here, saying: "A meeting between the government and the ANC has to take place urgently at leadership level now on the following issues: the problem of violence; the role which conflict-creating mass action plays in the transition to democracy; the ANC's violation of the peace accord; other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations."

Mr de Klerk, however, appeared to close the door on further constitutional negotiations. He insisted: "The government is not able to participate meaningfully in the constitutional negotiating process... while the ANC alliance or any other grouping is doing all it can to foment a climate of instability, revolution and violence." Before progress on the constitution could be made, "we have to concentrate now, as our first priority, on eliminating violence and everything that instigates instability".

Mr de Klerk also made clear that he wished to continue the process of reincorporating the black homelands within South Africa, as had been agreed at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). "A part of this process has to be a return to civilian government in the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda."

Last night the ANC said Mr de Klerk's call for a meeting would be discussed today, when the working committee continued its deliberations.

● **Bulawayo:** Unity talks between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, due to begin in Zimbabwe yesterday, were postponed because of the shootings in Ciskei, officials here said (Reuters).

Times - London 10/9/92

GUARDIAN - London

10/9/97

Echoes of a fatal volley

The Ciskei massacre cost more than 28 lives. It also killed peace talks stone dead. **Gavin Evans** reports

PICKING up the pieces in South Africa's tortuous negotiations process has been made immeasurably more difficult following Monday's Ciskei massacre which killed 28 and left more than 200 injured.

A week ago things were looking mildly hopeful. Behind the scenes African National Congress secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer had come close to an agreement which would have re-started full-throated negotiations. Most encouraging was the preliminary consensus reached on the structure of an elected constituent assembly.

There was at least a cautious optimism in the country that the stalemate was soon to end. The Pan-Africanist Congress on the left, and the Afrikaner Volksunie on the right, had agreed to enter the process, there was strong international pressure on the ANC to return to the table, and on the government to meet the ANC's conditions.

Now, suddenly, a three-minute volley of completely unnecessary bullets, has set things back by months.

The short-term picture is that ANC president Nelson Mandela has demanded the removal of Ciskei's military dictator Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the South African military intelligence officers who put him in power, as well as the installation of an interim administration. Gqozo has refused to budge, and there is now total distrust between the protagonists.

To understand why the massacre occurred three key factors need consideration: the overwhelming grassroots hatred of the Gqozo regime within Ciskei; the government's attempt to form a conservative, anti-ANC electoral alliance; and tensions between militants and moderates within the ANC itself.

Gqozo came to power in a military coup on March 4 1990 which unseated the corrupt regime of Chief Lennox Sebe, and it soon became clear that he was the South African Defence Force's man and had no

intention of changing. Convincing evidence has emerged recently that his activities continue to be directed by the SADF's notorious military intelligence division.

Former SADF military intelligence officer Colonel Gert Hugo, who, until last year served as Ciskei's military intelligence chief, recently broke ranks and exposed South Africa's involvement in the launch of the conservative African Democratic Movement in the territory.

Hugo said he was present at Gqozo's farm during a Ciskei Security Council meeting in December 1990 called to discuss ADM's launch.

"At this meeting, Anton Nieuwoudt and Clive Brink — both agents for the SADF's MI — were present. It was clear they had caucused the idea of setting up a political movement like Inkatha and were using the meeting to set this in motion."

The plan is an extremely cynical one which involves the creation of a militarily and financially powerful bulwark to prevent the ANC from consti-

dating its hegemony in a region where it has almost unchallenged support. But behind this is a broader government electoral strategy.

At the National Party's Free State provincial congress last week, foreign affairs minister Pik Botha made the extraordinary prediction that an NP-led alliance could beat the ANC at the polls. While this might be familiar Botha-style bluster, calmer heads within the party believe they could at least prevent an outright ANC majority.

The strategy was first tested during the Namibian elections where the government threw its massive resources into destabilising Swapo, providing the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance with at least £20 million in direct support. When Swapo won only 56 per cent of the vote, it was judged a success, and so the strategy is now being tried with even more fervour at home.

The government launched the first volley with a largely unsuccessful conference on federalism in Pretoria on Monday.

At the moment the main alliance partner is Inkatha, but others such as the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa administrations, the tiny Indian Solidarity Party and the

new, right-wing Afrikaner Volksunie have been assigned their role.

The strategy adopted by the ANC is to break the alliance at its weakest point. Given the impatience of people on the ground in the territory, and Gqozo's palpable lack of support, Ciskei seemed a fine place to start.

At this point ongoing tensions between ANC "militants" (the most prominent of whom are Communist Party leaders such as Chris Hani, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner) and its "moderates" (including prominent negotiators like international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki and deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma), come into play.

Within the movement there is agreement on the need for a balance between mass action and negotiations, and there was certainly no dispute about the Ciskei protest, but there are important differences about the content of that balance.

With the breakdown in negotiations, the militants have won at least a temporary advantage, and it was they who set the pace in Bisho on Monday. The plan was (and is) one of rolling mass action, aimed at "Leipzig-style" uprisings to bring down

the pro-government homeland regimes.

Quite obviously it has caused great concern within the NP-homeland camp, who argue that it is quite unnecessary — the issue of the re-incorporation of the homelands had been virtually agreed on in the stalled Codesa negotiations earlier this year.

Prior to Monday's massacre Hani announced the intention of defying the magisterial conditions for the march, occupying Bisho and ousting Gqozo. While no one was counting on the Brigadier's compliance, the use of live ammunition on an unarmed crowd took everyone by surprise.

Eventually the parties will have to talk again, if only because there is no alternative. But any semblance of trust is now completely lost, along with several valuable peace-making months, thousands of jobs and millions of pounds in desperately needed investment.

Even for the most upbeat of South Africans it's hard to be anything other than despondent.

Gavin Evans is a senior journalist on the Weekly Mail, Johannesburg.

ANC presses ahead with mass action

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

THE South African government and the African National Congress last night appeared to be drifting into the most serious political crisis of the reform era, their respective leaders seemingly in danger of falling prisoners to the consequences of Monday's Ciskei massacre.

After a long cabinet meeting in Pretoria the state president, P. W. de Klerk, called for emergency talks with the ANC to discuss the violence and the "mass mobilisation" campaign which led up to Monday's massacre.

But he coupled the announcement with a ferocious attack on the South African Communist Party, which he claimed had taken the ANC in tow and was provoking violence in a "deliberate attempt to render further constitutional negotiations impossible".

There was no immediate response last night from the ANC, which was holding a meeting of its counterpart to the cabinet, the national working committee. It seemed likely they would be unhappy at the idea of going into high-profile talks with the De Klerk administration at a time when they have suspended the negotiating process. The ANC plans to continue its mass action campaign, with a march into the Bophuthatswana homeland on September 19.

The man behind the massacre, Ciskei's leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was busy fuelling the crisis yesterday, publicly warning the ANC of a repeat performance of Monday's events if they continued provoking his government. It was reported that the brigadier had sent troops into villages surrounding his capital of Bisho, beating up and arresting people suspected of having taken part in Monday's march.

Speaking at his first press conference since the massacre the homeland leader angrily said of the ANC's mass mobilisation campaign: "If democratic processes are going to be conducted this way, then our country can forget about ever having reconciliation, peace and stability." He said it was a "deliberate provocation of the government and its security forces, which is orchestrated to

ensure that there is another clash which is probably going to happen in the future." The brigadier refused to discuss Monday's events on the grounds that the matter was subjudice.

President De Klerk, at a press conference in Pretoria last night, called for a meeting with the ANC leadership. "I am prepared to lead the government delegation myself and urge Mr Mandela to do the same in respect of the ANC delegation."

He said the meeting should discuss the violence, the part played by what he described as "conflict-creating mass action" and "the ANC's violation of the peace accord" among other obstacles to the negotiating process. "It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily," he added.

Mr De Klerk said he was planning a conference of "self-governing" (non-"independent") homeland leaders and negotiations with the "independent" homelands (the Ciskei, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana) to discuss a unanimous approach to handling mass demonstrations.

There was uncertainty last night as to whether Mr De Klerk's move was a genuine attempt to defuse political tensions, or a point-scoring exercise turning on the assumption that the ANC leadership was neither in a position to accept the invitation to talks, nor to back away from mass action.

It was suspected that hardliners in the ruling National Party may have been pushing him to exploit the massacre — and the role of prominent communists in leading the ill-fated march — to demand a break between the ANC and the South African Communist Party as a pre-condition for the resumption of negotiations.

The suspicion that the government may be toying with the strategy was encouraged by state-run television, which devoted much of its news coverage of the massacre last night to crude anti-communist propaganda.

The ANC yesterday held a small, peaceful march on a police station in the smallest of the homelands, QwaQwa.

Echoes of a fatal volley, page 10

GAPPADIAN - London

10/10/92



THE ANC activist Ronnie Kasrils (above) fled to London in 1963, settling with his wife Eleanor in a flat in Golders Green.

While in Britain, Mr Kasrils was asked by the ANC to undertake military training in Angola. For the next quarter-century he left his family in London while he followed the anti-apartheid struggle in Africa, the Soviet Union and parts of the Soviet bloc.

The ANC permitted him to

return to see his family, usually for about a month at a time, and British authorities tolerated his presence.

"Obviously they kept a close eye on all the ANC people. But so long as they were not involved in anything which would destabilise Britain, they did not care very much," said Mrs Hilda Bernstein, an author and fellow South African political exile.

Mrs Bernstein said the

Kasrils family had feared for their lives at a time when South African hit squads were believed to be operating in London, but they were assured that Britain would not tolerate any such activities.

Asked if Mr Kasrils was a Stalinist, Mrs Bernstein said: "He is one of many who had a tremendous faith in what Stalin was doing at a certain period. But to call him a Stalinist suggests he has learned nothing since."

With Mr Kasrils in charge, Biko was a tragedy waiting to happen. And in breach of an agreement between the ANC leadership and a magistrate, he led the charge of unemployed, impoverished, uneducated and volatile black youths towards the guns of the Ciskei troops.

A close colleague of Mr Kasrils is white university lecturer Raymond Suttner, who was jailed for several years under the Suppression of Communism Act in the pre-de Klerk era.

Before the march on Biko, Mr Suttner, a member of the SACP, made it clear that in his mind Biko was a

minor target. The real objective was to sweep Mr de Klerk from power.

The killings stymied behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by Mr Mbeki and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary general, to get negotiations back on track.

It was a bitter blow for Mr Mbeki, an outstanding diplomat long tipped as the successor to Mr Mandela.

When the ANC returned from exile in 1990, Mr Mbeki took a leading role in negotiations with the government and has been prominent in trying to persuade his movement to abandon sanctions as a lever for reform. He

understands the need to get the moribund economy moving; otherwise the ANC will face an impossible task when it comes to power in satisfying black aspirations.

For Mr Kasrils, and Mr Ham, revolutionary glory lies at the barricades. But for Mr Mbeki, and probably Mr Mandela, the perception is that disaster for all South Africans beckons along that route.

At the moment, the in-urrectants have the upper hand. The SACP is the hard-line rail wagoning the ANC down. How the ANC settles its internal dispute will largely seal the fate of South Africa.

ENG 09/10 10:41
Page 2/2
10/9/92