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# Don't quit: ANC women's call to Winnie

CITIZEN 19/09/92

By Chris Steyn  
and Sapa

THE ANC Women's League's PWV region, yesterday rejected Mrs Winnie Mandela's resignation from the PWV region and threatened mass resignations if it remained in force.

More than 300 representatives from 34 of the region's 64 branches

attended an inter-branch meeting at the Women's League's head office in Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, and unanimously demanded that her resignation as PWV executive committee member and ordinary member of the region be withdrawn.

Mrs Mandela, the estranged wife of ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, resigned all her positions in the ANC last week amid ongoing controversy over her personal and financial affairs.

● Move to set agenda ● UN monitors arrive

# Summit a step closer

By Esther Waugh  
 Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC's chief negotiators last night agreed to meet today to try to arrange the all-important summit on violence between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President de Klerk.

During a debate on SABC's "Agenda" last night, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer agreed to set the agenda for the summit.

Mr Ramaphosa clearly spelt out that the Government should address the organisation's demands before the summit could take place, while Mr Meyer identified the three outstanding issues as the release of remaining political prisoners, hostels and the banning of dangerous weapons.

He said these could be addressed soon because he and Mr Ramaphosa had been close to agreement on them in earlier meetings.

Mr Ramaphosa said these issues could be resolved in "one or two meetings" if the Government was prepared to cross "the democratic threshold".

## Communists

Mr Meyer indicated the Government wanted the ANC's mass action campaign, its "political intolerance" and the role of communists in the organisation's executive committee on the summit's agenda. He said the Government was not prepared to negotiate on the basis of demands.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC was not prepared to continue constitutional talks when "violence and carnage were continued by people in Government circles".

The summit on violence was likely to have been discussed by the National Party caucus at its mid-recess meeting in the eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

Meanwhile, hopes for peaceful future ANC marches against homeland governments were raised by the weekend arrival of the first of 50 UN observers and the Goldstone Commission's appointment of independent violence investigating teams.

The UN teams may monitor the ANC alliance's planned Saturday march on Bophuthatswana's capital, Mmabatho.

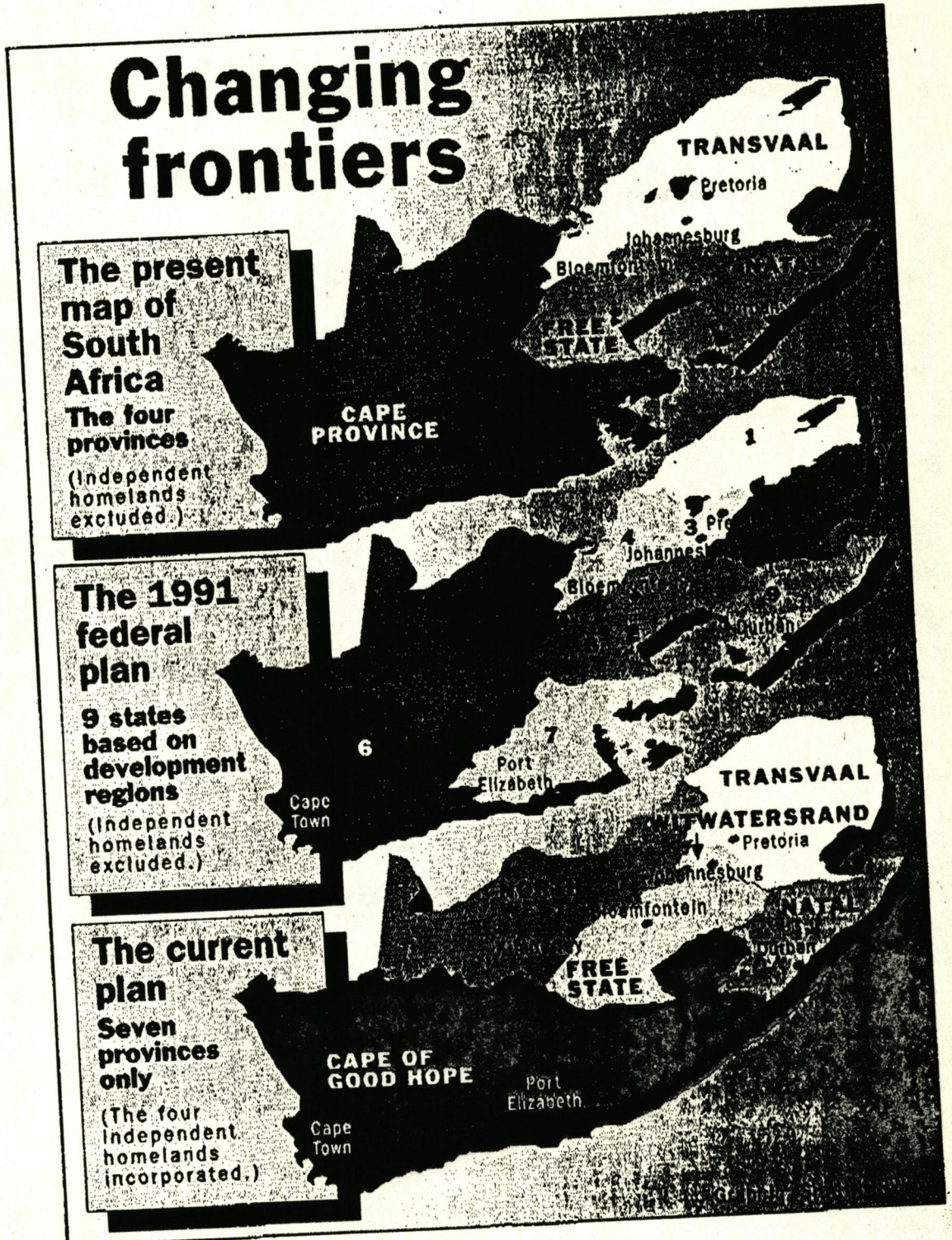
Their immediate objectives were to meet the signatories of the National Peace Accord and to establish offices in Johannesburg and Durban.

# Changing frontiers

**The present map of South Africa**  
**The four provinces**  
(Independent homelands excluded.)

**The 1991 federal plan**  
**9 states based on development regions**  
(Independent homelands excluded.)

**The current plan**  
**Seven provinces only**  
(The four independent homelands incorporated.)



# A route to compromise?

**A**S THE national debate on federalism intensifies, ANC and Government thinking on this subject — the most important issue on the agenda for constitutional negotiations — is diverging.

The Government is tending towards a smaller number of provinces, each with a large degree of political and financial autonomy.

The ANC is heading towards a larger number of development regions, with little or no political or financial autonomy, governed and funded from the centre.

The divergence seems to have started at Codesa 2 in May when the ANC and Government, although not really close, were probably as near as they ever had been and hopes were raised of a growing consensus.

The Government was proposing that the country be divided into nine second-tier units — following the boundaries of the development regions — each with its own legislature and government.

The ANC proposed 10 regions, roughly equivalent to the Government's. Although it was clear that the ANC wanted the regions to have nothing like the autonomy the Government desired, it accepted that the regional structure should be enshrined somehow in the national constitution.

Since then both Government and ANC thinking has been evolving, largely apart, although the Government, at least, is starting to reflect aspects of ANC concerns about federalism.

At its policy conference shortly after Codesa 2, the ANC threw out the 10-region plan and sent its development and constitutional advisers back to the drawing board.

Their thinking since then has been towards a greater number of regions — perhaps between 15 and 25 — divided largely by development status.

Each would have only administrative (and not political)

Federalism is the next terrain of the constitutional struggle. Recent developments in Government and ANC thinking suggest a dour battle, writes Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

functions, with a degree of accountability for setting development priorities and implementing development policy.

Meanwhile, at President de Klerk's federal conference last week, his constitutional advisers unveiled a draft "technical" plan for a strongly federal SA, with seven autonomous provinces instead of the nine regions of the National Party's official plan.

The new map showed all 10 independent and non-independent homelands incorporated into SA and other shifts in boundaries to accommodate what the Government perceived as the present communities of ethnic/economic/political interest.

## Boundaries

Natal and the Free State stayed the same. Transvaal's boundaries changed substantially. The Witwatersrand, including Johannesburg, was excised as a separate province. The new province of Transvaal included Pretoria, the present eastern and northern Transvaal plateau and the homelands of Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane.

Bophuthatswana, the rest of "white" western Transvaal and parts of the north-west Cape were joined to constitute a new province called North West.

Transkei and Ciskei were joined into a new province called Kei, uniting the Xhosa-speaking region.

The rest of the Cape remains as the seventh province.

The main reason for the divergence of ANC and Government views about the optimum number of regions is the sharp philosophical difference that separates them on the nature of federalism/regionalism and the dynamics of development.

The Government sees federalism/regionalism mainly as a

means to defuse political/ethnic conflict by dispersing political power.

The central government would perform only the functions of defence, national security, foreign affairs and constitutional planning, leaving all others to the region, including finance. The regions would have large powers to impose taxes, the ideal being financial self-sufficiency.

This would entail political structures in each province, including legislatures and new government departments.

It is largely to reduce the consequent proliferation of expensive bureaucracies that the Government has decreased the number of states from nine to seven.

Other political, ethnic and financial considerations also played a part. Where the present Transkei is cut in half by the boundaries of the Government's present nine regions, it retains its territorial integrity — and acquires Ciskei — in the new plan.

The new North West province seems to have been conceived largely to please the informal white/black conservative alliance that has been struck up between Bophuthatswana and Conservative Party-oriented farmers in that area.

Pretoria has been excluded from the PWV area to become the focal point of the new Transvaal province.

By contrast, the ANC — since it does not envisage much (or any) political autonomy for regions — believes the number of regions can be increased without proliferating bureaucracies.

Its criteria for drawing regional boundaries are largely developmental — and its development philosophy is differ-

ent from the Government's.

The Government's theory (to the extent that its regional boundaries have been influenced by development criteria) is to create mixed regions with a developed "node" at the heart of an undeveloped region.

The idea is that wealth of the metropolis/city/town at the nodes will trickle down to surrounding undeveloped regions.

The ANC's development advisers believe this theory is wrong, that "trickle-down" does not occur automatically, and that most "nodes" have enough to do, just developing their own black urban areas.

They suggest that regional units should instead be homogeneous areas of similar economic and development status. These regions should then bargain frankly for a fair share of development funding emanating from national assets such as mine taxes.

## Consultation

The ANC's regional boundaries are still evolving through a process of consultation, involving the organisation's regional structures.

Underlying these fundamental differences in Government and ANC regional thinking are some interesting similarities.

The new Government plan unveiled last week suggests that it is responding to the ANC's concern about the need for redistribution of money between regions. It proposes that funds should be channelled from rich to poor regions, according to an agreed formula.

The plan stresses the importance of regions promoting development and progress that each region be divided into smaller development areas — which could correspond to the ANC's development regions, the ANC believes.

The plan underlines the importance of these areas by recommending that they also be the electoral districts. □

# Gqozo meets Govt today

By Esther Waugh  
Political Reporter

The Government is expected to propose reining in (maverick) Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who is scheduled to meet the Government in Pretoria today after last week's Bisho massacre.

It is understood that Brigadier Gqozo will not be asked to step down — indications are that the two sides will discuss the co-ordination of security and the promotion of stability in the eastern Cape, including Ciskei.

Violence has increased

dramatically in the Border region since last Monday's shooting by Ciskei security forces.

Government sources yesterday told The Star there was a feeling in Government circles that since the SADF had already been deployed in Ciskei, security in the region should be regulated.

Last week Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned that the Government would contemplate "coercive measures" against Ciskei's government if it refused to agree to "a uniform approach" to the handling of marches.

The ANC has proposed that the funeral for the 28 victims be held in King William's Town on Wednesday. The date and venue will be confirmed later.

● Mr Justice Goldstone yesterday said news reports suggesting Mr de Klerk had requested Chief Justice B Pickard to abandon his inquiry into the Bisho shootings were incorrect.

"Judge Pickard himself decided it would be inappropriate for two inquiries to be held simultaneously," he said.

● Ill omens come to pass

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**THE STAR, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992**

## Bus ambushed, eight shot dead

DURBAN — Eight people were shot dead this morning at Umgababa on the Natal South Coast when a minibus taking them to work was ambushed.

Seven of the victims died in the minibus and the eighth was found a few metres away. The driver escaped.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) spokesman Ed Tillet claimed the gunmen, who used AK-47 rifles, were wearing army uniforms. — Own Correspondent.

# Peace accord has failed to halt killings X

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The National Peace Accord was signed a year ago today, but figures show that violence has increased by 28,5 percent since then, instead of steadily decreasing as envisaged.

Figures supplied by the Human Rights Commission (HRC) show 3 400 people were killed in political violence in the last year, compared with 2 649 in the year before the accord was approved.

HRC director Dr Max Coleman yesterday said the figures showed that, in statistical terms, the accord had been a failure.

The major weakness of the accord had been its inability to deal with the covert activities of "hit squads".

Although the NPA had not fulfilled its initial potential, recent positive developments such as the introduction of international observers and the provi-

sion of the Goldstone Commission with investigative powers could help the accord have more impact on political violence, Dr Coleman said.

Government spokesman Dave Steward said one of the failings of the accord was that not all of the signatories had abided by its terms.

"The challenge for all political parties is to make sure the accord starts to work," he said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said it was impossible to expect a piece of paper to stop violence in a volatile situation "if the political will is not there".

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said it was a tragedy that violence had increased in the last year.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall and National Peace Secretariat chief Dr Antonie Gildenhuys could not be reached for comment last night.

But at an emergency meeting last Tuesday, both men said they would demand that all political leaders abide by the terms of the accord.

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## Handling the homelands

**T**HE EXISTENCE of the ethnic homelands in South Africa has always been costly, in human and financial terms. Now it is downright dangerous for the negotiations process. The principled agreement almost reached at Codesa on the inevitable reincorporation of the territories evaporated on the road to Bisho, and homeland wars beckoned in the north and south.

To their credit the ANC and Government had recognised the extent of the danger by the end of last week, and moved in their own ways to defuse the situation. By threatening "coercive measures" against Brigadier Gqozo, Rik Botha finally dropped the fiction of "independence", and by agreeing to a summit with President de Klerk, Mr Mandela turned away from confrontation.

The homeland issue will be with us right up to the end of the transition process. If it is not dealt with in a spirit of compromise, it has the capacity to scupper that process. This can be avoided if both the Government and ANC approach the problem with clear principles in mind. The Government must publicly acknowledge responsibility for its creations, and apply pressure even-handedly to ensure that basic political freedoms are allowed in each and every homeland. In particular, Pretoria must assume control over the various homeland security forces.

In turn, the ANC must recognise that by entering into the negotiations process, it implicitly agreed to bargain with leaders it considers illegitimate. The organisation has the democratic right to apply pressure on those leaders through popular protest, but it does not have the right to organise mini-revolutions. The line between legitimate peaceful protest and outright insurrection must be clearly drawn, and adhered to.

Referendums should be arranged as soon as possible in Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, and the brigadiers and generals should quit if their people reject them. Prototype "interim governments" could easily be installed in these areas. The new mood of political responsibility that emerged after the Bisho tragedy will be tested in coming days. Pik Botha must act on his promises in his meeting with Brigadier Gqozo this week, and if the ANC goes ahead with its march on Mmabatho, it must ensure the event is neither provocative nor insurrectionary.

Hans Pienaar argues that KwaNdebele's peace offers a lesson for other homelands

# Ease pain, fury by referendum

**A**FTER the Bisho bloodshed and renewed attacks on Inkatha members in Natal it is evident the ANC has moved into a new, militant, strategic phase: get the "enemy" homelands.

Many South Africans throw up their hands in despair, unable to comprehend why the ANC should be targeting areas which are expected to disappear in any event. But if one looks at the tactic coldly from the ANC's point of view, it does have a clear purpose. It is aimed at undermining the allies of the ANC's chief adversary, the National Party.

But there is also a belief that the strategy could, in the end, remove some of the causes of the violence.

It is a fact that some of the most peaceful regions in strife-torn South Africa today are homelands — KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, eBowa, Venda — and that all these have chosen to place themselves in the ANC's political camp.

A close historical look at one of them, KwaNdebele, explains why the ANC is convinced that by

breaking the stranglehold in "right-wing" homelands, long-term peace will be served.

In 1989 KwaNdebele was wracked by violence. At least 300 people died in three months, in bloodshed that was unexpected and remained inexplicable for a long while. Yet once everything was disentangled, the story was remarkably simple.

It started with a vigilante movement, formed in the early '80s when KwaNdebele was still a dumping ground for forced removals. The "anti-crime" movement was hijacked by the KwaNdebele government and christened "Mbokhoto" (grindstone), and was run by black homeland officials who unabashedly used Mbokhotos as the storm-troopers of independence.

Mbokhoto was presented as a cultural movement, basing its constitution on that of Inkatha, and it became deeply feared as it attempted to gain control over impoverished communities. They went so far as to forcibly mobilise men in the capital, Siyabuswa, for an attack on the Sotho-speaking people of Moutse.

But ordinary Ndebeles had no quarrel with the Sothos, and the youths of both areas, inspired by the rise of the United Democratic Front, started organising themselves against Mbokhoto. A three-month power-struggle ensued, and the youths, with the support of the royal house of the predominant tribe, eventually ousted the Mbokhoto. KwaNdebele has been at peace ever since.

The Mbokhoto operated in similar ways to Inkatha. Both press-ganged young people into the movement, or used bureaucratic measures — like the issuing of trade or marriage licences — to bolster their memberships.

Mbokhoto's view of "culture" was built on excessive respect for anyone in any position of authority. This was what the westernised Ndebele youths resented the most.

It is often argued that Inkatha's excessive discipline is a reaction to a sustained ANC campaign against KwaZulu. This is belied by the fact that even before the start of the revolt in KwaZulu in the early '80s, the homeland had for

years hosted countless tribal massacres with an annual death rate well into the hundreds. It was here that the Inkatha ethic was born.

Tribal warfare was primarily conducted for supremacy over the meagre resources of the over-populated, hundred-path-homeland. But the sparks were always real or imagined "hlonipa" slights, which legitimated the extermination of families, and eventually whole communities.

But the most revealing parallels between the current violence and the KwaNdebele revolt are the reactions of the authorities. A gruesome method developed for Mbokhoto — chasing naked people on a soaped community hall floor and hitting them with lengths of hosepipe, sometimes to death — was described by white officials as "cultural".

A crucial factor in the initial victory for the anti-government forces was the reluctance of the security forces to allow a comeback for Mbokhoto after its dispersal by the Ndebele youth. The enlightened police commissioner, Brigadier Chris van Niekerk, lobbied extensively with the Kwa-

Ndebele government for negotiations with the royal house.

The KwaNdebele story suggests that what eventually sealed peace there, despite the reign of terror, was almost stupefying in its simplicity — an election, after the KwaNdebele government had been declared illegal because women were not allowed to vote.

The elective process in KwaNdebele was as flawed as in any homeland. Only 16 out of 70-odd seats in its legislative assembly were elected, the others were all filled by tribal nominees. That is why the result, a resounding victory for anti-Mbokhoto candidates, did not immediately lead to a change of government.

But the psychological effects were tremendous. The remaining Mbokhoto politicians' support evaporated and it was only a matter of time before they were replaced, peacefully, in the tribal structures.

The most encouraging effect was the almost total absence of any anti-Mbokhoto revenge actions, belying the myth that black communities are doomed to political intolerance per se. A spirit of

forgiveness reigned, symbolised by the withdrawal of a number of murder charges against the Mbokhoto leader, Majori Mahlangu.

An election or referendum in, for example, KwaZulu or Ciskei, could have the effect of defusing deadly tensions. If the incumbents won, they would gain legitimacy; if the opposition gained considerable support, it would be clear that the leaders could not claim to speak for everyone in their area.

This would deliver a most important psychological dividend in the case of KwaZulu — it would greatly weaken the ethnic hysteria which causes the destitute, paranoid refugees from KwaZulu in the hostels and squatter camps of the Witwatersrand to be scared into violence by the dark forces in our society.

In an atmosphere where hot-headed, belligerent strongmen know they do not have any decisive support, people will think twice before allowing small slights to be blown up into excuses for massacres. □

● Hans Pienaar is the award-winning author of "Die Derde Oorlog Teen Mapoch", a study of KwaNdebele.

# Pawns in fight to win voters

## ■ POLITICAL BUDDIES Homelands divided

*in their loyalty to the ANC and De Klerk:*

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

**S**UDDENLY THE focus is on the homelands - the much-maligned bantustans - as South Africa, and indeed the world, reels from the Ciskei massacre of September 7.

A closer look at the 10 homelands - four "independent" and six "self-governing" - reveals an emerging pattern of alliance-forging: those with the Government or the African National Congress. Only one of them seems undecided. A sort of "who's with who" as battle lines widen.

In the background, but openly lending the race for dominance in these territories, are the National Party Government and the African National Congress.

Therefore, while homeland leaders, notably Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope, contend that homelands were not created by apartheid, anti-apartheid groups maintain that the NP consciously legislated for their existence and as such, their leaders are illegitimate.

The ANC says bantustan leaders are tyrants and dictators who must be ousted and interim administrations be installed while South Africa's future is being negotiated.

And while accusations are hurled from all sides about the shootings which claimed the lives of 28 marchers outside Bisho last Monday, what remained clear by late last week was that military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would not hesitate to order his men to shoot again.

He warned there would be further massacres if the ANC and its allies continued to "provoke" Ciskei authorities. And so have KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, the ANC's next targets of mass marches.

### March would be tragic

Last week Buthelezi said the planned march on Ulundi would be tragic. Mangope said at the weekend that the ANC should not undermine his capabilities.

The ANC on the other hand does not view its marches as provocative but as a mass action strategy to remove what ANC leader Nelson Mandela last week referred to as dictators, tyrants and puppets of the FW de Klerk regime.

Also significantly, homeland leaders who addressed a special sitting of the UN Security Council on South Africa on July 17, were informed that in terms of UN resolutions on South Africa, they were speaking in their personal capacities and as "appendages" of the South African Gov-

So, who is with whom as ANC prepares to march on Bophuthatswana on Saturday?

Between 1976 and 1983 Pretoria "granted" four territories "independence" and is the only one which recognises them as "countries" - Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda.

Of these, Transkei and Ciskei and Venda have military rulers following bloodless coups.

Among the "independent" homelands, the Transkei, under Major-General Bantu Holomisa, can be referred to as ANC territory. Holomisa and Venda's Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana openly call for the re-incorporation of homelands into South Africa.

Significantly, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana are vociferously opposed to the ANC and its allies. Gqozo frothes at the mouth when he speaks of the "communist killers and destabilisers".

Mangope on the other hand, insists that for the ANC to be allowed to operate in his territory, it must register as a party with his administration.

The ANC rejects these assertions and insists political activity in the whole of South Africa is a right that should not have to be negotiated with "puppets".

### Suppress freedom of speech

The ANC insists that these territories use security legislation to suppress freedom of speech and political activity. In the case of the Ciskei, the ANC has called for the repeal of Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which infringes on free political association.

The Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act which provides for detention without trial is currently more vigorously used than Pretoria's own version.

KwaZulu, QwaQwa, Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane are called "self-governing states" in terms of Government policy.

Of these, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele support the ANC.

KwaZulu and QwaQwa are known opponents of the ANC while Gazankulu is regarded a fence-sitter which is however more inclined towards Pretoria.

This is despite the fact that Gazankulu's chief minister, Professor Hudson Nisani, is a card-carrying ANC member.

Buthelezi and QwaQwa's Chief TK Mopeli, are known as De Klerk's allies and supporters of the federalism concept that is now being pursued by De Klerk.

The big question facing South Africa now is simply this: Is Saturday's going to



16/1/11

## ANC Youth League leader to appear

CITIZEN 14/09/92

**Citizen Reporter**

THE president of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in the eastern Cape, Mr Themba Kinana, will appear in the King William's Town regional court today in connection with the alleged theft and illegal possession of firearms.

Mr Kinana was arrested along with another unidentified ANCYL member following a police raid on his organisation's offices last week after a tip-off.

Two R4-rifles, two loaded R4 magazines and five loaded R5 magazines were found during the search. At the time the police detained 158 ANCYL

members, but subsequently released 156.

According to a police spokesman in the eastern Cape, Maj Frans Beneke, the weapons had been stolen from the residence of a member of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in Downing Street, King Williams Town, on September 10.

The CDF personnel member, who was not at home at the time of the break-in, had already laid a charge of theft.

Maj Beneke also said there had been a handgrenade attack in Duncan Village, East London, early yesterday in which an assistant constable and his wife were injured.

In the incident, an F1 handgrenade of Soviet origin was thrown through a bedroom window at the rear of a house belonging to a municipal policeman. Assistant Const S Mka-tha, who is lodging in the house, suffered slight shrapnel wounds in his legs.

His wife, Nxolo, was badly injured by shrapnel in the torso and is in the intensive care unit at the Frere Hospital in East London, where her condition was yesterday described as serious but stable.

The couple's 10-month-old baby, who was also in the room at the time, escaped uninjured.

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# Government probes how U.S.-made arms got to South Africa

JOURNAL OF COMMERCE

**New York** — The U.S. government is trying to determine how and why tons of U.S.-made arms are turning up illegally in South Africa.

Investigators want to find out whether some companies gave the Commerce Department forged documents or other incorrect information on goods bound for countries near South Africa, said Peter Sobol, an assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York.

U.S. law and a 1977 United Nations embargo ban the export of military arms to South Africa. Arms with civilian uses are governed by U.S. export controls.

Mr. Sobol said some arms and ammunition either did not arrive at their stated destinations or were transferred to South Africa after they arrived at the listed destinations.

He said a criminal investigation launched in the summer of 1991 covers New York, San Diego and areas in southern Africa. Both the Commerce and Justice departments are involved in the investigation.

Meanwhile, evidence that U.S.-made munitions are being diverted to South Africa from neighboring countries has pitted the Commerce Department against a Washington-based anti-apartheid group in a civil courtroom battle.

The yearlong battle was expected to heat up in New York today when the Africa Fund was to ask U.S. District Judge John F. Keenan to force the Commerce Department to re-

lease more than 1,000 pages of documents fund sponsors claim will detail some of the illegal arms transactions.

"We're shocked that [the exports] happened in the first place," said Franklin Siegel, the attorney representing the fund in the lawsuit. He works at the Center for Constitutional Rights, a New York-based civil and human rights group.

A 1977 U.N. arms embargo and U.S. law prohibit the shipment of any arms or ammunition to South Africa for military use. U.S. export controls tightly govern the export of goods with both military and civilian uses, such as shotguns used to hunt ducks or polygraph equipment used by private companies.

The Commerce and State departments share jurisdiction, depending on the product, over licenses used to accompany exports with dual uses.

According to the Africa Fund, millions of dollars worth of shotguns, cartridge-reloading equipment, air-gun pellets, ammunition and other arms packed in pallets left U.S. ports from 1989 to 1991 for ports in South Africa and neighboring countries.

Sawed-off shotguns, made by U.S. companies, are showing up at sites of violence around South Africa, Africa Fund executives claim.

Fund officials believe many of the weapons are ending up in the hands of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which represents Zulus and opposes Nelson Mandela's African National Congress in the fight against apartheid.

## Another aftermath in South Africa

Once again, negotiations for a peaceful transition to a representative democracy in South Africa have slipped on the blood of the country's people. As tragic as the recent round of killings was, it may have provided a necessary impetus for achieving a diplomatic, rather than a violent, solution.

Soldiers from the Ciskei black homeland opened fire last Monday on African National Congress protesters, leaving 28 dead. The ANC, as part of its recent mass-action campaign, had organized a march into Ciskei with the aim of forcing the removal of its strong-arm leader, Brig. Gen. Oupa Gqozo.

ANC officials broke off talks on a constitution with President F.W. de Klerk last June after a massacre of ANC supporters in the black township of Boipatong. Without international sanctions and the ANC's armed struggle (which the group laudably abandoned), black South Africans' only way to exert influence is through massive demonstrations.

Since the Boipatong slaughter, ANC leader Nelson Mandela has had to contend with followers who see little tangible gain from de Klerk's reforms. That frustration fueled the rise of the ANC's more militant members, who likely were behind the Ciskei march. It was an ill-conceived strategy fated to result in fatalities: Ciskei's soldiers are known to be untrained and ill-disciplined. Gqozo had said he would defend his position.

Still, South African government officials cannot blame the ANC for the Ciskei killings without the words encircling them and their ward, Gqozo, as well.

De Klerk's National Party historically has suppressed blacks by separating them and stoking animosities among them. The country's 10 black homelands, and those who rule them, are products of that tactic. By labeling these segregated homelands "independent countries," an assertion rejected internationally, the National Party con-

tinued to be puppets of the South African government, which provides them financial and political support. De Klerk certainly had the influence to instruct Gqozo to respond to protesters without such fatal force.

The Ciskei killings highlight both sides' political maneuverings to gain influence in shaping the country's future. De Klerk has operated in a heady atmosphere of approval since white voters last March resoundingly approved his policies in a referendum. The ANC has had to play catch-up in the leverage-stakes ever since.

The majority of those in Ciskei are ANC supporters. ANC officials must have concluded it was necessary to stand up against homeland leaders in ANC strongholds who nonetheless aligned themselves with Pretoria. That is a crass political approach: the group does not oppose dictatorial homeland leaders who side with the ANC.

Neither Mandela nor de Klerk are foolish enough to have wanted the Ciskei killings to occur. Both men have staked their careers on the premise that apartheid's end is inevitable and that South Africa will be stronger if that conversion is peaceful. The march's bloody outcome has at least emphasized that constitutional negotiations cannot resume until the country's violence is earnestly confronted by blacks and whites.

That outlook is buoyed by the unexpected and quick words of reconciliation exchanged between Mandela and de Klerk soon after the Ciskei killings.

De Klerk should continue to welcome international observers and mediators. Mandela should try to convince impatient militants that South Africa's most prosperous and equitable future lies in a peaceful end to apartheid and minority rule. Then, the two should quickly negotiate an interim government that will carry credibility for all South Af-

*Chandran Plin Cleaver Sept. 14, 1992 Monday*

## 18 UN observers arrive in SA

AN 18-member advance party of United Nations observers yesterday jetted into South Africa after a 12-hour delay, hoping to help bring to an end the violence paralysing the country's peace process.

The group was met at Jan Smuts Airport by Education and Training Minister, Mr Sam de Beer, National Peace Secretariat officials, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and Mr Corrie Bezuidenhout, and African National Congress executives. Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Aziz Pahad.

The group leader, Tanzanian Mr Ismat Steiner, said he had no knowledge of allegations their delay was caused by UN resolutions barring its staff from flying South African Airways (SAA).

"First of all we were supposed to come on British Airways, then we were moved to SAA, and then we were told we were going to travel British Airways again. I was merely told how I was going to get here," he said.

Reports said the team

had been booked on SAA's Friday night direct flight from New York but were obliged by the UN travel office to alter their plans at the last minute and fly British Airways via London.

The change reportedly resulted in increased costs totalling thousands of dollars.

The advance group is the first of 50 UN observers expected to be deployed in South Africa by October.

They will be headed by Jamaican UN director, Mrs Angela King, whose arrival date has been set for September 23.

Mr Steiner told reporters the first task of his delegation would be to establish contact with all parties and make arrangements for two additional UN groups due to arrive within 10 days and in early October respectively.

The observers would bolster National Peace Secretariat structures set up under the National Peace Accord signed by all main political parties.

They would also work with Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, heading the commission of inquiry

into public violence and intimidation, Mr Steiner said.

He said the observers would "for the time being" work separately from UN special envoy to South Africa, Mr Virendra Dayal, whose appointment was reportedly confirmed by UN official, Mr Hisham Omayad.

# ANC women reject Winnie's resignation

By Chris Steyn  
and Sapa

THE ANC Women's League's PWV region, yesterday rejected Mrs Winnie Mandela's resignation from the PWV region and threatened mass resignations if it remained in force.

More than 300 representatives, from 34 of the region's 64 branches

attended an inter-branch meeting at the Women's League's head office in Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, and unanimously demanded that her resignation as PWV executive committee member and ordinary member of the region be withdrawn.

Mrs Mandela, the estranged wife of ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, resigned all her positions in the ANC last

week amid ongoing controversy over her personal and financial affairs.

At a Press conference yesterday, the PWV region's deputy chairperson, Ms Gwendoline Mahlangu, said the Women's League had realised that Mrs Mandela's resignation was not her "own wish", but the result of pressure from a

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## Don't resign call to Winnie

FROM PAGE 1

group within the ANC.

"We know who are in this faction. And when the climate is conducive, we will release more information."

The group was not the secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, to which Mrs Mandela's alleged former lover, Dali Mpotu, referred soon after he was fired from the ANC's Social Welfare Department some months ago, she said.

Mrs Mandela resigned last week from the ANC National Executive Committee, the ANC Women's League National Executive, and the ANCWL PWV Regional Executive Committee.

She also withdrew her membership of the Women's League, but said she would remain a

member of the ANC.

Regional members would rather resign from the ANCWL than accept Mrs Mandela's resignation, Ms Mahlangu said.

She pointed out while members accepted the reasons for her resignation, they did not accept her resignation from the ANCWL PWV.

Mrs Mandela had not been given a chance to serve the region, which was suspended after members allegedly demonstrated against her resignation as head of the Social Welfare Department.

Ms Mahlangu said a commission of inquiry into the suspension, established by the ANCWL, had found it to be unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

Mrs Mandela would

have to continue as chairman, she pointed out.

Asked how she thought Mrs Mandela would respond, Ms Mahlangu said: "Winnie is comrade-controlled. If they say she has to stay, she will accept."

porters were not concerned over allegations regarding her private life or any other actions she might have committed.

"We don't have proof of the things they say about her. But we have proof of the good things she has done. She has suffered so much for the struggle," Ms Mahlangu said.

ANC national spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus said Mrs Mandela had not been cleared by the ANC of responsibility for "serious discrepancies" in the accounts of its social welfare department.

He confirmed that the organisation was still investigating the financial affairs of the department that Mrs Mandela used to run.

When Mrs Mandela announced her resignation last week from all posts in the ANC, she claimed she had been "cleared".

Mr Niehaus said appropriate action would be taken only once the ANC had established how serious the problem of the missing funds was and who the responsible parties were.

During preliminary investigations, serious discrepancies had become apparent in the accounts of the social welfare department.

A commission of inquiry was established and had begun a thorough investigation into the matter. The probe was still continuing.

## Roelf, Ramaphosa may meet today

THE government and the African National Congress could meet as early as today to discuss obstacles to a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and State President De Klerk.

ANC secretary-general,

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, agreed in a debate on SABC's news programme, Agenda, yesterday that they would clear their diaries to hold a meeting this week to resolve issues standing in the way of talks between their respective leaders.

The communication channel between Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa is the only remaining link between the two parties since the ANC's announcement earlier this month that it would not return to formal constitutional negotiations.

Mr Ramaphosa said issues relating to the ongoing violence and the release of political prisoners would have to be addressed and resolved before the leaders could meet. "My diary is free," Mr Ramaphosa said. "I am prepared to meet Mr Meyer on Monday, Tues-

day or Wednesday to address these issues immediately to open the way for the leaders to meet."

Mr Meyer said he, too, would clear his diary for a meeting.

Mr Ramaphosa said the issues, which related to the release of political prisoners and the violence, could be addressed in one or two meetings between representatives of the two sides if the government was truly prepared to "cross the democratic threshold".

While the ANC accepted that its demands on an interim government and a constitutional assembly had been met "fairly satisfactorily", the meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk could not take place until the government was seen to act on its outstanding demands relating to violence and political prisoners.

Mr Meyer agreed that the issues relating to pol-

itical prisoners, the hostels and dangerous weapons could be addressed quickly as he and Mr Ramaphosa had already "come close to a solution" in recent discussions.

However, he said the government refused to negotiate on the basis of demands.

Mr Ramaphosa accused the government of not treating the issue of violence with the seriousness it deserved.

The government had taken "no practical action" to address violence related issues such as fencing and securing hostels and banning dangerous weapons, he said.

Hitting back at the ANC, Mr Meyer said the organisation was politically intolerant and its mass action campaign, which was aimed at overthrowing governments, usually resulted in confrontation and violence.

— Sapa.

# THE CITIZEN, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992

(2)

## Unity govt law planned

### FROM PAGE 1

for transitional government. The enabling measures would allow the speedy implementation of agreements reached at future negotiations on interim government, pending elections for a constitution-making body.

The government gave notice of its intention at the boseraad of the full National Party caucus in the Transvaal at the weekend, when the October sitting of Parliament was discussed in detail.

At the time of announcing the short sitting, State President De Klerk said there were some interim steps that were "inevitable" and could be taken ahead of negotiated agreements.

The NP caucus has endorsed the proposal that the 1983 Constitution should be changed so as

to allow members of the Cabinet to be appointed from outside Parliament.

This would repeal the clause requiring any person appointed to the Cabinet to gain a seat in Parliament within 12 months of his appointment.

The measure would enable Mr De Klerk to create a multi-party government of national unity, representing all the major parties and all races.

For example, members of the ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party could be brought into Cabinet positions, or to hold quasi-Cabinet posts, during the so-called Phase One period of transitional government, while a new constitution is being written.

The change to the present constitution would require approval by each of the three Houses of Parliament, but this appears

to be assured.

All parties in Parliament, with the exception of the Conservative Party, have already endorsed the concept of an extended Cabinet, assisted by Cabinet committees, broadly representative of all sections of the South African community.

Also due to come before Parliament is legislation to phase out the "own affairs" departments, with their duplication of administrative functions in the three Houses (affecting Whites, Coloured and Indians) and the six self-governing territories (affecting Blacks).

This rationalisation of "own affairs" departments and the creation of umbrella national departments would bring about a 5 percent cut in the size of the public service, as envisaged earlier this month by Mr Derek

Keys, Minister of Finance.

The government is committed to reducing the public service by some 30 000 posts, resulting in a R1,4 billion saving on salaries alone.

An announcement is expected soon on plans to enable civil servants to opt for retirement at the age of 50, provided they have at least 10 years of uninterrupted pensionable service, and for the condonation of up to an additional five years' service in regard to the payment of gratuities.

Civil servants who voluntarily retire would then receive a one-off "golden handshake".

Details of how the directorates and departments of the various administrations would be affected are expected with the publication of the draft legislation, ahead of the October sitting.

# FW PLANS LAW FOR UNITY GOVT

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — Constitutional changes to allow State President De Klerk to set up a multi-party government of national unity are to be introduced at the short sitting of Parliament, starting in Cape Town on October 12.

The measure, enabling

Mr De Klerk to appoint to the Cabinet people from outside Parliament, would not be implemented prior to agreement being reached at future negotiations.

New laws are also to be introduced to phase out the "own affairs" administrations, by bringing the administrations of the three Houses of Parliament and those of the six

self-governing states within single administrative units.

This would amalgamate the functions of the various administrations on such issues as health services, welfare, education, local government, housing and agriculture.

Both measures are aimed at setting the stage

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(1)

BUSINESS DAY, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992

# MARCH FOR PEACE NOW

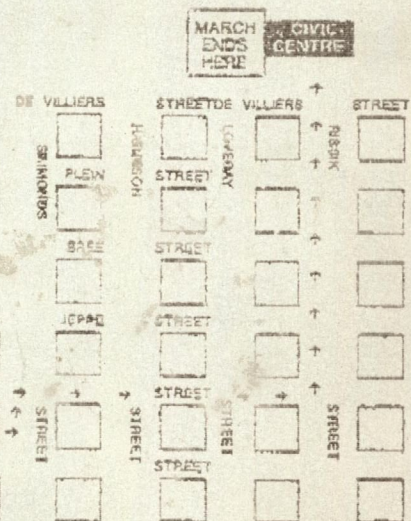
## MARCH FOR NEGOTIATIONS NOW

Millions of South Africans are sick and tired of political posturing and infighting. Act now to save our future. Show the bullies of the Left and Right that you demand peace through negotiations.

**CITY MARCH  
TOMORROW  
(TUES 15 SEPT)**

**12.30 PM**

**FROM  
CIVIC SPINE —  
AND RALLY  
AT  
CIVIC CENTRE**



**BUSINESS DAY, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992**

**President's man**

FORMER SA Communication Service head and government spokesman Dave Steward is to become director-general in the State President's Office on November 1. Steward would succeed Jannie Roux who was to take up an ambassadorial post, the State President's Office said at the weekend.

# BUSINESS DAY, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992

## NEWS

### ANC women refuse to let Winnie resign

THE ANC Women's League PWV region has refused to accept the resignation of its chairman Winnie Mandela.

Regional deputy chairman Gwen Mahlangu told a news conference yesterday a group within the ANC had put pressure on Mandela to resign from the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), the Women's League NEC, and the PWV regional executive committee, after allegations of corruption.

However, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night said the organisation's national working committee had accepted Mandela's resignation and "that is where it stands".

## Talks

been met "fairly satisfactorily", government still had to do something about violence and freeing political prisoners.

Meyer said government refused to negotiate on the basis of demands. He blamed the ANC's mass action campaign for violence, as it was aimed at the overthrow of governments.

However, both he and Ramaphosa agreed that a De Klerk/Mandela meeting should take place as soon as possible.

Ramaphosa said such a meeting could bring a "breath of fresh air" to the political process, while Meyer said it was time for all to stop "playing political games".

Government sources said yesterday the release of prisoners was a key issue to be resolved, with government understanding that the ANC required visible results to prove its decision to deadlock the talks had not been in vain.

Meyer said earlier yesterday that government still maintained that because the remaining political prisoners could not be released in terms of the agreed definition, amnesty was the only way forward. This would have to apply across the political spectrum to avoid problems from sectors such as the security forces.

Government was prepared to allow this to be introduced on a phased basis with a certain level of disclosure of the deeds for

□ From Page 1

which people were being forgiven.

It is understood that Ramaphosa and Meyer are seeking a new principle to apply to the prisoners which dispenses with previous conditions. The principle being mooted was that if the crime was committed with a clear political motive then the person could be excused.

Both sides are fairly confident that the hostel issue will not be difficult to resolve adequately and government hopes it can persuade the ANC to accept its proposals on the issue of weapons.

The government source said they were hopeful a formula could be found to deal with the weapons, but a blanket ban was impossible.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to withdraw from co-operating in constitutional talks if government "succumbs to this pressure from the ANC/SACP demanding a ban on the carrying of cultural weapons at all times in public".

"I fear that will be the end of any co-operation in any talks they may have with us in the future," Buthelezi said.

He said that if government believed it could resolve SA's problems without "an input from the Zulu nation, let them proceed to ban our cultural accoutrements under all circumstances".

● Comment: Page 8

Meyer, Ramaphosa talks hold key

# ANC spells out its terms for summit

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC is insisting that government meet its key demands in preparatory talks before a meeting on violence can take place between President F W de Klerk and the organisation's leader Nelson Mandela.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night government had to address the questions of tighter security at hostels, a blanket ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and the release of political prisoners.

However, both Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said they were optimistic obstacles to the summit could be removed.

Ramaphosa believed "one or two meetings" between himself and Meyer might be sufficient. Both men committed themselves to tackle the issue this week.

Meeting in public debate on the TVI programme Agenda last night, Ramaphosa and Meyer agreed that hopes of a breakthrough in the impasse between the two parties was boosted by the fact that they had been "close to reaching agreement" on obstacles to negotiations in recent talks.

The ANC has previously refused substantive talks with government until there is agreement on the issues of political prisoners, hostels and carrying weapons. A measure of resolution of these issues is now also being made a condition for the De Klerk/Mandela talks.

Talks between Meyer and Ramaphosa have been the only link between the two parties since the Boipatong massacre several months ago.

De Klerk called for a summit on vio-

lence in the country in the wake of the massacre at Bisho in the Ciskei last week.

Earlier yesterday, ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the summit had to result in substantial agreement, but this depended largely on "adequate agreement being reached in preparatory talks" between Meyer and Ramaphosa. If there was not a successful conclusion to these preparatory talks, the summit "will not make much sense at all".

If government was serious about the summit being used to resolve violence, it would accommodate the ANC's demands.

A government source responded by saying the ANC could not claim political points from agreeing to the summit if it was effectively refusing to negotiate by constantly insisting on preconditions.

Another senior government source said De Klerk's call for a meeting with Mandela was clearly in line with the ANC's demands to act forcefully and purposefully on violence. The summit was not about constitutional negotiations but specifically to work out ways of combating violence.

De Klerk had insisted on a top leadership meeting to ensure the major decision-makers on both sides would be involved in the talks and that agreements reached would be binding, the source said.

Speaking on TV last night, Ramaphosa said that while government had taken some measures to combat violence, the people had not seen any "practical action".

While ANC demands on an interim government and a constitutional assembly had

□ To Page 2

# BUSINESS DAY, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992

WILSON ZWANE

TRANSKEI's government would not allow the Goldstone commission to probe violence arising from political protests in the homeland, military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

"The Goldstone commission is a commission of inquiry in SA. We are an independent territory ... and Goldstone is not our Messiah. We can also draw up better terms of reference than he currently has," Holomisa said in an interview.

His government's refusal to allow the commission to operate in the homeland also stemmed from the fact that "the commission is an agent of the national peace accord — to which we are not signatories". He said the commission should be re-

## No Goldstone probe here, says Holomisa

structured and given new terms of reference before it could be allowed to operate in Transkei.

Holomisa's comments came after Judge Richard Goldstone said the homeland was the only TBVC state which had refused his commission permission to operate in it. But Holomisa said UN observers would be welcome to the homeland.

Holomisa said good rapport existed between his regime and the ANC. The ANC alliance was demanding it be allowed to conduct its political activities freely in the homelands. "I challenge anyone to say there is no free politicking in Transkei."

# BUSINESS DAY, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992

## Mangope takes tough stance on marches

THE Bophuthatswana government would defend the lives and property of those living within its borders, President Lucas Mangope said at the weekend in response to reports that the ANC was planning protest marches on towns in the homeland.

And fears of a repetition of the Bisho massacre have been heightened by threats from Bophuthatswana government sources that live ammunition would be used on protesters if they threatened the lives of soldiers.

Meanwhile, Judge Richard Goldstone told a news conference at the weekend that his newly formed special investigative team would be monitoring future home-

RAY HARTLEY

land marches.

He said he hoped the presence of the team would help defuse potential violence at protests.

Referring to suggestions the ANC would march on Bophuthatswana towns in the coming weeks, Mangope said a memorandum had been submitted to the UN asking it to persuade the ANC and SACP to "desist forthwith from actions which could put at risk the lives of innocent people".

A Bophuthatswana government source said the homeland's security forces would be armed with teargas and crowd control

equipment, but added that live ammunition would be used against demonstrators if they fired on soldiers or threatened their lives.

"If they start overstepping the mark, God knows what could happen. My belief at the moment is we need ballots, not bullets."

It is believed the ANC is planning this weekend to march on Garankuwe, north of Pretoria, where it enjoys mass support, as part of a build-up to protests in Bophuthatswana's capital Mmabatho.

But a top ANC source said the Bisho massacre had prompted the organisation

□ To Page 2

## Mangope

to rethink homeland marches that had been planned for Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, and the ANC had not necessarily decided to go ahead with them.

Weekend reports said a march on Ulundi was planned, to call for an end to the rule of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo visited KwaZulu at the weekend, and Buthelezi told him at a banquet in Ulundi that he condemned the ANC alliance for its "totally unwarranted attack on your person, your integrity and your government".

Our Durban correspondent reports that Gqozo warned both the SA government and the ANC: "I am nobody's pushover... I'll be here for a while yet."

Responding to a report that government was poised to give him his marching orders following the Bisho massacre, he said: "I don't think they have a chance of playing that game — of selling me down to the ANC as openly as that."

He said he would be flying to Pretoria today to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha to discuss the crisis in the Ciskei following

the massacre which left 29 dead and more than 200 injured.

Government has largely avoided openly criticising Gqozo over the Bisho killings, but there have been signals from within its ranks that some may be far from pleased with developments.

On Saturday, Goldstone expressed the hope that the very existence of his new investigative unit would "change the conduct of people".

Goldstone announced that he had been asked by President F W de Klerk to investigate the Ciskei killings.

He appealed to journalists and witnesses to present the commission with affidavits or photographic material by Friday.

The commission would furnish its findings and recommendations to the President by not later than September 30.

Members of the investigative unit, which would be fully operational by October 1, had been chosen from a list of officers submitted to the commission by the police. Maj Frank Dutton — who recently exposed the police cover-up of the Trust Feeds massacre in Natal — would head the Natal section of the investigative unit.

□ From Page 1

## Army chief 'informed' that MK is stockpiling weapons

PRETORIA — SA's army chief Gen George Meiring said at the weekend he had information to indicate that MK was involved in the stockpiling of weapons including small arms, a 122mm rocket launcher and Ciskei police and military uniforms.

He said he had also been informed that MK intended assassinating Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo.

A major cause for concern was reports that MK members from the PWV area and the Transkei, as well as MK members of "self-defence" units from Motherwell, New Brighton, KwaZakele and Cradock were sent into the Ciskei area to initiate violence, he said.

He said indications were that shots fired from the crowd at members of the Ciskei Defence Force triggered the Bisho shootings in which 28 people died.

There were indications, too, that prior to the march members of the column were provided with weapons.

Some were found on bodies in and around the stadium. Handgrenades were also confiscated at a roadblock.

Members of the Ciskei Defence Force and police were being assaulted and robbed of weapons, and there was wide-scale intimidation in Ciskei following last week's tragedy at Bisho Stadium.

Meiring rejected ANC claims that the SADF was involved in the tragedy. He also denied an allegation that 31 and 32 battalions were to be incorporated into the Ciskei Defence Force.

It was untrue, he said, that SADF chief of staff intelligence Gen C P van der Westhuizen had instructed the Ciskei Defence

GERALD REILLY

Force to use force in order to crush the demonstration.

He said statements reported in the media over the past few days had not contributed to calming the situation. The ANC's Chris Hani was reported to have said Ciskei police and defence force members would be killed. Ronnie Kasrils, a march leader at Bisho, had said people of the Ciskei had to take up arms against Gqozo.

Any further escalation of this situation could spill over, posing a direct threat not only to innocent lives, but also to peace and stability in SA, Meiring added.

Newspaper reports at the weekend said officers seconded from the SADF and former SADF members were in almost total control of the Ciskei army. Among them were Ciskei Defence Force chief Brig Marius Oelshig and Ciskei operations chief of staff Col Horst Schubesberger.

An SADF spokesman yesterday said that Schubesberger, who City Press yesterday alleged had given the order for Ciskei troops to fire on ANC marchers last week, had never been an SADF member.

The spokesman said it was not unusual for seconded military personnel to form part of the command structures of the armies they were seconded to.

Salaries of the seconded officers were paid by Foreign Affairs and not the SADF as was alleged, the spokesman added.

Ciskei Police Commissioner Johan Victor was named by renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee as a former commander of Vlakplaas, centre of alleged hit squad activities in SA.

**BUSINESS DAY, 14 SEPTEMBER 1992****Groups meet to  
end train killings**

RAY HARTLEY

POLICE, the ANC, Cosatu, Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), SACP and SA Rail and Commuter Corporation representatives agreed at the weekend to meet within three weeks and plan a strategy to end train violence.

The six groups decided to consult their constituencies for fresh ideas before the meeting, scheduled for early October.

Cosatu spokesman Amos Masekela said ANC-aligned organisations believed police were not dealing with the problem adequately. "There is no overall strategy that is acceptable to all parties. We hope that at this meeting some clear guidelines will be given," he said.

The number of police deployed on trains and at stations had tripled to 1 201 since May, but only five people had been arrested for violence against commuters.

Of the five arrested, four were "linked to hostels", pointing to a pattern which the police had not investigated adequately, he said.

SA Rail and Commuter Corporation MD Wynand Burger said he was happy with the meeting. "We've made good progress."

The SARCC presented four alternatives to improving station security, including a system using magnetic detection and closed-circuit TV. The systems would be tested soon, it said.

14/9/92

London

Daily Telegraph

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

## Moves to set up S Africa summit

SENIOR South African government officials and African National Congress leaders will meet today to try to clear the way for a summit between President de Klerk and the ANC's leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

But the ANC Secretary-General, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said its outstanding demands concerning political violence and the freeing of political prisoners needed to be resolved first.

Mr Ramaphosa and the Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Roelf Meyer, said during a heated television debate broadcast late last night that they had "cleared their diaries" to meet this morning.

Both appeared to waver between conciliation and confrontation.

Mr Ramaphosa emphasised there would be no de Klerk-Mandela summit if the government failed to address ANC demands. But he then added that the differences "can be resolved in a short space of time".

The ANC withdrew from constitutional negotiations after the Boiaptong massacre of June 17. The summit would be the first meeting between the two leaders since May.

Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer have met several times to discuss implementation of the ANC's list of demands for action to halt political violence. — AFP

● Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg writes: World pressure has intensified on Pretoria to depose Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Ciskei's military ruler, whose troops shot dead 29 black demonstrators last week, bringing South Africa to the brink of civil war.

The United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, and European Community governments have all said they hold Pretoria ultimately responsible for the massacre at Bisho, the Ciskei capital, pointing out that South Africa created the homeland under apartheid.

Diplomats say the EC acknowledges that the ANC bears a large portion of blame for the tragedy by forcing a confrontation. But one diplomat said it was also accepted that Brig Gqozo would not be in power and would not have been able to use his soldiers unless backed by Pretoria.

Government sources declined to comment on reports that Pretoria was "poised to give Gqozo his marching orders and surrender control of his security forces to South Africa".

The Johannesburg Sunday Times said President de Klerk was about to make the Ciskei ruler "an offer he cannot refuse".

# ANC and Pretoria to set summit date

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

NEGOTIATORS for the South African government and the African National Congress will meet today to try to set the stage for a summit between Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

Roelf Meyer, the constitutional development minister, and Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary-general, agreed on the meeting during a television debate yesterday. Mr Meyer said he was willing to discuss three ANC preconditions for the summit. These concern the release of political prisoners, upgrading migrant workers' hostels and a national ban on carrying dangerous weapons, which he believed could be resolved quickly.

Mr Ramaphosa said that the conditions could be resolved in one or two meetings if the government was "prepared to cross the democratic threshold". He said he had cleared his diary for today and tomorrow.

Earlier Mr de Klerk had ordered Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to take over the enquiry into last week's Bisho killings from the Ciskei homeland's chief justice and to

report to him by September 30. Judge Goldstone is chairman of the commission looking into the causes of political violence in South Africa.

The enquiry is to use photographs and video footage taken by the media as well as reports by the many independent observers, among them members of the national peace secretariat and diplomats. Mr de Klerk's office is to make the findings public.

An advance party of 50 United Nations peace monitors arrived in Johannesburg yesterday, 12 hours late because UN sanctions had prevented them from flying direct from New York by South African Airways. One of their first tasks will be to work with Judge Goldstone's own force of peace monitors next Saturday, when the ANC intends to march on Minabatho, capital of the Bophuthatswana homeland.

Announcing the Ciskei enquiry, Judge Goldstone appealed to the media to make available video material of the killings. "I stress the use of video material," he said. "It's very important because I think that it speaks for itself."

TIMES  
LONDON  
14/9/92

TIMES

## SA negotiators to meet today

CHIEF negotiators for the South African government and the African National Congress agreed in a television debate last night that they would meet today to set the stage for a summit between Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk.

The constitutional development minister, Roelf Meyer, said he was willing to discuss three ANC preconditions for the summit to go ahead and that he believed they could be resolved quickly.

The ANC's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said the conditions could be resolved in one

or two meetings if the government was "prepared to cross the democratic threshold".

Earlier City Press, the main black Sunday newspaper, named a white Austrian-born army officer, Colonel Horst Schubesberger, chief of operations in Ciskei's homeland army, as the man who gave the order to fire on last week's ANC demonstration, killing at least 28 people.

Under a photograph of Col Schubesberger, it said: "(This) man ordered the Bisho massacre." — Reuter

De Klerk profile, page 10

GUARDIAN - LONDON  
14/9/92

*Independent*

## 10 INTERNATIONAL \*\*\*

# SA officers 'set up massacre'

A CABAL of South African army officers working with the Ciskei military, and either answerable to Pretoria or having close ties with it, ran the operation in which soldiers killed 28 unarmed demonstrators and injured about 200 as they marched on the black homeland a week ago. Among them is the officer who gave the order to open fire, Colonel Horst Schubesberger, the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) operations chief of staff, according to sources in Bisho and witnesses.

There is mounting evidence that the massacre, far from being a tragedy born in the heat of the moment, was a trap laid by the Ciskei military to lure the protesters to their deaths. President F W de Klerk ordered the Goldstone Commission into violence to investigate and report on the attack.

As accusations about the incident continued, chief negotiators for the South African government and the African National Congress agreed in a television debate yesterday to meet today to set the stage for a summit between Nelson Mandela and Mr de Klerk.

Pretoria has denied responsibility for the massacre on the grounds that it occurred on "foreign" soil. An 18-strong group of United Nations observers arrived yesterday. Suspicions that the protesters fell victim to an ambush centre on one question. The ANC's plan to break out of the stadium in which it had permis-

From Chris McGreal  
in Johannesburg

sion to rally was known to both the Ciskei and South African security forces. So why was a gap left in the stadium fence, and soldiers hidden in the long grass beyond it, when other routes were closed by razor wire and troops posted visibly to deter demonstrators from crossing?

Ciskei says the protesters broke through the fence, but witnesses say it was already down. Had the military wished to keep the ANC inside the stadium it could have sealed it with razor wire as it had done the road. Instead, the positioning of the wire appeared designed to funnel protesters into the line of fire of the soldiers hiding in the grass. As the demonstrators charged from the stadium, the only troops they could see were lined up some distance away. Suddenly the soldiers in the grass rose up and started firing. A preplanned attack would explain why South African police pulled away beforehand when they might have been expected to remain on an "international" frontier where trouble was imminent.

Throughout the shooting, Colonel Schubesberger was in overall command, and in radio contact with Ciskei's military ruler, Oupa Gqozo, and with white South African officers who hold senior positions in the Ciskei forces.

*26/6/41*

*Independent*