

HOMELANDS — CISKEI — GENERAL

1992

OCTOBER.

ANC applies for march in Ciskei

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

105

In an attempt to avert confrontation with Ciskei authorities, the ANC has applied for permission to march to Bisho on Monday to demand the "downgrading" of the homeland's independence status.

Ciskei Commissioner of Police Major-General Z Goba on Tuesday declared the march unlawful in terms of the homeland's National Security Act.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance led a similar march to Bisho last month, and confrontation was averted by shuttle diplomacy by National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo refused permission for the demonstrators to enter the homeland, but the protesters eventually marched into Bisho stadium.

STAR 3/9/92
Dr Gildenhuys said on Tuesday he would meet the Ciskei government tomorrow to discuss its possible participation in the National Peace Accord after its withdrawal earlier this year.

In a telefax to the ANC Border region, General Goba advised the organisation to apply in writing to a magistrate for permission to stage the march.

ANC Border spokesman Lucille Meyer yesterday said the organisation had applied for permission to stage the march and had informed General Goba of the application.

She said protesters would approach Bisho from Komga and King William's Town. The march would be led by Ronnie Kasrils, Winnie Mandela, Chris Hani, Raymond Suttner, Tony Yengeni and Tokyo Sexwale.

The march coincides with the Government-sponsored conference on federalism.

Police 'saw no white attackers'

ONE OF the first policemen on the scene of the Swanieville massacre in May last year denied in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that there had been white men among the armed group leaving the camp as the police arrived. *BIDAY 4/7/92*

Allegations that white men were seen among the attackers who swooped on the camp during the early hours of Sunday, May 12 last year, were reported in the media shortly afterwards.

Const Remo Luit, who was in the Casspir sent to investigate a report of a shooting incident at the camp early that morning, said he did not see any white men in the group of about 1 000 hostel dwellers they encountered leaving Swanieville.

Luit was giving evidence at the trial of seven hostel dwellers who are alleged to have been part of the armed group which murdered 28 Swanieville residents and injured 37 others.

Vumisani Majola, 37, Sizwe Majola, 21,

SUSAN RUSSELL

Joseph Mphiwa Khanyile, 51, Bakera Dlamini, 32, Bhekowakwe Mdlalose, 41, Pheyi Mlango, 54 and Mzanya Sithole, 44, have pleaded not guilty to 28 counts of murder.

Earlier Remo testified that two armed groups of 200 and 800 each had converged into one as the police Casspir approached.

The men in the group were wearing red armbands and headbands, Luit said, and were armed with spears, axes, knobkerries and assorted other weapons.

Luit told the court that the group had seemed to be about to go through Kagiso to get back to the hostel, and the police had wanted to divert them around the township instead, to prevent any further violence.

He said the group was escorted back to the hostel. No attempt was made to arrest any of them, to avert further bloodshed.

The trial continues before Judge C Botha today.

ANC to march on absent Gqozo's capital

THE ANC — preparing for a show of strength when it marches on the Ciskei capital of Bisho on Monday — has demanded the removal of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo as head of state and the downgrading of the territory's independent status.

The ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP, Cosatu and the SA National Civic Organisation, aim to march on Bisho while Gqozo is in Pretoria at government's fed-

PATRICK BULGER

eralism conference. *(105)*

In a memorandum yesterday, the alliance said the wave of violence and intimidation in the Ciskei had reached alarming proportions and it was vital to create a climate of free political activity.

The ANC said it had no interest in seizing power in the Ciskei.

Cosatu marches on Bisho

THE Congress of SA Trade Unions will march on the Ciskei parliament in Bisho on Monday to demand the right of free political activity in the homeland. *Sowetan 4/9/92*

Cosatu's assistant general secretary, Mr Sam Shilowa, said the march would follow a week of intensive mobilisation by the tripartite alliance. He said the leaders of Cosatu, the ANC and the SA Communist Party would address workers at factories, workplaces, homes and religious centres in Ciskei to prepare them for the "big" march on Monday. (105) (105)

News

Ciskei opponents square up to Gqozo

BISHO — The line was drawn in the sand between the Ciskei government and its opponents in Bisho yesterday.

With tensions rising in anticipation of a march and occupation of Bisho planned by the tripartite alliance for Monday, the conference on violence facilitated by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa brought together the most representative grouping of organisations in this region since last year's Border Peace Conference.

There was, however,

no compromise on two bottom lines which most groups at the conference saw as crucial for peace: the call for an interim administration in the Ciskei and re-incorporation of the homeland.

From the majority of submissions to the conference, it emerged that the removal of homeland ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his replacement with an interim administration were seen as a key to regional

peace.

The Ciskei government and its African Democratic Movement instead charged the alliance with responsibility for conflict in the region, and declined to support the call for an interim administration or re-incorporation.

The African National Congress laid the blame for violence on the Ciskei government and charged it with pursuing the agenda of South African

ca's military intelligence department.

With Monday's march looming, Ciskeian Health Minister Dr Henk Kayser warned that mass action would spark violence, and said no administration could be expected to condone damage to its infrastructure.

The Ciskei Police delegate said it was the duty of the police to see that the laws of the country were enforced. The ADM said it be-

lieved the march would cause further violence.

Gqozo's office has confirmed he will be in Bisho on Monday. He was to have attended the federalism conference called by President F W de Klerk in Pretoria.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Goldenhuys, who addressed the meeting briefly, said there were threats of violence regional

peace committee chairman Reg Mason appealed to the alliance to consider calling off the march in return for the scrapping of legislation preventing free political activity in the region.

The suggestion was not immediately taken up by the alliance. The five key proposals for peace agreed to by the majority of organisations included the creation of a climate of free political activity, and introduction of the Goldstone Commission into the region to investigate violence — Sapa

Bloodbath feared as alliance gathers for Ciskei showdown.

ANC MOVE TO OUST GQOZO

By SIBU MNGADI 6/9/92

DARK CLOUDS hovered over the Ciskei yesterday amid fears of a bloodbath when the ANC defiantly marches on Bisho.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo has threatened to use all the force at his disposal to stop tomorrow's march.

But ANC leaders yesterday bluntly warned him. "Our people in Ciskei are coming to remove you from the seat of power. Come what may."

The ANC has pulled out all the stops for what is expected to be "the biggest march staged in SA", senior national executive committee member Raymond Suttner told City Press yesterday.

Suttner said the ANC had information, which sources in the Ciskei Defence Force had confirmed, that Gqozo had brought in a notorious SA unit to stop the march.

The ANC conceded that "imminent threats of violence are in the air" and said violence would not be in the interests of any party.

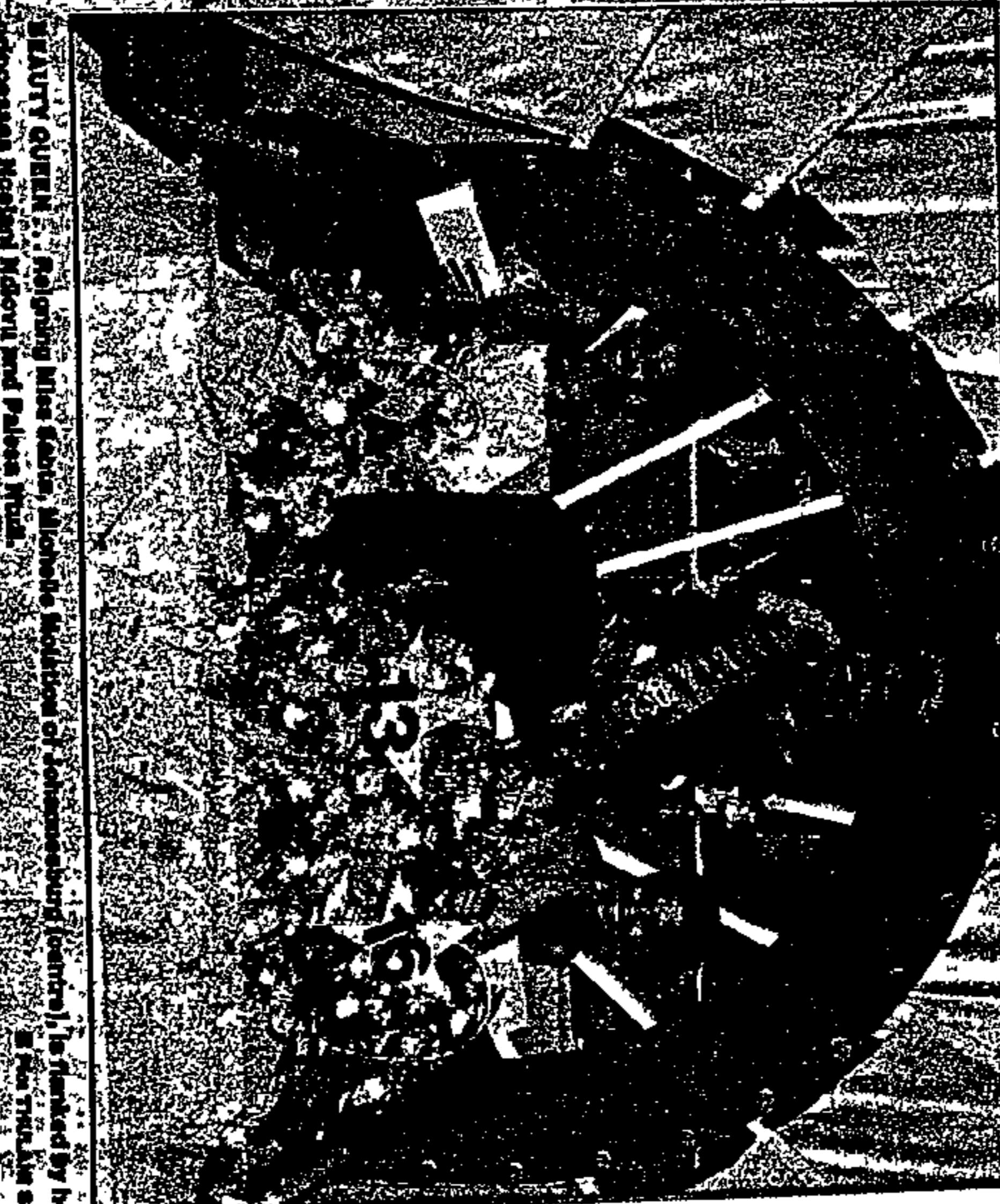
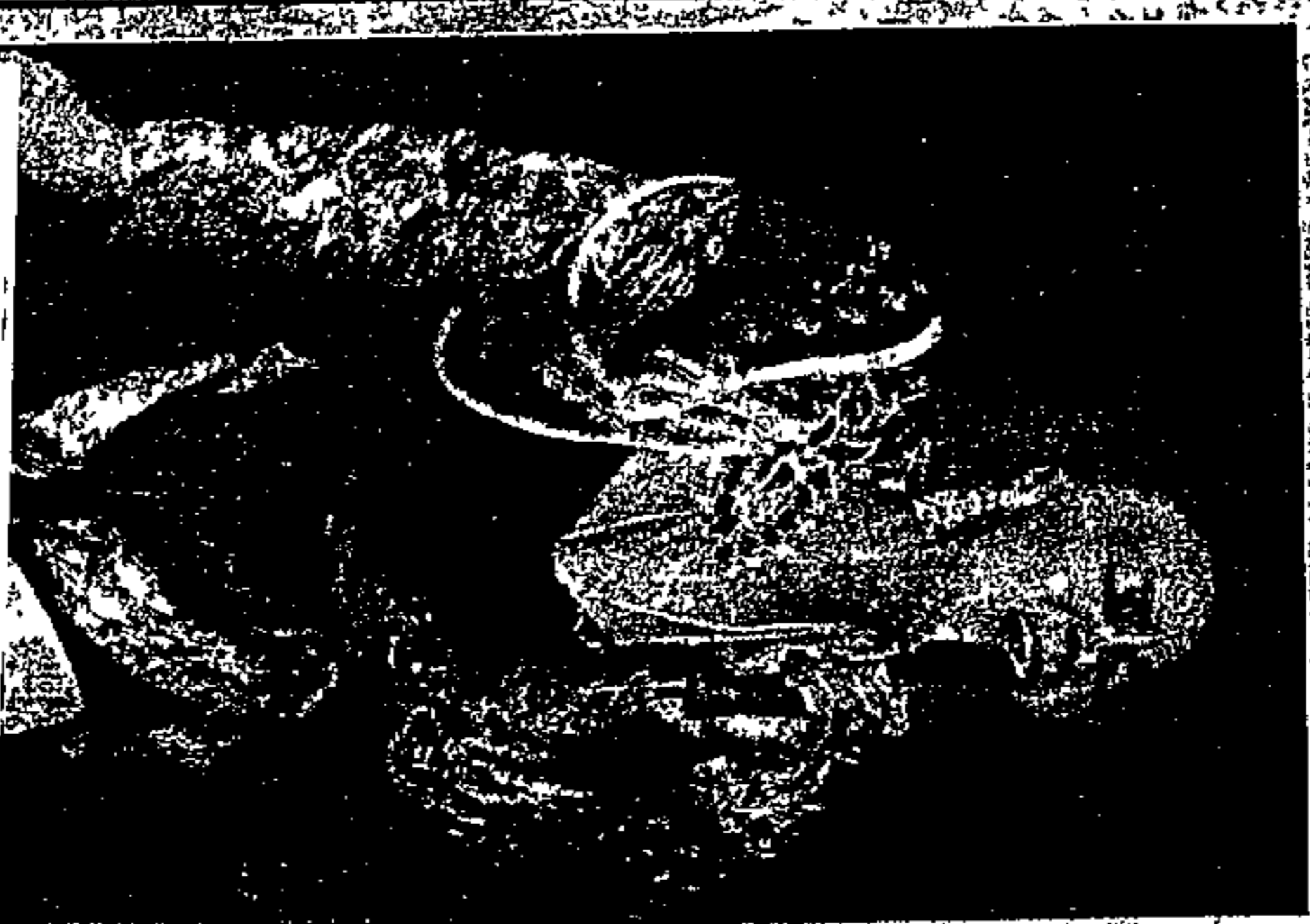
It also confirmed reports alleged Linkwondo, western Ciskei, in the region were "combat ready" to protect the demonstrators in the event of an attack by Gqozo's security forces.

Meanwhile Border SA Police spokesman Lt-Col Christo Louw this week told local journalists that SAP members had met the Ciskei government, but would not give details of the "planning meeting".

Yesterday Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel declared the districts of East London, King William's Town, Queenstown, Cathcart and Stutterheim - all in the Border region - unrest areas with immediate effect.

ANC supporters bused in from throughout the Border region and the eastern Cape will converge on Victoria grounds in King William's Town at 7 am tomorrow before marching on Bisho, about 10 km away. The march will be led by Suttner, fellow NEC members, SACP general-secretary Chris Ham, Steve Tshwete, Cheryl Carolus, Tokyo Serwalle, Thozanile Betha, ANC Youth League chairman Peter

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From Page 1 Move to oust Gqozo

Mokaba and western Cape ANC general-secretary Tony Yengeni, Cosatu general-secretary Sam Silowa and Cosatu president Chris Dlamini.

In a joint memorandum to State President FW de Klerk on Friday, the ANC and its allies said Gqozo should be replaced with an interim administration "acceptable to all parties".

The interim administration would supervise the process of reincorporation into SA.

The ANC stressed it was not interested in seizing power in Ciskei but wished to create a political climate for itself and other organisations to operate freely in the homeland.

The memorandum demanded that Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which prohibits free political activity be scrapped and the SADF's Military Intelligence be removed from the Ciskei.

BEAUTY QUEEN: Religion Miss Smit, Misses Moolenaar and Moolenaar (centre) is flanked by Miss Moolenaar, Miss Moolenaar and Miss Moolenaar.

Warnings of bloodshed as troops mass ahead of ANC march

SHOWDOWN OVER CISKEI

STimes 6/9/92. (105)

By BILL KRIGE



Ciskei march

From Page 1 (105)

proposed a six-month moratorium on all activities making Ciskei ungovernable so as to allow interested parties to "negotiate a new dispensation".

Democratic Party MPs Eddie Trent (PE Central), Errol Moorcroft (Albany) and General Bob Rogers (Walmer) said that the ANC's planned march and occupation of Bisho was "confrontational in the extreme and liable to precipitate violence".

Other ANC NEC members taking part in the march include Ronnie Kasrils and Thozamile Botha.

In his statement Mr Kriel said the security measures introduced yesterday were not aimed against democratic protest, "and will in no way affect those wishing to exercise their democratic rights in a peaceful, legal and non-disruptive manner".

However, the ANC said the measures were clearly

designed to harass and impede people travelling to Bisho for the march.

In a statement issued yesterday the ANC alliance demanded "that the apartheid regime withdraw these measures and allow us to continue our peaceful activities".

The statement said Mr Kriel's declaration of unrest areas was "provocative, aimed at hindering our people from mobilising for the march and travelling freely on the day".

On Friday night Mr Hani — who has been on a tour of the Eastern Cape to whip up support for the march — told a meeting in Queenstown that 15 leaders from the ANC, Cosatu, SACP and the SA National Civic Organisation would lead the march.

He said he was aware that employers would dismiss workers who stayed away to take part in the march, but that if this happened workers "would have to take appropriate action".

A MAJOR test of strength between the ANC and the government loomed yesterday as ANC activists sought to mobilise support for tomorrow's march on the Ciskei capital of Bisho amid warnings of bloodshed.

As tension rose in the area, the SA government declared a state of emergency in the 207km "white corridor" which separates Transkei and Ciskei.

Police — including members of the crack Task Force — and SA Defence Force reinforcements have been deployed from East London to Queenstown, and helicopters and fixed wing aircraft have gone to the region.

Anxious MPs in the area condemned the ANC's march as "confrontational".

Roadblocks

"I have a nasty feeling about this one," said Mr Keith Matthee, former Ciskei Minister of Justice, who lives in King William's Town.

Earlier the SA Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hennis Kriel, declared the magisterial districts of East London, King William's Town, Stutterheim, Cathcart and Queenstown unrest areas.

"The security forces have taken the necessary measures aimed at preventing violence and are ready to deal with any situation which may arise in the affected areas," Mr Kriel said. "No activity which could result in loss of life, injury or damage to property will be tolerated."

The measures — including roadblocks, special patrols and aerial reconnaissance — were introduced as the ANC geared up for what it hopes will be a massive demonstration against the Ciskei capital led by SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani.

The march in which the ANC hopes 100 000 people will take part — comes barely a month after frantic diplomatic activity orchestrated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha averted a clash between 50 000 demonstrators and Ciskei security forces.

Blame

A member of the ANC national executive committee Mr Raymond Suttner, said on Friday night that top officials of the ANC-Cosatu, SACP alliance had been "going from village to factory" to mobilise marchers.

He said that if there was "a bloodbath" the blame would have to be borne by President De Klerk, as the government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was without support.

The ANC has appealed to all Ciskei civil servants and members of the security forces to disobey orders and to join the march by "freedom-loving people".

A memorandum from the ANC alliance which was submitted to the SA government on Thursday proposed the ousting of Brigadier Gqozo's administration and its replacement by one formed in consultation with all representative organisations.

The memorandum also called for the repeal of Ciskei security legislation and the withdrawal of South African military officers, who were the "masterminds behind the current violence and instability".

Yesterday Brigadier Gqozo made an urgent appeal to the National Peace Committee to adjudicate activities of the ANC alliance on the ground that it was in conflict with the Peace Accord.

The Ciskei government

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By PETA KROST

A JILTED woman who won a breach of promise claim against a professional hunter says he ruined her life.

The 31-year-old office worker Faith Best, 28, of Pretoria, was left pregnant and brokenhearted by Mr Johann Grove, 41, of Groblersdal.

On Thursday she was awarded R7 500 in damages, legal and medical costs and her engagement ring by the Pretoria Supreme Court.

"He ruined my life just as he threatened to do and I never want to go through another relationship or have another baby."

"I have to live with the pain of having to give up my baby — the most horrible thing that could happen to any woman — and the humiliation that this man I loved put me through," said the petite woman, tears welling up in her eyes.

She said she hoped the court ruling would inspire other women to stop accepting abuse from men they love, because no one has the right to take away your self-respect.

Faith and Mr Grove got engaged seven months after they started seeing each other in April 1989.

In the beginning the relationship was "idyllic".

Nightmare

"Johann was charming, ambitious and intelligent and I thought it was so romantic that he was a professional hunter. It was like he was playing Tarzan and I was his Jane," said Faith.

But after she went to live with her lover at his school for hunters near Hoedspruit, the dream became a nightmare.

"He would lose his temper, punch walls and push me around, telling me that I was ugly and fat and no one could love me," she said.

In June 1990, Mr Grove broke off the engagement and, while Faith was packing to go back to Pretoria,

A special melody. A special kind of



GLAMOROUS HOSTESS Telly Fun Quiz girl Anne Tyrell. Picture: JOHN HOGG

LOVELY ANNE'S A LADY IN WAITING

By STEPHANIE HULL

WHEN Telly Fun Quiz returns later this month there will be more of glamorous hostess Anne Tyrell than meets the eye — she's pregnant with her first child.

But the new addition won't stop leggy blonde Anne, a professional model,

February. She will be four-and-a-half months pregnant when she starts filming the new series of Telly Fun Quiz next week. "By November 1, I will be ready to model maternity wear," said Anne. "I have wanted a baby for some time and had

me I tell you I'm Simmons. Just A/C. R160 000 drawn. You don't even have to come this. I tell

ter in which the R160 000 is mentioned by called "Ter-n she brands a to accept that reality, but it eventually dawned on me that because I love you so much I had to accept it."

City ANC members to join Ciskei march

NINETY ANC supporters departed from Guguletu in two busloads yesterday to join in the march on the Ciskei capital Bisho today.

The march will be led by S A Communist Party secretary-general, Mr Chris Hanu and SACP and ANC member, Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Those taking part in the protest, the aim of which is to oust Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, would be prepared to die because of the "intolerable situation" in that homeland, ANC secretary for the Western Cape Mr Willie Hofmeyr said yesterday.

In a speech before the buses departed, Mr Hofmeyr said because the Ciskei had a repressive government which did not allow people to exercise their democratic right, "we are prepared to die. We are not going to let a petty dictator prevent people from exercising their democratic right".

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ANC march 'may end in bloodshed'

Clergymen in bid to defuse Ciskei tension

CHURCH leaders intervened yesterday to try to prevent violent confrontation during the ANC's planned march on Bisho today.

They suggested that Ciskei hold a referendum to test support for its government.

ANC marchers were expected to converge on the capital Bisho today, marking the start of the ANC's intensified mass action campaign against the homelands.

The fate of the march hung in the balance last night after the intervention of church leaders, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SA Council of Churches head the Rev Frank Chikane.

They proposed that the march and occupation of Bisho be called off if the Ciskei government committed itself to holding a referendum within 21 days "concerning its acceptability". They made the proposal in view of the "potential violent confrontation and massive loss of life likely to take place" if the march went ahead.

At the weekend, government declared unrest areas in some magisterial districts neighbouring Ciskei, including East London, King William's Town, Stutterheim, Cathcart and Queenstown.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said: "The security forces have taken the necessary measures aimed at preventing violence and are ready to deal with any situation which may arise in the affected areas. No activity which could result in loss of life, injury or damage to property will be tolerated."

A Zwelitsha magistrate has refused permission for the march to proceed. Late yesterday the Ciskei government launched

TIM COHEN and
PATRICK BULGER

an urgent application in the Bisho Supreme Court to interdict the ANC from holding its march. The Ciskei council of state has vowed that the marchers — who are due to gather in King William's Town — will be prevented from entering Ciskei territory.

ANC border spokesman Lucille Meyer said yesterday the ANC regarded the unrest promulgation as "provocative", but added police had given the undertaking that this did not mean the march would be prevented from taking place on the SA side of the border.

She said the marchers would enter Ciskei despite the magistrate's ruling, and would occupy Bisho for at least 24 hours or until government responded to a list of ANC demands. These included that President F W de Klerk remove "infamous petty tyrant" Brig Oupa Gqozo from office.

Meyer said senior ANC members would discuss the church leaders' proposal. Although the ANC was positively disposed to the idea of a referendum, it was concerned about the lack of a climate for free political activity in the territory.

Peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said his organisation was trying to mediate a set of conditions which would render the march acceptable to the Ciskei government. It is believed, however, that not much progress has been made.

Gildenhuys said he and members of the secretariat would monitor the march.

Gqozo, due to attend De Klerk's federalism conference in Pretoria today, con-

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Ciskei

firming at the weekend he would be remaining in Bisho to oversee events there.

The march is part of an ANC strategy of engaging in mass action while keeping a line of contact with government open for what amounts to limited negotiations.

The mass action campaign will concentrate on the homelands as the ANC believes them to be the weak links in government's chain of allies.

ANC national executive committee member Raymond Suttner, who will march along with other NEC figures like Ronnie Kasrils, said an appeal was being made to the security forces of Ciskei to come over to the side of the marchers.

A pamphlet distributed in the area calls on readers to "join your people in ending Gqozo's rule". It continues: "To all civil servants we say how secure do you feel under Gqozo. Real security is with the

people. Join the people in building peace and freedom. No one need be an outcast. There will be no vengeance."

Suttner said NEC members visited factories and villages urging people to attend the march, which intends closing all exits and entrances to Bisho.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani told Sapa that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance was "sick and tired" of Gqozo. "We want Gqozo toppled" Hani said the alliance would not be "intimidated" by the unrest declaration. "We shall ignore the announcement. We can only stop our actions if Gqozo is removed from office and an interim administration replaces him."

An SA Foreign Affairs Department spokesman said on Friday the SA government had received no request from Ciskei for any form of intervention.

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CISKEI MARCH

STEFAANS BRUMMER, Staff Reporter

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — A vociferous crowd of ANC alliance supporters many thousands strong gathered here today after a night of legal battles culminated in the go-ahead for a march to the Ciskei capital, Bisho.

Up to 100 000 protesters calling for the removal of military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo were expected to join the march, led by South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani.

There was enthusiastic singing and shouting at the rallying point, the Victoria sports-ground, and the crowd roared approval when a speaker said: "We are going to Bisho to drive the pig out of the barn."

Townships seemed deserted, but for a constant stream of people heading towards King William's Town. Many were searched at roadblocks as the area came under virtual siege by South African security forces.

Police were stationed along the road to the Ciskei border, five kilometres away, and the crossing was heavily guarded by Ciskei Defence Force soldiers with rifles and light machine-guns.

Government buildings in Bisho were guarded by large contingents of soldiers, some on rooftops with machine-guns and rifles.

Tension mounted overnight as 1 000 armed reinforcements sent by the South African government arrived and there were intense diplomatic efforts to defuse the explosive confrontation building up.

The go-ahead for the march came at 2am from district chief magistrate Mr DB Tali. The ANC said the decision would go a long way towards defusing a potentially violent situation, but said it was not happy with restrictions imposed by Mr Tali.

These say the march must end at Bisho stadium, not next to the Ciskei parliament buildings as planned, and only between noon and 4.30pm. Dangerous weapons will not be allowed.

This puts paid to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance's plan to occupy the parliament buildings until their demands — which include Brigadier Gqozo's removal — are met.

It was not clear whether the organisers would respect the conditions.

The chief magistrate's decision came after an earlier session in the Ciskei Supreme Court, when Chief Justice Bobby Pickard ruled that the chief magistrate be compelled to adjudicate on permission for the march.

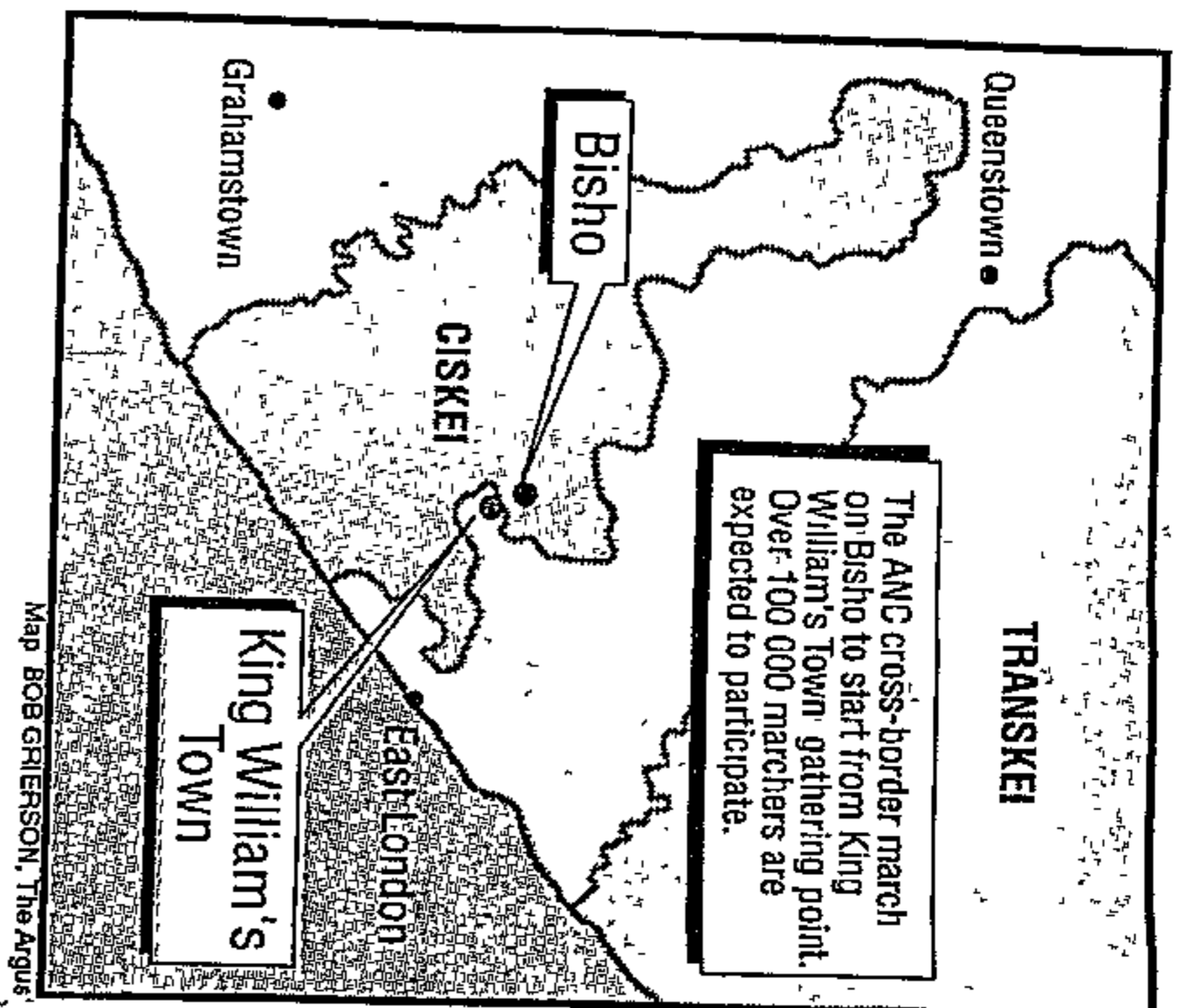
Application procedures began at Mr Tali's Bisho home at 10pm. Among the papers before him was a sworn statement by Ciskei Crime Intelligence Services head Brigadier Mthuthuzeli Nkani that he had information that "huge amounts of weapons and ammunition have been smuggled into the Ciskei since the end of August, which are going to be used in the mass action".

Alliance lawyers countered that this was "absolute nonsense".

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(105)
RAG-7/9/92

Thousands gather for ANC rally
'to drive pig out of barn' in Bisho



Ciskei is a powder-keg

Sowetan 7/9/92

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■ **CONFRONTATION** Behind-the-scenes moves to avoid conflict as 100000 march on Bisho today

THE Ciskei capital Bisho is a powder-keg today as South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani prepares to lead 100 000 supporters of the ANC-led tripartite alliance in a march to occupy the government offices of military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The march was preceded by dramatic developments yesterday involving the National Peace secretariat, the intervention of

church leaders and attempt by the Ciskei government to have the march declared illegal in the Supreme Court.

The South African Government has sent 1000 reinforcements into the region.

President FW De Klerk confirmed in a statement last night that he had exchanged letters with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela an attempt to defuse the conflict.

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CISKEI CRISIS

Battle lines drawn at Bisho

From page 1

Ciskei

elect an interim administration in his place

"Not later than tomorrow," Mr Hanu emphasised.

"We must disband the homelands. We know only one South Africa.

"And we are going to stay in Bisho until De Klerk gives the positive answer that Gqozo is removed

"We will sleep there if we have to," he said to loud applause from the villagers.

At the nearby village of Phakamisa, also in the Ciskei, Mr Hanu further spelt out the purpose of today's march, the first in the so-called "fourth stage" of the ANC-alliance's mass action campaign.

"After him (Gqozo) we are looking at (Bophuthatswana President Lucas) Mangope and (Kwa-Zulu's) Gatsha Buthelezi, and from there to De Klerk," Mr Hanu said.

Meanwhile the Ciskei government requested an urgent adjudication by the National Peace Committee into the activities of the ANC and its allies on the grounds that their actions in the Ciskei were in conflict with the National Peace Accord.

The Ciskei council of state believes the march is illegal and has vowed that marchers will be prevented from entering Ciskei.

ANC border spokesman Ms Lucille Meyer said yesterday the ANC regarded the unrest areas promulgation as "provocative" but added police had given the undertaking that the declaration did not mean the march would be prevented from taking place on the South African side of the border.

BISHO. — Battle lines were drawn in the Ciskei last night for today's ANC-led march on the capital Bisho, aimed at ousting military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

While the Ciskei leader banned the march and South Africa declared five Eastern Cape districts unrest areas and sent in police and SADF reinforcements, the ANC and its allies are in defiant mood. A tripartite alliance entourage, led by SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hanu, spent most of the weekend touring Ciskei villages drumming up support for the march.

In Bisho the churches were packed and hundreds of churchgoers spent many hours praying for a last-minute peaceful resolution of the looming showdown. Church leaders made a last-minute bid yesterday to prevent "massive loss of life" during the march.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and SACC head, the Rev Frank Chikane, proposed that the march and occupation of Bisho be called off if the Ciskei government committed itself to holding a referendum on its "acceptability" within 21 days.

A similar march a month ago was defused at the last moment when Brigadier Gqozo allowed 30 000 people to enter the Ciskei and hold a rally.

This time, however, observers fear a compromise is out of the question. "The battle lines are drawn," Mr Hanu told an open-air gathering yesterday morning in Ndevana village, in the Ciskei, outside King William's Town.

"Tomorrow we are going to Bisho to remove Oupa Gqozo," he said. "To cheer from the crowd, he lashed out at Brigadier Gqozo, calling him President De Klerk's "puppet" and "kitchen boy."

"We are sick and tired of him (Gqozo). We are not afraid of him. We must remove him from power tomorrow so we can

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The marchers would enter the Ciskei despite the magistrate's ruling, and marchers would occupy Bisho for at least 24 hours, or until the government responded to the ANC list of demands

She said senior ANC members would be discussing the church leader's proposal and were willing to hold talks with all sides. Although the ANC was positively disposed to the idea of a referendum, it was concerned about the absence of a climate for free political activity in the territory

Peace secretariat chairman Mr Antonie Gildenhuys said his organisation was trying to mediate a set of conditions which would render the march acceptable to the Ciskei government. However, the negotiations had not progressed to the extent that even a list of conditions had been produced.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Raymond Suttner said an appeal was being made to the security forces of the Ciskei to come over to the side of

the marchers. Mr Suttner said NEC members visited factories and villages urging people to attend the march, which is intended to close all exits and entrances to Bisho. "This is not just a symbolic march, we are creating a crisis situation for the other side," Mr Suttner said. He said the action would force Mr De Klerk to make a decision about

his ties with Brigadier Gqozo and embolden people to challenge governments in other homelands like Bophuthatswana.

A South African Foreign Affairs Department spokesman said on Friday that the government had received no request from Ciskei for any form of intervention. — Sapa and Own Correspondents



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NEWS Confrontation looms in the Ciskei capital

Tension in Ciskei on the eve of ANC march

Sowetan 7/9/92.

(105)

BISHO IS A POWDER-KEG today as SA Communist Party chief Chris Hani prepares to lead 100 000 people in a march to occupy the Ciskei government offices.

POWDER-KEG SA Government sends reinforcements as tension builds up into the region:

The South African Government has sent reinforcements into the region and intense diplomacy was launched over the weekend to try to defuse the explosive confrontation building up in the area.

The Ciskei government last night was awaiting the outcome of an application for a court interdict preventing the march from taking place.

Protesters plan to occupy the Ciskei capital until Brigadier Gqozo has been removed as head of state by the South African Government, according to the ANC.

President FW de Klerk, in a statement last night, confirmed that he had exchanged letters with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in an attempt to defuse the conflict.

Two South African deputy ministers met Brigadier Gqozo at the weekend to urge him to exercise maximum restraint in dealing with the march.

A National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr

Antonic Gildenhuys flew to Bisho to try to activate local peace structures.

The Democratic Party condemned the march as "confrontational in the extreme and liable to precipitate violence".

ANC regional chairman Soks Sokupa said in East London yesterday that the organisation had done everything possible to prevent a conflict.

He denied reports that some of the demonstrators would be armed. He said the situation would be constantly evaluated.

Helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel declared the South African territory bordering Ciskei an unrest area. Extra troops were sent into the regions to prevent violence from spilling over into South Africa.

The ANC alliance demanded that the Government reverse these "provocative moves" which, it said, were aimed at hindering its supporters

from taking part in the march.

The reinforcements included members of the SAP's elite Task Force as well as South African Defence Force troops.

Helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft were being deployed in the area. Roadblocks were also expected to be thrown up.

It was not quite clear yesterday whether the SA military presence would merely be to prevent violence from spilling over into South Africa or to assist Brigadier Gqozo on Ciskei soil, if necessary.

Government sources pointed out that the two governments did have mutual-assistance treaties.

Church leaders last night made urgent attempts to broker a compromise between the Ciskei government and the ANC.

The Border Council of Churches yesterday presented a deal to the National Peace Secretariat.

Fuse to Bisho powder-keg burns

STMR 7/9/92

● From Page 1
authorities.

He said the situation would be constantly evaluated as the demonstrators moved from King Williams Town's Victoria Park to Bisho.

Law and Order minister Hernus Kriel declared the South African territory bordering Ciskei an unrest area and about 1 000 extra troops were sent into the regions to prevent violence spilling over into South Africa.

The ANC alliance demanded that the Government reversed these "provocative" moves which it said were aimed at hindering its supporters from taking part

in the march.

It was not quite clear yesterday whether the enhanced SA military presence would merely be to prevent violence spilling over into South Africa or to assist Brigadier Gqozo on Ciskei soil, if necessary.

Captain Kotze described the situation in Bisho as "extremely grave" and other Government sources said the ANC's strategy seemed to be to wipe out the Government's black allies by force.

They said the ANC's tactics appeared to be to topple hostile homeland governments by a domino effect.

It is understood that

Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Renier Schoeman met Brigadier Gqozo at the weekend to urge him to exercise maximum restraint in dealing with the ANC marches.

Church leaders last night made urgent attempts to broker a compromise between the Ciskei government and the ANC.

The Border Council of Churches yesterday afternoon presented to the National Peace Secretariat a deal in terms of which the ANC-led alliance would call off the march and occupation of

Bisho if the Ciskei government called a referendum within 21 days.

Tripartite alliance leaders, including SACP leader Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, Raymond Suttner, Tony Yengeni and Steve Tshwete have been visiting towns and villages in the Border region and Ciskei explaining the purpose of the march.

Mr Tshwete, Border vice-chairman Andrew Hendricks and regional secretary Lucille Meyer were arrested on Saturday night by Ciskeian authorities after they investigated alleged violence against residents. They were released after two hours.

(105)

Fuse to Bisho Powderkegs burns

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The Ciskei capital Bisho was a powder-keg last night as up to 100 000 people were due to march today in an ANC campaign to occupy the government offices of military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The South African Government has sent 1 000 reinforcements into the region and intense diplomacy was

SA deploys reinforcements

launched over the weekend to try to defuse the explosive confrontation building up in the area.

The Ciskei government last night was awaiting the outcome of an application for a court indictment preventing the march from taking place.

Protesters, to be led by ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, plan to oc-

cupy offices until Brigadier Gqozo has been removed as head of state by the South African Government, according to the ANC.

Two South African deputy ministers met Brigadier Gqozo at the weekend to urge him to exercise maximum restraint in dealing with the march. National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys flew to Bisho to try to defuse the

crisis.

Dr Gildenhuys played a leading role in preventing violence when the ANC alliance conducted a similar march on Bisho a month ago.

Dr Gildenhuys yesterday met ANC representatives to discuss the prevention of possible violence.

"The smallest spark could set this off," Law and Order ministry spokesman Craig

Kotze said last night. Government spokesman Dave Steward said no stone would be left unturned to get a peaceful resolution.

The Democratic Party condemned the march as "confrontational in the extreme and liable to precipitate violence".

ANC regional chairman Soks Sokupa said in East London yesterday that the organisation had done everything possible to prevent conflict and the only source of violence was the Ciskei

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STAL 11/19/2

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Ciskei bloodbath

"It will definitely have a bearing... these incidents go directly to the heart of the deadlock that exists between the government and ourselves."

At a rally in King William's Town before the march Mr Ramaphosa had warned that the alliance was going to topple Brigadier Gqozo, Bophuthatswana leader Dr Lucas Mangope and then KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Early yesterday Ciskei Chief Magistrate Mr D B Tali granted permission for the march, with three provisos: No arms would be allowed; the marchers would be allowed into the Ciskei between 12 noon and 4.30pm; and the marchers would be allowed into the

Bisho stadium, but would not be allowed into Bisho itself.

Later ANC Border vice-chairman Mr Andrew Hendricks said the order would be defied and marchers were set to enter Bisho.

Before the march ANC executive member Mr Raymond Suttner said: "We are going to remove Gqozo" and an unidentified speaker told the crowd: "We are going to Bisho to drive the pig out of the barn."

As marchers moved towards Bisho, the Ciskei government said freedom of political expression should be recognised, but such freedom should be exercised in accordance with the law.

CT 8/9/92

ANC to march on embassy

THE ANC will march on the Ciskei embassy today in protest of the massacre on the homelands' border yesterday (10S)

Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak called on "all Capetonians" last night to gather at Grand Parade at 9 am today to march on the embassy in Prestwich Street, on the Foreshore.

CT 8/9/92

Holomisa blames advisers

UMTATA. — Ciskei should insist that mercenaries and seconded personnel be sent back to their countries of origin, Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa said last night.

Reacting to the deaths during yesterday's confrontation between ANC marchers and Ciskei security force members, General Holomisa said that as long as mercenaries or seconded officials controlled the heads of Ciskei's security forces, Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

could not expect honest advice, "especially in this climate of transition".

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

Brig Gqozo last night alleged his soldiers had received the order to shoot in defence after shots were fired and hand grenades were flung at them from within the ANC crowd.

In a statement, Brig Gqozo claimed the demonstration had

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

He said the Ciskei Council of State had ordered a full investigation into the incident.

A Ciskei government statement expressed condolences to the injured and to the families of the deceased. — Sapa

From page 1

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Sowetan

Tuesday
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PHASE FOUR

The ANC targets
homelands in next
phase of its
rolling mass action
campaign **PAGE 4**

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Four African National Congress supporters lie dead after Ciskeian security forces opened fire on a crowd marching to Bisho to demand the resignation of military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Many others were cut on razor wire as they fled the scene of the shooting.

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24 killed in march

Sowetan 8/9/92 (105)

■ SADF MOVEMENTS South African forces

move in as Ciskei troops fire on demonstrators:

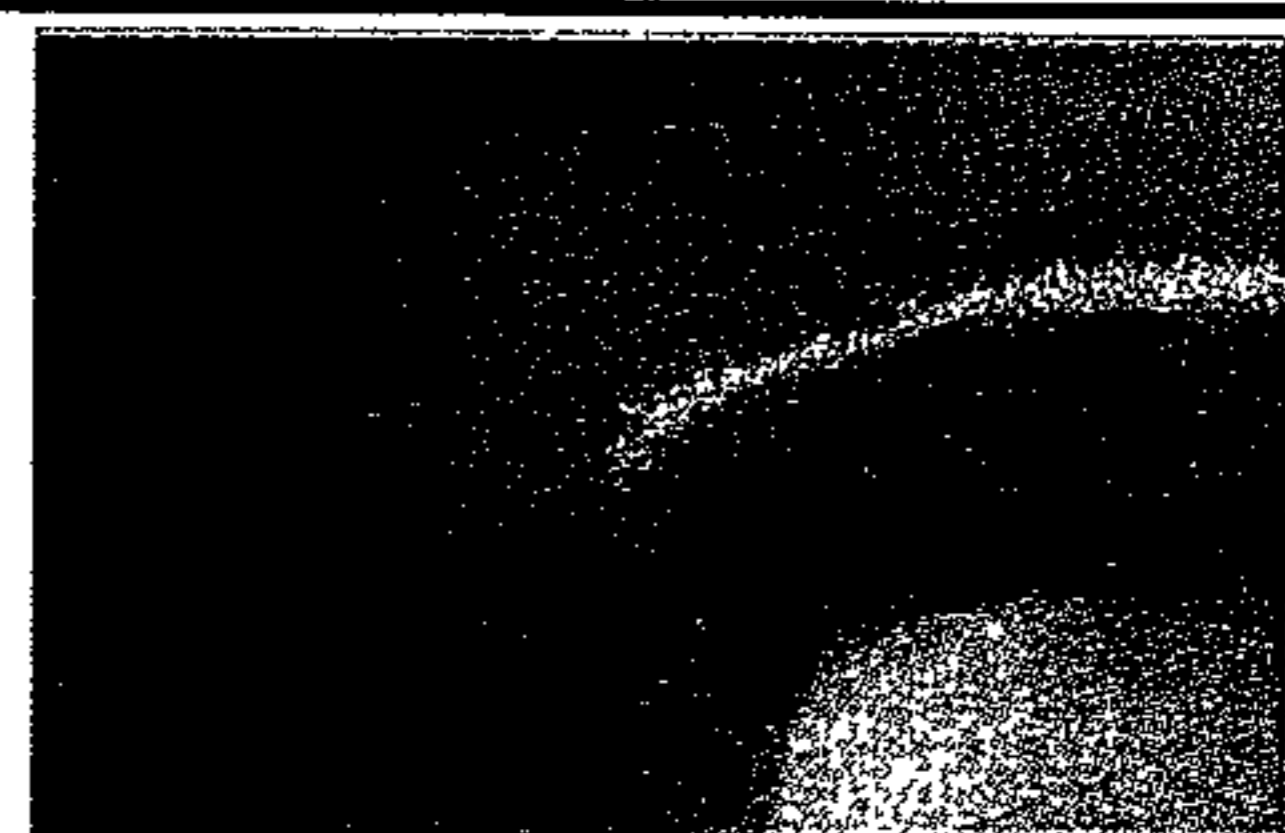
AT least 24 people were killed and 195 wounded by Ciskeian security forces who opened fire on ANC marchers near Bisho yesterday afternoon. Last night South African security forces moved into the territory, ostensibly protect industrial property. In the meantime a war of words

has erupted over who is to blame for the incident. The ANC has reacted angrily to the shooting and said its efforts to oust Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would be intensified. The South African government blamed the ANC for persisting with mass action.

See story page

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This is today's clue in the Standard Bank Great Ways to Save competition. Cut it out and stick it on block number 1 of the entry form published on September 7. A new clue will be printed each day until 28 September. The first correct entry drawn stands to win R20 000 cash in a Standard Bank PlusPlan Account. Good Luck!



today
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‘It is as though I was 20 years old again and just learning to sing’

Singer Julio Iglesias. See page 14.

tomorrow

DEAR DUDU ‘One evening I caught a taxi and the driver tried to force me to his house. We fought and at the robot I managed to get out.’ Dudu has all the answers.

ENTERTAINMENT When PE singer Busi Zokufa trekked to Jo’burg she thought the streets were lined with the proverbial gold. She could not strike it rich in the music world.

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BISHO MASSACRE Tension in Ciskei with protests to continue



An injured demonstrator is carried away from the scene in Bisho yesterday after Ciskei soldiers opened fire on 60 000 marchers. Twenty four people died and about 200 injured. PIC: AP

SA deploys troops after 24 die in Bisho

BLOOD STAIN Government responds to the massacre by blaming the ANC's mass action:

Sowetan Correspondent

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Government last night deployed a company of troops in Ciskei after yesterday's massacre of ANC demonstrators outside the homeland's capital Bisho sparked a major political crisis

By late last night, thousands of ANC supporters were camped between Bisho and King William's Town and vowed to continue with the protest action today

The dramatic intervention followed the death of 24 marchers and injury of almost 200 others around Independence Stadium yesterday.

The demonstrators were cut down by two extended bursts of automatic rifle fire from Ciskei defence force soldiers at 1.31pm and 1.36pm

The ANC said marchers were fired upon without provocation, while Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government said its troops had come under attack. South African Law and Order

Minister Henus Kriel yesterday blamed the ANC's protest tactics for the bloodbath.

National Peace Accord chairman Mr John Hall - who monitored the march - said: "It seemed to be absolutely unnecessary. If this is a taste of things to come, then God help us all."

Although the bulk of the estimated 60 000-strong ANC crowd had dispersed by last night, thousands of protesters were still sitting on the road between King William's Town and Bisho. The situation remained tense

An ANC delegation led by Mr Steve Tshwete - who was injured in the shooting - staged a sit-in at SA Embassy in King William's Town but later dispersed.

They demonstrated Kriel's refusal to accede to demands put to him during an emergency meeting between the Government and ANC leaders in the town earlier.

Meanwhile, Ramaphosa led another sit-in of 400 demonstrators in King William's Town. The tragedy has provoked a crisis described by the ANC as "a crucial turning point in the current

phase of the struggle for democracy in South Africa".

In an angry statement issued late yesterday, the ANC said "the blood of the slain and the injured has indelibly stained the hands of (Brigadier) Gqozo and his henchmen. They must assume full responsibility for the popular anger that their repressive actions will undoubtedly unleash".

Several political parties and other groups reacted to shootings yesterday.

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

● Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer also blamed the ANC.

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

● SACP spokesman Mr Essop Pahad said the "soldiers who committed these murders have to be brought to book".

● PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said he had learnt of the shooting with "horror and regret", adding that the PAC condemned all violence inflicted on unarmed protesters

● Azapo said the killings were carried out with the knowledge of the Government.

Angry calls over Bisho shooting

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Tsale Makam

TEMPERS flared as callers on Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback show last night blamed Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo after 23 ANC supporters were shot dead by his soldiers yesterday.

Only one caller praised the Ciskeian Government.

"I take my hat off for that man. We have had enough of the ANC. It is time ANC is taught a lesson."
Nick Potgieter, Durban.

"We are not talking about the ANC here, we are talking about people who have been killed because they do not agree with Mr Oupa Gqozo. The ANC is partly to

blame. They could have called the protest off, but then Oupa Gqozo would have won and they could not have that."
Thoko Nkabinde, Dobsonville.

"We have just come from Boipatong, now we have Bisho. People like Oupa Gqozo preach peace everyday, but he lets this happen. He used to say that if anybody ever came near Ciskei he would shoot to kill and he has kept his word. "The government did not protect the people today. But now that people are planning to revenge, President

De Klerk decides to send troops to Ciskei."
Robert Dlamini, Emdeni, Soweto.

"Gqozo has made a very big mistake. He lied when he still wanted power. He pretended to support the liberation movements. But now that he is in power he turns and kills his own people."
Archie Maphipa, Cape Town

"This is part of a campaign to discredit mass action. It is to make people think that the deaths are the result of mass action. It's time

black people stopped negotiating."
John, Johannesburg.

"Oupa Gqozo is scared of losing power. I do not see the reason for this shooting because there should not be a problem if things are done in peace."
Sam Naidoo, Port Elizabeth

"The regime is very happy about this. This also proves that there is no longer anything peaceful the ANC can do. They must just go back to the bush and fight."
Big Boy, Soweto.

next Talkback topic

THE ANC's campaign to rid South Africa of homeland governments got off to a tragic start with the killing of at least 23 demonstrators in Bisho yesterday. Is the ANC's tactic correct? Is the campaign justifiable in view of the negotiations process under way in the country?

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

'I dived under a Casspir when the shots rang out'

105
CT 8/9/92

From CHRIS WHITEFIELD

BISHO. — I was walking along the Toll Road towards Bisho and away from the demonstrators massed behind a razor wire fence stretched across the South Africa, Ciskei border when the first volley of shots rang out.

To my left a swarm of ANCCosatu/SACP demonstrators were running into the Bisho stadium — and some along the banks on the nearside of the road.

The crackle of rifle shots appeared to come from beyond the stadium where I had earlier seen a line of Ciskei security force members armed with R-4 rifles lying along a bank.

I ran to a Casspir just in front of me and dived beneath it alongside another reporter, and a number of Ciskei security force members.

Immediately another group of security force members who were lined up behind a fence alongside the Toll Road opened fire — apparently aiming at the demonstrators behind the razor wire at the border. Shots thudded into the roadside alongside us, spraying sand and small stones onto us as we lay under the Casspir.

After what seemed like an endless round of shooting — I was later told that it lasted around 150 seconds — the driver of the Casspir started the engine and we were overcome with engine smoke.

With the security forces we jumped out from under the Casspir and jogged alongside it, keeping the Casspir between us and the troops lining the roadside.

The shooting died down and the Casspir stopped moving. I found myself standing beside Ciskei Police Commissioner General Joban Viktor, who appeared angry and who was shaking his head.



WOUNDED WOMAN... A woman is carried to safety by fellow marchers after Ciskei security forces opened fire on a crowd demanding the resignation of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozoza. Picture AP

Then an explosion from somewhere near the stadium set off another round of firing and we huddled behind the Casspir's wheel. The shooting stopped again after about 30 seconds.

Looking back towards the razor fence we could see people lying flat. A body appeared to be sprawled on the stadium bank. Smoke rose from several places where the demonstrators were lying.

I asked the Ciskei defence force officer if he thought it was now safe to return towards the razor fence and he replied: "I wouldn't do that... the troops are out of control."

A little while later we did venture down to the razor fence to see injured people sprawled nearby and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Hamphoss being escorted away by a group surrounding him in case of more fire. I went back to where the Ciskei security forces were lined up beyond the stadium, and went into it. There were ambulances and

people attending to the injured and I counted at least four bodies covered in blankets and jackets. As they loaded one body onto the back of a van the blanket fell off to reveal a man in about his mid-20s, dressed in khaki trousers, a T-shirt and worn running shoes.

His face was covered in grass and dirt. I crossed the stadium and then over a field dotted with pools of blood, scattered shoes and items of clothing before I crossed the border into South Africa. There — just on the other side of the razor wire where the front-line of demonstrators had been — another four bodies were sprawled in the sun. They were surrounded by South African policemen who said they were investigating.

As we drove through the town after sunset there was an extraordinary mix of security forces and boy-taving youths. An ugly mood appeared to be setting in as rumours of violence in nearby townships spread.

BISHO MASSACRE Journalist tells of dicing with death ● 'We acted in self-defence' - Gqozo

MY narrow escape

■ Reporter tells how she survived a volley of bullets in Ciskei carnage:

By Esther Waugh

THE bullets came without warning National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and National Peace Committee chairman John Hall were standing next to me with our backs towards the Ciskeian soldiers, waiting for the ANC leaders to come up to the razor wired-fence the soldiers had erected hours earlier

Suddenly the shooting began from the direction of Bisho Stadium.

We looked at each other and said the soldiers were probably firing blanks When we realised it was semi-automatic rifle fire, we fell on to the road and

crawled into the veld next to the road.

As I looked over my shoulder I saw ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC sports spokesman Mr Steve Tshwete crawling into the veld on the opposite side of the road

The shooting had spread and was also coming from soldiers a bare 50m in front of me

Facing the Ciskei Legislative Assembly building, I crawled further into the veld to a raised heap of sand. I lay there as bullets kicked up dust off it until the first volley of shots stopped

It was the first time that I thought I had made it. After a brief respite the shooting started again. I could see a soldier being carried to

safety by his colleagues and to my right I saw an ANC marshal rolling an injured protester into the cover of a ditch.

After the firing stopped the second time Hall and I ran towards an armoured vehicle which was moving towards us.

Thirty minutes later I came across four bodies lying next to the road on the South African side while National Peace Secretariat representatives were confer-ring nearby.

The bodies, apparently the second group of four to have been brought to the spot, were taken to King William's Town by a Red Cross vehicle

Protesters were walking around aimlessly, picking up shoes and clothing which were put into bundles and loaded into minibuses.

Soldiers fired

'in self-defence'

■ Ciskei troops were fired at, says military ruler Gqozo:

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo last night said his soldiers fired in self-defence after they were fired at and handgrenades hurled at them from the crowd of demonstrators.

Gqozo claimed the demonstration was planned as an "armed attack with a battle plan to break through the stadium into Bisho".

He said he had received reports while a group of ANC marchers had gathered outside the stadium, another ran through and rushed Ciskei Defence Force mem-

bers deployed to keep control

"We had received reports of gunfire directed from within the crowd at members of the defence force and of handgrenades which were flung from within the crowd.

"The order to fire was then given. The action taken by defence force members was defensive," Gqozo said

He said protesters had acted in "flagrant violation" of conditions for the demonstration imposed by a local magistrate - Sapa





Four African National Congress supporters lie dead after Ciskeian security forces opened fire on a crowd marching to Bisho to demand the resignation of military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Many others were cut on razor wire as they fled the scene of the shooting.

PIC. LEON MULLER

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24 Killed

Sweden 8/9/92. 105

in march

■ **SADF MOVEMENTS** South African forces move in as Ciskei troops fire on demonstrators:

AT least 24 people were killed and 195 wounded by Ciskeian security forces who opened fire on ANC marchers near Bisho yesterday afternoon. Last night South African security forces moved into the territory, ostensibly protect industrial property. In the meantime a war of words

has erupted over who is to blame for the incident. The ANC has reacted angrily to the shooting and said its efforts to oust Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would be intensified. The South African government blamed the ANC for persisting with mass action.

See story page

2

FW blames bloodshed on mass action

Business Day Reporters **105**

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has blamed the ANC's mass action campaign for the Ciskei bloodshed, saying every violent incident was a setback for negotiations.

The President said: "I did not start that mass action. The ANC did."

De Klerk said SA security forces were not involved in any way. He said he had not installed Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. The sooner all three the homeland military regimes were converted to civilian ones, the better. *B/DAY 8/19/92*

"The whole situation could have been avoided by adherence to the guidelines of the Goldstone commission and the ruling of the court," De Klerk said.

He expressed sympathy for the families of the dead and injured.

The ANC alliance laid the blame for the Ciskei killings squarely at government's door. "We are blaming De Klerk for this and we do it without hesitation," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in King William's Town.

A Cosatu statement said: "It is sickening for F W de Klerk and Hernus Kriel to suggest that the unprovoked massacre of peaceful protesters in Bisho was somehow justified by the alleged 'failure' of protesters to abide by guidelines laid down by the magistrate. Nothing could conceivably justify this senseless and brutal massacre."

Cosatu added: "It is common knowledge that Gqozo, his administration, and his security forces are financed and backed by Pretoria."

The NUM blamed the killings on De Klerk and his government and warned: "He will surely reap the whirlwind when the day of reckoning dawns."

The SA Council of Churches appealed to De Klerk and Gqozo seriously to consider its proposal that a referendum be held in the homeland "to test the will of the people". It said this was the only way the explosive situation could be contained.

SACC leaders will visit the area today. The SA Communist Party has expressed outrage at the killings and asked that the soldiers responsible be brought to book.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said Ciskei should insist on all merce-

To Page 2

Mass action

naires and seconded personnel being sent back to their host countries

The CP condemned what it termed the inundation of the Ciskei government by the ANC and SACP. *B/DAY 8/19/92*

GRETA STEYN reports that dealers treated to the sidelines with only a few who march dominated sentiment in the financial markets yesterday. Market jitter in anticipation of violence were reflected in weaker opening prices for the financial and capital market stock.

The firmand fell to a low of \$0,2595 on the news — representing a fall of more than 3,5% from Thursday's levels of about \$0,2700. It found support at levels below \$0,26 with evidence of small buying orders from Switzerland and Germany. In the gilt market, Eskom's Loan E168

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From Page 1

opened at 14,15% and edged up to 14,19% before the shooting. On the news, the stock gained another seven points in a market described as "very nervous".

MERVYN HARRIS reports that shares came under pressure on the JSE, but prices were supported in rand terms by the sharp drop in the firmand.

Reaction on the futures market was swift with a 60-point decline in the December industrial contract and a sharp drop in the March 1993 all share futures contract.

The JSE overall index closed four points down at 3 177, and the industrial index ended nine points lower at 4 102.

"There was a lot of confusing reports and people did not really know what was happening and are waiting for further developments. The news is worrying but there was no panic selling," a dealer said.

Negotiations dealt a severe blow

24 die in rain of fire from Ciskei forces

B/DAY 8/9/92

105

PATRICK BULGER

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

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

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

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

The shootings took place as Ramaphosa was negotiating with national peace accord officials, among them chairman John Hall.

SA authorities said at least 24 people died and 196 were injured. The ANC said 28 people died.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that government last night deployed troops in Ciskei "to prevent looting and protect industrial property".

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

De Klerk had urged Mandela to get the ANC to abide by the magistrate's decision on the march, while Mandela had reiterated

ed that the ANC did not recognise the Ciskei government or its courts' rulings.

It is understood, however, that government is not happy with the way in which the Ciskei Defence Force rigidly applied the terms of the court ruling.

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

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said on Agenda last night that government would have to consider seriously whether it could

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

pursue negotiations with the ANC in the light of the day's events.

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

Gqozo claimed the ANC demonstration had been planned as an "armed attack with a battle plan to break through the stadium into Bisho". He said protesters had acted in "flagrant violation" of court conditions for the march. The Ciskei Council of State had ordered a full investigation.

The march, attended by hundreds of thousands of people, was part of the ANC strategy of conducting mass action against

□ To Page 2

From Page 1: 105
bers as well as clerics and peace accord officials narrowly escaped injury. Some were bundled into a police Casspir to protect them.

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

The ANC had hoped that Ciskei soldiers would come over to its side and had distributed pamphlets urging them to do so. This, however, never materialised. Last night the road between Bisho and King William's Town was sealed off by police. About 20 000 marchers were still camped out on the road.

Comment: Page 10

Ciskei B/DAY 8/9/92

De Klerk's political allies. It was intended to remove Gqozo and was the start of a series of campaigns that will target Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu.

Ramaphosa said the ANC laid the blame for the killings at De Klerk's door. "He was warned to keep Gqozo under control and we believe that it was within his power to do so. We do not intend to respond meekly to this latest atrocity."

The march took place under heavy SAP and SADF presence. It proceeded without incident until it reached the razor wire spanning the road separating SA from Ciskei. Shortly after midday, however, Ciskei soldiers — apparently unprovoked — opened fire on the crowd. Ramaphosa and other senior NEC mem-

'Oupa' and ANC set stage for bitter confrontation

(105) 8/9/92

The tragedy being played out in Ciskei has been a long time coming, writes Argus political commentator SHAUN JOHNSON.

It is no mere geographical accident that Ciskei, of all the homelands, is today a battlefield. War has been brewing there for close on two years. Some key factors need to be borne in mind when analysing why this should be so.

First, the ANC and the South African Communist Party enjoy some of their most entrenched and fervent support in the Border region. Membership is high and motivated — genuine grassroots militancy can easily be channelled and fuelled by political leaders, and does not need to be created from scratch.

Second, the military administration of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is one of the flimsiest, in terms of popular support, of all the homeland governments. He came to power only recently (after the unbanning of the ANC) and had to resort increasingly to repressive measures to stay there. The ANC recognised his weakness early on, and applied pressure relentlessly on what it saw as the soft underbelly of the government-supporting homelands.

These contiguous factors have led almost inexorably to yesterday's fusillades. The determination and intransigence of both sides has been such that a "win-win" situation was rendered all but impossible.

As the verbal attacks on him mounted, and unrest spread within his region, Brigadier Gqozo imposed states of emergency and security clampdowns which stoked anger among ANC supporters and made them feel besieged.

They were particularly angered by his presence at Coedes — which appeared to carry with it the promise of a seat in an interim government as the representative of the people of Ciskei. More moderate appeals for a referendum to determine his support base soon gave way to outright demands for Brigadier Gqozo's removal — which in turn led him to adopt a "do or die" stance.

The sighs of relief, breathed after last month's ANC march on Bisho passed off peacefully, were premature. The ANC was determined to try again, and Brigadier Gqozo was just as determined that they should not succeed. Yesterday's battle of Bisho was the gruesome climax in a story which started out very differently. It is an almost forgotten fact now that on March 4,

1990, the day after he wrested power from Ciskei "president for life" Lennox Sebe, Brigadier Gqozo gave every indication that he might turn out to be a "Holomisa Mark II" — a thorn in Pretoria's side, and a useful ally for the ANC. He addressed cheering supporters in Mdantsane under the flags of the ANC and SACP, and said his ultimate goal was reincorporation into South Africa.

He was greeted by cheering crowds. The United Democratic Front hailed his coup as a "victory for the toiling masses" — so relieved were many to see Mr Sebe go — and the SADF-trained officer who had been Ciskei's intelligence chief said in one of his first interviews: "All progressive movements existing in the interests of the people, including trade unions, will be allowed to operate."

The honeymoon between liberation movement and self-installed dictator did not last long, however, and the seeds of a showdown began to be sown.

By August 1990 it was reported that his "support was waning" after the detention of four ANC officials. In October he passed a law making it an offence punishable by a prison sentence to "violate the dignity of his office."

He told me in an interview in Bisho in November 1990: "I'm running this whole place as a military unit... it is a government of the people, for the people. But definitely not by the people."

In January 1991 Brigadier Gqozo survived a two-man coup attempt, in the course of which one of the plotters, former Ciskei Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, was shot dead in a clinic. Brigadier Gqozo accused the ANC of involvement in destabilisation, and warned Chris Hanu to stay out of Ciskei. A series of strikes followed in February — in spite of several "cordial" meetings between the military leader and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

By March of the same year, Brigadier Gqozo was accused of "surrounding himself with white South African advisers" and he hinted heavily that he distrusted elements within his own armed forces. In May the ANC Border region began to apply direct pressure for his removal.

al, and coupled the demands with allegations of Ciskei hit-squad activity.

In October last year Brigadier Gqozo declared a state of emergency "because of ANC acts of arson and terrorism", and political freedoms were radically curtailed. Demonstrations continued nevertheless in November, and a month later, after Ciskeian judges ruled that the state of emergency was invalid, Brigadier Gqozo responded: "I have to review that bill of rights."

By this stage, with Codesa getting under way, he was clearly within the National Party's political camp. In February this year he met CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and further infuriated his opponents on the Left by saying the talks had produced significant common ground.

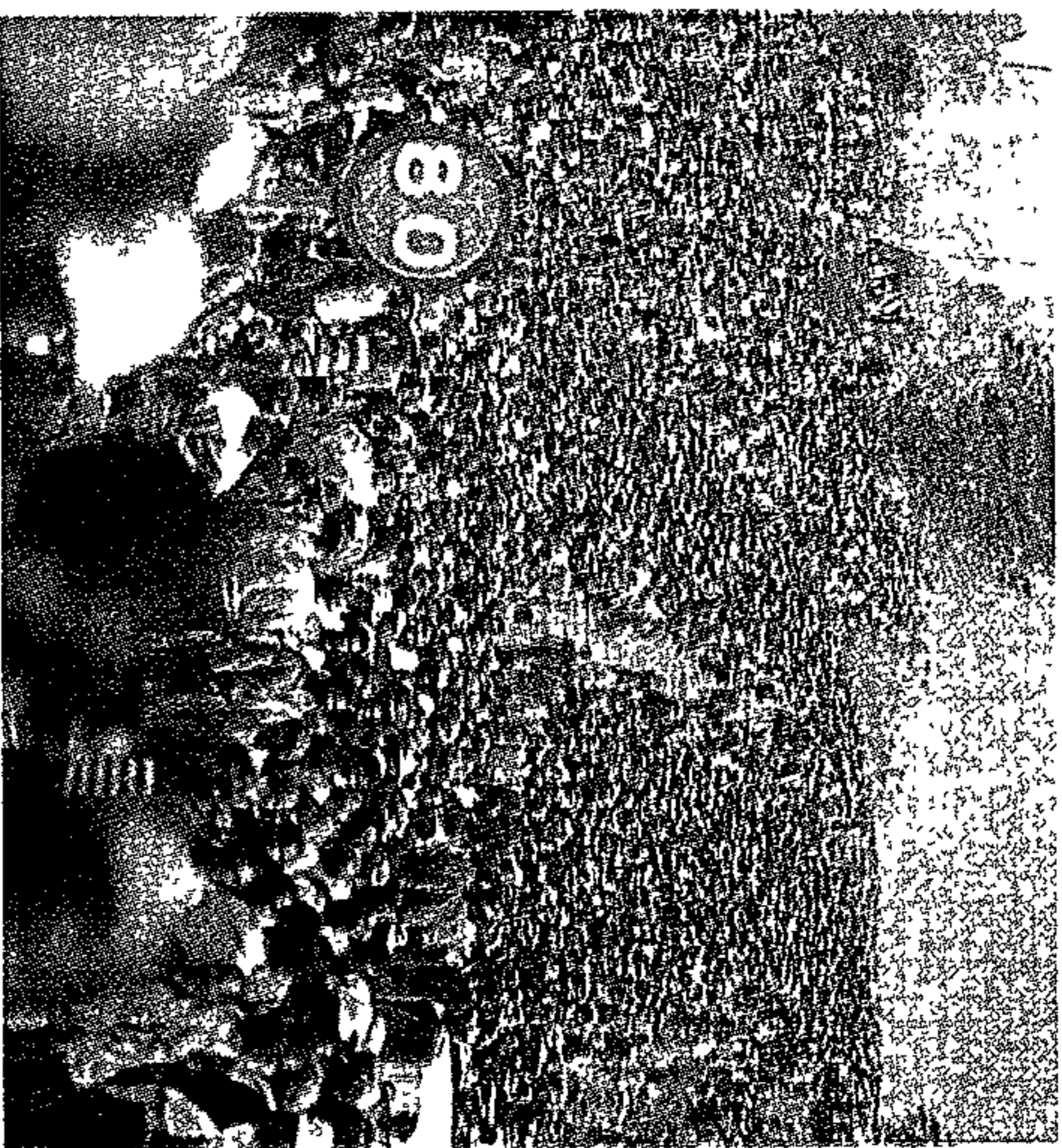
In March, an ANC Border region discussion document indicated that radical battle lines had been drawn once and for all — the organisation was determined to remove Brigadier Gqozo from office, and was prepared to use the weight of numbers in order to do so. By July mass action in Ciskei had increased markedly, leading to the August 5 march in which bloodshed was averted, seemingly miraculously.

The march coincided with allegations by former SADF Military Intelligence officer and Ciskei intelligence chief Gert Hugo, who charged that Brigadier Gqozo and his "African Democratic Movement" party were being manipulated by security force elements into acting as an anti-ANC bulwark.

Tensions between Bisho and the Border ANC, instead of being eased by the peaceful protest of August 5, were instead exacerbated. Top ANC/SACP leaders travelled to the region last weekend to urge local supporters to march on Bisho and occupy it on the day that Brigadier Gqozo was scheduled to be in Pretoria, attending a government-sponsored conference on federalism. The stage was set for unprecedented confrontation.

The march of death

Two minutes of eternity: 'Humans ^{Arq-8/9/92} don't do this to one another'



MASS PROTEST: Thousands of ANC supporters march towards Bisho stadium.

First-hand reports of the bloody mayhem on the Ciskei border by three journalists in the firing line

Staff Reporter **STEFFANS BRÜMMER:**

ABSOLUTE loneliness and stunned disbelief go through your head for two minutes of eternity. The less fortunate get a bullet in the same place.

When it starts you think it must be teargas, or firecrackers. Anything but live ammunition. Humans don't do this to one another.

On a slight incline on the Ciskei side of the border, halfway between the opposing sides, you are running to be closer to the action where a fence is being dragged down.

When you hear those first crack sounds, as disbelieving as you are, you fling yourself at the dry, hard ground.

A glance over your shoulder confirms your instinct is a universal one. The others, like you, have nowhere to run.

You cannot understand why the shooting does not stop.

It gets worse. At first the crack sounds were empty. Some now take on a fuller whistling sound. You guess they are close

are all alone, far from anyone, just surrounded by bullets on an open field. The others are mostly down by the road and the Casspirs.

Then you start missing people, your ex-girlfriend, everyone, while all the while the rifles bark and machine-guns rattle and grenades do what grenades do. When will it end?

After two minutes it stops slowly. There is some sporadic firing still but you run back to the road. At least you think you ran because it's all blotted out.

You hide behind the big rubber wheel of a Casspir full of journalists, Peace Secretariat people and others.

Then there is another volley, probably as long as the first. You feel safer behind the wheel. You can see more than just the soil hard against your face.

But why are they shooting again? People are still on the ground. No-one moved. Why are they shooting?



MARCH CARNAGE: Horrified ANC supporters surround the bodies of marchers killed when Ciskei security forces fired on the crowd in Bisho yesterday. One bears a placard claiming Ciskei leader Brigadier Gqozo has Aids.

Pictures: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus

How to screen yourself... hands over the head. You know this is futile. A hand won't stop a bullet. Besides, you like your hands. But who knows, maybe it will make a difference.

And please stop, just stop, we don't want anyone getting hurt, this is not a game, you know. The loneliness is terrible. You

When that volley dies down, the Casspir lurches off and you hang onto the back, still scared of sporadic cracks of sound. But you move to safety, you and your Casspir full of whites and important people.

But a groaning mass of humanity stays behind, counting the cost of a march to freedom and death.

Leon Müller

Eastern Cape News Agency reporter GUY JEPSON:

I was outside the Bisho stadium, metres from the razor-wire barricade, when the shooting began.

I can picture the scene vividly: hundreds of youths streaming towards the stadium entrance, some swarming over the fence; a line of soldiers on the University of Fort Hare grounds, others massed behind the stadium and the National Peace Secretariat observers.

I had just turned towards the stadium to photograph a youth carrying a placard denouncing Brigadier Gqozo when the soldiers started shooting.

There was a stunned silence as the automatic rifle-fire cracked, two hundred metres or so from where we were standing: Then the cries of "Down, comrades! Down!"

Thousands of people flung themselves face-down on the road, others hurtled towards the stadium. The shooting, which initially seemed directed at the stadium went on ... and on.

BRENDAN BOYLE of Sapa-Reuter:

THERE are no tales of heroism.

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

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

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

The shooting started when about 100 youths led by Communist Party activist Ronnie Kasrils breached a corner of the border cordon and ran towards soldiers prone behind automatic rifles.

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

Some said later the shooting

I lifted my head and caught the eye of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa who was lying a metre away. Chris Hani, the former MK Chief of Staff, Raymond Suttner and Tokyo Sexwale hugged the ground nearby.

Fear and disbelief was written into their faces.

There was a brief lull, then a flurry in the crowd as people started crawling to ditches and behind cars, ignoring their leaders' exhortations to lie flat.

The second volley of shots was even more sustained than the first, and punctuated by dull, thudding explosions which sounded like mortar fire.

We lay there for about five minutes, well after the second fusillade had ended. A youth, clutching a firearm under his jacket, looked as if he was going to use it. "Put it away, comrade, you are going to cause a massacre," said Chris Hani.

The young man obeyed, but the massacre had already happened.

continued for 10 minutes, others said it lasted for two or three minutes.

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

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

When the soldiers finally stopped shooting at anyone who tried to stand, however, it seemed a miracle that only 28 people were dead and fewer than 200 of the 50 000 marchers were wounded.

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

Dramatic sprint to Bisho stadium ends in

UNSUSPECTING, I raced alongside ANC national executive member Ronnie Kasrils towards the hail of bullets fired by Ciskei soldiers about 100m ahead of us.

It was an unreal situation, a dramatic break with the carnival-like marches that have come to characterise protest activity in SA. But this was not SA, and Ciskei's soldiers evidently have little sense of carnival.

As it became clear that we were being fired on with hard ammunition, I dived to the ground. The firing seemed eternal. I crawled and stumbled among masses of

terrified, clambering people to the grandstand of the Bisho stadium.

Still the shots continued, interspersed with explosions that spat dust into the air as another form of missile, which seemed like a grenade, issued from the guns.

SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani too ducked from shelter to shelter. Exasperated, he stuttered: "This was entirely unprovoked."

We had marched 5km from a stadium at King William's Town where people had gathered in their tens of thousands to hear ANC speakers describe Ciskei leader Brig

8/9/92 (105)
PATRICK BULGER
describes his experiences
on the march to Bisho

Oupa Gqozo as a "dog", a "petty dictator" and a "mickey mouse". Earlier we had seen his troops lined up on embankments.

The NEC leadership arrived at the stadium, the eight cars in which they travelled streaking down a King William's Town street, scattering police and spectators

The march then progressed up the steep

tragic date with death

incline towards Bisho, along the main road. The fragrance of trampled bush, the whirl of choppers and a loudspeaker system on the back of a bakkie accompanied us.

When the march stopped at the razor-wire fence drawn across the border, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and his lieutenants gathered to plan their next move. By march rules, the marchers were to have proceeded into the stadium.

It was then that Kasrils began the sprint towards the stadium, into its gates and through a large gap in the fence on the other side. He stopped once to gather more

followers behind him and then ran on.

We were 30m clear of the fence when the firing started. Had it not been for the ditches and unevenness of this scrap of ground, many more would have lost their lives. I huddled with youths, their faces streaming with tears. One man was being treated for a bullet wound to his stomach.

I made my way back to the razor-wire fence, where the main body of marchers had stopped. Shoes and clothing lay everywhere, as did ANC flags and pools of blood.

The dead lay under blankets, guarded by heavily armed SA forces.

AGT 8/9/92

(105)

Bisho nightmare

Bloody end to ANC day of high hopes

STEFANS BRUMMER
Staff Reporter

BISHO. — What started at 2am as a day of high hopes turned into a nightmare 12 hours later.

"We are certainly happy that permission has been granted. We have been arguing that that is a sure way to prevent violence," were the optimistic words of Border ANC chairman Mr Silumko Sokupa soon after magisterial permission had been granted about 2am yesterday for the march into Ciskei.

Hours later his marchers lay bleeding on the ground, with a death toll put at 28 last night by the ANC.

When excited people started congregating at the Victoria sports grounds in King William's Town soon after first light the march leaders — including Border ANC committee members, ANC national executive committee members and leaders of allied organisations — were still locked in discussions over whether to respect two conditions which were part of chief magistrate Mr D B Tali's permission. These were that the marchers congregate in Bisho Stadium,

not Bisho proper as intended, and that they leave by 4.30pm.

By 11am the green of the Victoria grounds had turned into a sea of faces enthusiastically listening to their leaders' speeches. Still there was no official word on defiance or not, but indications were that the conditions would not be respected.

ANC NEC member Mr Raymond Suttner said "We are going ahead with our plans and we are going to remove Gqozo."

About 11.30 the crowd snaked from the sports grounds to start the 5km march towards the Ciskei border and Bisho.

Soon before 1pm the vanguard, led by ANC NEC member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, were at the heavily fortified border, blocked off with barbed wire backed up by rows and rows of entrenched Ciskei troops.

"We'd like you to say to the authorities here that they should tolerate people coming to Bisho, holding a meeting, expressing their will," Mr Kasrils asked of National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall on the other side of the fence.

Soon marchers — estimated at between 20 000 and 100 000 depending on whose side you were on — came into view. By 1.30pm, with much whistling and shouting, they were at the barbed fence.

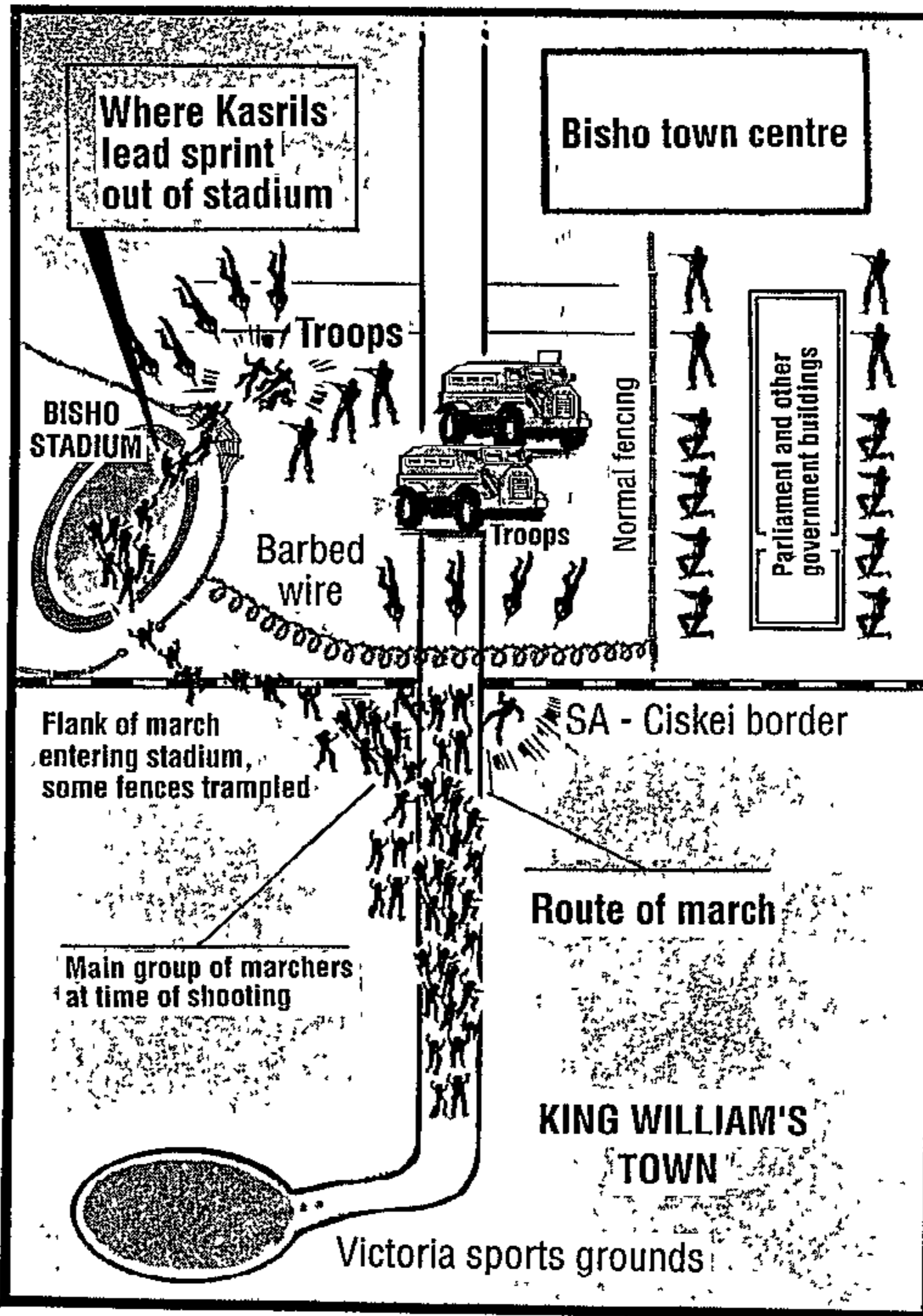
A flank rushed down the fence to where access to Bisho Stadium, just inside Ciskei and about 300m sideways from where the road crosses the border, had been left open.

But Mr Kasrils led a group of a few hundred from a culvert on the Bisho side of the stadium embankment out towards Bisho proper and a line of waiting troops or riot police.

And then the shooting started, with no warning.

About 30 local and foreign journalists and a handful of peace monitors — including Mr Hall and Dr Gildenhuys — were caught in the middle and lay low.

For two minutes a solid barrage of R4 or R5 and light machine-gun shots rang across a wide area, seemingly first starting where Mr Kasrils and his group had made their incursion, but soon spreading hundreds of metres away where the main body of the march was still on the road behind the barbed fence on the South African side.



Picture LEON MULLER The Argus

MARCH LEADERS: ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, left, and SACP leader Mr Ronnie Kasrils deliberate at the start of the ill-fated march in King William's Town

Journalists and monitors ran for cover behind a Casspir, but then the main barrage stopped and only isolated shots rang out.

Few of the marchers dared move. Then it started again, another volley of similar length, punctuated by the deep boom of mortar or rifle grenades.

And then it was all over. Marchers lay bleeding everywhere and a single Ciskei soldier lay in a crumpled heap.

Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo made a quick tour in a four-wheel-drive vehicle but he did not get out.

Then the accusations started flying. Word from the Ciskei troops was that they had been under attack and Mr Hall said Brigadier Gqozo's government was blaming marchers for firing first.

Mr Hall did not want to pre-empt any finding his group could make, but put on record "I never saw any life-threatening situation from the marchers."

BLOODBATH: How the massacre of ANC marchers at Bisho unfolded yesterday.

□□□□



Sowetan 8/9/92

ANC to march on consulate

THE ANC's PWV region is to march on the Ciskei consulate in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, today to demand the replacement of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo following the Bisho massacre.

A spokesman for the region, Mr Ronnie Mamoepe, said the march would begin at the organisation's headquarters in Plein Street.

The consulate will also be picketed tomorrow. There will also be a lunchtime meeting at the City Methodist Church in Pritchard Street on Thursday. - Sapa.

Minister Kriel blames ANC (105)

HAD the ANC acted within the guidelines laid down for the march, the Bisho massacre that claimed at least 24 lives would not have happened, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said last night.

Speaking on SABC's TV news, Kriel said the blame for the massacre had to be laid squarely on the shoulders of the ANC. - Sapa.

Labour Party slams FW

THE Labour Party has blamed President FW de Klerk for the bloodshed at Bisho.

The party called for an immediate transfer of power to a government of national unity.

The LP expressed its condolences to the families of those killed and injured.

"Their deaths, like those of thousands of South Africans, must not be allowed to have been in vain," he said. - Sapa.

Bisho shootings 'deplorable'

The National Party deplored yesterday's Bisho massacre.

Saying it sympathised with those affected, the NP said the incident was a result of the ANC's "provocative actions". - Sapa.

Killings were at 'random' (105)

THE firing on "unarmed protesters in Bisho was unprovoked, random and sustained", Cosatu said last night.

"Nothing could conceivably justify this senseless and brutal massacre. According to all reports received so far, the marchers were peaceful," - Sapa.

NUM outraged by shootings

THE National Union of Mineworkers has condemned "the wanton killing of peaceful marchers by security forces of apartheid" in Bisho.

The union said it was "outraged by this massacre and our souls go out to the families of those gallant fighters for peace, democracy and justice". - Sapa.

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'Crucial turning point in struggle'

Staff Reporter *STAR 8/9/92*

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

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

The killings were unpro-

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

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

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

● To Page 3

ANC didn't do its job

- De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius *STAR 8/9/92*
Political Correspondent

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

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

Later at a press conference, Mr de Klerk was asked directly who was to blame for the killing.

He said that although information was still "somewhat fragmented" the ample video material available indicated that the ANC marshals "didn't successfully

● To Page 3

JSE gains take afternoon dip

Gains on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday morning were pared back in the late afternoon following the news of the Ciskei shootings. *STAR 8/9/92*

The Industrial Index was nine points weaker at 4102 and the Overall Index four

points off. *122*

Dealers said the killings should depress the market for most of the week. One dealer said buyers would pull out of the market until there was more clarity, but there was no panic selling yet. — Finance Staff.



Political crisis deepens as massacre reverberates around world

Shroud over talks

(105) STAR 9/9/92

By Esther Waugh and Bronwyn Wilkinson

BISHO — The Ciskei massacre has reverberated around the world and plunged South Africa into a new political crisis, with ANC leader Nelson Mandela last night labelling the slayings a serious stumbling block to the resumption of negotiations.

Speaking at a press conference in King William's Town in the aftermath of Monday's bloodbath, Mr Mandela called for the removal of Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his military government's replacement by an interim administration.

Up to 28 people were killed and about 200 injured in Bisho when Ciskei security forces opened fire on ANC marchers.

The march was called by the ANC with the avowed aim of deposing Brigadier Gqozo, who seized power in 1990 in a military coup.

"The creation of a climate for free political activity, including in the homelands, is an important condition for us to return to the negotiating table," said Mr Mandela.

"An enormous responsibility rests with the SA Government" to create that climate, he said.

Brigadier Gqozo announced last night that he had appointed a judicial commission of inquiry into the shooting, but said he would not resign.

He said he was "completely devastated and shattered by what had happened."

In a BBC interview, the brigadier reiterated his claim that demonstrators had opened fire first, killing a soldier. He said his troops had acted with restraint.

He shrugged off a referendum proposal by church leaders and instead spoke of holding elections at an unspecified date.

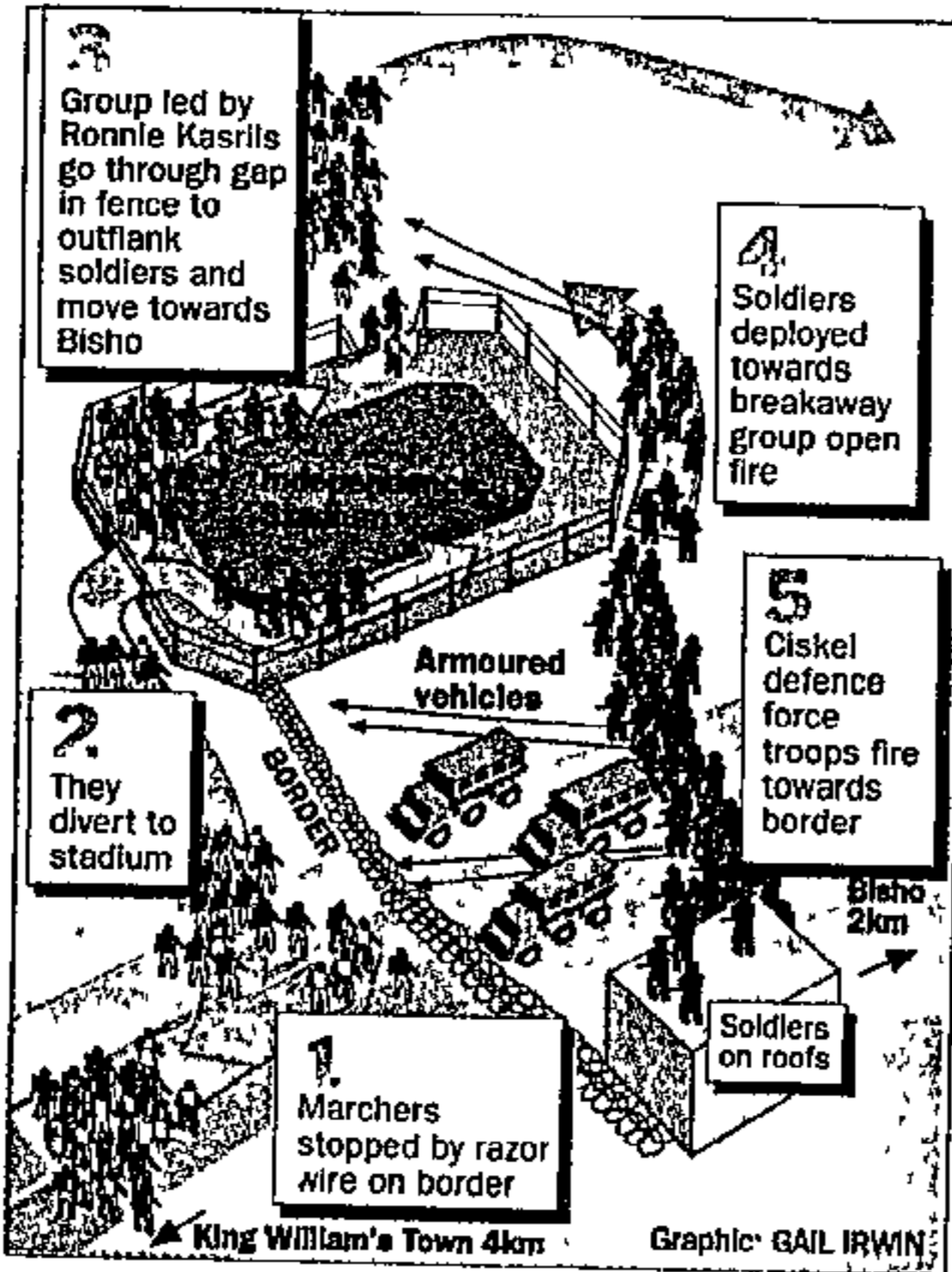
SA Council of Churches secretary-general Dr Frank Chikane said that by holding a referendum, "he (Gqozo) would go as far as saying they are sorry about what happened to people's lives — on their own and the other side."

Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh said in Pretoria last night that despite the setbacks caused by the killings, the Government's doors would always be open for negotiation.

The incident was not a spontaneous outburst of democratic rage against the Ciskei government, but an integral part of phase four of the ANC programme of action," he said.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee congratulated the SA Police and SA Defence Force for the "controlled and well-organised action in King William's Town which ensured that no loss of life occurred."

● To Page 3



'Plan was to occupy Bisho'

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

This was disclosed yesterday by Ronnie Kasrils, intelligence chief of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, at the scene of the shooting by soldiers of the Ciskei defence force.

Mr Kasrils said march organisers had "given instructions for another column to go through the stadium and leave the stadium and to go through the gap into town."

The plan was to move as fast as possible into the centre of Bisho where we would stage a peaceful occupation."

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

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

"As we pulled through soldiers began shooting. Lying under the volley, it seemed like it lasted half an hour."

He said the "column" had been taken by surprise, thinking that with the eyes of the world on the event that the troops would not dare open fire.

Mr Kasrils denied the crowd was armed. "There were no weapons," he claimed — Sapa.

Foreign viewers see more

Staff Reporter

Foreign television viewers saw a more complete account of the Bisho massacre — including protesters fleeing as the firing continued — than those who relied on SABC-TV coverage.

The syndicated news-clip of the killings put out by British TV station Visnews, whose material is seen daily by an estimated 19 billion people in 85 countries, depicted graphically how an exuberant, singing crowd was stopped in its tracks — some of them for ever — by automatic and shotgun fire which came, by many accounts, without warning.

Its coverage shows an

ANC marshal struggling to contain youths spilling through a gap in razor wire around Bisho's Independence Stadium. The next moment the sound of sustained gunfire crackles through the air.

The visuals show the crowd turning and fleeing — while the firing continues.

By contrast, most SABC footage showed protesters lying prone, attempting to flee or helping injured comrades, but not what led up to the shooting.

Among those who died were at least two khaki-clad marshals. As the Visnews camera focused on one of them, the sound of a grenade going off could be heard.



For the dead . . . Nelson Mandela lays a wreath at the Ciskei border yesterday. Armed Ciskeian soldiers watched the ceremony. Picture: Leon

JSE shares fall, but no panic selling

Finance Staff

Share prices fell across the board on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday but dealers reported no major sell-off as a result of the Ciskei shootings.

Shares on the JSE were marked down across the board because of investor nervousness as dealers took to the sidelines.

Industrials were hardest hit, with the index coming off 46 points after foreign investors joined local sellers in unloading quality stock.

Diamond share De Beers continued its decline, dropping 185c to trade at R55,25, dragging the overall index down 46 points to 3131.

The country's foreign investment and "political" currency, the financial rand, weakened by 7c to close at R3,90 to the US dollar.



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By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(105)

BISHO — The bullets came without any warning. The one moment National Peace Secretariat (NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gidenhuy and National Peace Committee chairman John Hall were standing next to me with our backs towards the Ciskei soldiers, waiting for the ANC leaders to come up to the razor-wired fence the soldiers had erected earlier.

'We fell to the ground when bullets started flying'

Suddenly the shooting began — from soldiers facing the Bisho stadium. We looked at each other and said they were probably firing blanks. When we realised it was semi-automatic rifle fire, we fell on to the road and crawled into the veld next to the road.

As I looked over my shoulder I saw ANC secretary-

general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC sports spokesman Steve Tshwete crawling into the veld on the opposite side of the road. The shooting had spread and was also coming from soldiers a bare 50 m in front of me.

Facing the Ciskei Legislative Assembly building, I crawled further into the veld

to a raised heap of sand. I lay there as bullets kicked up dust until the first volley of shots stopped.

After a brief respite the shooting started again.

I could see a Ciskei soldier being carried to safety by his colleagues and to my right I saw an ANC marshal rolling an injured protester into the cover of a ditch.

After the firing stopped the second time, Mr Hall and I ran towards an armoured vehicle. Inside were Red Cross and NPS representatives.

A Ciskei soldier in the vehicle muttered repeatedly that no warning had been given by the soldiers. Thirty minutes later I came across four bodies

lying next to the road on the South African side while NPS representatives conferred nearby. The bodies — apparently the second group of four to have been brought to the spot — were taken to King William's Town by a Red Cross vehicle.

Protesters were walking around aimlessly picking up shoes and clothing which

were put into bundles and loaded into minibuses.

A shell-shocked numbness set in. People stared in disbelief at one another. When I looked back into Ciskei, the armoured vehicles had been removed and the razor wire flattened in parts. About 50 Ciskei soldiers were lying in the grass with their guns pointed towards the border. ● It was later learnt that Agence France Presse reporter Clyde Russell had been wounded in the left shoulder.

World Outcry

US hits at govt

and ANC

CT 9/9/92 105

THE United States last night denounced the shooting of unarmed protesters at Bisho, but also slammed the ANC for a "provocative act" which put "innocent South African lives at risk".

This followed a day of international outrage at the Bisho bloodbath in which 28 protesters were shot down by Ciskei troops and which made world headlines.

Nearly 200 people were wounded in the bloody ANC march to oust Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Yesterday ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela walked 20 metres in between a line of South African policemen into Ciskei territory to lay wreaths at the site of the shootings.

After the wreath-laying, Mr Mandela led about 2,000 who had held an overnight vigil near the border back to King William's Town.

He then addressed a rally at the town's stadium and paid tribute to the estimated 50,000 demonstrators who marched on the Bisho stadium.

Mr Mandela later said the deaths were a "serious stumbling block" to resuming negotiations.

He called for Brig Gqozo to be removed as head of the Ciskei and replaced by an interim administration acceptable to all political parties. He also called for an inquiry into the shootings.

In further events yesterday, blame at the feet of the South African government.

Yesterday the US State Department deplored the use of "lethal force" by Brig Gqozo's forces and stressed that Pretoria was "ultimately responsible" for the actions of homeland governments.

However, the spokesman also called on the ANC to "carefully reconsider actions that distract from the primary issue at hand — negotiations — and actions that expose innocent supporters to violence".

In Washington's view, the killings are yet another indication of the desperate need for all parties to return to the negotiating table, and should not be used as a pretext for continued prevarication.

"We call on all parties to avoid further provocative acts which put at risk the lives of innocent South Africans," said the state department.

"Confrontations and violence will only play into the hands of those who do not want a successful negotiation to a democratic non-racial South Africa."



FINGER ON TRIGGER ... Ciskeian soldiers alongside the border crossing yesterday after the massacre on Monday afternoon. Picture AP

King William's Town was sealed off and all gatherings were prohibited in five Border unrest areas as protesters dispersed from the town. No further incidents were reported.

Brig Gqozo told Sapa that he was "completely devastated and shattered" by what had happened. He said the ANC alliance should call off its campaign against the Ciskei and other such territories.

Yesterday, in talks with a delegation of church leaders, he dug in his heels when pressed for a time frame on a possible referendum in the Ciskei.

President F W de Klerk had given Mr Mandela an undertaking that no live ammunition would be used by Ciskei forces, ANC official Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota told protesters in Johannesburg.

He said the undertaking had been made during a bilateral meeting last week aimed at defusing possible violence at the Bisho march.

Australia came under pressure to call off next year's rugby tour by SA as the Anti-Apartheid Movement also demanded a ban on the Springboks' visit to England later this year.

Spokesman Mr John Moody said the Australian government should consider aborting next July's tour "unless there is significant political progress by early next year".

Australian Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans laid the

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JSE limits share slide to 1.5% — Page 10

From page 1

Although the Rev Jesse Jackson was scheduled to deliver a protest to SA ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz in person late yesterday, US press coverage of the incident seemed likely to dampen sympathy for the ANC.

Both the Washington Post and the New York Times noted the leadership role taken by the SACP's Mr Ronnie Kasrils. The Post quoted him as saying shortly before the massacre that the occupation of Bisho with intent to oust Brig Gqozo would be "a cinch".

Yesterday Mr Kasrils said he did not expect to be fired upon when he led marchers out of the stadium and towards soldiers lying concealed in the grass ahead.

He said the charge through a gap in the fence surrounding the Independence stadium was a pre-conceived strategy aimed at achieving a peaceful occupation of Bisho.

European leaders expressed shock and dismay at the deaths, holding SA authorities responsi-

ble for preventing such violence.

In Brussels, the 12-nation European Community offered to send 15 or more people to South Africa to bolster the force of observers monitoring the situation for the United Nations.

A foreign ministry communiqué in Brussels said Monday's massacre would be discussed this weekend by European Community foreign ministers.

In Bonn, German Foreign Minister Mr Klaus Kinkel said the "SA government bears political responsibility for this behaviour".

"This grave incident proves once more that there is no reasonable alternative to negotiations over a peaceful and democratic future for South Africa," he said. (105) CT 9/9/92

Belgium also blamed Pretoria for failing to control the "puppet" regime in Ciskei, which it called "an artificial creation of South African apartheid" — Own Correspondents, Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP

(105)
**ANC names
10 victims
of shooting**
CT 9/19/92

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Of the 28 victims of Monday's Bisho shootings, 10 have been named.

Last night ANC offices in Port Elizabeth and East London had teams working on identities.

Those established by last night were:

Monde Mfenge of Parksdale Village in Middeldrift; Mnyamezeli Myeha of Ntselamanzi in Alice; Nkosinathi Motmon of Sanda in Queenstown, Headman Nontshingile of Frankfort; Zanethemba Skepu of Mlakalaka Village near Zwelitsha, Thobani Gola of NU4 in Mdantsane; Siphon Cologu of Zigodlo in Middeldrift; Dyakopu Gadu of Mtyholo Village near King William's Town; Them-binkosi Bili of Seymour, and Siphon Kundulu of Noncampa Village near King William's Town.

Massacre setback ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ for talks _{CT 9/9/92}

JOHANNESBURG. — Hopes that constitutional talks would resume this year suffered a major setback yesterday as the impact of the Bisho shootings caused the ANC to raise further obstacles.

The government will issue a comprehensive statement today on the negotiations

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday listed reincorporation of the homelands and the removal of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo as obstacles to resuming talks.

In a separate statement ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said Brigadier Gqozo had to be removed as head of the Ciskei and an interim administration "established immediately".

Mr Mandela said President F W de Klerk's emphasis on strong regional government outside a democratic process had given homeland leaders the go-ahead to "do what they like to entrench their authoritarian rule".

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the issue of reincorporation was comprehensively dealt with at Codesa and all parties agreed that this would happen in a phased and orderly way, including plebescites.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer blamed the media for the fact that the DP had received hostile criticism for its reaction to the Bisho tragedy.

● Meanwhile a meeting between the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, today has been cancelled, sources in the Zimbabwe's President's Office said yesterday. — Political Staff, Sapa

Gqozo supports church call for referendum

From PATRICK BULGER

BISHO. — Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — under pressure to resign after his troops shot dead 28 ANC marchers on Monday — told church leaders yesterday he would accept his support being tested in the homeland.

Church leaders, who conducted a vigil for the dead yesterday, are engaged in negotiations on several fronts to get

Brigadier Gqozo to agree to a referendum.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu telephoned President F.W. de Klerk on Monday night to get his support for a referendum. A church source said Mr De Klerk had not yet responded.

The ANC agreed on Sunday to a referendum and is prepared to discuss the idea further. SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank

Chikane said, after leading a three-man delegation to visit Brigadier Gqozo after a fuller church delegation had held talks with him yesterday: "While Gqozo is able to say he is prepared to test the will of the people, he was not in a position to say that will be in the form of a referendum."

Mr Chikane said negotiations were being conducted around a possible referendum question.

He said Brigadier Gqozo would not commit himself to a timeframe, though church leaders were proposing a referendum within six weeks.

Mr Chikane said only a referendum would ease the tension in the homeland. Brigadier Gqozo, quoted on Ciskei Radio, said he would be prepared to hold a referendum if his winning it meant full UN membership and international recognition.

Later Brigadier Gqozo denied that he had fled the Ciskei and said from his home in Bisho he had no intention of doing so.

SA police and troops maintained a heavy presence in the King William's Town area bordering on Ciskei.

SA and Ciskei police yesterday visited the scene of the killings and appeared to have begun an investigation into the circumstances of the deaths.

(OS) CI 9/9/92

Kasrils tells of marching orders

(105)

CT 9/9/92

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — A charge by ANC marchers through a gap in the fence surrounding the Independence stadium, sparking a massacre, was aimed at peaceful occupation of Bisho.

This was disclosed by Umkhonto We Sizwe intelligence chief, Mr Ronnie Kasrils yesterday.

March organisers had "given instructions for another column to go through the stadium and through the gap into town".

"The plan was to move fast into the centre of Bisho where we would stage a peaceful occupation."

March organisers had known of the gap before reaching the razor-wire border line, he said.

He speculated that it was left to lure demonstrators through.

As he had leapt the fence and seen the troops to the north, he attempted to clear their flank.

"As we pulled through, soldiers began shooting . . . lying under the volley it seemed like it lasted half an hour," he said.

He did not expect to be fired upon when he led marchers towards soldiers lying concealed in the grass.

He said the "column" had been taken by surprise thinking, with the eyes of the world on the event, that the troops would not dare pull their triggers.

"I always considered that they might open fire but frankly it took the whole leadership by surprise".

Mr Kasrils strongly denied the crowd was armed.

Also at the scene yesterday, SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani warned Ciskei would not be the same "after this massacre".

"The boys that shot at us yesterday must pay some price"

Undertaking on march was broken, says ANC

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk gave ANC president Nelson Mandela an undertaking no live ammunition would be used by Ciskei forces at Monday's demonstration in Bisho, ANC official Patrick "Terror" Lekota told protesters yesterday.

Speaking at a protest outside the Ciskei consulate in Johannesburg yesterday, Lekota said the undertaking had been made during a bilateral meeting last week aimed at defusing possible violence at the Bisho march.

Fellow ANC leader Essop Pahad said 50 of the 190 wounded during Monday's shooting, which claimed 29 lives according to the ANC, were in a critical condition. He said the ANC would be happy to go before a national peace committee adjudication to determine who was responsible for the massacre.

Sapa reports that in Cape Town, 13 ANC members started an indefinite sit-in at the Ciskei's consulate yesterday, refusing to leave until the offices were closed permanently.

The occupation followed a day-long series of protests demanding that Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo resign.

RAT HARTLEY

The sit-in was led by ANC national executive member Reggie September, and included Independent MP and ANC member Jan van Eck.

Earlier, an ANC delegation allowed inside by police found the Ciskei diplomatic offices to be locked and apparently deserted. No senior Ciskei representatives could be reached to accept the ANC demands.

Police guarded the entrance to the building from the morning, when about 250 ANC supporters marched through the city to highlight demands for Gqozo's resignation and Ciskei's reincorporation.

Several scuffles erupted between police and protesters who tried to force their way to the ground-floor entrance.

The Johannesburg march, from the central city to the consulate in Braamfontein, was prevented from entering the building by SAP internal stability division officers.

At one point a scuffle broke out between a police cameraman and the crowd and an SA flag was destroyed by the protesters, but no one was injured or arrested. Slogans calling for the ousting of Gqozo were sprayed

on the doors and windows of the consulate and several police vehicles.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba called on the crowd to "hit out" at Ciskei institutions in SA.

"We must go and push and push until Gqozo is down, never to rise again. We are going forward to remove Oupa even if we are killed."

Meanwhile, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA called yesterday for an indaba on violence as it was losing confidence in Cdeesa, and the national peace committee.

While the SA Council of Churches said it was outraged that Ciskei security forces had fired on marchers, Presbyterian and Methodist church statements did not apportion blame.

Lawyers for Human Rights condemned the massacre and De Klerk's statement which "made a mockery of his government's commitment to the right to peaceful protest".

The Human Rights Commission said government had to accept responsibility for the killings. "The guns and ammunition which killed at least 24 South Africans yesterday and wounded another 200, were paid for out of a grant of R1,114bn to Ciskei from the national budget," it said.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane kneel to lead church leaders in prayer at the site of Monday's massacre in Bisho. In Cape Town, Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley told a lunchtime service in St George's Cathedral that God had died at Bisho and the only road to life and freedom was "through struggle and sacrifice".

SAFARI PHOTO

IFP horror at killings

DURBAN — Inkatha yesterday expressed horror at the Bisho killings but claimed that the ANC and its allies had planned the incident and had sought confrontation with the Ciskei security forces.

Inkatha spokesman Kim Hodgson said his party supported peaceful protest, but he claimed that the march had been "planned and deliberately designed to spark confrontation".

"The international community has now had the opportunity to see how SACP/ANC strategies are carried out at grassroots level."

Inkatha demanded a full investigation into the incident as well as allegations around it levelled against the ANC and SACP, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus last night said the Inkatha response was "utter nonsense".

□ The ANC is planning to march on a QwaQwa police station today to demand the resignation of homeland leader T K Mopeli.

Yesterday Mopeli said he would remain in his post until a new dispensation came into being. Sapa.

BIDAY 9/9/92

Churches push for referendum

Ciskei leader prepared to test support

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

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

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

"While Gqozo is able to say he is prepared to test the will of the people, he was not in a position to say that will be in the form of a referendum," SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane said after leading a three-man delegation to visit Gqozo after a fuller church delegation had held talks with him yesterday.

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

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

Border Council of Churches executive member Simon Gqubule told reporters Gqozo was "highly emotional and angry"

PATRICK BULGER

during the talks. He said Gqozo had said his soldiers did not have time to think about what was happening when they opened fire on unarmed marchers.

SA police and troops maintained a heavy presence in the King William's Town area bordering Ciskei yesterday.

Police vehicles blocked the road at the border to prevent about 5 000 marchers who had stayed overnight from crossing into Ciskei. They formed a cordon around ANC president Nelson Mandela when he arrived at the site of the shootings to lay wreaths.

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

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

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

He said government had a responsibility to create a climate for free political activ-

□ To Page 2

Ciskei

ity in the homelands as well as in SA. He said the killings were a serious stumbling block towards negotiations.

SA and Ciskei police visited the scene of the killings and appeared to have begun an investigation into their circumstances.

Meanwhile, ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday he did not expect to be fired on when he led marchers out of the stadium towards soldiers concealed ahead.

"I always considered that they might open fire but frankly it took the whole leadership by surprise. No, I thought they wouldn't dare open fire."

Sapa reports the African Democratic Movement, which was formed by Gqozo, yesterday deplored the shootings but said

it regretted the ANC decision to go ahead with the march, "with no apparent respect for human life and dignity"

□ Gqozo has not fled Ciskei and has no intention of doing so, he told Sapa in a telephone interview from his home in Bisho last night.

"I have no reason and no intention of ever abandoning my people. I am absolutely not going to give credibility to the non-democratic methods of the ANC and SACP and their mass action by fleeing"

Asked whether the SA government had put any pressure on him since the massacre, Gqozo said "No. I don't believe the SA government will do that."

● See Pages 3 and 4

□ From Page 1

Praying for peace

Anglican Church Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders visited the scene of Monday's bloodbath in Bisho. They also held a meeting with the homeland's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and urged him to hold a referendum to decide on country's future.

HOT TIPS

SOWETAN upster Ike Motsapi was in great form again when he tipped the Place Accumulator twice at Scottsville racecourse yesterday. The place accumulator paid a dividend of R75,50 on the Transvaal tote. For an outlay of R4 *Sowetani* readers who followed Motsapi's tips made a healthy profit of R147.



Talks in jeopardy

PEACE OBSTACLE The killing of ANC

supporters in Bisho a setback for negotiations:

THE killing of 28 ANC supporters in Bisho on Monday has dealt a fresh blow to negotiations. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, after laying a wreath at the scene of the shootings yesterday, said the massacre was a "serious stumbling block" to the resumption of negotiations. "A climate of free political

activity throughout the whole country, including the bantustans, is an important condition for us returning to talks. He reiterated that the ANC was "committed not only to talks, but to genuine negotiations."

See story page 2



(105)

Save Her 9/19/92

focus on Ciskei

Sowetan 9/9/92

(105)

THE BISHO BLOODBATH signalled a dangerous swing away from negotiation and towards revolution by the African National Congress, political analysts said yesterday.

They criticised Ciskei homeland leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for the killing of at least 28 ANC protesters on Monday but said the ANC had to share the blame for forcing the confrontation.

"The marchers were nothing other than cannon-fodder, despite the ANC's protestations about their democratic right to march," said political risk consultant Wim Booysse.

"The bottom line is power, which the ANC plans to achieve by destabilising the homeland leaders who oppose it."

About 40 000 ANC members led by South African Communist Party officials marched on Bisho, capital of the nominally independent black homeland of Ciskei, to occupy the town and force Gqozo from power.

Gqozo's troops opened fire after a section of the crowd broke through a razorwire barricade.

"The ANC knew Gqozo was likely to react in an intemperate way," a diplomat said.

The movement might have thought the march would bring things to a head and have a useful political spin-off."

Mr John Kanc-Berman, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said the ANC had asked for tragedy and had got it.

"But it's distressing that security forces have not yet learned to deal with provocation without loss of life.

"Until they do, the cycle of violence will continue."

The ANC, which described the shooting as an unprovoked massacre of peaceful protesters exercising their democratic rights, has targeted Gqozo as one of three homeland leaders it plans to topple.

The others are President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also leads the Inkatha Freedom Party which is locked with the ANC in a war that has killed 13 000 blacks in eight years.

Gqozo, who seized power in a March 1990 coup, is regarded as the most vulnerable.

His homeland lies in the Eastern Cape, where support for the ANC and SACP is strongest.

Booyse said the march appeared to be deliberately timed to overshadow a conference State President FW de Klerk hosted on Monday to discuss a federal system for the new South Africa.

The ANC opposes federalism, demanding a strong central government in a unitary state. The issue was the main rock on which multiparty constitutional talks foundered in May. - Sapa-Reuter

Oupa Gqozo, the unelected leader of the Ciskei homeland whose troops killed 28 people and wounded over 200, has been targeted for removal by the ANC which has a very strong following in the Eastern Cape:



ANC marchers flee as Ciskeian troops open fire on them. At least 28 were killed and 200 injured were in the shooting.

Gqozo: mortal enemy

IN LESS than three years as military ruler of South Africa's Ciskei homeland, Brigadier Joshua Oupa Gqozo has gone from being the darling of the African National Congress to being its mortal enemy.

An ANC march aimed at deposing him ended in a bloodbath on Monday when Ciskei soldiers opened fire at the homeland's border on 40 000 demonstrators, killing up to 28 of them and wounding nearly 200.

Gqozo (40) started work as a prison warden in South Africa and joined the South African Defence Force in 1977.

Three years later he resigned to join the defence force in Ciskei, one of four black homelands to accept nominal independence from Pretoria, which created the homelands as part of its now-abandoned policy of racial separation.

Gqozo was installed as leader in a coup on March 4, 1990, while Ciskei chief minister Lennox Sebe was away in Hong Kong

Some reports said Gqozo pre-empted plans by Sebe's son Kwane to stage a coup of his own.

Kwane Sebe, a general, was jailed after the coup along with the chief of the defence force.

At mass rallies after the coup, Gqozo announced his intention to end Ciskei's separate status in line with ANC policy to bring the homelands back into South Africa.

The movement condemns black homelands as puppet creations of apartheid governments

In the following months he appeared in public with officials of the ANC and its ally the South African Communist Party, both of which have strong support in the region.

But by the end of 1990 Gqozo and the ANC were at each other's throats.

He accused the ANC of involvement in a failed coup attempt against him in January last year and nine months later declared a state of emergency "because of ANC arson and terrorism". - Sapa-Reuter

Accusations and counter accusations fly in the wake of the Bisho shootings. But in the final analysis, next to those who did the shooting, President F W de Klerk and his government may have to bear a significant share of that blame.

The ANC blames De Klerk and his government for causing the mayhem by refusing to control Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. In turn De Klerk blames the ANC because its leaders and followers insisted on going ahead with the march and then failed to stick to the terms of the court order granting permission for the protest.

De Klerk has also said the ANC could have prevented the deaths had it complied with the Goldstone commission's recommendations on mass action. However, he has not raised the commission's code of conduct on security force action, nor has he criticised the Ciskei security forces for firing into the crowd with live ammunition.

He is joined by others, including the DP and its leader Zach de Beer, in accusing the ANC leadership of callousness for holding the march and leading 80 000 sheep to the slaughter. The ANC leadership knew from the start that the march would have this devastating outcome, they claim.

The assumption is that the 80 000 marchers do not have minds of their own and therefore could not decide for themselves to join the march knowing that there would be confrontation and possible killings.

There is also the assumption that when one is faced with a tyrant who has firepower you should sit back and not challenge him. De Klerk had warned at the weekend that there could be bloodshed which would hamper the peace process. But he chose to remain in Pretoria to chair proceedings at the alliance-building summit on federalism rather than devote his day to dealing with the Ciskei crisis. In the end, the irony was that the

Bisho tragedy will harden attitudes on negotiations

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BILLY PADDOCK

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summit added little to the debate on federalism but, while he was welcoming delegates to the meeting, the armed forces of one of his prospective allies was gunning down his political opponents.

In response to the ANC's charge that he is to blame for the mayhem at Bisho, De Klerk argued that SA's security forces were not involved in the shootings.

True. However, one senior government negotiator said after the killings: "When security forces fire on civilians in a crowd they will always be seen to be in the wrong. And I am afraid that, despite the technical separation of Ciskei from SA, the blame is going to fall on President de Klerk's shoulders."

It has emerged that De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela worked throughout the weekend and Monday morning to prevent bloodshed. They exchanged at least four personal letters and spoke to each other at least once on the phone between Friday and Monday.

It is understood that De Klerk, knowing Gqozo's stance on the march, was trying desperately to persuade Mandela to stop the march or divert it away from Ciskei.

Mandela, on the understanding that the march was going to be no different from the one on the Union Buildings in Pretoria last month, could see no need for this, and he insisted on the right to march peacefully.

Because the stated intention of the marchers was to deliver a strong protest to Ciskei and call on the SA government to replace Gqozo, De Klerk wanted the marchers rather to march on King William's Town and present a memorandum to two Deputy Ministers who had been despatched there.

By his own admission, De Klerk did not deal directly with Gqozo in trying to control the situation. Rather he left it to the two relatively junior Deputy Ministers: one, Law and Order Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh, appointed only a month ago. De Klerk may now have cause to regret that he did not personally bring his considerable influence to bear on Gqozo to permit the march to proceed.

He has lauded the bravery, heroism and sacrifice of the marchers

and protesters of Tianamen Square, and the former East Germany and Soviet Union.

He and some Western diplomats have argued that the Bisho march did not fall into the same category because negotiations on the reincorporation of homelands into SA were near conclusion at Codesa.

But this is short of the truth. In East Germany peace prevailed only because the security forces did not open fire with live ammunition. The differences with the Tianamen Square demonstrators are negligible.

The fact is that Gqozo and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope are opposed to automatic reincorporation into SA. They have consistently held all their options open, claiming they will wait and first evaluate the new SA constitution before committing themselves. De Klerk has supported them in this, and sees them as his allies in the process.

Gqozo also refuses to allow free political expression to his political opponents in the territory under his control.

At a news conference after the federalism summit on Monday, De

Klerk strongly stated his dislike of and opposition to military juntas. But he reacted to references to the Ciskei by saying that, while he was opposed to it, there were two others which the ANC had not targeted.

De Klerk's commitment to not changing the constitution piecemeal prevents him from dissolving the homeland system. But it does not preclude the possibility of imposing sanctions on the territories. The extent of their vulnerability is starkly illustrated by Finance Minister Derek Keys's statement last week that the homelands swallow up 40% of SA's Budget.

In government circles in Pretoria on Monday there appeared to be irritation and unhappiness that the Ciskei Defence Force had overreacted by immediately, without warning, using live ammunition rather than teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot.

Law and Order Minister Hennus Kriel said before the march SA forces at the border would "assist the Ciskei security forces to maintain peace". Given the tragic outcome, that statement exposed Kriel, his forces and his government to charges that they had every intention of siding with those who opened fire without warning or significant provocation.

De Klerk's choice of blaming the ANC for a slight and brief breach of the magistrate's orders for the march rather than focusing on the precipitate action of the Ciskei Defence Force, and his tacit support of Gqozo's action, have the same effect. It suggests that his party-political priorities have taken precedence over the imperative of negotiations.

One can question the ANC's wisdom in deciding to confront Gqozo at this stage. But that is a question of strategy rather than morality.

The result of the Bisho tragedy is likely to see the reincorporation of the homelands becoming a major stumbling block to the resumption of negotiations, with the ANC and its allies moving it to the top of the agenda.

Finrand's reaction to Ciskei crisis limited

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HILARY GUSH

ALTHOUGH trade in the financial rand was quieter and less volatile than dealers had expected, the foreign investment unit fell 7c yesterday to close at R3,88 to the dollar in the wake of the Ciskei massacre.

Yields on the capital market edged higher in morning trade as bearish sentiment fuelled gilts selling.

The yield on the bellwether Eskom bond — the E168 — rose to an intra-day high of 14,31% from 14,26% before finishing at 14,25%.

Traders had expected a more marked reaction in the financial rand market to the shootings but said dramatic weakening was prevented because "at these levels no one wants to sell"

One dealer said: "As news of the massacre reached the market before it closed, it had, to a degree, been discounted before we opened this morning."

Market players said there were large gaps between closing and opening rates.

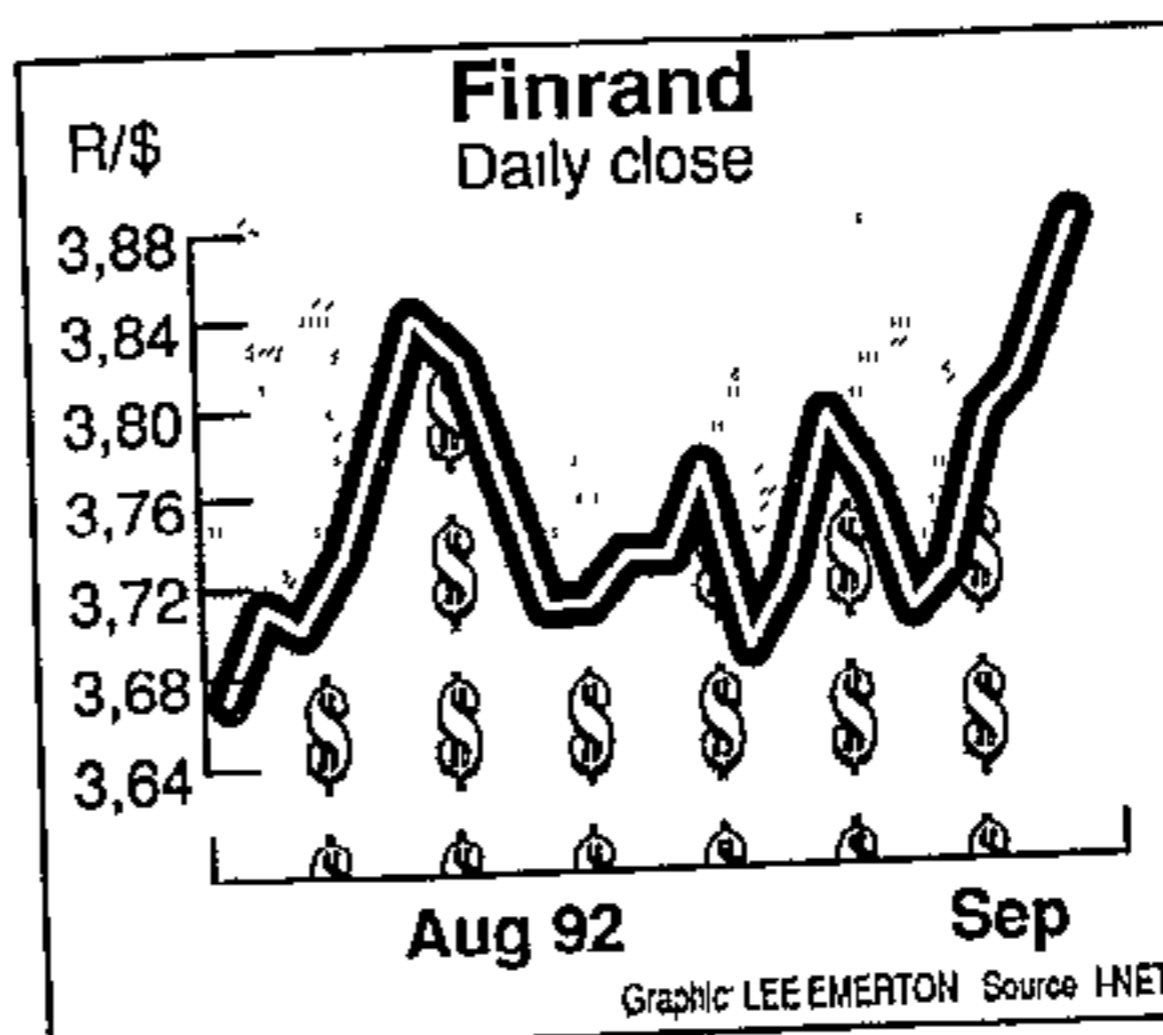
After finishing Monday's session at R3,81, the currency opened at R3,87 on Tuesday.

There had been active selling out of both Zurich and Munich yesterday, they said, but towards the close there had been keen local demand at the lower levels.

Dealers did not expect the currency to strengthen much until there was a resumption of negotiations and an end to political violence and uncertainty.

"In the short term the finrand has far more downside, than upside, potential."

On early bearish sentiment following



the Bisho shootings the yield on government R150 stock reached 14,45%.

However, keen afternoon buying of the benchmark gilt saw the rate fall to end the day at 14,38% from Monday's 14,37% close.

Dealers said there had been small volumes of foreign gilts selling, while local investors had indicated a good local demand for medium-dated stock.

There was more chance of rates ticking down in the short term than rising as investors continued to move funds out of a nervous equity market and into gilts.

One dealer said: "Rates should drift down over the week provided there is no major foreign selling"

It is a trendless, unpredictable market which is primarily jobber-driven.

"In the longer term the chaos in the country is bullish for gilts. The capital market is not a bad haven for funds when the options are the jittery equity and shaky property markets."

ANC names the victims of the 'battle' of Bisho

THE names of 11 of the people killed in the Bisho massacre have been given by the ANC. They were:

Monde Mfenqe of Parksdale village, Middeldrift;

Mnyamezeli Myeha of Ntselamanzi, Alice;

Nkosinathi Motmon of Sada, Queenstown;

Headman Nontshingila of Frankfort near King William's Town;

Zanethemba Skepu of Mlakalaka village near

Zwelitsha;

Thobani Gola of Mdantsane;

Sipho Cologu of Zigodlo, Middeldrift;

Dyakopu Gadu of Mtyholo village near King William's Town;

Thobile Kali of Ngwalane near King William's Town;

Thembinkosi Bili of Seymour;

Sipho Kundulu of Noncampa village near King William's Town.

ARC 9/9/92

(105)

Kasrils (05) 'did not expect gunfire'

ARG 9/9/92
STEFAANS BRUMMER
Staff Reporter

BISHO. — ANC leaders were "totally surprised" that Ciskei forces opened fire on Monday, according to Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who led marchers into the first salvo in contravention of magisterial conditions.

Mr Kasrils, an ANC executive member, confirmed yesterday that the plan had been to "move as fast as possible to the centre of Bisho to occupy peacefully".

Conditions for permission to enter Ciskei had been that marchers confine themselves to the stadium, about a kilometre from the town centre and only just inside Ciskei.

Mr Kasrils said: "Of course, one always considered that they might open fire, but frankly, the whole leadership was totally surprised that they could open fire on a peaceful crowd in front of the media and the eyes of the world."

On Monday, Mr Kasrils was the first leader at the border, where he had discussions with National Peace Accord representatives across barbed wire fencing.

He asked Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall to tell Ciskei authorities "that they should tolerate people coming to Bisho, holding a meeting and expressing their will".

Asked whether that meant they would leave the stadium in contravention of the conditions, he had said: "Let's wait and see."

When the main thrust of the march arrived at the border, Mr Kasrils joined the first people to go to the stadium.

Then he and a group of "no more than 50" marchers went through a tunnel towards a gap in the fence that left a direct passage towards central Bisho, barred only by a line of troops about 100 metres away.

"We began going through that gap, then we saw the deployment of the Ciskei forces, so we decided to move north ... to outflank them.

"As we poured through that gap the soldiers started firing at us. There was no warning."

He soon realised that people still behind the barbed wire on the South African side were also being shot at.

Yellow flowers for the fallen

Staff Reporter STEFAANS BRUMMER in Bisho

THE smile disappeared from the face of ANC President Nelson Mandela as he surveyed the scene of Monday's killings on the Ciskei-South Africa border.

Mr Mandela smiled constantly and raised his fist in salute as he slowly made his way through the cheering, singing mass of people who yesterday, 24 hours after their fateful march had been halted by a barrage of bullets, still maintained a vigil at the border.

But once he reached the spot where barbed wire on Monday separated marchers and Ciskei troops and where several of those killed had fallen, his face turned grim.

The scheme of events was pointed out to him by ANC leaders who had been among those to fling themselves on the ground as the shooting started.

"And that is where the National Peace Accord people lay," ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said, pointing to where bullets had whistled over the heads of peace monitors.

Mr Mandela placed a wreath of yellow flowers on the tarmac, scene of blood and fear, and bowed.

Other ANC leaders followed and placed wreaths. There was a minute's silence, after which Mr Mandela listened with clenched fist as an Umkhonto we Sizwe farewell song to fallen comrades sounded up.

He said "Many people came to this place and did not return with their lives. It is a very emotional moment for us that those who are fighting for democracy, for peace and for love among all South Africans should be mowed down by those who fear democracy.

"It is also clear that this was not just the actions of a bandit leader, there are bigger forces backing him."

Mr Mandela and his party turned and left, leaving behind a row of yellow flower wreaths where 24 hours earlier barbed wire had spanned the tarmac.



Picture LEON MULLER, The Argus
WHERE THEY FELL: Mr Nelson Mandela lays a wreath as a tribute to those who died on the road into Bisho 24 hours earlier

Tragic irony of bloody march

RRG 9/19/92

103

Was the march on Bisho a tragically superfluous exercise, as the government has suggested, directed at goals already attained by negotiations? PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff examines the documentary evidence.

WHILE Ciskei government troops were gunning down ANC marchers in Bisho to maintain the independence of their homeland, representatives of their government and others were sitting in the stately Presidency building in Pretoria, quietly poring over a map of the future showing Ciskei already re-incorporated into South Africa.

That was perhaps the irony and the tragedy of the killings in Bisho which President De Klerk's simultaneous conference on federalism in Pretoria underscored.

The government believes the ANC brought forward the march by three days to upstage the federal indaba. That it certainly did. But Mr De Klerk and other participants were at pains to stress another effect, how the two events highlighted the contrast between confrontational, even revolutionary politics and the politics of negotiation.

Why march on the guns of Ciskei, they asked in effect, when you could quite easily have joined us here to talk about it?

Mr De Klerk went further and said that in Codesa's Working Group 4 — on which the Ciskei government was represented — broad agreement had already been reached on the objective for which the ANC marchers had died: the re-incorporation of Ciskei and other "independent" homelands into South Africa.

The implication was that the march on Bisho was a

tragically superfluous exercise.

Reference to the report of Codesa's Working Group 4 — on the future of the TBVC states — tends to confirm Mr De Klerk's opinion.

Under "points of agreement reached" it says:

"3.1 Re-incorporation All delegations have no objection in principle to the re-incorporation of the TBVC states

"3.1.2 Transitional arrangements. The TBVC states will participate in transitional arrangements as proposed by Working Group 3, on the understanding that these arrangements shall nullify mutatis mutandis impact on the TBVC governments and territories in the same way as they impact on the South African government and the RSA

"3.1.3. Testing the will of the people. The people of the TBVC states shall take part fully in the processes of constitution-making and transitional arrangements, including elections, as may be proposed by working groups 2 and 3.

"Their participation will be arranged in such a way that their votes in a national election shall signify support for or rejection of re-incorporation. The results of such an election shall constitute a sufficient test of the will of the people.

"3.1.4. Restoration of citizenship. South African citizenship will be restored to the citizens of all the TBVC states who would have been South African citizens but for the constitutional independence of the TBVC states, immediately after the testing of

the will as envisaged in paragraph 3.1.3 above."

The report notes that only the Botswana government recorded reservations about the above agreement.

But — and this is a large but — the Ciskei government, having agreed to these re-incorporation mechanisms in the working group, then effectively backed off them.

Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo told the Codesa 2 summit in May this year that Ciskei would decide on participation in an interim government — and on re-incorporation — only once a clearer picture had emerged from negotiations about the structure of the interim and final governments.

"The fundamental considerations on the part of the Ciskei government is that Ciskei must be better off in the new South Africa than has been the case under its present circumstances," he said, taking a line very like that of the Botswana government — which had not endorsed the Working Group 4 report.

He proposed an endorsement to the Working Group 4 report, to read:

"The Ciskei government wishes to record that it will keep its options clear and may participate at a later stage in the interim government structures."

This of course never happened because the ANC pulled out of negotiations before Codesa could be revived.

It would thus appear that whatever the merits or demerits of the Bisho march on other scores, it was not, in fact, directed at a goal already attained.

Gqozo must go, marchers demand

By Brian Sokutu
and Musa Mapisa

(105)

Thousands of angry ANC supporters, protesting against the massacre at Bisho on Monday, yesterday marched to Ciskei consulates in Johannesburg and Cape Town, calling on the Government to force homeland leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to step down.

While police in Cape Town allowed a six-member ANC delegation

into the Hertzog Boulevard building housing the Ciskei Consulate, armed Internal Stability Unit members guarding the homeland's Braamfontein, Johannesburg, offices prevented placard-carrying ANC supporters from entering.

Led by ANC senior leaders, the marchers, chanting "Gqozo must go!", had assembled outside the ANC Johannesburg headquarters in Plein Street before heading for Braamfontein.

On the way to the Ciskei Consulate offices ANC supporters pulled down a South African flag outside the Braamfontein Hotel.

"More reason to remove the dog" read one of the many pamphlets they stuck outside the Ciskei Consulate windows.

Addressing the crowds later, Patrick Lekota of the ANC intelligence department said mass action was "a right and not

a privilege".

In Cape Town, an ANC delegation was given permission to enter the building housing the Ciskei Consulate offices and hand over a petition condemning the actions of the Ciskei troops. But they were unable to do so because the consulate offices were closed.

Earlier about 200 ANC supporters gathered at the Grand Parade to be addressed by western Cape ANC chairman Dr Allan Boesak.

11 victims are named

STAR
9/9/92
The names of 11 of the people killed in Monday's Bisho massacre have been released by the ANC.

(105)
They are Monde Mfenqe of Parksdale Village, Middel drift; Mnyamezeli Myeha of Ntselamanzi, Alice; Nkosinathi Motmon of Sada, Queens town; Headman Nontshingila of Frankfort near King William's Town; Zanethemba Skepu of Mlakalaka Village near Zwelitsha; Thobani Gola of Mdantsane; Siphon Cologu of Zigodlo, Middel drift; Dyakopu Gadu of Mtyholo Village near King William's Town; Thobile Kani of Ngwalane near King William's Town; Them binkosi Bili of Seymour; and Siphon Kundulu of Noncampa Village near King William's Town.

STm 9/17/72

Guards shadow leader's children at school

By Monica Oosterbroek

The two children of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo are being protected by security guards at a private eastern Cape boarding school.

The children, who

have been at the primary school for three years, each have two body guards.

The headmaster, who did not want to be named for security reasons, said: "This is not an unusual situation. During certain political trials,

several judges' children had to be protected."

Parents with children at the school said they were worried that their children could be in danger after the massacre of ANC demonstrators outside the Ciskeian capital on Monday.

Ciskei:

Massacre 'serious stumbling block' as government and ANC consider fallout

AR4 9/19/92

A bleak aftermath

TOS WENTZEL and STEFANS BRUMMER
Political Staff

PROSPECTS for further contact between the government and the ANC appeared to be bleak today as both sides met to consider the damage done by the Ciskei massacre.

The consequences of the Bisho bloodbath reverberated around the world and plunged South Africa into a new political crisis.

African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela said last night that the massacre was a serious stumbling block to the resumption of negotiations.

He said an "enormous responsibility" rested with President De Klerk's government to bring about change in the Ciskei and "in all areas where no free political activity is possible."

He called for:

- An independent investigation into the killings;
- The removal of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the establishment of an interim administration acceptable to all parties;
- The repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity;
- The removal from Ciskei of South African military intelligence officials.

Mr Mandela said after visiting the scene of the shootings yesterday that Bisho ranked with Bojapong, the massacre that resulted in the ANC pull-out from Coidesa.

"From this day, Bisho will rank along with Bojapong on that roll-call of infamy that recounts the last two years of F W de Klerk's incumbency," Mr Mandela said.

King William's Town was still being patrolled by police today and Ciskei Defence Force troops were all over Bisho.

The Goldstone Commission is gathering as much information as possible on the massacre, though Ciskei is unlikely to allow it to conduct an investigation of the type demanded by political parties.

'Restraint'

Brigadier Gqozo said he would not resign over the killing of up to 28 ANC supporters and insisted his troops were



MOURNING: ANC president Nelson Mandela salutes during the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika after laying a wreath at the scene of the massacre. See pages 3 and 15

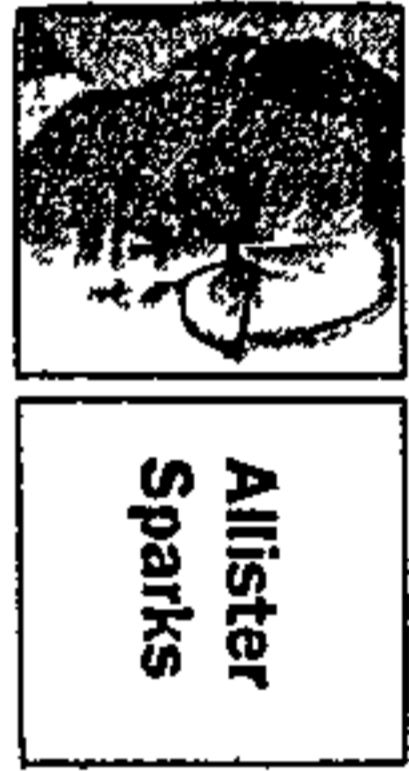
Picture: LEON MULLER

ed with restraint. "If our troops acted irresponsibly they would have killed many people," he said. He shrugged off a referendum call by church leaders and instead spoke of holding elections at an unspecified date. A spokesman at Mr De Klerk's office has dismissed as "absolute nonsense" an allegation by ANC official Mr Patrick Lekota that he had given Mr Mandela an undertaking that no live ammunition would be used by Ciskei forces. The spokesman said such an undertaking was not contained in the correspondence between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela last week. The matter had never been raised. In Pretoria, the government policy group on negotiations met to discuss the possibility of further contact, and in Johannesburg the ANC national working committee was due to discuss the matter at its weekly meeting. The international community has cast the blame for the massacre on all parties involved.

Ciskei message: sure-fire weaving of a basket case

STAR 9/9/92

(105) (SAP)



Allister Sparks

THE Ciskei bloodbath signals one stark message unless we can cut short the deadly spiral of political gamesmanship that our major organisations are engaged in, this country is doomed.

We shall sink into a quagmire of interecine squabbling where the developed world will abandon us as just another no-hope basket case, to be sent occasional food aid when famine threatens, as in Somalia today, but otherwise to be left to its own miseries.

twines are not compatible.

Our problems begin with the fact that President de Klerk, having crossed the Rubicon on February 2 1990, has never been able to face up to the implications of his own act of courage.

He has not been able to accept that the inevitable consequence of that act was that South Africa would be ruled by its black majority. And that the black majority would almost certainly be represented, at least first time round, by the ANC — a movement once perceptively described by Tony Volsoo, then editor of Beeld and now head of the powerful Nasionale Pers group, as "the National Party of the black man".

With a curious kind of repetitive self-delusion, the Nationalist Government has imagined it could thwart that inevitability, that somehow it could remain in control itself, if not directly then through the old colonialist technique of indirect rule.

One has seen the delusion evolve over the years. Pk Botha backed his shut on Bishop Muzorewa in the Zimbabwean elec-

tion. He was confident the bishop would win at least half the Shona votes and be able to form a coalition with Joshua Nkomo and Ian Smith to take over the government, so keeping out Robert Mugabe's majority party which Pretoria saw as the Marxist menace.

South Africa poured millions into the bishop's campaign, which flopped ignominiously. When it comes to liberation elections, people vote for the party they see as their liberators.

Undeterred, the South African Government did the same in Namibia, backing Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance to win against Swapo. It poured even more money and mounted an even greater destabilisation effort into that campaign, and though again it didn't succeed it did well enough for the Nats to convince them-

selves that with a bigger, cruffer campaign they could succeed in South Africa.

So we have the undatagable Pk now predicting that the National Party is going to win a majority in South Africa's first post-apartheid election. It matters not that his prediction is wildly unrealistic: what counts is that the National Party has persuaded itself that this is possible and is concentrating all its efforts on a strategy designed to bring it about.

That, I am now finally convinced, includes — just as it did in Namibia — a campaign to destabilise the ANC, combined with the building of a political alliance similar to the DTA.

The drive to achieve this has become the Government's overriding concern, and as the campaign gathers momentum the ANC is responding with an anger verging on paranoia. The interaction of the two has thrust us into a premature election campaign of unrestrained ruthlessness that is rapidly destroying any prospect of a negotiated settlement.

The attempt to form a local DTA was evident in De Klerk's convening of a conference on federation in Pretoria this week — an opportunistic attempt by a party that has historically despised the idea of federalism to build an anti-ANC alliance out of the homeland and tricermeral detritus of the apartheid system.

The strategy finds its most cynical focus in Ciskei. This is probably the most solidly pro-ANC region in the whole of South Africa, yet the Government is trying to lock it into its DTA alliance through the egregious Oupa Gqozo and his white-officered army. It has sponsored a new "opposition" party, the so-called African Democratic Movement, which has a seconded Military Intelligence officer as its secretary.

This Machiavellian activity in the ANC's heartland invites retaliation, which is why the ANC launched its mass march against Brigadier Gqozo on Monday.

But that, too, was a mindless act. The ANC doesn't need to storm the Bastille in Ciskei. It needs only to wait for an election

and Gqozo will go the way of all corrupt political flesh.

This drives one to conclude that the Ciskei march was not so much an act of local democratic protest as part of a larger strategy, to strike first at the weakest point in De Klerk's alliance and then move on to the others — Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu.

In other words, the start of a series of "Leipzig options" to overthrow the Government's DTA satellites.

Which means it, too, was part of an electioneering strategy.

This electioneering has got to stop. There is only one way to stop it — that is to have the election now and get it out of the way. Get rid of the surrogates and pretenders. Establish who the true representatives of the people are, who speaks for whom, and when the need for contestation and back-stabbing is over let them get down to the business of negotiating a constitution in an atmosphere where they can afford to make concessions to one another.

Only then can we start to heal the wounds of this bleeding nation. □

Investors lie low as confidence dives

MERVYN HARRIS

THE BISHO shots ricocheted into the JSE yesterday to shatter confidence among investors and send share prices reeling.

Dealers on the trading floor were shrouded in a pall of gloom over prospects for the market in the aftermath of the bloodshed. *810M 9/7/92*

George Huysamer's Jan van den Bergh said: "Events like that in Ciskei further push back prospects for a resumption of negotiations and tends to increase the feeling of insecurity pervading the market."

"I cannot see much upward potential in the market because of the sluggish domestic and international economic situation. While leaders like De Beers and Anglos have come down a lot, investors will probably postpone purchases of these shares as they are likely to buy them later at around current levels."

Frankel Max Pollak Vinderine's Robin Gardy said: "There is a lot of negative sentiment after Ciskei but institutions are nevertheless still in the market and large

lines of shares on offer are finding homes. Until there is a clearer definition of the political situation, I think our market will probably remain nervous." *(105)*

Irish & Menell Rosenberg's Robert Lewis said the Ciskei story would probably escalate as the ANC moved mass action into other homelands.

"We will not see much overseas investment until the cycle of violence is brought under control. Local investors have been deterred from entering the market as we have hardly seen a good set of results for some time now from blue chip companies."

P L J van Rensburg's Pierre van Rensburg said he was very negative over prospects for the market. "The Ciskei events will only deepen the economic stagnation the country is experiencing which will further accentuate political problems."

"I cannot see any light at the end of the tunnel and expect the market could go down at least another 10%."

Inkatha points finger at ANC

105 APR 9/9/92

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — Furious reaction to Monday's Bisho massacre is pouring in, with political parties and other organisations blaming the killings on the ANC alliance and the Ciskei and South African governments. The Inkatha Freedom Party alleged that the ANC and its allies had planned and sought confrontation with the Ciskei security forces.

IFP spokesman Kim Hodgson said the ANC march to Bisho was "deliberately designed to spark confrontation".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the blame lay with the South African and Ciskei governments, as well as the ANC.

Dr De Beer said the DP's initial reaction to the massacre had been "oversimplified" as mostly apportioning the blame to the ANC.

As a clearer picture emerged yesterday, it had become apparent that the Ciskei government bore responsibility as it had ordered its troops to use live ammunition without any attempt to divert the marchers through non-lethal measures he said.

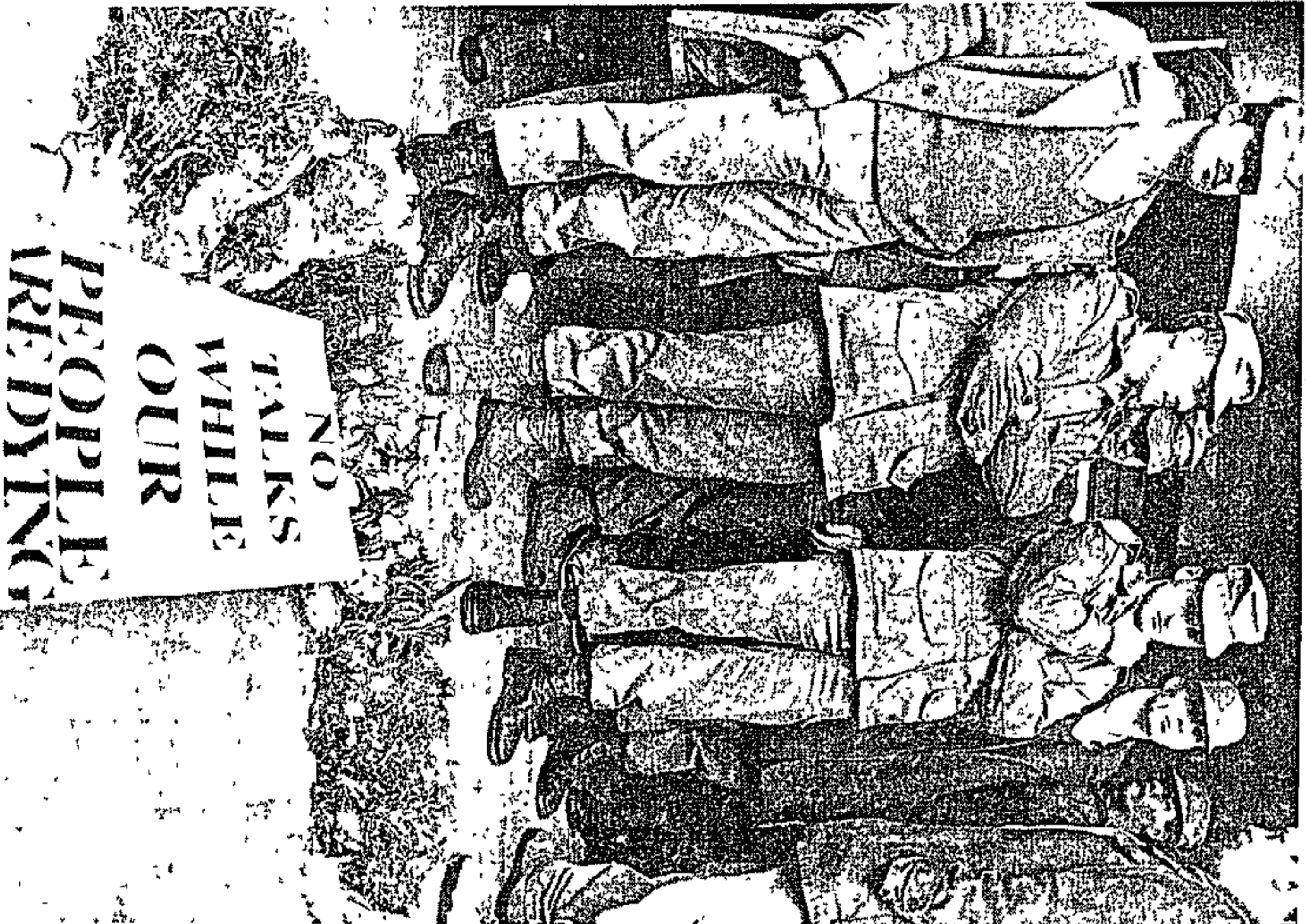
The South African government was responsible for the actions of homeland governments because it had established them and subsidised them, Dr De Beer said.

The ANC was to blame to the extent that its leadership "quite deliberately" put the marchers at risk.

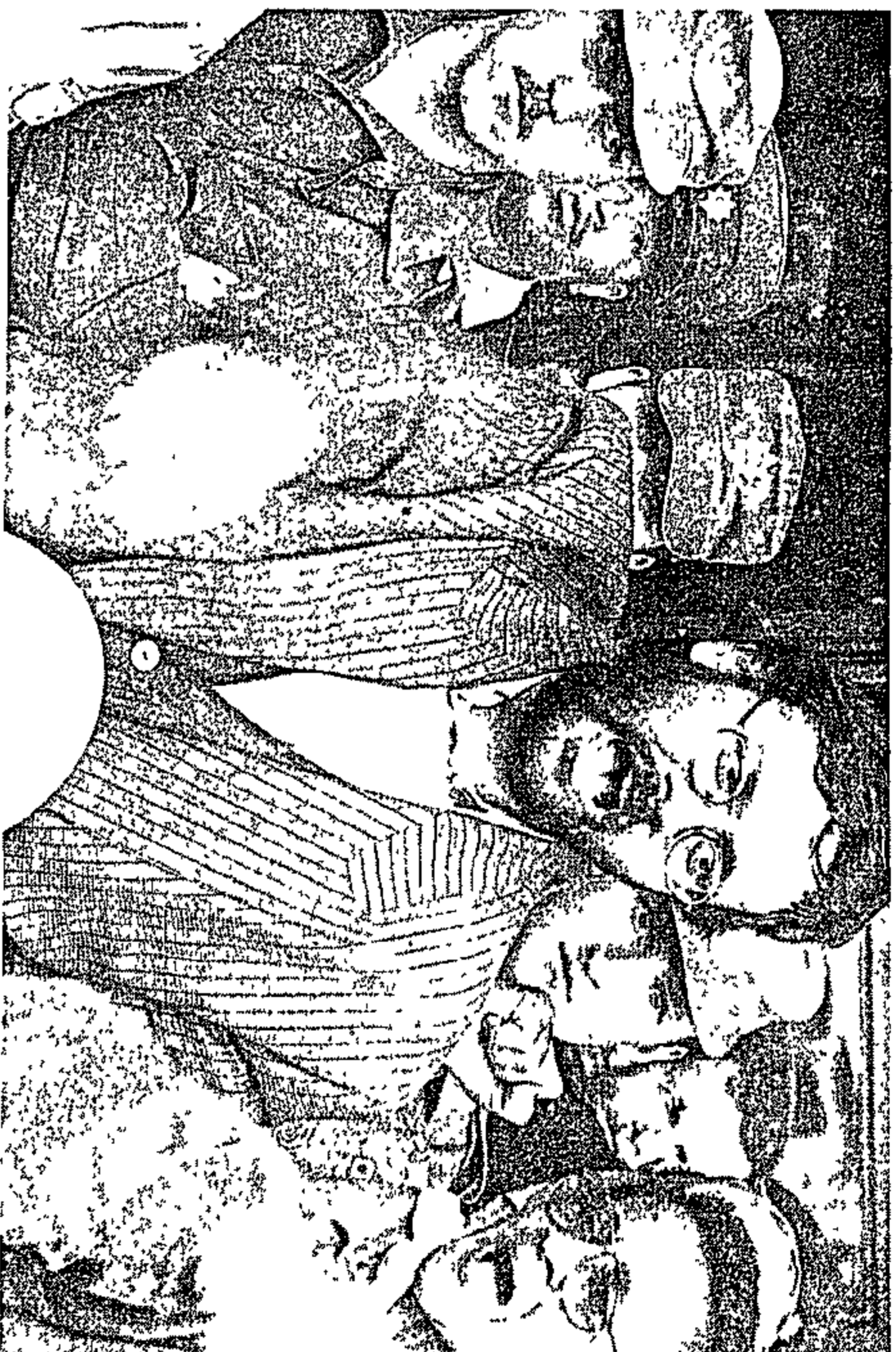
Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the ANC and SACP had failed their first test of democratic politics.

"They are clearly unable to deal with opposing political views and they are obviously intolerant of the existence of minorities and smaller political entities," he said.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa) called yesterday for an "undaba on violence" as soon as possible.



IN MEMORY OF THE MASSACRE: Police keep an eye on the wreaths placed on the pavement outside the Ciskei consulate during a protest in Cape Town.



TWO SIDES OF THE COIN: ANC regional executive member Mr Ebrahim Rasool makes a point while police look on during yesterday's protest outside the Ciskei consulate in Cape Town.

'US hits at 'excessive force'

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON — The State Department today deplored "excessive and unjustified use of lethal force" against demonstrators in Bisho but also urged "all parties" to carefully reconsider "future actions that distract from the primary issue at hand, which is negotiations, and actions that expose innocent supporters to violence."

"We call on all parties to avoid further provocative actions which put at risk the lives of innocent South Africans. Confrontation and violence will play into the hands of those who do not want a successful negotiation to a democratic, nonracial South Africa."

The Democratic Party's presidential election candidate, Mr Bill Clinton, criticised the South African government's response to the massacre and said the government "cannot continue to look the other way to the actions taken by the so-called homeland leaders."

'Triumphalism' of ANC under attack

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON — The ANC's statement that the Bisho shootings "mark a crucial turning point in the struggle for democracy" comes perilously close to sounding triumphant, the London Evening Standard claimed.

While condemning the massacre of "poor, unemployed blacks in the main, many of them children", yesterday's leading article accused the ANC of pursuing "a twin-track policy of debate and aggressive confrontation" that failed on this occasion because "such restraints as exist there aren't always available in places like the Ciskei".

It added "Perhaps South Africa's Foreign Minister Pik Botha is too cynical when he says 'the ANC wanted their people to be shot', but many will believe him."

London's Daily Star went even further, urging readers: "Don't blame De Klerk."

Argus Africa News Service paper hits at ANC

Argus Africa News Service
NAIROBI — A newspaper owned by the ruling Kenya African National Union (Kanu) today described as "foolhardy" the ANC march to Ciskei in which 28 people died.

The Kenya Times said the blood spilt was not worth the mission undertaken.

"For how long are the innocent South African going to be used as cannon fodder by political combatants," the newspaper asks. It seemed the aim had been to create "martyrs".

The paper said it was ironic that while the ANC broke away from the constitutional talks on account of the Botswana massacre, it went ahead and "got involved in an act that has always preached against violence".

It wondered why the ANC should lead its supporters to their deaths and expect to make political capital out of it.

Consulate sit-in by the ANC in city

105
27/9/92
Staff Reporter

ANC members began a sit-in at the empty Ciskei consulate yesterday, vowing to stay until the office is closed.

The siege by about 200 people was preceded by a march from Grand Parade, and there was a lunch-time service at St George's Cathedral.

At the service Father Michael Lapsley, a former ANC chaplain in Zimbabwe whose hands were blown off by a parcel bomb in 1990, asked: "What is the difference between the Ciskei regime and the De Klerk regime? — De Klerk is the head of an illegitimate government . . . Its children are also illegitimate."

Picket

The ANC delegation entered the building just before noon.

ANC advocate Mr Dullah Omar said a round the clock picket would be maintained outside.

Sapa reports that about 1000 ANC supporters marched on the Ciskei consulate in Johannesburg.

Police barred their way outside the apparently deserted offices.

After speeches the protesters marched back to the ANC head office in Plein Street, where they dispersed.

Mandela

places ¹⁰⁵

wreath ^{STAR} at border

9/9/92
By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO — In a moving moment yesterday ANC leader Nelson Mandela walked to the Ciskei border to lay a wreath in memory of those killed in the Bisho massacre.

He was met at the border by protesters who had stayed on the South African side of the border since the shootings on Monday.

The demonstrators had spent more than 24 hours at the border. They lit fires on Monday night to keep warm while singing the same songs sung at rallies, but at a slower, softer pace.

Mr Mandela's convoy, including ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu president John Gomomo and assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa, arrived at the border just before 2 pm.

Uniformed marshals cleared a path for him as he walked up to a line of SAP Casspirs parked across the road near the border.

Mr Mandela then walked through a gap between the Casspirs, which was immediately filled by policemen.

His procession to the border was watched by Ciskeian soldiers, with rifles aimed at him and the protesters.

When he was almost at the border, Ciskeian soldiers pulled a Casspir across the road on their side of the border, which since Monday morning had been demarcated by razor-wire fencing.

South African policemen had already formed two lines on either side of the border. They had their guns turned towards the ground but were facing the Ciskeian soldiers lying 200 m away.

Mr Mandela said: "What happened was not just the action of a bantustan leader. There were bigger forces behind him. Our task as democrats is to pull South Africa out of the quagmire."

Mr Kasrils said march organisers had "given instructions for another column to go through the stadium and leave the stadium and to go through the gap into town".
"The plan was to move as fast as possible into the centre of Bisho where we would stage a peaceful occupation."

He said the "column" had been taken by surprise, thinking that with the eyes of the world on the event that the troops would not dare open fire.
Mr Kasrils denied the crowd was armed.
"There were no weapons," he claimed. — Sapa.

JSE shares fall, but no panic selling

Finance Staff

Share prices fell across the board on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday but dealers reported no major sell-off as a result of the Ciskei shootings.

Shares on the JSE were marked down across the board because of investor nervousness as dealers took to the sidelines.

Industrials were hardest hit, with the index coming off 46 points after foreign investors joined local sellers in unloading quality stock.

Diamond share De Beers continued its decline, dropping 185c to trade at R55,25, dragging the overall index down 46 points to 3131.

The country's foreign investment and "political" currency, the financial rand, weakened by 7c to close at R3,90 to the US dollar.

Foreign viewers see more

Staff Reporter

Foreign television viewers saw a more complete account of the Bisho massacre — including protesters fleeing as the firing continued — than those who relied on SABC-TV coverage.

The syndicated news-clip of the killings put out by British TV station Visnews, whose material is seen daily by an estimated 1,9 billion people in 85 countries, depicted graphically how an exuberant, singing crowd was stopped in its tracks — some of them for ever — by automatic and shotgun fire which came, by many accounts, without warning.

Its coverage shows an

ANC marshal struggling to contain youths spilling through a gap in razor wire around Bisho's Independence Stadium. The next moment the sound of sustained gunfire crackles through the air.

The visuals show the crowd turning and fleeing — while the firing continues.

By contrast, most SABC footage showed protesters lying prone, attempting to flee or helping injured comrades, but not what led up to the shooting.

Among those who died were at least two khaki-clad marshals. As the Visnews camera focused on one of them, the sound of a grenade going off could be heard.

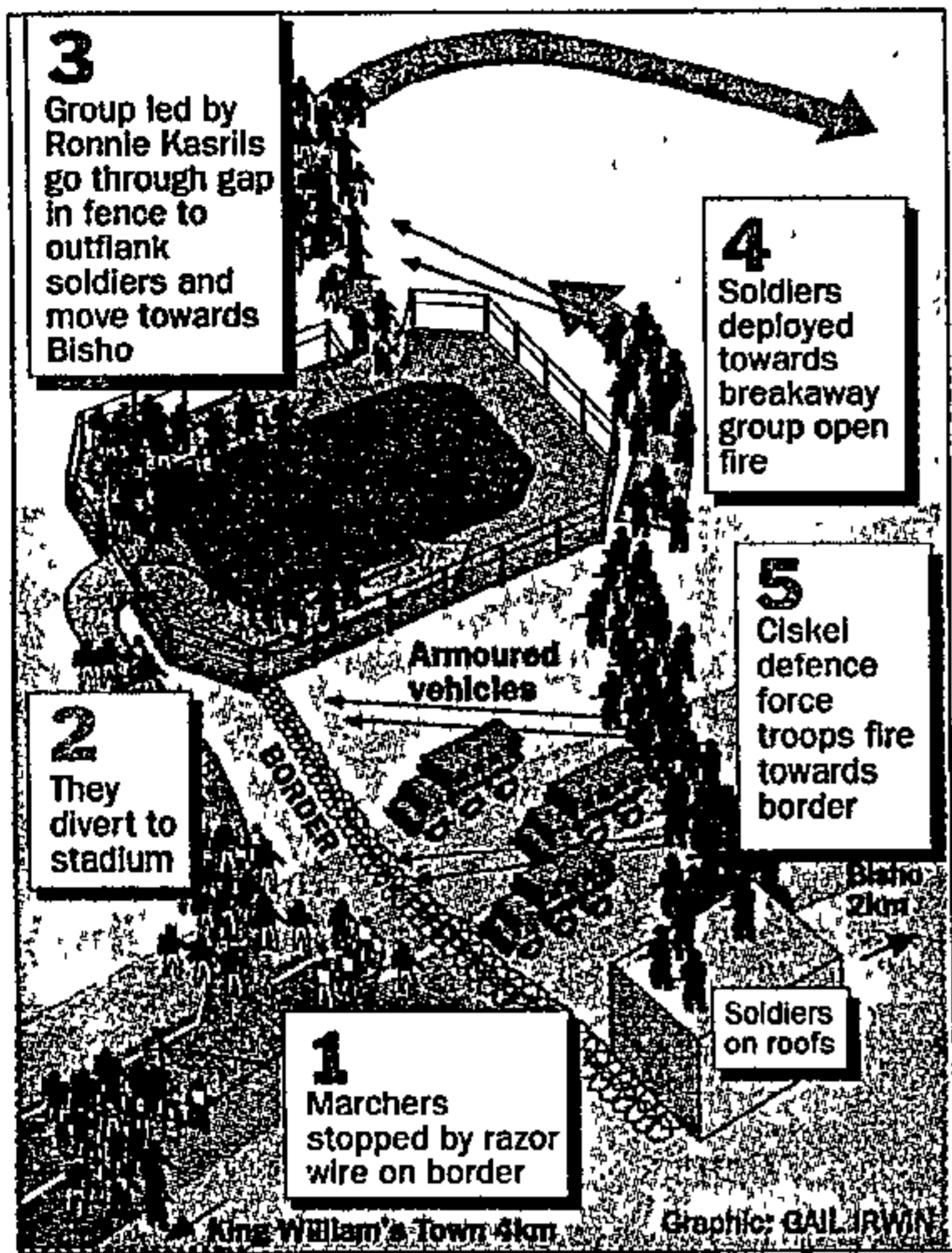
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Mr Kasrils said march or...



105

STAR 9/9/92





'Plan was to occupy Bisho'

STAR 9/19/92

105

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

This was disclosed yesterday by Ronnie Kasrils, intelligence chief of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, at the scene of the shooting by soldiers of the Ciskei defence force.

Mr Kasrils said march organisers had "given instructions for another column to go through the stadium and leave the stadium and to go through the gap into town".

"The plan was to move as fast as possible into the centre of Bisho where we would stage a peaceful occupation."

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

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

"As we pulled through soldiers began shooting. Lying under the volley, it seemed like it lasted half an hour."

He said the "column" had been taken by surprise, thinking that with the eyes of the world on the event that the troops would not dare open fire.

Mr Kasrils denied the crowd was armed.

"There were no weapons," he claimed — Sapa



For the dead . . . Nelson Mandela lays a wreath at the Ciskei border yesterday. Armed Ciskeian soldiers watched the ceremony. Picture: Leon Muller

JSE shares fall, but no panic selling

STAR 9/19/92



Missguided maybe, tragic yes, superfluous no

Star 9/17/92

AT THE time that Ciskei government troops were gunning down ANC marchers at Bisho to maintain the independence of their homeland, representatives of their government and others were sitting in the Presidency building in Pretoria, quietly poring over a map of the future showing Ciskei already reincorporated into South Africa.

That was the irony and perhaps the tragedy of the killings at Bisho which President de Klerk's simultaneous conference on federalism in Pretoria underscored.

The Government believes the ANC brought forward the march by three days to upstage

the federal indaba. That it certainly did.

It had a further effect. The brutal killings by a regional power at the precise moment when the merits of strong regional powers were being touted insidiously tainted the whole concept of federalism.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela drove home that point in his statement from King Williams Town yesterday when he said the Government's strong emphasis on federalism had emboldened Ciskei to take action against the marchers.

But Mr de Klerk and other participants were at pains to stress another contrast between confrontational, even

revolutionary, politics and the politics of negotiation. Why march on the guns of Ciskei, they asked in effect, when you could quite easily have joined us here to talk about it?

Mr de Klerk went further and said that in Codesa's Working Group 4 — on which the Ciskei government was represented — broad agreement had already been reached on the objective for which the ANC marchers had died: the reincorporation of Ciskei and other "independent" homelands.

The implication was that the march on Bisho was a tragically superfluous exercise. Superficial reference to the report of Codesa's Working

Group 4 — on the future of the TBVC states — tends to confirm Mr de Klerk's opinion, although subsequent statements by Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo do not.

Paragraph three of the working group report said "All delegations have no objection in principle to the reincorporation of the TBVC states."

And, "The TBVC states will participate in transitional arrangements as proposed by Working Group 3, on the understanding that these arrangements shall *mutatis mutandis* impact on the TBVC governments and territories in the same way as they impact on the South African Government and the RSA.

Was the march on Bisho a tragically unnecessary exercise, as the Government has suggested, directed at goals — like the reincorporation of Ciskei — already attained by negotiations? Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS examines the documentary evidence and finds that Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has been non-committal about reincorporation.

"The people of the TBVC states shall take part fully in the processes of constitutional making and transitional arrangements, including elections, as may be proposed by working groups 2 and 3.

"Their participation will be arranged in such a way that their votes in a national election shall signify support for or rejection of reincorporation.

The report notes that only the Bophuthatswana government recorded reservations about the above agreement.

But — and this is a very large but — the Ciskei government, having agreed to these reincorporation mechanisms in the working group, then effectively

backed off them.

Brigadier Gqozo told the Codesa 2 summit in May that Ciskei would decide on participation in an interim government — and on reincorporation — only once a clearer picture had emerged from negotiations about the structure of the interim and final governments.

"The fundamental considerations on the part of the Ciskei government is that Ciskei must be better off in the new South Africa than has been the case under its present circumstances," he said, taking a line much like that of the Bophuthatswana government, which had not endorsed the Working Group 4 report.

He proposed an endorsement to the Working Group 4 report to read "The Ciskei government wishes to record that it will keep its options clear and may participate at a later stage in the interim government structures."

This of course never happened because the ANC pulled out of negotiations before Codesa could be revived.

It would thus appear that whatever the merits or demerits of the Bisho march on other scores, it was not, in fact, directed at a goal already attained by negotiation.

The march may have been misguided and tragic but it was not superfluous. □

NEWS Mandela warns massacre is a stumbling block to talks



A demonstrator confronts a policeman from the Internal Stability Unit during a protest at the Ciskeian Consulate on the foreshore in Cape Town yesterday.

Talks now under threat

■ STUMBLING BLOCK ANC wants Brigadier

Oupa Gqozo removed from power: 105

Sowetan 9/9/92

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

THE KILLING OF 24 people on the Ciskei border was a serious stumbling block to the resumption of negotiations, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking in King William's Town after laying a wreath at the scene of the shootings by the Ciskei security forces, Mandela said: "A climate of free political activity throughout the whole country, including the bantustans, is an important condition for us returning to talks.

"And what has happened is a serious stumbling block to the resumption of negotiations"

ANC committed to talks

He reiterated that the ANC was "committed not only to talks, but to genuine negotiations"

"I must remind you for the umpteenth time that we (the ANC) are the architects of this initiative (negotiations), and we are determined that it should succeed

"But of course it's difficult for us to return to negotiations if the Government does not address the 14 demands we have submitted," he said

Earlier, Mandela had told a crowd of about 80 000 at Victoria Stadium that the ANC wanted the immediate removal of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the establishment of an interim administration in Ciskei

He said mass action would intensify throughout South Africa and "the bantustans until all puppets have been removed. Gqozo must go and we will not rest until he has been removed"

He accused State President FW de Klerk of having had a hand in the Bisho killings and of not honouring agreements to prevent violence breaking out during mass demonstrations.

Training and arming vigilante

He said South African military intelligence officials should be removed from Ciskei as well as the Peaceforce security company which, he said, had been training and arming vigilante forces.

"We have travelled too far along the road to freedom to turn back now

"Our people have the right to hope, the right to a future, the right to life itself."

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the organisation's national working committee would discuss the massacre further at a meeting in Johannesburg today

Eleven Bisho victims named

THE African National Congress has released the names of 11 of the victims of the Bisho massacre who have been positively identified by their next-of-kin. 105

They are **Monde Mfenqe** of Parksdale village, Middel drift, **Mnyamezeli Myeha**, (Ntselamanzi, Alice), **Nkosinathi Motmon** (Sada, Queenstown) **Headman Nontshingila** (Frankfort near King William's Town), **Zanethemba Skepu** (Mlakalaka Village, near Zwelitsha), **Thobani Gola** (NU 14, Mdantsane), **Sipho Cologu** (Zigodlo, Middel drift) **Dyakopu Gadu** (Mtyholo village near King William's Town), **Thobile Kali** (Ngwalane near King William's Town), **Thembinkosi Bili** (Seymour) and **Sipho Kundulu** (Noncampa village near King William's Town).

Sowetan 9/9/92
Three ANC officials from the Border region assisted by the South African Police were at the Grey Hospital mortuary until late on Monday night. Twelve other victims had not been identified by yesterday morning. - Ecna.

AWB warn of greater bloodshed

Johannesburg Bureau
THE ANC said it took exception to threats by the AWB yesterday that marches in traditionally right-wing areas would lead to greater bloodshed than in Bisho and Bopjato.

"The ANC is committed to peaceful and disciplined protest, and we will do everything within our ability to

ensure that. However, we will not be blackmailed by bellicose threats aimed at the destruction of free political activity," the ANC said.

"The ANC does not want confrontation, but we will not allow our right to peaceful democratic protest to be eroded by a fundamentally undemocratic organisation such as the AWB," the statement added.

The AWB said it would not allow

ANC marches in white areas if permission had not been granted. Illegal marches in these areas would lead to greater bloodshed than in Bisho and Bopjato.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had not planned any marches in right-wing controlled towns, but if it did, it expected the protection of the police.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party has

called on whites to mobilise should the ANC target right-wing towns for mass action. The party said violence could be countered only with similar action.

The white supremacist Boere Korrmando warned it and its allies were preparing to ward off what it termed an "anticipated violent communist onslaught" against towns and farms

Ciskei: Could happen again

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 addressing his first press conference since the killing of at least 32 protesters by the security forces of the Ciskei.

As he spoke from the capital, Bisho, Ciskei police and defence force conducted door-to-door searches in villages around King William's Town.

Residents of Ndevana Village 10km from the town alleged that soldiers arrested and beat up residents who had participated in Monday's march.

According to the villagers, a number of those who died in the massacre were from Ndevana.

Ndevana was one of the villages where the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr Chris Han and senior ANC and SACP member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, had held "mobilising" rallies at the weekend before the march. Residents said hundreds of the villagers had participated in the march.

Mr Mzolisi Ngalo, 22, had a head wound and welts on his back and legs which he said he got when he was beaten up at the Ndevana police station yesterday.

Mr Ngalo, who said he was a SACP member and had attended the fatal march on Bisho, said he had been picked up by plain clothes Ciskei policemen.

"They just took me and put me in the boot of their car and took me to the police station," he claimed. He alleged policemen beat him with spanners before he escaped.

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 judge rule," he said.



ON PATROL ... South African paratroopers do a sweep yesterday through the bush at the border of Ciskei near to the scene where at least 24 people were killed on Monday.

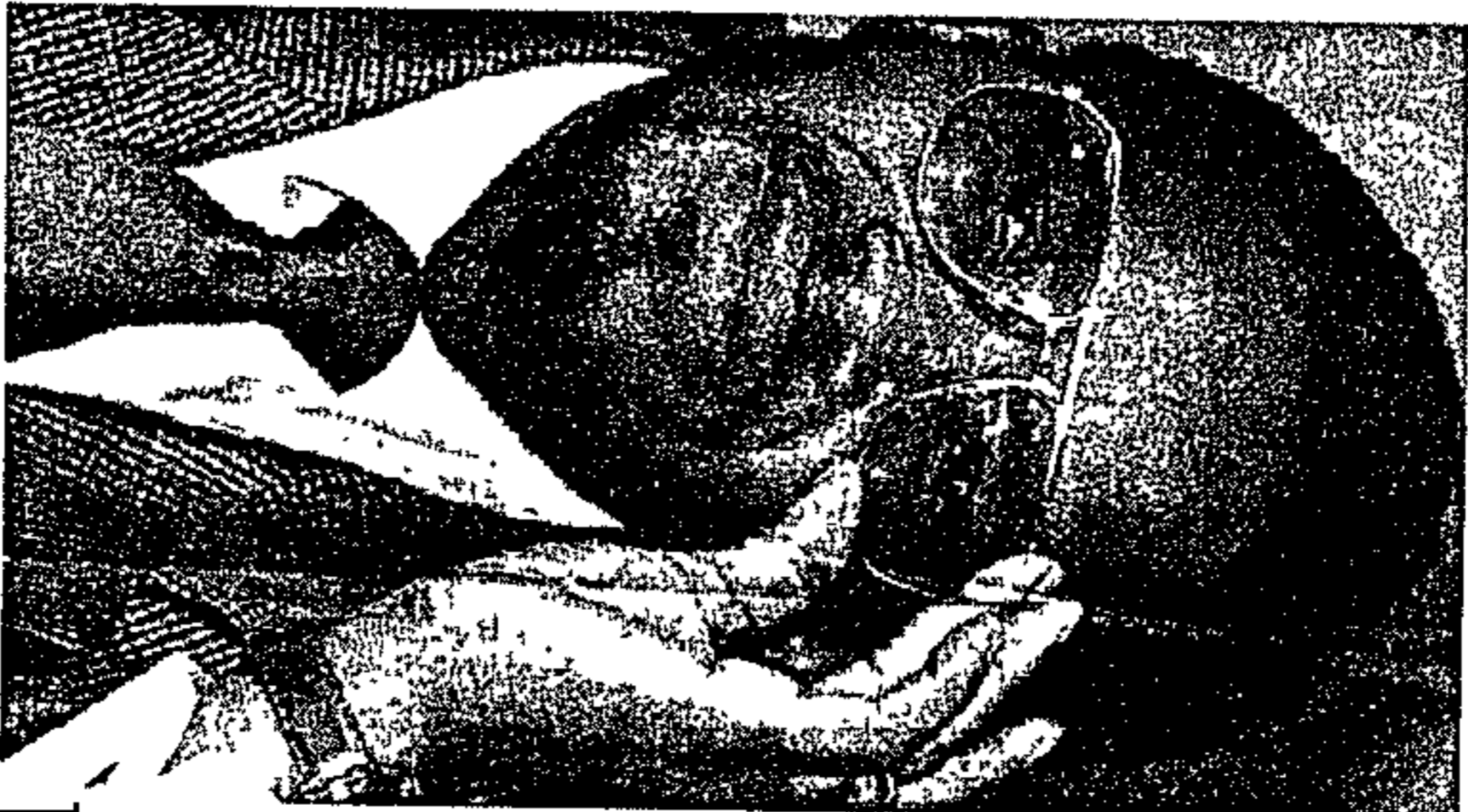
Brig Gqozo denounced the ANC-led mass action campaign, and the torching of houses belonging to Ciskei security force members since Monday.

A number of houses belonging to Ciskei soldiers were burnt down on Tuesday night.

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

He said although he was prepared to test his support among Ciskeians in a referendum such a test could not be conducted in a climate of intimidation and violence.

Church leaders met Brig Gqozo on Tuesday in a bid to get him to agree to a referendum to defuse the situation. In a telephone interview yesterday,



WARNING ... Brigadier Oupa Gqozo adjusts his spectacles as he prepares to answer journalists' questions at a press conference in Bisho yesterday.

Brig 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.

Brig Gqozo denied allegations that his security forces acted under instructions from the SADF in Pretoria.

Brig Gqozo expressed regret at what had happened.

"I personally feel regret that people did not comply with the conditions I cannon fodder," he said.

SAP Border spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw said yesterday the area was stabilised but remained tense. He said police roadblocks con-

trolling access to and from King William's Town about 7km from Bisho would be lifted today.

The ANC's national working committee met yesterday to review the events. The meeting will continue today.

The Returned Exiles Committee (REC) will defend Ciskei military rule, Brig Gqozo from ANC mass action and will send people to the Ciskei to "secure our offices", chairman Pat Hlongwane said yesterday.

A statement faxed from the Inkatha Freedom Party's Information Centre in Durban, said the REC, which includes ANC dissidents, would defend Brig Gqozo from the ANC's campaign to topple Brig Gqozo's government.

The march of about 2,000 people from the ANC offices to a police station 8km away was peaceful with security forces keeping a low profile.

The marchers, who demanded the resignation of Chief Minister Dr T K Mopell, descended on the station to hand over a memorandum demanding that all homelands be dismantled and that an interim government of national unity be established. — Sapa

ANC march is peaceful

PHUTHADITJHABA — Fears of a clash between ANC marchers and Gqoza security forces in the homeland capital here proved unfounded yesterday afternoon.

The march of about 2,000 people from the ANC offices to a police station 8km away was peaceful with security forces keeping a low profile.

ET 10/9/92

City consulate sit-in still on

THIRTEEN ANC members, most of them from the Ciskei, continued their occupation of the foyer outside the deserted Ciskei consulate on the Foreshore yesterday and are determined to sit it out until the office is closed permanently.

"Never ever will we allow the dictator Oupa Gqozo to operate from Cape Town," said ANC executive member Mrs Hilda Ndude.

In the street outside, more than 40 ANC members, who all took part in the Bisho march, gathered to offer themselves as substitutes for those staging the sit-in.

Students stage consulate sit-in

DURBAN — A national delegation of the SA Student Congress began a sit-in at the Ciskei consulate here yesterday following a march by about 400 ANC supporters protesting against the Bisho massacre and calling for the immediate dismantling of the homeland system.

And the ANC's southern Natal and Midlands regions vowed to intensify the "anti-bantustan" campaign with a march soon on Umtata.

The students said they would remain in the embassy offices until a Ciskei government representative heard their grievances. — Sapa

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IDS CT 10/1/92

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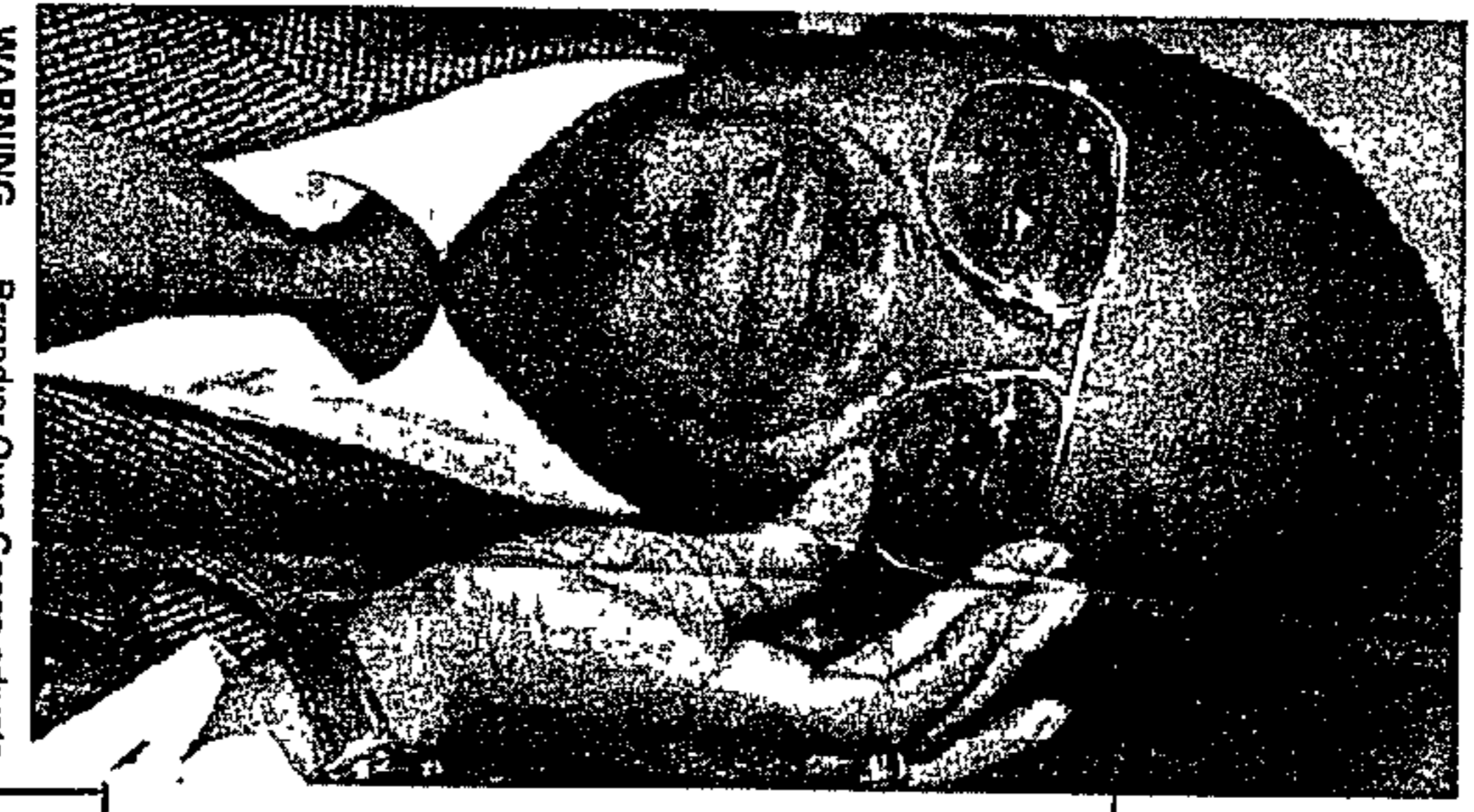
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ANC march is peaceful
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The marchers, who demanded the resignation of Chief Minister Dr T K Mopeli, descended on the station to hand over a memorandum demanding that all homelands be disbanded and that an interim government of national unity be established. — Sapa

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Staff Reporter



JOI SHIP

police roadblocks con- to topple Brig Gqozo's government

Mr Ronnie Kasrils "and his henchmen" casualties suffered outside the Ciskei cap-

Mr Errol Moorcroft, said yesterday.

... Mr Kasrils who by his own admission led the flagrant breach of agreement in the Bishp march, Mr Moorcroft, said

He called on ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to curb the activities of his Communist Party allies.

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Kasrils caused massacre

THE storming of Bisho by SACP member Mr Ronnie Kasrils "and his henchmen" casualties suffered outside the Ciskei capital, the Democratic Party MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said yesterday.

"I condemn the irresponsible actions of ... Mr Kasrils who by his own admission led the flagrant breach of agreement in the Bishp march," Mr Moorcroft, said

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Moorcroft

the dishonesty that characterises Errol Moorcroft's statement on the Ciskei that makes petty tyrants such as (Brig) Gqozo believe they can mow down 40 people without consequence to them.

"It is those who issued soldiers with live ammunition in a civilian situation ... and it is those who have, like Mr Moorcroft, found convoluted logic that allows them to blame the victims."

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Sacob calls for

'facilitation'

RAY HARTLEY

INTERNATIONAL facilitation could be the only way to get negotiations on track again following the massacre of 28 people at Bisho on Monday, Sacob president Henrie Viljoen said yesterday.

"Without some form of independent facilitation it may prove impossible to recreate an environment for reconciliation.

"Apart from the human costs, the Bisho tragedy has dealt a further damaging blow to economic prospects and business confidence. We are facing a confrontational decline in the economy and are forfeiting the confidence of the international business community."

He said there was "an urgent need for adherence to the law and negotiated agreements regarding the rules by which mass actions are to be governed in future."

The national peace committee or the Goldstone commission needed to review the ground rules surrounding mass action to avert similar tragedies, he said.

"In the meantime Sacob sees forums — such as the national economic forum and the National Manpower Commission — as vital mechanisms for seeking consensus," Viljoen added.

A business source said it was significant Sacob had referred to international facilitation and not mediation because this meant it still believed SA parties bore primary responsibility.

ANC to form coalition for Mmbatho action

RAY HARTLEY

A BROAD coalition of political and community groups would be convened by the ANC before the end of the month to spearhead action against Bophuthatswana's independent status, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Mamoepa said the PWV action council — a forum of ANC-aligned community, union and student groups — decided at the weekend to convene an alliance with the ANC's western Transvaal and northern Cape regions.

In a separate development, the SA National Civic Organisation vowed to intensify action this month to "topple the homeland dictators in the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and QwaQwa".

Meanwhile, protests against the Bisho killing of 28 people on Monday continued around the country yesterday.

Mamoepa said ANC protesters picketed the Ciskei consulate in Johannesburg and that they planned to picket the homeland's Pretoria embassy today.

In Durban, the SA Students' Congress began a sit-in at the Ciskei consulate to protest against the massacre and to call for the dismantling of the homeland system.

The 10 students said they would remain at the consulate, which was locked and deserted, until a Ciskei government representative heard their grievances.

The sit-in followed an ANC march in the city.

Southern Natal ANC organiser Bheki Cele told the crowd the ANC's Natal regions would meet soon to discuss a march on Ulundi to demand the dismantling of the KwaZulu government.

Inkatha warned on Tuesday that any attempts to topple the KwaZulu government would be resisted until "the last drop of blood".

In Maritzburg 500 ANC supporters staged a placard demonstration calling for Ciskeian leader Brig Qupa Gqozo's removal.

In Cape Town, ANC supporters continued the Ciskei consulate sit-in they began on Tuesday.

"We will remain until Gqozo no longer has a presence in the western Cape," said one protester.

Meanwhile, eastern Cape DP MP Errol Moorcroft yesterday urged the ANC to sever links with the SACP, saying the actions of MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils had caused Monday's shooting. The SA Catholic Bishops' Con-

ference said recriminations would fuel an already volatile situation. "Instead of slinging accusations at each other, our leaders should be concentrating their energies on finding ways to remove the obstacles impeding progress towards a just and peaceful future," it said.

Sapa reports that right-wing parties yesterday warned the ANC/SACP alliance not to proceed with mass action.

The CP called on white local authorities not to grant permission for marches.

But, it said, if government neglected its duty to ensure people's safety, the CP would appeal to its people to do everything within their power to counter any ANC/SACP threat.

The CP also demanded that government ensure SA territory was not used as a springboard for attacks against independent neighbouring states.

The AWB warned the ANC that illegal marches in white areas would lead to greater bloodshed than in Bisho and Boipatong.

The HNP called on all whites to mobilise against a reported ANC plan to make right-wing controlled towns a target of mass action.

● Comment: Page 8

B/D/AM 10/9/92



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FW wants talks over violence

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So we far 10/9/92 105

■ BISHO BLOODBATH Government proposes

meeting to talk about rolling mass action:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT WANTS an urgent high-level meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss ways of ending the violence.

And in a television interview last night, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said such a meeting could not take place in a vacuum and that a firm basis for it had to be established first.

"The Government must first remove the existing obstacles to the establishment of democracy in the country before such a meeting can take place.

"If such a meeting fails, there is no hope for this country," Ramaphosa said.

The Government called for the high-level meeting between itself and the ANC following Monday's massacre in Bisho when at least 28 people died and about 200 injured.

Addressing a Press conference after a crucial Cabinet meeting yesterday, De Klerk said the tragedy at Bisho had shocked everyone in South

Africa

Responding to speculation earlier in the day that the Government would withdraw from talks with the ANC, he said (Government) remained "committed to a new, negotiated and fully democratic constitution".

"Related to that is that elections will have to be held as soon as possible. However, we have reached a new point at which violence is making the realisation of these ideals increasingly difficult to attain.

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

A meeting of the National Peace Committee is to be called "as a matter of greatest urgency" where all the signatories of the Peace Accord could be present, and the Government would hold talks, too, with all its departments which have security forces under their control.

About the proposed high-level meeting with the ANC, De Klerk said discussions would include the role which "conflict-creating" mass action played in the transition



Marchers gave troops no choice but to fire, says GZOZO

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 SA Communist Party 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."

Gqozo said his government intended applying the letter of the law in dealing with the SACP.

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.

At a news conference in Bisho yesterday, Gqozo warned of a repeat of Monday's

killings 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." He said events were being "orchestrated to ensure that there is another clash, which is probably going to happen in the future."

There were also reports yesterday that some Ciskei residents had claimed the homeland security forces were conducting door-to-door searches in villages, around King William's Town, allegedly arresting

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Gqozo

Bloom 10/19/92

and beating up residents who had participated in the march.

SAP Border spokesman Lt-Col Christo Louw said yesterday the area was stabilised but remained tense. He said police roadblocks controlling access to and from King William's Town about 7km from Bisho would be lifted today.

From Page 1

Louw said that as far as the SAP was concerned, no people were killed on the SA side of the border. He said the deaths had occurred on the Ciskei side and that the bodies had been dragged to the SA side. Autopsies were being conducted, but the SAP was not investigating any criminal charges in relation to the killings.

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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 murkiness, 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

People the pawns

in politicians'

cynical war games

PATRICK BULGER

10/9/92

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 deaf 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

dare not allow itself to be deluged 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?

Shroud falls over renewal of negotiations

● From Page 1
occurred on SA soil"

He said the ANC and SACP had failed their first test of democratic politics.

The British, Namibian and Zimbabwean governments were among those quick to condemn the killings.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday said the organisation's national working committee would meet

(105) today to discuss the massacre.

Mr Mandela yesterday said the shootings were unprovoked and no warning had been given before the Ciskeian security forces opened fire, but lethal force had been used as a first option

He later told a gathering in King William's Town: "We will not rest until Gqozo has been removed."

Earlier, Anglican

STAR 9/9/92
Archbishop Desmond Tutu led the church delegation to lay wreaths

Outlining other proposals for the creation of a climate for free political activity in the Ciskei, Mr Mandela said a full independent investigation should be conducted into the massacre.

Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity, should be repealed and SA Military

Intelligence officials should be removed from the territory, he said.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance in the Eastern Cape announced last night that on Friday all "anti-democratic institutions including NP and DP offices, black local authorities, municipal offices, etc", would be occupied.

There would be a boycott of local businesses from Friday to Sunday

I will do it again- Gqozo

Sowetan 10/9/92.

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Sowetan Correspondent

AN unrepentant Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned of further massacres if the ANC and its allies continued to "provoke" the Ciskei authorities.

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

His defiant remarks - made in the face of widespread local and international condemnation of his security forces' shoot-to-kill actions - came three days after the Bisho massacre. The Border region remains extremely volatile, and political repercussions are growing.

Yesterday Ciskei Defence Force sol-

■ Ciskei leader, with Pretoria on his side, remains unrepentant in the face of mounting international pressure:

diers were accused of mounting a door to door "terror campaign" aimed at victimising participants in Monday's ANC march, and President FW de Klerk came under increasing international pressure to act against Gqozo.

Pretoria was also severely criticised for not condemning the actions of the CDF soldiers and for ignoring the fact that the Ciskeian troops shot across the nominal South Africa/Ciskei border.

Western diplomats said last night their governments were telling Pretoria directly that it retained responsibility for the behaviour of homeland governments, which are not recognised by the international community.

At the same time, diplomats are telling the ANC that a negotiated settlement remains the only solution in South Africa.

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

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys yesterday raised serious questions about the conduct of the CDF on Monday.

"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.

Gqozo warns of more massacres

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO — An unrepentant Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned of further massacres if the ANC 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 con-

demnation 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

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Ciskei soldiers accused of terror campaign

● From Page 1

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.

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, and 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.

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.

AWB warn of greater bloodshed

Johannesburg Bureau
THE ANC said it took exception to threats by the AWB yesterday that marches in traditionally right-wing areas would lead to greater bloodshed than in Bisho and Botpa-

long.
"The ANC is committed to peaceful and disciplined protest, and we will do everything within our ability to

ensure that However, we will not be blacklisted by bellicose threats aimed at the destruction of free political activity," the ANC said.
"The ANC does not want confrontation, but we will not allow our right to peaceful democratic protest to be eroded by a fundamentally undemocratic organisation such as the AWB," the statement added.
The AWB said it would not allow

ANC marches in white areas if permission had not been granted. Illegal marches in these areas would lead to greater bloodshed than in Bisho and Botpa-

long.
ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC had not planned any marches in right-wing controlled towns, but if it did, it expected the protection of the police.
The Herstigte Nasionale Party has

called on whites to mobilise should the ANC target right-wing towns for mass action. The party said violence could be countered only with similar action.
The white supremacist Boere Kommando warned it and its allies were preparing to ward off what it termed an "anticipated violent communist onslaught" against towns and farms.

Ciskei: Could happen again

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 addressing his first press conference since the killing of at least 32 protesters by the security forces of the Ciskei

As he spoke from the capital, Bisho, Ciskei police and defence force conducted door-to-door searches in villages around King William's Town.

Residents of Ndevana Village 10km from the town alleged that soldiers arrested and beat up residents who had participated in Monday's march.

According to the villagers, a number of those who died in the massacre were from Ndevana

Ndevana was one of the villages where the secretary-general of the South African Communist Party, Mr Chris Ham and senior ANC and SACP member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, had held "mobilising" rallies at the weekend before the march.

Residents said hundreds of the villagers had participated in the march.

Mr Mzoli Ngallo, 22, had a head wound and welts on his back and legs which he said he got when he was beaten up at the Ndevana police station yesterday.

Mr Ngallo, who said he was a SACP member and had attended the fatal march on Bisho, said he had been picked up by plain clothes Ciskei policemen.

"They just took me and put me in the boot of their car and took me to the police station," he claimed. He alleged policemen beat him with span-

gling before he escaped.
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 judge rule," he said



ON PATROL... South African paratroopers do a sweep yesterday through the bush at the border of Ciskei near to the scene where at least 24 people were killed on Monday.

Brig Gqozo denounced the ANC-led mass action campaign, and the torching of houses belonging to Ciskei security force members since Monday.
A number of houses belonging to Ciskei soldiers were burnt down on Tuesday night.

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

He said although he was prepared to test his support among Ciskeians in a referendum, such a test could not be conducted in a climate of intimidation and violence.

Church leaders met Brig Gqozo on Tuesday in a bid to get him to agree to a referendum to defuse the situation. In a telephone interview yesterday,



WARNING... Brigadier Oupa Gqozo adjusts his spectacles as he prepares to answer journalists' questions at a press conference in Bisho yesterday.

Brig 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.

Brig Gqozo denied allegations that his security forces acted under instructions from the SADF in Pretoria. Brig Gqozo expressed regret at what had happened.

"I personally feel regret that people did not comply with the conditions I feel sorrow for the people put here as cannon fodder," he said.

SAP Border spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw said yesterday the area was stabilised but remained tense. He said police roadblocks con-

trolling access to and from King William's Town about 7km from Bisho would be lifted today.
The ANC's national working committee met yesterday to review the events. The meeting will continue today.

The Returned Exiles Committee (REC) will defend Ciskei military ruler Brig Gqozo from ANC mass action and will send people to the Ciskei to "secure our offices", chairman Pat Hlongwane said yesterday.

A statement, faxed from the Inkatha Freedom Party's Information Centre in Durban, said the REC, which includes ANC dissidents, would defend Brig Gqozo from the ANC's campaign to topple Brig Gqozo's government.

Students stage consulate sit-in
DURBAN — A national delegation of the SA Student Congress began a sit-in at the Ciskei consulate here yesterday following a march by about 400 ANC supporters protesting against the Bisho massacre and calling for the immediate dismantling of the homeland system.

And the ANC's southern Natal and Midlands regions vowed to intensify the "anti-banishment" campaign with a march soon on Ulundi (105).
The students said they would remain in the embassy offices until a Ciskei government representative heard their grievances — Sapa

ANC march is peaceful
PHUTHADITJHABA — Fears of a clash between ANC marchers and Qwaqwa security forces in the homeland capital here proved unfounded yesterday afternoon.

The march of about 2 000 people from the ANC offices to a police station 5km away was peaceful with security forces keeping a low profile.

The marchers, who demanded the resignation of Chief Minister Dr T K Mopeli, descended on the station to hand over a memorandum demanding that all homelands be disbanded and that an interim government of national unity be established — Sapa

City consulate sit-in still on
THREE ANC members most of them from the Ciskei, continued their occupation of the foyer outside the deserted Ciskei consulate on the Foreshore yesterday and are determined to sit it out until the office is closed permanently.

"Never ever will we allow the dictator Oupa Gqozo to operate from Cape Town," said ANC executive member Mrs Hilda Ndunde.

In the street outside, more than 60 ANC members, who all took part in the Bisho march, gathered to offer themselves as substitutes for those staging the sit-in.

NEWS Anger at failure to condemn Ciskei killing ● MPLA, Unita agree on peace project



GUNS TO GRINDING ... Factory director Yuri Bolshakov stands before cases of land mines in Balakirevo, Russia and holds a newly-made meat grinder and samples at the factory site. Conversion of military industry to civilian production caused the dismissal of half the factory's 8 000 workforce.

ALLAN EDWARDS
177 BREE STREET,
JOHANNESBURG.
OVEDAY
BREE
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GETTING MARRIED?

FW's promises

are questioned

10/9/92
DE KLERK DOUBTED Australian Prime

Minister alarmed after Ciskei massacre:

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

Keating said the SA Government must make sure the perpetrators of the massacre, in which Ciskei troops on Monday killed at least 28 and wounded about 200 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," Keating said. De Klerk and his ministers have blamed the unruly behaviour of ANC demonstrators for the shootings. Keating on Tuesday called in South Af-

rican ambassador David Tohill to tell him of Australia's "horror" at the killings.

Australian trade unions yesterday began attempting to block deliveries to the South African embassy.

The six-member picket lined up with anti-apartheid banners outside the gates of the huge white-painted Canberra embassy 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," Charles McDonald, secretary of Canberra's Trades and Labor Council, the umbrella body for local unions, said after a council meeting.

He has asked the Australian Council of Trade Unions to pressure the Australian government into reimposing certain sanctions, such as a ban on sporting links



NEWS Protesters deliver demands for homeland leader's resignation ● Gqozo defies pressure

ANC marches in QwaQwa

■ Terror Lekota leads hundreds of toyi-toying marchers through town's main street:

By Abbey Makoe and Sapa

HUNDREDS of ANC supporters yesterday marched on Mokoladumela Police Station in QwaQwa to demand the resignation of the homeland's leader Chief Kenneth Mopeli.

It was the second march in the ANC's phase four of mass action in which the homelands of Ciskei, QwaQwa, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu have been targeted by the organisation.

There were no violent incidents as marchers toyi-toyed along the main road, led by the ANC's Free State leader Mr Patneck "Terror" Lekota.

The march coincided with the homeland's annual showpiece, the QwaQwa

Sowetan 10/9/92

Show.

Before handing over the memorandum to the station commander, a major Maroba, Lekota threatened another march if their demands were not met soon.

Earlier yesterday, QwaQwa authorities had deployed police in the streets of Phuthaditjaba ahead of the ANC march.

Across the border near Harrisville, South African police mounted a road-block, searching vehicles heading for the homeland's capital.

ANC leaders co-ordinating the march met the local chief magistrate and security police for permission to hold the protest, reversing a decision to defy the authorities.

I will do it again - Gqozo

Sowetan Correspondent

AN unrepentant Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned of further massacres if the ANC and its allies continued to "provoke" the Ciskei authorities.

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

His defiant remarks - made in the face of widespread local and international condemnation of his security forces' shoot-to-kill actions - came three days after the Bisho massacre. The Border region remains extremely volatile, and political repercussions are growing. Yesterday Ciskei Defence Force sol-

Sowetan 10/9/92

■ Ciskei leader, with Pretoria on his side, remains unrepentant in the face of mounting international pressure:

diers were accused of mounting a door to door "terror campaign" aimed at victimising participants in Monday's ANC march, and President FW de Klerk came under increasing international pressure to act against Gqozo.

Pretoria was also severely criticised for not condemning the actions of the CDF soldiers and for ignoring the fact that the Ciskeian troops shot across the nominal South Africa/Ciskei border.

Western diplomats said last night their governments were telling Pretoria directly that it retained responsibility for the behaviour of homeland governments, which are not recognised by the international community

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At the same time, diplomats are telling the ANC that a negotiated settlement remains the only solution in South Africa.

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

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys yesterday raised serious questions about the conduct of the CDF on Monday.

"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.



Police name (105)

STAR
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5 more victims

EAST LONDON — The names of another five people who died in Monday's Bisho shooting were released yesterday

Border police said family members had identified the following victims: Hambile King Gadu (33) of NU2, Mdantsane; Harold Ndodana Ndzulane of Zone 8, Zwelitsha; Jongile Mene; Suputsu Cameron Matinkinca (52) of Nadaba, and Nkululeko Hlonganyane, of Zone 6, Zwelitsha.

The names of 10 victims were released earlier by the African National Congress.

Another body from the shootings had been received at the East London mortuary, bringing the total number of dead there to 25. — Sapa.

Bisho report: Judge pleads for patience

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BISHO. — Ciskei's Chief Justice, appealing for patience yesterday, said he expected "some sort of report" on the Bisho shootings to be ready within the next month.

As the deaths of four more people were reported in continuing conflict in Ciskei, Mr Justice B de V Pickard, appointed by the homeland government to investigate Monday's tragedy, said he intended to complete his investigation as soon as humanly possible. He appealed to people not to pre-judge the issue as this could possibly lead to more violence.

"I appeal to all to play it cool for the moment."

A Peddie deputy principal, Mr Jeff Mqolomba, of Kanana High School at Ndlambe, was shot dead, allegedly by Ciskei soldiers, on Wednesday night in Zwelitsha, near King William's Town.

The incident was confirmed by the Ciskei police who said they were investigating a charge of murder.

Three headmen supporting the Ciskei government had been killed since Monday and the homes of 24 Ciskei Defence Force members had been razed, a Ciskei government statement said yesterday.



VICTIMS . . . Two men who were beaten by Ciskei soldiers receive treatment in King William's Town Hospital yesterday. Since Monday's shootings there have been several similar cases.

Picture: AP

Blaming the ANC/SACP alliance for the deaths and damage, the Ciskei Council of State said details would be released when police had completed their investigations.

The statement said traditional leaders in Ciskei met in Bisho yesterday and condemned the killing of headmen.

Ciskei government offices at Zwelitsha were set alight on Wednesday night.

A shopping centre at Dimbaza was also burnt down and a number of houses in rural areas were destroyed by fire.

Twenty-five arson attacks on Ciskei se-

curity forces houses and government properties were confirmed by Ciskei police yesterday.

The attacks bring to 32 the number of reported arson attacks on government-aligned properties and individuals since the Bisho killings on Monday.

Two houses, one belonging to a headman and another to his committee member, were torched in Alice on Wednesday night.

The police said five suspects had been arrested.

In Whittlesea four more houses were burnt down on Wednesday night.

A bus belonging to Mayibuye bus corporation was torched at Whittlesea.

A spokesman said 15 suspects had been apprehended for arson and malicious damage to property at Zwelitsha.

Several unrest incidents occurred in Tinus township near Fort Beaufort yesterday, which police have linked to retaliation to the Bisho shooting at on Monday.

● Eastern Cape police have warned companies to avoid sending vehicles into Port Elizabeth townships following a spate of petrol-bombings and stone-throwings in the past 24 hours — Sapa

Death beyond the razor wire

By Andrew Trench

19-11-92

EYEWITNESS

THE AFRICAN National Congress said they died in the cause of peace and democracy, but the young boy who sat crying silently in the entrance to Bisho stadium will only remember the bodies that lay still before him.

The boy — no older than 10 — watched with glazed eyes as Red Cross workers pumped hopelessly on the chest of a man who was shot through the back of the neck and had half his chin missing. As they

Gugulethu worked, his eyes rolled back and he was still.

They moved to another critically injured man whose scalp flapped, exposing the passage of a bullet that had ripped through the top of his head. He smiled before dying. At least 30 others lay wounded in the stadium's entrance tunnel.

Some 15 minutes earlier thousands of marchers — led by the ANC secretary-general Cyril

Ramaphosa — had reached a razor-wire barrier stretched to the Ciskei homeland capital from South Africa's King William's Town.

As the crowd approached the wire, hundreds of Ciskei troops cocked their semi-automatic rifles. On nearby buildings, soldiers moved machine guns into position.

At the border, Mr Ramaphosa had just begun talks with National

Peace Secretariat officials, who had earlier indicated they were ready to begin shuttle diplomacy between the ANC leadership and the Ciskei authorities, when a large portion of the crowd peeled away from the main group.

The marchers led by Ronnie Kasrils, stalwart of the ANC's armed wing, Unkhonto we Sizwe, headed for Bisho stadium about 100 yards inside Ciskei. Earlier a local

Continued on page 12

Massacre part of pain on path to peace, says Pepkor chief

GRAHAM LIZAMORE
Staff Reporter

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THE loss of life at Bisho on Monday was regrettable, but when negotiations started everyone knew the process would be long and painful, the regional congress of Chambers of Business in the Western Cape has been told.

Speaking at the opening of the congress, Pepkor Group chairman Mr Christo Wiese said it was up to politicians to find a solution to the breakdown in negotiations because there was no other viable course.

"We simply have to reach a solution through negotiations," he said in Stellenbosch yesterday.

Mr Wiese said the post-referendum euphoria may have dissolved because the hard work of effecting change had started.

He said in spite of all the problems the country was experiencing, he felt very optimistic about the future.

Since the start of the '90s the major world powers had shown an increasing commitment to assist in the creation of peace, and the government was no longer seen as obstructionist or intransigent, but as genuinely de-

sirous of peace and democracy, Mr Wiese said.

Steps such as the recent police force shake-up reinforced the view that the government was committed to playing fair, which earned it the support and encouragement of the developed world.

According to Mr Wiese, the first sign of a successful economy was when the government consumed a low percentage of Gross Domestic Product. South Africa's proportion was around 30 percent, compared with 17 percent in prosperous countries.

He said the Commission for Administration had reported this week that a five percent cut in staff numbers would result in a saving of R1,5 billion. The dismantling of apartheid structures and the expensive duplication they involved would also result in huge savings.

He said economic restructuring would initially bring some painful realities to the middle and upper classes, who would have to pay more for their education, medical benefits and a variety of infrastructure services.

But this, he said, would be a small price to pay for a stable future for everyone.

'MI turned Gqozo against ANC'

Staff Reporter

South Africa's Military Intelligence (MI) establishment was actively involved in turning Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo from an ANC supporter to an opponent of the ANC alliance, former MI officer Gert Hugo claimed yesterday.

Talking on a talk show on Radio 702, the dissident officer claimed events in Ciskei were merely an example of similar influences exerted in all the homelands.

Mr Hugo made headlines a month ago when he told The Star of contingency plans for a military takeover if the Government ever seemed to

be losing control.

Yesterday he said: "Gqozo was in line with the progressive alliance (the ANC). Their structures helped to bring Ciskei under control after the coup."

But a man he identified as an SADF officer and long-standing friend of Brigadier Gqozo's arrived in Ciskei and started a front company which fed disinformation to the Ciskei leader.

"Soon thereafter Gqozo made a 180-degree turn," Mr Hugo said, adding that Brigadier Gqozo was constantly told of an alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe plot, originating in Transkei, to kill him.

"That situation led to Gqozo becoming so paranoid that he went totally anti-ANC," Mr Hugo said.

Mr Hugo said he was not saying the operation was totally controlled by Pretoria; the SADF officer could have overstepped his bounds. "But then at least Pretoria has to admit there is some sort of ... invisible force running around and sowing discord."

He added there was still a group within the security forces "hell-bent on countering the total onslaught".

It was these activities which finally convinced him to go public with his revelations, he said.

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Communists call the shots

Communists played a leading role in the march on Bisho, unleashing anew fears that they are using their control of key positions in the ANC to attain their own insurrectionist goals. Argus Correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

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THE prominent role of known communists in the run-up to, and during, the ANC march on Bisho has rekindled suspicions of communist manipulation and even control of the ANC.

President De Klerk has focused attention on the high profile role of communist leaders in the Bisho march, charging that they are deliberately trying to sabotage negotiations.

"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," he said.

Mr De Klerk's words, made in the wake of the Bisho massacre, echo his warning to ANC president Nelson Mandela after the Boipatong massacre in June.

"Insurrectionist thinking is currently flourishing within the ANC and is being propagated by a cabal with close links to the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions," Mr De Klerk stated in a memorandum to Mr Mandela.

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

Mr Mandela has rejected these allegations in the past as "part of the baggage of apartheid ideology".

Thus he said in a letter responding to Mr De Klerk's memo: "We reject with con-

tempt your propagandistic version of what is supposed to be happening inside the ANC and the alliance. It has been the tradition of successive National Party regimes to try to discredit our movement on the basis that you know black people better than black people know themselves."

Having, however, recorded all these caveats, the fact remains that communists were particularly conspicuous in the events leading to and during the march on Bisho.

It is a matter of record that the man who played a pivotal role in organising the march was Chris Hani, general secretary of the SACP, not Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC.

It is, of course, true that Mr Hani is a high-ranking member of the ANC — he is a member of its "inner cabinet" or national working committee — as well as being South Africa's most prominent black communist.

But against that a counterpoint must be made: when Mr Hani chose to accept nomination to the key position of SACP general secretary last December against the wishes of Mr Mandela, he was effectively declaring that his first loyalty was to the SACP.

An advertisement placed in the Daily Dispatch calling on "the people" to join the march on Bisho serves as an illustration of the dominant role of communists: it lists the names of 10 march leaders, eight of whom are known communists.

The advertisement contradicts the view of ANC spokesmen that the objective of the march was primarily to as-



Picture LEON MULLER. The Argus

PARTY LEADERSHIP: Secretary-General of the SACP Mr Chris Hani and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, head of the ANC campaigns department, talk about the events on the Ciskei border during the visit by Archbishop Desmond Tutu the day after 28 people were killed.

sert the right of people to exercise basic freedoms in Ciskei, including freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.

The advertisement leaves no doubt that one of the central objectives of the march was the overthrow of Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo. Any doubt about that is removed by a single sentence informing ANC sympathisers of the marching song: "Gqozo must go".

They create the impression that mass action is conceived by these communist leaders as a weapon for the overthrow of black "homeland leaders" who have refused to join the ANC camp as political auxiliaries.

Then, too, there is the prominent role of Mr Kasrils on the day of the march: on his own admission he led the marchers out of the sports stadium in Ciskei on the road to Bisho in direct contravention of the conditions under which magisterial permission for the march was granted.

Mr Kasrils must have been aware that there was a grave risk that his action might provoke gunfire from the waiting soldiers. According to his own propaganda, Brigadier Gqozo was a "mad man". It is surely prudent not to take risks with "mad men", especially when the lives of thousands of people are at stake.

Mr Kasrils's role raises two interrelated questions. Why did the ANC apply to court for permission to hold the march, if it had no intention of honouring the court ruling? Were ANC leaders overruled or taken by surprise by Mr Kasrils?

Responding to the criticism voiced by Mr De Klerk, Jeremy Cronin, a member of the SACP central committee and a leading party theorist, attributed them to bitterness and anxiety in NP ranks.

The party which they wrote off after the collapse of communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe had shown through mass action that "it enjoys popular support" and that they had badly miscalculated, he said.

"We don't apologise as a party for the very active, energetic and often courageous involvement of prominent communists in the mass campaign. We are proud of what people like Hani and Kasrils and many others have been doing."

"Suggestions that they are cynically manipulating ordinary people are without foundation.

"Unlike De Klerk, who operates through all sorts of proxy forces, Ramaphosa, Hani, Kasrils and all the others were leading from the front at Bisho. If they were reckless, they were reckless about themselves. There was no cynical manipulation from behind."

Mr Cronin, who suspected that a gap was deliberately left in the fence around the sports stadium to lure the marchers into an ambush, contended it was a "sheer fluke" and "blind luck" that none of the leaders was hit in the fusillade of bullets unleashed by the soldiers.

He rejected charges that the undeclared objective behind mass action was destabilisation and insurrection, a favourite stratagem of communist militants in the past.

Mr Cronin declared that the objectives of mass action — a constituent assembly, the formation of an interim government of national unity and the attainment of serious action to end the violence — were openly discussed at meetings attended by ANC, SACP and Cosatu delegates, not secretly decided on at the SACP's head office and then foisted on the alliance.

"These are not insurrectionary demands," he observes.

Questions as dust settles

STAR 11/9/92.

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Africa's most prominent black communist

But when Mr Hani chose to accept nomination to the key position of SACP general-secretary last December against the wishes of Mr Mandela, he was effectively declaring that his first loyalty was to the SACP.

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The advertisement contradicts the view of ANC spokesmen that the objective of the march was primarily to assert the right of people to exercise basic freedoms in Ciskei.

The advertisement leaves no doubt that the central aim of the march was the overthrow of Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo. Doubt about that is removed by a sentence informing ANC sympathisers of the marching song: "Gqozo must go!"

Speeches by Mr Hani and Ronnie Kasrils, another key communist, in villages near Bisho before the march can have left no doubt that the purpose was to oust Brigadier Gqozo.

In Ndevana, Mr Hani is recorded as having said: "We are not going to talk much today. We are preparing for battle to-morrow. The battle is to remove parasites."

The speeches evoke apocalyptic expectations that the march would precipitate the fall of a trio of "puppets" — Lucas Mangope and Mangosuthu Buthelezi are named with Brigadier Gqozo — and, ultimately, the Pretoria puppet master himself.

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Reckless

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He rejects charges that the undeclared objective behind mass action is destabilisation and insurrection, a favourite stratagem of communist militants in the past, and defines the aims as the holding of elections for a constituent assembly, the formation of an interim government of national unity and the attainment of serious action to end the violence.

"These are not insurrectionary demands," he observes. □

Scene set for top-level talks on violence

ANC agrees to summit

By Peter Fabricius
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC announced last night it was prepared to take part in a summit on violence at top leadership level with the Government

The surprisingly conciliatory decision was made after a two-day meeting of the national working committee (NWC) to discuss the ANC's reaction to Ciskei's shooting of up to 28 ANC marchers on Monday

A meeting between the ANC headed by its president Nelson Mandela and an SA Government delegation led by President de Klerk could soon be on the cards ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night

The decision followed an invitation by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday for a top-level meeting of Government and ANC delegations — led by himself and Mr Mandela — to discuss violence

Mr de Klerk effectively suspended the Government's further participation in constitutional negotiations pending resolution of violence

The Government, under increasing foreign pressure to bring Ciskei military lead-

More reports
— Pages 3 and 13

er Brigadier Oupa Gqozo into line after the Bisho massacre, said it was now ready to use "coercive measures" against him

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded this warning to the Ciskei leader at a press conference in Pretoria last night and also announced that he had invited the United Nations to step up its presence in SA to try to end political violence and get talks back on track

The ANC's decision to attend a summit on violence pleased observers who had feared an uncompromising reaction

Earlier foreign governments had urged the ANC to attend the meeting and not to put impossible demands on the Government — such as the removal of the Ciskei leader — as a condition for resuming negotiations

They urged instead that the ANC should call for the Government to pressure Brigadier Gqozo to allow free political activity in Ciskei Mr Botha's threat to use coercive measures — possibly financial sanctions — against Ciskei was seen as helpful in this regard

The contest between the ANC and the Government to win international favour in the wake of the Bisho tragedy heated up yesterday as Mr Mandela interrupted the NWC meeting to brief ambassadors, and Mr Botha announced that he had taken the Bisho row to the UN

He said he had written to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to persuade the UN Security Council to condemn "provocative" ANC actions — like the Bisho march — which led to loss of life

Mr Botha stressed that he was calling for the UN to play more than just the observer role it has so far played in the SA conflict

He also warned at the press conference for media and diplomats that coercive measures would be taken if the Ciskei government rebuffed SA Government attempts to persuade it to use more enlightened methods to control protest marches

He did not specify the methods, but Government sources said they could start with financial sanctions

Mr Botha was referring to Mr de Klerk's announcement that he would call together all homeland governments to ensure that they handled marches in an "effective and responsible" way

Mr Botha said he had written to the UN secretary-general urging him to send a representative to South Africa as soon as possible to help strengthen the National Peace Secretariat

Mr Botha suggested that the UN representative attend, as an observer, the special meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord which President de Klerk called for on Wednesday to improve measures to curb violence

The UN representative should also enter into discussions with the main political players to help end violence and remove obstacles to negotiation

In his 20-page letter to the UN secretary-general, Mr Botha slammed the ANC for deliberately ignoring the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission's guidelines and the conditions imposed by a magistrate for the Bisho march

He said the ANC had targeted Ciskei for mass action, not because it did not allow free political activity, but because it was anti-ANC

Mr Botha added that incidents like the Bisho massacre in which ANC members were victims attracted worldwide publicity but the world virtually ignored massacres of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters



Cheeky cub . . . Ntombi seems to be shaping up as her mother's successor

Picture

White lioness missing

By Julienne du Toit

Whitey, the famous white lioness of the eastern Transvaal, has disappeared

But her two-year-old cub Ntombi appears to be shaping up as her successor, and could now be the only white lion in the area

Whitey, who would be about 11 years old now, has not been seen for two months, said Megan Cesare of Motoswari game reserve, near Hoedspruit in the eastern Transvaal

"We don't know what has

happened. She could have been poached — maybe she has just passed on."

Ntombi, a cheeky, robust young lioness, is showing dominant tendencies, just like her mother, who was matriarch of the 14-strong pride. The recessive gene which makes certain lions white at birth also seems to make them larger. "This gives them a bit of an edge as youngsters," said Mrs Cesare

Many of the white lions, originally from the Timbavati game reserve, are in zoos all over the world



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THE BISHO MASSACRE

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FM 11/9/92

The mob edges closer

Events leading up to Monday's massacre at Bisho raise serious questions about the willingness of SA's political leaders to negotiate a constitutional agreement.

The three main groups — the National Party, the ANC alliance and Inkatha — appear more committed to power plays aimed at a future election than the creation of a democratic platform on which to contest the election.

The Bisho killings mean the prospects of negotiations being resumed soon are now even more remote. A further round of exploratory talks between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has been cancelled — apparently at government's request.

On TV this week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said government would have to reconsider whether it could negotiate with the ANC while it was dominated by the SA Communist Party. The possibility of pushing ahead without the ANC has been discussed during NP think-tank sessions, but has not been regarded as a serious option up to now.

The situation may change if the ANC steps up mass action and refuses to compromise on pre-negotiation demands. Robert Schrire of UCT's Institute for the Study of Public Policy told the *FM* recently that an attempt to reach a settlement without the ANC may become an option for government — if talks become deadlocked to the extent that there's no chance of either side budging further on major issues.

It may then be possible — but not desirable — to mobilise enough non-ANC support within SA to push through a federal option. As long as the elections are democratic, nonracial and free and fair, it's possible that the international community will tolerate, if not fully accept, the new government (*Current Affairs* July 31).

Even before the Bisho incident, government was taking a tough line. Last week's Free State Nat congress showed no sign of reconciliation. Senior spokesmen, including Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel, led a bitter onslaught against the ANC and Pik Botha boasted that the NP would win the first democratic election.

In KwaZulu at the weekend, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged the IFP Youth Brigade to "bugger up" the ANC to prevent the organisation taking over the country. And in response to ANC alliance threats to march on Ulundi and unseat Buthelezi, Inkatha spokesman Gavin Woods warned that if it did so the organisation would receive a "sound thrashing."

The strategic thinking behind Monday's ANC march is difficult to understand. It can't be equated to the previous round of mass action, which was aimed at making strong but peaceful political statements by taking grievances into city centres.

The Bisho march was confrontational from the outset. Its aim was to overthrow Ciskei's military dictator Oupa Gqozo and occupy his capital. The ANC was repeatedly

following the failure of CBD mass action six weeks ago to wring any major concessions from government (*Current Affairs* July 31).

The real reason for ANC opposition to Brigadier Gqozo's rule is clear — he doesn't toe an ANC line and is an obstacle to the organisation's efforts to mobilise in the homeland. He also offers a means of getting at De Klerk in a way that makes it difficult for De Klerk to respond effectively, because of the absurd fact of Ciskei's constitutional independence.

Gqozo is condemned as Pretoria's puppet. His removal by De Klerk is expected to be added as a prerequisite to the resumption of negotiations. Yet, in theory, De Klerk cannot simply "remove" him; this is the mad harvest of grand apartheid.

The ANC has no apparent problems with either Transkei or Venda, also ruled by military men who seized power undemocratically, but who are very pro-ANC



Taking cover at Bisho ... no-one benefits

warned by churchmen, politicians and peace negotiators of the potential for bloodshed, yet went ahead.

In that sense, the organisation must accept much of the blame for the massacre. But other parties are also guilty. The failure of leaders to put the future of SA ahead of sectarian interests shows how intellectually ill-equipped they all are to cope with the massive challenges facing the country.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew says too many political leaders are only considering the narrow interests of their parties rather than the pressing need for peaceful negotiation and democracy in SA. He says this is reflected in Buthelezi's attitude towards the ANC; the SA Communist Party's role in the Bisho march; and even government's federalism conference this week, which was perceived as anti-ANC.

No-one benefits from what happened at Bisho. The anarchists who believed a street mob could overthrow a petty homeland despot and then move on to the Union Buildings were proven hopelessly wrong by Ciskei's lightly armed defence force. How they hope to challenge the might of the SAP and SADF is beyond comprehension.

Nevertheless, alliance radicals appear to have gained the upper hand, as was predicted

Despite the killings, Ciskei-style mass action is expected to spread quickly to other homelands — KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana in particular

The SACP appears to have played a significant role in organising and leading Monday's march. Eyewitness accounts show that the SACP's Ronnie Kasrils headed the defiant charge by a small group of marchers towards the waiting Ciskei troops. Considering the repeated threats by SACP spokesmen during the previous few days to oust Gqozo and occupy Bisho, it seems that the Kasrils manoeuvre was a well-planned and deliberate contravention of the restrictions placed on the marchers by a Ciskei magistrate.

But it's not clear at what level the militant approach is being co-ordinated.

Pik Botha blames the SACP. He may be right.

Apart from Kasrils's action on Monday, SACP secretary-general Chris Hanu took the lead in drumming up support for the march during a whistle-stop tour of Border townships last week.

Strong and militant SACP leadership could seriously undermine the standing and influence of moderate ANC figures — and raise the possibility that, in effect, the ANC

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has returned to armed struggle.

Government is well aware of the threat and believes a proper deal with the organisation under such conditions would be almost impossible

"It's not in the interests of SA that the ANC loses control over its constituency," a government source told the *FM* recently

Schrire believes a negotiated agreement will be almost impossible if chaos reigns around the negotiators and they are unable to restore order even if they are willing to cooperate with one another. ■

AFTER BISHO

105
~~11/9/92~~

FM 11/9/92.

A dark age

The killings at Bisho are a triumph for the forces of unreason and bitterness which stalk our increasingly desolate land. On one side, leaders of the ANC and SACP took their followers to their deaths; on the other, fearful and volatile soldiers loyal to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo appear to have fired indiscriminately.

How could such a thing happen? Here are a few reasons:

- The confrontation with the security forces of the Ciskei was deliberate. It was part of the mass action campaign aimed at overthrowing those homeland leaders hated most by the ANC: Gqozo, Lucas Mangope and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Elsewhere — in KaNgwane and Transkei, for example — local rulers who side with the ANC are not threatened;
- This focus on vulnerable homelands — Gqozo has cracked down on ANC structures in his territory — arises because attempts to rattle central authority in marches on cities and the occupation of public buildings have not succeeded. The homelands are the soft underbelly of the white-dominated State, as the ANC sees it. But dictators like Gqozo are known to resort to brutal methods when they come under threat; and
- Government has wrung its hands over the homelands for too long. Its consistent attempts to give them political credibility — so that all were negotiating participants at Codesa — did not rest on an organic reality. It rested on ethnic theories, huge subventions from the SA taxpayer and, indeed, military intervention when one of its favourites (Bophuthatswana's Mangope) appeared about to fall.

Ciskei — where Gqozo seized power in 1990 — lies in the heartland of ANC/SACP support. Once he set himself against the ANC, the probability of violent confrontation loomed. Now that it has happened — and in such vivid and awful images seen worldwide — the repercussions could be considerable. Certain attitudes are going to be hardened.

A profound responsibility rests with Nelson Mandela. He must make plain whether he is a hawk or a dove: does he want to negotiate or fight? After all, the whole issue of the homelands had been on the Codesa agenda — and it was the

ANC which walked away from that.

Government's choice is whether to pursue negotiations — and end up pleading — or prepare to handle more violence.

It may have no choice. If the telephone line between the Union Buildings and Shell House is severed and De Klerk and Mandela no longer talk to each other, even by proxy, moderates on both sides could well be radicalised.

The ANC — for a while, at any rate — could be overtaken by a sort of Ronnie Kasrils madcap triumphalism. On government's side, there would be less turning of the other cheek and more emphasis on the use of the security forces to keep law and order — despite an inevitable intensity of criticism.

Needless to say, such a supersession of the moderates will have dire consequences for the economy. Less than ever will foreign investment be attracted to these shores; more people will struggle for a livelihood in a climate of contraction; township services will further deteriorate and emigration increase. SA will have embarked upon the low road to perpetual instability and destitution.

As the *FM* has pointed out in the past, the world does not wish this to happen. Countries such as Britain and Portugal have no capacity to absorb the hundreds of thousands of passport holders who earn their livelihoods in SA. A stable, wealth-creating SA would hold out inestimable benefits for Africa as a whole — a continent which estimates suggest will be alone in the world by the end of the century in growing poorer.

But since the major world economies are driven by free-market principles, investment in SA will always be conditional on stability and democracy. Today the world is prepared to feed Africa, but not to throw money at it.

What the world community can do for SA is to offer mediation. The principle of such outside assistance has already been accepted by government and the ANC. It would now make good sense for this process to be expanded. And the next time a figure such as Cyrus Vance says that negotiations had better resume, we need to believe him. ■



Explaining his extraordinary step of breaking ranks and appealing directly for a negotiated peace with then President PW Botha, African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela wrote from prison three years ago:

"I am disturbed by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps, blacks on one side and whites on the other slaughtering one another by acute tensions which are building up dangerously in every sphere of our lives, a situation which, in turn, heralds more violent clashes in the days ahead."

On Monday, within minutes of the news that Ciskei security forces had opened fire on tens of thousands of ANC demonstrators at Bisho, Radio 702 opened up its talk-lines. The calls flooded in with depressing predictability, perfectly capturing the ugly mood of the country.

Virtually all whites blamed the massacre on the ANC for "irresponsibly" pushing ahead with mass action and for "invading" Ciskei. Most praised the killings: "It's time someone put their foot down," said an English suburban housewife without a trace of feeling for the dead.

Black callers were angry, emotional. Many said it was time to return to the armed struggle, not to sit down at the negotiating table with President F.W. de Klerk and his murderous puppets.

In the two and a half years since the ANC was unbanned and De Klerk boldly proclaimed his vision of a new South Africa, the country is racially and politically more polarised than when Mandela wrote his letter from prison. Even the white liberals have vacated the middle ground and moved right.

The key debate between the callers to 702 appeared to be the apportioning of blame, a somewhat stentorian exercise seeing that the Ciskei army had just butchered 28 unarmed people and injured hundreds more in front of the world's television cameras.

Not that the South African government rose above its own most reactionary white supporters. De Klerk blamed the ANC for pushing ahead with the march knowing the atmosphere was volatile, but was silent on the role of his political ally, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, whose men perpetrated the deed.

Leader of the Democratic Party Zach de Beer was not much better, saying it was clear that the march would lead to violence and that the ANC should have called it off.

That is a surprising view for a liberal. The same argument was used against the Freedom Rides in the United States during the 1960s — that, no matter how peaceful, they would provoke racist violence — but they were crucial in desegregating the Deep South.

The ANC's right to march is without question. If anything, the response of the Ciskei army vindicates the moral premise of the protest: that, despite the illusion of change, a minority white government is still in power in Pretoria and the



Photo: GUY ADAMS

Post-Bisho: It's time for another letter, Mr Mandela

Twenty-eight people died in Bisho — and with them, the negotiations process

11 May 11/9 - 17/9/92



By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

inhabitants of building blocks of grand apartheid like Ciskei and Bophuthatswana are still forbidden any real exercise of democratic political rights.

Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, evidently a creature of South African Military Intelligence, was one of the eight political "parties" that sided with the government at the Codesa talks.

There is understandable resentment that Gqozo should pose at Codesa as the representative of the people of Ciskei, one of the most pro-ANC regions in the country.

Despite government claims that the ANC has been attempting an undemocratic overthrow of the Ciskei leader, the demand all along has been for a referendum to test his support in the homeland. Gqozo, knowing that he would lose, has consistently obstructed such a contest.

As the National Party and its allies gathered in Pretoria on Monday to frame the agenda on regionalism and federalism, the security forces of a leader kept in power by Pretoria, presiding over a "state" imposed on the Border region by Pretoria, under a policy dreamed up by ideol-

ogues in Pretoria, gunned down people demanding democratic rights.

But that does not let the ANC leadership off the hook. In all honesty, why did they go to a magistrate to get permission for a march if they were only going to defy his injunction and occur by Bisho anyway? Why not just march?

Then they went to Bisho, declaring loudly beforehand that they were seeking to overthrow Gqozo, known as an unstable and insecure character. Was his reaction really a surprise?

If Ronnie Kasrils believed the Ciskei forces would not open fire because of the presence of local and foreign media, at the very least the ANC stands accused of naively. It was a hard way to be proved wrong.

None of this excuses the massacre or the callous response from the South African government or inverts the blame for the shootings on to the ANC. Rather, it raises some major questions about where the ANC thinks it is going and how it imagines it is going to get there.

Mass action and negotiations are said to be two sides of the same coin, but the two consistently collide with one another. South Africa is full

of massacres waiting to happen, waiting to throw the talks off balance and lead to further delays that can only benefit the status quo.

The ANC may feel burned by the outcome of Bisho now, but they were playing with fire. It is not enough to point to the ANC activists of the Border region, as if there were some holy imperative to engage in mass action, when called along to support the locals.

Yes, they want to get rid of Gqozo, and with good reason. There is a phillyancy that the ANC must tap into, because it lies at the root of its support base. If it fails to activate it, then it risks demobilising its own people.

But the ANC has to lead its followers and not simply be led by them, otherwise it will continue to put its national goals at risk. Apart from 24 lives, look what else is at stake.

Last week there were encouraging signs that the country's political leaders were ready to return to the negotiating table. ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer have come close to reaching agreement at their meetings in recent weeks.

Ramaphosa says the government has agreed that a single-chamber constituent assembly should draw up a new constitution and that it will operate for a limited time and with adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

If the ANC's optimism is justified this time, these measures will ensure that the government will not be able to exercise a minority veto and effectively thwart majority rule in South Africa.

With the constitutional hurdle cleared, the next logical step would have been preparations for the country's first-ever democratic, one person, one vote elections.

These elections would wipe away Gqozo, Mangope, Mopeli, Raiphanis, Nisanwisi and Reddy with one fell swoop.

Why was the ANC not content simply to fight for free political activity in Ciskei and let Gqozo continue to preside over the corrupt and rotting state of Ciskei? His regime has certainly not won many friends, or prevented the ANC from having a vast following in the area.

But the question comes too late. Post-Bisho, Gqozo must go; another obstacle has sprung up to delay the process as our national emergency worsens.

The economy, as someone pointed out the other day, is disappearing down a black hole. Anarchy is increasingly engulfing the townships. Fear is the order of the day, in the suburbs and in the ghettos. The misery index stands at about a zillion and one.

A country thirsting for reconciliation, with a stunning potential for violence, continues to polarise on ominously ideological and racial lines. Perhaps it's time for someone to post another letter across that divide.

BUSINESS BAROMETER

W/Mail 11/9-17/9/92 (105)

Bisho's long shadow

THE Bisho shooting dealt another blow to fragile economic prospects. Share prices on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were knocked lower by foreign selling in the wake of the massacre, with the overall Index shedding 1,4 percent to 3 085 on Wednesday. It was reported that South Africa's chances of an agreement with foreign banks on a final debt repayment arrangement have been set back.

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R11,5-billion compared to July. Foreign exchange holdings rose by R591-million to R5,9-billion. Gold holdings were slightly up at 6,74-million ounces compared to 6,70-million ounces in July.

Car sales in lower gear

NEW car sales, one of the key indicators of economic activity, continued on their downward trend in August.

At 15 214 units, around 8,5 percent fewer new cars were sold in August this year than in August last year, according to the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa. New car sales for the first eight months of 1992 were 11,7 percent lower than in the same period last year.

Rise in reserves

DESPITE foreign debt repayments of around R250-million South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves rose in August. Gold and foreign exchange reserves rose by R263-million to

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Blood and tears

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ONCE again the crackle of gunfire in South Africa has thrown into question the entire future of the sub-continent leaving political analysts desperately trying to gauge the consequences of a massacre, which are as predictable, and as difficult to predict, as the path of a ricocheting bullet.

Perhaps the most significant impact which the Bisho massacre will have is on the African National Congress itself, which — despite its public face of outrage — must be suffering some misgivings in its leadership at the strategy which led its supporters (and some of their leaders) into the Ciskei guns.

By David Beresford

The thinking which took them there is well-known and to some extent understandable. In the face of deadlock in the constitutional negotiations and with the realisation that the status quo always benefits those in power, the ANC had to develop political leverage. Their strength being in numbers, they had to mobilise crowds. Requiring a focus for their mobilisation, they turned almost predictably on the weak points in what might be described as the enemy alliance — Pretoria's homeland puppets of whom Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, a creation of South African military intelligence and its proxies, was a prime example.

But by taking the mobilisation across the border, from the demonstration of power to the attempted exercise of it (the declaration of the organisers that their intention was to occupy Bisho and force the resignation of the brigadier) they were engaging in brinkmanship of a kind which must be questioned, if with hindsight. They were making that mistake familiar to the hunters of Africa, of cornering a quarry and rendering the hunt doubly dangerous.

It is also unfortunate for the ANC, if only in propaganda terms, that those who took the lead in organising the Bisho march — the likes of Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner — are also prominent members of the South African Communist Party. Despite the line constantly trotted out by government politicians, there is no evidence of a communist-nationalist split in the ANC. But it is a line for which more

only too easy to present the Bisho march as the work of frustrated revolutionaries, a situation which will facilitate a call to the barricades of which they have been robbed by negotiations.

Among the ANC's supporters such arguments will carry no weight; just the opposite. And that is the problem for the leadership and the price they (and the country) will have to pay for Monday's events, over and above the lives and pain of the dead and the injured.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the

government were on the brink of another significant negotiating breakthrough before the massacre took place. Political insiders insist that it was a matter of weeks — and some face — saving theatre — before the deal would have become apparent. It requires little in the way of imagination to picture the frustration now felt by Nelson Mandela, who has been so anxious to break the deadlock that he has had to be specifically prohibited by his national executive from engaging in personal contact with government ministers.

But Mandela, above all others in the ANC leadership, will appreciate the impossibility of now being seen to reach a settlement, in the face of the popular fury in the townships which pays little attention to the distinction between the brigadier and president, between puppet and puppet-master. In the longer term, emotions will no doubt subside and the path towards a settlement re-open. But it is at that point that the path of the ricocheting bullet becomes so difficult to assess.

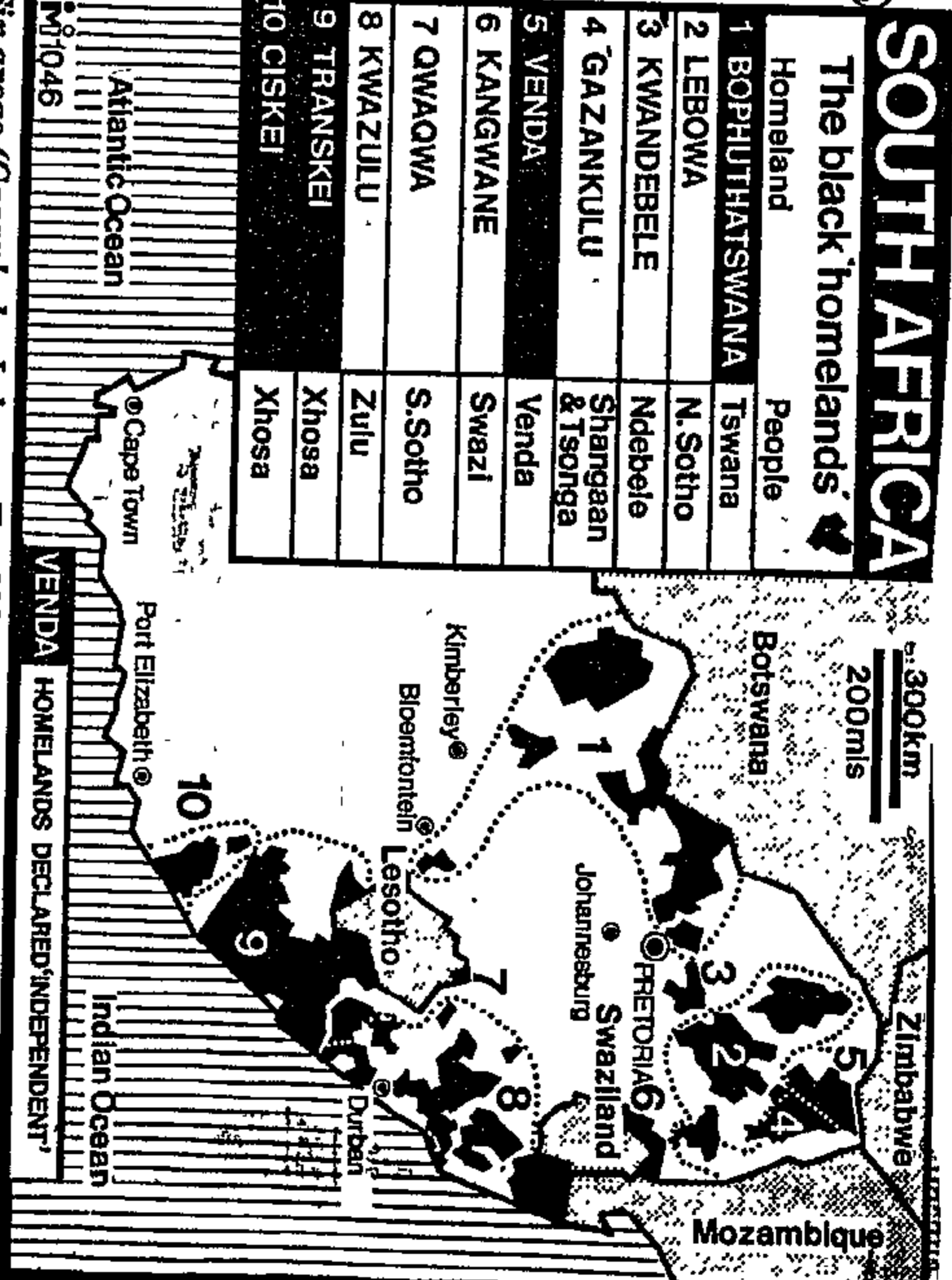
There is a possibility that Brigadier Gqozo, a product of the P. W. Botha era, will be dumped by F. W. de Klerk for the sake of peace and a deal. It would be easy to do — the brigadier (who has previously shown himself vulnerable to whispers in the ear from his South African military advisors) only has to be persuaded that his life is dependent on his submitting himself to the popular test of a referendum on reincorporation. If it is a test he would undoubtedly lose and the administration of the

territory would return to direct rule from Pretoria, presumably with the approval of the ANC.

It would be the sort of refreshing move that the world has come to expect from President de Klerk. But there are indications that divisions within his own cabinet — reinforced by white perceptions (as always so different from those in the townships) that the massacre was all the ANC's fault — may make it a difficult path for him to follow.

What also has to be assessed is the psychological impact which the massacre could have on other homeland leaders. At the weekend there was a massacre which went largely unnoticed by the South African press as well as the international media — as ever (some would say) when the victims are the members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha movement.

Twelve delegates were shot dead on Fri-



day night last week by gunmen while on their way to a conference of the Inkatha Youth League. It was an incident which had the bellicose chief declaring on Saturday that it was time to "bugger up" the ANC, a fantasy which on Monday he saw brought to realisation by a man whom he must regard as far his inferior in the warrior stakes.

Gunfire, say those who have experience of pulling the trigger, has an addictive effect. In addition it offers the appearance of an easy way out for men already addicted to power — men such as Brigadier Gqozo himself, Chief Buthelezi, and the Bophuthatswana leader, "President for Life" Lucas Mangope, who must have been feeling increasingly threatened by the bilateral negotiations which have been taking place in secret over the last few months between the ANC and the government. It is in their reaction to the events in the Ciskei that ricochets could find unintended targets.



Desperate ANC supporters stampede as Ciskei troops open fire

Ciskei killings wreck peace hopes

South African
THE South African peace process was torpedoed by a massacre again when soldiers in the Ciskei homeland opened fire on Monday on tens of thousands of African National Congress demonstrators marching across the border against the Ciskei ruler, Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo. When the dust cleared at least 28 were dead and 190 injured.

Hopes of a resumption of the stalled peace negotiations between the ANC and the government of President F. W. de Klerk appeared in tatters as each side blamed the other for the massacre. "It's impossible to negotiate with these people because they don't stick to agreements... We must study if we can

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continue negotiations with the ANC-Communist Party alliance," South Africa's foreign minister, Pik Botha, said. The ANC accused the South African government of complicity in the killings. Senior ANC and government officials held emergency talks in the nearby South African town of King William's Town. Mr de Klerk announced that South African security forces had been sent to the Ciskei capital, Bisho, to maintain order.

Ciskei troops poured two bursts of automatic fire into a crowd of tens of thousands of ANC supporters who had marched on Bisho. The first fusillade lasted for two minutes, then there was a

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pause followed by another one-minute burst of shooting. Bodies lay scattered in pools of blood along the line of razor wire erected to contain the march. No ambulances came to help the injured, some frighteningly still and others writhing in pain. Instead, private cars came and went with wounded people bundled into open boots and bleeding limbs drooping from open doors.

The march was headed by leading figures in the ANC, including Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general, and the South African Communist Party chief, Chris Hani. There must now be doubts about the wisdom of their tactics.

David Beresford, page 12

BISHO BLOODBATH ...

It might seem difficult to find hope for South Africa in the wake of this week's Bisho massacre, particularly when a puddle of human brains is still coalescing a few yards away and the men who put it there are up on the hill, squinting down on one through the sights of their assault rifles. But the scenes which were played out there on Tuesday, while bizarre, were almost a celebration of this country's extraordinary ability to absorb and overcome crisis.

It was something of a place of pilgrimage on Tuesday, a narrow tarmac road lined by a few stately gum trees, surrounded by parched shrubs and thorn bushes. The focus of attention was an imaginary line, delineating the imaginary border to an imaginary country. The only evidence of its existence was a small green and white board on a pole to one side of the road, stating simply "Ciskei border". A few metres beyond the board — seemingly insensitive to the symbolism of the position — half a dozen brightly coloured, blue and yellow armoured personnel carriers of the South African Police were drawn up in a barricade.

Early in the morning, the road was crowded with hundreds of African National Congress supporters, tired survivors of Monday's massacre and an all-night vigil staged to show, as one official put it, "that we are not afraid of

Searching for hope at the

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them, of their guns, or the brigadier up there".

He was gesturing up a pathway as he spoke, past the puddle of brains, to where the killers of the Ciskei Defence Force in full combat gear lay stretched out behind their automatic rifles on bipods, and past them to the tops of a few red brick buildings just showing over the hillside.

In the toy town that is Bisho, the "government" buildings are impressive. Anywhere else the complex might have been mistaken for a large primary school, or an old-age home — a description admittedly compromised by the machine-gun nests perched on top of the gatehouse commanding the front entrance.

Curiously, for all the fire-power on top of it, the army had forgotten to guard the gate itself and it proved possible to drive in without challenge. Similarly, there were half a dozen heavily armed soldiers at the door of the building housing the ruling "Council of State", but apart from a belated call as I disappeared inside — "you carrying a gun?" — they seemed equally confused as to the purpose of their presence.

Past an un-manned security X-ray and up a flight of stairs to a door guarded by a stuffed

DAVID BERESFORD

reports from Bisho in the aftermath of Monday's massacre



age and theatre was getting under way down the hill, down by the puddle of brains and the imaginary line.

First on the scene were, appropriately, the church leaders — led, as always in time of crisis, by the Nobel laureate, Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Surrounded by an entourage of empuddled colleagues and scrambling cameramen, he strode confidently through a gap in the police barricade, kneeling in the dust as Grahamstown Bishop David Russell intoned an appeal to the heavens to make leaders "heed and recognise their responsibilities and not play games with your people, Lord".

The archbishop, his point made, returned to the people, his diminutive form almost lost in the pack squeezing its way back through the gap in the armoured vehicles, re-appearing on the other side above the crowd on a makeshift pulpit: a stepladder borrowed from a television crew.

In his dark pinstripe suit, his bald spot glowing blackly amid white curls under the hot midday sun, he made an incongruous figure on top of a ladder on a country road. But the incon-

bloodied border

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ity was quickly lost in a political sermon rich, while lacking the measured cadences of a Martin Luther King, stood the comparison in terms of passion and nobility.

Greeting them in Afrikaans, laughing with them, performing for them, he developed his theme — of freedom as God's gift, rather than a man's — to a climactic scene as his battered congregation, open hands waving above their heads to denote the absence of guns, roared joyfully: "We will be free. All of us, black and white. Together. Freedom is coming. For all of us. Black and white. All of us."

And then he was gone, up the hill with his fellow clerics, past the puddle of brains, on an urgent mission to try to persuade the brigadier it was time for freedom. The hours stretched on down by the imaginary line as the crowd waited for more pilgrims. Journalists hovered around the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils, peppering him in relay with questions about his role in Monday's tragedy. A short, stocky figure, with a comfortable

THE LATEST ROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA'S NEGOTIATION BY MASSACRE

ing with that stately air, immaculate in black suit, it was almost a re-run of that memorable moment at the end of another lifetime when he walked through the gates at Victor Verster Prison. The barricade of armoured vehicles was hurriedly opened to give him passage.

The police officers, all white, formed flanking lines — effectively, if unbelievably, a guard of honour, but facing outwards, cocking their assault rifles threateningly towards the combat-clad Ciskei killers on the hill. Advancing to a position between a broken line of razor-wire entanglements, Nelson Mandela, Cyril Ramaphosa, Kasrils and other ANC officials knelt to re-join the line with wreaths of yellow roses.

They sang a lament composed for dead guerrillas — "Go gently ANC soldier" — before turning back to the crowd. A police squad car driven by a white South African major led the way. It stopped as it reached the crowd. An ANC official asked the major if they could use the car's loud hailer. A woman took the microphone and led them in the singing of the ANC's anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

Unheard, a few yards away, by a puddle of

We race confrontation in mind, says Kasrils

By PHILIPPA GARRSON

(105)

11/9-11/9/92

If everything had gone according to plan, "people's power" would have coursed through the streets of Bisho and, perhaps with a nudge from multiteaming soldiers, swept Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo from his illicit throne.

Instead, Gqozo's soldiers opened fire on marchers running through the gap in the Independence Stadium and hopes of a glorious Leipzig victory were dashed with the same brutality as those of the demonstrators on Tlaraman Square.

After restrictions were placed on the protest march, the crowd was to proceed from King William's Town to the stadium and not to Gqozo's Bisho headquarters. But organisers had decided that if the opportunities presented themselves for marching peacefully towards Bisho, the large crowd would do so.

Hours after the massacre, African National Congress campaigns head Ronnie Kasrils, who attempted to lead a column of people to Bisho through a gap in the stadium fence, said: "We had taken reconnaissance of the place. We had confrontation in mind. We were banking on numbers and national leadership being here and on an idea to find a different way of outflanking them and then reassembling in town. We were willing to challenge them by our mere presence in numbers. We didn't come here with weapons at all."

The plan was to hold a "people's assembly" in Bisho and wait for an answer to a memorandum sent a few days earlier by the ANC's Border region, demanding the resignation of Gqozo. The people intended to stay there until Gqozo stepped down.

There were indications to alliance leaders of growing dissatisfaction of the Ciskei police with the strong-arm rule of Gqozo's army, widening cracks in his security council and the waning loyalty of Gqozo's soldiers, some who seemed prepared to cross sides once the crowd thronged Bisho.

Said Kasrils: "We had decided to avoid the soldiers and head for the north-western side of town. I was in front, trying by example to lead people through. I was with the regional chairman of the eastern Cape and Border region. (The soldiers) kept moving over in the vehicles. We were trying to show them we weren't running for the line. We didn't expect them to fire. We felt that because of the large numbers, plus the leadership of the ANC Alliance, plus the press and members of the National Peace Accord that they wouldn't dare fire into a crowd of that size ... The ones that fired on us fired from vehicles and positions at the telecommunications station."

The barrage of gunfire that ensued for several minutes had crisp-shifted Peace Accord leaders John Hall and Antonie Gildenhuis, ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa, Steve Tshwete, Chris

Hani and Gertrude Tshope and scores of journalists face down in the dust with everyone else.

"There was no warning. They didn't fire above people's heads. There were continuous volleys of fire. All of us hit the ground. The sound of bullets over us was like a continuous swarm of bees. Comrade Bushy was 10 yards away from me shouting at me that the 'd-been shot but there was nothing I could do until the shooting stopped," said Kasrils.

"I crawled over to him, turned him over and found that he was very badly wounded, bleeding profusely and in severe pain. I had to drag him back to the stadium — literally on our bellies. When I arrived at the stadium it was just a scene of carnage. I counted four people who had had their brains blown out ... the actions of a madman who relies on boer officers."

Cynics have blamed the alliance leaders for playing a dangerous game with people's lives, of perhaps seeking the political advantages that ironically follow when action against unnamed supporters ends in carnage. Others have merely slammed the organisers for a "tactical blunder" in assuming that Gqozo's men, loyal for the moment to their frenzied, illegitimate ruler, would do anything else.

But the people who readily stormed the gap, the citizens of Ciskei living daily under Gqozo's rule, understood the risks probably better than anyone else. Kasrils, who had campaigned in the area over the past week, seemed at pains to stress this.

No doubt grappling with his own personal trauma of having unwittingly led people to their deaths, he spoke of the intense resolve of people grown fearless from months of accumulated anger. Perhaps they were over-confident after a similar march a few months earlier. Then, the crowd had managed to storm through the troops, who turned and fled.

Asked if he regretted the leadership's decision to try to push on to Bisho, Kasrils replied: "One can't regret whatever one does in good faith, with the judgment of collective leadership. Casualties take place all the time but we are deeply saddened by the loss of life. We can't play with people's lives."

The former head of ANC military intelligence predicts that a "people's war", without military help from the ANC, will take place in Ciskei. "People here in the villages are going to have to take up arms. That's natural. Every democrat in this country must give them support."

In Kasrils' view, the massacre has precipitated a national crisis, putting the negotiations process in jeopardy: "Our action is for free political activity in Bophuthatswana, kwaZulu and the Ciskei ... If peaceful change is made impossible, then violent change becomes inevitable."



Photo: SARAH PRALL

Hungry marchers scuffle for bread after two days without food SA govt holds the reins

By CLAIRE KEETON and LOUISE FLANAGAN

(105)

11/9-11/9/92

THE South African government and its army have a pervasive grip on the power structures of Ciskei — however much President FW de Klerk may try to distance himself from the homeland's actions.

The Ciskei Council of State signed a treaty with the South African government last year agreeing South Africa would have more direct control over the homeland's finances and allowing for South Africa's assistance in maintaining law and order.

Now the entire power structure in the homeland — the army, police and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement — is controlled by South African security force personnel.

Gqozo signed the agreement with South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha on February 27 1991, less than a year after Gqozo seized power from former life president Lennox Sebe.

At the time it seemed Gqozo was inviting assistance to prop up his position as he headed on a collision course with the African National Congress, civics and unions. He appointed a number of South Africans, including former South African Defence Force officers, to top posts.

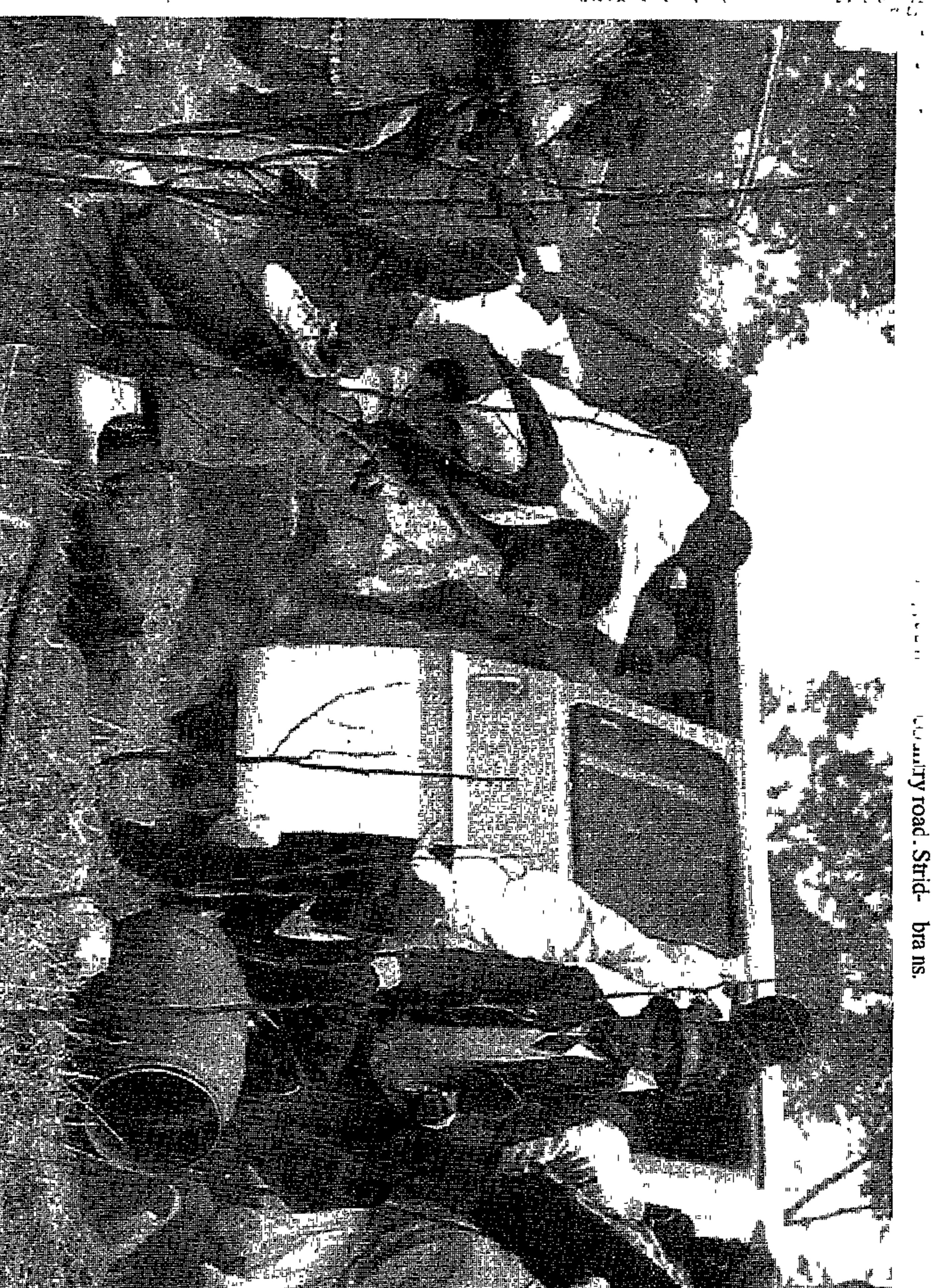
A year later, in April, the minister of finance and director general of finance resigned. The minister, Arnold Pretorius, who had been seconded from South Africa, was replaced by another seconded official: Vice-Admiral William Bekker from the South African Navy.

The commissioner of police is Brigadier Johan Victor, who has been named by renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee as a former commander of Viakplaas, centre of alleged hit-squad activities. Victor was on the scene at Monday's shootings.

Officers seconded from the SADF and former SADF men also have a stranglehold on the Ciskei military. Leading the South African contingent is Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Martus Oelshing, a direct SADF secondment.

Early this year, Oelshing appeared to have become one of Gqozo's chief advisers, taking over this role from Anton Nieuwoudt, the former head of South African Military Intelligence Researcher/Ciskei Intelligence Service (IR/CIS). Oelshing's background is in MI.

Second in command in the CDF is Colonel Dirk van der Bank. He spent a period as the acting commander of the CDF after an alleged "coup attempt" resulted in the removal of all top-ranking officers, an action that was



Under fire ... ANC supporters dash for cover as Ciskei forces shoot at them

Photo: GREG MARINOVICH, AP

in Ciskei

attributed to IR/CIS.

(105)

Ciskei's Military Intelligence is headed by Ockert Swanepoel and his deputy, Hendrik Chris Nel. Last year, Ciskei MI chief at the time, Colonel Gert Hugo, claimed both Swanepoel and Nel had links with the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

Hugo said Swanepoel was previously from 32 Battalion, while Nel was the main interrogator of captured Swapo guerrillas in Oshakati.

The man in charge of the troops at the scene of Monday's massacre was Operations Chief of Staff Colonel Horst Schubsberger, assisted by Colonel Jaco Roussouw. Both are former SADF officers under contract to the CDF.

The CDF's Finance Chief of Staff is former Eastern Province Command and Special Forces member Colonel Raymond Williams. Williams is also a formerly seconded officer who is now contracted to the CDF.

The ADM is run by secretary general Basie Oosthuysen, who has been credited with setting up the East London branch of Dynamic Teaching, an extension of the MI front company Adult Education Consultants, in 1988. — enews

Monitors race against time

By ARTHUR GAVSON, London

(105)

11/9-11/9/92

SHOCK effects of the Bisho massacre have galvanised key world governments into action amid mounting fears that bloody new confrontations could engulf South Africa in full-scale insurrection.

Four international organisations hustled this week to dispatch monitors to bolster the shaky structure of the National Peace Accord. *11/9-11/9/92*

An advance contingent of a 50-strong United Nations observer mission is due to fly to Johannesburg from New York today. Significantly, they will be deployed in the flash-point areas of Natal-kwaZulu and the Transvaal.

Officials of the four international bodies have already begun the process of coordinating their planned monitoring arrangements.

The scale and nature of the Commonwealth's role is down for discussion next week, when the organisation's Secretary General, Emaka Anyaoku, meets UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York. Anyaoku has publicly raised the possibility of reintroducing sanctions if De Klerk's reforms are lapsed.

Was there a deliberate ambush at Bisho?

By ANDREW TRENCH and
LOUISE FLANAGAN

MAJOR questions have been raised about the Ciskei's preparations for Monday's march on Bisho, amid suggestions of a deliberate ambush.

Mystery surrounds two key aspects of the homeland's crowd-control provisions: why a gap was left in the stadium fence, enabling the protesters to try to move on Bisho; and why soldiers officially there to deter such a move were hidden in the grass.

In another development this week, the German publication *Geheim* claimed that South African Military Intelligence chief General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen had sent a signal to Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Marius Oelschig "instructing him to use force and 'all means necessary' to crush the demonstration". The publication said it received this information from "one of our sources within the South African intelligence community", but offered no further substantiation.

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Oelschig is seconded to the CDF from the South African Defence Force, which means that he is still accountable to the SADF. The Bisho demonstration would also have been discussed in Joint Intelligence Councils and Joint Operation Councils between the Ciskei and South African forces in the region.

The South African security forces appeared to have known something was going to happen. Not only did South Africa declare the areas immediately surrounding Bisho unrest areas two days before the action and fly in crack troops for assistance, but the South African forces quietly pulled back from the border for the crucial period of the shooting.

Ciskei had prepared the area well. Five days before the march, the two officers in charge of troops on the ground on Monday, Chief of Staff Operations Colonel Horst Schubert and Colonel Jaco Roussouw, were seen surveying the area with what appeared to be maps and mea-

suring sections of the road. Both men are former SADF officers now contracted to the CDF.

And days before that, it was an open secret that the ANC was planning to have at least one column of protesters push through to Bisho, although it was not clear just how or where this would happen.

On the day of the march, Ciskei deployed soldiers alongside the road from King William's Town to Bisho and in the stadium, but waited until the last minute to put up razor-wire barriers. By the time the march reached the border, soldiers had been withdrawn from inside the stadium but were deployed alongside the road from the border and halfway around the stadium.

A razor-wire barrier was thrown across the road some 20m on the Ciskei side of the border, preventing marchers from moving along the main road into Bisho and channelling them into the stadium. Marchers moved up to the barrier and, while

their leaders negotiated over the barrier with National Peace Secretariat officials, other demonstrators moved into the stadium — where they were permitted to be in terms of a Ciskei court order.

A small group led by the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils then charged over the grass embankment in the north-east of the stadium and through the wide gap in the fence — straight into the line of fire of the soldiers hidden in the long grass and uneven ground.

The Ciskei government has stated that the gap in the fence was made by demonstrators pushing it down. However, witnesses had clearly seen the gap long before the march took place.

Oelschig could not be contacted yesterday. A spokesman for his office said he was "out of the country". It was later established that he was at the South African embassy to the Ciskei in King William's Town.

● Louise Flanagan is a researcher for the Independent Board of Inquiry

Kasrils' action backed

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has defended the actions of ANC members led by Mr Ronnie Kasrils who broke from Monday's protest march to storm Ciskei soldiers who opened fire, killing 28 people.

However, national executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj said the ANC had "begun looking into the question of how that mass action was conducted".

Mr Maharaj and Mr Ramaphosa

were addressing a news conference after the ANC's national working committee (NWC) met to review the events at Bisho and the constitutional crisis.

Mr Maharaj said the tactics used at Bisho had to be seen in the context of the march being "peaceful and public and under the eyes of monitors".

● NEC member Mr Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday that top ANC officials, including Mr Ramaphosa, had planned to defy the Ciskei court order regarding the march on Bisho.

He said Mr Kasrils had consulted leaders "every inch of the way".

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CT 12/9/92

Protesters grit teeth for fourth night

Staff Reporter

ANC protesters remained determined to continue their sit-in at the Ciskei consulate last night, the fourth consecutive night spent in the corridor outside the locked and deserted fifth floor offices.

The consulate has become the focal point for the ANC's Western Cape region to protest the fatal shooting of 28 people in a

mass march on Bisho on Monday.

Spokeswoman Ms Hilda Ndude said yesterday the rotational sit-in of 13 people would continue until the homeland had withdrawn its mission in the Western Cape. She said should Ciskei try to relocate its offices "we will not have such a nice approach to their next landlord".

A sit-in at the Ciskei's Durban consulate ended on Thursday.

President F W de Klerk's failure to condemn Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was evidence of his complicity with the "regime", she said.

● On Sunday four memorial services will be held at 5pm for the Bisho victims — at Guguletu's Reformed Presbyterian Church, Langa's Methodist Church of SA, Khayelitsha's Anglican St Peter's Church and outside the Ciskei consulate.

Piet Skiet CF 12/9/92 praises Gqozo

PRETORIA. — The Orde Boerevolk's Piet "Skiet" Rudolph has sent a letter of congratulation to Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for the action he took against ANC marchers which led to the death of 28 people outside Bisho on Monday. (OS)

Mr Rudolph said in the letter that while the Order Boerevolk abhorred the "total lack of moral courage" displayed by the South African government, it saluted Brigadier Gqozo for the statesmanship he had displayed in treating his enemies with the "contempt they deserved". — Sapa

(105) APR 12/9/92

Bisho massacre jolts government and ANC to talk

Weekend Argus Political Staff

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

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

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

The United Nations responded within 24 hours to an invitation by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to dispatch a special envoy to address the violence, and teams of violence monitors from the UN and other international organisations are due to start streaming into the country from this weekend.

Special envoy Virendra Dayal is due to arrive in Johannesburg on Wednesday, preceded by a party flying in today. UN sources said special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance, who visited South Africa recently, would have been sent had he not been deeply involved in the Yugoslavian peace effort.

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

It is understood that Mr Meyer may leave an important weekend strategy meeting of the National Party caucus in the Eastern Transvaal to meet Mr Ramaphosa.

Mr De Klerk had impressed upon both parties the need for the meeting to take place urgently. Mr Meyer and Mr Rama-

phosa are expected to meet early next week to prepare for a round of talks between delegations led by Mr De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Aziz Pahad said the ANC's decision to attend the violence summit — in spite of the immense anger in the organisation over the Bisho killings — “reflected our concern that the country was sliding into the abyss. The killing was so shocking that I think it jolted people on both sides to their senses”.

But it was a close and nerve-racking week for the country. After the Bisho slaughter it looked as though a return to the dark days of armed struggle and violent repression was imminent.

South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani virtually abandoned the route of negotiations in favour of armed struggle when he said Bisho had taught his people a lesson that only they could free themselves. “They cannot be freed by nice talks around negotiation tables,” he said.

And Mr Botha responded in similar kind when he told TV viewers that there seemed little point in pursuing negotiations with the ANC when it was being led by the SACP into confrontational politics.

Emulating a familiar strategy of the ANC, he effectively suspended the government's participation in constitutional negotiations, pending a resolution of violence.

ANC sources said this new approach struck a chord with them — at last the government was acknowledging, as the ANC had done long before, that constitutional negotiations were futile while violence raged.

But diplomatic sources said it also took some international arm-twisting to get the two sides to agree to meet. They said the ANC had been reprimanded for

■ Turn to page 3

The dash that went wrong

ANC-12/9/92

(105)

The tragic events in Bisho this week have raised the spectre of a deliberate communist-inspired insurrection — and the speculation has focused much of the attention on the leader of the ill-fated charge, arch-communist and one-time fugitive Ronnie Kasrils. Political Correspondent **MICHAEL MORRIS** reports...

A run, Ronnie Kasrils led about 50 marchers towards a gap in the fence surrounding Bisho stadium on Monday and straight into the withering fire of a phalanx of Ciskei soldiers.

By his own unashamed admission, Mr Kasrils intended leading the 50 — and others — to a peaceful occupation of Bisho town centre, an intention that consciously contradicted the conditions for the march set earlier in the day by Ciskei's chief magistrate, Mr D B Tali.

Was this the deliberate act of a communist insurrectionist whose loyalty to revolutionary doctrine surprised his concern for the welfare of his followers?

Or, was it merely a reckless decision by a man who, possibly naively, believed the Ciskeian soldiers would not open fire for fear of invoking national and international condemnation?

Mr Ronnie Kasrils has never made a secret of his fierce belief in the potential of genuine mass action — "waves of local struggle" as he once put it — to further the aims of the "struggle".

Extraordinarily, his name is absent from some of South Africa's top political biographical references... so that he appears almost as elusive now as he was in the wake of the 1990 Operation Vula scandal when he lived on the run as a fugitive using the network of safe houses he had helped to devise.

At 54, the bushy-browed Mr Kasrils could be described as avuncular. He is known to be charming, witty and easy-going. But, those who know him say everything in his life is subordinated to his political ideals.

Born in 1938 in Johannesburg, he grew up in Yeoville. An unsuccessful attempt at a law degree at the University of the Witwatersrand was followed by sojourns in a law firm and then advertising.

He then moved into the trade union movement, playing an active role in the 1960s in the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

After working on the staff of the Communist Party newspaper, New Age, he became secretary of the Natal branch of the South African Congress of Democrats, a well-known SACP front organisation.

After Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was formed in 1961, he took command of the Natal region. He was linked to the Ravonla trial as a co-conspirator for his alleged involvement in recruiting MK guerrillas, training and providing weapons and propaganda material.

However, he disappeared underground, emerging in 1963 in London. He began a close working relationship with top South African Communist Party exile Mr Joe Slovo in London. During this time, he received training from the KGB at a camp in Odessa, one of the KGB



□ **MAN OF ACTION:** Mr Ronnie Kasrils at the scene of the Bisho massacre.

training centres in the then Soviet Union.

On his return to London, he helped establish MK's intelligence unit.

He played a leading role in the 1969 Mogo-goro Conference at which ANC membership was opened for the first time to white Communist Party members.

The 1970s saw Mr Kasrils in the forefront of planning cross-border guerrilla activities into South Africa.

The cautious disguise expert remained behind the scenes throughout the 1980s but after President De Klerk's ground-breaking speech in February 1990 and the unfettering of politics generally, Mr Kasrils — along with many other leadership figures — was granted temporary indemnity.

However, before the year was up, he was a wanted man, described by police as "armed and dangerous".

The row over an apparent red plot to overthrow the government if negotiations failed — the so-called Operation Vula scheme — thrust Mr Kasrils into the limelight.

Brazen, but always cunning, he popped up un-

expectedly at various places throughout South Africa, often heavily disguised, during an 11-month stint on the run. He was dubbed the red pimpinell.

He visited Ellis Park at this time "to watch my home side, Transvaal whack Western Province". He even went to pop concerts.

His spell under cover was, in fact, a test of an underground network he helped establish, and which he firmly believed was necessary as an insurance against failure at the negotiation table.

Mr Kasrils was finally granted full indemnity in March 1991, but emerged from hiding only in June, under instructions from the ANC leadership.

His wife, Eleanor, a photographer, and one of their two sons, Andrew, are members of the ANC. Their other son, Christopher, is sympathetic to the ANC, but is not a member.

Mr Kasrils has always insisted he fully supports the negotiation option, but even within the movement he is called a "neo-insurrectionist". Reasonably or not, his role at Bisho is bound to strengthen that view.

This week things went horribly wrong for Ronnie Kasrils. The ANC's man of action who is used to staring death in the face took one risk too many in Bisho and 28 people were killed. But, as he told Weekend Argus Correspondent **KEN VERNON**, he thinks it was worth it.

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Ronnie Kasrils — the red pimpinell — is a man of action, a man who takes risks and a man who has stared death in the face many times... and lived to laugh about it.

This week in Bisho, the man of action was once again where he loved to be — at the cutting edge of the struggle, leading by example and loving every minute of it. But things went tragically wrong and 28 people died.

Was Mr Kasrils to blame? Was the dash away from the main march on Bisho and through the stadium that seemingly triggered the killings a case of Kasrils deriding-do gone wrong? Was the march itself an unnecessary provocation?

In a hard-hitting interview, the man of action denied that he, or his organisation, was in any way responsible for the Bisho tragedy.

"The men who killed those 28 people are the men who pulled the triggers and the men who ordered them to do so — they are the ones who are responsible for the massacre at Bisho."

Even when asked if he did not cynically lead a group of men to their deaths to create the martyr necessary to remove a political opponent, Mr Kasrils does not lose his composure.

"If we really wanted to do that, to have people killed, would some of the top leaders of the ANC have been at the forefront of the march?"

"No, we may have miscalculated. We really believed that a major element within the Ciskeian army sympathised with us and would waver or either run or join us."

"We never believed they would open fire on a mass of people with the eyes of the world — the Press, the international observers, the Peace Commission — present."

Mr Kasrils admitted that the group which followed him on his dash through the stadium and towards Bisho was a hand-picked group who all had been briefed on what to do, and that it was planned that at least half the marchers were then to have joined them in the occupation of Bisho.

"Everyone knew what we were to do. Everyone knew there was a risk. There is no such thing as a risk-free strategy in this kind of situation. But, we assessed the risks and believed that getting rid of (Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo was worth that risk."

He said the final decision to dash through the stadium was taken only minutes before, although the possibility of the action had been discussed and agreed to by the march leaders much earlier.

"I reconnoitered the stadium and realised the potential that the gap in the fence represented. The plan was that we would rush away from the soldiers opposite the gap to avoid any head-on confrontation. But, we got only about 30m before they opened fire."

"To say that I was responsible for the dash for Bisho is wrong. It was a joint decision and was approved by the leaders of the march before and by the ANC leadership when the march was planned. Even the decision to go ahead through the stadium, taken in a rush as we approached the wire barricade, was taken jointly."

In spite of the deaths, Mr Kasrils was adamant the march was both necessary and the right thing to do. "We have been in a life-and-death struggle for decades and in order to get where we are, sacrifice has been needed. If we had not been prepared to sacrifice we wouldn't have got where we are — on the eve of liberation."

"The march was necessary because the people of Ciskei were crying to us that they were being beaten and killed by Gqozo. We had to respond. But, the march is just one aspect of the pressure we believe is still necessary to force real change."

"We need to make people motivated and mobilised to force change. Perhaps Gqozo would have fallen without the march, but I doubt it. Now, he cannot survive. Pretoria can't afford to keep him in power."

Mr Kasrils denied that the mass action campaign in the Ciskei, as well as other campaigns planned against Bophuthatswana, contradicted the ANC's previous commitment to negotiations with people the organisation regarded as having no legitimacy.

"We have never said that, because we are talking, we set aside our right to exert pressure through mass action. During the Vietnam war for instance, the US continued to fight while they talked. During industrial action, a union may continue to strike while talking with management. Mass action falls into the same category."

He also denied that Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were singled out for mass action because they disagreed with the ANC, not because they were undemocratic military dictatorships.

"They have been targeted because they are refusing to allow people to take part in normal political democracy," he said.

Why then, I suggested, is not the Transkei — also ruled by a military dictator, but one who happens to be well-disposed toward the ANC — also the target of mass action?

His reply was that in the Transkei and Venda — another ANC-aligned homeland — people were free to join political parties like the ANC and to have peaceful protests.

"Despots don't like giving up power, so how do you get them to give up their power? Protests and demonstrations are accepted now. We have been civilising the authorities, slowly in this and it has become accepted. Bisho was an off-point in that process."

Bisho: SA's crossroad between Armageddon and Damascus

STAR
12/19/92

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2000



A REMARK made recently by a colleague has lodged itself in my mind, shouted louder with each disastrous development in the week just passed. The journalist, one of the most experienced and respected in this country, was driving with me to Pretoria to attend yet another Government briefing. The ANC had held its own that morning. Negotiations were going badly, the leaders' rhetoric had crossed the line between politicking and war talk, and neither side looked like giving an inch.

At dusk the familiar Ben Schoeman highway was busy, as always. Rows of cars, tightly packed, edged along on either side of the motorway island. Lights were coming on at filling stations and in houses dotted around the once-barren countryside which is now inexorably joining the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria. Life was going on in ordered normality; the faces in the cars were serious and distant, thinking about the day's work, hurrying home to families, listening to car radios absent-mindedly.

My friend was unusually silent and gloomy, staring at the traffic intently. Eventually he spoke his mind. He had a strong sense of "incipient chaos", he said. Of how the social orderliness symbolised by thousands of commuters willingly obeying the same rules could suddenly disappear.

He made me think of highways in cities like Luanda and Dubrovnik, Beirut and Sarajevo, where the order of decades — even centuries — disappeared in a cordite puff, and never returned.

The citizens of those benighted towns didn't expect it, either. They are not so different from many of us, those middle-class commuters who found themselves catapulted by political catastrophe into an unthought-of life whereby the search for water and warmth became their highest priority. They found out that the "state of nature" is not something that passed with the previous, primitive centuries; it lies in wait for

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN JOHNSON

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

any humans who are foolish enough.

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

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

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

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

stacles to peace, all surmountable.

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

"The people" look back at the frustrating period of negotiations, complete with alternating deadlocks and breakthroughs, as a political paradise lost.

Bisho on Monday gave us a taste of Bosnia. For an excruciatingly long time — four days to be exact — political leaders stared into the black hole, unwilling to step back for fear of accusations of cowardice, and angry enough to consider jumping in. Blame was apportioned without nuance: it was either all their fault, or all yours. For the first time since 1990, both sides expressed doubt that a negotiated settlement was possible at all. In their different dialects, both sides breathed words of war.

It would not take a lot to start a war here; a real one, not one confined to isolated and poor pockets inhabited by black people who paid the most for the construction of apartheid and are now paying the most for its dismantling. I don't think we realise just how close we came this week to unleashing that nightmare.

The Government could have said: "To hell with the ANC, we will impose a new system without them," and the ANC could have said: "To hell with the Government, we march on Ulundi."

Hello Bosnia with African place-names. By yesterday the politicians had drawn back. We must be thankful, but watchful. The ground around the edge of the abyss is dry and brittle. It held our weight this time, but there was the sound of crumbling. We must not test the strength of that edge again. We must choose a surer footing far, far back.

**It's us or
Gqozo,
says ANC**

12/9/92.

**KEN VERNON
Deputy Editor**

ANOTHER major obstacle has been placed in the way of negotiations by this week's massacre at Bisho — the ANC has vowed not to have contact with any forum that includes Ciskei strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils yesterday said the organisation would not have any contact with Ciskei until Brigadier Gqozo had been removed.

"He has to go, there's no two ways about it," he said, adding that if the Ciskei leader was present at future Codesa negotiations, the ANC would not take part.

He said, however, that he felt the military leader's days were numbered. "We have precipitated a crisis for the De Klerk regime and they will have to get rid of him."

● Full report — Page 2

Army chief blames MK

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PRETORIA — South African Army Chief Lieutenant-General Georg Meiring yesterday rejected "blatant attempts" by the African National Congress to implicate the SA Army in the Ciskei bloodbath and charged that MK was in fact responsible for the deaths.

He categorically rejected in a statement in Pretoria, attempts by the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) to implicate the SA Army in the Ciskei massacre. A DIP statement that 32 Battalion was deployed in the Ciskei and on its borders, and that 31 and 32 Battalions were to be incorporated in the Ciskeian Defence Force was absurd, General Meiring said. He also rejected as "scurrilous" reports originating from a German publication claiming that Lieutenant-General C.P. van der Westhuizen, the SADF Chief of Staff Intelligence, had sent a signal to the Ciskeian Defence Force Chief "instructing him to use force and all means necessary to crush the demonstration" on Monday.

"This is absurd and is no more than disinformation from DIP aimed at trying to cover MK's responsibility for the deaths of more than 20 people. It was never their intention to hold peaceful demonstrations in Bisho. They openly stated that they intended to occupy Bisho itself and to overthrow Brigadier Oupa Gqozo."

Blaming the SA Army, "I cannot allow this to stand unchallenged," General Meiring said. As far as the SA Army was concerned, it became involved in the Ciskei only after the shootings in Bisho occurred, to preserve life and protect property. This was in direct contrast to the ANC's actions in the area.

Statements by ANC leaders like Mr Chris Hanu and Mr Ronnie Kasrils over the past few days did not in any way reflect a peaceful intention, General Meiring said. Catch phrases like "this is not violence, it is a low-intensity war" used by Natal leader Mr Harry Gwala also did nothing to prevent violence and promote peace.

Mr Kasrils was reported to have said that the people of the Ciskei had to take up arms in resistance to Brigadier Gqozo. "Any further escalation of this situation could spill over, posing a direct threat to not only innocent lives, but also to peace and stability in South Africa."

General Meiring said the facts regarding the Ciskeian tragedy were that Mr Kasrils was on record as saying he had intended to break out of the stadium during the gathering and to occupy Bisho, contrary to the conditions laid down for the march.

He, in fact, led a column in the break-out in callous disregard for innocent lives, General Meiring said. "This is confirmed by the discovery of a sketch showing pre-planning for the breakout. There were indications that shots fired from the crowd at members of the Ciskeian Defence Force precipitated the tragedy."

In addition, there were indications now that members of this column had been provided with weapons before the march. Some of these weapons were found on bodies in and around the stadium. Before the march hand-grenades were confiscated at a roadblock, said General Meiring.

General Meiring said his information indicated that weapons, including small arms, a 122mm rocket launcher and Ciskeian police and military uniforms, were being stockpiled. He expressed concern at reports that MK members from the Puv area, the Transkei and self-defence units from Motherwell, New Brighton, Kwazakwele and Cradock had been sent to the Ciskei area to initiate violence.

According to General Meiring, members of the Ciskeian Defence Force and police were being assaulted and robbed of their weapons.

"Since the tragedy at the stadium the Ciskei is experiencing violence on a scale not seen in a long time. At least 15 houses belonging to members of the Ciskeian Defence Force and police have been burnt."

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Siphwe Nyanda yesterday dismissed as "absolute nonsense" General Meiring's assassination claims.

"There is no truth in that statement whatsoever."

Said Mr Nyanda "This is all part of the propaganda campaign against the ANC and MK."

Mr Motoi was "nowhere near the Cape Province. But even if the whole of MK converges on Ciskei it does not mean we have designs on Gqozo. We are involved in ongoing organisational work everywhere. Why should we worry about assassinating a man who has condemned himself in the eyes of the people already?" — Sapa.

Solidarity: Gqozo and Buthelezi meet

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — In a major show of Ciskei and Kwazulu solidarity, the military leader of the Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo last night met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, in Ulundi for a "private dinner."

The meeting has been seen as "extremely significant" given the current onslaught by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance against the

military government in the Ciskei and threats this week against the Kwazulu leadership.

The chairman of the southern Natal region of the ANC, Mr Jeff Hadebe, told a gathering here this week that the organisation would not rest until the "butchers" of Ulundi, Ciskei, and Bophuthatswana were "out of power and replaced by a legitimate and democratic peoples' government".

But Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of the IFP, warned that

any attempts by the ANC to topple the Kwazulu government would be resisted to the "last drop of blood".

● Meanwhile, police last night cordoned off the main street in King William's Town and held between 50 and 70 ANC members in an office block housing an ANC Youth League office after weapons — believed to have been stolen in an ambush on Ciskei soldiers — were found.

● Independent unrest monitors,

set up by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, are to be brought into operation in the Border region.

● A temporary interdict to prevent further alleged assaults against two prisoners by Ciskei soldiers has been issued against the Ciskeian Minister of Defence by the Bisho Supreme Court. The interdict expires on September 24.

● The ANC is planning a consumer boycott targeting Bisho for

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● More than 3 000 people marched seven kilometres to the South African embassy in Umhata yesterday to hand over demands for the resignation of Brig Gqozo.

● An application by Ciskei's Minister of Defence for an interdict restraining the ANC from committing acts of arson against Ciskei Defence Force members was postponed in the Bisho Supreme Court on Thursday. — Sapa

Europe-wide demo on Bisho

Weekend Argus Correspondent

(105) ARCT/2/9/92

LONDON. — The first Europe-wide anti-apartheid demonstration takes place today to coincide with the weekend meeting of European Community (EC) foreign ministers in Hertfordshire.

A spokesman for the organisers said the demonstration would be an "expression of outrage" at the massacres at Boipatong and Bisho.

It is also a call to the EC for "decisive action" in response to the crisis in South Africa.

Lawyers may act ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ against troops

PRETORIA. — Lawyers for Human Rights says it will seek an order of contempt of court in the Bisho Supreme Court against members of the Ciskei's defence and police forces

AG 12/9/92
The LHR in a statement yesterday alleged its action came in the light of continuing violations of two previous court interdicts.

The LHR said court orders appeared to mean little to the security forces in the region, "whose rampage in the villages surrounding Bisho/King William's Town proceeds unchecked.

"Reports of deaths and serious injuries inflicted by members of the Ciskeian Defence Force are increasing in number.

"As the situation deteriorates and becomes apparent that the law is unable to protect civilians, the people of Ciskei are taking the law into their own hands."

— Sapa.

ANC to review mass action policy in light of massacre

(105) ARG 12/9/92

KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Weekend Argus Political Staff

MILITANT Ronnie Kasrils has admitted that he led a pre-planned breakaway of a group of marchers in contravention of conditions laid down by a magistrate for Monday's march in Ciskei in which at least 28 people were killed.

ANC national executive committee member Mac Maharaj has announced that the African National Congress will review its mass action policy in the light of the massacre.

Neither Mr Maharaj nor ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, speaking at the end of an ANC national working committee on Thursday, would say whether any action would be taken against Mr Kasrils.

Mr Ramaphosa said the Goldstone Commission's provisions stated that during a march organisers had to discuss routes and other issues with security forces.

According to the provisions, if marchers took a route other than one agreed upon "the security forces should not respond by opening fire", but should discuss the transgression with the march organisers after the event to ensure that it did not occur again.

The ANC-led tripartite alliance's mass action campaign came under scrutiny at a three-day meeting of Cosatu's National Campaigns Conference which began yesterday at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The campaign is in its fourth phase — the aim is to force the

Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu governments to allow "free political activity".

The conference was attended by 300 delegates from 14 Cosatu affiliates and nine regions.

At the end of the national working committee, the ANC said it viewed with serious concern the lack of free political activity in many parts of the country.

The actions of the three targeted homelands, it said, were "in direct conflict with the provisions of the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission and recommendations of international experts on policing and mass protest.

"No amount of repression will deter our efforts to secure free political activity, democracy and peace."

10 minutes of unutterable horror



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

STAR 12/9/92 (105)

I STILL can't believe I'm alive, and I can't believe I'm writing these words. I have read them written by so many other journalists recalling other situations, and have always thought them

The scene transferred, on Sunday night, to bazarre "court" proceedings: in his dining-room, Ciskei magistrate DB Tall was deciding whether to give permission for the march, with journalists waiting for the outcome in his lounge. At 1.50 am he gave the conditional go-ahead,

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

self-indulgent and melodramatic. But for me, after Bisho, the words are no more than the simple truth. Not one person who was in that 80 000-strong crowd will deny them: we all feel the same and always will.

I spent the weekend before the march travelling to villages in and around Ciskei, watching the organisers whip up support. It was clear that the activists were plunging fertile ground — the local people were ready and willing to challenge Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — but it was also clear that the

This uneasy feeling was strengthened when I left Bisho for the Victoria cricket ground in King Williams Town, where crowds of ANC supporters were gathering in a carnival atmosphere. On the short drive I saw that hundreds of Ciskei Defence Force soldiers had taken up positions around the

across the invisible boundary just as the soldiers prepared to close the remaining few centimetres. I realised, vaguely, that the mood was very different on this side of the border. There was no carnival. Soldiers lay in position, most of them behind tripods on which were balanced menacing light machine-guns. Gildenhuys remarked: "I'll see if I can be of help."

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

At 1.11 pm the soldiers cocked their rifles in unison. It was a clear, unmistakable sound, but I paid little attention. I had heard it before, during the march.

side of the stadium. Still incomprehending, I turned and saw people running in a dusty blur. I stood frozen at the fence for a moment, quite still. Then more soldiers —



NO ESCAPE: ANC marchers flee as Ciskei security forces open fire on them at Bisho on Monday.

Photograph: AFP

'It was standing next to these corpses, staring at them, that made me feel alive again. These people had been walking and singing only minutes before. Now they were still. Whatever shock is, medically, I felt it then.'

'I wanted to tell people to stop running, that they'd be shot if they didn't, but I made no sound. There was no other sound, no screaming, just the long death-rattle of the rifles.'

As I lifted my head I saw a soldier toppling over to my left. I turned away and saw two uniformed marshals on the other side of the razor-wire fence rolling them selves towards a demonstrator, who was bleeding. Then I heard the soldiers launching something which sounded as if it was exploding as it was fired. On our side of the sand heap, we were arguing about whether they were mortars. Then "I've made it." But the fusillade started up again, excruciatingly long, before finally stopping.

I lifted my head and saw a Ciskei armoured vehicle moving towards Hall and Gildenhuys. It was 1.40 pm. I was burned in. One of the monitors inside was waving the National Peace Accord flag through an opening in the roof. There was something indescribably ironic about it. There were four shot-up bodies lying together next to the razor wire. NPS monitors, with Hall,

African National Congress-South African Communist Party alliance meant this to be like no other protest march. Villagers applauded as they heard the feared Gqozo described as "De Klerk's kitchen boy" and "a dog". The hills rang with the chant "Pansi Gqozo" — Down with Gqozo.

stadium and near the road connecting the two towns. They, too, clearly meant business. When we eventually reached the nominal border point separating South Africa and Ciskei, soldiers were pulling razor wire across the tarmac. I latched on to Gildenhuys and National Peace Accord chairman John Hall. They stepped

those lying in front of the Port Hare external camps and in the adjacent parking lot. Five minutes later Border ANC vice-chairman Andrew Hendricks came up to "test" the fence. He and Hall laughed about being trapped on opposite sides — Hendricks wanted to know which was "East" and which was "West" and which was the heat was stifling. We waited for the last marchers to bring up the rear. Flippantly, I pointed to a small heap of hard sand on my left and said to a colleague that I would take cover there in the event of shooting. He laughing pointed out a better hiding place. By then the march had reached the border. Still, it was no different from the protest of the previous month. At that moment the deadly crackle of automatic gunfire burst out behind me, at the far

were comparing notes nearby. It was standing next to these corpses, staring at them, that made me feel alive again. These people had been walking and singing only minutes before. Now they were still. Whatever shock is, medically, I felt it then.

At midnight I made my way, frightened, back to the border. On the way through Ciskei I could make soldiers' visors in the gloom. The sight which greeted me on the South African side was the most eerie and moving I have witnessed. Thousands of marchers were still there, holding a vigil in the darkness. Fires flickered here and there, and shadows moved silently all around. Many people were sleeping in the road, packed like sardines against each other for warmth.

Like a low moan, a song was being sung softly and slowly, over and over: "Mayibuye i-Afrika" (Come back Africa). I had heard it sung countless times at rallies and marches, a defiant and confident challenge, but never like this. It was a funeral dirge and I cried for the first time.

Draws out from the brink

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PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

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

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

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

The United Nations responded within 24 hours to an invitation by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to dispatch a special envoy to address the violence, and teams of violence monitors from the UN

and other international organisations are due to start streaming into the country from the weekend.

Special envoy Virendra Singh is due to arrive in Johannesburg on Wednesday, preceded by an advance party flying in today. UN sources said special envoy Cyrus Vance, who visited South Africa recently, would have been sent had he not been deeply involved in the Yugoslavian peace effort.

● See Pages 2, 3 and Undercurrent Affairs on Page 12

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

It is understood that Meyer may leave an important weekend strategy meeting of the National Party caucus to meet Ramaphosa, if this can be arranged.

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

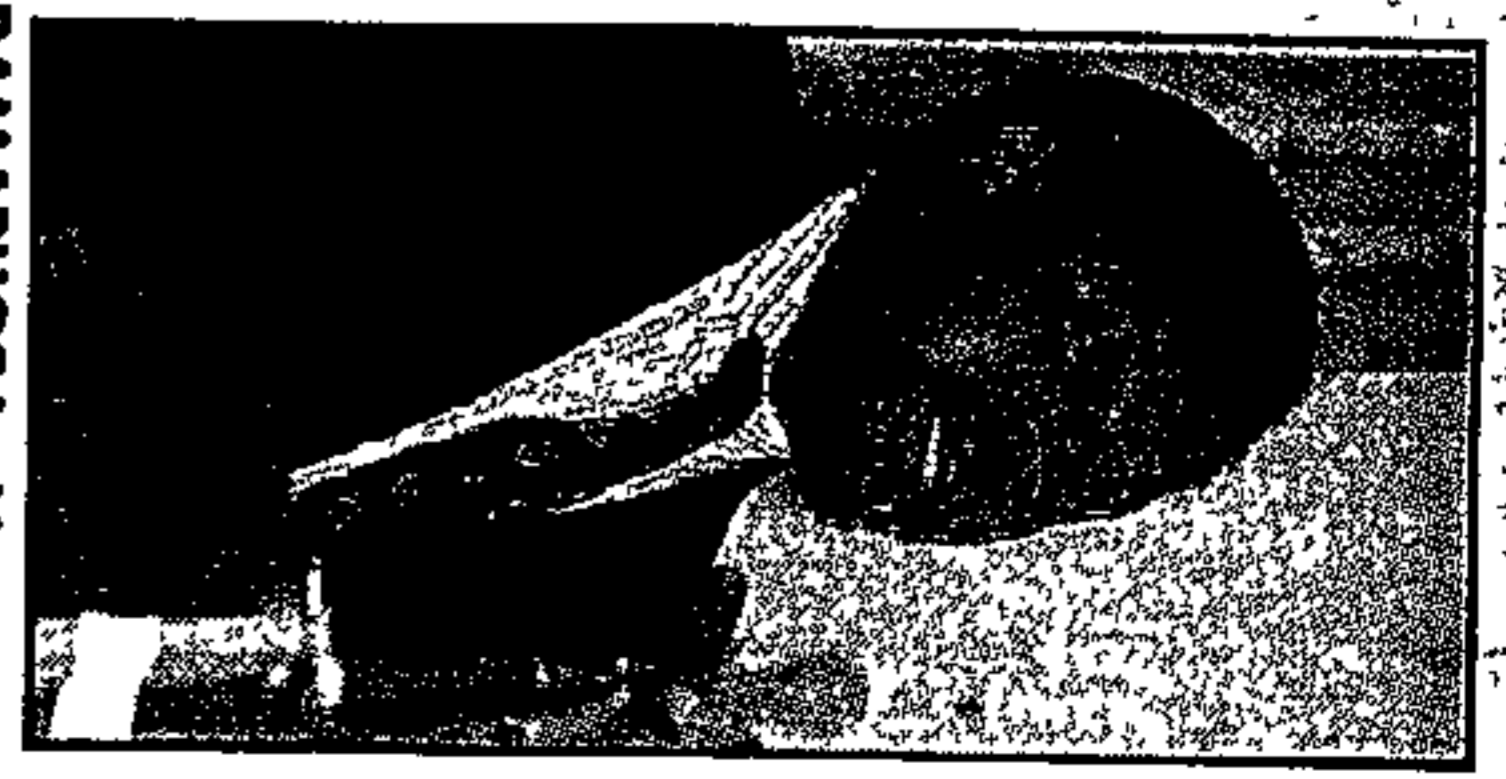
ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said the ANC's decision to attend the violence summit — despite the immense anger in the organisation over the Bisho killings — “reflected our concern that the country was sliding into the abyss. The killing was so shocking that I think it jolted people on both sides to their senses”.

But it was a close and nerve-racking week for the country. After the Bisho slaughter it looked for a few days as though a return to the dark days of armed struggle and violent repression was imminent.

South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani virtually abandoned the route of negotiations in favour of armed struggle when he said Bisho had taught his people a lesson that only

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.



RAMAPHOSA: Mass action will go on but prepare for elections.

57A
12/9/92
Bisho

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● FROM PAGE 1

they could free themselves. "They cannot be freed by nice talks around negotiation tables," he said.

And Botha responded in similar kind when he told TV viewers that there seemed little point in pursuing negotiations with the ANC when it was being led by the SACP into confrontational politics.

It took a degree of brinkmanship to save the negotiation process. De Klerk had, in effect, to lose a queen to save his king.

Emulating a familiar strategy of the ANC, he effectively suspended the Government's participation in constitutional negotiations, pending a resolution of violence.

ANC sources said this new approach struck a chord with them — at last the Government was acknowledging, as they had done long before, that constitutional negotiations were futile while violence raged.

But diplomatic sources said it also took some international arm-twisting to get the two sides to agree to meet. They said the ANC had been reprimanded for SACP executive member Ronnie Kasrils's dash out of the Bisho stadium — in defiance of the march conditions — which provoked the murderous volley from Ciskei troops.

The diplomats also urged the ANC not to put demands to the Government that could not be

met — such as the immediate removal of Brigadier Gqozo.

In turn the Government came under pressure to "get a grip" on Gqozo and other homeland leaders.

Both sides seemed to respond favourably. The ANC did not present its demands for action against Ciskei as conditions for resuming formal negotiations.

And Botha warned for the first time that the Government would use "coercive" measures against the military dictator if he refused to use more enlightened methods to deal with protest marches.

But although the immediate crisis had been averted by week's end, it was clear that many dangers still lay ahead.

Ramaphosa told a Congress of South African Trade Unions conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC still intended to continue with its plans to hold similar marches in Bophuthatswana and in right-wing controlled towns.

Amnesty

He also suggested that the summit on violence would take place only once certain "preparatory work" had been done.

This included the immediate release of all political prisoners, with no link to the general amnesty required by the Government; the fencing of hostels and the searching of their premises; and steps to prevent carrying of dangerous weapons

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MK plans to kill Gqozo - army chief

STAR 12/9/92

105

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, intended assassinating Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, SA Army chief Lieutenant-General George Meiring claimed yesterday.

Meiring said reports indicated that MK chief of operations Lambert Moloi was expected to arrive in the eastern Cape yesterday to co-ordinate planning and activities in the area.

"There is information which indicates MK intends assassinating Gqozo. This can hardly be construed as adhering to the requirements for peaceful demonstrations."

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

He was concerned at reports

that MK members from the PWV area and Transkei, and self-defence units from Motherwell, New Brighton, KwaZakhele and Cradock, had been sent to the area to initiate violence.

Meiring said Ciskei Defence Force and Police members were being assaulted and robbed of their weapons. "Since the tragedy, Ciskei is experiencing violence on a scale not seen in a long time. At least 15 houses of members of the Ciskei Defence Force and Police have been burnt."

Meiring said there were "blatant attempts" by the ANC to implicate the SA Army in the blood-bath, and charged that MK was responsible for the deaths.

Statements by the ANC's department of information and publicity (DIP) that 32 Battalion was deployed in Ciskei and on its bor-

ders, and that 31 and 32 Battalions were to be incorporated into the Ciskei Army, were absurd.

He also rejected as "scurrilous" reports originating from a German publication claiming Lieutenant-General CP van der Westhuizen, SADF Chief-of-Staff Intelligence, had sent a signal to the Ciskei Defence Force "instructing him to use force and all means necessary to crush the demonstration". The allegations appeared in New Nation yesterday.

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

A risk too far for Kasrils

STAR 12/9/92

THIS week things went horribly wrong for Ronnie Kasrils. The ANC's man of action, who is used to taking risks and staring death in the face, took one risk too many in Bisho and 28 people got killed. But, as he told Deputy Editor KEN VERNON, he thinks it was worth it.

THE ANC's Ronnie Kasrils is a man who takes risks.

He has stared death in the face many times — and lived to laugh about it.

Thus week at Bisho he was once again where he loves to be — at the cutting edge of the struggle, leading by example. But things went wrong and at least 28 people died.

Was Kasrils to blame? Was the dash away from the main march on Bisho and through the stadium, triggering the shooting, another case of Kasrils deterring-do gone wrong? Was the march itself an unnecessary provocation?

In a hard-hitting interview he denied that he, or his organisation, was responsible for the Bisho tragedy. "The men who killed those 28 people are the men who pulled the triggers and the men who ordered them to do so — they are the ones who are responsible."

Even when asked whether he did not cynically lead a group of men to their deaths in order to create the martyrs necessary to remove a political opponent, Kasrils did not lose his composure. "If we really wanted

to do that, to have people killed, would some of the top leaders of the ANC have been at the forefront of the march? No, we may have miscalculated. We really believed that a major element within the Ciskeian army sympathised with us and would waver and either run or join us.

"We never believed that they would openly fire on a mass of people before the eyes of the world — the press, the international observers, the Peace Commission."

Kasrils says those who followed him on his dash through the stadium and towards Bisho were members of a hand-picked group who had all been briefed on what to do, and that it was planned that at least half the marchers were in the occupation of Bisho.

"Everyone knew what we were to do. Everyone knew there was a risk. There is no such thing as a risk-free strategy in this kind of situation. But we assessed the risks and believed that getting rid of Gqozo was worth that risk."

He said the final decision to dash through the stadium had been taken only minutes before, al-



RED PAPERNEEL: Ronnie Kasrils says the ANC is not responsible for the deaths at Bisho. "We really believed a major element of the Ciskeian army sympathised with us and would waver and either run or join us." ● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

though the possibility of the action had been discussed and agreed to by the march leaders much earlier.

"I reconnoitred the stadium and realised the potential that the gap in the fence represented. The plan was that we would rush away from the soldiers opposite the gap to avoid any head-on confrontation. But we got only about 30m before they opened fire. "To say that I was re-

sponsible for the dash for Bisho is wrong. It was a joint decision and had been approved by the leaders of the march beforehand and by the ANC leadership when the march was planned. Even the decision to go ahead through the stadium, taken in a rush as we approached the wire, was taken jointly."

Despite the deaths, Kasrils is adamant that the march was both necessary and the right thing to do. "We have been in a life-and-death struggle for decades and in order to get where we are, sacrifice has been needed. If we had not been prepared to sacrifice we wouldn't have got where we are — on the eve of liberation."

"The march was necessary because the people of Ciskei were crying to us that they were being beaten and killed by Gqozo. We had to respond. But the march is just one aspect of the pressure we believe is still necessary to force real change."

"We need to make people motivated and mobilised to force change. Perhaps Gqozo would have fallen without the march, but I doubt it. Now he cannot survive. Pretoria can't afford to keep him in power."

Kasrils denied that the mass action campaign in Ciskei, and other campaign, planned against Bophuthatswana, contradicted the ANC's previous commitment to negotiations with 'people organisations' regarded as having no legitimacy.

"We have never said that, because we are talking, we set aside our right to exert pressure through mass action. During the Vietnam War the US continued to fight while they talked. During industrial action a

union may continue to strike while talking with management. Mass action falls into the same category."

He also denied that Ciskei and Bophuthatswana had been singled out for mass action primarily because they disagreed with the ANC not because they were undemocratic military dictatorships.

"They have been targeted because they are refusing to allow people to take part in normal political democracy," he said. "Why then, I suggested, isn't Transkei — also ruled by a military dictator — but one who happens to be well-disposed towards the ANC — also the target of mass action?"

His reply was that in Transkei and Venda — another ANC-aligned homeland — people were free to join political parties such as the ANC and to have peaceful protests.

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South

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NEWS FOR NEW TIMES

THE ANC must be bugged up. This warmongering threat by Chief Buthelezi was made grimly real this week by his Ciskei counterpart, the butcher Oupa

Gqozo.

They are desperate men resorting to desperate measures.

Yet no one doubts that they are engaged in a doomed attempt to keep history from moving on.

Perhaps they think that they can still echo the sixties when people were mowed down with live ammunition and without warning, this time in 1992

COMMENT

in an apparent trap. *South 12/9-18/9/92*

Maybe they have forgotten that a century of mass bloodshed on the Ciskei frontier failed to destroy the fight against colonial and racial domination.

Bloody rule in Ciskei goes back some years — the Bisho stadium massacre follows in the violent tradition of the Mdantsane stadium atrocities eight years ago.

But the difference today is that, finally, Buthelezi,

Gqozo and Mangope and their counterparts are on the way out. *(105)*

Their directives are still deadly, but this is now the last kick of a dying system.

The bantustans survive only through the patronage and protection of a central government that is itself headed for the scrap-heap.

Dodge as he may, President FW de Klerk must take responsibility for the actions of apartheid's offspring.

Together with his regional surrogates, he may calculate on hanging on till the bitter end.

But the end is clearly in sight.



SHOCKED: Demonstrators look at a pile of bodies mowed down by soldiers of Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo (inset) Photo Adil Bradlow

MASS MURDER

GRAPHIC EYE WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE 'DEATH TRAP' BISHO MASSACRE — FULL STORIES ON PAGES 2 & 3

South Scan

Rafiq Rohan
South Deputy Editor
looks at the
week ahead

THE NIGHTMARE of Ciskei will linger for a long time yet. The tyrant of the Ciskei is not simply "another African dictator." He is the creation of this and previous white, racist governments and the buck for what happened in Bisho on Monday stops in Pretoria.

De Klerk and his government must be held accountable for the almost unbelievable horrors that occurred on the so-called border of South Africa and the so-called border of the Ciskei.

The weeks ahead will no doubt reverberate in the aftermath of this totally unnecessary destruction of human life.

What, however, was equally disturbing was the manner in which the events were reported locally and the politically indulgent reaction.

Nowhere, not even in the liberal press, was there an outright condemnation of the shootings sanctioned by Oupa Gqozo.

Remember the Tiananmen Square massacre in China, when thousands of Chinese students staged a pro-democracy march?

How everyone in South Africa sat back and applauded the brave deeds — which they were — of the students who challenged the dictatorship. How different were they from the deeds of those people who marched to the Ciskei?

Yet the sum total of the reaction was that those who died and were injured got what they deserved.

This is a strange country of strange double-standards when the standards have to be applied to black people.

And then there's the remarkable double-standards of the Democratic Party.

Not such a long time ago when DP members Van Eck, Momberg, Dalling and Cronje defected to the ANC the party with the forked tongue were outraged and slammed them for "betraying" their constituencies.

This week the DP proudly announces the defection of Labour Party members to its ranks.

Wonder how the DP feels about these LP MPs betraying their so-called constituencies. What hypocrisy!

So it rings somewhat hollow when the DP self-righteously blames the ANC for the Bisho massacre.

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Pretoria's men hold top posts in 'sovereign' Ciskei

By Claire Keeton

THE South African government has distanced itself from the Bisho massacre, saying the homeland is a "sovereign country" and that there was no SADF involvement.

However a look at a 1991 treaty and key posts in the homeland's power structures shows the South African government and SADF have a pervasive grip on the homeland.

The Ciskei Council of State signed a treaty with the South African government last year agreeing South Africa would have more direct control over the homeland's finances and allowing for South African assistance in maintaining law and order.

Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo signed the agreement with South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on February 27, 1991, less than a year after Gqozo seized power from former life president Lennox Sebe.

Earlier that month, Botha had announced Ciskei would have a new constitution with more civilians in the government.

At the time it seemed Gqozo was inviting assistance to prop up his position in the face of mounting unpopularity as he headed on a collision course with the ANC, civics and union movement in the region.

He appointed a number of South Africans, including former SADF officers, to top posts in the homeland.

A year later, in April, Ciskei's



LIVING OR DEAD: A marcher feels for the pulse of a fallen comrade during the tragic events in Ciskei Photo Adil Bradlow

Minister of Finance and Director General of Finance resigned. The minister, who had been seconded from South Africa, implied Ciskei had failed to fulfil the terms of the bilateral agreement.

He was replaced by another seconded official — Vice Admiral William Bekker from the South African Navy.

Bekker heads the list of South African personnel seconded to the Ciskei government. The others are:

- Mr Ernst van Wyck, Secretary of the Treasury,
- Major General Johan Viktor, Commissioner of Police,
- Mr Jacobus van der Merwe, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications,
- Mr EW van Heerden, Commissioner of Inland Revenue.

SADF officers seconded to the Ciskeian Defence Force are:

- Brigadier Marnus Oelschig, CDF chief
- Commandant Raymond Williams, Chief of Staff Finance
- Colonel Martin du Toit, Chief of Staff Logistics
- Colonel Chris Meyer, Chief of Staff Personnel.

Former SADF officers now in the CDF are:

- Colonel Dirk van der Bank, CDF deputy chief
- Colonel Ockert Swanepoel, CDF military intelligence
- Brigadier BH Muller, adviser to Gqozo.

Minister of Defence Colonel Siphiso Pita is the only remaining minister from the original military council set up following Gqozo's takeover. — Elnews

EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE MASSACRE

'I wanted to cry' — journalist eyewitness
South 12/9-18/9/92
By Guy Jepsen

THERE was a stunned silence, followed by shouts of "down, comrades, down!" when the Ciskei Defence Force soldiers opened fire on the crowd of ANC marchers in Bisho on Monday.

I was outside the Bisho stadium, at the front of the procession as thousands of people surged ahead of their leaders towards the stadium entrance.

Scores of youths were swarming over the stadium fence while the army helicopters circled overhead.

Behind the razor-wire barricade which had been strung out across the road to prevent the crowd from marching to Bisho, stood a handful of National Peace Secretariat observers and journalists.

A section of the crowd fell face-down on the road as the automatic rifles barked from behind the stadium and then from the line of troops on the University of Fort Hare property to our immediate right.

Minutes before, as the huge banner-waving marchers moved towards their positions, the troops had cocked their weapons, ready to defend their homeland and their leader at all costs.

When they opened fire, thousands of people broke and ran away from the bullets in blind panic.

I lay prone on the roadway, holding my hands over my head as the soldiers fired, their assault rifles on automatic.

I turned to my left and caught the eye of Cyril Ramaphosa.

"This is unbelievable," he said, and then put his head down.

Other senior ANC alliance officials including Raymond Suttner and Tokyo Sexwale, were just metres away.

Still the barrage continued. There was a brief lull and then a second, more sustained burst of gunfire, punctuated by heavy, grenade-type blasts.

Chris Hani was barking out instructions to a gun-toting youngster who looked as if he was going to shoot at the soldiers. "Put that gun away! Do you want to cause a massacre?" the SACP leader screamed.

I scrambled to my feet and began photographing the mayhem.

The injured, some with gaping head wounds, were loaded into cars as youths came running out of the stadium, carrying more bodies.

The Ciskeian troops watched impassively, some lying in the grass, their rifles still trained on us.

I felt like crying as a woman, her face a bloody mess, was gently lifted into a waiting car.

A Red Cross ambulance passed up and down the road as women began to sing over the moans of the injured and the bereaved.

Groups of churchmen standing around the bodies led hymns as the leaders stood in a huddle with National Peace Committee chairper-

son John Hall.

Monwabisi Stuurman, a khaki-clad ANC marshal who helped carry the dead and injured out of the stadium, pointed bitterly at the silent line of troops.

"They didn't even command us to disperse," he said, wiping his hands on his blood-stained trousers.

— Ecna

Yengeni's account from the firing line
South 12/9-18/9/92

Tony Yengeni, ANC regional executive member gives an eye-witness account of the Bisho massacre:

WE HAD marched up to the border with thousands of people — I would say 80 or 90 thousand. When we reached the border it was agreed that comrades Ronnie Kasrils, Chris Hani and some other leaders would move with one wing of the marchers to the stadium.

Another group of leaders, including Cyril Ramaphosa, Tokyo Sexwale and myself moved towards the border.

In front of us was barbed wire which prevented us from moving into Ciskei. On the other side of the barbed wire were the members of the National Peace Secretariat. We wanted to speak to them about the possible removal of the fence, but as we were advancing towards the wire the first volley of fire broke out.

We hit the ground — the

marchers, the National Peace Secretariat people, the journalists, everyone.

The first volley went on for about five minutes. There was a pause and then the second volley started. It also went on for a very long time. The police stood there with their guns pointing at us.

Eventually people slowly started standing up one by one. When it became apparent that it was all clear we stood up and immediately saw five people dead, their scars open and their brains spilling out. As we looked around we saw more and more bodies. People formed a human wall around Cyril Ramaphosa in case he was fired on.

It is sickening that Ronnie Kasrils is being blamed for provoking the shooting. Anyone who was there at the time would get very angry at that kind of proposal. There was absolutely no reason for the soldiers to shoot.

The magistrate and the Peace Secretariat had given permission for the marchers to move to the stadium. They were excited that they were coming to the end of the march. That is why they ran.

It is also a blatant lie that shots were fired by the marchers.

What shocked people was that the fire had been directed at the front ranks. It was a miracle that none of the leaders were killed.

We occupied the place for 24 hours, and lit fires to keep warm during the night. On Tuesday there was a memorial service led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and later Madiba visited the scene.



PANIC: While some laid low others scrambled desperately for cover after Ciskeian soldiers opened fire on marchers without warning

Photo Adil Bradlow

By Quentin Wilson

A BUSLOAD of angry and visibly shaken ANC supporters returned home from the Ciskeian border on Wednesday morning — only to go directly to the Ciskeian consulate in Cape Town where the demonstrations continued.

Their reaction to Monday's shootings was unanimous. All of those interviewed by SOUTH were convinced that the Ciskeian Defence Force, along with the SAP and SADF, had lured marchers into a death-trap.

Their theory is that the gap in the fence surrounding the Bisho stadium was left there intentionally (if not created) by security forces, so that they could catch demonstrators

By Quentin Wilson

THE Sharpeville killings heralded the armed struggle. The Boipatong killings crippled Codesa. Monday's Bisho killings have triggered off another big-league crisis that will result in a new, strategic shift.

Once more the commanders of the ANC-led liberation movement have been forced into an emergency huddle to take stock of South Africa's freshest crisis.

Mr Trevor Manuel, ANC national executive member, was hesitant to predict what the upshot could be but he did point to a "shift of focus" that would primarily aim to "dislodge the 'tin-pot despots' of the bantustans" from President FW de Klerk's grip.

Referring to the closely knit alliance between De Klerk and bantustan leaders in Ciskei, Qwa-Qwa,

'Death-trap' theory gains more strength

in a master-minded ambush.

The allegation was given added weight when some journalists were told by employees of the Amatola Sun, a Bisho hotel, that they saw Ciskeian soldiers practise shooting with blanks near the hole in the fence on Sunday afternoon.

It was this gap in the fence where ANC national executive member, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, led a breakthrough run to Bisho's town centre — only to be stopped short by a

volley of gunfire.

It was at this point where hotel workers allege they saw Ciskeian soldiers practise the day before.

One of the marchers, Mr Yolisa Pikie, expressed his anger: "I knew Gqozo was a madman, but I certainly did not expect this ... not even from him. It was all so clearly a trap."

"The whole thing clearly resembled a well-laid trap. And it was not only I who thought so; many other

journalists who were also there thought the same thing," a journalist who witnessed the shooting said.

Colonel Christo Louw, SAP spokesperson in the Eastern Cape, disagreed.

"The whole thing is a complete and total lie. It is very far-fetched, in fact it simply just is not true," he said.

While he was adamant that the allegations were wrong, he was equally adamant that the SAP

played no role in assisting Ciskeian security forces with their operation in Ciskei territory.

Louw insisted that there was no co-ordination whatsoever between Ciskeian and South African security forces. Each force acted independently on either side of the border, according to him. This is also a point of disagreement between marchers and authorities.

When SOUTH telephoned the Ciskei police for comment, they immediately hung up.

There is still a question that remains: Why was so much meticulous care taken by the security forces to erect a whole range of barrier fencing and razor wire — and then allow a gap of about 30m at a key strategic point?

And will a commission of inquiry ever produce an answer?

'Drop the despots or we'll dislodge them'

Kwazulu and Bophuthatswana, Manuel said that the ANC viewed this bloc of forces as the main obstacle to peace and democracy.

"It has become clear that De Klerk's alliance with certain bantustan leaders must become unstuck. It will be a key issue of focus to dislodge this alliance as so much of De Klerk's strategy depends on this group remaining intact," Manuel said.

"They are all so intertwined. For example, there are 14 SADF senior officers who have been placed in the Ciskeian army — including the top two commanders. There are all kinds of denials of SADF involvement in Ciskei's decision-making process, but the facts speak for

themselves. The SADF has a firm grip on the Ciskei Defence Force," he said.

An ANC/SACP/Cosatu leadership meeting date for a full assessment of Monday's events will be decided on Thursday morning.

Manuel said that a more specific plan will emerge from this meeting but he emphasised the need for a "rational, level-headed response" that laid the basis for "stability and economic growth".

"We are under historical obligation to avoid the route of full-blown civil war at all costs. We simply can't lead South Africa down that road. The current crises in Somalia and Bosnia show clearly how destructive this can be."

Manuel said that, in this light, it was unlikely the armed struggle would be resumed.

The ANC had found the reaction of world leaders to Bisho's shootings "very positive".

"By and large, the international community has laid the blame squarely at the feet of the South African government. The US Secretary of State, Mr James Baker, said exactly that," he said.

Gqozo vowed this week he would not bow to pressure for a referendum but talked of an election.

Kwazulu chief minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's, Mr Lucas Mangope, have both sided with Gqozo and have warned they will not tolerate

attempts by the ANC to hold similar protest marches inside their borders.

According to Professor Tom Lodge of the politics department of Wits University, De Klerk is faced with a no-win situation. He either suffers the embarrassment of keeping Gqozo — which he cannot afford — or he threatens his alliance with other bantustan leaders by ditching Gqozo from his pay-roll.

"However, the NP has gone to a lot of trouble to stitch together an alliance with these homeland leaders for future elections, and whatever happens, De Klerk can't be seen by Buthelezi and Mangope to ditch Gqozo. He will have to do it quietly and make it seem like an elegant abdication," Lodge contended.

THE ANC must be bugged up. This warmongering threat by Chief Buthelezi was made grimly real this week by his Ciskei counterpart, the butcher Oupa

Gqozo. They are desperate men resorting to desperate measures.

Yet no one doubts that they are engaged in a doomed attempt to keep history from moving on

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MASS MURDER

GRAPHIC EYE WITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE 'DEATH TRAP' BISHO MASSACRE — FULL STORIES ON PAGES 2 & 3

105
Apartment border drenched in blood
Open 13/1/92.

By FRANZ KRUGER

LAST week the Ciskei border was a line drawn in sand. On Monday morning it was marked with razor wire etched in blood.

The border runs somewhere between the two adjoining towns of King William's Town and Bishop. It's usually hard to see exactly where. This week, there was no doubt. It was where the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had drawn this line, warning that the ANC would not be allowed into his territory. On the other side, the ANC was spoiling for a fight.

The stakes were high: the ANC had declared its intention of pushing Gqozo out of power and his government offices would remain occupied until SA responded to its demands.

At the last minute, a Ciskei magistrate ruled that the march could go ahead, but only as far as the Bisho Stadium, right on the outskirts of the Ciskei capital.

As the massive crowd of some 60 000 people wound its way into the stadium, a "column" led by MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils swept through a gap in the fence and towards a line of Ciskei soldiers.

He later said the intention had been to rush into Bisho and mount a peaceful occupation of the city. But the Ciskei soldiers fired, perhaps out of panic. There was no order to shoot, Gqozo later conceded.

Trigger fingers locked along the line of soldiers, and the fire continued for some five minutes. At



TRAGIC AFTERMATH ... Shocked and bewildered ANC marshals cover their fallen comrades, slain by Ciskei troops who are under the command of SADF officers.

least 30 people were left dead, almost 200 wounded.

It seems clear that the ANC expected the troops to give way before the crowd. After all, that's what happened a month ago, during the previous march on Bisho.

The mood on that occasion was triumphant. It seemed as if the Ciskei had been driven back. In the run-up to this week's march, the ANC had issued an appeal to

Ciskei troops not to obey orders. Referring to Ciskei "atrocities", the ANC said: "Take strength from the people! Refuse to carry out these orders! Join our people in ending Gqozo's rule!"

It was probably an even chance that Ciskei's ill-disciplined troops would will before mass action. This was the card the ANC gambled on. But in the event, they didn't, they opened fire. The Ciskei should have

been a relatively soft touch for the ANC. Bisho should have offered the best opportunity for implementing Operation Exhigate, the final stage of the current mass-action campaign which, it is hoped, will sweep the government and its allies out of power.

Gqozo is a massively unpopular ruler, and the Border region one of the ANC's strongest. According to recently published figures, about two-thirds of the ANC's national membership is in the three eastern Cape regions - the eastern Cape, Transkei and Border.

The ANC clearly saw the Ciskei as the thin end of a wedge that would ultimately lever State President FW de Klerk out of the Union Buildings. Addressing the crowd just before they set out for the Ciskei border, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said to the

clear unrest areas. The one thing they didn't do, though, was to ensure proper control over the Ciskei forces. There should be no mistake about the fact this was well within the SA government's ability. The Ciskei troops who opened fire on Monday were under the command of SADF officers, just as the Ciskei Commissioner of Police is a South African policeman.

In fact, the Ciskei's independence is even more of a sham than that of other homelands. Almost all key positions are held by SA officials. In terms of a treaty signed last year, Ciskei handed over the right to appoint key cabinet ministers to Pretoria. It was at the time acknowledged to be the first step to reincorporation.

Besides those ministers, other important posts have also been filled by South Africans. These include the police commissioner, the head of the Ciskei Defence Force and the administration head in Gqozo's office, a Brigadier Hendrik Muller.

But when it came to the events of this week, it suited SA to cling to the fiction that Ciskei is an independent state.

For the SA government, Gqozo and his African Democratic Movement represent the only ally in an otherwise massively ANC region. He may not be much, but he's all they have.

And he's got a nice line in lack of scruples when it comes to dealing with political opponents. So they stood by him. - Eena



DIRTY WORK . . . Ciskei Defence Force chief of staff operations Col Horst Schubesberger (with the radio) allegedly gave the order down peaceful ANC demonstrators in Bisho on Monday. On the right is Ciskei police commissioner, Gen JJ Viktor.

UNCOVER

The man who gave order

City Press 13/9/92 105

By S'BU MNGADI

THE man holding the two-way radio in the above photograph ordered the Bisho massacre on Monday in liaison with Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo's shadowy high command.

He is Col Horst Schubesberger, Ciskei Defence Force chief of staff of operations and the officer commanding the soldiers who opened fire in cold blood on the 80 000-strong ANC march, killing 28 people and wounding 200 others.

Communicating with the CDF high command in the operations room through two-way radios, Schubesberger was assisted by Col Jaco Rossouw, a veteran of Rhodesia's Selous Scouts.

Schubesberger, a long-serving CDF officer, is an Austrian of unknown military background.

When the march was about a kilometre from Bisho, but within view, the colonel - dressed in battle fatigues and armed with an R4 rifle - came to the Ciskei-SA border on the King William's Town-Bisho main road. He inspected the CDF troops who had taken positions along the main road and behind the Bisho Independence Stadium.

Ciskei troops 'terrorise' villages

CISKEI villages on the outskirts of King William's Town were virtually under siege from Ciskei Defence Force soldiers this week, with allegations of random assaults and killings continuing.

Three more Ciskei residents died after being assaulted or shot by CDF soldiers, according to the ANC Youth League.

Information and publicity secretary Phaki Hobongwana said Phakamisa Pike, 22, was allegedly taken to the home of the local headman where he was badly assaulted and left to die.

Hobongwana said that a deputy principal, Jeff Mqoloma, was shot by Ciskei soldiers. He died in hospital.

He said an 18-year-old member of the Youth League, Mabuti Swaribool from Dambaza, died after being brutally assaulted by

soldiers. There were also reports of several assaults at Pechon, baba Ngqwela, Mlakamlake, Mtshaba, Phakamisa and Iish.

An Anglican priest in Rev Pat Ncaca, reported an army truck parked in front of his house for more than Wednesday.

side pointing their fire direction of his house.

As the march drew nearer, an order was barked and the soldiers cocked their R4 rifles menacingly.

CDF sources told City Press that Gqozo and the CDF high command - all seconded SADF officers - liaised with Schubesberger by two-way radio from an operations room in the Ciskei parliament building.

The high command comprises CDF commander Brig Marius Oelschig, deputy commander Col Dirk van der Bank, Ciskei's Military Intelligence chief Col Ockert Swane-poel, MI deputy chief Hendrik Chris Nel, chief of staff finance Col Raymond Williams, chief of staff logistics Col Martie du Toit, chief of staff

personnel Col Chris Meyer, air wing commanding officer Col R Penhall and Gqozo's adviser, Brig BH Muller.

The only black members are Gqozo and Defence Minister Col SS Pita - also the only two members of the Ciskei Military Council.

Ironically, one of the demands of the ANC protest was the removal of SADF officers from the CDF.

The writer was standing about five metres from Schubesberger when a voice came through on his two-way radio. Schubesberger was asked about protesters who had broken away from the main body.

The operations chief replied that

"the situation is under control". The caller said something inaudible - the colonel laughed.

Schubesberger then spoke to Rossouw and Ciskei Police Commissioner Gen JJ Viktor, a retired divisional commissioner. Viktor commanded the Ciskei Police's Action Unit at the scene on

Schubesberger disappeared behind Ciskei troops' battle lines as ANC general secretary Cyril Maphosa, SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani and fellow national executive leaders of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP were about 100 metres away.

Massacre 'planned in detail'

By QUINTIN RHODES *C/News 13/9/92*

THERE are strong indications Monday's massacre in Bisho, which left 28 dead and nearly 200 injured, did not occur in the heat of the moment, but was a closely strategised action, executed according to plan.

The marchers were members of a ANC-organised protest demanding the removal of Gqozo from his position of power in the "independent" homeland.

There are equally strong indications that the SADF was deeply involved in both the planning and the execution of the killings.

These startling allegations fly in the face of claims by Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo that his troops opened fire in self-defence, and a systematic attempt on the part of the SA government to distance itself from the massacre.

According to observers at the Amatola Sun, on the Saturday preceding the horror killings, CDF personnel practiced formations a few hundred metres from the hotel and very close to the site on the Ciskei/SA border where they actually opened fire two days later.

But they did not practise any of the conventional crowd-control manoeuvres - like teargassing, deploying water cannons or baton charging.

Instead, although they were using blanks and not the live ammunition they fired on the Monday, they practiced single shot and long-burst automatic fire - precisely the "crowd control" measures they used to the horror of the whole world on Monday.

Equally disturbing is the role played by South Africans in the massacre.

The two officers commanding the Ciskei troops on the day of the massacre, CDF chief of staff operations Col Horst Schubesberger and Col Jaco Rousseau, are in fact both former SADF soldiers with continuing close links to the SADF.

The CDF Chief and

■ To Page 2



Col Horst Schubesberger (with the radio) allegedly gave the order to gun the right is Ciskei police commissioner Gen JJ Viktor.

REVEALED:

Who gave orders to fire

C/News 13/9/92

(105)

... 'terrorise' villages

Pike, 22, was allegedly taken to the home of the local headmen where he was badly assaulted and left to die.

A deputy Mbulana, was killed by Ciskei soldiers. He died in his home.

An 18-year-old member of the Youth League, Mabutu Swarthout from Dimbaza, died.

He was allegedly assaulted by

soldiers. There were also reports of continued assaults at Peleton, Dimbaza, Ngqwelo, Mlakamlake, Zwelitsha, Phakamisa and Ilitha.

An Anglican priest in Zwelitsha, Rev Pat Ncaca, reported that an army truck parked in front of his house for more than an hour on Wednesday, with two soldiers inside pointing their firearms in the direction of his house. Eena

personnel Col Chris Meyer, air wing commanding officer Col R Penhall and Gqozo's adviser, Brig BH Muller.

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Ironically, one of the demands of the ANC protest was the removal of SADF officers from the CDF.

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"the situation is under control". The caller said something inaudible and the colonel laughed.

Schubesberger then spoke to Rossouw and Ciskei Police commissioner Gen JJ Viktor, a retired Soweto divisional commissioner. Viktor commanded the Ciskei Police's Reaction Unit at the scene on Monday.

Schubesberger disappeared behind Ciskei troops' battle lines just as ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani and the fellow national executive leadership of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance were about 100 metres away.

A CDF soldier was killed, provoking the order to shoot, he said, claiming the ANC protest had been planned as an "armed attack".

Journalists and NPS observers who witnessed the shooting have yet to corroborate Gqozo's claim. Viktor said his police were still investigating the soldier's death and he could not yet release his name.

Former CDF MI chief Col Gert Hugo recently told newspapers Gqozo's regime was deliberately bolstered by members of SA's MI. He also said SA's MI was actively involved in turning Gqozo from an ANC supporter to an opponent.

Ciskei defence minister Col SS Pita could not be reached for comment on Friday or yesterday.

Wo
CR
MENTH

ANC T.S.R.

STRANGE

A country we live in, and the Bisho massacre last Monday has reaffirmed the assertion that we are probably a crazy lot.

How else could one describe people who justify the unjustifiable. People who differ vehemently on fundamental principles. Murder is murder - irrespective of who perpetrates the act.

It is one thing to play political games and quite another when lives are involved.

I am still dumbfounded that less than a week after the Bisho massacre, where 28 people were killed and nearly 200 hospitalised, serious-minded people in this country are debating the merits and demerits of the Ciskei event on TV and radio.

Those for and those against the Bisho massacre did not even pause to think about the lifeless bodies lying on Ciskeian soil. They did not think of those in hospital nor did they think about the families of the dead. Those who claimed to

MY WAY

With Khulu Sibuya

13/9/92

Opening up old wounds



be serious about negotiations were in fact making a mockery of the word.

Let us not deceive ourselves. We still harbour deep-rooted seeds of hatred for one another. We preach one thing and practice another.

We speak of reconciliation when in fact we're spoiling for a fight. In public we talk of negotiations while in secret we plan war.

When are we going to be men of honour and be judged for what we have said and done? Forget about what political analysts have told us. They too, were divided on the issue. Also, forget about who was right and who was

wrong. You will never know the truth, for we live in different worlds. We see things from different perspectives.

Most white people think all those blacks who marched to a lions den in Bisho were crazy and ask: "What did they expect other than a firing squad from the Ciskei soldiers?"

Blacks think whites and their puppets in these government-created homelands are beyond redemption and the rolling mass action was the only weapon at their disposal to make them realise they mean business. And so the vicious circle continues. Different radio talk-shows this week proved all

of this.

Blacks who phoned in were angry and emotional and put the blame squarely on the shoulders of Brig Oupa Gqozo as a bloodthirsty soldier who was groomed by the SADF to kill his own people.

Others blamed FW de Klerk's government which designed apartheid policy solely for this purpose - to force blacks into subservience in all the homelands.

Most white callers pointed fingers directly at the ANC and its Communist Party alliance, blaming them for using revolutionary methods to topple the "legitimate" Ciskei government. Many of them don't

understand why there's a hue and cry from the black community, "when all Gqozo did was defend his own country against invasion".

The Bisho massacre has opened up cracks and exposed the thorny road ahead for reconciliation and a just, democratic SA.

It has exposed the fate of all people in transition. Specifically it has shown we will have to go through a period of disillusionment and despair before we become more resilient and build the capacity to move on and out of this valley of death.

The government will never be able to bludgeon blacks into submission, nor will their created leaders in these nominal states succeed. Also, the ANC must now realise that more people will lose their lives unless they revise their strategy.

Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu will not hesitate to use the same method as that used by the Ciskei. At the end of the day solutions will only come from the negotiating table.

Letter from Mr F W de Klerk to Mr Nelson Mandela dated Friday, September 4.

You will be aware that certain actions are being planned for 7 September 1992 in the Ciskei. In view of indications that the situation could lead to a confrontation with serious consequences, I wish to convey to you my concern in this regard.

The government has no objection to peaceful demonstrations which take place within the parameters of the National Peace Accord and the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission. For this reason I do not question the key objectives of the organisers of the planned march as they have defined them.

From our side we are doing everything possible to help in the arrangement of an agreement between all those involved which will ensure that the planned action takes place peacefully. I appeal to you to ensure that the ANC will give its full co-operation in this regard.

I am sure you will agree that it is imperative that the volatile situation in the Eastern Cape should be defused. I believe that through close co-operation with the existing peace structures this can be achieved. A confrontation leading to possible loss of life would have incalculable implications for all of us and should be avoided at all cost.

Letter from Mr Mandela to Mr De Klerk dated September 4:

We note that you do not question the key objectives of the organisers of the planned march as defined and that you are doing everything possible to help in the arrangement of an agreement which will ensure that those involved will ensure that the planned action in the Ciskei on September 7 takes place peacefully.

We will ensure that the ANC fully co-operates in this regard. The planned action is no different from the various forms of mass action that have been recently con-

In the interest of peace, and with a view to avoiding any loss of life, I would like to make a most serious and urgent appeal to you

Dear Mr Mandela

Yours sincerely

F W DE KLERK

THE DE KLERK — MANDELA LETTERS

AS the ANC and the Ciskei government edged closer to catastrophe last week, President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela wrote increasingly acrimonious notes to each other. Here are edited extracts from the fateful correspondence...

Dear Mr De Klerk,

Yours sincerely,

Nelson Mandela
President, ANC

the Supreme Court of Ciskei for an interdiction to prevent the mass action planned by the ANC/SACP in Ciskei on September 7 1992.

I am sure that you will agree with me that all parties concerned should respect the letter and the spirit of the decision of the court, whatever it might be, and that they should co-operate within the framework of existing agreements and structures to prevent any outbreak of violence.

If the court rules in favour of the Ciskei government, the ANC should seriously reconsider its proposed march to Ciskei, bearing in mind

the volatile security situation in the region and the very real possibility of a loss of life.

The South African Government would be prepared to co-operate with the ANC with regard to the holding of an appropriate mass-action at a suitable location in King William's Town (i.e. outside Ciskei).

If the court rules against the Ciskei government, the South African Government will likewise urge the Ciskei government to abide by the decision. I am sure that you will agree with me that time is of the essence and that we should do everything within our power to defuse

this potential explosive situation as soon as possible.

Letter from Mr Mandela to Mr De Klerk dated Sunday, September 6:

Your entire position today has drastically shifted. Nowhere do you even hint that, while you were soliciting our co-operation, you were at the same time deploying troops on the Ciskeian borders, erecting road blocks and declaring unrest areas, all of which will to your knowledge create acute tensions. Equally disturbing is the fact that this evening you state, con-

trary to your letter of September 4, 1992, that you will not interfere in the internal affairs of the Ciskei.

These contradictions are unfortunate and tend to strengthen the perception that you and I are not negotiating in good faith. I urge you to honour our agreement of September 4, and not to do anything which may damage the climate for peaceful negotiations for which we have all worked so hard to create. I further confirm that we do not recognise the bantustans and do not consider ourselves bound by the decisions of its courts.

Letter from Mr F W De Klerk to Mr Mandela, Monday, September 7:

I find it unfortunate that you seek inconsistency where it does not exist.

All our efforts have been aimed at facilitating agreements which would avoid confrontation and ensure that peaceful demonstrations should be allowed...

As you are aware, the Ciskei Supreme Court decided that the magistrate of Zwelitsha should rule on the planned demonstration, and that he has decided that it may, subject to certain conditions, proceed.

In the interest of peace, and with a view to avoiding any loss of life, I would like to make a most serious and urgent appeal to you to ensure that your side complies with the conditions laid down by the magistrate.

As undertaken in my letter to you yesterday, the South African government is urging the Ciskei government to abide by the decision and to ensure that the mass action takes place in a peaceful manner.

At no stage did I indicate that the South African government would "interfere" in the affairs of Ciskei. Efforts to facilitate agreements cannot be termed as interference.

You refer to the government's moves to ensure security on the South African side and state that these actions will "create new tensions". These moves were necessary because of the acute tensions which had already been created by your planned mass action.

Media reports here and abroad abound with warnings of an increasingly explosive situation erupting into large-scale violence in Bisho and the surrounding areas. Our own evaluation confirms this risk. It is my government's primary responsibility to curb violence — a responsibility recognised by the recent Security Council decisions.

I would urge you, once again, to do everything in your power to ensure that today's actions take place peacefully and within the framework of the Peace Accord and the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission.

Only hours after this letter was sent to Mr Mandela, a group of ANC marchers led by Mr Ronnie Kasrils tried to outflank the Ciskeian troops in defiance of the court order. They shot 29 people dead.

A 'fun run' turned to bloody death beyond the razor wire

S/Times

13/9/92

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THE sign in a pharmacy window in King William's Town read: Closed For Stocktaking. But except for bottle stores and cafes, just about everything else had shut down, too.

In a field near Grey hospital — where five hours later hundreds would mill anxiously for news of the wounded — Eland armoured cars dominated an army vehicle park.

Before the march, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa addressed the throng. The goal was Bisho and the overthrow of the tyrant Gqozo and some Ciskei soldiers, Mr Ramaphosa declared, had told the ANC they would disobey orders to shoot. The crowd roared its approval.

After Gqozo it would be the turn of Mangope, then Buthelezi.

People got up and moved leisurely towards the exit. It was a crush, but a good-natured one. It could have been the start of a fun run.

That five magisterial districts had been declared unrest areas seemed hardly relevant.

Shortly before 1pm the vanguard reached a crucial junction, a razor wire barrier at the border with the Ciskei.

At the barrier, with soldiers at peak alert, ANC mass action co-ordinator Ronnie Kasrils opted to do his thing.

He raised his fist and set off at a trot, a boyish smile on his face.

What followed was a stampede. Thousands swarmed along a dirt road to an open gate in the stadium fence.

BILL KRIGE was at Ronnie Kasrils's shoulder when he led demonstrators into Bisho stadium this week. He describes the 'fun run' that turned to mayhem and murder

Here was where the speeches would be delivered in terms of an agreement with the Ciskei. People rushed for the best seats, the grandstand filled rapidly.

Then a white car filled with ANC officials drove into the arena. It made a fast quarter circuit of the athletic track and headed for a concrete exit tunnel facing Bisho — and, in a flash, everything changed.

Suddenly the way to Bisho was open. Thousands rose and charged after the car.

Through the tunnel, a few Ciskeian soldiers were visible on a dirt road 200m away. More were hidden in the long grass.

THE volley was sudden. For a moment people continued running uncertainly towards the sound. Then they turned and fled.

Five minutes earlier I had run into the stadium at Kasrils's shoulder. Soon I would see him help carry a badly wounded man from the killing field.

The massacre at Bisho occurred in two places. The tunnel was the first, and possibly the worst.

The second was about 300m away, at the razor wire barrier from where Kasrils had led the stampede.

At the tunnel, where I was, the terror was palpable. Despite the crack of gunfire and crash of grenades, it was a curiously mute tableau.

People dived wordlessly into heaps, writhing desperately to make the bottom layer. Bullets smacked into the stadium's embankment and dust hung in a thick haze:

The concrete tunnel became a refuge, people jamming against the walls. After the stragglers came the lightly wounded, shocked and trickling blood. A man dragged himself in, his hip twisted unnaturally but giving me a clenched-fist salute.

A boy aged about nine was too shocked for tears and too scared to lift his shirt to see if he'd been shot. He was lucky. It was just a bruise.

There were incidents of great courage.

Without hesitation, men returned to the killing field, walking into the silently menacing grass to search for fallen comrades. The soldiers stayed hidden.

The wounded were carried in, men, women and children with shattered limbs, ripped flesh and guts hanging out.

There were ghastly head wounds and the concrete was red with gore. The wounded were laid in the shade or the soccer pitch to await help.

Overhead, four helicopters circled incessantly — three

South African — but none landed.

At the tunnel, Red Cross officials staunched wounds and covered the dead with blankets. Soon the first cars and bakkies drove in and the severely wounded were driven away. Many looked as if they wouldn't make it.

At about 2pm, a Ciskeian Defence Force Casspir rolled slowly past and gave us 10 minutes to evacuate the stadium. We walked in a group through the veld fire smoke to the national road, scene of the second massacre, where a group of ANC marshals stood guard over four bodies.

THE shooting here started after the massacre at the tunnel and, according to most journalists, the ANC leadership and peace observers, was unprovoked. Ciskeian sources claim the soldiers began shooting after a Private VS Nqabisa was shot dead.

A Makarov pistol was found and handed to Ciskeian Police Commissioner General Johan Viktor. He refused to confirm this because "a commission (under Chief Justice R Pickard) has been appointed".

He is also said to have been handed a map showing the ANC planned to use the tunnel to storm Bisho.

Thousands began to drift back to King William's Town, ignoring the exhortation of Ramaphosa, riding on a bakkie and using a loud-hailer, to stay for a 24-hour vigil.

Eventually, about 2 000 spent the night in the open.

The march on Bisho was the Communist Party's "Leipzig Option" turned sour, argues
BRIAN POTTINGER

When wild men seize the moment

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THE week began with gunfire at Bisho and ended, predictably, with political shadow-boxing between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Who should speak to whom, when, how.

Yet there is a new urgency to this familiar pantomime. The incident on the Bisho road this week which took at least 29 lives and injured 200 was a tableau an appalling moment of illumination for all South Africans about what happens when wild men seize the moment.

For when Ronnie Kasrils rushed the Ciskeian guns, he carried more than a few hundred supporters with him. He trailed along a revolutionary tradition which remains undimmed by all the compromises, negotiations and trade-offs since February 2, 1990. Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo, for his part, commanded not just a handful of bandit troops: he defended a monstrous yet dying *ancien regime*.

Inertia

Sponsorship for the Bisho tragedy is being laid at various doors, but it is worth beginning with a consideration of where the original sin lies. The Ciskei, much unloved by everybody and most of all by those who have to live within its borders, is a creation of the National Party government.

True, in recent months the South African government has assumed some administrative powers in the territory. It has more than once rapped Gqozo for his excesses: he has recently taken to writing to other homeland leaders complaining that he is tired of being subjected to "wicked baaskap and old-style apartheid domination" by the government.

Yet it was not enough. Gqozo got away with mur-

der and each act of repression merely invoked further enticement to revolution, a long process culminating in this week's event.

A generous interpretation of the government's inertia is that it has become so used to supporting tribal despots with public money that it does not know when, exactly, to draw the line. A more cynical view is that it was keen to seduce Gqozo into a Codesa alliance on the basis of Lyndon Johnson's famous dictum: "They may be bastards but they are our bastards."

Yet no original sin on the part of the government can condone the single-minded determination of the SA Communist Party, with the ANC in tow, to martyr its followers and jeopardise

the fragile peace process.

Kasrils, a dedicated revolutionary and communist, this week insisted he did not expect the Ciskeian army to open fire when he led his crowd into their guns at Bisho. Yet his opponent, Gqozo, has in the past made little secret of his deadly intentions to defend the ersatz capital of his ersatz state from mass occupation.

Why then this heroism — or cynicism? Why this frontal attack on a febrile regime whose very insecurity is based on the knowledge that it will soon disappear, submerged in a new political system to which Gqozo has already given his reluctant consent at Codesa, a satrap about to be denied an empire?

The ANC's ostensible reason for the march was to prove that free political activity must be honoured throughout South Africa. It was also a protest against the homeland system.

The first reason is legitimate, if utopian; the second frankly suspect. Transkei is

Land where terror reigns

S/Times 13/9/92

CHARLENE SMITH reports from a country standing on the brink

THIRTEEN-year-old Onke Nokhele, his small frame badly bruised, battles to peer out of one eye. A deep, oozing sjambok wound from chin to forehead seals his other eye.

He is a small victim of the enormous crisis gripping Ciskei since the tragic events of Monday. The territory has descended into paranoia, fear and vicious revenge attacks.

Onke and some friends were playing near Zwelitsha, a short distance from Bisho, on Tuesday. Stones and boulders littered the road, where the day before comrades set up roadblocks. Ciskeian soldiers ordered them to remove the stones, beating them as they worked.

They were then driven to a place nearby flooded with

effluent from a leaking pipe and ordered to leopard crawl through it "like Chris Hani does", Onke claims. Their torment ended only when nearby villagers protested at the soldiers' conduct.

Some Ciskeian soldiers — 24 of whom have had their homes petrol-bombed — have apparently gone on the rampage, severely beating people.

Phakamisa Phike, aged 22, of Diki Dakane, near King William's Town, was allegedly beaten to death by soldiers on Wednesday. Mr Phike's death happened shortly before the ANC was granted an urgent interdict in the Bisho supreme court to prevent members of the Ciskei Defence Force from "unlawfully harassing, assaulting, threatening and

In search of the winnable battle, the Ciskei fairly clamoured for the communists' attention

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both a homeland and not greatly democratic (Inkatha Freedom Party branches do not flourish in Transkei), yet it is not marked down by the ANC for revolutionary overthrow. But then, the Bantu Holomisa administration can best be described as the ANC at tribal devotion.

The real motive for the Kasrils sprint should rather be sought in a recent statement by Jeremy Cronin, the poet-conscience of the SA Communist Party. He warned about the "elitism" of the negotiating process and pointed to the need to keep the rank and file mobilised and ready.

He was merely reflecting a wider view among many ANC and particular-

ly SACP supporters — the feeling that talking in closed rooms has achieved little of substance, that there is no substitute for direct action.

The ANC's vaunted "mass action", meanwhile, has met with little success inside South Africa — hardly shaking markets, disrupting commerce, provoking the security forces or inconveniencing citizens.

In search of the winnable battle, then, the Ciskei fairly clamoured for the communists' attention. An impoverished country with a rapacious leadership, a nationhood largely fabricated by state-employed Afrikaner anthropologists, a population 10-to-one ANC

supporting, a weak public service and a rag-tag army.

Here, indeed, was the one place in South Africa where the communists' long-cherished ideal of a "Leipzig Option" — the overthrow of a government by massive, peaceful civil resistance as happened in central Europe — might work. And the communists tried.

The suggestion that this was a wholly ANC initiative is belied by the fact that the foremost organisers were all top communists — Raymond Suttner, Ronnie Kasrils, Chris Hani.

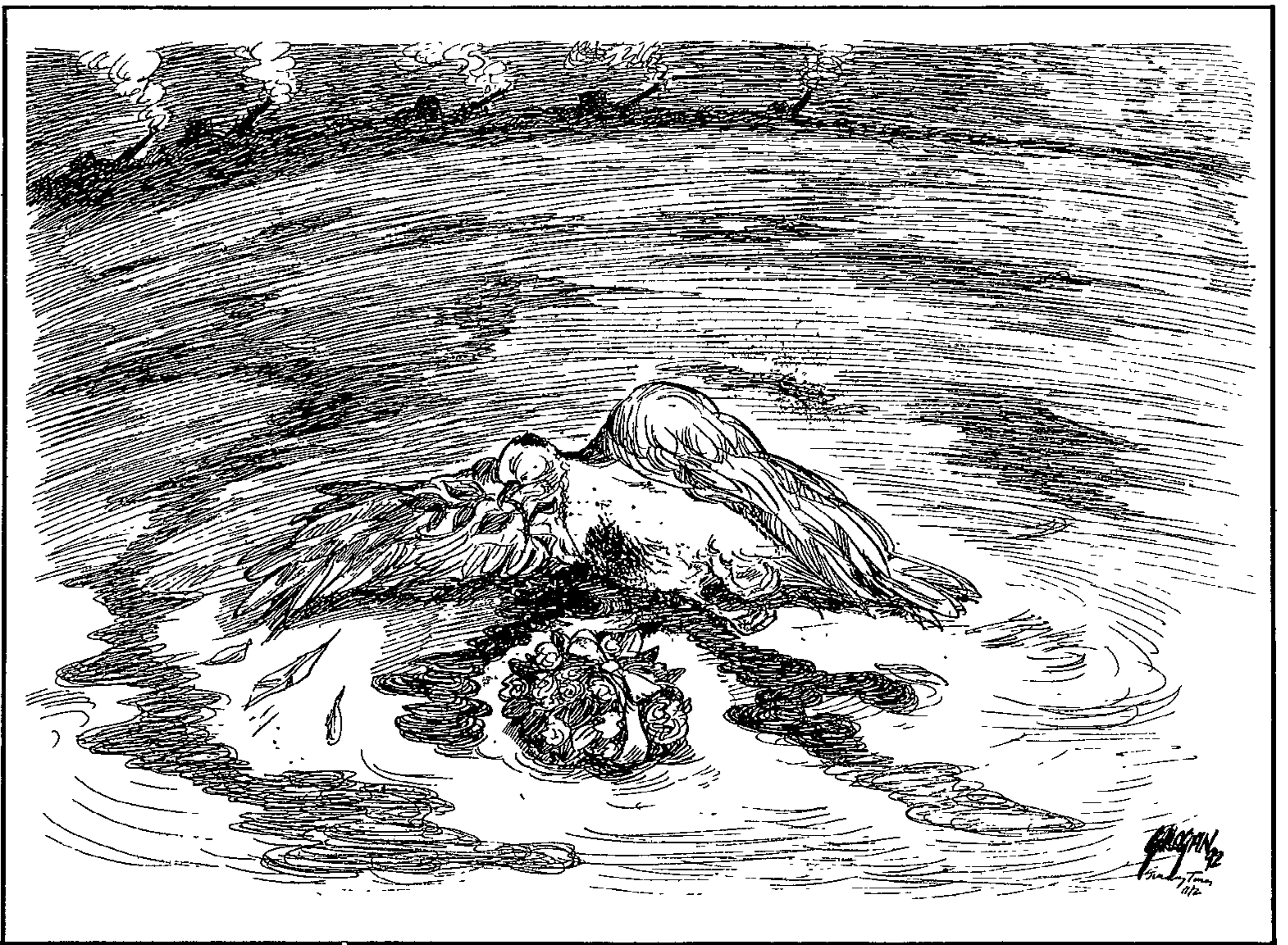
If the Ciskei army had not been true to its murderous nature, there is little doubt Kasrils (or somebody of his ilk) would now be sitting in Oupa's chair, although for how long remains an open question.

End

Such success would have made irresistible the temptation to try the Leipzig Option on other homelands antagonistic to the ANC — Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu. The consequence of that, as predictable as Monday's tragedy, would be unspeakable violence, a repressive state response and an effective end to negotiations.

The struggle for power would revert to the streets — where many unreconstructed revolutionaries, romantics and communists within the ANC believe it should have remained all along.

The question now remains: who will take the first step towards curbing the wild men? The ANC, by calling off its proposed actions against Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu, or the government, by deposing Gqozo?



RONNIE KASRLIS'S STORY

A calculated

risk that went badly wrong

By EDYTH BULBRING, Political Correspondent

ON FRIDAY last week, Ronnie Kasrils and his bodyguard visited the site of the Bulhoek massacre — a simple grave which marks the spot where in 1921 more than 160 Israelites, adherents of a black religious group, were gunned down.

While standing where Smuts's army killed the Israelites for refusing to vacate their land, Mr Kasrils did not foresee that just three days later he, too, would be involved in a bloodbath.

A bloodbath which left 29 people dead in Bisho and more than 200, including his bodyguard, injured. A blood-bath his critics claim was of his own making.

The way they see it, had the "communist hotthead" played by the rules, lives would not have been lost.

Mr Kasrils, who was born in Yeoville 53 years ago and went to King Edward VII school, says he left SA in 1963 because of his belief in one principle — the right of the individual to freedom and dignity.

The 27 years he spent in exile as a member of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and as its intelligence chief for five years were, he said, in pursuit of this principle. It meant defying the rules, but he makes no apology for this.

But with the onset of President Fw de Klerk's reform initiative, was it still necessary to risk death for a principle that would appear imminently attainable at the negotiating table?

As Mr Kasrils saw it, the people of the Ciskei, suffering brutal and spiralling repression, could not wait for negotiations. He listed examples of assassinations, brutality and coercion.

"I spent a week in the Ciskei before the march. I have never encountered such hatred for a despot," he said.

The aim of the march on Bisho was clear — to occupy the town peacefully and demand Brigadier Gqozo's resignation to an interim administration. At the



HELPING HANDS . . . flanked by ANC members, Ronnie Kasrils helps carry a victim of Monday's Bisho massacre which left 29 dead

Bisho war of words

At least, the people would settle for guarantees of free political activity.

Much play has been made of the fact that the ANC did not abide by the restrictions on the march laid down by a Ciskeian magistrate. The suggestion has been made that Mr Kasrils unilaterally defied the order as he sprinted through the gap in the stadium towards Bisho.

However, the decision to settle for nothing less than the occupation of Bisho was decided by a collective, including ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, sports organiser Steve Tshwete, women's league president Gertrude Shope and SA Communist Party boss Chris Hani.

CRISIS

ANC leader Nelson Mandela also informed President De Klerk the ANC did not recognise the authority of the homeland courts.

The idea was that if the crowd could stage a peaceful occupation of Bisho and hold out, this would create a crisis for Brigadier

GOZO and President De Klerk.

"We are not talking about insurrection — we were unarmed. We are talking about the impact of popular mass action to force the recognition of democratic practice," he said.

The strategy decided on was that Mr Ramaphosa would lead a column of marchers to the barred wire and attempt to negotiate a way through to Bisho. Mr Kasrils and Mr Hani would lead a column into the stadium and then move

differently? Brigadier GOZO had made it clear he would meet defiance with strong-arm measures.

Mr Kasrils said the action was no more provocative than scores of activities embarked on during the ANC alliance campaign of mass action. Rules were broken and no deaths resulted.

METHOD

They were aware of Brigadier Gqozo's threats to shoot, but a calculated

decision was taken to "call his bluff". The calculations were based on the behaviour of the Ciskei police in the week prior to the massacre, as well as the mis-taken belief that with the world's press and peace representatives present their Ciskeian forces would act with restraint.

"We didn't feel that Gqozo would dare open fire under the full view of peace accord representatives and the press. We thought normal security force procedures would be followed with the use of teargas, perhaps buckshot. At most, warning shots would be fired."

But why go ahead with defiance if risk to life is a possibility?

"If you say there is a risk to life and you abort the enterprise, the tyrant has won the game of intimidation," he said.

BRIGADIER OUPA GGOZO'S STORY

By CHARLENE SMITH

OUPA JOSHUA GGOZO, chairman of the Ciskei Council of State, came into power by default but vows that he won't be "bullied" from office.

It was while telling of his loathing of bullies "like the ANC" that the 40-year-old brigadier, described as a despot by his enemies, burst into tears and sobbed, deeply and pitifully, for some minutes.

"I was always very unfortunate. I had no time to play as a child. I never had friends. People avoided me because I was poor. I knew I must only trust myself."

"I developed a resentment of bullies. When you are disadvantaged, everyone just tramps on you, so I learnt self-defence. When I was growing up I had no one to protect me. I didn't have it and it's still happening . . ."

Brigadier Gqozo is a small man of 1.7m. The gilt-framed photographs that adorn Ciskei offices show him, against the cheetah skin reserved in the past for Xhosa paramount chiefs, in full military uniform.

His family were farm labourers who moved from Middledrift, Ciskei, to Kroonstad, where he was born. His mother died when he was seven months old and his devastated father left the baby with his parents and disappeared.

His early years were happy. His grandparents never told him the tragic story of his early months, and he grew up near Warmbaths believing they were his parents.

When he was 16 his father reappeared. The traumatised child was taken to live in Kroonstad with the stranger and he had to call father and a stepmother "who was a monster to me. My father also treated me badly very often".

Joshua Gqozo (nicknamed Oupa after his grandfather) confronted misery. He worked part-time to pay for his schooling, and in 1977 joined the SADF and rose quickly through the ranks.

In 1982, after Ciskei's independence, he was commissioned to the Ciskei Defence Force. "I had high standards and some people branded me a 'white man's little replica. They would say: 'He sides with whites against blacks.'"

In 1988 he was approached by top officers in the CDF to lead a coup, but declined.

On his return to Ciskei after some time in Pretoria, he was appointed chief of intelligence. "I kept advising the president (Lennox Sebe) that there was corruption, that people were unhappy, that the ANC and SACP were building vast underground support. He ignored me."

In March 1990 Brigadier Gqozo had a car accident and, he says, coup plotters approached him at his farm in Balfour where he was recuperating and warned that if there was not a coup soon there would be an uprising by troops. He still did not give his approval.

On the Friday that President Sebe left for a trip to Hong Kong, soldiers began drawing large quantities of arms and ammunition from stores.

Why I will not be bullied from post

Troops set up roadblocks. Brigadier Gqozo says that late on the Saturday night a drunk Kwane Sebe (the president's son) was stopped at one. "Sebe kicked down the roadblock. The officers were furious. At 3.30am they phoned me and said they had staged a coup. I must come."

"I was forced into this mess. Some of them tried to be popular with the ANC. People were happy, saying: 'We don't know this man (Gqozo), but Sebe has gone.'"

There was looting and 24 factories were razed.

He says ANC operatives became angry when he did not put them in positions of power, but used ministers from the Sebe government, who promptly "worked against me" — accounting for 23 dismissals of cabinet ministers in two years.

Referring to the ANC, he says: "I didn't want to create the impression of a military man who shoots. I was compassionate; they took advantage."

"They began a reign of terror. There were kangaroo courts, tribal authorities were reviled, they hacked cattle, burnt houses, attacked people who did not agree with them."

MONSTERS

Brigadier Gqozo introduced reforms, including a new constitution and bill of rights, abolition of the death penalty and the unbanning of political organisations.

"The ANC abused that. In work hours they used to watch movies about Stalin, and they used government photo-copy machines to print Communist Party tracts. "These guys are monsters. They will destroy South Africa before people stand up to them. Mandela is finished."

Brigadier Gqozo says that because of the Sebe "atrocities" hundreds of young people fled Ciskei and trained with Umkhonto we Sizwe. They had now returned to the villages, which "they rule with terror".

He is loath to discuss Mandela's tragedy because of the establishment of the Goldstone commission of inquiry. However, he says, "the alternative was the destruction of Bisho".

"They wanted to break through the security forces. If we feared firing on them, they would have had the freedom to destroy Bisho and people's lives. No government could allow that."

What are his hopes for the future? "I would like the incorporation of Ciskei into a proud, united federal South Africa, with each federal base having a democratically elected president working in unison with a central parliament."

Ciskei ruler faces an 'offer he can't refuse'

SA TLO SPINKS Gqozo's GUNS

8Times 13/9/92.

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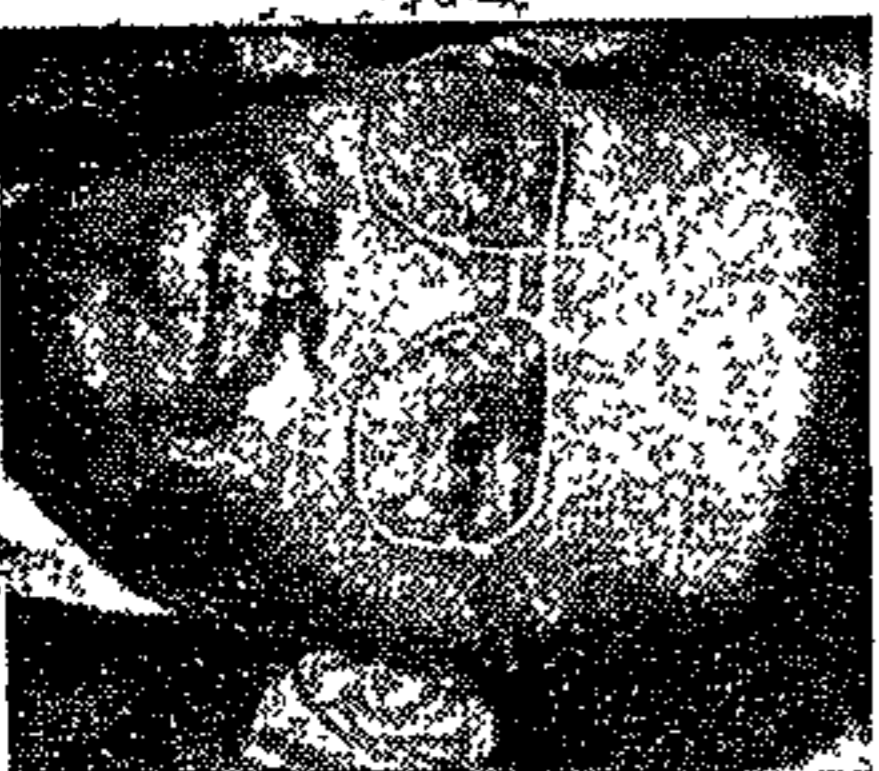
BY EDYTH BULBRING AND MIKE ROBERTSON

THE government is poised to give Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo his marching orders following intense international pressure in the wake of the Bisho massacre, which left 29 dead and more than 200 injured.

This will take the form of an "offer he can't refuse": he must surrender control of his security forces to the SA government or face total isolation. This would put South Africa in control of all effective functions of the homeland's government — it already runs finance, transport, agriculture and the police.

The beleaguered Brigadier Gqozo will receive this message on Tuesday when he meets Foreign Minister, Pik Botha and other senior government members.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd led world leaders this week in demanding that the government exert control over security forces in the Ciskei and other homelands. His call was matched by a strongly worded statement from Bonn which



Brigadier OUPA GQOZO

Annie is
back
from
drink of
divorce



national community". A senior government spokesman in Pretoria responded this week by saying that "whether we like it or not what happens

BLOODSHED AT BISHO: P20 and 21

in the Ciskei is on our account. We are at the crossroads. The government can't afford to carry this burden any longer."

At the same time there is concern in Pretoria at growing instability in the Ciskei, particularly since the Bisho killings, and the prospect that this could soon spill over into the Border region.

"There is alarm in Pretoria about the security situation in the Eastern Cape. Consideration is being given to how it can be addressed. In the case of Brigadier Gqozo this concern is most acute, especially as a result of the events of this week," another senior government official said.

This concern was reflected publicly earlier in the week by Mr Botha. He warned that the government might use coercive methods against the Ciskei if Brigadier Gqozo continued to resist proposals by the government that were "reasonable" and aimed at the "lessening of tensions".

Torched

Since the Bisho massacre the homes of more than 20 Ciskei defence force officers have been torched.

Local headmen have been attacked and there have been reports, subsequently denied, that the ANC's military wing plans to assassinate Brigadier Gqozo. There have also been rumours of plans to kill seconded South African officials.

Brigadier Marius Oelschig, commander of the Ciskei Defence Force, yesterday described the situation in the homeland as tense.

It is reported from the villages of Kramnyiba and Quzini that soldiers and police are going from house to house assaulting people, especially youths, whom they accuse of being involved in plans to burn houses belonging to soldiers.

South African government spokesmen said they

□ To Page 2

recounted how he hated "bullies" like the ANC. In a remarkable three-hour interview with the Sunday Times, the media-shy brigadier recalled his unhappy childhood, his meteoric rise in the SA Defence Force, and how he came to power. He told why he would not bow to ANC demands for him to quit.

● See page 8



Bisho killings were planned

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■ From Page 105

strategist-in-chief, Brig Marius Oelschig, continues to be on the SADF's payroll, having been seconded to the territory in January.

Like most of the at least six such officers on secondment from the SADF to the CDF, Oelschig's background is in Military Intelligence.

Former Ciskei Intelligence head Col Gert Hugo said in an interview with Radio 702 this week that Oelshing would have been personally in charge of the operation, directing it from his 11th floor office in central Bisho.

And, said Hugo, he would have been directing operations in conjunction with counterparts in the SADF's Eastern Province Command.

Before mounting such an operation, Hugo said, drawing on his own experience, Oelschig would have been in contact with SADF headquarters in Pretoria.

Next, the procedure would have been to meet with a Col Philip Hamman, officer commanding Unit Eight, a substructure of the SADF's Eastern Province Command, to plan the operation in more detail.

Unit Eight, based in East London, is linked to the SADF/CDF's Joint Operational and Joint Intelligence Committees.

Both these structures

are connected to the National Co-ordinating Mechanism which State president FW de Klerk introduced in 1990 to replace former president PW Botha's National Security Management System.

Other sources said that since July last year Gqozo's government has been almost entirely run by South Africans connected to the intelligence arms of the security forces.

For instance, Gqozo's key political adviser and general secretary of his political party, the African Democratic Movement, is a man by the name of Basie Oosthuizen. He first came to prominence in CCB front companies operating in the Ciskei that were allegedly involved in setting up anti-ANC vigilante groupings.

By the same token, key Ciskei Peace accord representative and Military Intelligence head Col Ockert Swanepoel is a former 22 Battalion officer. He has been linked to the CCB and functioned as SADF chief interrogator at Oshakati during the Namibian war.

Swanepoel's former boss, ex-Col Jan Breytenbach, founder of the notorious 32 Battalion, is also operating in Ciskei these days, ostensibly training paratroopers - but assisted by about seven former special services operatives.

ANC 13 vow to go on with embassy sit-in

By AYESHA ISMAIL

THIRTEEN ANC members occupying a passage outside the Ciskeian Consulate have vowed to stay there until the consulate and embassy are permanently closed.

The demonstrators entered the Southern Life-owned building on Tuesday, a day after 28 people were killed by Ciskeian troops during an ANC protest march on Bisho.

ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said occupation of the building would continue "until the embassy and consulate are removed from the Western Cape".

Scores of demonstrators also picketed outside the building this week calling for Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo to resign and for him to be "brought to justice".

Mr Yengeni told the picketers they should allow people to enter and leave the Southern Life building unhindered.

"Southern Life is not our target, Gqozo is," he said.

Mr Yengeni said Southern Life management had agreed that 13 people could occupy the building. Kitchen and toilet facilities including a telephone had been made available.

The ANC called on Southern Life to put pressure on the Ciskeian Government to close their offices and leave the Western Cape.

A spokesman for Southern Life said there was no legal way for them to terminate their client's lease.

The consulate staff have not been at work since Tuesday.

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SA POISED TO DITCH GQOZO

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believed Brigadier Gqozo had little or no popular support in the homeland. But South Africa had recognised his government and was bound by this.

But at Tuesday's meeting it would be made clear to Brigadier Gqozo that he had to toe the line and could no longer operate independently of the South African government on security matters, a government official said.

Although Brigadier Oelshig had been seconded to head the Ciskei defence force, the official

said, Brigadier Gqozo had retained effective control.

This would now be brought to an end. The Ciskei army and police force would be placed under a joint regional security command structure which would be headed by the SADF.

Brigadier Gqozo, he said, would face isolation if he did not agree to these arrangements. He would not be able to count on support from the South African government in dealing

with the present or any future security crises in the homeland.

"If we go in there, we go in on our terms," the official said.

Earlier, South African officials said the possibility of putting a financial squeeze on the homeland had been considered — the government provides up to 80 percent of Ciskei's budget.

However, this was regarded as an ineffective instrument of control, they said.

It had been tried in the past, particularly in the Transkei. The result was that the homeland had run down its pension fund, thereby storing up major financial problems for the future. It was not the homeland leaders who suffered, but ordinary citizens and civil servants of those countries.

"The ideal situation would be if Brigadier Gqozo realised that the stability of the country was threatened and there was a serious danger of things getting out of hand. "He could then ask us to stabilise the country — which we would do, provided he was prepared to step back."

Were this to happen the government would then appoint an administrator to run the affairs of the Ciskei.

Such a move would not only defuse tensions with the ANC, but would have the backing of local busi-

nessmen and the Democratic Party.

Last year, businessmen in the region held a meeting with then Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

They called on the government to install interim administrators in both the Transkei and Ciskei to ensure political stability and to prepare for reincorporation.

In a letter to Mr Botha last week, Border Chamber of Business executive director Errol Spring said the situation had deteriorated dramatically since the meeting.

Defiant Gqozo 'no pushover'

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DEFIANT Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday warned both the South African government and the ANC: "I am nobody's pushover ... I'll be here for a while yet."

Responding to a report that the 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 revealed he would fly to Pretoria today to meet Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to discuss the crisis in the Ciskei following the massacre which left 29 dead and more than 200 injured.

A spokesman for the ministry confirmed that a meeting would take place "this week".

Brig Gqozo said he was happy to have the Goldstone Commission probe last Monday's shooting.

The embattled Ciskei leader said he was "not feeling threatened" by the ANC or the SA government.

Bisho probe: 'FW denial'

JOHANNESBURG. — News reports suggesting President F W de Klerk requested Mr Chief Justice B Pickard to abandon his inquiry into last week's Bisho shootings are incorrect, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, chairman of the Goldstone Commission said yesterday.

"As I stated (at a news conference) on Saturday the referral by the State President was to the Goldstone Commission.

"I informed Judge Pickard of the referral and that in consequence of it

the commission would urgently inquire into the incident.

"Judge Pickard himself decided it would be inappropriate for two inquiries to be held simultaneously and that he would prefer to co-operate with the inquiry by the Goldstone Commission," he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone said at the weekend that the fact that there were independent observers at Bisho could assist greatly in ascertaining the causes of the tragedy. — Sapa

"Nothing makes me shiver. I'll be here for a while yet — and the ANC will know about it," he added bluntly. "The ANC will not push me."

He declined to discuss details of last Monday's massacre but described as "stupid" a report claiming that Colonel Horst Schubesberger, Ciskei Defence Force chief of staff of operations, had ordered the shootings.

● Brig Gqozo was given a hero's welcome at the KwaZulu King's Palace outside Nongoma on Saturday.

He said the Ciskei government

had "an inalienable right to protect life and property and we are going to do it with every force we have at our disposal".

King Goodwill Zwelithini lambasted the ANC for marching on Bisho.

● The ANC leadership yesterday distanced itself from a call by its Western Cape regional secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni, for the death of Brig Gqozo.

● Thirteen ANC members continued their sit-in at the Ciskei consulate on the Foreshore yesterday. — Political Staff, Sapa

Gqozo tugs at the reins

Sowetan 14/9/92 105
■ Military ruler to get an offer he cannot refuse

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CISKEIAN military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is nearing the end of the tether Pretoria has held him on since he took power in a bloodless coup in March 1990.

The Government is expected to pull up the slack, and reign in Gqozo tomorrow after last week's massacre in which Ciskei's army killed 29 civilians and injured almost 200.

It is understood that the Government will make Gqozo "an offer he cannot refuse", and which will effectively neuter Gqozo's guns. The Government is believed to be

under international pressure following last Monday's massacre.

Gqozo is expected to meet the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and senior Government officials tomorrow where he is expected to be asked to surrender his military forces to full South African control or face total isolation.

Pretoria is already in control of Ciskei's finance, transport, agriculture and police. Well-placed sources yesterday confirmed that the Government felt obliged "to relieve Gqozo" of his military powers. It is understood that the Government wants to keep him in a type of political power play.

focus on Bisho

THE ANC's carefully phrased acceptance of President FW de Klerk's invitation to a peace summit following last Monday's Bisho bloodbath was a triumph for the moderate leadership over the movement's radical wing whose influence was threatening to become dominant.

While it would be wrong to blame the ANC for the massacre, the attempt to turn the protest march in Ciskei into a storming of the bantustan's capital represented a turning point in ANC strategy which reflected the growing influence of the radicals.

The bloodbath which the charge ran into has discredited the radicals' headstrong approach, and during the National Working Committee's long post-mortem meeting on Thursday the tide of influence turned back towards Nelson Mandela and the other moderates who are eager to return to the negotiating table.

So paradoxically the disaster has given negotiations another chance.

But it will be short-lived unless De Klerk, too, switches priorities and puts negotiations ahead of the political gamesmanship he has been engaging in ever since his white referendum victory last March.

The root cause of South Africa's nosediving prospects is that both the major political movements, the ANC and De Klerk's National Party, have been electioneering and negotiating simultaneously - and the two activities are not compatible. Negotiation involves concession and compromise and the building of mutual trust. Electioneering is a time when each side engages the other in combat and seeks to do it as much damage as possible.

The more these two movements campaign for South Africa's first one-person-one-vote elections, the more they undermine the negotiating process. The problem begins with the fact that De Klerk, having crossed the apartheid Rubicon with his famous speech on 2 February 1990, has not faced up to the implications of his own act of courage.

He has not accepted that the inevitable consequence of legalising black politics in a country where blacks outnumber whites seven-to-one is that the blacks will rule. And in South Africa that almost certainly means the ANC, which blacks have long regarded as their main liberation movement.

Instead the Nationalists have persuaded themselves that with a little manipulation and cunning they can remain in power themselves. Foreign Minister Pik Botha told the party's Free State congress a fortnight ago that with the help of black homeland leaders it could win 51 per cent of the vote. It was encouraged in this belief by the relative success of its surreptitious aid to Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia's 1990 independence elections,

Allister Sparks sees as the root cause of South Africa's current crisis the fact that the two opposing factions - the ANC and the NP - have been negotiating and electioneering simultaneously - and these activities are not compatible.

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The Ciskei bloodbath has discredited the radicals in the ANC.

when it pumped aid into the DTA and ran a covert destabilisation campaign against the South West African Peoples' Organisation.

Although Swapo won, the DTA did sufficiently well to lead the NP to believe that with a bigger and craftier campaign it could succeed on its home ground. De Klerk's big referendum win encouraged that belief, which has shaped his strategic thinking ever since. The strategy is modelled on Namibia's - destabilise the enemy and build a domestic alliance like the DTA.

There is now a massive accumulation of evidence indicating that clandestine elements of the security forces have been stirring township violence to destabilise the ANC. At the same time De Klerk has set about forging a multiracial alliance with some of the black homeland parties and Coloured and Indian political groups that arose under the apartheid system.

This has provoked an ANC counter-strategy. The escalating township violence, while destabilising the ANC, has also radicalised its constituency.

"You are like lambs while they are killing us," angry voices yelled at Mandela at a rally after the

Boipatong massacre in June. The ANC was forced to respond to this wave of anger to avoid alienating its constituency.

The mood also strengthened the radical wing, which consists mainly of trade unionists and Communist Party members who are not part of the negotiating team, and, isolated from the mellowing influences of the negotiations, are still steeped in the culture of the revolutionary struggle.

So the balance of influence began to shift. The ANC broke off negotiations and launched its mass action campaign, with a general strike and protest marches. Some radicals began talking of a "Leipzig option", referring to the mass demonstrations that toppled Erich Honecker's East German regime.

The massacre at Bisho was unexpected by the radical ANC leaders, who did not think the troops would fire at a crowd that size.

They were wrong and while the crime of butchering 28 unarmed people clearly lies with the Ciskei army and its masters, the miscalculation of the ANC radicals has clearly discredited them.

Church meets families to plan Bisho mass funeral

ARG 14/9/92 (105)

STEFAANS BRUMMER
Staff Reporter

CHURCH leaders are negotiating today with families of Bisho massacre victims to decide on a venue for Friday's mass funeral.

Bisho Stadium, scene of last Monday's shooting in which at least 29 marchers died, has been mentioned, but Border ANC vice-chairman Mr Andrew Hendricks said the Victoria grounds in King William's Town was more likely.

The service, scheduled for about 10am, will be the culmination of a week of mourning that will include pickets, a me-

morial service at the Victoria grounds on Thursday and an all-night vigil on Thursday outside the South African embassy to the Ciskei in King William's Town.

Mr Hendricks said a large turnout was expected for Friday's service.

"I have no doubt that people will be coming. We are not mobilising as such, but it is a national event and we believe there will be people from all over the country," he said.

He expected events to be peaceful. "We never expect otherwise because we don't intend it to be otherwise. If anything

happens, once again it will not be from our side."

Border assistant general secretary for the ANC Ms Donn  Cooney said the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, and the Border Council of Churches were negotiating for a venue.

"We don't want any controversy or even talk of any violence. The families have been through enough," she said.

Mr Hendricks said World Council of Churches general secretary Dr Emilio Castro had expressed interest in leading the service.

Pik and Gqozo in talks on security

Political Staff

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AUG 14 1992

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha is expected to meet Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, in Pretoria today to discuss the security situation in the homeland following the Bisho massacre.

Members of the South African Cabinet met at the weekend and, according to reports, discussed Brigadier Gqozo's position in the wake of last Monday's tragedy.

Several options discussed by the Cabinet would be put to Brigadier Gqozo, including proposals on joint security arrangements in the Ciskei, the reports said.

It is understood that Brigadier Gqozo would not be asked to step down by the South African government.

Indications are that the two sides will discuss the co-ordination of security in the Eastern Cape, including the Ciskei.

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

However, they dismissed reports that a joint regional command of the Ciskei security forces would be suggested.

Today's talks will focus on stability in the region.

Gqozo, Govt to meet over massacre

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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

It is understood that Brigadier Gqozo will not be asked by the Government to step down — indications are that the two sides will discuss the

co-ordination of security in the eastern Cape, including Ciskei.

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

Today's talks will focus on stability in the region. Since last Monday's shooting by Ciskei security forces, which left 28 dead and at least 200 injured, violence has increased dramatically

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in the Border region.

President de Klerk last week announced that his Government would discuss a uniform approach to the handling of marches with all homelands controlling security forces.

Later, Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned that the Government would contemplate "coercive measures" against Ciskei's government if it refused to agree to these proposed uniform measures.

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.

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

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.

GERALD REILLY

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Bisho funerals set for Friday

JOHANNESBURG. —
The funerals of 28
people killed in the Bi-
sho massacre on Sep-
tember 7 will be held at
the King William's Town
cemetery on Friday.

The ANC said in a
statement yesterday a
week of mourning had
been declared from yes-
terday to Sunday.

The main memorial
service will be held on
Thursday in King Wil-
liam's Town. — Sapa.

'ANC denied Ciskei⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ revolt'

ET 15/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has denied that the ANC supported the overthrow of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government.

This was said in a joint statement issued by the Ciskeian military leader and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha after they met in Pretoria yesterday.

The joint statement said both parties had agreed that the National Peace Secretariat should play a direct role when the victims of last Monday's bloodbath were buried this Friday.

Marching orders

There was no mention of government censure of Brig Gqozo or that he had been given his "marching orders", as had been suggested at the weekend.

The statement said Mr Botha had told Brig Gqozo "the representative of a foreign government" had told him that ANC president Mr Mandela had "denied that the ANC supported the overthrow of Brig Gqozo's government".

"Brig Gqozo said that if this were so he would be prepared to reconsider his approach to peaceful political activity in the Ciskei."

Ciskei security

They had also discussed the security situation in the Ciskei and the Eastern Cape region, as well as "other matters of common interest".

A government spokesman, asked about the reports that the South African government would demand that Brig Gqozo surrender control of his security forces to Pretoria, said he could not comment beyond the contents of the statement. — Sapa

Qgozo makes an undertaking

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is prepared to reconsider his approach to peaceful political activity in the homeland, according to a joint statement issued after his meeting with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Pretoria yesterday. (105)

Qgozo made the undertaking after Botha had informed him that ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had told a "representative of a foreign government" that the ANC did not support the overthrow of the Ciskei government. Sowefan 15/9/92

The statement made no mention of Gqozo having been given "marching orders", as speculated in weekend Press reports.

Both parties agreed that the National Peace Secretariat should play a direct role in the burial of victims of the massacre.

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ANC launch *Sowetan 15/9/92* Bop protests

■ Campaign for free political activity:

A CAMPAIGN by the African National Congress for free political activity in Bophuthatswana begins with a march from Rustenburg to Thlabane township on Saturday.

According to the organisers the protest will culminate in a march on Mmabatho, the homeland's capital, in a few weeks time. ANC Western Transvaal spokesman Mr Ike Moroe said the protests were decided on a while ago after requests to Bophuthatswana authorities for free political activity went unanswered.

"Our pleas have fallen on deaf ears. In a last-ditch attempt to get a response, two of us occupied the homeland's consulate in Klerkdorps for three hours," Moroe said.

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IN USED CARS

(105)

Mass funeral for Bisho slain

■ Victims will be buried together after a week of mourning, memorial service:

THE African National Congress has released the names of 30 of the victims of the Bisho massacre to be buried in King William's Town on Friday. The death toll is now set at 38.

The additional eight bodies have not been identified, according to the ANC's Border regional office.

ANC spokesman Mr Mcebisi Bata said the ANC/Congress of SA Trade Unions/SA Communist Party alliance and the SA National Civic Organisation declared the period between yesterday and next Sunday a week of mourning in the Border region. During this period memorial services would be held as a buildup to Friday's mass burial.

Sowetan 15/9/92.
He said a vigil would be held at the South African embassy in King William's Town on Thursday night. A memorial service would be held in the afternoon at the Victoria Grounds.

Bata said all the victims would be buried in the same cemetery because "their deaths were symbolic".

Cosatu has declared Friday a national day of mourning and said it was considering blacklisting companies supporting Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government.

Gqozo's pledge on 'peaceful political activity'

(105)
ARG 15/9/92

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

CISKEI military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — whose troops killed 28 ANC protest marchers at Bisho last week — has told the South African government that he is prepared to allow peaceful political activity in the homeland if the ANC does not try to overthrow him.

Brigadier Gqozo met Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and a government delegation in Pretoria yesterday where it is understood agreement was reached that Ciskei and government security forces in Ciskei would be "co-ordinated". Observers are taking this to mean that Ciskei forces are to be brought under greater South African control to prevent a repetition of the Bisho massacre. South African troops deployed after the shooting last Monday are still in Ciskei.

Yesterday's four-hour meeting took place after Mr Botha warned last week that the government was ready to consider "coercive measures" against Brigadier Gqozo if he refused to handle protest marches more leniently.

A joint Ciskei/government statement said Mr Botha had informed Brigadier Gqozo that the representative of a foreign government had told him that ANC leader Nelson Mandela had denied that the ANC supported the overthrow of the Ciskei government.

"Brigadier Gqozo said that if this were so he would be prepared to reconsider his approach to peaceful political activity in the Ciskei."

Several senior ANC officials have said that the aim of the march on Bisho last week was to remove Brigadier Gqozo from power.

The two delegations also discussed concerns about violence erupting at the funeral on Friday of victims of the Bisho massacre. Both said they would ask the National Peace Accord to play a direct role and Brig-

dier Gqozo said he would invite National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys to discuss this with him in Bisho today.

The South African and Ciskei governments seem to be under the impression that the Bisho massacre funeral will be in the Ciskei whereas the ANC said yesterday that it would be on South African soil in the King William's Town cemetery and the main memorial service would be in King Williams Town's Victoria Grounds on Thursday afternoon.



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

The statement said the meeting had been called "to discuss the security situation in the Ciskei and Eastern Cape region." Other matters were discussed.

South African officials have denied suggestions that the aim of the meeting was to force Brigadier Gqozo to resign.

Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, Chief of the SA Defence Force General Kat Liebenberg and Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe were in the government delegation yesterday.

The Ciskei government delegation included several Cabinet ministers and chiefs.

57m 1579/92

Bisho massacre: funeral date set

The 28 people killed in the Bisho massacre last Monday will be buried at the King William's Town cemetery on Friday.

The ANC said in Johannesburg yesterday that a week of mourning had been declared from September 14 to 20.

"Sub-regions of the organisations concerned (ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance and the South African National Civic Organisation) will be free to organise memorial services throughout the week. (105)

"Families of the victims will attend these memorial services," the ANC said.

The main memorial service will be held on Thursday afternoon at King William's Town's Victoria grounds.

An all-night vigil will be held at the South African Embassy in King William's Town after the memorial service.

The ANC said a delegation from the tripartite alliance and Sanco was due to meet business leaders late yesterday to discuss the role that business could play during the week of mourning. — Sapa.

Cosatu backs campaign against homeland leaders

By Mike Siluma

The Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday threw its weight behind the ANC-led alliance's campaign to force homeland authorities to allow free political activity and speed up movement towards constituent assembly elections.

At a Johannesburg press conference, Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa said Cosatu would start its income tax boycott on November 1 and expected employers to do the same from December 1.

The decisions were taken at Cosatu's three-day campaigns conference which ended on Sunday.

Mr Shilowa said Cosatu, in addition to calling for the immediate resignation of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had chosen Friday — the burial date of the Bisho massacre victims — as a day of mourning for all victims of political violence.

Star 15/9/92
105
This would include a stay-away in the eastern Cape and other actions nationally, including work stoppages to allow workers to attend memorial services for the Bisho dead. Demonstrations would be held at Ciskei embassies.

"We have decided that mass action should continue, to create a climate of free political activity in the homelands, including Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu," said Mr Shilowa.

He blamed President F W de Klerk for the Bisho massacre. Threats of action to stop protests in the homelands targeted for mass action would not "blackmail" Cosatu into abandoning action in those territories.

While the conference supported a resumption of constitutional talks, it wanted Pretoria to take "practical steps" to curb political violence. Cosatu would consider on October 1 whether to call a stayaway when Parliament reopens on October 12.

Gqozo 'yes' to peace role at Bisho funeral

PRETORIA — Ciskeian military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and SA Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha met in Pretoria yesterday, but a joint statement afterwards made no mention of Gqozo having been given his "marching orders" as predicted.

The joint statement said both parties agreed the national peace secretariat should play a direct role when the victims of last week's massacre at Bisho were buried.

The funeral for the 29 people killed will be held at the King William's Town cemetery on Friday, preceded by a memorial service in the town on Thursday afternoon.

The ANC said in Johannesburg yesterday a week of mourning had been declared until September 20.

Gqozo would invite Antonie Gildenhuys of the peace accord secretariat to discuss funeral arrangements with him in Bisho today.

The statement added that Botha had informed Gqozo that "the representative of a foreign government" had told him that ANC president Nelson Mandela had "denied that the ANC supported the overthrow of Brig Gqozo's government".

"Brig Gqozo said that if this were so he would be prepared to reconsider his approach to peaceful political activity in the Ciskei," the statement said.

They had also discussed the security situation in the Ciskei and the Eastern Cape region, and "other matters of common interest".

A government spokesman, asked about reports that SA would demand that Gqozo surrender control of his security forces to Pretoria or face total isolation, said he could not comment beyond the contents of the statement. — Sapa.

NOT SO long ago, last week's killings on the Ciskei border as yet another harrowing act in the great SA morality play, and a summons to excoriate further the loathsome regime.

In other words, it would have been seen much the way Dennis Goldberg, the Rivonia explosives expert who now serves as ANC spokesman in London, wanted CNN viewers to see it when he debated the subject with ambassador Harry Schwarz last Tuesday: the evil white man and his henchmen mow down innocent demonstrators led by the latter day SA equivalents of Martin Luther King.

That has not been the response, even from those who view themselves as King's heirs. No marches on the SA embassy led by the Rev Jesse Jackson (he merely came round for a quiet chat with the ambassador and called for Pretoria to apply sanctions on Ciskei's Brig Oupa Gqozo). TransAfrica's Randall Robinson did lead a rally outside the White House with Arthur Ashe, but it had to do with Haiti. On Capitol Hill, whence emotion-venting statements and calls for action generally issue like confetti, an almost eerie silence. Senator Paul Simon, chairman of the Senate Africa subcommittee, held a hearing. The subject was AIDS in Africa, the attendance thin.

The Little Rock, Arkansas, headquarters of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton obligingly prepared a Press release when asked for one. Given his strained relations with Jackson, one might have thought this was a free shot for the candidate to show he cared.

But no, the text was balanced to the point of being anodyne: killings deplorable, government cannot look the other way, those responsible must be brought to justice, violence — unattributed to any particular party — must be halted for the sake of negotiations and the economy, the sooner UN and other international

The mad massacre at Bisho made something go click

610PM 1579/92.
105

SIMON BARBER in Washington

observers get deployed the better, and three cheers for the Goldstone commission's expanded role.

Nothing very different here from what the Bush administration was saying, except that the State Department chose to make explicit a point Clinton's people only implied, namely that as undefensible as the shooting was, Ronnie Kasrils' decision to lead a flying wedge through the razor wire was itself a provocation. Or as department spokesman Richard Boucher put it: "We call upon all parties to avoid further provocative acts which put at risk the lives of innocent South Africans."

One aspect of the reaction to the Bisho affair that is especially striking is how fast almost everyone was ready, as Goldberg bitterly put it on CNN, to "blame the victim". This time, notwithstanding that it was far easier to draw a direct connection between the state and the shooters than it had been at Boipatong, no one was buying the martyrology.

Yes, the Ciskei dead might be martyrs, but they had been martyred by forces other than the SA government. Something quietly went click in the American political conscious-

ness, a development all the more remarkable given Foreign Minister Pik Botha's seemingly recidivist thunderings about communists and the fact that the US media were less than generous with details about the backgrounds of Kasrils, Raymond Suttner and others involved in the plan to "Leipzig" Gqozo.

The end of the morality play is to be welcomed. It is a pity the curtain did not come down a little earlier. It may have come down too late.

Next week, the National Foreign Trade Council is to hold a conference in New York on new investment in SA. When the organisers first selected the date — it coincides with the IMF and World Bank annual meetings in Washington — they had thought the news from SA would be good and that there would be considerable interest in hearing Finance Minister Derek Keys and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa make their pitches for foreign capital. Ramaphosa is not coming now, nor are very many others. There

have been 50 acceptances rather than the several hundred the council expected.

The reason for the poor response was summed up last week by a vice-president of a major US company. "We keep being told that SA is the engine of growth for the continent," he said. "No it isn't. They're deterring the Zambianise the place."

American businessmen, and they are not all that unusual, have been prepared to discount a lot of the ANC's more unnerving ideological rhetoric, believing the movement to be educable. They have shown interest in SA in the expectation that its next government will knuckle to economic reality and will not destroy those things — the infrastructure, the legal system, the indigenous talent pool — that make the place intrinsically attractive. They have been impressed by the seeming capacity of all parties to negotiate, by the apparent reservoir of goodwill, and an intangible sense that SA is not an alien place. Few, probably, have got around to reading Rian Malan's *My Traitor's Heart*.

Then, that click, that sudden little shiver of recognition that there is far

more going on than meets the eye followed closely by the realisation of just how implausible a decent outcome may be. Enraged mobs taking out hatreds, new and atavistic, on each other's communities is bad enough. Add to the mix death-squads and lumpot dictators with armies willing to machine-gun down unarmed protesters. Then season it all with hard men happy to throw those innocents at those machine guns with a view to destroying what tiny ember of reconciliation is still able to glow. Madness.

At this point, all the encouraging backroom encounters with the Mandelas, the Mbekis, the Ramaphosas, the Mbowens — all the assurances, the logic and the urge to believe that these good men know the real-world score and want to make a go of things — fly straight out the window. It's not that they cannot be trusted, rather that they are powerless. Powerless not only in the face of forces which apartheid and their struggle against it have unleashed but also to deal with the demons within their own movement bent on whipping up the madness to their own ends.

This, rather than the press of other business — of which, of course, there is plenty just now — is why America responded so quietly to the Bisho horror. On all sides of the spectrum, those who care about SA suddenly grasped something that made them pause and recoil. They will need a lot of coaxing to recover. Without that, SA becomes Conradian Africa, a place to frighten the children and otherwise be put out of mind.

When a problem is seen as hopeless, there is often an urge to hand it over to some form of collective responsibility so that no one has to take the blame while everyone can console themselves that something is being done. That may help explain the enthusiasm with which the major powers granted Mandela's request for UN intervention. With the Security Council seized of the matter, no one else has to be.

Hundreds hurt in Ciskei war zone

■ General lawlessness as CDF troops take revenge:

Sowetan Correspondent

CISKEI has become a war zone in the wake of last Monday's Bisho massacre, with casualties from running battles between villagers and security forces filling the local hospitals to capacity.

Hundreds of people have been treated at Grey's Hospital in King William's Town since last Monday.

A hospital spokesman said yesterday casualty admissions had increased by 40 percent with 468 conflict-related casualties

treated in the last week.

East London's Frere Hospital was struggling with "extreme pressure" on surgical beds because of the number of trauma patients, a spokesman said.

Following last Monday's flood of 123 casualties the hospital had quietened, but several shooting victims had been treated during the week, the spokesman said.

Mr Basie Oosthuizen, spokesman for Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, described the area surrounding King William's Town as "violence-stricken".

Sowetan 16/9/92 (105)

March leaders foolish, but not murderers

SM 16/19 2.

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105



Allister Sparks

A few things need to be clarified in the emotionally charged aftermath of the Bisho massacre. The first is to apportion responsibility appropriately. The second is to state emphatically that if we are serious about making a transition to democracy, we must accept there has to be free political activity and open electioneering in all parts of the country. A third is to note that there is a line between protest and insurrectionary action.

I have been appalled by the reaction of most whites, including, sadly, the leader of the Democratic Party, which has been to place the preponderance of blame for the massacre on the protesting marchers. They are accused of being irresponsibly provocative in a situation they should have known would lead to violence.

Which seems to me like blaming the lady for getting raped. Did we blame the students for Tiananmen Square, for irresponsibly provoking the Red Chinese soldiers with their demonstrations? Or the Hungarian demonstrators for getting their people shot when they marched against the Russian

tanks in Budapest in 1957? Or the American civil rights campaigners for provoking Bull Connor and his vicious dogs in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963? We white South Africans have whinged for years about double standards but we have reached new heights of it ourselves these past few days.

It doesn't require a whitewashing of all the ANC and SACP demonstrators did at Bisho to see clearly where the overwhelming weight of culpability lies. There is nothing in this world that can justify opening fire with automatic weapons on an unarmed crowd and sustaining that fire, in two separate, premeditated bursts, for a total of six unspeakable minutes. That is a crime against humanity beside which any other act of provocation or negligence pales into insignificance.

That said, let us turn to the other points. If we are serious about the transition from apartheid to democracy, it is fundamental that there should be free political activity in all parts of the country. One cannot allow political activity to be stifled in some areas

— densely populated regions that together contain perhaps one-fifth of the total electorate — on the spurious grounds that they are "independent" or "self-governing" and that therefore the central Government cannot interfere.

Everybody knows the "homelands" have that phoney status only because of a discredited policy which is now being abandoned. For the Government to invoke the old policy to obstruct the new exposes it to charges of insincerity and expediency.

Any international monitoring team which comes for our first one-person-one-vote elections and finds that free political activity was not possible in the "homelands" will be bound to pronounce the elections not free and fair, as happened the other day in Ethiopia, for the right to electioneer freely is fundamental to the democratic process.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the ANC was justified in mounting a mass action demonstration to protest against the repression of its right to free political activity in Ciskei.

Some Nationalists argue that the situation is just as repressive under the pro-ANC military regimes of Transkei and Venda. That is hard to judge, since I am not aware of large numbers of National Party or Inkatha supporters who have sought to stage mass action demonstrations in those territories. If they have, and if they have been prevented from doing so, then that should be condemned, for such is their democratic right.

Mass action, provided it is non-violent, is a legitimate form of democratic expression — particularly for people who are denied the vote and therefore have no other way of expressing themselves politically. Our courts, even the Government, have accepted that principle.

Nor does the mass action necessarily have to be law-abiding. Civil disobedience has long been accepted as legitimate in the face of injustice. As the great Christian

philosopher, Saint Augustine of Hippo, wrote in the fourth century, an unjust law is no law at all. It requires defiance. That is why we honour the Christian martyrs and the Hungarian freedom fighters and the American civil rights campaigners.

Nor is it wrong if the mass action leads to confrontation and tension. Indeed that is its purpose. As the Rev Martin Luther King Jr wrote from his prison cell in Birmingham after being arrested for civil disobedience: "You may well ask, why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches etc? Isn't negotiation a better path?"

"You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatise the issue that it can no longer be ignored."

That is why it was necessary to dramatise repression in the Ciskei and other "homelands". What the ANC was not justified in doing, however, was to cross

the thin red line that separates democratic protest from revolutionary action. The moment the decision was taken to try to storm the capital and occupy it until Oupa Gqozo agreed to resign, then the protest march became an attempt at insurrection. It was no longer just a demonstration to demand that Brigadier Gqozo open up the Ciskei to free political activity, it became an attempt to overthrow him.

There are times when revolution is justifiable. But not when you have forewarned it and committed yourself to a negotiated settlement. For then you call your own integrity into question.

This is where those who led the Ciskei demonstration erred. The moment they embarked on that charge towards Bisho they violated their own commitment. They yielded to the impulsiveness of the unreconstructed revolutionaries amongst them, and harmed their own cause by clouding the issue they had striven so hard and at such cost to dramatise.

It was wrong and it was foolish. But it was not in the same league as the crime of mass murder committed against them. □

Consulate impasse set ¹⁰⁵ for review at weekend

APR 16 1972
ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

THE deadlocked situation over the Ciskei consulate sit-in in Cape Town will be reviewed on Saturday after the funeral for victims of the Bisho massacre, an ANC official said today.

ANC regional executive member Ms Hilda Ndude said that although she had informed the landlords of the building, Southern Life, "quite plainly that we will sit there until the embassy is closed down", the ANC is expected to announce a change in strategy after the weekend funeral in King Williamstown.

The Ciskei offices remain closed and there has been no contact between the protesters and Ciskei officials.

A conditional withdrawal of the sit-in is the most likely scenario as the ANC refuses to back down on its demand that the consulate stays closed.

Instead, the ANC could withdraw its picket as long as the

consulate remains locked.

In the meantime the consulate will remain closed "until further notice" a Ciskei consular spokesman said.

The spokesman, who described himself as "just an ordinary clerk" and refused to divulge his name, said the Ciskei consul-general was attending "a lot of meetings in Bisho" and did not know when he could be expected back in Cape Town.

Neither the ANC nor Southern Life has been able to contact him since the sit-in began more than a week ago.

Yesterday morning the sit-in was given fresh impetus when about 50 striking SARHWU workers picketed outside the building.

Organiser Mr Neil Newman said they were there "to register disgust at the events in Bisho and to lend moral support to the comrades sitting-in in the passage outside the closed Ciskei consulate".

Names of 28 Bisho dead released

(105)

SM 16/4/92

EAST LONDON — All 28 of the marchers killed in last Monday's Bisho massacre have been identified at the SA Police mortuary in East London, Border police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw said yesterday.

However, the name of the Ciskei Defence Force member killed in the massacre has not yet been released.

More than 400 people were injured in the ANC-led alliance' march on Bisho.

The names of the dead were given as:

Thubani Gola (20) of Berlin, Vuyani Wesley Fulani (20) of Mdantsane, Vukani Goodman Mbula (23) of Middledrift, Mondli Mfonkwe (age unknown) of Parkdale Mission, Bisho, Zwelitsha Lali (32) of Alice, Sipho Khumdulo (19) of Noncanya township, King William's Town; Zamatheba Benjamin Skepu (age unknown) of Zwelitsha, Nkosemtu Motman (23) of Dube Lek, Sada, Sipho Cologu (age unknown) of Middledrift, Zolile Ngayi (46) of Zwelitsha; Xolani Kalem (age unknown) of Fort Beaufort, Hambile King Gadu (33) of Mdantsane, Pester Boo (age unknown) of Peddie, Theminkosi Billy (23) of Seymour, Mxwamadoda Dyantyi (18) of Middledrift, Harold Ndodana Ndzulane (age unknown) of Zwelitsha, Jongile Mene (26) of Berlin; Suputsi Cameron Matikina (52) of Healdtown, Headman Nontshung'a (29) of Frankfurt; Nkuleko Holonganyane (20) of Zwelitsha, Zamide Nqwala (24) of King William's Town; Nosipho Netenyana (24) of Newlands, Luzuko Ramqwana (18) of Alice, Twelve Ngamtwini (43) of Mdantsane, Mbulelo George Mawgona (23) of Bisho; Thobile Kall (25) of King William's Town, Jongile Mene (25) of King William's Town, Myna Nathaniel Myena (63) of Zwelitsha. — Sapa.

Mock trial sentences ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Gqozo to jail

PORT ELIZABETH — A mock trial yesterday found Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo guilty of the Bisho massacre and sentenced him to life in jail with hard labour.

Two school children were injured when the "trial", conducted by Vista University students outside the New Brighton Magistrate's Court, was dispersed by police.

The "trial" followed a march to the court organised by ANC-aligned organisations in protest against the Bisho massacre.

ANC Youth League spokesman Tembisi Macelesi said after the mock trial a police minibus sped toward the seated crowd of about 800 and braked sharply, stopping a metre from the people.

"The stability unit members jumped out and cocked their guns, pointing them towards the people." When people started to run a girl broke a leg and another sprained an ankle. Both were treated at Livingstone hospital.

SAP media liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Lisbe Vermeulen, said she would comment later. — Pen.

28 Bisho⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ dead named

^{ET 16/1/92}
EAST LONDON. —
Police have named the
28 people killed in the
Bisho massacre. They
are:

Thubani Gola, 20 of Berlin; Vuyani Wesley Fulani, 20, from Mdantsane; Vukani Goodman Mbula, 23, of Middledrift; Mondl Mfonkwe, age unknown, Parkdale Mission, Bisho, Zwelitsha Lali, 32, from Alice, Siphon Khumdulo, 19, Noncanya township, King William's Town, Zanathemba Benjamin Skepu, age unknown, Zwelitsha; Nkosemtu Motman, 23, Dube Lok, Sada; Siphon Cologu, age unknown, Middledrift, Zohle Nqayi, 46, Zwelitsha; Xolani Kaleni, age unknown, Fort Beaufort; Hambile King gadu, 33, Mdantsane; Peter Bool, age unknown, Peddie; Thembinkosi Billy, 23, Seymour, Mxwamadoda Dyantyi, 18, Middledrift; Harold Ndodana Ndzulane, age unknown, Zwelitsha, Jongile Mene, 26, Berlin, Suputsu Cameron Matikwa, 52, Haaldtown; Headman Nontshinga, 29, Frankfort; Nkuleko Holonganyane, 20, Zwelitsha; Zamilie Nqwala, 24, King William's Town, Nosisipho Netenyana, a woman aged 24, from Newlands, Luzuko Ramqwana, 18, Alice; Twelve Nqamntwini, 45, Mdantsane, Mbulelo George Mawgona, 23, Bisho, Thobile Kali, 25, King William's Town, Jongile Mene, 25, King William's Town, Myna Nathaniel Myena, 63, Zwelitsha; and the as yet unnamed member of the CDF — Sapa

Massacre (105)

memorials countrywide

BUSINESSES in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage will be closed tomorrow as thousands of Cosatu members observe a day of mourning for the victims of the Bisho massacre.

Other events countrywide include:

- A Cosatu call on Cape Town businesses to shut down from 12 noon tomorrow.

- A peaceful ANC-led march moved through Bloemfontein yesterday. A stayaway brought nearby Botshabelo to a standstill.

- World Council of Churches president Emilio Castro will today speak at a service in King William's Town.

Fifteen of the 29 massacre victims will be buried at the Ginsberg cemetery near King William's Town tomorrow.

PE firms to close for mourning over Bisho massacre

The Argus Bureau

AG 17/92

PORT ELIZABETH. — Companies in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage will close tomorrow after a call by Cosatu for a stayaway to mark a day of mourning for the victims of the Bisho massacre.

Today ANC-SACP-Cosatu members will stage a demonstration at the official Ciskei residence in Summerstrand to demand the removal of the homeland's consul-general.

Buses will ferry protesters to the home of Mr H F Malani. A spokesman for the consulate said it was closed and staff were not in attendance.

Companies which close tomorrow have insisted that the "no work, no pay rule" will apply.

Midland Chamber of Industries chairman Mr Bill Taylor said at a meeting last night that the MCI was deeply disturbed by the loss of life at Bisho. But he was also concerned about the effects of another stayaway on the region's economy.

He said more creative means should be found to mark the day of mourning. Some members who attended the meeting said it should be borne in mind that the ANC had been warned of the consequences of the march on Bisho.

In a statement Cosatu said it had proposed that tomorrow be declared a day of mourning and employer bodies were asked not to apply disciplinary measures against participants.

It urged employers to take the circumstances surrounding September 18 very seriously. Cosatu said if the spirit as displayed by employer bodies remained unchanged it would have to embark on a three-point strategy which could include plant occupations, consumer boycotts, the call for the reinstatement of workers. It would also consider calling a legal general strike.

The SACP's Raymond Suttner says his party is being made a scapegoat

'Don't blame us for Bisho'

SMAN 11/9/92

(DS) (RS)

THE massacre at Bisho last week has not only evoked anger and sorrow within the black community. It has also unleashed a massive attack on the organisers of the march, in particular those leaders of the ANC who are also South African Communist Party leaders.

The suggestion has been made that the SACP hijacked this march and that the masses were used as cannon fodder to gain political turf. The cynicism of this move is said to be underlined by the fact that the only targets of mass action in the bantustans are those that are unsympathetic to the ANC — as evidenced by no marches being planned for Transkei and Venda.

Where does the truth lie? Is the ANC guilty, along with the South African Government and the Ciskei?

What seems to be absent from most accounts is that the violence in the Ciskei did not start on Monday September 7. The march was decided on because of widespread and daily violence, killings and in-

timidation of the people living under Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's rule for a long period

The places where this violence occurs are not reported in the commercial press. Many do not even appear in the conventional maps of South Africa such as Diddikane, Masakhanane, Ngqwele, Gongotha, Pakamisa etc etc.

The people of this region demanded an end to the violence. What were we to do? Observers counsel patience because bantustans are due to be reincorporated within a year. Is this an adequate answer to those who may not survive that year or may be maimed while they wait?

The idea of a march came from the Border region of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and other allied formations, including the churches and civics. It was endorsed as a national campaign by the tripartite alliance.

The Border region of the ANC requested a number of us to come down before the event to assist in mobilising people and organising the march. These included Chris



Bisho massacre . . . the marchers acted in response to earlier violence, says a leading Communist and ANC member.

Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and myself. We are, as the newspapers note, also in the leadership of the SACP. A number of other people were also requested to come or volunteered, such as Steve Tshwete and Thozamile Botha.

It is alleged that the SACP hijacked the march. But everything we did in the Border region, whether or not we were Communists, was under the direction of the Border alliance. In the case of

and John Gomo, president of Cosatu. In the course of the march, it was decided that a group would proceed to Bisho stadium and make its way into Bisho through a gap in the fence that had been reported. The rest of us would proceed to the razor wire blocking the entrance to Bisho. In neither case did we plan to use arms or face gunfire, but hoped nevertheless to proceed.

As is well known now, before we could talk, we faced fire from a number of directions. Some commentators are suggesting that the leadership used the people as cannon fodder. It should be noted that the leadership was in front and we were the first target. Secondly, as mentioned before, the idea of the march came from the Border region and was endorsed as a national campaign of the whole alliance, as a way of trying to end the violence of the Gqozo administration.

Why do we not target Transkei and Venda? The answer is not the cynical battle for turf suggested

In some commentaries. Our people are simply not being harassed or killed in these areas. They are allowed to engage in free political activity. In fact, there have been marches in the Transkei. In some cases there was tension, though no violence ensued. It is a pity that this national tragedy is being manipulated in order to attack Communists, especially white Communists, instead of mounting massive pressure on the Government to do what it is perfectly capable of doing — remove Oupa Gqozo and end the misery that he makes of people's lives. If one is looking for white instigators, let us look at the real ones, those in the Department of Military Intelligence and others who have been shown to have played a substantial part in the Bisho massacre. □ Raymond Suttner is Head of Political Education and a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He went to Bisho on behalf of the ANC.

STADIE MOVIES

105
CT8/9/92

IN

after 24 die in Ciskei march
bloodbath

secretary Mr Chris Hani, Cosatu president Mr John Gomomo and a host of ANC regional leaders, including Natal's Mr Jeff Radebe and Mr Harry Gwala.

After the area had been cleared and towards sunset, Brigadier Gqozo briefly visited the scene, but reportedly did not get out of his vehicle. At a press conference he said the march was part of well-planned armed attack.

An angry and shaken Mr Ramaphosa said the march was part of the ANC's mass action campaign directed at weakening Mr De Klerk's allies at negotiations.

He flatly denied that the demonstrators had been armed. National Peace Accord chairman Mr John Hall said

immediately after the shootings that they appeared to have been unprovoked.

Mr Ramaphosa said "Today's events demonstrate, again, that the regime is not committed to creating a climate in which such negotiations can take place."

Mr Ramaphosa also laid the blame for the killing squarely at the door of President De Klerk, saying: "He was warned to keep (Brigadier) Gqozo under control and we believe that it was within his power to do so."

"The killing of 28 people in the circumstances we witnessed today will have a bearing on the negotiation process. We can't continue as if nothing has happened."

To page 2

State President F W de Klerk's office said one company of soldiers, about 110 troops, would be deployed to prevent looting. The Ciskei government had approved the move.

The shooting began at precisely 1.31pm yesterday when a group of demonstrators who had swarmed across the Bisho stadium — just beyond the border — and towards troops lying beyond it were fired on.

According to a witness, marchers stopped at the razor-wire fence drawn across the border, where according to a court ruling protesters had to turn left into the stadium.

It was then that ANC national executive member Mr Ronnie Kasrils began a sprint towards the stadium, into its gates and through a large gap in the fence on the other side.

At one point he stopped to gather more followers behind him and then ran again. Protesters were 30m clear of the fence when the firing started.

"No warnings were issued. The shootings were aimed at bringing about death," said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Gqozo, said the Ciskei troops had started firing only when they were shot at from the crowd.

SA Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, who was in nearby King William's Town with SA Police Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe, said the demonstrators had transgressed a court order restricting the march to the stadium grounds.

Seconds after the first volley, another more concerted round of shooting began from troops lined alongside the King William's Town-Bisho road just inside the Ciskei border.

They appeared to be shooting towards the main body of demonstrators — estimated at 50 000 — who had amassed behind the razor-wire fence on the border.

Stunned peace secretariat officials, journalists, clerics and demonstrators dived for cover.

As the shooting continued for at least 2½ minutes, rifle grenades also appeared to be going off in the crowd.

Mayhem ensued with some people fleeing across fences and smashing them, others falling in the crowd and others being shot.

Eyewitnesses described seeing people falling with parts of their

Ciskei bloodbath

From page 1

CT 8/9/92 105

"It will definitely have a bearing these incidents go directly to the heart of the deadlock that exists between the government and ourselves."

At a rally in King William's Town before the march Mr Ramaphosa had warned that the alliance was going to topple Brigadier Gqozo, Boputhatswana leader Dr Lucas Mangope and then Kwazulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Early yesterday Ciskei Chief Magistrate Mr D B Tall granted permission for the march, with three provisos. No arms would be allowed, the marchers would be allowed into the Ciskei between 12 noon and 4.30pm, and the marchers would be allowed into the

Bisho stadium, but would not be allowed into Bisho itself.

Later ANC Border vice-chairman Mr Andrew Hendricks said the order would be defied and marchers were set to enter Bisho.

Before the march ANC executive member Mr Raymond Suttner said "We are going to remove Gqozo" and an unidentified speaker told the crowd "We are going to Bisho to drive the pig out of the barn."

As marchers moved towards Bisho, the Ciskei government said freedom of political expression should be recognised, but such freedom should be exercised in accordance with the law

heads blown off. Others said they had discovered only later that people lying nearby had been killed in the volleys of rifle fire.

One journalist who was running with Mr Kasrils near the front of the crowd going to the stadium said: "I just couldn't believe they were firing on us with live rounds... there was an incredible scramble with bullets kicking up dust and explosions all around! It seemed the firing would never stop."

After the shooting there was a brief pause before another volley of about 30 seconds. It appeared to have been sparked by an explosion somewhere near the demonstrators.

Among those under fire in the crowd were Mr Ramaphosa, SACP general

From CHRIS WHITFIELD
and PATRICK BULGER

BISHO. — SADF troops moved into Ciskei last night as the ANC's march to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo ended in a bloodbath.

By early this morning the official death toll was given as 24 while the ANC claimed 28 killed. About 190 people were wounded.

Last night angry ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance leaders vowed to sharply step up mass action and said the days of symbolic acts were over. Protests planned in Cape Town today include a march on the Ciskei embassy.

Protesters were shot down by Ciskei troops at Bisho stadium as they crossed a razor-wire fence. A Ciskei soldier also died.

The bloodbath could prove to be a lethal blow to negotiations.

NEWS Organisers confident that the occasion will be peaceful

Burial of Bisho victims today

Sowetan 18/9/92 (105)

WORLD SPOTLIGHT Observers will attend funeral of 15 victims in King William's Town:

Sowetan Reporters

THE MASS funeral of 15 of the 38 people killed in the Bisho massacre will be held in King William's Town today and will be attended by representatives of the international community.

Observers from the United Nations and Organisation of African Unity will monitor the mass burial, although organisers have expressed confidence that the occasion would be peaceful.

Yesterday, representatives from the UN, Commonwealth of Independent States and the British Commonwealth attended a memorial service for the victims at the Victoria Grounds, the venue of today's funeral service.

The observers also joined leaders and supporters of the African National Congress alliance at an all-night candle-lit vigil outside the South African Embassy in King William's Town.

The president of the World Council of Churches, Dr Emilio Castro, who arrived in the country yesterday, will conduct the funeral service which begins at 10 am.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu will be the main speaker at the funeral.

At least 38 people have died after being shot by Ciskei forces on September 7. Many will be buried privately at the weekend.

Meanwhile, claims that Ciskei soldiers were harassing villagers in the region increased yesterday.

ANC Border spokesman Mr Mcebisi Bata said about 300 people, mainly youths, had fled the villages and taken refuge at the Border Council of Churches offices and community service centres around King William's Town. Human rights groups had taken affidavits from the villagers, he said. Bata said six people had been shot or beaten to death since the massacre.

* The SABC yesterday came under strong attack from the Institute for Contextual Theology for alleged misrepresentation in reporting the Bisho and other massacres.

During a prayer service for the Bisho victims held in the SABC's headquarters in Auckland Park, the ICT called for the resignation of the SABC Board and its replacement by an independent broadcasting authority representative of all the people of South Africa.

The Reverend Steyn de Klerk of the SABC Religious Programmes accepted the petition on behalf of the SABC board.

CISKEI

STEEAANS
BRUMMER

Staff

Reporter

KING

WILLIAM'S

TOWN

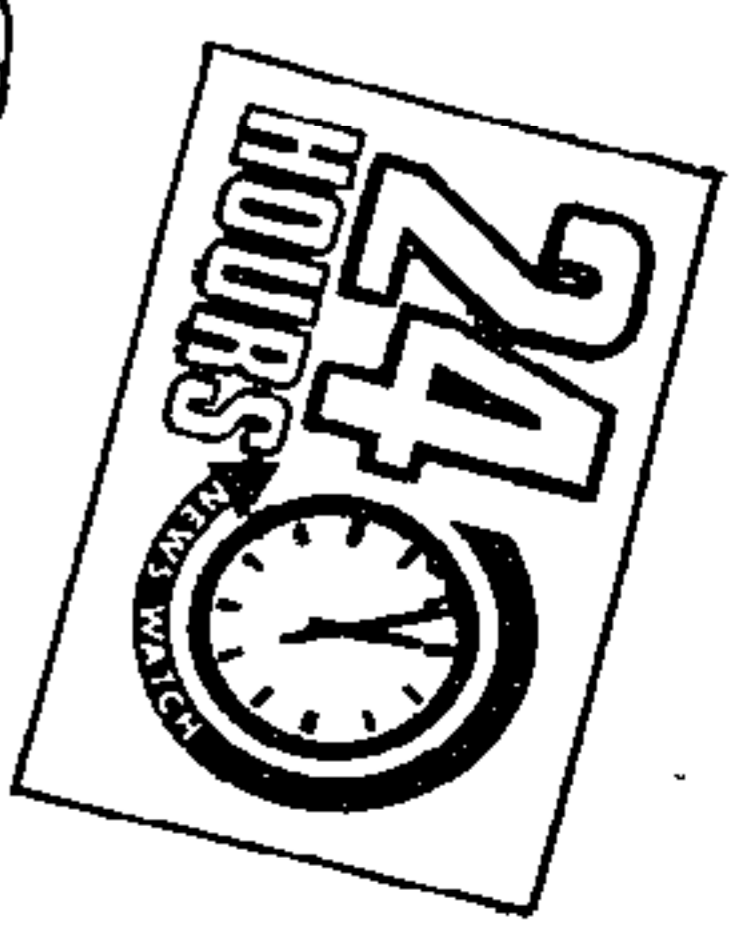
ANDREW INGRAM
took the pictures

Frontline of peace

PARC 18/9/92

105

105



ONLY THE WIND RUMBLED WHERE THE BISHO GUNFIRE SOUNDED

IT was all so different. Ten days earlier gunshots had rumbled across Bisho. Yesterday the only rumble was that of a gusty wind magnified over the public address system.

Where a fateful march had been marched then, only words were spoken yesterday.

Helicopters circled above, but little attention was paid to them or the police perched atop armoured vehicles peering into the Victoria grounds here where some 5 000 people had come to remember 28 fallen comrades.

Not that the police presence was slight. King William's Town was still a declared unrest area and patrols were everywhere.

Roads leading into town were blocked and cars and taxis under way to the memorial service were searched.



COMRADES TOGETHER: Ronnie Kasrils, who led the fateful march, with Chris Hani.



POSTER PEOPLE: Mourners display posters of Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo.

The road across the border into the Ciskei and Bisho was heavily guarded by South African police in camouflage gear but, again in sharp contrast to 10 days earlier, the Ciskei Defence Force was nowhere to be seen.

Trenches were empty and even the Ciskei parliament buildings and military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's residence seemed only lightly guarded.

Lesser tension yesterday was reflected in the "amicably resolved" outcome of last-minute negotiations over the use of the Victoria grounds, which were also the starting point of last week's fateful march.

The municipality gave the go-ahead not long before mourners started trickling to the venue yesterday, after disagreement over the payment of a deposit had been resolved.

The municipality had asked for R20 000; the ANC eventually paid R16 000.

Agreement with similar compromise was reached over the planned night vigil outside the South African Embassy to the Ciskei in King William's Town.

ANC spokesman Saki Makozoma said the municipality had extended their 6 pm to 10 pm limit to 6 am today. The ANC agreed that people would move to the embassy in small groups from the Victoria grounds.

The memorial service, led by a local preacher and attended by diplomats from several countries, was briefly interrupted when Communist Party chief Chris Hani arrived to loud cheers of the crowd.

He said in a later speech that no excuses would be made by communists in the ANC for their role in last week's march.

"They call us reckless, they call us irresponsible, they call on the ANC to kick us out... De Klerk can rant and rave about the SACP but we shall never abandon our responsibility for democracy in this country."



RESTING UP: Members of the South African police watch events from outside the stadium

Arrest was a set up, claim Youth League

THE chairman and an organiser of the Border ANC Youth League claim their arrest for possession of arms was set up by members of the Ciskei Defence Force.

Regional chairman Themba Kinana and organiser Toto Teyisa were released yesterday from King William's Town prison on bail of R3 000 and R1 000 respectively, pending a court appearance on October 23.

Police announced their arrest four days after the Bisho massacre amidst allegations and counter-allegations of violence and harassment by Ciskei security force members on ANC sympathisers and members, and vice versa.

Mr Kinana said after his release that the two R4 rifles and ammunition found at the Youth League offices had been brought there the day before by CDF soldiers and left behind after they were confronted.



CANDLES IN THE WIND: A mourner at a candle light vigil outside the South African Embassy in Ciskei.

Any blood spilt will be on government's hands, says ANC

Tension mounts for Bisho funerals

105
MAG 18/9/87

STEFAANS BRUMMER
Staff Reporter and Argus Correspondents

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Tensions are rising here today before the funeral for 28 victims of last Monday's Bisho massacre.

Following the declaration of unrest areas by Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, the ANC said any blood spilt in King William's Town today would be on the hands of the government.

The ANC said: "We cannot but suspect that Kriel's action is an attempt to intimidate people into not attending the service and to make their journey hazardous and difficult.

"De Klerk and his cabinet will be held directly responsible for any incident, or any loss of life, that occurs as a result of this provocative action that can only increase tension."

Thousands of people started arriving in King William's Town for the funeral at dawn. Buses, taxis and cars were searched and there was a large contingent of police at the Ciskei border.

Four police generals were in King William's Town to ensure "everything goes according to plan", said police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw.

By 10am the Victoria Stadium was nearly full and the crowd awaited the arrival of clergy including World Council of Churches general secretary Dr Emilio Castro, who was to lead the service, political leaders and the coffins.

Numbers seemed well on their way to equalling the tens of thousands at last week's pre-march gathering at the stadium.

After the service, 15 of the 28 victims are to be buried at the Ginsberg graveyard in King William's Town. The rest are to be buried in their home villages.

Dr Castro's sermon is to be preceded by a prayer from Pastor Ray McCauley. The main address will be by ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

A spokesman for the National Peace Committee said the funeral would be attended by United Nations observers, Regional Dispute Resolution Committee monitors and three Commonwealth fact-finders.

Hundreds of people attended all-night vigils at the stadium and outside the South African embassy to the Ciskei.

The singing, dancing crowd outside the embassy thronged on an open piece of land and road adjoining the high-fenced compound. Many held candles or posters denouncing Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President De Klerk.

Some businesses in King William's Town and Bisho were open in spite of an ANC alliance call for a general stayaway. Border ANC spokesman Mr Mcebisi Bata said businesses in the townships would be closed and he was confident the stayaway call would be heeded.

In Cape Town, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and its allies plan to hold a memorial service on the Grand Parade at 1pm today before holding a rally outside the Ciskeian consulate on the Foreshore and marching to President De Klerk's Rondebosch home.

Cosatu said it has had a sympathetic hearing from representatives of Cape Town City Council, Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Cape Chamber of Industries and Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut for workers to be given time off to attend today's service.

There was a total stayaway in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage as thousands headed for the funeral.

The Inkatha Freedom Party added to the tension surrounding the funeral by launching a scathing attack on leading clergy, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane, accusing them of only mourning the deaths of ANC supporters.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said the organisation was "totally outraged" at what he called the clergy's "scandalous display of selective mourning".

● See page 13.

Big strike for Bisho funeral

CT18/9/92 (105)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Hundreds of thousands of workers were expected to stay away from work today in the Eastern Cape and Border regions as preparations for the funeral of 28 ANC supporters killed in Bisho earlier this month got under way.

And in a security clampdown, the government yesterday declared five more unrest areas in

the Eastern Cape, bringing to 10 the number of unrest areas declared in the region in the past month.

Scores of SA Police and soldiers took up positions on both sides of the Ciskei border yesterday as the ANC began its two days of mourning.

Fifteen of the 29 victims — 28 ANC supporters and one Ciskei soldier — are scheduled to be buried in the King William's Town cemetery at 10am today.

The funeral was to be attended by World Council of Churches secretary-general Mr Emilio Castro and UN monitors and Border Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolu-

Ciskei 'working day'

PORT ELIZABETH. — Today would be a "normal working day" for Ciskei civil servants, the secretary-general of the homeland's Central Personnel Administration announced in a circular distributed to all department heads yesterday.

The announcement came a day before funerals today — including one mass funeral in Ginsberg — of 28 ANC supporters when they tried to march on Bisho.

According to the circular, a copy of which was sent to Sapa, today would be a normal working day "and should be treated as such".

"Please inform all members of your staff accordingly," the brief message concluded. — Sapa

tion Committee members were to observe proceedings.

The five magisterial districts declared unrest areas in a special Government Gazette published yesterday are Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, all of which are on the western side of Ciskei.

On September 5, just before the Bisho massacre, King William's Town, Cathcart, Queenstown, Stutterheim and East London, all on the eastern side of Ciskei, were proclaimed unrest areas.

The ANC yesterday criticised the move, saying it was insensi-

tive.

"Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has taken these steps despite the fact that, in the days following the tragic massacre in Bisho, tens of thousands of people participated in peaceful and disciplined marches, rallies and vigils without incident."

An industry source in the Eastern Cape said most major employers in the region were shutting down operations for the day of mourning.

Reuter reports that yesterday police with shotguns manned roadblocks around King William's Town, where thousands of blacks, most of them ANC supporters, began to gather in a stadium for a memorial service yesterday afternoon.

Shops in Bisho closed their doors at noon in a tribute to the dead.

The SA Police regional commissioner for the Eastern Cape, Major-General Koos Calitz, yesterday said arrangements for the mass funeral of the 15 ANC supporters to be buried at Ginsberg township outside King William's Town had been finalised.

Town silent for Bisho⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ service

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The city virtually closed down yesterday when the ANC held a memorial service at the Victoria Park sports grounds.

And most Border businesses have agreed to an ANC request to allow workers this afternoon off to attend the funeral of those shot during the Bisho march.

The town council has also given funeral organisers permission to use the stadium.

About 5 000 people were at the stadium when the service began. Diplomatic representatives from 12 countries were among those present.

Independent observers from the National Peace Secretariat and the UN also attended the service.

SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani also spoke at the service, saying Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would pay for the Bisho massacre and his joy after the incident would be short-lived.

Mr Hani also lashed out at the South African government, saying it could have stopped Brig Gqozo from ordering the shooting.

● And at a memorial service in Johannesburg yesterday ANC leader Mr Nelson

Mandela said men and women in South Africa were more concerned with power than peace.

● About 80 members of the Institute of Contextual Theology yesterday occupied the foyer auditorium of the SABC's Auckland Park offices to protest against the SABC's reporting of the Bisho massacre.

● The European Community assembly said yesterday it "condemns in the strongest terms those responsible for this massacre — not only Brigadier Gqozo and his militia but also the Pretoria government".

— Own Correspondent, Sapa **CTB/A192**

Bisho's mourners plan huge stayaway

BIDM 18/9/92.
HUNDREDS of thousands of workers are expected to stay away from work in the eastern Cape and Border regions today as preparations for the funeral of 28 ANC supporters killed in Bisho last week got under way.

And in a security clampdown, government yesterday declared five more unrest areas in the eastern Cape, bringing to 10 the number of unrest areas declared in the region in the past month.

Scores of SA Police and soldiers took up positions on both sides of the Ciskei border yesterday as the ANC began its two days of mourning. Fifteen of the 29 victims — 28 ANC supporters and one Ciskei soldier — are scheduled to be buried in the King William's Town cemetery at 10am today.

The funeral will be attended by World Council of Churches secretary-general Emilio Castro, UN monitors and Border-Ciskei regional dispute resolution committee members.

UN special representative Virenda Dayal, who will also attend the funeral, met Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Pretoria yesterday. After the talks, Botha said Dayal would act as catalyst in the process to eradicate violence.

Sapa reports that the five districts declared unrest areas in a special Government Gazette published yesterday are Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, all of which are on the western side of Ciskei.

On September 5, just prior to the Bisho massacre, King William's Town, Cathcart, Queenstown, Stutterheim and East London, all on the eastern side of Ciskei, were proclaimed unrest areas.

The ANC yesterday slammed the latest move, saying it was insensitive.

"Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has taken these steps despite the fact that, in the days following the tragic massacre in Bisho, tens of thousands of people par-

Business Day Reporters

icipated in peaceful and disciplined marches, rallies and vigils without incident," the organisation said in a statement.

LINDA ENSOR reports that Cape Town Chamber of Commerce yesterday appealed to its members to consider sympathetically requests by workers for time off to attend commemoration meetings.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Sebokeng in the southern Transvaal that Bavumile Vilakazi, deputy secretary general of the ANC's PWV region and a former Delmas treason trialist, was seriously wounded when gunmen armed with AK-47s shot him outside a hardware shop in the township.

Vilakazi was in the Sebokeng Hospital and police were investigating, police spokesman Capt van Burger Rooyen said. At least five people, one of them a policeman, died violently in unrest-related incidents on Wednesday.

A police report issued yesterday said the bodies of four men were found by police at the Mandela Park squatter camp in Katlehong. They had been shot.

At Tembisa, Kempton Park, a number of shots were fired by unidentified gunmen at a police vehicle, killing a policeman and seriously wounding another.

The names of those killed have not yet been released.

SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman told the Pietersburg Chamber of Commerce yesterday that one of the main reasons for violence in SA was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable, Sapa reports.

Kane-Berman was reported by SABC radio news as saying '80s ANC strategy for a people's war focused on government but it was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community and that this had provoked a backlash.

ANC may raise excise duties

CAPE TOWN — The ANC health department was researching the possibility of increasing the excise duties on tobacco and alcohol products as a way of funding its strategy to provide health for all, ANC health department economist Di McIntyre said at a forum on the organisation's health policy yesterday.

McIntyre is the co-ordinator of the sub-commission on the future of health financing policy. BIDM 18/9/92.

She said that the use and abuse of tobacco and alcohol placed a big burden on the health system yet SA's excise of 30% was very low compared, for example, with the UK's 75%. A higher excise would enable government to inject funds into building up the primary health care system.

The heavy demands placed on a future government made it unlikely that more than the present 11% of GNP would be allocated for health services. This meant other sources of income would have to be found.

Another form of financing being debated was a national health insurance system which would require employed workers in the formal sector to contribute to a health fund for basic health services. McIntyre

LINDA ENSOR

said research was necessary to determine what funds would be required to provide a national health system and how much could be raised by an insurance scheme.

Also, McIntyre said, the more efficient use of existing resources and the elimination of waste, fragmentation and duplication would be an additional source of funds.

The predominance of the private health sector, especially its ability to draw the best health personnel into its ranks, would have to be addressed by creating the conditions and career structures to encourage people to return to the public sector.

ANC health department head Cheryl Carolus told the forum 58% of SA's doctors were in private practice and the private sector was allocated a disproportionate share of the health budget.

The privatisation of health care, she said had led to an emphasis on the private sector and thus to an overemphasis on curative medicine. There was a need to strengthen the public health sector and to refocus it towards primary health care and preventive medicine.

CISKEI FM 18/9/92

First warning

(105)

Government will not force Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqoza out of office, but has insisted that he allow greater political freedom in the homeland and effectively place his troops under SADF supervision.

He has also been briefed on government's plans to introduce legislation during next month's short parliamentary session to pave the way for the re-incorporation of Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda

Four hours of talks in Pretoria this week, between a government delegation headed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and a Ciskei delegation headed by Gqozo, resolved a number of issues that developed in the wake of the September 7 Bisho massacre.

It is understood that the military leader

FM 18/9/92 (105)

was told that government would have no option but to take direct measures unless he was prepared to be more tolerant of ANC activity in Ciskei.

He was also told that ANC leader Nelson Mandela had given an undertaking that it was not his organisation's intention to use force to overthrow the Ciskei administration — though a number of ANC heavyweights clearly stated that this was the intention of the Bisho march. (See *Leaders*).

It seems that government is not prepared to take unilateral action to either unseat TBCV state leaders or re-incorporate their territories into SA. These issues were thoroughly debated by a Codesa working group which came to various agreements about the future of the independent homelands. Government believes the agreements must form the basis of future negotiations.

In the meantime, however, statutory measures will be prepared to pave the way for their re-incorporation. ■

Education crisis in Ciskei deepens

Evening Nation (in New Nation) 18/9-24/9/92

The education crisis in Ciskei has deepened further as a result of the massacre of 32 people last week, according to the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC). (105)

With only three weeks before students sit for their matric exams, educationists in the area are asking whether it is still feasible to go ahead with the exams on the scheduled dates or not.

Raymond Pywakadi, NECC organiser in Ciskei, said unless examination dates were rescheduled, "there is no hope for better results this year".

He said there was a need for all education bodies to come together and decide whether the NECC should push for a postponement of the exams.

Massacre

He said "there has been lack of normal education in most areas of Ciskei, and this disruption had started long before last week's massacre. Students and teachers had not been reporting to classes regularly because of intimidation from Ciskei police and army."

But Pywakadi added that the NECC could not push for the postponement unilaterally unless there was consensus between educationists and teacher-organisations such as the South African Democratic Teacher Union (Sadtu).

He said the massacre last week had brought education to a near-collapse in Dimbaza, Zwelitsha and Ginsberg around King William's Town. He added that even rural schools around the town had been affected by the crisis.

Crisis

Pywakadi said besides the massacre, another aspect which had plunged education in the region into a crisis was "the intransigence of the Ciskei's Department of Education and Culture (DEC) to the demand for the re-instatement of 38 dismissed teachers in Mdantsane."

"It appears that they (authorities) are not prepared to re-instate the teachers despite pleas from the community," he said.

Pywakadi added that attempts by the NECC and Sadtu to meet the DEC minister, PP Jacobs, to discuss the school crisis in Mdantsane failed.

"Their refusal to meet with the NECC or any educational structure in the region is deepening the education crisis instead of improving things," Pywakadi said.

Austrian mercenary gave Gqozo's order to open fire

By GAVIN EVANS

IF there's one thing everyone in politics learns sooner or later, it's that today's friend may become tomorrow's enemy.

In the case of Colonel Horst Schubesburger, the Austrian mercenary who admits to giving the order that led to last week's massacre of 29 protesters in Ciskei, yesterday's friend is today's enemy.

Three months after the African National Congress was unbanned in 1990, Schubesburger travelled to Zambia with the then chief of the Ciskei Defence Force, Andrew Jamangile, for five days of intense discussion with an Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) delegation led by Chris Hani. They were warmly embraced by the ANC members and on their return enthused about the idea of an integrated defence force which would include the CDF and MK.

Eight months later, Jamangile was languishing in Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's detention cells after leading an unsuccessful coup.

Schubesburger took the opposite path: he was promoted to chief of staff and last week was taking orders from Gqozo to fire on ANC demonstrators.

The occasion of Schubesburger's first meeting with the ANC was a conference on "The Future of Security and Defence in South Africa" organised by the Institute for a Democratic South Africa. He was the CDF's training officer at the time.

Though his thick Germanic accent and his mercenary past caused initial misgivings, the ANC delegates soon

embraced the gregarious colonel.

Afterwards, Schubesburger was bristling with excitement. "This conference confirmed, as Hani put it, that the CDF will form part of an integrated army. We bear in mind that many MK members come from our region and that we have an existing infrastructure and trained personnel who can train some and retrain others".

But the 51-year-old colonel's military career suggested his offers were less than reliable, as they came from a man whose only commitment was to

selling his services to the highest bidder.

Schubesburger joined the Austrian army in 1959 and remained there for 18 years, serving as an officer in the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in the Middle East.

In 1978, he received an offer from the Rhodesian security forces which he

couldn't refuse. At the height of the bush war in that country, he served as an army major involved in active service against the guerrilla forces.

When the war ended, however, Schubesburger had no qualms about staying on as commander of the Zimbabwe National Army's 35 Infantry Battalion until, in 1984, he received his next generous offer — from the despotic regime of former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe.

When Sebe was overthrown, Schubesburger was part of Gqozo's coup group and he has remained loyal to the brigadier ever since. So when Hani's followers got in the way last week, the Austrian mercenary knew exactly where his loyalties lay.



Horst Schubesburger

w/maw 189-24/9/92 (105)

How the brigadier begged Rhema leader for guidance

WJW as 18/9-24/9/92 (105)

A FRESH insight has been given into the events leading up to the Bisho massacre by Rhema Church leader Ray McCauley, who engaged in an extraordinary 11th-hour battle with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to avert the Ciskei tragedy.

McCauley has disclosed that the brigadier and his cabinet visited him at his Johannesburg home on the Saturday before the massacre and that the confused and frightened Ciskei leader was on the verge of agreeing to a referendum which would have resulted in his resignation.

McCauley also revealed that Gqozo had showed him an exchange of letters with President FW de Klerk, which indicated the president was unsympathetic towards the Ciskei leader and had tried to press him into allowing the African National Congress march on Bisho to take place.

The Weekly Mail has also discovered a bizarre twist to the story of the Bisho massacre which raises fresh questions about what was happening behind the scenes at the time of the shooting. A survivor of the fatal charge — who is regarded as a highly reliable witness — has testified that, as he ran away from the battleground, he came across the bodies of two blacks in a bullet-riddled car who had seemingly been shot dead out of the line of fire of the Ciskei troops.

The implication is that the two victims were "taken out" by a professional hit team using the massacre as cover. Two members of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) have questioned the witness about the incident and indicated to him that, if such an assassination did take place, they sus-

A confused and frightened

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo begged

Rhema Church leader Ray

McCauley for advice before

the Bisho massacre.

By PAT SIDLEY and

Weekly Mail Reporter

pected maverick members of Military Intelligence might have been responsible.

Despite comprehensive investigations, however, *The Weekly Mail* has been unable to discover who were the victims of the shooting. Senior ANC officials have also made inquiries and report that they have been able to find no evidence of the killings, which took place in the car park at the Bisho stadium.

McCauley said he was drawn into the Bisho drama on the Friday before the killings, when he received a call from the brigadier asking if he could meet him at his Bryanston home the following day. "He arrived with all his bodyguards and a whole entourage. I became aware of how critical the situation was when he refused to let cabinet members into the meeting with me. He wasn't sure if he could trust them."

McCauley said his strategy was to persuade Gqozo to accept the idea of a referendum. "In the second hour of the meeting, he began to admit that he could see this was the way to go, although he had some hurdles with his cabinet."

Other problems Gqozo mentioned included monitoring a referendum and

the intimidation he believed was inevitable. The process needed time and McCauley suggested that six weeks was an outside limit.

At that time, says McCauley, other church leaders were involved in trying to persuade the ANC to drop its march plan if the brigadier accepted a referendum, a plan which the movement eventually rejected.

McCauley kept South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane briefed on developments at his house. The pastor's suggestion that he would like to involve Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Chikane triggered an explosive reaction from Gqozo, who said he would not speak to them.

The day before, McCauley said, Gqozo had come under pressure from different quarters — including the government — to allow the march to proceed peacefully.

When he left the Bryanston house on Saturday he "promised me that he had everything under control for the Monday". He had also said he would announce a referendum, but only after the march, so that it would not seem that he was bowing to pressure.

After the massacre, McCauley received a phone call from Gqozo saying "the whole thing has broken loose, the worst has happened". He said his cabinet had decided not to call for a referendum.

Later McCauley received another call from a "confused" brigadier. He said he had "evidence" and was trying to defend what had happened. He refused an offer to have the church leaders go down and help defuse the situation.



Pastor Ray McCauley ... 'A weird experience'

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

"So at 11.30 I went to bed thinking 'well, we're out of it.' At midnight the phone rang again: it was the brigadier, saying that after a telephone plea from South African Foreign Minister Pk Botha, he had decided to meet church leaders — but only if McCauley was present.

At the meeting, McCauley had given Gqozo blunt advice: "You are totally out of touch with what is right; you are totally out of touch with what we are moving into in the new South Africa."

McCauley believed that the govern-

ment had put the brigadier under pressure to allow the march, and had not given him orders to shoot. Two letters the brigadier had shown him indicated that the government had tried to convince him of the peaceful route and Gqozo had told them to go to hell.

McCauley described the events as "a weird experience. You go to where the people were killed, where Tutu gave his address, and the majority of them were committed Christians. And then you go to Oupa on Tuesday and he's saying: 'Pray for me, pray for me.'"

Soldiers vs civilians in 'Kei

W/Mail 18/9 - 24/9/92

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A WAVE of conflict between villagers and troops has turned Ciskei into a virtual war zone in the wake of the Bisho massacre, sending hundreds of refugees flooding into surrounding towns.

Meanwhile, military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo flew to Pretoria to meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha amid speculation that South Africa was going to force him out. However, he emerged with a promise that he would "reconsider" his position on peaceful political activity.

Villagers have accused troops of beating people, and houses of Ciskei government supporters, troops and police have been attacked in turn.

A court interdict restraining members of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) from "unlawfully harassing, assaulting, threatening and verbally abusing" African National Congress and Youth League members has had little impact. An application by Ciskei for a similar interdict against the ANC was turned down.

Border ANC representatives claim at least six members have been killed by Ciskei soldiers, while the Ciskei police report that two members of its security forces and three headmen have died in about 51 attacks. Hospitals in the region have been treating hundreds of casualties.

Since last week, around 250 men and boys have moved into a Border Council of Churches (BCC) hall in King William's Town, while 200 women and girls have occupied premises belonging to the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) and the advice office.

The ANC's publicity secretary in Alice, Sakhumzi Somyo, said there were also about 150 refugees staying

*Last week's Bisho massacre
has sparked violence
throughout the Ciskei.*

CLAIRE KEETON reports

on the University of Fort Hare campus.

Overburdened service organisations are struggling to cope with the refugees' basic needs and relief workers said this week there is a serious "refugee crisis".

The male refugees are crushed into a basement on the BCC premises without even space to stretch out to sleep. They have no mattresses or washing facilities. The female refugees are marginally better off, with a tiny bathroom and kitchen available to them.

The Red Cross and Operation Hunger have provided meals and businesses have donated money and food.

A Fort Hare public relations official said some of the refugees are starting to return home when they hear from village committees it is safe. But she said if the crisis continues much longer they will have to consider what to do with their schooling. She said she hopes the situation will settle down after today's mass burial.

The conflict has been matched by a war of words. Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said it would appear that there are "two sides" — the ANC and the CDF. But he added: "The reality is that unarmed members and supporters of the ANC are faced by an army that has clearly been ordered to wage a war against all those who dare say that Gqozo must go."

SAP spokesman Colonel Christo Louw said. "The ANC must remember that these type of attacks are going to cause another massacre if CDF

members start defending themselves."

The SADF claimed to have evidence of a plot to assassinate Gqozo, but the ANC denied this.

Most of the conflict is concentrated in villages in the Bisho and King William's Town areas. Wary youngsters, unwilling to reveal their names, said they had run away from heavily armed soldiers who were randomly beating up residents. A King William's Town advice office worker, Phumla Malingozi, said parents have reported their children missing.

After the CDF's application for an interdict to restrain ANC and South African Communist Party members from attacking the homes of Ciskei soldiers was rejected, the Ciskei security forces seemed to bolster its ranks with guards from the Peace Force security firm and African Democratic Movement-aligned headmen.

Youth League members alleged that they were attacked by Peace Force guards in Dakana, Msombomvu and Melani villages. One resident alleged in an affidavit he saw three Peace Force guards abducting six youth and he saw five children being put in the boot of a car by Ciskei police.

Louw and Ciskei Commissioner of Police General Johan Viktor have said that Ciskei soldiers and police have also been driven out of their homes in fear of their lives. In several towns, military trucks were seen loading possessions of police from their homes.

The acting general secretary of the ADM, Basie Oosthuizen, described the area around King William's Town as "violence-stricken" and called for a negotiated peace settlement.

The Ciskei police and defence force chiefs have been unavailable to comment. — Elnews

■ Mobs of mourners from the crowd that paid respects to the 28 victims of last week's massacre looted shops and a hotel last night. It was the only outbreak of violence in an otherwise peaceful day.

STEFAANS BRÜMMER, Weekend Argus Reporter

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Late-night looting in the East London township of Mdantsane marred an incident-free funeral for the victims of the Bisho massacre and cast a pall over hopes that future mass action in the area would be peaceful.

Mourners returning from the funeral at Victoria Stadium in King William's Town allegedly burnt out two shops in Mdantsane and looted a section of the Mdantsane Sun hotel.

One person was dead on arrival at the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in the township and two people were admitted with gunshot wounds, the hospital said. Security authorities said only that one person was injured in a clash between looters and Ciskei police.

Major Charles Loxton, a spokesman for the Allied Operations Centre, a joint Ciskei-South Africa body set up to monitor the mass funeral in nearby King William's Town, said a crowd that had been toyi-toying outside the Mdtansane Sun had broken in.

At 6.05pm the hotel's security manager fled and the crowd began looting, running off with television sets, beds and linen, he said.

Police had fired warning shots and teargas. "The crowd still would not disperse or stop looting and a few shotgun shots were fired," he said.

Members of the Ciskei Defence Force, who arrived after the incident, were guarding the premises late last night. South African security forces were not involved.

**MORE REPORTS,
PICTURES ON PAGE 19**

King William's Town had earlier been brought to a virtual standstill when tens of thousands of mourners paid their respects to the 28 people killed in last Monday's Bisho massacre.

According to some estimates the crowd, which spilled far beyond the stadium where the service was held, was far bigger than last week's march. Police estimates ranged up to 45 000, twice the number involved in the march, while an ANC estimate went as high as 100 000.

After the coffins had been buried at a cemetery in the nearby Ginsberg township, Border police liaison officer Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw praised the ANC for its discipline. "We want to thank them for their co-operation."

ANC Border region chairman Mr Soks Sokupa said: "Our marches here have always been this way." Last week's fateful demonstration had also been disciplined but "they shot because they planned to".

During the funeral there were several calls for sustained and increased mass action, not least from ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu.

Deputy Defence Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach said last night that looting in Mdantsane was "what I had warned against", blaming it on "war talk" of Communist Party leaders in the ANC.



Picture WILLIE DE KLERK, Weekend Argus

□ **SAD MOMENT:** ANC member Susan de Villiers lays a wreath outside the Foreshore building housing the Ciskei consulate.

Tears flow as crosses planted

ARG 19/9/92

Weekend Argus Reporters

EMOTIONAL mourners yesterday planted 28 white crosses — representing those killed in the Bisho massacre — outside President FW de Klerk's official residence.

The crosses were placed outside Westbrook in Rondebosch at the end of a 6 km march from the city by between 3 000 and 5 000 supporters of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

Watched by scores of uniformed policemen and members of the Internal Stability Unit, Cosatu (Western Cape) treasurer Mr George Ngqwebo planted the first cross before a tearful crowd.

Cosatu (Western Cape) chairman Mr Johny Malebo said the crosses represented "the bloodshed and heartache of those killed at Bisho".

The march along Main Road to Rondebosch was incident-free, but caused traffic jams.

At one point, the march stopped in front of the closed Ciskeian consulate in Hertzog Boulevard.

ANC regional executive member Mr Cameron Dugmore said it "will never open again".

Bisho looters mar funeral

ARG 19/9/92
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PAC denies support for Gqozo

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

CLAIMS by Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo that he was supported by the Pan Africanist Congress have been repudiated by the organisation.

Brigadier Gqozo made the claims in an SABC-TV *Agenda* programme this week after PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu visited the site of the Bisho killings.

The PAC said: "We categorically deny the allegation by Brigadier Gqozo that our president sided with his version of the event."

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said that before going to the site of the shootings, Mr Makwetu had called at Brigadier Gqozo's office.

"The truth is that Comrade Makwetu informed Brigadier Gqozo that he was going to visit the shooting-incident site himself and speak to people involved in order to arrive at an informed opinion of what really happened," said Mr Alexander.

"At no stage did the PAC contact Brigadier Gqozo about our opinion after visiting the site, and he has no right to express himself on TV about the PAC's views, as we never informed him of such."

Following this row, the PAC is going ahead with moves for greater unity between the "liberation movements".

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said a planned meeting between Mr Makwetu and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was "still on hold". The meeting was cancelled after the Bisho shootings, but a new date was likely to be arranged.

Further talks between the PAC and the government are to be held in Gaborone, Botswana, before the end of this month to discuss the PAC's full involvement in constitutional negotiations.

Mr Desai said that if elections for a new government were to be held, it would make sense that unity be established soon between the main liberation movements — notably the PAC, ANC and Azapo.

An alliance between these groupings could be "a winning card" in the elections, which Mr Desai expected would be held in the second half of next year.

However, political observers foresee difficulties and a need for some frank talking between the PAC and the ANC before any firm alliance can be formed.

Major issues on which the organisations differ include the Codesa negotiations and the national peace accord. The PAC refused to sign the accord on the grounds that it did not properly identify the causes of violence.

The PAC withdrew from Codesa at an early stage because it disagreed with the way in which the negotiations were set up. It predicted that the liberation movement would be trapped in a process that would force it to make unacceptable compromises.

'Pick up their

spears!'

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STEFANS BRUMMER and ERIC NAKI, Weekend Argus Reporters in King William's Town

In a massive show of power and purpose, King William's Town was taken over yesterday by tens of thousands of mourners paying respects to their 28 comrades slain in Bisho.

The Border town, once a stronghold of the British colonial administration, came to a virtual standstill for the funeral at Victoria Stadium.

But the past was not what mattered. Speaker after speaker pleaded that the blood shed at last Monday's massacre should strengthen resolve in the fight for a democratic future.

The chairman of the African National Congress Border region, Mr Soks Sokupa, said: "We have come not to mourn but to pick up our spears, the spears of our heroes and heroines.

"What happened was not just the killing of people, it was an attempt by the De Klerk regime to kill our march to democracy."

He said those gathered yesterday would meet in Bisho one of these days "for a victory celebration".

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said: "The only way we can avenge their death is to intensify the struggle until we have reached their goal of liberation."

World Council of Churches general secretary Dr Emilio Castro, who led the funeral service, asked that "the murderers" not be given the satisfaction of stopping the struggle of those who had died, but pleaded that violence not form part of the ongoing struggle.

Hate would betray the memory of the fallen, he said.

The speeches were punctuated by hymns and messages, including one from the Pope, who expressed his "great sadness" at the massacre.

The stadium started filling before dawn, when those who had held an all-night vigil at the nearby South African embassy to the Ciskei joined a crowd already there.

By 10.30, as 27 coffins, each draped with flowers and the ANC flag, arrived in a convoy of hearses, it was overflowing. Soon the lower part of town was filled with a massive milling crowd that in happier times would have resembled a carnival.

Police estimated numbers at up to 45 000, more than double their top estimate for last week's march.

The service was observed by United Nations monitors and National Peace Secretariat members.

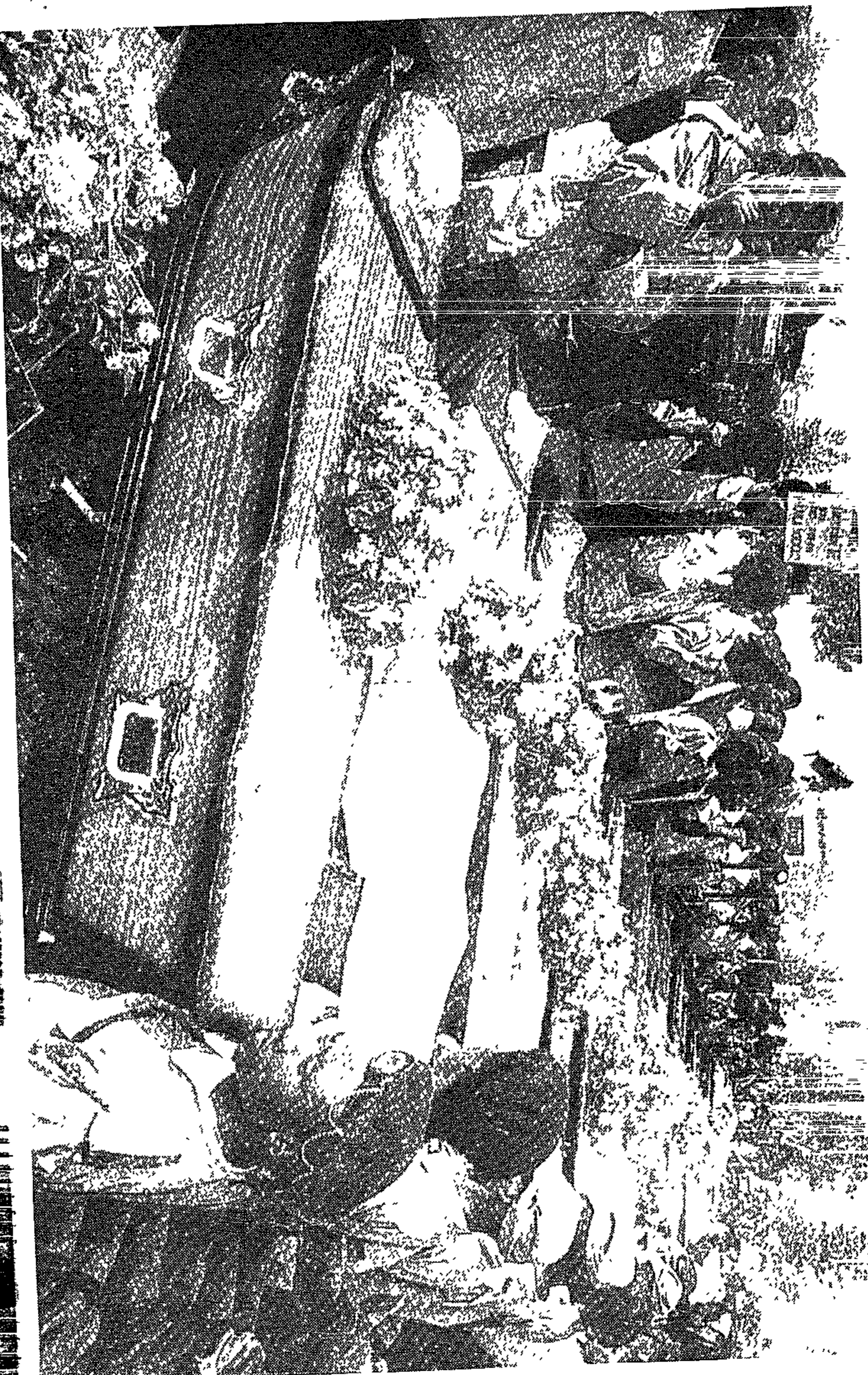
Four police generals and the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, were also in King William's Town and close to 1 000 police officers were on duty.

But as it became clear that mourners were not intent on breaching the peace, the unfurled lines relaxed.

When the funeral procession snaked from the stadium to nearby Ginsberg township for the burials, a handful of police watched from behind sandbags at the township's tiny police station.

They seemed unconcerned, and mourners seemed equally unworried by them. The purpose of this procession was clear: to bear coffins to where the township's soil would cradle fallen comrades, as it had cradled Steve Biko 15 years ago.

Police reported having seized some weapons



Picture ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus

□ MASS BURIAL: ANC supporters form a guard of honour around the coffins of Bisho massacre victims.

at roadblocks, but at the end of the day thanked the ANC for co-operating.

Speaking at the funeral, SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani blamed the government for the massacre and told mourners that the SADF had planned it.

Earlier, he said Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, would pay for the incident, and his joy would be short-lived.

He vowed to make the government's rule as "uncomfortable as possible".

Mr Breytenbach hit back at Mr Hani, calling the speech an "open declaration of war".

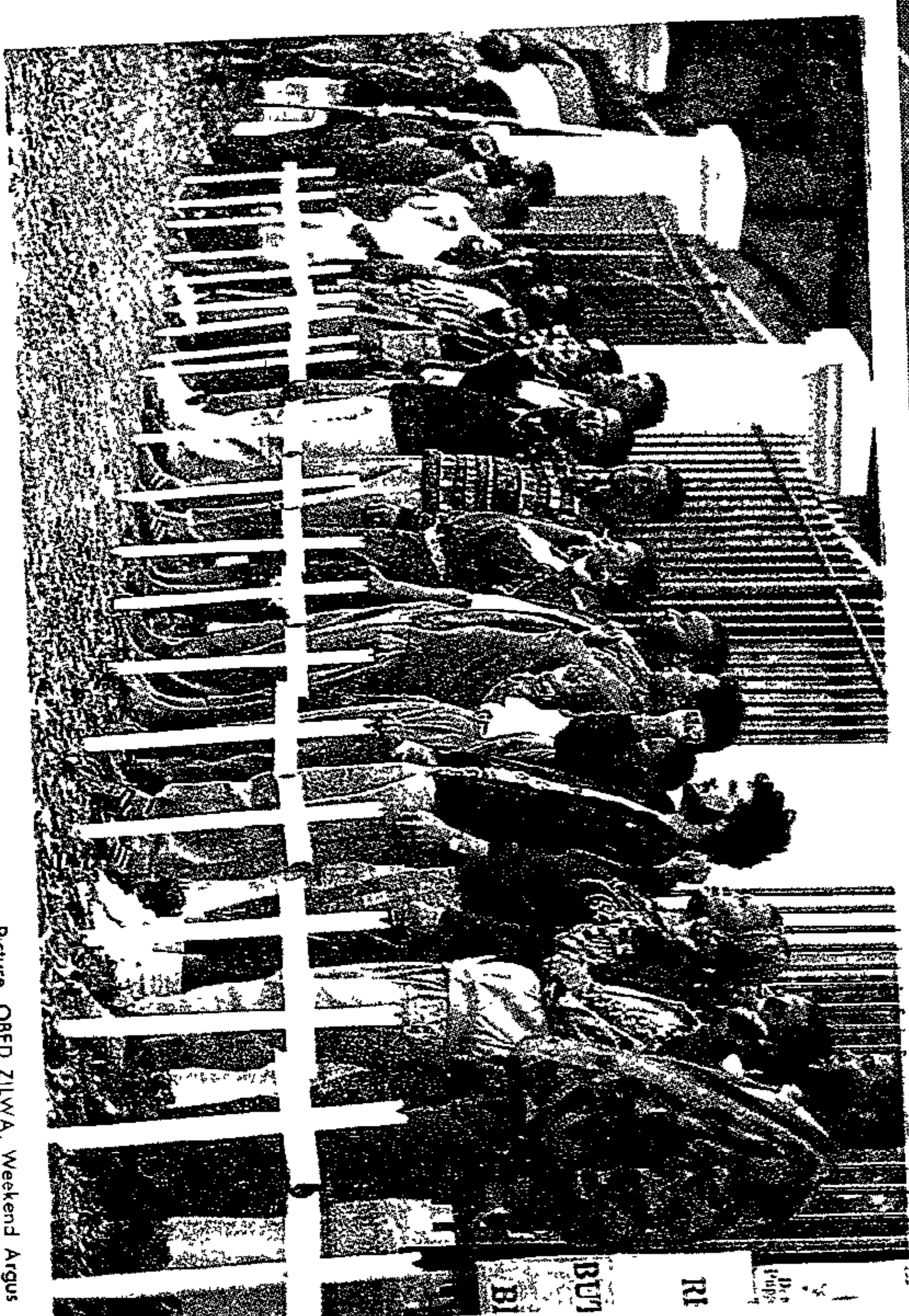
He said he had been told in a police briefing that "communists within the ANC were fomenting violence".

He added: "These statements point to possible violence after the funeral and over the next few days."

"On behalf of the South African government I call on all the mourners to bury their people with dignity and refrain from any form of violence."

Businesses throughout the Eastern Cape were hit by an almost complete stayaway, called by the ANC as a mark of respect for the dead and to allow mourners to travel to King William's Town.

In many cases, unions and employers made agreements to allow the stayaway.



Picture OBED ZILWA, Weekend Argus

□ CLEAR MESSAGE: Crosses representing the massacre's 28 victims are placed outside President De Klerk's home after a march from the city to Rondebosch.

ARC 19/9/92 (105)

Mourners aim hate chant at government

Dateline: **KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

A MESSAGE of hate for capitalists and National Party politicians rained down on the mourners at yesterday's Bisho funeral.

Addressing mourners in the Victoria Park sports stadium, South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hanu chanted:

"We hate De Klerk ... we hate Pik Botha ... we hate Hernus Kriel ... we hate apartheid ... we hate capitalists."

His remarks were greeted by cheers from the crowd.

Mr Hanu also promised "we are going to embark on more and more mass action".

He said last Monday's deaths had not been in vain and appealed for maximum unity among the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, adding the next time the alliance marched on Bisho, capital of Ciskei, "we shall defend ourselves".

Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa received the most enthusiastic welcome from the crowd.

He said violence in Natal was orchestrated by the South African government and its security agencies. This violence was now being "exported to the Eastern Cape".

He said there was a need for forward planning and called on all organisations in the Eastern Cape to hold a "big indaba" where they would sign a declaration of intent "to allow free politicking".

"The clarion call for the closing of ranks will test how serious is the South African government's commitment to negotiations."

Referring to a statement on Thursday by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, that the government planned to "clip the homelands' wings", General Holomisa said Transkei would not accept this.

"Pretoria will not have a say, control or direct Transkei security forces until an interim government is in place," he said.

Later, Mr Hanu denied a claim by Deputy Defence Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach that his speech had amounted to an incitement to violence.

"We've no plans to commit any acts of violence," he said. "We've come to bury our people massacred by them — by (Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo under the encouragement of the Pretoria government."

"All we are saying is if Gqozo and others unleash violence against our people, our people have every right to defend themselves."

Death amid arson and looting

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — One person was killed and at least two people were admitted to hospital here last night after rioting broke out in Mdantsane, between East London and King William's Town, after the funeral of African National Congress supporters gunned down by Ciskeian troops last week.

A hotel was "trashed" and a post office and several businesses and private homes were destroyed by arsonists and looters.

Inside:

**DEFIANT
GQOZO
DEFENDS
HIS
TROOPS**

See PAGE 2

A spokesman at the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital at Mdantsane said one person was dead on arrival at the hospital and two people were admitted with gunshot wounds.

In a grim statement last night the Deputy Defence Minister Mr Wynand Breytenbach said: "Indications are that this is the prelude to more serious violence during the weekend."

Yesterday afternoon, people reported to number between 50 000 and 100 000 attended a peaceful mass funeral for 12 of the 29 Bisho massacre victims in King William's Town.

It followed two days of militant rhetoric from ANC, SA Communist Party and Congress of SA Trade Unions alliance leaders, and a police report of several illegal firearms confis-

From page 1

Ciskei (105)
CT 19/9/92
cated at a roadblock set up in the area.

Before the funeral service, mourners jammed into the town's Victoria Park sports stadium cheered SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani as he chanted: "We hate De Klerk, we hate Pik Botha, we hate Her-nus Kriel, we hate apartheid, we hate capitalists."

While family and friends gathered later at the immediate graveside for the funeral service yesterday, a disciplined crowd packed the new Ginsberg cemetery on the outskirts of King William's Town. Thousands more crowded streets, rooftops and the nearby hillside of Ginsberg township to watch.

At the head of the funeral procession was a large group of clergymen, followed by the coffins, and then the ANC, SACP and Cosatu leadership, including Mr Hani, Mr Steve Tshwete, Mr Joe Modise, Mr Harry Gwala, Mr Tony Yengeni, Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr John Gomomo

More mass action

Transkeian military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa was also there and the crowd reserved their biggest welcome for him when the speeches were made at the stadium.

At the stadium earlier, Mr Hani also promised: "We are going to embark on more and more mass action."

He said the next time the alliance marched on Bisho, capital of Ciskei, "We shall defend ourselves".

In his address at the stadium before the funeral, General Holomisa referred to a statement on Thursday by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, that the government planned to "clip the homelands' wings". He said: "Pretoria will not have a say, control or direct Transkei security forces until an interim government is in place."

'No plans'

After the funeral, Mr Hani reacted to a statement from Mr Breytenbach that he had reliable information indicating that Mr Hani had encouraged people to commit acts of violence after the funeral.

Mr Hani told Sapa there were no plans to commit acts of violence in Ciskei following the funeral. "If Breytenbach and others are going to start violence our people are going to defend themselves as best they can. That's what we are saying."

● An international delegation of church leaders would arrive in SA next Tuesday (September 22) to prepare for a permanent monitoring presence in this country, the secretary-general of the World Council of Churches, Dr Emilio Castro, said yesterday at a news conference in Bisho before the funeral.
— Own Correspondent and Sapa

To page 2

Ciskei refugees flee Gqozo guns

South 19/9-23/9/92

(105)

HUNDREDS of people fleeing Ciskeian soldiers have crammed into churches, civic and advice offices in King William's Town.

Service organisations said they were struggling to provide food and basic facilities.

Since last week about 250 men and boys have moved into a Border Council of Churches (BCC) hall while 200 women and girls have occupied premises of the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) and the Advice Office.

The ANC's publicity secretary in Alice, Mr Sakhumzi Somyo, said there were about 150 refugees on the University of Fort Hare campus.

King William's Town Advice Office worker, Ms Phumla Maldingozi, said their premises were "full up", while BCC president Reverend Bongani Finca said there was a "serious crisis needing immediate attention".

Male refugees were packed shoulder to shoulder in the BCC hall,

and there was no sleeping space. Conditions at the female shelter were worse, with no free floor space.

Operation Hunger and the Ciskei Red Cross were assisting with meals, while taxi associations and local businesses had donated money for food.

Finca said the BCC met member churches today and appealed for assistance with accommodation.

None of the refugees — from villages including Mdange, Ramnyiba, Zikhalini, Kwelerhana, Peelton, Frankfort and Phakamisa — was willing to reveal his or her name when interviewed on Wednesday.

However they told similar stories of random assaults by Ciskei soldiers:

"Around midnight (last Thursday) they were raiding door-to-door and beating people with sjamboks. I ran away and left my mother at home," said one frightened 13-year-old boy from Mdange.

A 15-year-old boy from Ramnyiba said soldiers arrived in hippos and a helicopter last Thursday and used rifle butts and knobkerries to assault people in houses, shops and on the streets.

An exhausted 18-year-old boy from Zikhalini said he was part of a group chased into the bushes by Ciskei soldiers after the local headman's house was set alight. He fled to town on foot.

Another 18-year-old said a policeman armed with a shotgun was looking for him.

"He was harassing me because I am a Cosas (Congress of South African Students) member," he said.

A 21-year-old Peelton man said he fled through the forest to the King William's Town township of Ginsburg before coming to the BCC offices.

Villagers also fled to farms for shelter, according to a 25-year-old woman from Ramnyiba. — E!news

THE BULLETS OF A MERCENARY

By S'BU MNGADI

THE mercenary who gave Ciskei troops the order to open fire on Chris Hani and other ANC

marchers, the order which resulted in the Bisho massacre, once met Hani on an amicable basis.

The man is Austrian mercenary and Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) chief of staff Col Horst Schubesberger, who ordered the Bisho massacre last week in liaison with Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo's shadowy high command.

Schubesberger, 51, has been thrust into the spotlight following his role as the officer who ordered the soldiers to open fire in cold blood on the 80 000-strong ANC march in Bisho last week, killing 29 people and wounding 200 others.

Until then, little was known of Schubesberger's background except that he is Austrian, which can be easily detected from his German accent.

City Press can now disclose that the colonel was a mercenary in the Rhodesian bush war in the 1970s, but in 1990 he dined in Lusaka with Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hani, on whom, together with the tripartite alliance's national executive leadership, Ciskei troops opened fire last week. In 1990 he enthused about the idea of an integrated defence force which would include the CDF and MK.

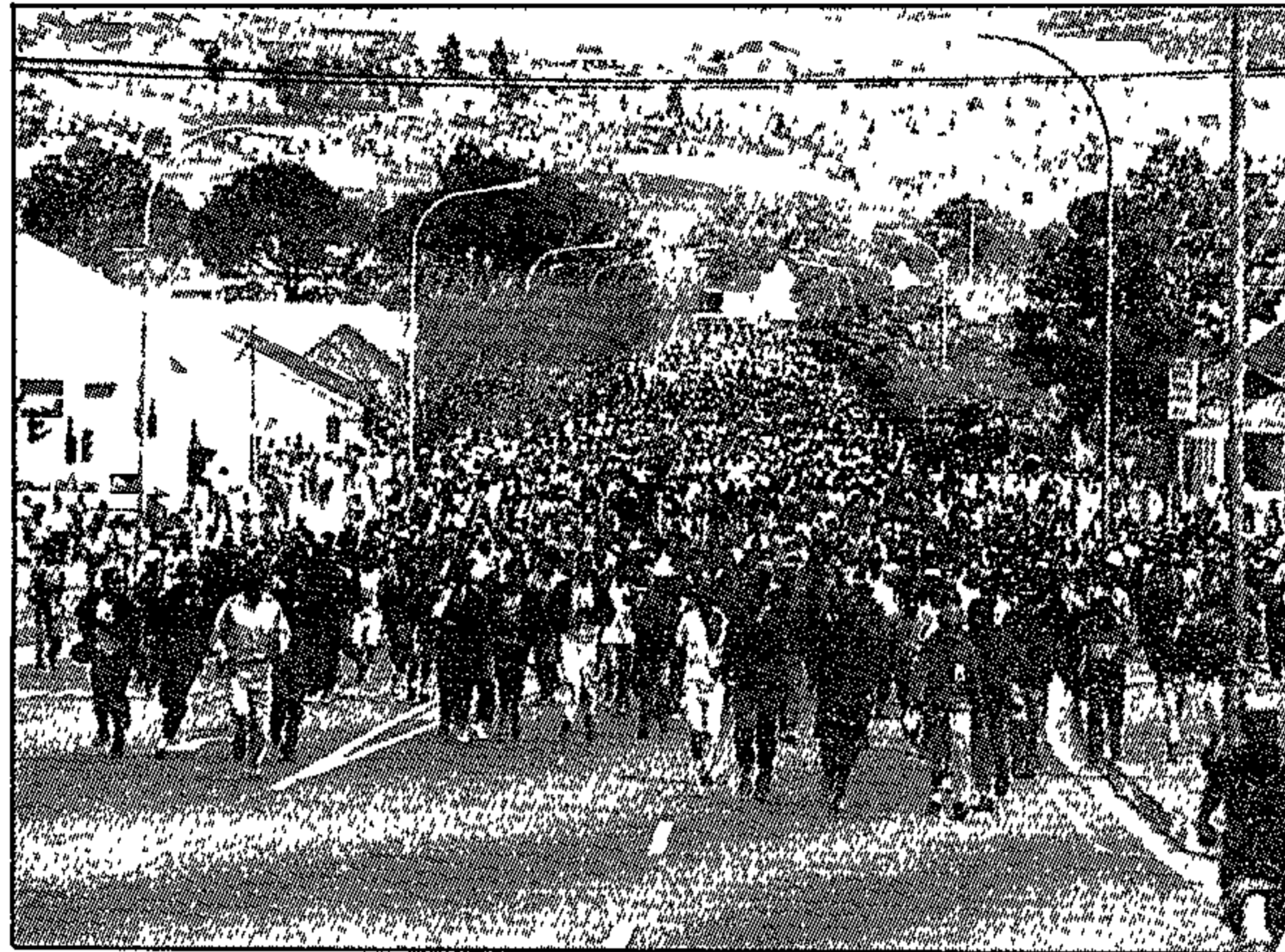
Although the Austrian soldier of fortune joined the CDF as a colonel in 1984, it was not until 1990 that he catapulted into prominence.

He and former CDF chief Brig H Jamangile attended an historic five-day conference on "The Future of the Military and Defence in SA" organised by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in SA (Idasa) in Lusaka.

The conference was attended by serving SADF citizen force members, retired senior officers, commanders of homeland armies, SADF advisors, military academics and representatives of the End Conscription Campaign and a 64-person delegation of MK and the ANC.

This week, many delegates - including Hani - recalled how once the tension had been broken at the conference Schubesberger "proudly presented himself as a mercenary who fought in the Rhodesian bush war".

Jamangile delivered a paper titled "The CDF and its Contribution Towards The Creation of a United Defence Force in a Future SA". During



MARCHING TO TRAGEDY ... ANC supporters march in protest against the Ciskei regime, an act that would cost 29 of them their lives.

Spotlight on the man *C/Pres 20/9/92 (105)* behind last week's massacre at Bisho

question time, the delegates said, it became obvious Schubesberger had contributed most of the paper as he single-handedly fielded questions from the floor.

Besides, Hani said, it became public knowledge at the conference that the colonel was keeping surveillance on Jamangile on behalf of security services back in SA.

A curriculum vitae Schubesberger submitted to Idasa stated that he did basic military training in Austria in 1959 and served as a full-time NCO in the Austrian Army until 1963.

From 1963 until 1977, he claimed, he was an officer in the Austrian Territorial Army and did duty with the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in the Middle East in 1977.

He then joined the Rhodesian Security Forces in 1978 and became a commander of the Rhodesian Guard Force

with the rank of major. But he did not explain the circumstances under which he found his way to then Rhodesian prime minister Ian's Smith's army as a mercenary.

After Zimbabwe's independence, Schubesberger served in the Zimbabwe National Army as commander of the 35 Infantry Battalion, but quit in 1983 when the army was purged of officers allegedly working in cahoots with South African security services.

With a black Zimbabwean wife, he came to SA and joined the fledgling Ciskei army as a colonel. But it was not until 1985 that his vast military experience became handy when the SADF withdrew personnel, leaving the CDF with a weak high command.

Schubesberger became a training officer. Under his tutelage, the succeeding years saw the CDF rapidly being transformed into a total-onslaught fighting machine with emphasis on

counter-insurgency and other operational tasks.

The army became highly politicised and cracked down on political activists and trade unionists in the Border region at the height of former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe's regime.

However, in the Idasa paper Schubesberger and Jamangile said Sebe's stubborn refusal to accept the dawning of a new SA alienated the CDF from the people they were supposed to serve.

Following Gqozo's takeover, Schubesberger was seen accompanying the new homeland ruler.

Schubesberger's loyalty was rewarded last year when black CDF officers wrote a letter to Gqozo demanding his resignation because of his failure to cooperate with a young corps of the Ciskei army who put him in power.

The officers, disgruntled at being controlled by SA military agents who surrounded Gqozo, wanted to replace Gqozo with the Ciskei's former minister of post and telecommunications.

Gqozo subsequently purged the army of Jamangile and other black officers and replaced them with an all-white high command of seconded SADF officers. Schubesberger was appointed chief of staff of operations.

Ciskei's contribution to the Idasa conference drew a lot on Schubesberger's Zimbabwean experience.

The CDF paper stated: "The Zimbabwean experience shows that the option of integrating armies after a final political settlement has been reached - the negotiating table lead to turmoil within the Zimbabwean National Army and even to armed conflict between Zanla and Zipra forces.

"Our (Ciskei's) standpoint is that integration should take place before a final agreement is reached, bearing in mind that it will not be possible to integrate all elements of the different armies at once.

"An important point is to have enough integrated forces to monitor a so-called ceasefire."

With Schubesberger as chief of staff of operations, Gqozo has since made a complete U-turn on the integration of armies. He now wants to wait until final political settlement has been negotiated before Ciskei is reincorporated into SA.

Post-funeral violence not planned - Hani

COMMUNIST leader Chris Hani has denied there were plans to commit acts of violence in the Ciskei following the funeral for 12 victims of the Bisho massacre.

Hani was reacting to comments by Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach that "reliable information" indicated Hani had encouraged people to commit acts of violence. *CJ Pen*

The SA Government regarded Hani's statements as an open declaration of war, Breytenbach added. *20/9/92*

"We've no plans to commit any acts of violence," the SACP secretary general said at the mass funeral on Friday afternoon.

"We've come to bury our people massacred by them - by (Brig Oupa) Gqozo under the encouragement of the Pretoria government.

"All we are saying is that if Gqozo and others unleash violence against

our people, our people have every right to defend themselves. *(105)*

"We've sent this message across quite clearly to our people.

"We are not going to allow our people to be massacred by the forces of the State and their surrogates.

"We've called on our people to defend themselves.

"If Breytenbach and others are going to start violence, our people are going to defend themselves as best as they can. And that's what we are saying."

Hani said Breytenbach's claims were "disinformation to push away the blame for violence from Gqozo to the ANC and the Communist Party".

He claimed the SA government and its surrogates were engaged in a campaign of "low-intensity warfare" to destabilise the ANC and SACP.

CITIZENS

SIBU MNGADI

ISKELI was yesterday entering on the brink of bloody chaos.

One person was shot dead and scores of people admitted to Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane hospital on Friday night following the eruption of violence in the East London township and in villages and townships throughout the Border region after the peaceful mass funeral for King William's Town last week's Bisho massacre.

Management and staff of Mdantsane Sun fled in error as looters returning from the funeral helped themselves to beds, linen and TV sets. The nearby NU2 post office and a fried chicken outlet were partly damaged by fire.

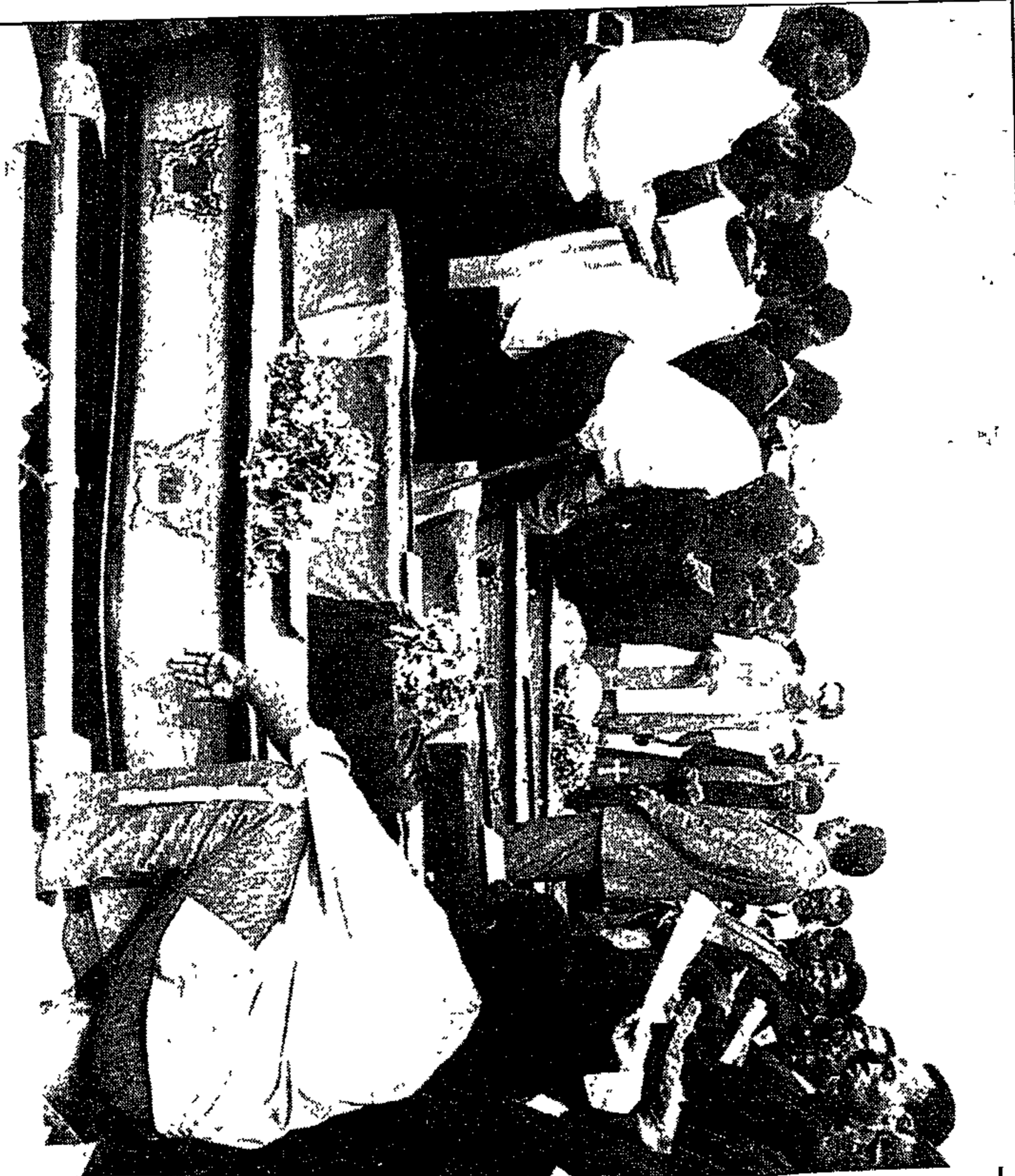
Elsewhere in the Border region, there were reports of violence and running battles between residents and Ciskei police and soldiers. Yesterday there were fears that violence would engulf the whole region after the private funerals of other massacre victims.

At the funeral service for the 12 in King William's Town, SACP general secretary and senior ANC leader Chris Hani told about 70 000 mourners that the ANC-led tripartite alliance would not make it easy for Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo to massacre people during the next march on Bisho.

He vowed local people would defend themselves and called on them to fight back when attacked and to avenge the massacre.

One dead as angry mourners

go on the rampage
(105)



MOURNING . . . Some 70 000 people on Friday attended the funeral of 12 people shot dead by Ciskei soldiers during the ill-fated ANC-alliance march on Bisho.

The Ciskei capital was still tense yesterday as troops guarded government and business buildings, and security at Gqozo's palatial residence was intensified. After speeches by Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, Hani and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, the procession led by about 100 clergymen left for Ginsberg, some five kilometers away, with coffins carried shoulder high.

Police reported this week that close to 100 houses, many of them belonging to members of the CDF and other security forces and Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, had been burnt down since the massacre on September 7. The ANC and hospital authorities in Ciskei and the Border region estimated at about 500 the number of people treated for gunshot wounds since the massacre. Hundreds, the ANC said, had been forced out of villages by violence allegedly perpetrated by Ciskei security forces.

Ciskei quiet after unrest

(105) CT 21/9/92

BISHO. — Six people died during Friday night and Saturday morning's unrest in the Ciskei, according to a statement issued here by the head of the homeland's defence force yesterday.

According to figures supplied by the Ciskei Defence Force, one person was hacked to death during an attack on a house, and three people were burnt to death in a similar incident.

Another two people were shot and killed, but "their deaths cannot at this stage be attributed to the activities of any specific organisation or group of people".

Violence broke out in the homeland following a funeral for ANC supporters killed by members of the Ciskei Defence Force

during a march on the homeland on September 7.

According to the statement yesterday, the Mdantsane Sun was looted; three government buildings were set alight, and 14 houses — five of them belonging to Ciskei policemen and nine to members of the CDF — were fire-bombed.

Air patrols were flown over various towns in Ciskei and from Saturday afternoon "the situation appeared to be calm with normal weekend activities taking place".

"Despite the apparent calm, the security forces remain on full alert," the statement said.

The CDF had "taken note of the threats levelled at the Ciskei

police and defence force personnel over the last few days"

Members of the South African Defence Force had been deployed in the Ciskei — a nominally independent state — to protect industrial areas in the homeland.

Ciskei was quiet yesterday.

A CDF spokesman said CDF members were deployed throughout Ciskei, as far afield as Alice, Whittlesea, Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, and troops had reported no further incidents of violence.

The CDF was also guarding the house of a headman in Alice, the spokesman said. He said there had been unconfirmed reports that a CDF corporal at the scene had shot someone in the leg. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

6 more killed in strife-torn Ciskei

Gowefam
21/9/92
AT LEAST six people died during unrest in the Ciskei on Friday and Saturday, the homeland's defence force said in a statement issued in Bisho yesterday

According to figures supplied by the Ciskei Defence Force, one person was hacked to death during an attack on a house while three were burnt to death in a similar incident

Another two people were shot and killed but "their deaths cannot at this stage be attributed to the activities of any specific organisation or group of people"

Violence broke out in the homeland following a funeral for African National Congress supporters killed by members of the Ciskei Defence Force during a march on the homeland on September 7.

According to yesterday's statement, the Mdantsane Sun was looted, three government buildings were set alight and 24 houses - five of them belonging to Ciskei policemen and nine to members of the CDF - were petrol-bombed. Aerial patrols were flown over various towns

■ One hacked, three burnt and two shot while 24 houses of security personnel are petrol-bombed after funeral of massacre victims:

in Ciskei and from Saturday afternoon "the situation appeared to be calm with normal weekend activities taking place"

"Despite the apparent calm, the security forces remain on full alert," the statement said

The CDF had "taken note of the threats levelled at the Ciskei police and defence force personnel over the last few days"

Members of the South African Defence Force had been deployed in Ciskei to protect industrial

areas in the homeland

Meanwhile, a message of hate for capitalists and rained down on thousands of mourners at the funeral of the Bisho massacre victims in King William's Town on Friday

Addressing mourners at Victoria Park Stadium, SACP secretary general Mr Chris Ham declared. "We hate De Klerk, we hate Pik Botha, we hate Hernus Kriel, we hate apartheid, we hate capitalists"

105

Six killed in Ciskei after mass funeral⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Crime Reporter

Six people died in Ciskei at the weekend in the violent aftermath to Friday's funeral for marchers slain by Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) troops on September 7.

Three people were burnt to death and another was hacked to death during attacks on two houses, a statement released by the CDF yesterday said.

Another two people were shot dead.

The statement did not say where the attacks occurred.

After Friday's funeral, the Mdantsane Sun hotel near East London was looted and three government buildings were set alight. An estimated R500 000 damage was caused to the hotel, Sun Hotels regional manager Graham Vass said. According to the CDF statement, 24 houses belonging to Ciskei policemen and CDF members were petrol-bombed.

Yesterday the homeland appeared calm, but security forces were on full alert and SA Defence Force troops were still patrolling in Ciskei to protect property.

The Ciskei deaths brought the total killed in unrest on the Reef and in the Cape and Ciskei at the weekend to at least 13, including a baby.

The baby was killed and his mother seriously injured on Saturday when they were attacked in their home in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, by a man wielding an axe, police said.

Also on Saturday, two men were stabbed to death in Katilehong on the East Rand. On Friday, a man was shot dead in the same area.

In the Ivory Park squatter camp on the East Rand, a man was killed when a group opened fire on him on Friday.

Also on Friday, a man was shot dead in nearby Tembisa, police said.

A man was burnt to death when his shack in the White City squatter camp near Nyanga in the Cape Peninsula was set alight yesterday.

ANC rejects mock trial apology call

DURBAN. — THE ANC in the Natal Midlands has rejected a National Peace Committee instruction to apologise for the staging of a mock trial in Maritzburg recently.

Regional deputy chairman Mr Reggie Radebe said yesterday: "We are not going to apologise. This judgment is a gross miscarriage of justice."

Yesterday the NP and the IFP issued hard-hitting statements calling for the ANC's "militants" to be disciplined and for Mr Harry Gwala to be relieved of his position as Midlands leader.

The NPC adjudication panel had found that the ANC had contravened five sections of the peace accord during a mock trial and that Mr Gwala's comments were also a contravention of the agreement.

The incident — which was "not a mock trial" — had in fact ended with the crowd agreeing to send allegations against various IFP "warlords" to the attorney-general and Mr Gwala's statement that the ANC would kill IFP "warlords" was quoted out of context, Mr Radebe said. — Political Staff, Sapa

Boipatong bail request vetoed

JOHANNESBURG. — The bail application of the 71 Kwamadala hostel inmates facing charges in connection with the Boipatong massacre was yesterday opposed by the prosecution.

Testifying in the Vanderbijlpark Magistrate's Court, Colonel Joseph du Pont of the Vaal Triangle Crime Investigation Unit said he believed the accused would skip bail and fail to attend their trial.

The 71 suspects, including four youths, are facing at least 40 counts of murder and public violence charges.

MAXIMIZE VANDERBIJLPARK

Kriel accuses ANC of 'selective morality'

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Law and Order Minister Mr Hennis Kriel yesterday accused the ANC of "selective morality" for insisting that SAP members who had committed crimes should be brought to trial but not ANC members.

Mr Kriel told the Johannesburg Press Club that he agreed that SAP members who had allegedly committed crimes should be thoroughly investigated. This was being done and was not considered a threat to negotiations.

"But when ANC members are investigated to determine their involvement in the murder of women and children, then this is perceived as standing in the way of negotiations. In other words, prosecute police-

men for murder, but don't touch ANC members — especially not national executive committee members."

He denied ANC charges that the SAP was involved in a strategy to get amnesty for members of the security forces by investigating crimes allegedly committed by senior ANC members to force a trade-off.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the SAP did not close murder cases and cases were regularly re-examined.

Investigation of senior ANC members only appeared to have gained new momentum because for the first time in several years people who had information about crimes committed some time ago were back in the country. CT 22/9/92

Death, arson in 'tense' Ciskei

BISHO. — The situation in Ciskei remained tense yesterday, following the violent death of an 18-year-old youth and at least 12 arson attempts since Sunday morning, Ciskei Defence Chief Brigadier Marius Oelschig reported.

He charged that the continued presence of uMkhonto weSizwe members in the area was a threat to government employees.

In Mdantsane an 18-year-old youth was assaulted by a mob and died of his injuries. Seven of the 12 arson attacks were directed at members of the Ciskei police or defence force, said Brig Oelschig.

Meanwhile, this weekend at Ulungisi near Queenstown, a municipal police van was set alight after a petrol bomb was thrown at it.

Two houses belonging to ANC

members in Dimbaza were attacked in separate petrol-bomb and handgrenade attacks early yesterday, the Border-Ciskei Independent Monitoring Network confirmed.

ANC mourners in Alice alleged yesterday that they had been raided and shot at during a vigil at Krwakwa village by Ciskei soldiers led by the homelands Internal Affairs Minister, Mr Ray Ngcofe, on Saturday. — Sapa,



35 killed in latest unrest

Star 22/9/92

105

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
Crime Reporter

At least 35 people have been killed in violence which has continued to rack South Africa and Ciskei since Friday, police have confirmed.

An 18-year-old youth was killed in Ciskei on Sunday, Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) chief Brigadier Marius Oelshig said yesterday.

The youth died of his injuries after being assaulted by a mob in Mdantsane.

He was the seventh person to be killed in the homeland since Friday's funeral for marchers killed by CDF troops in Bisho on September 7.

At Dimbaza, Ciskei police fired at suspects tampering with an electrical distribution box, Brigadier Oelshig said.

One suspect was wounded and two others were detained.

Brigadier Oelshig said seven arson attacks had been directed at CDF or Ciskei police members.

Damage estimated at well over R2-million has been

caused in Ciskei since Friday in arson attacks targeting homeland government property.

Two attacks on the homes of ANC members in Dimbaza were also reported on Monday, with no easing of tensions in the area within sight.

● Police reported 19 people killed in separate attacks in Natal at the weekend and yesterday.

In the latest attack, a man and two women were shot dead by gunmen posing as policemen near Inanda, north of Durban, yesterday morning.

KwaZulu police told Sapa that 14 people, including a policeman, had been killed since Saturday.

● In separate attacks yesterday, two Golden Arrow bus drivers were shot dead and a third driver and four passengers injured in Khayeltsha and Nyanga near Cape Town.

Another man was burnt to death when his shack in the White City, Soweto, squatter camp was set alight on Saturday.

● Six people, including a baby, were killed in separate attacks across the Reef at the weekend.

**Sun Ciskei (105)
shares drop**

23/9/92
JOHANNESBURG. —
Shares in casino and
hotel group Sun Interna-
tional (Ciskei) plunged
15c, or 11,5% to a 12-
month low of R1,15 in
early afternoon trade on
jitters about continued
violence in the Ciskei

The star newspaper
reported yesterday that
arson attacks had cost
well over R2m since last
Friday when the victims
of the September 7 Bisho
massacre were buried.

Armies' joint ops 105

THE SADF and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) have established a "joint operations centre" in King William's Town to respond to crisis in the Ciskei.

Eastern Province Command spokesman Commandant Johan Engelbrecht said the conditions "necessitate co-operation".

The centre was established about two weeks ago and was there "to coordinate all activities", according to an officer stationed there. The officer, who declined to be named, said the SADF was there "to cover the whole area of the Ciskei" and to lend support if conflict flares. SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt confirmed South Africa still had forces on standby in the Ciskei. - *Ecna*.

Schools in Ciskei shut by strike ⁽⁷⁰⁵⁾ and boycott ^{ARC 23/9/92}

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Education in Ciskei has ground to a halt, with teachers still on strike and pupils boycotting classes or afraid to leave their homes.

Some pupils in villages have fled their homes in fear of Ciskei soldiers, the secretary of the Border region of the Congress of South African Students, Mr Mxolisi Sirunu, said yesterday.

"Schooling in Ciskei has been affected by violence and we are waiting for statistics to show the seriousness of the situation," he said.

Certain schools in Mdantsane, Zwelitsha and Dimbaza are being boycotted, said the head of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Marius Oelshig. "Important preparation for the forthcoming examinations has been interrupted," he said.

Teachers have been on strike since last week, in a show of solidarity with 33 dismissed and suspended members of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union. — Ecna.

15 Bisho victims 'shot in the back'

CF 23/9/92 105

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 15 of the Bisho massacre victims were shot in the back, according to the findings of a private pathologist who attended the state autopsies.

"I must point out, however, one cannot conclude they were running away when they were shot in the back," the pathologist said yesterday.

He felt it was for the Goldstone Commission, which begins its investigation into the Bisho massacre today, to determine what the victims were doing when they were shot dead.

The pathologist, who cannot be named as he is in private practice, attended the autopsies at the request of lawyers acting for the victims' families.

The firm of lawyers, from the Border region, has been acting for the ANC throughout the Bisho saga

and will represent the organisation at the Goldstone Commission investigation, which will sit in Pretoria.

Twenty-nine people, including a Ciskei soldier, died and almost 200 people were injured when hundreds of homeland security force members opened fire with live ammunition at thousands of ANC supporters at the Ciskei/South Africa border on September 7.

Sapa independently obtained a copy of the private pathologist's autopsy reports this week.

The state autopsies, attended by the private pathologist, were carried out on September 10 and 11 at the East London mortuary by Professor G D Knobel and Dr S Wade, of the Department of Forensic Pathology at the University of Cape Town.

Also present were police mortuary staff, a police television photographer and a still photographer, scribes and dissecting assistants.

The private pathologist, who attended 24 of the autopsies and was given access to autopsy information of another three, praised the work done by the two state pathologists.

"I was there to make sure it was done in a proper manner — which it was," he emphasised.

According to the nine-page report in Sapa's possession, a 16th victim was "probably" also shot in the back; another seven were shot in the side and two in the front of their bodies, and two were uncertain — Sapa

Ciskei calmer now — CDF

JOHANNESBURG. — The situation in Ciskei had "calmed down considerably", the Ciskei Defence Force said yesterday.

In a statement issued from Bisho, the CDF reported the following incidents in the 24-hour period ending at noon yesterday:

- Four incidents of arson

- Two handgrenade attacks

- An unnamed chief in Alice district was threatened with the torching of his property

- Students were boycotting certain schools in Mdantsane, Zwelitsha and Dimbaza

- Two buses in the Madakeni administrative area were stoned, causing damage of R1 800. — Sapa

R W Johnson tells of a lesson that must be learnt, and quickly, by all our politicians.

Bisho the start of new era in massacre-politics

SM 23/1/92

105

In one sense the tragedy at Bisho was just one more laughter of the innocents of the kind which has punctuated South Africa's recent history; but it signified more, too. For we have our own ghastly politics of massacre — and Bisho signals that those politics have changed. In the highly ritualised style of our polity his change is a portentous event, or the confrontation between white and black has been powered along for a generation now by the magery and impact of massacre.

Allister Sparks is away this week. His column will appear as usual next Wednesday.

Even today, 32 years on, the tower of Sharpeville is not spent. The shootings at Sharpeville and Mangoch resulted in the banning of the ANC and PAC, the UN arms embargo against South Africa, the first real moves towards economic sanctions and the adoption of the armed struggle by both the PAC and ANC. South African politicians gawped as the lesson sank in that less than a minute's undisciplined shooting had accelerated the entire political process by many years and given it an enormous push towards confrontation. The country was, however,

curled with a political class of such outstanding stupidity and inhumanity that it had to learn again in 1976 just how powerful an event a massacre can be. This time nearly 600 children were gunned down by the police, creating another world sensation. Soweto quickly led to the completion of the arms embargo, with the French falling into line and to a further great ratcheting upwards of pressures towards sanctions and isolation as, for the first time, a US administration (under Carter) made the abolition of apartheid one of its prime foreign policy objectives.

Soweto's effect on the ANC was equally profound; the organisation began to re-orient itself to the critical new constituency of township youth, while the failure of the armed struggle now became unbearably pointed — as it must for any organisation whose army cannot prevent even the slaughter of its children.

From this frenzy of frustration was born the idea of "making South Africa ungovernable" on the one hand, and the increasing turn

by Umkhonto we Sizwe towards terrorism on the other. Again, a massacre had accelerated history by years, had reinforced the confrontationist mode and had greatly weakened the white regime.

Both sides took stock. Even so limited and pig-headed a politician as P W Botha grasped the fact that Soweto had to be the last white-on-black massacre and, indeed, that massacres in general were a poor idea. If you made intelligent use of states of emergency plus police/army power you could actually get along quite well without massacres.

The imagery of massacre — by definition the ultimate expression of victimhood — appealed hugely to a liberation movement already fixated on its own victim status. It learnt the peculiar dialectic of ex-

ploding one's weakness as a form of strength. You could rage on about MK's heroic role from the platform but this was purely a matter of rhetoric and provocation. In practice it was better to avoid arms for it was vital to stay weak, to retain the "unarmed civilian" status which would be so vital in the media reports if shooting began. The penalties for the regime of a public massacre were so great that provided (foreign) TV cameras were present you could push boldness beyond limits, facing the regime with unacceptable choices whatever it did. This strategy worked over and over again in the 1980s — but at Bisho it failed. "We never thought," the organisers said, "that they would open fire with the international media there".

For the politics of massacre have changed. There have, since February 2 1990, been over 50 massacres (that is, in which 10 or more people died), too many for us even to remember the place names — who remembers the massacres at Ewaton or Dobsonville, Nancefield or Daveyton?

Secondly, the true rarity now is for whites to kill blacks. Massacres are now quite uniformly black events — and the power struggle between contending black groups is fought with a ruthlessness which has rendered the old political symbolism obsolete.

The continuous attempt to find a white hand behind the township violence is in part a desperate effort to recapture the symbolic simplicity of the old-style massacres. Similarly, in the wake of Bisho there have been attempts to focus attention on white officers seconded to Oupa Gqozo's army, to suggest, as at Boppatong, that F W de Klerk somehow personally pulled the trigger, and even to discover, belatedly, that the whole massacre was a pre-planned white plot.

South Africa is now a country which can quite easily produce a massacre a week, even a massacre a day, if that's what's required — the dry tinder is all around. (Contemporaneously with Bisho, hit squads in southern Natal have been killing fearsome

numbers of IFP members and officials.) The real political art now lies not in risking massacre by playing either the victim or the generalissimo, but in using all one's skills to prevent the massacres which will come unbid. But the most hopeful sign was that domestically and internationally both sides at Bisho attracted roughly equal blame. That is, massacres no longer operate to anyone's particular political advantage — now they are just tragedies, pure and simple. This lesson needs to be learnt by politicians of every stripe. We have already seen, at Soweto, the awful price the country paid for politicians being slow learners; the price this time could be far, far higher. □

R W Johnson is a Rhodes Scholar and don at Magdalene College, Oxford, and a commentator on South African affairs for The Times of London, The Independent, and New Statesman. He is on sabbatical at Natal University, Durban.

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STAR 24/9/92

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

(105)

The only Ciskei Defence Force soldier killed in the Bisho massacre — said by the Ciskei military to have been the first casualty — was probably shot by his own men and not by advancing ANC protesters, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry heard yesterday.

This contention, made by ANC counsel Arthur Chaskalson during the one-day inquiry, focuses on a critical point of difference in the versions which have emerged since the September 7 bloodbath: whether the Ciskei soldiers were fired upon first, or whether they unjustifiably opened fire on the ANC-alliance marchers.

NEWS 'No evidence to suggest marchers were armed'

CDF fired first - claim

Sowetan 24/9/92 (105)

THE Ciskei Defence Force held a "practice shooting" at the scene of the Bisho killings a day before the tragedy, the Goldstone Commission heard in Pretoria yesterday.

Several blank cartridge cases were found close to the stadium where 29 people were shot dead by members of the CDF on September 7, the commission heard.

This evidence, in a report by SA Police ballistics expert Colonel JD du Plessis, was not disputed by counsel for the CDF Mr RJ Smuts, who said it was "standard military practice" to have practice firing at the scene of deployment for any operation.

Du Plessis' report, compiled on instructions by the Attorney-General of Ciskei, also found that a CDF soldier - whose killing allegedly precipitated the

■ Goldstone told CDF soldier killed by his colleague:

shootings - was shot from behind with a bullet fired by a standard issue R4 rifle - in all probability fired by a CDF soldier.

Yesterday's hearing was a preliminary inquiry into the Bisho killings to determine whether a full inquiry should be held. Mr Justice Goldstone said he would submit his preliminary report to the State President next week.

Smuts said CDF soldiers deployed near the stadium opened fire after an armed crowd of ANC marchers had surged through a hole in the fence surrounding the stadium and ran towards the soldiers blocking the way to the centre of Bisho.

"The shooting occurred because the soldiers were fired upon, attacked and

in danger of being overrun by a numerically superior crowd. The crowd was neither peaceful nor unarmed - in fact, there is clear evidence to the contrary," Smuts said.

However, ANC counsel Mr Arthur Chaskalson said Du Plessis' ballistic report strongly suggested that "at some stage during the mad shooting", the soldier was killed by one of his own comrades.

There was "not a scrap of evidence" of firing from the crowd towards soldiers. Video material examined by the commission showed none of the marchers carried a firearm. "There is no objective evidence to sustain the allegation that there was firing on the CDF," Chaskalson said.

OAU team
STAR
on visit
24/9/92 *(105)*
to Ciskei

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A delegation from the Organisation of African Unity yesterday visited the site of the September 7 massacre at Bisho in Ciskei.

The eight-member delegation is on a fact-finding mission to investigate the violence and the feasibility of deploying monitors.

Led by the Senegalese ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ousman Camara, the group includes three members of the OAU secretariat and representatives of Egypt, Nigeria and Tanzania.

It was accompanied on its tour of Ciskei by officials of the PAC and the Ciskei government.

On Tuesday the delegation held talks with the Ciskei Cabinet in Bisho and yesterday met Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Delegation spokesman San Ibok said they had held a "useful" meeting with Brigadier Gqozo, who gave them "his side of the story regarding the massacre".

They had already met the deputy minister of foreign affairs and constitutional affairs and held talks with the SAP, SADF, ANC, PAC and the National Peace Secretariat. — Ecna.

Ciskei 'rehearsed shooting'

PRETORIA — The Ciskei Defence Force held a practise shoot at the site of the Bisho massacre the day before the event, said uncontested evidence presented to the Goldstone commission yesterday.

Independent forensic evidence was also presented that the Ciskei soldier killed during the massacre was shot in the back of the head with a weapon of the type issued to his own defence force on the day.

The evidence was presented in an attempt to refute Ciskei's assertion the shooting was justified, partly because soldiers were returning fire from people taking part in the march.

Arthur Chaskalson, for the ANC, said the overwhelming probability was that the

TIM COHEN

(105)

dead soldier was shot by fellow soldiers.

A report presented to SAP forensic expert Col J D du Plessis said the man was shot from behind and the bullet disintegrated on impact — an occurrence typical of a 5,56mm R4 projectile. It was highly unlikely that a 7,62mm AK-47 projectile, covered with a steel shell, would disintegrate on impact, the report said.

Izak Smuts, for the Ciskei Defence Force, argued that video material, shown at the commission hearing yesterday, demonstrated that members of the crowd did have firearms.

□ To Page 2

Ciskei

Smuts said the forensic evidence that the soldier was shot by his own side was "unsubstantiated speculation" because there was no indication which way the soldier was facing when shot. ANC alliance members were known to possess R4 rifles.

He also pointed to the fact that a single 5,56mm cartridge case was found at a place where no Ciskeian soldiers had been.

Smuts said there was nothing sinister in the fact that there was a practise shoot on the day before the massacre, as armies ritually held preparation exercises.

Even if members of the march had not

shot first, the actions of the Ciskei Defence Force would have been justified as they had been rushed at by members of a crowd intending to topple the head of state.

Chaskalson said the march had not been held with insurrectionary intent, and ANC members had communicated their intention to violate the ruling of the magistrate who had determined that the march should not proceed into Bisho.

Judge Richard Goldstone said he would present a report on the hearing to President F W de Klerk within a week.

(105)

B10AM 24/9/92

'Remove Gqozo' call

BIDAM 2/19/92 LINDA ENSOR

105

CAPE TOWN — The directors, management and staff of Border textile group Bertrand Holdings SA have written to President F W de Klerk calling for the removal of Brig Oupa Gqozo as head of state in Ciskei.

Bertrand Holdings employs more than 1 000 workers in its Tramatex, Saprutex and Yartex factories

The group also called for reincorporation of the Ciskei into SA, the suspension from duty of all members of security forces involved in the Bisho shootings and an unhindered passage into Ciskei for Transkeian citizens to attend the funeral of Bisho victims.

SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union assistant general secretary Ebrahim Patel welcomed the demands and said it was time more companies spoke out.

Bertrand's letter said it was not the group's policy to become involved in politics except where such considerations had a direct impact on its ability to function. It could not ignore events occurring in the immediate vicinity of its companies, disrupting normal routines.

"Clearly, retention of power by the brigadier, with no prospect of a general election in Ciskei, is an unacceptable situation which can only be resolved by the SA government, without which this region will experience continuing violence and disruption."

The group was concerned that the Ciskei military establishment was commanded by a Pretoria-seconded official, leaving the SA government little credibility when it claimed to have no influence in the Ciskei.

(105)
**Soldier 'shot
57AR 24/9/92
by own men'**

● From Page 1

he said. The only cartridges found were those of R-4 and R-5 rifles.

Undisputed was the submission by Mr Chaskalson that the CDF had been practising shooting in the same spot the day before. At that stage, there was uncertainty over whether the march would go ahead.

On the morning of the march a Ciskei magistrate had granted permission for the march, but only on condition that marchers confined themselves to the stadium and did not attempt to march on Bisho.

Undisputed is that a group of marchers, led by Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Ronnie Kasrils, led a group through a gap in the fence surrounding the stadium, intending to go to Bisho. It was at this point that the shooting began.

Decided

Mr Chaskalson told the commission that despite having applied a week earlier to the Ciskei court for permission to march, it had been decided by the alliance that notwithstanding the court decision, the march would go ahead.

After the court's ruling, it had been decided that the conditions could not be accepted and that marchers would go to Bisho.

Mr Smuts said that if this was the attitude of the marchers, the National Peace Secretariat representatives present should have been notified so that they could have negotiated a solution.

Mr Chaskalson said the intention of the march was not to overthrow the Ciskei government, but to hold a peaceful 24-hour assembly in Bisho to call for Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's resignation.

"The response was out of all proportion. One can never justify the use of rifle grenades. I submit the killings were deliberate," Mr Chaskalson said.

Shock claim at Goldstone hearing

Ciskei troops 'shot own man'

STAR 24/9/72

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau (105)

The only Ciskei Defence Force soldier killed in the Bisho massacre — said by the Ciskei military to have been the first casualty — was probably shot by his own men and not by advancing ANC protesters, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry heard yesterday.

This contention, made by ANC counsel Arthur Chaskalson during the one-day inquiry, focuses on a critical point of difference in the versions which have emerged since the September 7 bloodbath: whether the Ciskei soldiers were fired upon first, or whether they unjustifiably opened fire on the ANC-alliance marchers.

The Bisho massacre, during which 29 people were killed and more than 300 injured, shocked the world and caused powerful repercussions at a time when the nation's political leaders were trying to get talks on violence under way.

The commission's duty yesterday was to establish points of dispute between the parties over events on that day and to draw up recommendations on further steps for President de Klerk by next Wednesday.

Behind

Ballistic test results, submitted to the commission by Mr Chaskalson, show that the dead Ciskei soldier was shot in the head from behind with an R-4 rifle, a standard issue weapon in the Ciskei Defence Force.

The CDF, represented by I J Smuts, said Mr Chaskalson's conclusion that the soldier had probably been shot by another Ciskeian soldier was "unsubstantial speculation". He submitted that the soldiers were fired upon first.

As a consequence of being fired on by an advancing crowd of marchers, the Ciskei soldiers were ordered by the overall commander to open fire, Mr Smuts argued. The marchers were about 100 m to 150 m away from the forces at that point, and would have overrun the withdrawing forces had they not shot in defence, he said.

Mr Chaskalson insisted that scientific evidence showed shooting in one direction only, and that there was no evidence of firearms being carried by marchers. Although a Russian pistol was found on the scene afterwards, it had not been used.

● To Page 3



Flash floods firemen ferry people across a road in Edgemere, central L rainfall fell in one night. Several flooded homes had to be evacuated earlier. See rep

Govt-ANC impasse persists

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

The tough battle to remove the obstacles blocking a crucial summit on violence will continue today, after the Government and the ANC failed to reach agreement in hours of talks yesterday.

The Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee, meeting separately, failed to nail down a provisional agreement drafted by their negotiators on political prisoners, hostel security and curbing dangerous weapons.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will meet again today to try to solve outstanding problems.

It now seems unlikely that the summit between Presi-

dent de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will take place on Saturday as planned — although this has not been ruled out. This would mean a delay for more than two weeks, until Mr Mandela's return from an overseas visit.

Sources close to the talks confirmed that the main disagreement was whether Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres convicted for their part in fatal landmine explosions at Messina should be released immediately or as part of a general amnesty.

However, minor disagreements also remained on the hostels and weapons questions.

It is understood that the Government is prepared immediately to release about

80 of the hundreds of prisoners identified by the ANC as political.

But it is in effect still insisting that it will only release McBride and the MK cadres as part of a general amnesty.

Government sources said last night that the ANC had been told during yesterday's talks that legislation had been prepared for the short session of Parliament, starting October 12, that would make it possible to release the three ANC prisoners — as well as political offenders from other parties.

It also emerged last night that the Government is setting an important condition for the summit — a commitment from the ANC to keep its mass action campaigns peaceful.

STAR 24/9/72

THE INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS

Orphans of the storm

105

FM 25/9/92

The contradictions of the TBVC states have returned to haunt Pretoria

It's pointless to rely on principle when seeking answers to what's happening in the TBVC states. These overcrowded, impoverished and generally militarised homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda — were given a spurious independence under separate development. Now, in different ways, they are asserting a right to think and act for themselves.

If principles did ever apply in their affairs, they crumbled years ago — along with grand apartheid. All that now seems to matter is strategy and political expedience. Stigmatised for years as the "children of apartheid," the four nominally independent states have now become orphans of the dead ideology.

They have no legitimacy outside SA; and while technically autonomous, rely heavily on massive cash handouts from Pretoria. Simply propping them up financially is costing more than R6bn a year

In addition, much of this money is going into wasteful security expenditure. Military dictators rule Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope survived a coup in 1988 only after direct SADF intervention. The three successful coups were initially seen as engineered actions to replace autocratic and corrupt civilian governments with pro-Pretoria military men trained by the SADF or the SAP. The coup leaders behaved predictably and entrenched themselves.

In Transkei there were suggestions that the civilian government ousted by General Bantu Holomisa in 1987 was leaning ominously towards the ANC and needed to be replaced by someone who could be "trusted." If indeed Pretoria had a hand in the coup, it now finds itself facing a pillar of support for the ANC whose stance has meant his exemption from the ANC's mass action targeting of homelands, which led to bloodshed in Ciskei and may yet do so in KwaZulu. This despite the fact that Ulundi never accepted independence — one reason for Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's current bitterness at the ANC.

The coup in Venda in 1990 was interpreted similarly to that in Transkei, though the fear there was that growing resistance to President Frank Revele's government would lead to his overthrow and replacement by a pro-ANC administration. Again, if Pretoria was indeed behind the selection of coup leaders, the intelligence planners misjudged their men.

Holomisa and Venda's Colonel Gabriel

Ramushwana soon showed surprising self-will.

The irony is that government is now trapped by the farce of its own policy. It insists on recognising the sovereignty of the TBVC states until their future is resolved in multilateral negotiations. It refuses to unseat Ciskei's Pretoria-aligned Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, despite the world outcry after the Bisho massacre, and will also not take action against Holomisa for provocative statements and non-co-operation with independent peace initiatives which include the Goldstone Commission

All of which is a dramatic shift from the *kragdadige* manipulation of P W Botha's days — but not very helpful to the broader and more important business of negotiating a transitional government for the country as a whole.

Obviously, it is important to resist ANC alliance pressure and include the TBVC states in the wider negotiations, but that is not exactly what is happening. In the absence of a more imaginative response to the sequence of mini-crises in the statelets, government is prepared to allow the homeland power-play to go on in the belief that it undermines rather than strengthens the international and local standing of the alliance. This is dangerous to all sides — for whom the game is clearly part of a politically cynical longer-term campaign to woo voters.

The current situation of volatility and violence in Transkei and Ciskei began developing shortly after Holomisa's coup. Initially, he was merely lukewarm towards the ANC, but this stance changed dramatically after the unbanning of the organisation in 1990. Then he became no longer simply a military caretaker eager to hand over to a civilian government as soon as possible, but a fairly radical politician espousing left-of-centre ANC policies.

The change is attributed by alliance leaders to months of gentle persuasion and a reassessment of the role Holomisa could play in the transition to democracy. Meanwhile, the



Holomisa

youthful general has developed a massive personal following and is clearly destined for high office — political or military — in a new national government

By winning over Holomisa the alliance effectively "liberated" Transkei. (Though strategically unimportant at this stage, Venda also toes an alliance line.) Ciskei remains the real challenge to ANC hegemony in the independent homelands — which is why it has become a flashpoint

Unlike Holomisa, who had to be coaxed into the alliance

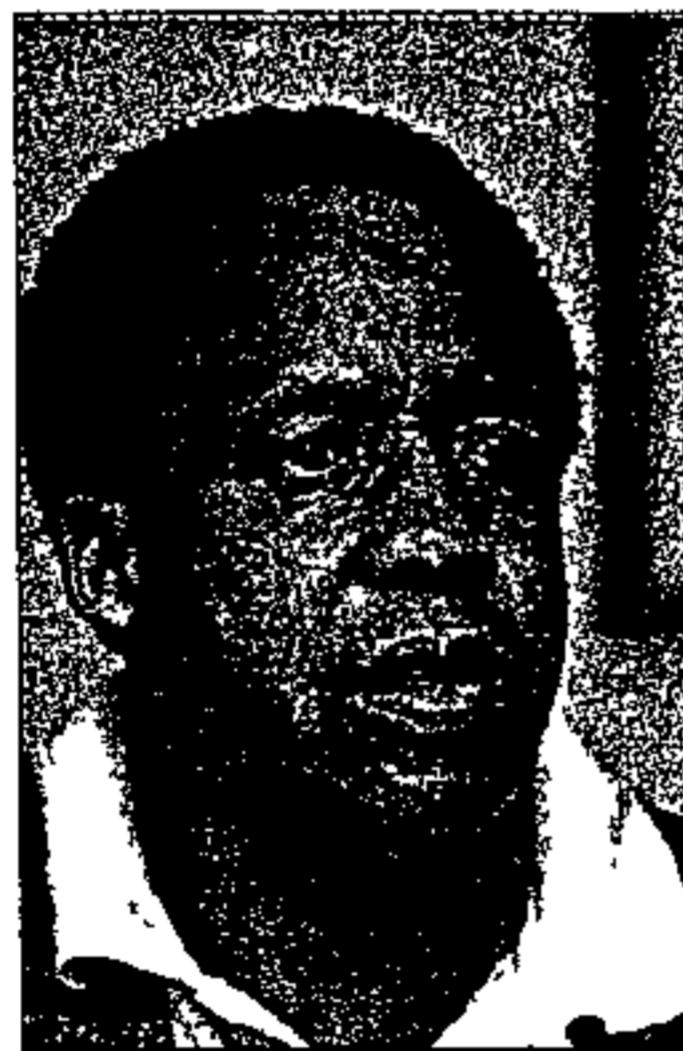
camp, Oupa Gqozo was virtually inside that camp when he staged his coup in 1990. At his first public meeting Gqozo appeared on a platform under ANC and SACP banners; among his first official actions were the release of all "security" prisoners and an announcement that his ultimate goal was reincorporation into SA.

Then he drifted away from the ANC.

Government initially appeared to welcome the overthrow of Lennox Sebe's unpopular government — and no wonder. The situation in Ciskei had become grave: scores of towns and villages had rejected Sebe and burned their Ciskei National Independence Party membership cards. A popular uprising was looming. Shortly after the coup Foreign Minister Pik Botha said SA did not step in to save Sebe — as it did in Bophuthatswana — because the Ciskei coup was supported by the "overwhelming majority of the population." He compared the situation to Transkei where Holomisa also apparently had popular support.

Two years ago Gqozo and Holomisa were seen together as a potent anti-government force in the eastern Cape. It was good news for the ANC alliance.

What happened to Gqozo? It has been suggested that he was wooed by a combination of financial support from Pretoria mixed with a liberal dash of political coercion; a reluctance to kowtow to the ANC; and an acquired taste for power. He is also said to lack Holomisa's political astuteness. Certainly, his rapid political education included questionable inputs by SA military intelligence sources and fresh insight into liberal democracy and capitalism — both of which he says he embraced — much to the chagrin of his



Hani



Buthelezi

Continue

Bisho killings deliberate, inquiry told

w/Man 25/9-1/10/92
By JACQUIE GOLDING

CHILLING evidence of Ciskei Defence Force over-reaction, and hinting at a Ciskei plan to use lethal force against African National Congress protestors, was heard this week at the preliminary session of the Goldstone Commission inquiry into the Bisho massacre.

Arthur Chaskalson SC, representing the ANC, told the commission the massacre was a planned, practised and executed mission by the Ciskei regime to prevent the protest march by ANC members on September 7.

The commission heard that of the 26 marchers killed by the CDF, 16 were shot from behind. Evidence was also given that grenades were thrown from two points by CDF soldiers and shrapnel marks were found on the stadium's wall.

One Ciskei soldier was killed during the shooting. A ballistic report showed that he was shot in the head with an R4 rifle — the standard weapon issued to CDF members.

A submission by Chaskalson that cartridges found at the site of the massacre were left there after target practice carried out by the CDF the previous day was not disputed.

Chaskalson admitted the protestors had decided the march on Bisho would continue despite magisterial guidelines restricting the gathering to the stadium.

Izak Smuts, counsel for the CDF, said if this was the marchers' attitude, the National Peace Secretariat representatives present should have been notified.

It was not disputed that a group of marchers led by Ronnie Kasrils was directed through a gap in the fence surrounding the stadium. They were intending to march on to Bisho, and it was at this point that the shooting began.

But the concentration of soldiers covering the gap from the front suggested that a trap had been set, Chaskalson said.

Smuts disputed preliminary investigations by the ANC showing that most of the dead and injured were "running away from the gunfire and were shot from the back". The CDF troops had fired in retaliation against the armed marchers, he argued.

Chaskalson countered that the magazine of the only weapon found on the scene, a Russian-made pistol, was unused, while all the spent cartridges were from R4 and R5 rifles.

According to Smuts, the CDF was under instruction from 7am until 11am, "to prevent the march on Ciskeian soil".

"The CDF was unaware of the magistrate's ruling that the march could continue subject to being held within the stadium," he added.

Smuts argued that it was the marchers' intention to overthrow the Ciskei government and to occupy Bisho.

Chaskalson denied this, arguing that the basis of Smuts' submission was a newspaper report in *Die Burger* quoting South African Communist Party secretary general Chris Hani. The intention of the protest was to assemble for 24 hours to demand the resignation of military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, he said.

ANC counsel said the CDF troops had failed to follow their own standing orders: to use minimum force in crowd control.

The right to free political activity and protest against a regime which had no mandate was a fundamental right, Chaskalson said, adding that the Ciskei rulers had acted contrary to the National Peace Accord.

4 killed, 76 (105)

held in Ciskei

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Four more people died violently in Ciskei this week and 76 people were arrested, police said yesterday. CT 26/9/92

Three of the dead, two of whom were burnt to death, were from Hala village near Alice.

A man was knifed to death during a quarrel in Mabobosini, Potsdam.

Ciskei police said they are expecting further unrest this weekend.

Killings: ANC got it wrong

CT 26/9/92 Political Staff

(105)

THE ANC alliance clearly underestimated the willingness of the Ciskei "regime" to drown the ANC's democratic demands in blood, one of the leaders of the Bisho march in which 28 people were killed, Mr Raymond Suttner, has stated.

He also said that the ANC would have to "rigorously examine the way we conducted this campaign, in order to avoid any such losses in the future".

Mr Suttner, writing in the the ANC magazine, *Mayibuye*, released yesterday, said that the ANC could not forgive or forget the loss of a single life.

He said the ANC had not expected to face "fire without any warning".

Sad day for families at Bisho burial

By Claire Keeton

(105)

South 26/9-30/9/92

TENS OF THOUSANDS of mourners last week thronged to the funeral service of 15 victims of the Bisho massacre at the Ginsberg Cemetery on a hill overlooking King William's Town, with Bisho hazy in the distance.

In the midst of the huge crowd bedecked in black, green and gold, Ms Thembisa Mfonge and her family stood somberly at the graveside to bury her 23-year-old brother, Mr Zimonde Mfonge.

The family of eight looked composed, trying to control their grief. But it was the "saddest day" for them when they heard of Zimonde's death, they said.

An unending dusty procession, led by priests and political leaders, sang and toyi-toyed under hovering police helicopters and a relentlessly hot sun. In hymns and poems of anger and pain, the crowd saluted their "fallen heroes".

Pallbearers struggled to bear their load along the long, slow route but eventually the 15 coffins were laid in their graves.

The Victoria Grounds stadium, the scene of the morning service, was filled to capacity, people even perching in the few trees.

A formidable police presence from the Internal Stability Unit surrounded the stadium and every route to the centre of town was blocked.

The service started with the entrance of the St



MOURNING: The coffins of Bisho shooting victims

John's Apostolic Church band from Mdantsane, followed by a cavalcade of cars bearing ANC leaders Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Chris Hani, Transkei military leader, Major General Bantu Holomisa and other dignitaries.

They were seated in the grandstand when the hearses arrived. As if with one voice, the crowd sang a haunting tribute to the deceased: "Go well, comrades".

Then the 27 coffins, covered by flowers and ANC flags, were displayed at the front of the stadium

The service opened with "Nkosi Sikelel iAfrika" and prayers.

ANC regional chairperson, Mr Silumko Soku-

pa, described the chaos since the Bisho massacre, but promised: "One of these days we will go back to Bisho for a victory celebration."

There were cheers when he condemned attempts to divide the ANC and isolate its leaders, including Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Hani.

A roar of approval which greeted Hani when he stood to speak showed where the crowd's loyalties lay.

Speeches were punctuated by hymns and messages, including one from the Pope, who expressed his "great sadness".

But the speaker who brought the crowd, many of them young, to their feet was the national president of the ANC Youth League, Mr Peter Mokaba.

In militant, uncompromising language Mokaba called the youth to pick up their spears and drive out the enemy.

He said the ANC and Youth League were not marching in the Transkei because they have only comrades there, but they were marching in the Ciskei to crush (Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo.

When the mourners finally poured out into the streets, towards the cemetery, the road was lined with bystanders, waving people on and giving them water and oranges to relieve their thirst.

At the end of the day they returned to town in smaller groups but did not disperse. Into the evening, small groups continued to toyi-toyi in the streets. — **Elnews**

By QUINTON RHODES

WITH tensions mounting in the KwaZulu homeland in advance of planned ANC

marches aimed at securing free political expression in the territory, the spotlight again falls on the structures of the National Peace Accord

It is precisely the kind of potentially explosive violence which now pertains in the homeland - ANC supporters claim they are being harassed and planned marches on KwaMashu and Ulundi threaten to turn into bloodbaths - which the Peace Accord was designed to deal with.

Yet, at the time when it is most needed, the credibility of the NPA has fallen to its lowest ebb to date.

Incidents

Two recent incidents involving structures associated with the Accord illustrate some of the questions which are being asked.

One, as reported by current affairs newsletter *Southscan*, concerns the role played by Peace Accord structures in the recent crisis which grew up in the Ciskei early this year.

In March, NPA chairman John Hall abandoned his usual neutrality to strongly condemn ANC protests and mass actions in the Border region, describing them as being potentially inflammatory and contrary to the spirit of the Accord.

However, at the time, the following situation pertained in the area:

- Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo had used his Internal Security Act in November 1991 in order to ban the ANC from organising in Ciskei;
- He had prohibited the Border Regional Dispute resolution Committee from meeting in the territory; and
- ANC Peace Accord representatives were banned - on pain of detention - from coming into the area.

All of this was in contradiction not only of the spirit of the Peace Accord, but also of its letter. The unanimous position adopted by the RDRC at this point was that Gqozo was in breach of the accord.

However, in assessing the situation, Hall neglected to make any mention of Gqozo's violations of the Peace Accord, and chose instead to focus on the ANC's plans for mass action, planned as peaceful and avowedly aimed at securing a climate of free political expression - both of which are specifically approved in the Accord.

Border RDRC chairman Reg Mason, a consultant with Mercedes Benz, felt so strongly about what he perceived as a misrepresentation of the true situation that he resigned from his post in protest. This moved Hall to apologise, regretting the unfortunate omission of any reference to Ciskei's breaches of the Accord.

But by this stage the RDRC lay in tatters. Gqozo was quick to capitalise by attempting to set up his own "friendly" RDRC structures without ANC representatives.

Later, on the occasion of the first ANC march in Bisho on August 3, Gqozo compounded his flouting of the NPA by refusing entry into the territory to Peace Secretariat representatives, as well as UN monitors and other mandated observers. The reason for the ban was that one of the Peace Secretariat party was ANC representative Thomas Smit.

Even at this point Peace Accord structures failed to publicly censure Gqozo.

Nor has the situation improved in the wake of the September 7 Bisho Massacre. There still exists a list of

NPA fails

C/Pres 27/9/92
**to deliver
the goods**

peace accord representatives who are refused entry to the Ciskei.

The second incident involving Peace Accord structures which calls its credibility into question concerns the recent Peace Accord judgement that Natal Midlands ANC vice-chair Reggie Hadebe had been guilty of breaching the Peace Accord in holding a mock-trial of 11 Inkatha members, during which they were allegedly "sentenced to death"

Last week a panel appointed by the national Peace Secretariat found that Hadebe had breached the accord and held him in contempt of its provisions.

However, as trials go, the trial of Hadebe was hardly less of a kangaroo affair than the one he was accused of presiding over. Hadebe had not been allowed to give evidence in his own defence; he had been in hospital recovering from an assassination attempt when the hearing was due to take place. And though a second date was set for his evidence, he was not informed of it, Hadebe insists.

But neither the substance of the counterclaims of Hadebe nor the fact that the NPA tribunal had not heard his side of the story, stopped it from recording its own verdict of "guilty".

Yet the NPS released its report on the Hadebe incident this week - despite the fact that earlier an embarrassed Hall had agreed to reopen the hearings in view of the omission of evidence.

Other incidents which call the Peace Accords structures into question are:

- Peace Accord structures are administered exclusively by officials seconded from the State civil service,
- A confidential NP Transvaal document advises members to get involved in Peace Accord structures as a means to gleaning black votes; and
- United Nations violence monitors (15 at present with a further 35 expected shortly) have been careful to distance themselves from the structures of the Accord.

Although originally mandated to work in conjunction with Peace Accord structures, they have instead established their own offices in Johannesburg and Natal.

New grouping

A new grouping of proven local violence monitors to be launched in November - the Network of Independent Monitors - represents an alliance of 70 violence monitoring centres including the Human Rights Commission, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Democratic Party's violence monitoring structures.

This is in response to what established monitoring agencies perceived as an attempt on the part of Peace Accord-linked groupings to hijack the monitoring process to its own ends.

The initial Peace Secretariat version of violence monitoring would have bound monitors into a pact of silence by stressing intervention in tensions rather than attempting to discover the causes.

This would have been achieved by means of a code of conduct which was drafted around a central information centre which would collect, date and presumably act upon information - without making the information public.

By S'IBU MNGADI

IN the collective mind of SA's colonial conquerors, few areas conjure up the dreaded banishment of native insurrection in quite the same way as in the eastern Cape.

From Makana's Kop to Bulhoek, Mdantsane, Lingelihle, Uitenhage, Zwelitsha, and now Bisho - that spirit has risen repeatedly.

And now it is centred on the border town of King William's Town, launchpad of the ANC's campaign to oust Ciskei dictator Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

A stonethrow from the Ciskei capital of Bisho, the toppled Ciskei President-for-Life, Lennox Sebe, once waxed lyrical about making the town his "seat of power".

On September 7 the national executive leadership of the ANC's tripartite alliance sped towards the local Victoria Grounds. The 10-car cavalcade sped through the leafy avenues sweeping aside police and gapers.

A march later set off for Bisho. It progressed up the steep incline towards the capital.

Members of the SA security forces lined every street staring with impotent rage into the faces of their old foe, the khaki-clad marshals, young men who seem to relish in covering the security forces' role.

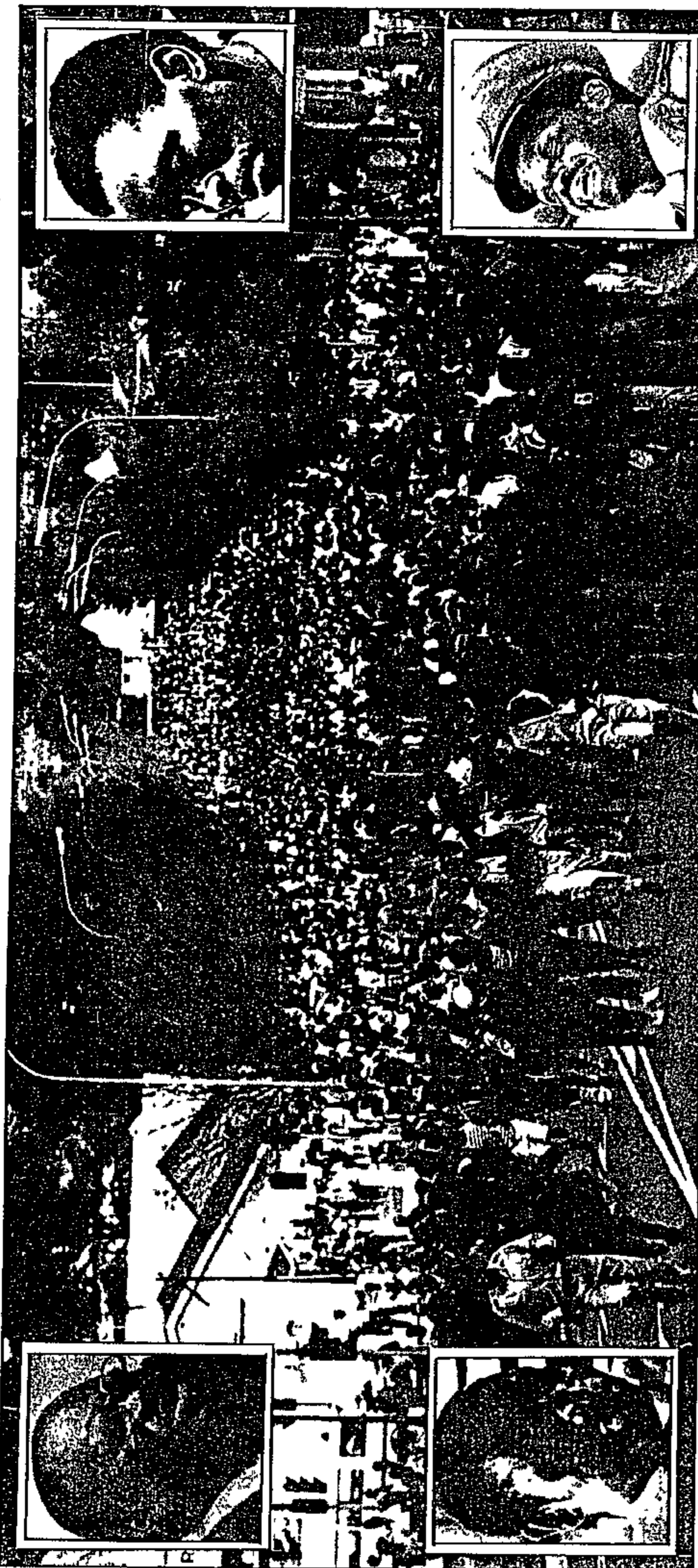
As the march was about a kilometre from the SA/Ciskei border, energetic youths trampled through the veld on either side of R63 from King William's Town to Bisho.

An all-South African protest march: fragrance of trampled trees, smell of dust and sweat, the menacing whirl of SADE, SAP and Ciskei Police helicopters, the cracking sound of fence posts, a scratchy generator-operated public address system on the back of a bakkeje.

When the Ciskei soldiers opened fire a large section of the 80 000-strong mass fled back to the sanctuary of King William's Town. Those who remained on the scene felt safer on the SA side of the border.

It's ironic, but Bisho does not

IN BISHO'S SHADOW



ANGRY TIDE ... Scenes like these have jolted King William's Town out of its complacency. Yet below the colonial facade, Qonce - its Xhosa name - has produced heroes and villains, among them Victoria Mxenge, Oupa Gqozo, Lennox Sebe and Steve Biko (inset).

A sleepy hollow haunted by ghosts of Uhuru

appear on international maps - few countries in the world recognise Ciskei. So the name King William's Town was flashed on TV screens across the globe.

And so Qonce - as King is known in Xhosa - is famous. Or is that notorious?

It's a tiny, typically colonial eastern Cape town: founded in a sleepy hollow, surrounded by stunning Amatola mountains.

Representatives of foreign

embassies, the UN, the European Economic Community and the OAU passed through the town on their way to Bisho.

Yet King is characterized by a depressing uncertainty which hangs over local residents - most of them white and coloured.

Locals can't seem to erase the terrible events of the massacre in the dust, people dying alongside others too terrified to raise their heads to help, bullets

smacking into the earth or zinging overhead, people fleeing down the hulloek, drivers who braved death to in their beat up skoro koro's pulling up alongside the wounded and ferrying them off to Grey Hospital.

When the crackle of automatic fire stopped, 29 people - including a Ciskei soldier - were dead. Two hundred people - wounded

To many BC adherents now in the national executive leadership of the tripartite alliance,

Ginsberg evoked both fond and sad memories of Bantu Steve Biko.

Almost 15 years ago, on September 25 1977, Biko, who had died at the hands of the SAP's Security Branch while in detention, was buried at Ginsberg - also following a service at Victoria Grounds.

For these leaders, it seemed as if time had stood still. Gqozo blamed the massacre

on the fatal shooting of a Ciskei soldier by protesters SA's then Minister of Police Jimmy Kruger claimed that Biko's death stemmed from a hunger strike.

One can only wonder what thoughts, memories flashed through her mind as senior nursing sister Ntsiki Biko - Steve's widow - tended to the Bisho wounded.

Was it *de javu*? The official Gqozo appointed

immediately after the carnage to head a commission of inquiry is Ciskei Chief Justice Robby Pickard - who in the 1970s was the advocate who represented Dr Benjamin Tucker, one of the doctors who treated Biko in detention.

Tucker was subsequently struck of the medical roll for "disgraceful conduct" arising from his treatment - or lack of it - of the detainee Biko.

It's not the first time that famous South Africans have been laid to rest in Qonce. Griffiths Mlungisi and Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge, lawyers, ANC loyalists, and victims of apartheid assassins, were brought home and laid to rest at Rhayi village, five kilometres from Qonce.

Griffiths was killed in Umhlatzi. It was a month before Ciskei was granted "independence".

The writer attended both their funerals. On both occasions King looked like it had seen the ghost: residents locked doors. They expected mayhem, riots, insurrection, uhuru, black rule.

It's now a firm part of folklore. Xhosa elders say the writing was on the wall when, back in '81, on Independence Day the flagpole fell over and broke during the raising of the new flag.

Yet, throughout the decade of strikes, protest and strife, Qonce seemed to remain relatively stable - a white (and grey) island buffeted by black storms all around.

The reason being that the town's people had voted in a referendum not to become part of Ciskei forcing Sebe to build his capital alongside his independence Stadium.

A bloodless coup in January 1990 saw the young corps of the Ciskei Defence Force that Gqozo into power.

Ironically, he became the darling of the ANC, hosting a welcome rally for ANC president Nelson Mandela at the Bisho Independence Stadium on March 31 1990.

By the end of the year the affair was over.



Soldiers 'tried

AR4 30/9/92 (105)

to kill as many as they could'

CISKEI troops had deliberately tried to cause as many deaths and injuries as possible at Bisho, the Commission concluded.

Their conduct "can only be condemned in the strongest terms."

"Anyone who has watched the videos of the shooting will have experienced a feeling of disbelief that shooting could have continued for what appeared to be an interminable time.

"Indeed it appears clearly that soldiers in the vicinity of Jongilanga Crescent continued to fire at the fleeing crowd virtually until the last of them disappeared from sight.

"The firing was indiscriminate and even if there had been isolated firing from the demonstrators, the reaction of the Ciskei soldiers was completely disproportionate.

"Not one Ciskei soldier in that area was injured and, as already indicated, the high probability is that the only soldier who was injured in the Fort Hare vicinity was shot by one of his fellow soldiers.

"When the crowd in that area turned to flee, on the CDF version, the continued and prolonged firing was quite unjustified and unlawful.

"It must be emphasised that even if the CDF commander and members believed they were under some kind of attack, even if they believed that the crowd was intent upon overrunning them and going to Bisho, even if they believed that one of their members had been shot by a demonstrator, their indiscriminate and of shooting at innocent

demonstrators was morally and legally indefensible and is deserving of the strongest censure.

"Their own standing orders were ignored.

"They provide in clear terms for 'minimum force' to be used."

The Commission said if one added to this the firing of four grenades, "one can only conclude that the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers was deliberately aimed at causing as many deaths and injuries as possible.

"This was not remotely the situation of war or an attack by an army.

"It is hardly surprising that counsel for the CDF did not attempt to justify the number of rounds fired, let alone the firing of grenades."

The Commission found that Ciskei Police were deployed south-east of the stadium, not far from where the main King William's Town road was barricaded. They were equipped with teargas, rubber bullets and bird-shot.

"Presumably they were there in the event of the barricade proving ineffective in preventing the march to Bisho."

Behind and the north of them were Ciskei soldiers deployed as "the line of last defence."

Members of the Ciskei Army are not equipped with non-lethal weapons — only firearms with live ammunition.

By running through the gap in the fence, the demonstrators outflanked or by-passed by the police and ran directly at the sol-

'Deliberate trap' unlikely

THE Commission found it difficult to accept that Ciskei forces had deliberately left a gap in the stadium fence in order to lead the ANC marchers into a fatal trap.

However, it said for the CDF commanders to have been unaware of the gap was "highly negligent and unprofessional to a startling degree."

It was difficult to believe that an inspection of the Bisho stadium had not been carried out.

Razor wire barricades were erected on the western side of the stadium.

"To have left the gap in the fence in the northern side is attributable only to gross negligence or design."

However it was difficult to accept that the gap was left as a

deliberate trap.

For a trap to have been designed before the early hours of September 7, Ciskei authorities would have had to take into account the ANC's counter application to the Bisho Supreme Court, the order by the Chief Magistrate and his decision to allow the marchers to enter the stadium, the reconnoitre of the stadium by the alliance leaders and their use of the gap to run out of the stadium.

It was also improbable that the plan had been designed after the magistrate had given his order — although it could not be discounted.

The Commission said that even counsel for the Alliance had not pressed that such a "diabolical" plan had been implemented.

Who started killings?

105
APR 30/4/92

Leaders knew of plan to use 'gap'

FOR the Alliance leaders to have approved of their followers running through a gap in the stadium fence towards Bisho was "irresponsible and deliberately placed such people in imminent danger which resulted in death and injury."

"In the present climate of negotiation in South Africa and policy with regard thereto by all the major political parties, the decision to risk the lives of their followers by advancing out of the stadium was unfortunate and unjustified," the Goldstone Commission found.

"If their intention was to draw public attention to the policies of the Ciskei authorities, they could have achieved that by more appropriate mass action on the South African side of the border and even in the Bisho stadium."

Deliberately withholding from the National Peace Secretariat their intention to run through the gap in the fence to Bisho was "disingenuous and rendered useless the role which was played by it (NPS).

The Commission found that at all times the Alliance leaders must have been aware that the Ciskei authorities were in earnest in their refusal to allow demonstrators into the Ciskei.

That was made absolutely clear in public statements, was reinforced by the Ciskei Supreme Court's order, was conveyed in unequivocal terms by the NPS and the NPC and by President de Klerk to ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Alliance created even more confusion by first seeking an order from the Chief Magistrate and then ignoring it, fully realising that the Ciskei authorities were bound by it.

'Unlikely' ANC fired first shots, says Commission

Political Staff PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH report.

THE Goldstone Commission found Ciskei Government claims that ANC had fired the first shots in the Bisho massacre on September 7 were "improbable" and that the single Ciskei soldier killed, had probably been shot by a fellow soldier.

It said in the time available for its inquiry, it could not make a positive finding on the Ciskei Defence Force allegation that the ANC had fired the first shot or shots.

"The probability remains that there was no shooting from the demonstrators and that the version of the CDF is false or at best, highly exaggerated.

"Not one of the many independent observers reported having seen or been aware of any shot fired by the crowd at a CDF member."

The Commission found that the question of whether shots were fired at the soldiers was the only material dispute in the hearing.

The following evidence was relevant in deciding this issue:

● One of the videos showed a Stechin pistol found on the ground where the demonstrators had been but forensic tests proved that no bullet had been fired from it.

● Another video showed a

revolver on the scene and a third video showed one of the demonstrators carrying what could be a firearm hidden under his jacket;

● The ballistic report of the SAP's Colonel JD du Plessis indicated that only one spent cartridge had been found where the demonstrators had been;

● The way in which the crowd which was fired on from Jonglangua Crescent turned in unison to run, made it improbable that any of them had been firing at the soldiers.

From the SAP forensic report, it appeared that the CDF soldier who was shot and killed at the Fort Hare campus had been hit on the left side of the back of his head.

"The disintegration of the bullet was typical of that fired from an R4 rifle. The high probability was that he was shot by one of his fellow soldiers."

The Commission said that because of the expedited procedure it was adopting for this inquiry it could not hear oral evidence. It would have had to do so to make a final decision on whether protesters fired at the CDF.

However, the probability was that there was no shooting from the demonstrators.



FLASHBACK: ANC marchers fleeing when Ciskeian troops opened fire at Bisho on September 7.

Ciskei 'could have averted massacre'

THE Bisho massacre could have been averted if the Ciskei authorities had acceded to the pleas of the South African government, the SA Police and the National Peace Secretariat to allow a peaceful and negotiated mass demonstration, the Commission said.

Co-operation between local authorities and the SAP on the one hand and the organisers of mass demonstrations on the other had almost invariably led to disciplined marches and meetings before, some involving tens of thousands of people.

This type of mass demonstration was the only form of peaceful political activity

open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised.

Defining what it called "responsible mass action", the Commission said mass action had to be organised to take all reasonable steps to avoid violence.

That could only be achieved by removing the risk created by unpredictable conduct.

Organisations embarking on mass demonstrations should clearly distinguish between action designed to make a political statement or convey political ideas and mass demonstrations designed to cause physical coercion with or without the use

of force to obtain a desired result.

"It is one thing to convey the wish of the demonstrators that one or the other leader be replaced or that the political system in an area be replaced.

"It is quite another to physically occupy and take over public buildings or to occupy a town or an area of a town and create a semi-permanent public disruption as a means of coercing one or other public change."

It was confusing to refer to both kinds of mass demonstration as "mass action". Some forms of mass action were acceptable as non-violent forms of political expression.

Others were unacceptable when they interfered with the rights of others to the extent that violence in one form or another was the likely if not inevitable consequence — either from the authorities who considered their duty to remove the threat to public order or from other citizens who took the law into their own hands.

Threats made by some Alliance leaders to embark on mass action "with the intention of intimidation and directly causing the change of the existing power structures were against the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord".

● Bisho shootings condemned

● ANC 'march' also censured

ARG 30/9/92

(105)

Goldstone slams Ciskei

necessary to ensure that a recurrence of the undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct of which they were guilty on September 7, 1992, cannot recur.

"The results of such enquiry and the steps taken pursuant thereto should be made public."

The Commission said that if there were to be free and fair referenda or elections there must be complete access by political parties to the media.

It therefore recommended that: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in South Africa, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

Addressing itself to organisers of mass action, it recommended that "the leaders of all organisations which use forms of mass demonstration should do so only as a peaceful means."

● See Page 21

Political Staff

The Ciskei Security Force's shooting of 29 ANC demonstrators at Bisho on September 7 has been "condemned in the strongest terms" by the Goldstone Commission.

The shootings were "morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure", the Commission said in a report to President de Klerk, released today.

It recommended that the Attorney-General of the Ciskei should recommend criminal charges against those responsible for the death or injury of anyone shot during the Bisho massacre on September 7.

But it also recommended that the leadership of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance should "publicly censure" Mr Ronnie Kasrils and other alliance leaders responsible for the decision to lead demonstrators out of the Bisho stadium "and thereby knowingly or negligently expose them to the danger of death and injury."

Disregard for life

It also criticised the march organisers for acting in bad faith by not informing National Peace Secretariat representatives at the scene that they intended breaking the march conditions by leaving the stadium.

But the Commission stressed that its criticism of the march organisers could not in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers.

"That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers."

The Commission expressed a "feeling of disbelief" that the shooting could have continued "for what appeared to be an interminable time."

The "continued and prolonged" firing even after the ANC crowd turned and fled was "quite unjustified and unlawful."

On two of the most contentious questions, the Commission said it was probable, but not certain, that ANC demonstrators had not fired at Ciskei troops — as the Ciskei government claimed — and it was difficult to accept that the Ciskei forces had deliberately led the demonstrators into an ambush.

The 36-page report of the Commission's 18-day inquiry into the Bisho shooting made eight tough recommendations.

One was that: "The Ciskei Council of State should publicly acknowledge that members of the CDF acted reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionately manner and causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing."

The CDF leaders should question the training and discipline of their forces for firing into a fleeing crowd for almost two minutes.

"To arm such men with lethal weapons is unacceptable."

It recommended, therefore, that: "The officers commanding the CDF should immediately conduct a full enquiry into the training and discipline of their members with the intention of taking such steps as may be

HOMELANDS - CISKEI - GENERAL

1992

OCT. - DEC.

Bisho probe: ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Bilateral fault ^{CT 11/10/92}

JOHANNESBURG. — The Ciskei attorney-general should investigate charges against "any person responsible for death or injury" during the Bisho shootings — and the ANC should publicly censure Mr Ronnie Kasrils and others who had exposed marchers to the danger of death and injury.

These were two of eight recommendations made in the Goldstone Commission report on the Bisho shootings, released yesterday.

The report was completed in one week due mainly to the existence of video material of the day's events and the presence of independent observers.

Following are some of the most important points:

● The Ciskei forces' "indiscriminate and prolonged shooting at innocent demonstrators is morally and legally indefensible and is deserving of the strongest censure".

"When the crowd in that area turned to flee ... the continued and prolonged firing was quite unjustified and unlawful.

Goldstone calls for charges

"The Ciskei Council of State must publicly acknowledge that members of the Ciskei Defence Force acted reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner and causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing from them."

● On the single death of a Ciskei soldier, the four-man commission found there was a "high probability" that he was shot by one of his fellow soldiers.

● Dealing specifically with Mr Kasrils, the commission said his action in leading demonstrators through the gap in the stadium fence was "regrettable and irresponsible".

"It was the immediate cause of what followed. We accept that the

leaders responsible for that decision could not have anticipated the almost unbelievable response of the Ciskeian army.

"This action (going through the fence) by the alliance was made without any notice to the leaders of the National Peace Secretariat and was a serious breach of faith."

● On a broader front, the report says: "In order to avoid physical conflict and violence, mass demonstrations should not be used as a means of causing serious and non-temporary disturbance or as a means of direct political intimidation.

"In the present climate of negotiation in South Africa and the policy with regard thereto by all the major political parties, the decision to have risked the lives of their followers by advancing out of the stadium was unfortunate and unjustified."

● The commission also recommended that leaders of the TBVC states and of the self-governing homelands should publicly declare their willingness to tolerate and facilitate mass demonstrations where they were reasonable and negotiated. — Sapa



A nationwide blitz begins today on motorists without valid drivers' licences. But taxi driver Mr Felix Mdluli of Zondi, Soweto, is not worried because he has always carried his licence with him for the past 15 years. Isn't it about time we were all like him?

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

Finger points at Oupa

Goldstone makes the point clear:



‘The shooting was morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure’

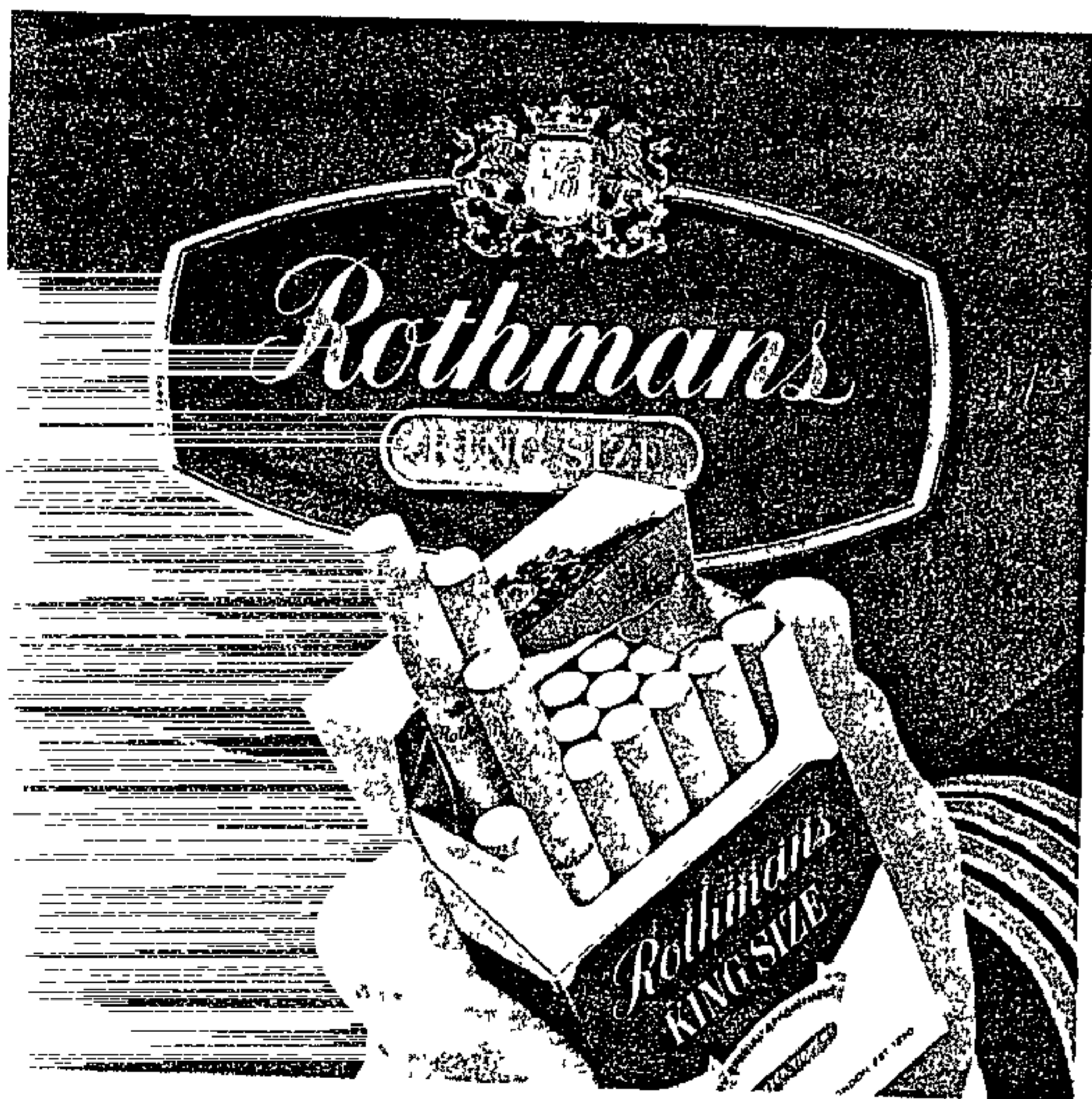
Sowetan 11/10/92
 THE killing of ANC demonstrators by the Ciskei Defence Force on September 7 was “morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure”, the Goldstone Commission of inquiry said in its report on the massacre. The commission recommended that the Attorney-General of Ciskei should pursue criminal charges against those responsible for the death or injury of anyone

■ GUILTY Commission

lashes out at the Ciskei:

shot during the massacre, in which 38 people are known to have died. The ANC's national executive committee met last night to discuss the report. Sources in the organisation described it as fair and satisfactory.

See story page 2



'Youths fugitives' (105)

Sowe fem 11/10/92
THE hundreds of youths being accommodated at offices of the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and Border Council of Churches in Ciskei were fugitives from justice and not refugees, Ciskei defence force chief Marius Oeschlg said.

Brig Oeschlg denied the youths were refugees being harassed by se-

NEWS FEATURE *Ciskei troops fired indiscriminately for a prolonged time on fleeing marchers*

Commission castigates Ciskei

Sowetan 1/10/92

(105)

■ BISHO MASSACRE 36-page report on

shootings handed to President De Klerk:

THE GOLDSTONE Commission report on the Bisho massacre castigates Ciskeian troops for firing indiscriminately for a prolonged time on fleeing ANC marchers - killing 29 and injuring hundreds

The Commission also finds that the security forces' conduct overshadows the contravention by marchers of a magisterial order confining them to the Bisho Stadium.

The Ciskei forces' "indiscriminate and prolonged shooting at innocent demonstrators is morally and legally indefensible and is deserving of the strongest censure", says the report.

"When the crowd in that area turned to flee .. the continued and prolonged firing was quite unjustified and unlawful.

"The Ciskei Council of State must publicly acknowledge that members of the Ciskei Defence Force acted reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner and causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing from them."

Completed in record time

The findings are contained in a 36-page report handed to State President FW de Klerk on Tuesday by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone.

The commission was asked to investigate the Bisho massacre at De Klerk's request.

The report, which was completed in the record time of one week due mainly to the availability of video material of the day's events and the presence of independent observers, made eight recommendations.

Two were that the Ciskei Attorney-General should investigate charges against "any person responsible for death or injury" and that the ANC should publicly censure Kasrils and others who had exposed marchers to the danger of death and injury.

But, the report stated, "whatever criticism may be levelled at the organisation of the demonstration and whatever criti-

cism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers.

"That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's version, any mitigating factors there may have been, are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers..

"Anyone who has watched the videos of the shooting will have experienced a feeling of disbelief that the shooting could have continued for what appeared to be an interminable time."

‘The continued and prolonged firing was quite unjustified and unlawful’

On the single death of a Ciskei soldier, the four-man commission found there was a "high probability" that he was shot by one of his fellow soldiers.

Dealing specifically with Kasrils, the commission said his action was regrettable and irresponsible.

"It was the immediate cause of what followed. We accept that the leaders responsible for that decision could not have anticipated the almost unbelievable response of the Ciskeian army. However, a violent response was foreseen for days before.

"This action by the alliance was made without any notice to the leaders of the National Peace Secretariat and was a serious breach of faith."

Willingness to tolerate

A broader recommendation by the commission was that leaders of the TBVC states and of the self-governing homelands should publicly declare their willingness to tolerate and facilitate mass demonstrations where they were reasonable and negotiated.

"Those in control of any region, city



FLASHBACK: Four ANC supporters lie dead after Ciskei security forces had fired on marchers in Bisho

or town anywhere in South Africa, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly.

"The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith publicly declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control.

"No-go areas anywhere are quite un-

‘No-go areas anywhere are quite unacceptable and a barrier to any free or fair election’

acceptable and a barrier to any free or fair election"

On the CDF, the commission further recommended that the officers commanding the CDF should immediately

conduct a full inquiry into the training and discipline of their members with the intention of taking such steps as may be necessary to ensure that a recurrence of the undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct of which they were guilty on September 7 cannot recur."

Running through the gap

The results of the inquiry and the steps to be taken should be made public Under a section titled: "The conduct of the alliance organisers", the report said the leaders must have been aware the Ciskei authorities were in earnest in their refusal to allow the demonstrators into the Ciskei

ANC alliance leaders' threats in preceding days to occupy Bisho until Brigadier Oupa Gqozo resigned "could only have been calculated to harden the attitude of the Ciskei authorities".

"In these circumstances for the alliance leaders to have approved of their followers running through the gap in the fence, in the direction of Bisho, was irresponsible and deliberately placed

such people in imminent danger which resulted in death and injury.

"In the present climate of negotiation in South Africa and the policy with regard thereto by all the major political parties, the decision to have risked the lives of their followers by advancing out of the stadium was unfortunate and unjustified.

"To have deliberately withheld that intention from the National Peace Secretariat was disingenuous and rendered useless the role which was played by it."

A recommendation aimed at general mass action stated:

"The leaders of all organisations which use forms of mass public demonstrations should do so only as a peaceful means to popularise political policies and propagate political changes.

‘They should immediately and publicly abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence’

"They should immediately and publicly abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence.

"In order to avoid physical conflict and violence," the report continued, "mass demonstrations should not be used as a means of causing serious and non-temporary disturbance or as a means of direct political intimidation".

Regrettable incident

The Bisho Commission members, Mr Justice Goldstone, vice-chairman DJ Rossouw, MNS Sithole and L Baqwa, ended their report "with the hope that this highly regrettable incident with the unnecessary and tragic loss of life and injury will mark a turning point and induce all political leaders and their supporters to co-operate with each other and with the National Peace Accord structures and to take such steps as may be necessary to bring peace and tranquility to our country" - *South African Press Association.*

The men in the centre



Ronnie Kasrils

"The ANC should publicly censure Kasrils and others who had exposed marchers to the danger of death and injury".



Oupa Gqozo

"The Ciskei Council of State must publicly acknowledge that members of the Ciskei Defence Force acted reprehensibly and unacceptably"



Richard Goldstone

Hopes this "highly regrettable incident" will mark a turning point and induce all leaders and their supporters to co-operate with each other.



FW de Klerk

He ordered the probe into Bisho massacre in which 29 people were killed and scores of others injured.

1 in brief

Soweto
1/10/92 (105)

curity forces.
He also rejected claims that the homeland's forces were assaulting youths randomly, and said they were wanted in connection with acts of arson and looting in the wake of the Bisho massacre. - *Sapa*.

THERE is only one material dispute (over events leading up to the shootings) — whether shots were fired at the soldiers.

It appears from one of the videos that a Stechin pistol was found on the ground in the vicinity where the demonstrators had been. However, forensic tests proved that no bullet had been fired from it. Another video shows a revolver on the scene. Yet another video shows one of the demonstrators carrying what could be a firearm hidden under his jacket.

SAP colonel J D du Plessis' ballistic report indicates that only one spent cartridge was found in the vicinity where the demonstrators had been.

The manner in which the crowd which was fired on from Jongilanga Crescent turned in unison makes it improbable that any of these persons were firing at the soldiers. Furthermore, to have done so would have been suicidal.

From the same forensic report it appears that the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) member who was shot and killed was hit on the left side of the back of his head. The disintegration of the bullet was typical of that fired from an R4 rifle. The high probability is therefore that he was shot by one of his fellow soldiers.

The expedited procedure adopted by the commission excluded the hearing of oral evidence. To decide whether the demonstrators fired at the CDF members, findings would have to be made concerning the credibility of witnesses. It would be unacceptable to make such findings only on the basis of probabilities.

However, the probability remains that there was no shooting from the demonstrators and that the version of the CDF is false or, at best, highly exaggerated. Not one of the many independent observers present reported having seen any shot fired from the crowd at a CDF member.

The commission, however, decided that it could not make a positive finding that a shot or shots were or were not fired at the CDF members as alleged by the CDF. We shall therefore proceed to make general findings and recommendations on the assumption that the CDF members were fired at by demonstrators.

It is not in dispute that the Ciskei authorities were resolute in their refusal to allow any public demonstrators in Bisho or, indeed, in Ciskei.

Public protest has become the order of the day and co-operation between local authorities and the SAP, on the one hand, and the organisers of mass demonstrations, on the other, have almost invariably led to peaceful and disciplined marches and meetings — some of them involving tens of thousands of people. This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised.

Nothing can justify the actions of the soldiers at Bisho

BIDM 1/10/92

(105)

The Goldstone commission's report on the Bisho shooting was published yesterday. These are edited extracts from the report.

sensible precautions to contain or control the demonstrations.

That was made absolutely clear in public statements. It was reinforced by the order obtained from the Ciskei Supreme Court. It was conveyed in unequivocal terms by the national peace secretariat and national peace committee. It was conveyed by the President to the president of the ANC.

In particular, the alliance created even more confusion by at first seeking an order from the chief magistrate. Having obtained an order the alliance chose to ignore it, fully realising that the Ciskei authorities were bound by it.

The alliance leaders must have been aware that the Ciskei authorities were earnest in their refusal to allow the demonstrators into the Ciskei. The threatening statements reportedly made by some alliance leaders in the days preceding the march could only have been calculated to harden the attitude of the Ciskei authorities. The threat made by these leaders was that the "occupation" of Bisho would continue until Brig Oupa Gqozo gave up his control.

In these circumstances, for the alliance leaders to have approved of their followers running through the gap in the fence, in the direction of Bisho, was irresponsible and deliberately placed such people in imminent danger which resulted in death and injury. In the present climate of negotiation, the decision to have risked the lives of their followers by advancing out of the stadium was unfortunate and unjustified.

The manner in which the Ciskei forces fired at the demonstrators can only be condemned in the strongest terms. Anyone who has watched the videos of the shooting will have ex-

The commission is of the view that had the Ciskei authorities acceded to the pleas of the SA government, the SAP and the national peace secretariat to allow a peaceful and negotiated mass demonstration to take place, the violence which occurred on September 7 could have been averted. The commission has previously pointed out that unpredictable behaviour in situations of mass action is conducive to violence. When large crowds or security forces do not know what to expect of each other there is always a high potential for violence. It is for this reason, above all others, that the commission's guidelines call for adequate and full notice of mass demonstrations to be given to the authorities. The attitude of the Ciskei authorities precluded such notice from being given to it and it disabled itself from taking



□ GOLDSTONE

perienced a feeling of disbelief that the shooting could have continued for what appeared to be an interminable time. Indeed, the soldiers in the vicinity of Jongilanga Crescent continued to fire at the fleeing crowd virtually until the last of them disappeared from sight.

The firing was indiscriminate and, even if there had been isolated firing from the demonstrators, the reaction of the Ciskei soldiers was completely disproportionate. Not one Ciskei soldier in that area was injured.

When the crowd turned to flee, on the CDF version, the continued and

prolonged firing was quite unjustified and unlawful. Even if they believed that one of their members had been shot by a demonstrator, their indiscriminate and prolonged shooting at innocent demonstrators was morally and legally indefensible and is deserving of the strongest censure.

If one adds to the foregoing the firing of four grenades, one can only conclude that the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers was deliberately aimed at causing as many deaths and injuries as possible.

If SA is to survive the present period of change, and if it is to succeed in establishing a democratic form of government in which the individual rights of all are protected, the level of political tolerance will have to rise radically and quickly.

In the first place, there has to be freedom to compete openly and safely in the marketplace of ideas and policies. If we are to have referenda or elections there must be complete access by political parties to the media and the halls and public places throughout the land. "No-go areas" anywhere are unacceptable and a barrier to any free or fair election.

Mass action must be organised in such a manner that all reasonable steps are taken to avoid violence. That can be achieved only by removing, as far as possible, the risks created by unpredictable conduct.

With commendable speed, mass action organisers and the SAP have learnt how to cope. The recent march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria and the impressive SAP protection of ANC marchers in Despatch in the eastern Cape are good illustrations of co-operation and tolerance which would have been unthinkable only a short while ago. The same

We earnestly wish to avoid any misunderstanding or misrepresentation of this report. Whatever criticism may be levelled at the organisation of the demonstration and whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers. That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's own version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers.

point is illustrated by the behaviour of all the parties during the very march from King William's Town to the Ciskei border.

Organisations which embark on mass demonstrations must clearly distinguish between action which is designed to make a political statement or convey ideas, on the one hand, and mass demonstrations designed to cause physical coercion with or without the use of force, to obtain a desired result.

It is one thing to demonstrate in order to convey the wish of the demonstrators that one or other leader be replaced or that the political system be changed. It is quite another physically to occupy public buildings or to occupy a town or area of a town and create a semi-permanent public disruption.

Activity of the first kind, including the symbolic and negotiated occupation of public places and buildings, should be accepted and even encouraged by the authorities.

The second kind of activity is unacceptable. It is calculated to cause confusion to refer to both kinds of mass demonstrations and conduct as "mass action". Actions are unacceptable when they interfere with the rights of others to the extent that violence is the likely, if not inevitable, consequence — violence on the side of the authorities who consider it their duty to stop or remove the threat to public order, or by other citizens who take the law into their own hands.

The threats made by some leaders of the alliance to embark on "mass action" with the intention of intimidation and directly causing the change of existing power structures is against the letter and spirit of the national peace accord. It is also likely to increase the already volatile climate of violence.

No political leader and no security force enjoys or welcomes mass public demonstrations especially when they are aimed at the very institutions they control and through which they exercise power. The essence of a democratic order, however, is that such activity is not only tolerated but facilitated. It is a safety valve and an insurance against secret and violent attempts to overthrow the system.

The bellicose and highly emotional response to threats of mass action is calculated to make it more difficult for the alliance to adopt more moderate policies. The challenges issued and references to civil war made by leaders of other groups are also not in accordance with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord.

The decision that Ronnie Kasrils should lead a substantial group of demonstrators through the gap in the fence was regrettable, irresponsible and was the immediate cause of what followed. We accept that the leaders responsible for that decision could not have anticipated the almost unbelievable response of the Ciskei army. However, a violent response was foreseen for days before the action. This action by the alliance was taken without any notice to the leaders of the national peace secretariat and was a serious breach of faith.

26 dead in Ciskei since Bisho killings

EAST LONDON. (AP) At least 26 people have died in violence in the Ciskei since the Bisho massacre earlier this month. Democratic Movement (ADM), Ciskei Defence Force troops and headmen.

The victims include ANC supporters, members of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African A list released by the ADM this week said 12 members or supporters had been killed since September 7. — Ecna.

ANC refuses to censure Kasrils

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday rejected a Goldstone Commission recommendation that SACP militant Mr Ronnie Kasrils be censured for "knowingly or negligently" leading Bisho marchers into a hail of gunfire.

"The National Executive Committee wishes to firmly state that, if there was any error of

judgment, this was a collective decision of the leadership of the ANC and its allies for which we bear collective responsibility," an ANC statement said.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday the organisation had not ruled out censuring the leadership behind Mr Kasrils' breaking away action, but added this would probably

happen in private.

"The fact that there were people killed means we would have to evaluate the process," she said.

The Ciskei's Council of State said it welcomed the recommendation that Mr Kasrils be repudiated, but said it was too soon for it to comment on sections of the report criticising

Reaction to report on Bisho

"Whatever criticism may be levelled at the organisation of the demonstration and whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, it cannot in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers," the report said.

The government and the Ciskei are expected to respond in full to the report by today.

The report called on leaders of the TVBC states to publicly declare themselves "willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations".

Inkatha and Bophuthatswana spokesmen said the report supported their contention that ANC marches, which were aimed at toppling homeland governments, should not be allowed to go ahead.

"We agree that people have a right to march, but when and where is another matter," IFP spokesman Ms Susan Voss said.

She said all ANC leaders involved in the decision to break the ruling confining marchers to the Bisho

stadium should be censured because they had "blood on their hands".

The Goldstone report called on the Ciskei attorney-general to investigate criminal charges against "any person responsible for death or injury of any person shot in or in the vicinity of the Bisho stadium."

"Officers commanding the CDF should immediately conduct a full inquiry into the training and discipline of their members with the intention of taking such steps as may be necessary to ensure that the undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct cannot recur."

The report also called on leaders "immediately and publicly (to) abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence."

National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall welcomed the findings, saying the report proved there were "no heroes" at the Bisho protest. The report was also welcomed by the Democratic Party and National Party.

the Ciskei Defence Force. CT 11/10/92
The Goldstone report said the CDF acted "reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner and causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing from them."

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CT 11/10/92

Gap in fence: followers deliberately endangered

STAR 1/10/92

Reports by
Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

For the ANC Alliance leaders to have approved of their followers running through a gap in the stadium fence towards Bisho was "irresponsible and deliberately placed such people in imminent danger which resulted in death and injury", the Goldstone Commission found.

"In the present climate of negotiation in South Africa and policy with regard thereto by all the major political parties, the decision to risk the lives of their followers by advancing out of the stadium was unfortunate and unjustified. (105) ~~105~~ *105*

"If their intention was to draw public attention to the policies of the Ciskei authorities, they could have achieved that by more appropriate mass action on the South African side of the border and even in the Bisho stadium, the commission found.

Deliberately withholding from the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) the intention to run through the gap in the fence to Bisho was "disingenuous".

Reinforced

The commission found that at all times the Alliance leaders must have been aware the Ciskei authorities were in earnest in their refusal to allow the demonstrators into the Ciskei. That was made absolutely clear in public statements, was reinforced by the Ciskei Supreme Court's order, was conveyed in unequivocal terms by the NPS, the National Peace Commission, and by President de Klerk.

The Alliance created even more confusion by first seeking an order from the Chief Magistrate and then ignoring it, fully realising that the Ciskei authorities were bound by it.

"By all accounts, the notice by the Alliance that they would not follow the terms of the court order was inadequate."

Threatening statements made by Alliance leaders in the days before the march could only have been calculated to harden the attitude of the Ciskei authorities.

ANC will not act against Kasrils

Political Staff

11/10/92
ARC
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THE ANC National Executive Committee has decided no action will be taken against Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who led marchers through a gap in the fence at Bisho Stadium on September 7 just before the shootings.

The Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the tragedy in which 29 people were killed and more than 200 injured, recommended that Mr Kasrils be censured.

"The NEC wishes to firmly state that, if there was any error of judgment this was a collective decision of

the leadership of the ANC and its allies, for which we bear collective responsibility," an ANC statement said.

The commission's report, lashing both Ciskei government and ANC have been considered by the cabinet. There will be a government media conference in Pretoria today.

Ciskei attorney-general Mr Leon Langeveld said he had begun investigations into criminal charges against Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers.

The report was welcomed by the National Party, the Democratic Party, the National Peace Committee (NPC),

the Transkei government and in part by Inkatha Freedom Party.

DP law and order spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow said the report was a major contribution towards guidelines for political conduct.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe hoped that in its re-examination of mass action the ANC would take note of commission views.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the report provided more evidence that Ciskei's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, should be removed from his "undesirable" position of power.

'Now if only Ciskei had

listened' 105
1/10/92

The Bisho massacre could have been averted if the Ciskei authorities had accepted the pleas of the SA Government, the SAP and the National Peace Secretariat to allow a peaceful and negotiated mass demonstration, the Goldstone Commission said.

Co-operation between local authorities and the SAP and the organisers of mass demonstrations had before almost invariably led to disciplined marches and meetings, some involving tens of thousands of people.

This type of mass demonstration was the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised.

Defining what it called "responsible mass action", the commission said mass action must be organised to take all reasonable steps to avoid violence.

That could be achieved only by removing the risk created by unpredictable conduct.

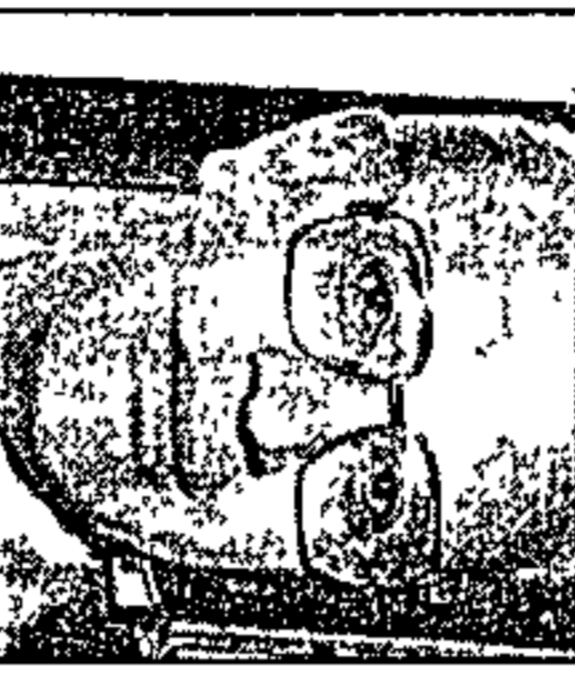
Organisations should distinguish between action designed to make a political statement and mass demonstrations.

Use of lethal force 'was never contemplated'

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

5TH 1/10/92

On September 7 thousands of ANC supporters marched on Bisho, capital of the nominally independent Ciskei homeland. At the Bisho stadium just inside the Ciskei, the Ciskei Defence force opened fire, killing 29.



Dr Antonie Gildenhuys met march organisers.

This is a shortened version of how the Goldstone Commission described the sequence of events leading up to the shooting.

On August 31 the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance notified the relevant authorities of their intention to gather at the Victoria Sports Grounds in King William's Town in South Africa and from there to march to nearby Bisho.

The South African Government, the SAP and the NPS urged the Ciskei authorities to allow a peaceful march to Bisho on September 7. The authorities would not agree.

The ANC then applied to the King William's Town municipality for permission for the march, which was approved.

On the day of the march there were about 1 200 marshalls and

executives from 200 branches of the Alliance responsible for maintaining crowd control.

People were to be searched for weapons on entering the Victoria Sports Grounds.

However, the commission noted, that even if these precautions were carefully observed, it would not have been possible to search those who joined the march after it left the Victoria Sports Grounds.

On the evening of September 6, the Ciskei authorities brought an urgent application in the Ciskei Supreme Court for an order prohibiting the march.

The Chief Justice of the Ciskei granted an order declaring

that it would be unlawful to hold the march without the consent of the Chief Magistrate.

The Chief Magistrate granted permission in the early hours of September 7 on condition that marchers were to gather in the Bisho stadium between noon and 4 30 pm and were not allowed to be armed.

The counsel for the Alliance told the commission that the Alliance decided it would not comply with the Chief Magistrate's order as by that time it was already firmly committed to the march.

According to the Alliance's counsel, although it was appreciated that the Ciskei Security Forces might attempt to prevent the assembly taking place, it was never contemplated that they would use lethal force.

Some Alliance leaders went ahead of the march to reconnoitre "the situation at the border".

There they noticed the road had been blocked by rolls of razor wire to prevent the protestors from marching along the road to Bisho.

The march leaders met National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and the chairman of the National Peace Committee, John Hall, and other observers.

Mr Hall and Dr Gildenhuys informed the Alliance leaders — including Cyril Ramaphosa, Chris Hanu and Ronnie Kasrils — that the Ciskei authorities were determined that the protestors would not be allowed into any part of Ciskei other than the Bisho stadium.

"The Alliance leaders indicated they did not accept that the Ciskei Security Forces had any right to frustrate their plans."

Alliance organisers went into the Bisho stadium where they

noticed that a section of the outer fence of the stadium on the northern side had been flattened for a distance of about 10m.

The gap provided an unobstructed route out of the stadium.

According to the Alliance version, CDF members could be seen about 250 m away on the eastern side of the area in front of the gap in the fence.

On the western side there appeared to be no soldiers.

Counsel for the CDF suggested that those soldiers must also have been visible to the Alliance organisers. The Commission said, though, that the fact that Alliance protesters later ran through the fence in the direction of the soldiers suggested they were unaware of their presence.

At about 1 30 pm, the front of the march reached the razor wire barrier, about 20 m from the SA/Ciskei border.

The crowd was spread over a wide area on both sides of the border, and "those on the left under the active leadership and with the encouragement of Mr Kasrils, began running with him into the stadium grounds."



Cyril Ramaphosa leaders would consider options

"The NPS representatives were not informed of the intention to lead demonstrators out of the stadium grounds."

The group led by Mr Kasrils moved out of the stadium and ran to the left in the direction of Jonglilanga Crescent.

The soldiers towards whom they were running then stood up and opened fire.

"One sees from the video the moment firing began, every one of the demonstrators turned around in unison and ran back in the direction of the stadium."

The demonstrators were approximately 100 to 150 m from the soldiers. These soldiers fired 185 rounds of ammunition and four grenades.



John Hall acted as a go-between for peace

Almost at the same time the Ciskei soldiers in front of the Fort Hare campus — which is on the southern side of the stadium — and those who were at the national assembly, also opened fire, without orders.

The CDF alleged that three shots were fired at them from this part of the crowd.

"One of the soldiers in the Fort Hare campus was shot and fell."

The CDF also alleged that handgrenades were thrown at them. They then opened fire "for a prolonged period and quite indiscriminately."

"They shot people who, in compliance with the order of the Chief Magistrate, were in the stadium."

The Alliance said the demonstrators were peaceful and unarmed and posed no threat to the soldiers or buildings. But the CDF said the first shots fired were from the group of demonstrators running at them.

"The overall commander of the CDF received the message the soldiers were under fire."

He asked for confirmation and it was given to him. He then gave the order that the soldiers in the Jonglilanga Crescent area could open fire.

NEWS Ciskei defence force should conduct a full inquiry

We won't censure Kasrils, says ANC on Goldstone report

Sowetan 1/10/92
Own Correspondent and Sapa

■ **STRONG ACTION** Judge recommends

criminal charges against those responsible:

THE AFRICAN National Congress' National Executive Committee yesterday rejected the Goldstone Commission's recommendation that its official Mr Ronnie Kasrils should be publicly censured

"The NEC wishes to firmly state that, if there was any error of judgment, this was a collective decision of the leadership of the ANC and its allies for which we bear collective responsibility."

Kasrils had led marchers through a gap in the fence around the Bisho Stadium on September 7, a move which the Goldstone Commission found was the "immediate cause" of the Ciskeian soldiers opening fire and killing 29 people

Mr Justice Goldstone stressed in his report that his criticism of the march organisers could not in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers.

The ANC NEC resolved, however, that addi-

tional precaution would be taken in future marches to minimise the possibilities of any loss of life or injury

It said the Goldstone report on the Bisho massacre contained many positive observations and recommendations

Ciskei attorney-general Leon Langeveld said he had already begun investigations into possible criminal charges against Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers who killed 29 ANC demonstrators and injured more than 200

The report called on the Ciskei government to publicly acknowledge that the CDF had acted "reprehensibly and unacceptably"

Last night the Ciskei Council of State welcomed the Commission's call for the ANC to censure Kasrils and others and its recommenda-

tion that the alliance should abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence." It said it would comment on the commission's recommendations regarding the CDF after studying the report

The report was welcomed by the National Party, the Democratic Party, the National Peace Committee, the Transkei government and in part by Inkatha Freedom Party

NPC chairman John Hall said mass action should be suspended pending a meeting of all Peace Accord signatories to be held this month.

NP's Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said he hoped that all parties involved and referred to in the commission's report would act expeditiously to give effect to its recommendations

● **Commission castigates Ciskei - page 19.**

Goldstone's eight recommendations

B/DAY 1/10/92

THE Goldstone commission of inquiry into the Bisho shooting made the following eight recommendations in its report:

Recommendation One: Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly.

Recommendation Two: The leaders of all organisations which use forms of mass public demonstrations should do so only as a peaceful means to popularise political policies and propagate political changes.

They should immediately and publicly abandon any political action which is calculated to result in conflict and violence.

Recommendation Three: In order to avoid physical conflict and violence, mass demonstrations should not be used as a means of causing serious and non-temporary distur-

bance, or as a means of direct political intimidation.

Recommendation Four: The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith publicly declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control.

Recommendation Five: The leadership of the ANC alliance should publicly censure Ronnie Kasrils and other persons who were responsible for the decision to lead demonstrators through the gap in the fence and thereby knowingly or negligently expose them to the danger of death and injury.

Recommendation Six: The officers commanding the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) should immediately conduct a full inquiry into the training and discipline of their members with the intention of taking such

steps as may be necessary to ensure that a recurrence of the undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct of which they were guilty on September 7 cannot recur. The results of such inquiry and the steps taken pursuant thereto should be made public.

Recommendation Seven: The Ciskei attorney-general should investigate criminal charges against any person responsible for death or injury of any person shot in or in the vicinity of the Bisho stadium on September 7.

Recommendation Eight: The Ciskei Council of State should publicly acknowledge that members of the CDF acted reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner and causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing from them.

LETTERS

ire' Kasrils deserves censure? ● Soldiers 'acted deliberately'

Both parties lashed

STAR 11/10/92

105

Bisho: both

Political Staff

The Goldstone Commission's hard-hitting report lashing both the Ciskei government and the ANC for the September 7 Bisho massacre had an immediate impact on SA politics yesterday.

The Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) both considered the report at their weekly meetings. And Ciskei Attorney-General Leon Langeveld said he had already begun investigations into possible criminal charges against Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers who killed 28 ANC demonstrators and injured more than 200.

This was one of the key recommendations of Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who condemned the shoot "morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure".

He also called on the ANC to "publicly censure" Ronnie Kasrils and other ANC-

SACP-Cosatu alliance organisers of the march for the decision to lead demonstrators out of the Bisho stadium and "knowingly or negligently expose them to the danger of death and injury".

The ANC NEC was believed to be considering this recommendation yesterday, as well as pointed advice to

More reports — Pages 11 and 12

immediately abandon political action calculated to result in conflict and violence, and not to pursue mass action as a means of causing serious and non-temporary disturbance or as a means of political intimidation".

The NEC was in any case fulfilling ANC leader Nelson Mandela's weekend undertaking to review its current mass action campaign, which includes demonstrations aimed at hostile homelands such as KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

Some observers believed the timely publication of the Goldstone report could help

to influence the NEC to temper mass action.

Mr Justice Goldstone stressed in his report that his criticism of the march organisers could not in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers.

Any mitigating factors were "completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers".

The report called on the Ciskei government to publicly acknowledge that the CDF had acted "reprehensibly and unacceptably" and recommended that the leaders of the TBVC states and other homelands should publicly declare their willingness to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated mass demonstrations.

Last night the Ciskei Council of State welcomed the commission's call for the ANC to censure Mr Kasrils and others, and its recommendation that the alliance abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict.

"Serious consideration is

● To Page 3

Bisho massacre: both parties lashed

● From Page 1

being given to the other recommendations of the commission."

A press conference would be held today.

The report was welcomed by the National Party, the Democratic Party, the National Peace Committee (NPC), the Transkei government and, in part, by Inkatha.

NPC chairman John Hall said mass action should be suspended pending a meeting of all National Peace Accord signatories to be held this month.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe expressed the hope that in its re-examination of mass action, the ANC would take note of the commission's views.

He said the ANC, whose credibility was "on the line", had a strong responsibility to restore confidence in its integrity by speedily implementing the commission's findings.

The NP, he said, had also urged Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government to urgently give effect to those recommendations

referring to it.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr Justice Goldstone's report was one of the issues on the agenda of the NEC meeting in Johannesburg yesterday.

The ANC, he said, received the report yesterday morning and was still studying it.

The Conservative Party yesterday held the Government responsible for the Bisho massacre, saying it had an obligation not to allow South African territory to be used as a springboard for attacks on Ciskei.

STAR 11/10/92

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Goldstone recommendation spurned: Kasrils will not be censured

THE ANC yesterday rejected a Goldstone commission recommendation that SACPF militant Ronnie Kasrils be censured for "knowingly or negligently" leading Bisho marchers into a hail of gunfire.

"The national executive committee wishes to firmly state that, if there was any error of judgment, this was a collective decision of the leadership of the ANC and its allies for which we bear collective responsibility," an ANC statement said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation had not ruled out censuring the leadership behind Kasrils' action, but ad-

ed this would happen in private if such a decision were reached. "The fact that there were people killed means we would have to evaluate the process," she said.

The Ciskei's Council of State said it welcomed the recommendation that Kasrils be castigated, but said it was too soon to comment on sections of the report that criticised the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

The report said the CDF acted "reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner... causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing from them."

RAY HARTLEY

"Whatever criticism may be levelled at the organisation of the demonstration and whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify or excuse the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers," the report said.

Government and Ciskei were expected to respond in full to the report by today.

The report called on FEVC leaders to publicly declare themselves "willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and ne-

gotiated public mass demonstrations".

Inkatha and Bophuthatswana spokesmen said the report supported their contention that ANC marches aimed at toppling homeland governments should not be allowed to go ahead. Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said: "We agree that people have a right to march, but when and where is another matter."

The Goldstone report called on the Ciskei attorney-general to investigate criminal charges against "any person responsible for death or injury of any person shot in or in the vicinity of the Bisho stadium".

It also called on CDF officers to review training procedures to ensure there was no recurrence of the "undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct".

The report also called on leaders to "immediately and publicly abandon any political action calculated to result in conflict and violence".

National peace committee chairman John Hall welcomed the findings, saying the report proved there were "no heroes" at the Bisho protest. The report was also welcomed by the DP and the NP.

● See Page 6



Flashback . . . ANC marchers flee as Ciskeian soldiers open fire. The commission says the troops deliberately tried to cause as many deaths and injuries as possible.

Prolonged firing indefensible

Ciskei troops had deliberately tried to cause as many deaths and injuries as possible at Bisho, the commission concluded, and their conduct could only be condemned in the strongest terms:

"Anyone who has watched the videos of the shooting will have experienced a feeling of disbelief that shooting could have continued for what appeared to be an interminable time.

"Indeed it appears clearly that soldiers in the vicinity of Jongilanga Crescent continued to fire at the fleeing crowd virtually until the last of them disappeared from sight.

"Even if there had been isolated firing from the demonstrators, the reaction of the Ciskei soldiers was completely disproportionate.

"Not one Ciskei soldier in that area was injured and the

high probability is that the only soldier who was injured in the Fort Hare vicinity was shot by one of his fellow soldiers.

"Even if the Ciskei commander and members believed they were under some kind of attack, even if they believed that the crowd was intent upon overrunning them and going to Bisho, even if they believed that one of their members had been shot by a demonstrator, their indiscriminate and prolonged shooting at innocent demonstrators was morally and legally indefensible and is deserving of the strongest censure."

If one added to this the firing of four grenades, "one can only conclude that the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers was deliberately aimed at causing as many deaths and injuries as possible".

"It is hardly surprising that counsel for the Ciskei Defence Force did not attempt to justify the number of rounds fired."

The commission found that Ciskei Police were deployed south-east of the stadium, not far from where the main King William's Town road was barricaded. They were equipped with teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot.

"Presumably they were there in the event of the barricade proving ineffective in preventing the march to Bisho."

Members of the Ciskei Army are not equipped with non-lethal weapons — only guns with live ammunition.

By running through the gap in the fence, the demonstrators outflanked or by-passed the police and ran directly at the soldiers.

'Unlikely marchers were led into trap'

The commission found it difficult to accept that the Ciskei forces had deliberately left a gap in the stadium fence in order to lead the ANC marchers into a fatal trap.

However, it said that for the CDF commanders to have been unaware of the gap was "highly negligent and unprofessional".

It was difficult to believe that an inspection of the Bisho stadium had not been carried out. Razor-wire barricades were erected on the western side of the stadium.

"To have left the gap in the

STAN 1/10/92
fence in the northern side is attributable only to gross negligence or design.'

However, it was difficult to accept that the gap was left as a deliberate trap.

For a trap to have been designed before the early hours of September 7, Ciskei authorities would have had to take into account the ANC's counter application to the Bisho Supreme Court, the order by the Chief Magistrate and his decision to allow the marchers to enter the stadium, the reconnoitre of the stadium by the alliance leaders and their use

of the gap to run out of the stadium. (105)

It was also improbable that the plan had been designed after the magistrate had given his order — although it could not be discounted.

No finding against the Ciskei authorities on this issue could be made. The commission agreed with counsel for the Alliance that if the instructions to the Ciskei forces were to prevent any demonstrators from leaving the stadium, there should have been a visible and strong show of force there.

Bisho report is fair, ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾says SACC

CT 2/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The Goldstone Commission report into the Bisho massacre is fair, the South African Council of Churches said in a statement last night.

"Arising from our experience through visits to Bisho and from our conversations with local residents it would seem that the Goldstone Commission's report on the September 7 shooting is a fair judgment."

The report said the Ciskei Defence Force's actions had been

indefensible, while the action of ANC/SA Communist Party leader Mr Ronnie Kasrils and others, in leading the charge through the Bisho Stadium fence, had been "the immediate cause of what followed".

● The "devastatingly frank" report had strengthened the mood of optimism in South Africa and Mr Justice Goldstone's verdict would stick, The Times of London said yesterday.

British newspapers gave prominent coverage to the report. The Times said in an editorial that "at the very least" the ANC alliance leadership should censure Mr Kasrils and other SACP leaders for their role.

It was also a matter of urgency that the attorney-general of Ciskei begin proceedings against "anyone responsible for the carnage", including Brigadier Marius Oelschig, the Ciskei Defence Force chief

Army 'obliged to open fire'

105
CT2/10/92

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — The Ciskei government has refused to accept the Goldstone Commission's finding that its troops acted "unacceptably and reprehensibly" in the Bisho shootings and has said they were "obliged" to open fire.

However, murder docket had been opened and were being placed under the instruction of the attorney-general's office.

Ciskei's deputy attorney-general Mr Leon Langeveld said the matter would be thoroughly investigated.

The Ciskei government said yesterday that, in line with Mr Justice Goldstone's recommendations, the discipline of the Ciskei Defence Force soldiers who had been in the firing line would be investigated by CDF chief Brigadier Marius Oelschig.

The government said it did not deem it necessary to scrutinise Brigadier Oelschig's conduct during the shootings.

Ciskei opens murder docket

At a press conference in Bisho yesterday, the government would only say. "Members of the CDF were placed in a position where they, under the circumstances, were obliged to open fire."

In a statement read by Justice Minister Mr Don Brunette, the government said Mr Justice Goldstone had emphasised that the CDF's action had been the "immediate result of the irresponsible actions of Mr Kasrils and his followers".

In his report, Mr Justice Goldstone said the conduct of the CDF, which "overshadowed" the actions of the marchers, had been "morally and legally indefensible" and "deserving of the strongest censure".

Mr Brunette could not say when the investigation would be completed or if its findings would be made public.

The Ciskei government reaffirmed its commitment to the Peace Accord and to various freedoms, including "reasonable and negotiated public mass action".

Mr Brunette said the Ciskei government had to give priority to its own laws.

He added that it was extremely difficult for the "authorities to protect life and property and to trust the alliance to abide by peaceful actions" while its followers created a climate of "intimidation, violence and crime".

The government noted the commission's comment that the problems of maintaining law and order, once the marchers reached Bisho, had not been accounted for in the alliance's submission.

Meanwhile, the Border Council of Churches yesterday welcomed the report of the Goldstone Commission, describing it as "comprehensive and honest".

'Like lambs to the slaughter' judge

CT2/10/92

105

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — A "large amount" of the blame for the Bisho massacre should be laid at the ANC's door, Ciskei's Chief Justice, Mr Justice Pickard, said in his report released yesterday.

He said it was extremely likely that a large portion of the crowd "may have been led to the situation like lambs to the slaughter by their leaders".

The attitude of the alliance's leadership seemed to have been that they were pre-

pared to "sacrifice a number of their supporters for the cause".

In the report Mr Justice Pickard said he did not intend coming to a final conclusion without comprehensive evidence, proper cross-examination and representations from all parties.

The ANC had not responded to an invitation to submit information.

Soldiers on the northern side of the Bisho stadium, to whom marchers led by the ANC's Mr Ronnie Kasrils were running, could have been "justified in firing

from that position".

But shooting from the southern and eastern sides of the stadium should never have occurred. "Matters got out of hand and the soldiers over-reacted considerably," he said.

Mr Justice Pickard also criticised the Ciskei government for making decisions on the march at the last minute. Had the security forces been given more time they might have been better deployed and equipped to "deal with the matter with minimum violence".

Ciskei, like other homelands, is a recipe for ecological disaster

Bisho put homelands' plight into focus

Spurden

2/10/92

105

THE bloodbath at Bisho has brought the problem of homelands into the public eye. Perhaps it has done so in a way that no political campaign could have.

What happened in Ciskei is an illustration of the problems in the homelands. Of all the independent homelands, Ciskei is the worst.

In the book *Restoring the Land*, produced by Panos, the homeland is described as an artificial construction.

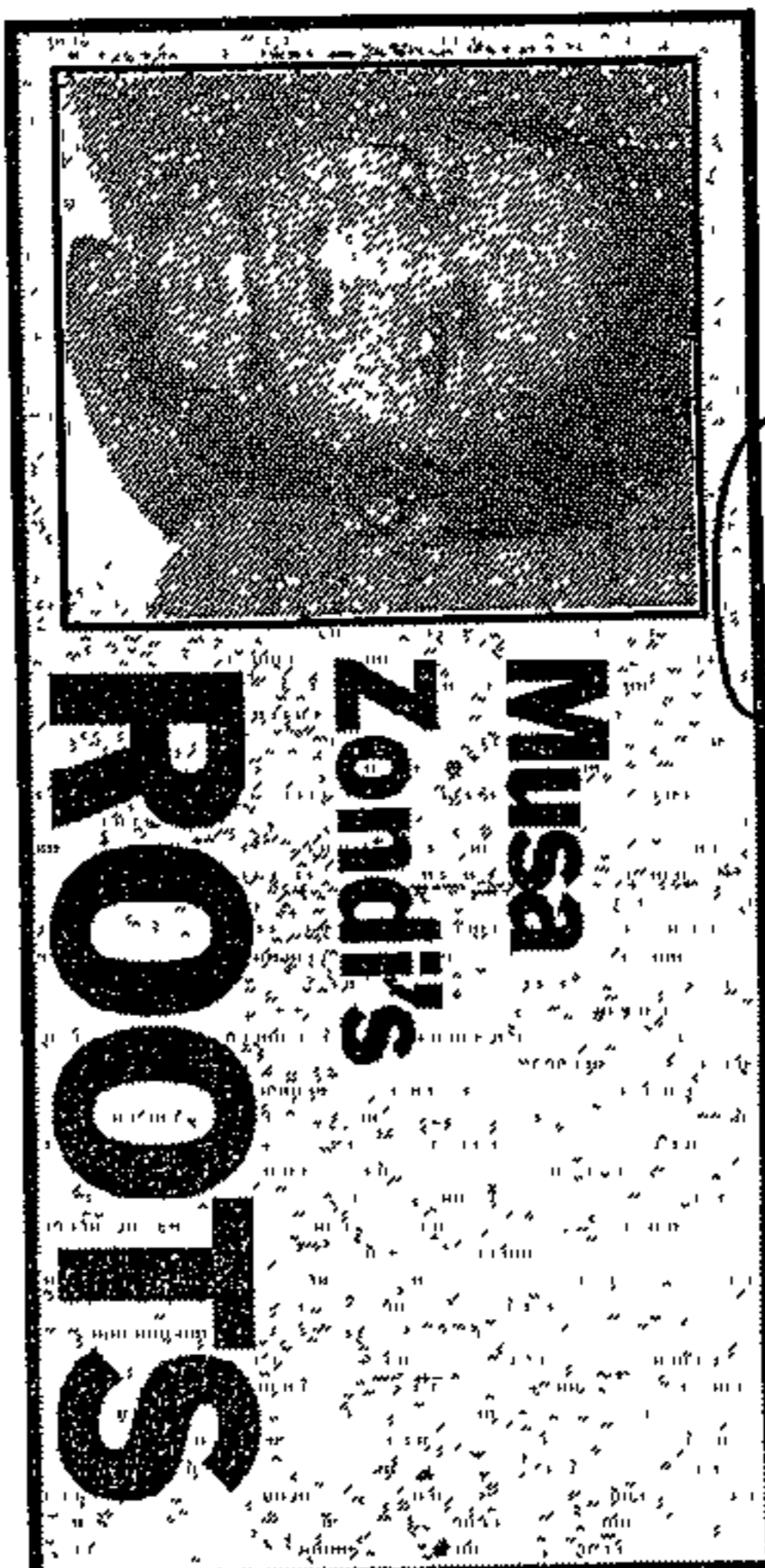
"Before consolidation it consisted of 17 fragments."

What the Ciskeian government has been trying to do since the time of deposed leader Lennox Sebe, is to establish a national identity.

It also depends heavily on aid from South Africa. In 1980, for instance, 77 percent of Ciskei's budget came from Pretoria - and this has not changed much.

While the population more than doubled between 1950 to 1980 to 600 000, the land has been reduced by 45 percent.

When Glen Grey and Herschel were incorporated into Transkei, most of the



people who make up what is now Ciskei were those forcibly removed from areas like Duncan Village, outside East London. From Duncan Village 80 000 people were moved into Ciskei over a period of 20 years.

Other people were forcibly removed from farms and small towns. They were settled in areas like the Hewu district, which was not suitable for dense settlements.

"Clearly, resettling tens of thousands of people on this fragile environment was a recipe for ecological disaster: the area

has turned into a dust bowl. In the 'homelands' being able to exercise some kind of agricultural activity is literally a matter of life or death.

"There are hardly job opportunities, while pensions and remittances of family members working as migrants elsewhere are meagre and uncertain. But there is simply not enough land to go around."

The need for fuel is also another great environmental problem. The natural cycle has been broken. As trees are felled to make firewood, it becomes

impossible for the vegetation cover to regenerate quickly enough.

As vegetation disappears, erosion takes its toll. In 1980 the government commission found that 47 percent of Ciskei's surface was eroded.

"The Hewu district is particularly vulnerable to erosion because of the nature of its soil and the sparse rainfall patterns."

This process of erosion and loss of plant life leads to another problem: disappearing springs.

"Springs tend to dry up as the soil's ability to absorb water is lessened. When the rain falls it no longer soaks gradually into the soil but runs off taking precious top soil with it."

The resettlements have been an ecological disaster. The whole idea of Ciskei as a homeland has failed. But, as the study points out, there needs to be research into how the damage can be repaired. Cheap alternatives will have to be found.

**Restoring the Land* is produced by Panos with contributions from writers like Dr Mamphela Ramphele.

Judge blames ANCO

But report admits 'trigger-happy, illiterate' troops at Bisho

(DS) 10/2/92

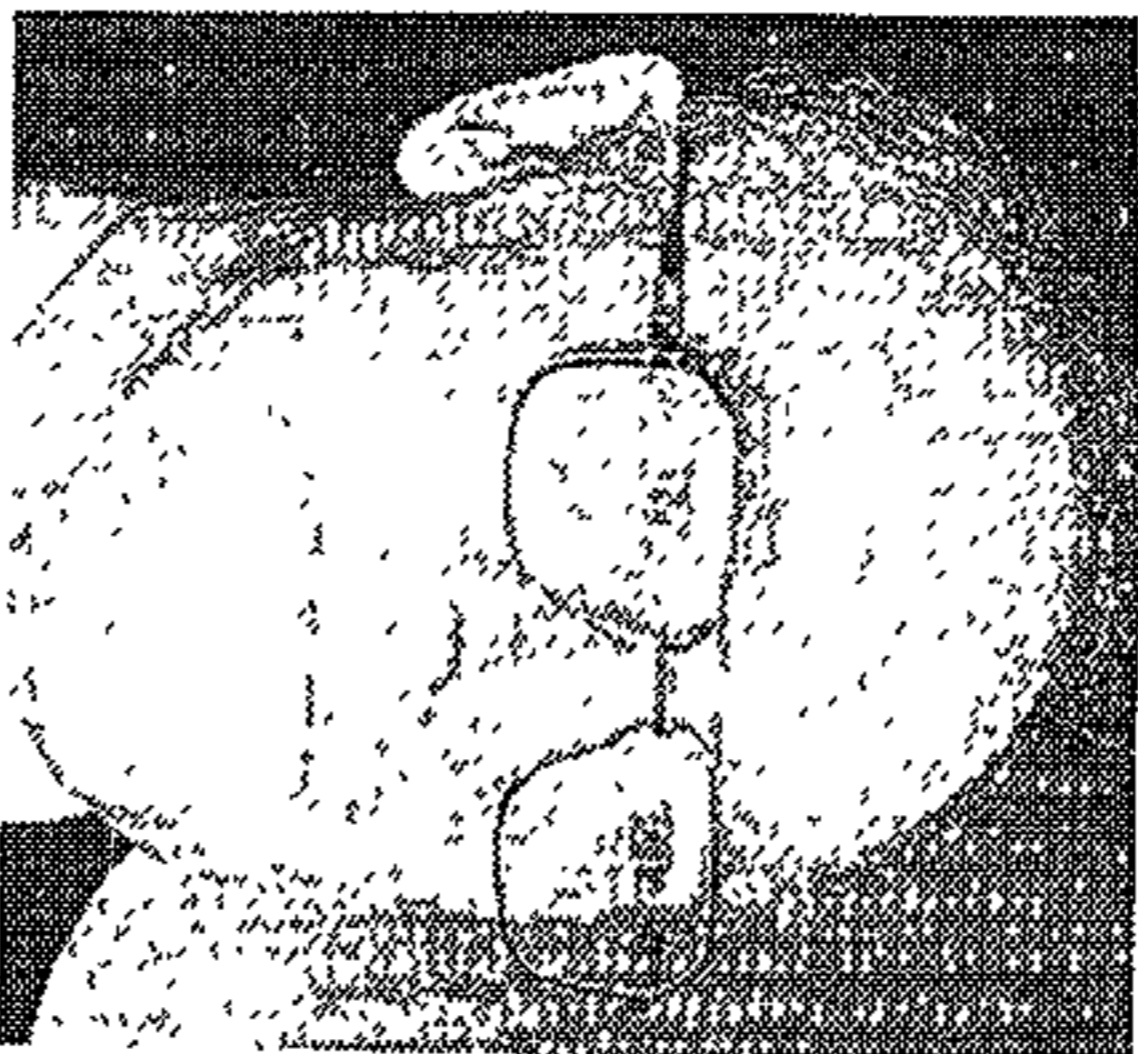
JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Justice B de V Pickard continued his investigation into the Bisho massacre knowing Mr Justice Goldstone was investigating the same incident — but he said it seemed an "unhappy situation" for two commissions to be investigating the massacre.

Mr Justice Pickard, the Ciskei's Chief Justice, said in his report, issued yesterday, that he did not have the right to cede his statutory duty to conduct the investigation.

But he announced on September 12 that he would hand all information gathered to Mr Justice Goldstone.

In his report on Thursday, Mr Justice Pickard said: "In my view I would have no right to cede my statutory duty to render a report to any other body or person."

He had decided to provide information to Mr Justice Goldstone because "it seemed an unhappy situation to me



Mr Justice Pickard

that two independent commissions should gather information and independently come to conclusions . . ."

He feared the two commissions could make different findings "not because they held different views in regard to the rights and wrongs, but because of different, and possibly contradictory, information."

Mr Justice Pickard said he had "proceeded in terms of my

mandate, but have made every effort to provide the Goldstone Commission with as much in-

But Mr Pickard's report did indicate that a large portion of the blame for the massacre should be laid at the door of the ANC.

It was likely the leaders led marchers to the guns of Ciskei Defence Force members "like lambs to the slaughter", the 38-page report said.

"I cannot but gain the impression that, everything considered, it can be regarded as fortunate that so few were killed, given the number of shots fired, from where they were fired and the situation of the crowd."

Some Ciskei soldiers might have been justified in firing, Mr Justice Pickard said.

A Ciskei chief magistrate had only hours earlier granted permission for marchers to enter the homeland on condition they confined themselves to the Bisho Stadium between 12 noon



Mr Justice Goldstone

and 4.30 pm and they did not carry dangerous weapons.

Homeland troops opened fire without warning on thousands of ANC supporters when a group led by senior official Mr Ronnie Kasrils ran through an opening in a fence around the Bisho Stadium towards the Ciskei capital.

The homeland's chief justice said in his report it was not his intention at this stage — with-

out comprehensive evidence and proper cross-examination of witnesses — to reach a conclusion.

He said the report could, in a sense, be seen as interim.

Mr Justice Pickard said Ciskei soldiers in the path of those led by Mr Kasrils "may, against the background of the whole situation, well have been justified in firing some shots."

"But the conclusion is incapable that the shooting on the southern and eastern sides of the stadium (furthest away from demonstrators) should never have happened and the soldiers over-reacted."

"They became trigger happy," said the judge.

"A large number of these soldiers have something like a Standard 3 certificate and numerous are illiterate."

"Under those circumstances it seems likely that, in the excitement of the moment . . . they got out of hand and fired at random," said Mr Justice Pickard. — Sapa.

Men shoot at Ciskei soldiers

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers and policemen were fired on by unidentified men outside the Vulindlela police station in Mdantsane, near here, on Wednesday night.

No one was injured.

The head of the CDF, Brigadier Marius Oeschlig, said 50 AK-47 spent cartridges, eight Makarov spent cartridges and four firing levers of M26 hand grenades had been found on the scene.

The exchange of fire began at 9 25pm and lasted some minutes. — Sapa

(105) CT 2/10/92

Ciskei govt rejects Goldstone finding

B/DAY 2/10/92

THE Ciskei government yesterday rejected the Goldstone commission's finding that its troops had opened fire without justification, thus leading to the Bisho massacre — and appointed its own investigation into their conduct.

Ciskei military commander Brig Marius Oelshig would head the investigation, the Ciskei government said yesterday.

Meanwhile, Ciskei Chief Justice B Pickard released his findings on the massacre last night, apportioning most of the blame for the killings to the ANC — a different emphasis to the Goldstone report which laid greater responsibility for the massacre on the Ciskei Defence Force.

Pickard said soldiers who fired on a breakaway group led by the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils may have been "justified in firing from that position", but those who fired on the rest of the marchers "overreacted considerably".

The Ciskei government stopped short of totally rejecting the Goldstone report, saying murder charges against the soldiers had been opened under the instruction of the attorney-general's office.

But the statement, which was read by Ciskei Justice Minister Don Brunette, said it was not necessary to investigate Oelshig's conduct during the massacre.

He said soldiers had been obliged to open fire because of "the irresponsible actions

~~105~~ (105)
RAY HARTLEY

of Mr (Ronnie) Kasrils and his followers".

Pickard said he would hear out those who disagreed with his report, which was not a final finding. He said the soldiers who fired the second volley had probably "got out of hand and fired at random at the crowd."

"One matter is clear, and that is that the CDF does not consist of the most sophisticated soldiers one can imagine. I am informed that a large number of them have something like a standard three certificate," Pickard said.

He concurred with Judge Richard Goldstone that it was unlikely a shot was fired at the soldiers by the marchers, and supported the contention that the Ciskei soldier who was shot had been killed by his own fellow soldiers.

"To suggest that the march was an armed invasion is not justified. It seems rather a pity . . . the march from the Victoria grounds to the Ciskei border was ever permitted by the relevant SA authorities.

"A large portion of the crowd at least may have been led into the situation like lambs to the slaughter by their leaders who had a far better opportunity of assessing the risks than the average supporter."

Meanwhile, the SA government said yes-

□ To Page 2

Ciskei B/DAY 2/10/92

terday it was studying the Goldstone report "with a view to establishing the steps which should now be taken".

A government statement heaped praise on the Goldstone commission for the speed with which the investigation was conducted and "the important role which the commission can play in providing an objective evaluation of the causes of violence".

"It is hoped the report will be thoroughly studied and will receive the serious consideration which it deserves from all the parties involved," the statement said.

The Bophuthatswana government yesterday said it rejected assumptions it did not allow free political activity as "mis-

~~105~~ (105) □ From Page 1
chievous or misinformed"

The Goldstone report has recommended that "those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly".

The Bophuthatswana statement said "it is an unfortunate fact that mass action in our part of the world is the guise behind which certain organisations attempt to undermine legally and democratically constituted authority".

- The SA Council of Churches said yesterday it regarded Judge Goldstone's findings as fair

W/mgul 2/10-8/10/92 (105)

Ciskei opens murder dockets in about-turn on massacre

CISKEI police have opened murder and attempted murder dockets on the killing of 29 protest marchers by Ciskei Defence Force soldiers, says a senior Ciskei justice official.

In the wake of the Goldstone Commission's scathing report on the massacre at the Bisho Stadium on September 7, which indicted the CDF for indiscriminate use of lethal force against the African National Congress marchers, Ciskei deputy attorney general Leon Langeveld yesterday promised a comprehensive investigation.

He said his office was treating the investigation as a priority case and that the police would attempt to interview a broad range of witnesses, including some of the marchers and their leaders.

The Ciskei government's immediate response after the massacre was to state that the soldiers had fired in self-defence, after being attacked by armed demonstrators. However, the commission's preliminary report found that the only CDF soldier to have been killed was "in all probability" the victim of friendly fire.

The commission's 36-page report, handed to President FW de Klerk on Tuesday, lambasted the Ciskei troops for firing indiscriminately for a prolonged time on the unarmed crowd and recom-

mended that Ciskei's attorney general investigate charges against "any person responsible for death or injury".

It found that the actions of Ronnie Kasrils and others who led the marchers through a gap in the stadium fence towards Bisho in violation of a court order were the immediate cause of the shooting. It recommended that the ANC publicly censure Kasrils and others who had led the marchers into the danger of death and injury. The ANC has refused to do this, arguing that Kasrils was acting on a collective decision of the organisation's leadership.

The report stressed that the criticisms which could be made against the organisation of the demonstration and the decision to lead the protesters through the fence could not in any way be used to justify or excuse the conduct of the CDF soldiers.

"That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers," the report said.

At the time of going to press, the Ciskei Council of State was holding a media conference on the Goldstone Commission's findings. — Eena and Sapa

Who was really to blame for Bisho?

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

STAN 3/10/72

THESE are two roads you can take if you're going up to Bisho.

One starts in leafy King William's Town and climbs steeply up an increasingly bare hill, past a big sign that says "Red Alert" — the name of a security firm.

It flattens just as the Bisho stadium comes into view.

That was the route the marchers took on September 7, not knowing that 28 of them would never return.

The other road, just as steep, starts on the fringe of Zwelitsha township.

It winds past the barracks of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF), then past the fences and security lights that mark the compound of large houses where government Ministers live.

It curls round the building where Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's Council of State sits.

This is the route CDF soldiers take on their daily trips down to Zwelitsha, driving to the edge of the township in trucks, then moving in on foot.

Two routes lead to the heart of Ciskei — they run close together at one point, near the stadium, but never cross.

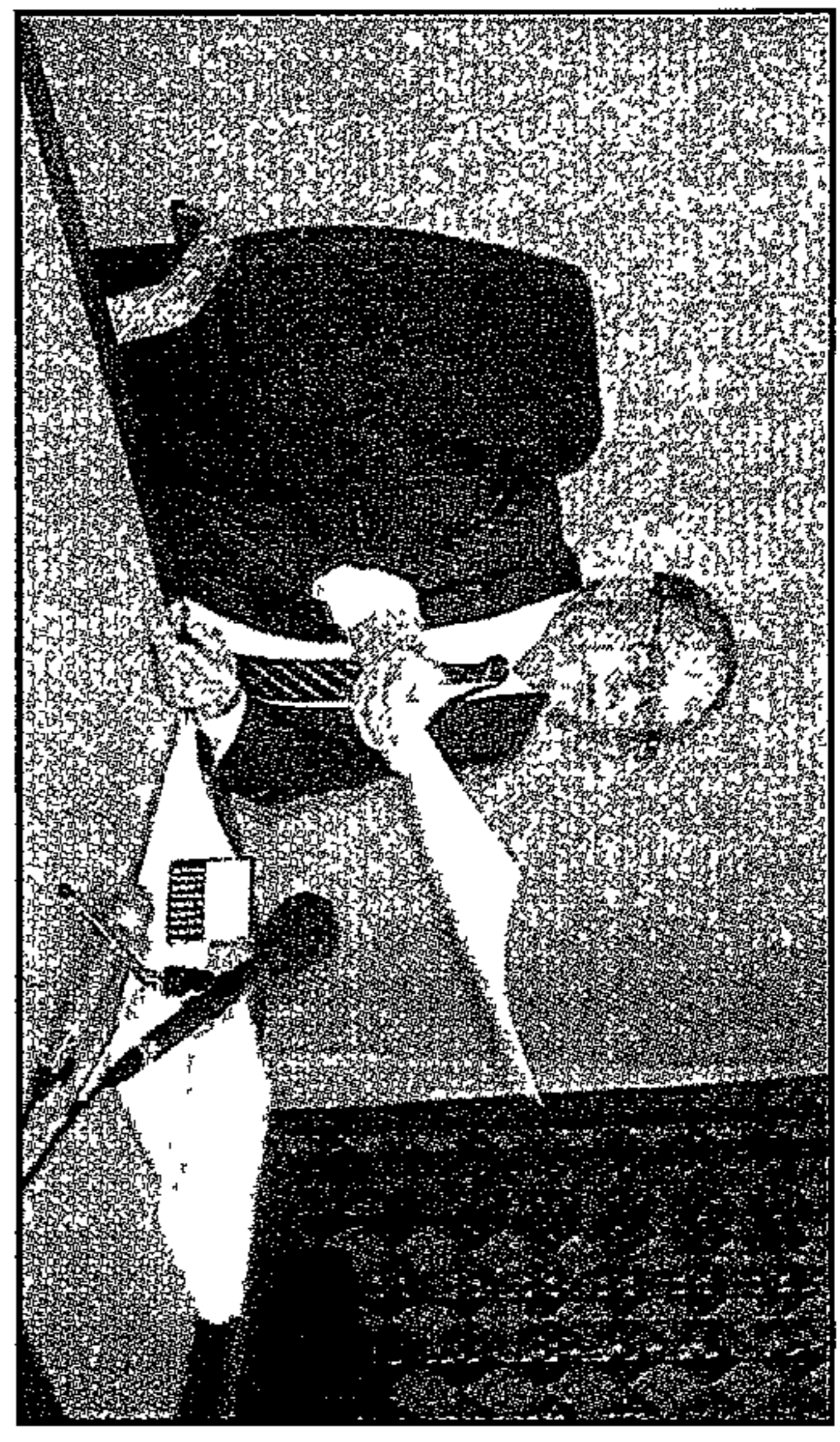
So too did the responses this week to the findings of two commissions of inquiry into the Bisho massacre.

Indefensible

One side held up as vindication the report of the Goldstone Commission, which found the shootings were "morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure."

Their opponents offered as a reply the Pickard Commission report, which said "a large amount of the blame for what occurred on this fateful day should be laid at the door of the leadership of the ANC."

The Ciskei government did not respond immediately.



IN THE HOT SEAT: Ciskei Justice Minister Don Brunette, delivering a riposte to the Goldstone Commission's report, lashed out at the ANC.

TWO judges investigating the Bisho massacre have come to somewhat disparate conclusions: while Mr Justice Richard Goldstone says the shootings were morally and legally indefensible, Ciskei Chief Justice Mr Justice B de V Pickard says the ANC's leadership must take the blame for them.

shooting the nature and aim of the march, and in particular the irresponsible actions of Mr Kasrils

Brunette lashed the ANC and its partners for paying "only lip-service to the National Peace Accord".

He said the conduct of the CDF would be investigated — by the commanding officer of the CDF, Brigadier Marius Oelschig, whose own conduct would not come under scrutiny.

"Neither commission has reached the finding that the order to open fire was illegal," said Brunette, adding that there had been no unfavourable finding against the CDF commander.

He could not say if Oelschig's findings would be made public, as the Goldstone Commission recommended.

In response to another Goldstone recommendation — that the Ciskei Council of State should acknowledge that the CDF "acted reprehensibly and unacceptably" — Brunette offered the Council of State's reply.

"The Ciskei government," he said, "publicly acknowledges that members of the CDF were



ANGRY: Lena Ndzhilane, mother of a Bisho shooting victim.

In the streets of Bisho, though, and down the hill in Zwelitsha, there is no such vagueness about right and wrong.

The intensity of feeling and the continuing skirmishes that have claimed as many lives as the massacre itself suggest the solutions put forward by both commissions will not take root easily.

ANC Youth League Border region president Themba Kinana says the CDF soldiers walk easily in Bisho, some with automatic weapons in hand. However, most of them

have been driven out of Zwelitsha.

Charred houses stand abandoned, some with up to seven rooms and carefully tended gardens just coming into bloom.

A government statement issued at the same time as Pickard's document tersely notes "Rafman Garyaza of the CDF was hacked to death by a mob in Zwelitsha on the night of September 30."

The soldiers don't want to talk about September 7. But one off-duty rifleman, grateful for a lift down the hill, is happy to chat. "I live in Zwelitsha because my girlfriend is here," he says.

"I am no coward. The government has given me a rifle to take home, and I will use it."

The soldier says the men in the Bisho barracks heard on the radio Goldstone's recommendation that criminal charges should be investigated. "They are very angry about this," he says. "They won't take the blame."

Is he worried? "No, I was on leave that day." Lena Ndzhilane also heard of Goldstone's findings on the radio. Her son

Harold (27), the family's sole breadwinner, was killed at Bisho.

"I was happy with what I heard," she says. "Since those soldiers killed the marchers, the sentence they should get is to be hanged."

Some people aren't waiting for that.

The Vulundlela police station came under heavy fire on Wednesday, and yesterday a car belonging to Colonel Horst Schoebesburger of the CDF was blown up in Bisho.

Kinana and others claim the CDF has been attacking people in Zwelitsha and elsewhere since the Bisho shootings.

John Skite, a taxi owner in nearby Dimbaza, says an anonymous caller accused him of ferrying people around to bomb policemen's houses.

Afterwards, his house was attacked with grenades and peppered with bullets.

"I believe it was the soldiers who did this, because they have been here shooting every night," he says.

However, he says Dimbaza was quiet on the night Goldstone's findings were announced.

"It will help if the government decides to do something about it," Skite says.

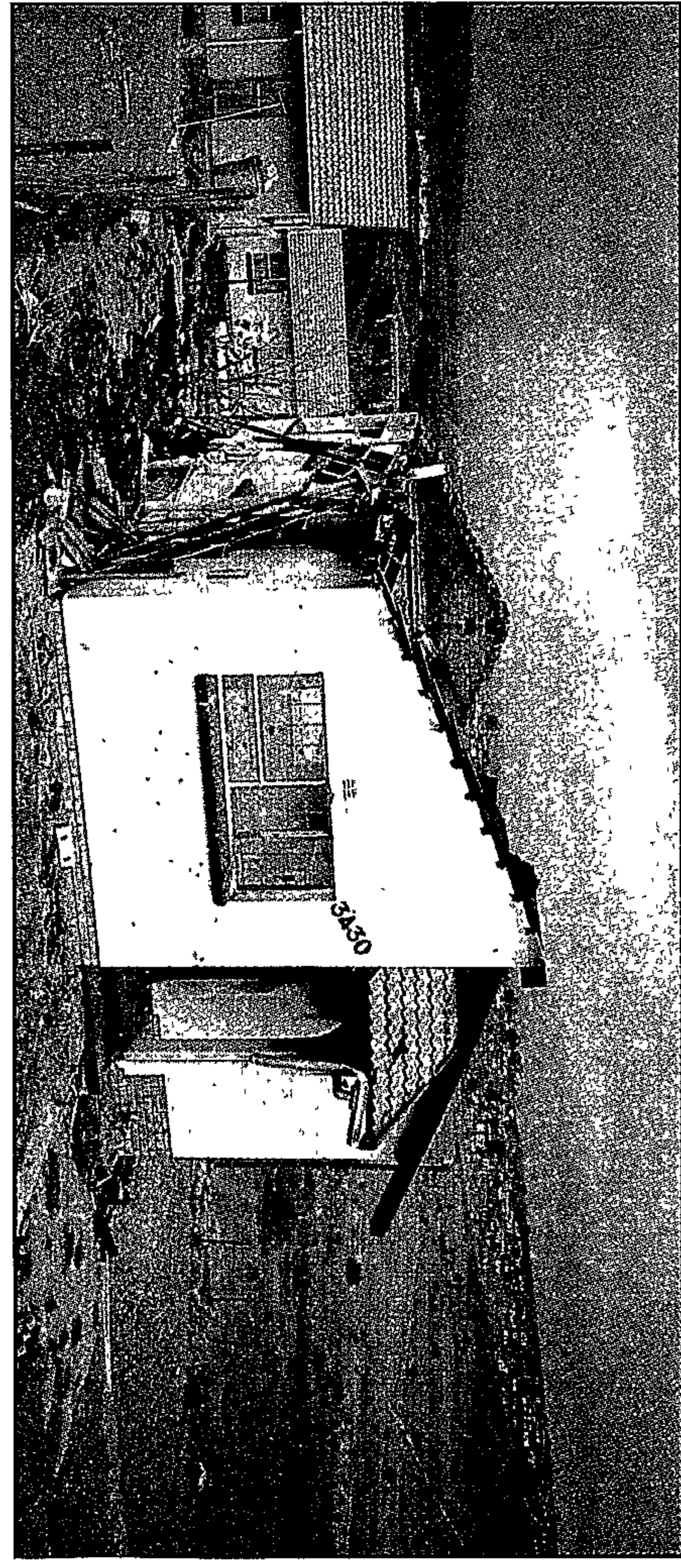
One step has been taken: Ciskei's attorney-general has opened several murder dockets.

Decree

But with Oelschig already cleared by the Ciskei government, it seems unlikely that senior officers will be put in the dock.

A few months ago — just in time for the inquest into the death of Major Charles Sebe — Gqozo passed a decree which would not allow anyone to subpoena him for any court proceedings.

That hardly matters to his foes down in Zwelitsha. Without the help of any commission, the brigadier has already been tried, convicted and sentenced.



GUTTED: The home of a Ciskei Defence Force soldier in Zwelitsha, evidence of the growing bitterness in the area.

tely to Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's findings, save to commend the judge for calling on the ANC to censure Ronnie Kasrils, who led a breakaway group out of the Bisho stadium.

But about 24 hours later it was ready. "Since Gqozo 'had other commitments', the presentation of the Ciskei government's riposte was delivered by recently appointed Minister of Justice Don Brunette.

Brunette introduced himself with a little joke — "I used to be a blond" — then got very serious.

His opening remarks, read from a prepared statement, kicked off with an interpretation of Goldstone's findings that the commissioners themselves might have had trouble recognising. "The (Goldstone) commission clearly identifies as the immediate cause of the

placed in a position where they, under the circumstances, were obliged to open fire."

Not quite what Goldstone had in mind.

Three other council members sat in mute attendance. They included Defence Minister Colonel S S Pita.

He spoke just once. That was when Brunette, in response to a question about political freedom, said: "The law of Transkei allows for free political expression."

"Ciskei," Pita murmured.

Brunette was almost as vague on the Ciskeian soldier who was killed at Bisho. Both Judge Goldstone and Ciskei Chief Justice Mr Justice B de V Pickard had little doubt that the man was shot by his own side.

"The probability is that he may have been shot by his own men," said Brunette.

AWB patrols: Holomisa 'will retaliate'

MICHAEL MORRIS (105)
Political Correspondent

TRANSKEI's military leader, General Bantu Holomisa, has threatened immediate retaliation if armed AWB members patrolling rural districts bordering the homeland State harm any Transkeians.

He also said the South African government's "inaction to stop the AWB casts a shadow of doubt on its integrity and commitment to change".

ARCF 3/10/92
General Holomisa was reacting to the deployment of several thousand armed AWB members in the districts of Maclear, Ugie, Elliot and Indwe after requests for protection from local farmers.

This follows several attacks on farmers in the area

General Holomisa said that if the liberation movements had deployed forces in a similar way, "there is no doubt that the SADF would have been deployed to mow them down".

He warned: "Should one Transkeian national fall prey to the actions of the armed AWB members, either inside South African territory or on the Transkei side, Transkei will not ask permission from South Africa to retaliate with all the means at its disposal.

"This is bound to jeopardise the recent undertaking between (South African) Ministers, the SAP Commissioner and us relating to the combating of crime-related cases on our border."

Car bomb

sued the order, and said it would have been "unsoldierly" for him to have come forward earlier to clear his name.

The name of the soldier responsible for issuing the order had been submitted to the Goldstone Commission.

Based on an interview with one source the weekly newspaper had singled him out as being responsible for issuing the order which led to the Bisho massacre.

"I did not give the order... I was only involved in the preparation and planning. That is why I vehemently deny that there was an ambush planned. If I had wanted to set up an ambush many more people would have died." CT 3/10/92

He said he feared for his safety and that of his wife and two daughters, but would not be intimidated into fleeing.

"The people who did this were well trained. They carried out reconnaissance beforehand and they knew my movements. It was an act of revenge," he said.

CDF chief Brigadier Marius Oelschig yesterday blamed the ANC.

But ANC spokesman Mr Mcebisi Bata earlier distanced the organisation from any involvement in the blast. "Whoever says the ANC is responsible for the attack is just trying to justify further attacks on our membership." (105)

Car bomb targets Bisho colonel

105
CT 3/10/92

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei Defence Force's chief of operations, Colonel Horst Schubesberger, narrowly escaped death when his car was destroyed in an explosion in the centre of Bisho yesterday.

Col Schubesberger was the man reportedly responsible for issuing the order that led to the massacre of 29 people and the injuring of scores of others in Bisho on September 7.

Last night for the first time he publicly denied he had been the soldier to issue the order.

No injuries were reported in yesterday's incident. CDF sources said the blast was believed to have been caused by a mini-limpet mine.

The car, a 1985 Toyota, was in a parking lot when it exploded in flames shortly before lunchtime.

The explosion ripped off the vehicle's roof and the car was destroyed in the ensuing blaze. A bakkie parked next to the car was slightly damaged.

Col Schubesberger, who had left his Bisho office after parking the car in the lot about an hour earlier, was a street away talking to a salesman outside a nearby photographic shop when the incident occurred.

CDF soldiers moved quickly to block off the entrances to the city centre and searched for more explosives while a helicopter flew overhead. By late afternoon, however, the situation had returned to normal.

In an interview last night, the Austrian-born colonel, 51, said from his East London home it was clear he had been the target of a failed assassination attempt, but would not say who he thought responsible for the attack.

He frankly admitted to having become one of the most hated men in Ciskei after the weekly City Press newspaper had named him as the man responsible for ordering CDF troops to open fire on ANC marchers.

But Col Schubesberger denied he had ever is-



TARGET ...
Horst Schubesberger

CT 3/10/92

Police, soldiers flee attacks on dwellings

(105)

MOUNT COKE, Ciskei. — More than 50 families of Ciskei soldiers and policemen have taken refuge in the nurses' quarters of the hospital here, following attacks on the homes of members of the security forces.

About 150 people are estimated to be living at the complex and the main gate to the hospital is being manned by the controversial security company, Peace Force.

In an interview the wife of a Ciskei policeman from Zwelitsha said she and her family had moved to the complex about a month ago, after their home was burnt down.

At the hospital complex they live with the tension of not knowing who to trust.

During the interview the woman

suddenly stood up and left the room. She returned seconds later, saying she had been told not to give any information.

A small, belligerent crowd shouted: "Get out" as the reporter left.

There is also tension between hospital staff and the security forces.

A nurse claimed four men from the dormitory, dressed in plainclothes and armed, had assaulted her husband on Thursday. She charged the men had threatened to "fix" the ANC members of staff.

The local SACP (Border) chairman, Mr Skenjani Roji, said yesterday the Mount Coke home of the party's regional organiser, Mr Mzwake Ciko-zani, had been attacked with a hand grenade on Thursday. Shots had been fired at him.

Bisho blast destroys Ciskei colonel's car

STAR 3/10/92

105

BISHO — A powerful explosion tore apart the car of a senior Ciskei officer in the homeland capital just before midday yesterday. Nobody was injured.

The car is believed to have belonged to the Chief of Staff of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF), Colonel Horst Schubebeger. He is reportedly the man who gave the order to fire on marchers

in Bisho on September 7.

Ciskei police also reported that a hostel at St Matthew's High School in Keiskammahoek and a car from the Department of Education were petrol-bombed. A police spokesman estimated the damage at about R14 000. He did not have further details.

Ciskei blamed the car-bomb attack on the ANC's military wing,

● See Page 5 and Page 12

Umkhonto we Sizwe. A Ciskei Defence Force statement said MK had resumed the armed struggle. It added.

"Everyone concerned was alerted about the situation and an appeal was made to those with influence over the SACP/ANC/MK to cease

their violent and cowardly activities. Let it not be said that sufficient early warning has not been provided.

"It is the considered opinion of this headquarters that MK, not only in the Border/Ciskei region, but also elsewhere in the country, have or are about to embark upon a renewal of their so-called 'armed struggle'.

"This is clearly not the declared intention of Mr Mandela and the national executive committee of the ANC and can only point to loss of control over the more radical elements within that movement."

The ANC's Border media officer, Mcebisi Bata, described MK members as disciplined cadres who had accepted

● TO PAGE 2.

Explosion

● FROM PAGE 1.

the suspension of the armed struggle in July last year.

"To link MK members with armed attacks in Ciskei is nonsensical to say the least," he said.

In a statement released in Johannesburg, the ANC rejected "propaganda" by the South African Defence Force and Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo following the

bomb blast. It asked: "What would stop the SADF and the Ciskei Defence Force from placing a bomb under an army officer's car, in order to justify the murder and mayhem presently being committed in Ciskei?"

Defence Ministry communication manager Dr Das Herbst said the Ministry and the SADF rejected with contempt the insinuation that the SADF would place a bomb under a car. — Eena and Sapa.

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STAR 3/10/92



ANC rejects judge's word

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday rejected "without consideration or qualification" the report into the Bisho massacre by the Chief Justice of the Ciskei, Mr Bobby de V Pickard.

A large portion of the blame for the September 7 massacre should be laid at the door of the ANC, Mr Justice Pickard said in his report, released on Thursday.

He said it was likely the leaders had led marchers into the guns of the Ciskei Defence Force "like lambs to the slaughter" ET 3/10/92

The ANC said: "It is clear that (Brig Oupa) Gqozo constituted the commission to use it as an excuse for rejecting the Goldstone Commission." — Sapa (105)

Bisho officer's car blown up

ARC 3/10/92
Weekend Argus Correspondent

BISHO — A powerful explosion tore apart the car of a senior Ciskei officer in the capital of Bisho just before midday yesterday. Nobody was injured.

The car is believed to have belonged to the Chief of Staff of the Ciskei Defence Force, Colonel Horst Schubesbeger,

who reportedly gave the order to fire before the Bisho massacre on September 7.

According to the South African embassy to Ciskei, a limpet mine caused the explosion.

The Ciskei blamed the attack on the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, but the ANC denied responsibility.

(105)

By QUINTON RHODES

On the side of the marchers

CPA 10/10/92

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THIS week's Goldstone report into the massacre of 28 ANC protest marchers at the Ciskeian capital of Bisho on September 7 is significant for more reasons than immediately meet the eye.

Of course the basic findings are important in themselves.

It is notable that Goldstone did not allow the red herring of the Ronnie Kasrils surge through the broken fence to cloud his judgment that "whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers. That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's own version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers".

The report recommended the opening of murder dockets against offending CDF members.

It is also important that the commission should call on the ANC to publicly chastise Kasrils, the SACP stal-

wart who led the march. Equally significant is the commissioner's note that the CDF should question the training and discipline of its soldiers, and the contention that "to arm such men with lethal weapons is unacceptable".

But in the end these aspects of the report are of the nature of a post mortem; they will not bring the victims back to life.

Nor, if the present reaction of the Ciskei authorities is anything to go by, will they result in any real action.

In effect the Ciskei authorities rejected the Goldstone Commission findings in advance, appointing its own internal inquiry into the massacre under Ciskei Chief Justice B de V Pickard.

Predictably the Pickard Commission, releasing an interim report only a day after the Goldstone Commission, sought to lay the lion's share

of the blame for the killings at the door of the ANC.

What is of more importance in general terms and what will prove more important in coming months, is that Goldstone stresses the democratic right of people to express their political feelings through mass protest actions.

Says one of the recommendations: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

Another says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

"Public protest," Judge Goldstone notes in the body of the report, "has become the order of the day... This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans."

Equally quick as Ciskei to react negatively to the Goldstone Report was the government of Bop. The Bop authorities in the face of Goldstone's recommendations reiterated its rejection of mass action as a means of political self-expression.

In fact political freedom is severely circumscribed in the homeland. Various pieces of legislation make it more or less impossible for the ANC to function effectively within its borders.

Bop's hardline reaction should, however, not be seen as something isolated. It comes in the wake of meetings, held this week in Mamba-

bartho between Bop's President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Gqozo and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, where a plan was mooted to set up a front of homeland leaders in defiance of current talks between the government and the ANC.

The three homeland leaders specifically rejected last Saturday's Record of Agreement concluded after the Mandela/De Klerk summit and said they would not be bound by bilateral agreements between the two groupings. One of the points of agreement spelt out in the Record was an acknowledgment on the part of government of the right of all parties to participate in mass action.

The rejection of the Record - like the withdrawal of Buthelezi from talks - represents a hardening of attitude within Pretoria's homelands and must be seen in conjunction with the continued insistence by all three of the leaders that they will use force against mass action.

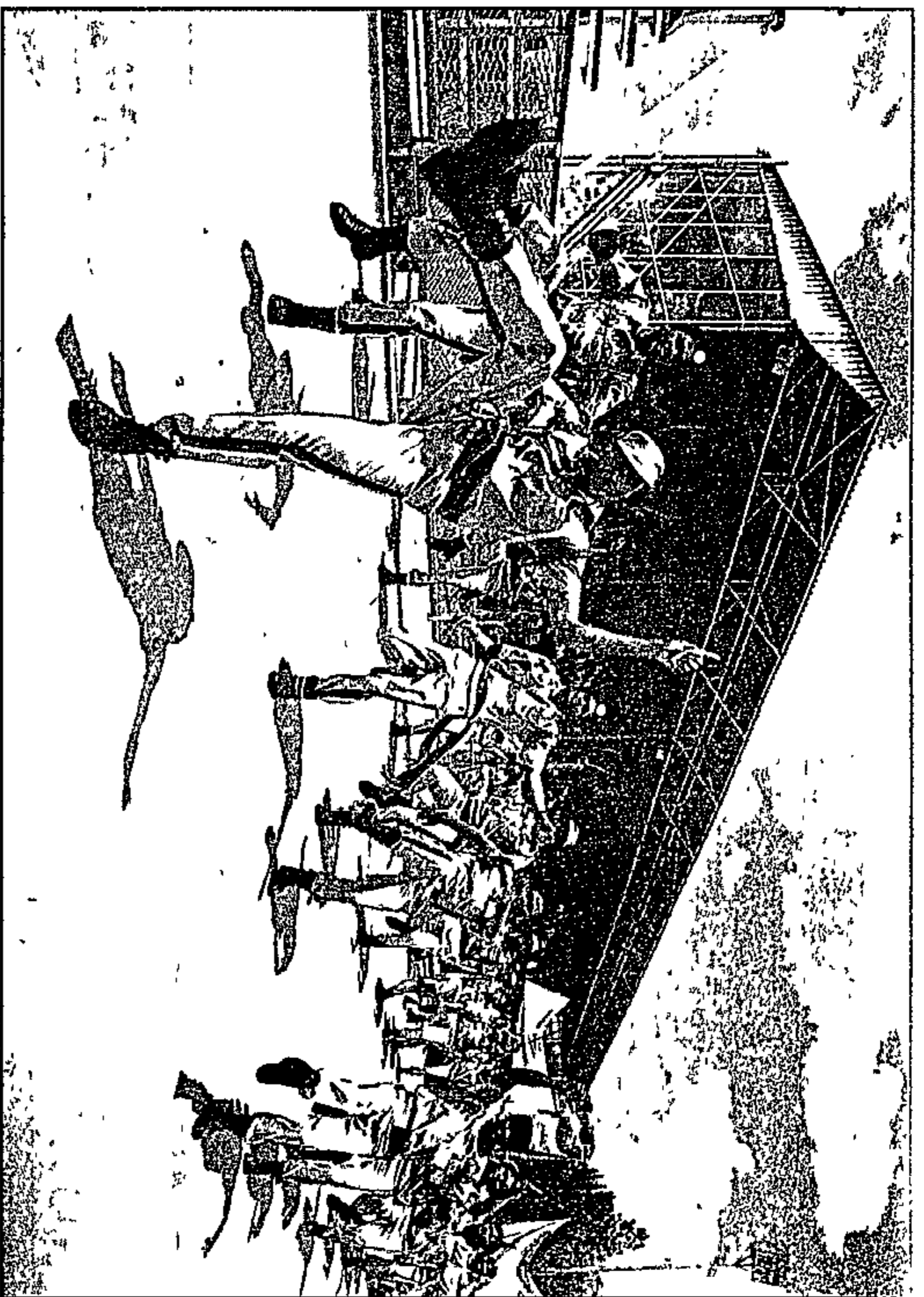
In essence, Goldstone has come out on the side of the marchers. That, despite all the qualifications, is the real message of the Bisho report.

itions" doing a war dance during a rally at Carletonville, in the Western Transvaal, where South African Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani said there would be another march on Bisho.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

■ STRYDOM SPEAKS
Mass-murderer Strydom says he is not sorry for his deeds **PAGE 2**

■ CEASEFIRE
Renamo and the Mozambique govt sign a ceasefire agreement **PAGE 3**
at last



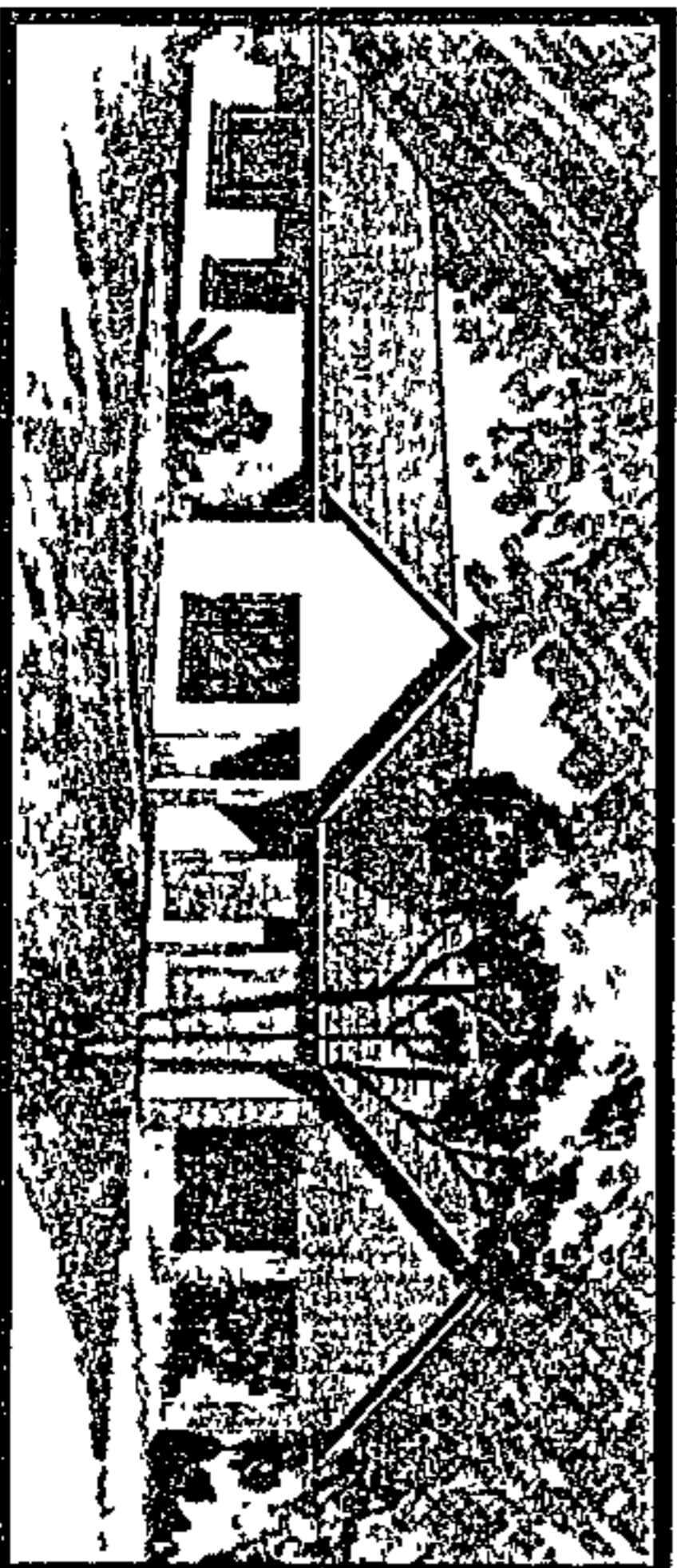
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Bisho to be 'revisited'

■ UNFINISHED BUSINESS Chris Hani hints that

the ANC will march again on Ciskei's capital.

JUST a few days after Judge Goldstone slammed the Ciskei Government and ANC for the Bisho massacre, in which 29 people were killed and scores injured, another march on Ciskei capital may be on the cards. SACP leader Mr Chris Hani yesterday told a crowd of about 5 000 people at Carletonville: "We are satisfied that the business we wished to accom-

plish in Bisho is not yet complete. There is still no free political activity in that bantustan. As far as we are concerned, the business remains unfinished until we have achieved our objectives." Ciskei Judge B Pickard has also blamed the ANC and Ciskei Defence Force members for the massacre.

See story page 2

PAC denies bomb claim

JOHANNESBURG. — Claims that the PAC military wing, the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army, was responsible for Friday's Bisho car bomb blast were "devoid of truth", PAC publicity director Mr Waters Toboti said yesterday.

"We spoke to APLA's political commissariat on Sunday and they say APLA is not responsible," he said.

The Ciskei government yesterday condemned the extension of guerilla warfare by liberation movements into the homeland. — Sapa

E Cape demo against AWB

UMTATA. — Opposition to the presence of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in the Eastern Cape farming towns of Elliot, Ugie, Maclear and Barkly East was demonstrated at the weekend.

Over 300 people marched through the streets of Maclear carrying anti-AWB placards.

The demonstration was watched by SADF and SA Police members and went off peacefully.

The AWB say they are patrolling the region to defend farmers against the violent attacks and stockthefts which have been occurring in recent months. — Sapa

Bisho bomb 'not Apla's'

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STAN 5110192
Claims that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was responsible for Friday's Bisho car-bomb blast were devoid of truth, the PAC said yesterday.

PAC publicity director Waters Toboti referred to a telephone call to Sapa on Saturday by a certain Karl Zimbiri, who claimed he had been informed by the eastern Cape unit of Apla that it had planted the bomb in a car belonging to Ciskei Defence Force Colonel Horst Schubesberger, the man who reportedly gave the order to fire on ANC marchers at the Bisho stadium on September 7.

"We spoke to the Apla political commissariat and they say Apla is not responsible," Mr Toboti said. — Sapa.

...yesterday

Bisho task unfinished - Hani

By Joe Mdhlela

WORKER POWER In future miners must

have the right to control and run the mines?:

THE African National Congress and its allies had an obligation to complete their "unfinished business" at Bisho in Ciskei, South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Speaking at a rally at Carletonville in the Western Transvaal organised by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Hani told an enthusiastic crowd of about 5 000 that political repression was still the order of the day in Bisho. "We are satisfied that the business we wished to accomplish in Bisho is not yet complete. "There is still no free political activity in that bantustan. As far as we are concerned, the business remains unfinished until we have achieved our objectives," said Hani.

He said "the people" would still march on Ullundi in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana in an effort to organise politically. "Gatscha Buthelezi is making the march to Ullundi an ethnic issue. We have nothing against the Zulu people, but we have everything against the refusal by Buthelezi of the right to participate

in free political activity," said Hani.

He said Chief Lucas Mangope (of Bophuthatswana) was "another tyrant who did not give our people political breathing space".

Last week the Goldstone Commission lashed out at the Ciskei government and the ANC for the September 7 massacre.

In his report Mr Justice Richard Goldstone condemned the shooting and killing of at least 29 demonstrators as "morally and legally indefensible and deserving of the strongest censure".

Judge Goldstone also urged the ANC to publicly censure SACP leader Ronnie Kasrils and other ANC leaders for "knowingly or negligently exposing demonstrators to the dangers of death and injury".

Yesterday Hani said it was unfair to criticise Kasrils because "here we are talking about collective decisions".

He said the alliance leadership had exposed itself to injury and death because its main con-

cern was getting "a political space" in Ciskei which its "military dictator", Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, denied them.

He also criticised leaders of Mozambique, Lesotho and Botswana for discouraging workers from joining the NUM.

"Through the NUM we will be talking to them to allow their subjects to join the union. After all, workers stand to benefit a lot more from joining the union than remaining outside of it.

"We cannot have a situation where governments do not show concern about their people.

"These governments, I suspect, don't even know that there is compensation due to their subjects as a result of the many mine disasters that have claimed lives," he said.

These governments appeared to think that workers merely sold their labour and did not have other rights.

In a true democracy, workers would have an active role to play in the decisions affecting them.

Oupa gets cold shoulder at Sun

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
Workers at the Sandton
Sun Hotel have refused
to serve Ciskei military
ruler Brigadier Oupa
Gqozo and his entou-
rage

Saccawu official Mr
Jabu Makhubo said pro-
test action, including
placard demonstrations,
began on Monday shortly
after Brigadier Gqozo
arrived at 7/10/72

No comment could be
obtained from the Sand-
ton Sun management
yesterday (106)

Sowetan 8/10/92

Webster inquest at last

THE formal inquest into the alleged political assassination of Dr David Webster will start in Rand Supreme Court on Monday - three years after his death.

Webster was gunned down outside his Johannesburg home in Troyeville on May 1 1989. Testimony would be heard at the hearing, police said yesterday.

However, detectives involved in the investigation were urgently trying to locate two key witnesses. They appealed for assistance in tracking down Mr Cornelius Otto du Plessis who lived in Troyeville and Mr Hendrik Cleophas Mpotlane, who lived and worked in Randfontein. Both have since moved.

Stolen vehicles found

THIRTY stolen vehicles valued at R1,9 million were recovered during a three-day police operation in Alexandra and Tembisa.

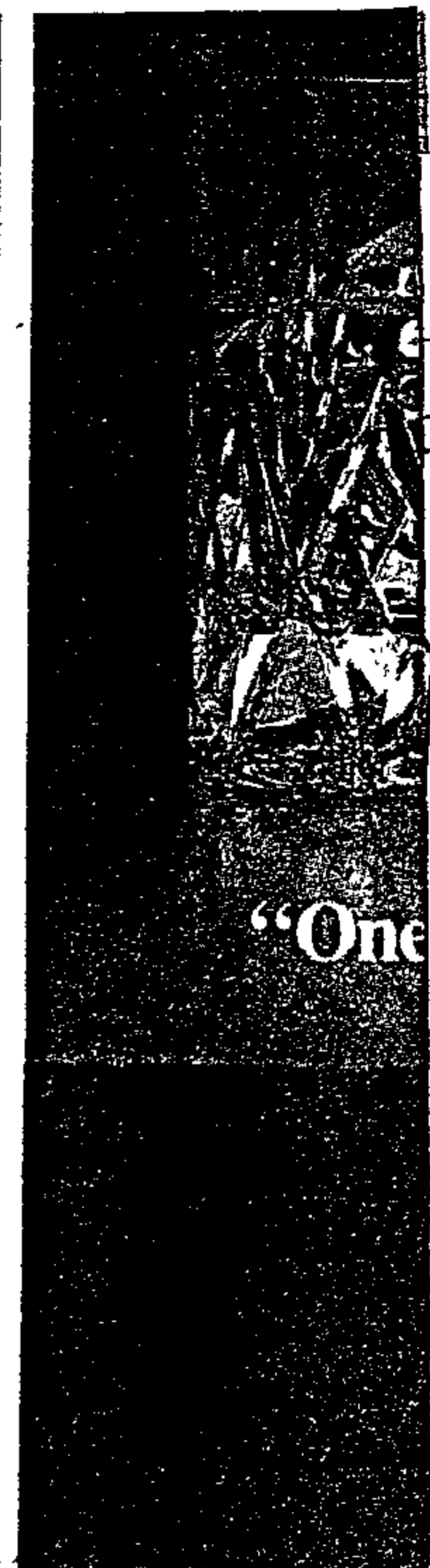
Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said yesterday that Benoni Vehicle Theft Unit detectives, supported by uniformed police and the Police Air Wing, arrested four people in connection with car theft in the swoop completed on Sunday. Five hundred stolen cars were recovered during the past year.

Ciskei mutineers shot

ONE mutineer was shot dead and another wounded when seven members of 2 Ciskei Battalion stationed at Keiskammahoek opened fire on a battalion officer and his staff yesterday.

The officer and two of the staff at headquarters were also wounded in the shooting. The other five defaulters were arrested. They appeared on charges of drunkenness. - Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.

Sowetan 8/10/92



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Drunken Ciskei soldiers ¹⁰⁵mutiny

CT8/10/92
drunkenness.

BISHO. — A mutineer was shot dead and another wounded when seven members of 2 Ciskei Battalion stationed at Kieskammahoek fired on a battalion officer and his staff yesterday.

The officer and two of the headquarters staff were also wounded in the shooting. The other five were arrested.

In a statement yesterday, the Chief of the Ciskei Defence Force Brigadier Marius Oelschig, said seven members of 2 CBN had appeared before the battalion second-in-command on charges of

"The officer ordered their removal in order for them to sober up. The soldiers returned to their barracks, recovered their firearms and then returned to the office of the second-in-command, where they opened fire on him and certain of his staff."

The names of the dead and wounded are being withheld till their next of kin are notified.

● The Ciskei Defence Force yesterday commended the SA Defence Force for their role in stabilising unrest in the region. — Sapa

Place in
near hut c

Strange bedfellows at indaba

STAR 8/10/92

CISKEL military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was deep in conversation with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht walked towards them.

The diminutive brigadier — who, a day earlier, had met the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Eugene TerreBlanche — stood up, shook hands with Treurnicht and hugged him like an old friend. Press photographers kept clicking their cameras as the two men, later joined by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, engaged in an animated discussion.

It was the same with the leadership of the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie, headed by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers. There was no language problem as Gqozo had already demonstrated on the SABC's "Agenda" programme, he speaks suaver Afrikaans.

The "Conference for Concerned South Africans" held at the Indaba Hotel, outside Johannesburg, on Tuesday, was full of such politically incongruous sights. One of the odder alliances to be thrown up by the new South Africa was on display.

At the conference Gqozo clearly felt he was among friends. On his arrival he said it was normal among Afrikaners for neighbours to rally around one another when one of them was in trouble.

The meeting, he said, was such an exercise.

The headmaster-like Mangope was not as visibly excited about the cross-cultural indaba. He had been sitting on the sofa quietly chatting to Gqozo before the CP leaders came their way.

On the road to the new South Africa, the strangest people bump into each other. Political Reporter KAZER NYATSUMBA describes the informal side of this week's gathering of homeland leaders and white rightwingers near Johannesburg.

There was, it seemed, a lot on his mind. But he, too, exchanged pleasantries with Treurnicht.

Sitting alone in a corner were two National People's Party delegates, talking quietly to each other. Fraternising or socialising was not for them — and neither, it seemed, were other delegates eager to strike up a conversation with them.

Then, to complete the mosaic, there was Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell, an observer rather than a delegate, who looked fairly uncomfortable. Already in the conference hall was a delegation from the SA Chamber of Commerce, led by director-general Raymond Parsons.

Godsell was overheard asking Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Suzanne Vos "Where is your leader?"

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, clearly the man of the moment, was not there. His guests — including conference co-conveners Gqozo and Mangope — had arrived at 9 am, but he did not make an appearance until 10 am.

Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the ANC and the Government, but the more vicious personal attack of President de Klerk came, somewhat surpris-

ingly, from IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Mdlalose, who said the different leaders had gathered "to strike a blow for democracy in South Africa", said De Klerk was "becoming a threat to the negotiations process", and that he and his Government had "turned to political expediency in bowing to ANC demands".

"We now see that he was trading on the support that we were giving to whatever he did right. He basked in the warmth of applause for what he did that was right, and when it came to opposing the ANC, he always claimed that he was in good company", and pointed to us and other black parties who opposed the ANC.

"When the ANC was at its worst, President de Klerk was at his conciliatory best."

"Our experience leads us to the conclusion that we have to prepare for a negotiating future in which Mr de Klerk will not be able to cross back to where he was before when he opposed the ANC. It is now a matter of having to deal with him protected by the ANC", Mdlalose said.

His message was well received by the new allies.

Although they met and talked to many people, the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie delegations appeared purposely to avoid one another. This was just one of the day's oddities: former rightwing white colleagues finding it easier to chat to black South Africans than each other.

Asked if he had exchanged pleasantries with his former leader Treurnicht, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Beyers gave a curious answer. "We have no problem." It was that kind of day. □



Odd alliance . Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and deputy Ferdi Hartzenberg greet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Tuesday's "Conference for Concerned South Africans" outside Johannesburg.

Ciskei soldier killed in 'mutiny'

STAR 8/10/72.

(105)

GRAHAMSTOWN — A Ciskei Defence Force soldier was killed and four wounded in an alleged mutiny at a military base in Keiskammahoek yesterday.

CDF chief Brigadier Marius Oelshig said the mutiny occurred after seven members of 2 Ciskei Battalion were brought before the battalion's second-in-com-

mand on charges of drunkenness.

The officer ordered them removed "to sober up".

The men returned to their barracks, collected firearms and then returned to the office of the second-in-command where they allegedly fired on the officer and other headquarters staff members.

In an ensuing exchange of fire one alleged mutineer was killed, and the officer, two staff members and another mutineer were wounded.

Oelshig said the remaining five defaulters were being held in cells. The Ciskei police, together with CDF military police, were investigating.

The names of the dead and wounded were being withheld until their next of kin had been notified.

Oelshig said the CDF was happy to report that there were no reports of unrest-related incidents between 8 am on Tuesday and 8 am yesterday.

However, CDF soldiers would continue with patrols — Ecna

Ciskei's whodunnit amid political row

By CLAIRE KEETON and GUY JEPSON

THE bomb which devastated a top Ciskei soldier's car last Friday has punched home the fact that the fight for political control of the homeland is far from over.

The wreckage of Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) operations chief Colonel Horst Schubesberger's Toyota Corolla was still smouldering when a war of words erupted between the government, the Ciskei and the African National Congress.

The Ciskei security establishment took one hour to blame Umkhonto weSizwe for the blast, claiming MK had re-launched its armed struggle in Ciskei. However, no one was arrested for the midday explosion.

The ANC rejected the claims — which were echoed by the South African Defence Force — and suggested that the CDF and SADF had planted the bomb in a bid to justify the continuing attacks on its supporters in Ciskei.

The propaganda battle was muddied when a man claiming to be Karl Zimbiri, internal commander of the

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Azanian Peoples Liberation Army, the PAC's military wing, claimed the Apla operatives had triggered the bomb.

Zimbiri has previously claimed responsibility on the part of Apla for the assassinations of South African Police members — claims which have been treated with increasing scepticism by the police.

The confusion was compounded when the PAC entered the fray, saying it had been in touch with Apla's political commissariat and had ascertained that its operatives were not responsible.

Schubesberger reportedly ordered the Bisho stadium bloodbath. He has denied that he gave CDF troops instructions to fire on the unarmed marchers.

The colonel said he used his private car last Friday because his "duty car" had been involved in an accident. He said he parked his Toyota in a busy lot near the Ciskei government buildings and the bomb exploded less than an hour later. No one was injured. Schubesberger said experts who

examined the wreckage believed a limpet mine was used.

The time-frame provided by the CDF suggests the person(s) who planted the bomb had to move quickly and be inconspicuous to avoid police and soldiers in the vicinity.

The CDF said they knew of plans to kill Schubesberger, but did not have enough details to prevent the attempt.

Along with the SADF, they presented the "assassination plot" as part of MK's programme to relaunch the armed struggle "not only in the Border/Ciskei region, but also elsewhere in the country".

The CDF claimed there had been an upsurge in "military style attacks" in the wake of the Bisho massacre. The day before the blast SADF chief Lieutenant General Georg Meiring claimed MK members were being deployed across the country to commit acts of sabotage and provoke the security forces of the TBVC states.

In its official reaction to the blast, the CDF said the alleged resumption of the armed struggle was not the declared intention of the ANC's top

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leadership and could only point to loss of control over radical elements within the movement.

"In spite of the provocation and repression in Ciskei, the command structures of MK in Ciskei have not acted contrary to the decision of the ANC," said ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma.

In the wake of the Bisho massacre there have been allegations of daily assaults by Ciskei soldiers on residents. Ciskei's security forces have been forced to flee their homes and the CDF has listed numerous arson attacks on the homes of soldiers, policemen and some headmen.

At least nine ANC members have been detained for interrogation in the last week and the security forces claim to have seized arms.

The ANC's implicit position on the bomb blast is that it was planned by the CDF/SADF to deflect attention from security force excesses in Ciskei.

Ministry of Defence spokesman Das Herbst said the SADF dismissed the insinuation "with contempt". — Eena

'March on Bisho'

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A protest march on the South African embassy to Ciskei, planned for Monday, was a "build-up to a march on Bisho", Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said yesterday.

The marchers to the embassy, situated not in the homeland but in King William's Town, would present a memorandum with a list of demands to the SA Government.

The march would be in protest against violence in Ciskei, the destruction of "normal life", the edu-

cation crisis and "the continued occupation of villages and townships by troops and other vigilante forces".

Bata said the march on Bisho, for which no date had been set, would be a protest against the lack of political freedom in the homeland. He did not explain how a second Bisho massacre would be averted.

Bata said the march on the embassy would comply with the Goldstone guidelines with regard to mass action. — Ecna.

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11/10/92



FLASHBACK: *ANC supporters run for cover from sustained shooting by security forces of Ciskei. Almost 30 people were killed and 200 wounded*

Ciskei soldiers drive pupils away ¹⁰⁵ - claim

Its just three weeks before year-end exams But there is still no schooling in the Ciskei. Schooling came to a halt following the Bisho Massacre. Almost 30 people were killed and 200 wounded in the conflict. Thirty-three teachers were also dismissed in a dispute with education authorities.

Learning Nation in New Nation 9/10-15/10/92.

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has called on the SA government to intervene in the Ciskei education crisis "as a matter of urgency because time is running out and the situation is becoming increasingly volatile".

Cosas Border president Mcebisi Lase said many of the organisation's branches were pushing for exams to be postponed by a month. But he said his colleagues were instead advising pupils to prepare for their final exams in the interim.

"The Department of Education and Training (DET) should stop accusing students and teachers of disrupting learning because it is the government that does not create conditions conducive to proper learning," he said.

Lase claimed there was "collaboration" between the police and soldiers to drive away pupils. Although there were a few students in some schools, many schools were deserted, he said.

A teacher, who asked not to be named, said this was the fourth week without classes in our schools.

"We thought after the funeral (for the victims of the Bisho Massacre)

that schools would return to normal but it is worse.

"Ciskei soldiers have been whipping students and when we try to protect them, they threaten us with guns," he said.

The teacher said numerous attempts to get pupils to return to school failed because the pupils were too scared.

"We are hoping they will come back but it is wishful thinking," the teacher said.

Assaulted

He said lawyers were preparing an interdict to prevent students from being assaulted by the Ciskei security forces.

Lase said: "Students are not attending school because they are being beaten by the security forces."

He said since the massacre, "no young people" were safe on the streets of Ciskei.

The SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) regional secretary Mxolisi Dimaza said many schoolchildren were among the hundreds of people who have sought refuge at the University of Fort Hare and in

King William's Town since the Bisho killings.

"Students from seven to 21 years-old are fleeing their homes," he said, adding that random assaults were taking place on school premises in areas such as Zwelitsha and Phakamiša.

One of the refugees, a Standard Eight pupil from Kwelerhana, said he would not go back to school because a Ciskei policeman "with a shotgun" was looking for him.

"I want to go back to school but it is dangerous," said a Standard Seven pupil from Ramnyiba.

"How can we learn with guns facing us?" asked a 21-year old student from Frankfort.

Dimaza said the suspension of 33 teachers earlier in the year by the Ciskei Education Department (CED) had added to the disruption.

Some of the suspended teachers continued to hold classes but were not being paid, he said.

He said the teachers were "very worried" since matric pupils were due to start their final exams on October 21 and the teachers had not been able to complete the year's work.

WHILE Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was busy whipping up support among other homeland rulers and the far-rightwing this week, back home the key man behind his struggling political party resigned unexpectedly.

Basie Oosthuysen, acting general secretary of the African Democratic Movement (ADM) and political adviser to Gqozo, announced that he had resigned from both positions, though he said he will remain an ADM member.

The announcement by Oosthuysen, who has previously been linked to South African Military Intelligence (MI), is a severe blow to Gqozo — and may indicate that Pretoria is withdrawing its support, effectively leaving him to steer his own sinking ship.

And Border businessmen who have managed to secure a meeting within the next few weeks with Minister of Finance Derek Keys say they intend pushing for an interim administration in both the Ciskei and the Transkei, in a desperate bid to prevent the collapse of the hard-hit regional economy.

It is believed that Oosthuysen resigned as a result of conflict with Gqozo, although he would say only that he had resigned for personal reasons.

Oosthuysen was regarded as a conciliatory figure in the ADM and he had previously called for Ciskei to talk to its opponents. But the brigadier's attitude towards the African National Congress has hardened to the point where Ciskei's only contact with the organisation is armed conflict — contrary to Oosthuysen's stated view that they should be meeting over a negotiating table.

Sources say that the last straw for Oosthuysen was Gqozo's meeting with the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Eugene Terre'Blanche, in Johannesburg this week, when Terre'Blanche pledged AWB support for the brigadier. It is believed that this was not the first meeting between the two leaders, and that Oosthuysen opposed their alliance.

Also this week, Gqozo took part in the Conference for Concerned South Africans with the

Key man abandons Gqozo's sinking ship

Is the South African government changing its mind about Brigadier Oupa Gqozo? The sudden resignation of his key man seems a sure signal of this.

Weekly Mail Reporters

leaders of Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and the Conservative Party. An alliance with these groupings is seen as Gqozo's only hope of a political future and suggests the brigadier realises his support from Pretoria is waning.

It appears that, in his desperation for support outside the National Party, Gqozo intends to form stronger alliances with the far-rightwing and all others whose only common interest is their opposition to the ANC.

Although Gqozo heads the ADM, Oosthuysen appears to have been running the ADM single-handedly since its launch in July 1991 and he has no obvious successor.

Oosthuysen was previously connected to Dynamic Teaching in East London, the local wing of Adult Education Consultants, which was exposed as an MI front late last year. Before taking up his advisory post, he was placed in International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS), a South African Defence Force-linked covert unit which operated in the homeland.

With this background, Oosthuysen has been regarded as having strong links with MI and possibly as being in Ciskei with its support. However, he has denied having any links with MI.

His resignation may indicate the beginning of a pull-out by the South African government. If he is indeed linked to MI, then it is extremely unlikely that he would have been able to resign



Basie Oosthuysen Photo: GARY HORLOR

without MI approval. It is believed that Oosthuysen wanted to resign some time ago, shortly before the Bisho massacre in early September, but did not. It may be that the massacre and the rightwing alliance have finally changed Pretoria's mind about the Ciskei.

Second blast in Bisho in a week

CT 10/10/92 (105)

Own Correspondent
EAST LONDON. — The second explosion in a week went off in the Ciskei capital of Bisho yesterday, Ciskei police confirmed.

The detonator of a 1,5kg explosive device exploded in a fifth-floor toilet next to the Ciskei Department of Agriculture, causing "insignificant" damage. No injuries were reported.

A military source said the plastic explosive would have "blown out quite a big chunk of the building", had it detonated.

Police spokesman Major Charles Loxton said the incident was proof that military-type attacks, previously reserved for the security forces, were being carried out against civilians in Ciskei.

He said there was no evidence yet to link the detonation to last week's bomb blast in which the car of a senior

Ciskei Defence Force member was blown apart in a Bisho parking lot.

The publicity secretary of the ANC, Mr Mcebisi Bata, claimed yesterday's explosion was "a stunt" arranged by the Ciskei security forces to create a climate of war in the area.

Damage estimated at R95 000 was caused in an arson attack on the home of a Ciskei soldier in zone 8, Zwelitsha, Ciskei Police said yesterday. No one has been arrested.

About R40 000 worth of damage was caused when Mthonyama Higher Primary School at Ntabethemba was set on fire, destroying four classrooms.

The house of an Umkhonto we Sizwe member, Mr Simphiwe Joka of Mdan-tane, was allegedly raided by the SADF early yesterday morning.

The SADF confirmed on Thursday it had raided homes in Ciskei to check on the activities of MK.



NEWS



UNION
CONTRACTORS
THE
REPRESENTATIVE
OF

By FERDI GREYLING *Ciphen 11/10/92*

EMBATTLED Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo's shaky reign took more strain this week with the resignation of one of his top political advisers, a second bomb blast in about a week and a minor mutiny at a military base.

On Friday a bomb partially exploded - apparently the detonator failed to ignite the plastic explosives - in Ciskei's health department building on the floor that houses the Ciskei Military Intelligence offices. No one was injured.

According to an eyewitness, the SADF sealed off the area after two more explosive devices were found.

The blast followed last Friday's explosion which wrecked the car of Austrian-born mercenary Col Horst Schubesberger in Bisho. The colonel is chief of staff operations for the Ciskei army and allegedly gave the order to shoot on the ANC march on Bisho last month.

A further blow to Gqozo was the resignation this week of his political advisor Basie Oosthuizen - the man who recently launched the brigadier's political party, the African Democratic Movement. He said he was resigning because of personal reasons.

Oosthuizen, who is alleged to have links with SADF Military Intelligence, reportedly clashed with Gqozo over the handling of mass action and was said to have serious "ideological" differences with Gqozo.

A former mayor of Ibhayi, Thamsanqa Linda, 47, will replace Oosthuizen as secretary general of the ADM.

Linda is notorious for his anti-UDF history.

Amid the political uncertainty in Ciskei, dissatisfaction among rank-and-file soldiers surfaced this week when a revolt involving about seven soldiers was put down by the CDF. One mutineer was killed, one wounded, and a CDF officer and two officials were wounded.

The other five mutineers were arrested.

CDF chief Brig Marius Oelschig said the seven had appeared before their superiors on charges of drunkenness. They then turned against the officers.

Palace revolt ¹⁰⁵ rocks Ciskei regime

Despite persistent rumours of the ANC deploying Umkhonto we-Sizwe soldiers in the area, Carl Niehaus, the organisation's Johannesburg spokesman, said: "There is no armed struggle in the Ciskei. We are committed to peaceful protest."

However, rumours were rife shortly after the Bisho massacre that up to 50 highly trained MK members in the Transkei were sent into Ciskei.

In the wake of the massacre a number of houses belonging to members of the CDF were burnt and several grenade attacks were reported on ANC members and members of the CDF.

According to Soks Sokupa, chairman of the SACP in the region, several members of the Ciskei forces have deserted since the massacre.

With tension simmering in the area, the SADF's involvement appears to have become increasingly open and seems to indicate that the SA government has no intention of letting the homeland slip out of its control.

Improbable that ANC fired the first shots

STAR
11/10/92
105

The commission found Ciskei government claims that the African National Congress had fired the first shots were "improbable" and that the single Ciskei soldier killed had probably been shot by a fellow soldier.

It said in the time available for its inquiry it could not make a positive finding on the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) allegation that the ANC had fired first.

"The probability remains that there was no shooting from the demonstrators and that the version of the CDF is false, or at best for it, highly exaggerated.

"Not one of the many independent observers reported having seen or been aware of any shot fired by the crowd at a CDF member."

The commission found the question of whether shots were fired at soldiers was the only material dispute in the hearing.

The following evidence was relevant in deciding this issue:

- One video showed a Stechin pistol found on the ground where the demonstrators had been but forensic tests proved no bullet had been fired from it.

- Another video showed a revolver on the scene and a third video showed one demonstrator carrying what could be a firearm hidden under his jacket.

- The ballistic report of the SAP's Colonel JD du Plessis indicated that only one spent cartridge had been found where the demonstrators had been.

- The way the crowd, fired on from Jongilanga Crescent, turned in unison to run made it improbable that any of them had been firing at the soldiers.

"From the SAP forensic report, it appeared the CDF soldier shot and killed at Fort Hare had been hit on the left side of the back of his head.

"The disintegration of the bullet was typical of that fired from an R-4 rifle. The high probability was that he was shot by one of his fellow soldiers."

Although the commission could not make a positive finding on whether the CDF came under fire, it would make its general findings and recommendations on the "assumption" that CDF members were fired at.

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ANC vows to intensify mass action campaign

BIDAY 12/10/92

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC vowed at the weekend to intensify its campaign for free political activity in the homelands.

The announcement came as Bophuthatswana security forces prevented ANC supporters from attending an ANC mass meeting in the homeland.

ANC western Transvaal spokesman Ike Moroe said the meeting had been called to discuss a march on Mmabatho, which was recently deferred to October 24.

Moroe said Bophuthatswana security forces used roadblocks to prevent workers from Impala platinum mine near Rustenburg from attending the mass meeting, Sapa reports.

The ANC and its alliance partners — the SACP and Cosatu — said at the weekend a new phase of their "campaign for peace and democracy" would begin this week.

This would include a local and international campaign against "those homeland despots who are terrorising the people".

An ANC statement said the campaign would "put pressure on bantustan regimes, irrespective of who they are, who are refusing to allow people in their areas to freely express their political views".

It is understood that the ANC's western

Transvaal region has decided it will not delay its proposed march on Mmabatho beyond October 24.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and Cosatu officials are expected to lead a march on the opening of parliament in Cape Town today as part of the campaign.

An "Asinamali" or "we have no money" campaign would be launched tomorrow to "focus on the socio-economic crisis facing our people". The campaign would begin by focusing on high food prices, VAT and the drought, the ANC statement said.

The campaign also aimed to "put an end to their-unilateral economic restructuring, which is only worsening the situation".

Meanwhile Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told an Inkatha Women's Brigade rally at the weekend that Cosatu's involvement in mass action was turning the economy into a political battleground.

"The economy of SA is now in dire straits. The burdens of this are carried by you as women of our nation, for it is you who are concerned about feeding, clothing, education and housing," he added.

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Ciskei requested help, says SADF

STEPHANE BOTHMA

SADF involvement in Ciskeian operations followed a request for assistance by Ciskei's government, SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said yesterday.

All operations were of a purely "protective" nature, he said.

The reaction followed joint operations by the SADF and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in which ANC members' homes were raided last week.

After the Bisho shootings on September 7 the Ciskei government had requested assistance from the SADF through normal diplomatic channels, Rolt said.

The homes of two ANC members in Ciskei were raided early on Thursday morning during which "political literature" was demanded, the ANC said yesterday.

The operations were a response to information received which was directly linked

to intelligence pertaining to ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe's planned actions in the Ciskei, SADF spokesman Maj C F Loxton said.

The SADF said in all cases where homes had been searched, the occupants had signed "indemnity forms" which was standard practice.

In response, ANC Border region publicity secretary Mcebisi Bata accused the SADF of joining Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo in harassing ANC members.

He said it was strange that SADF members would search for political literature in a civilian's house if the SADF was not a politically motivated army.

Comment: Page 6

BIDAY 12/10/92

'Racist' exhumation opposed

WILSON ZWANE

PLANS by the Edenvale Town Council to dig up more than 5 000 graves of blacks have met with strong resistance from the East Rand Civic Association, which described the council at the weekend as "racist".

Council official Daan Pieterse said the exhumation of 5 434 bodies from a cemetery on the outskirts of Edenvale had been on the cards for more than a year.

Pieterse said the council planned to rebury the bodies at Kempton Park's Mooifontein cemetery

This was to make way for construction of a new road connecting Edenvale and Kempton Park, he said.

Civic Association chairman Ali Tleane said his organisation was "totally opposed" to the move.

Tleane said his organisation would seek an urgent meeting with the council to "discuss this matter, about which we were not consulted".

"We see no reason why the bodies should be exhumed to make way for a stupid road," he said

Pieterse said the council had placed legal notices in newspapers in July, warning families and people with misgivings about the plan to object in writing within 14 days.

No one had objected, he said.

However, the council was organising a meeting with all interested parties to discuss the matter, Pieterse said.

The meeting was planned for October 30.

Should people object to the exhumations, the council would not carry them out, Pieterse said.

Gqozo's stand

105

■ Committed to federalism:

CISKEIAN military strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo on Saturday called for the immediate establishment of a multi-party conference to determine South Africa's future.

He reiterated his party's commitment to federalism.

- Sapa

Soweto 12/10/92

Ciskei 'asked for help'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — SADF involvement in Ciskei operations followed a request by that government through diplomatic channels SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said yesterday

All operations were of a purely protective nature, he said

The reaction followed joint actions between the SADF and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) in which the homes of ANC mem-

bers were raided last week

After the Bisho shootings on September 7 the Ciskei government had requested assistance from the SADF through normal diplomatic channels, Colonel Rolt said

The homes of two ANC members in Ciskei were raided in the early hours of Thursday morning during which "political literature" was demanded the ANC earlier said

(105) CT 12/10/72

At the time, the SADF confirmed it had conducted a joint operation with the CDF in searching various homes

The SADF said that in all cases the occupants had signed "indemnity forms"

The operations were in response to intelligence received about the ANC's military wing uMkhonto weSizwe's planned actions in the Ciskei SADF spokesman Major C F Loxton said

'I'll flush out ANC' — Gqozo

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has threatened to "flush" ANC sympathisers from his civil service.

He issued the warning at the consultative conference of the African Democratic Movement in Bisho on Saturday.

There were people within the civil service who were "doing evil" and who were being used by the ANC.

Brig Gqozo's speech was largely devoted to slating the ANC and communism, which he said aimed "to destroy our beloved country" and was "hungry for plunder".

He said he had received hundreds of letters of support since the Bisho massacre.

He blamed the September 7 killings on "evil forces" trying to overturn his government.



AT ARMS LENGTH . . . NP chief information officer Mr Piet Coetzer and Mr Ronnie Kasrils of the SACP share a light moment after their debate at UCT yesterday.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Kasrils says march was 'non-insurrectionist'

Staff Reporter

SACP stalwart Mr Ronnie Kasrils yesterday defended the Bisho march as "non-insurrectionist", saying the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance's sole aim was peacefully to occupy the capital for a day to demand free political activity in Ciskei.

Addressing a lively and well attended debate on "mass action versus negotiations" at UCT yesterday, Mr Kasrils said the alliance's mass action campaign was vital in bringing about democratic change.

Debating the issue with Mr Kasrils was the NP's chief information officer,

Mr Piet Coetzer, and Johannesburg journalist Mr Shaun Johnson.

Mr Johnson, who defended mass action as an inalienable right, said the Bisho march demonstrated just how thin the line was when mass action was used for peaceful protest or insurrection.

Compared with other mass marches, which ended peacefully, Bisho differed in that "a thin line had been crossed".

This was characterised by the alliance challenging the power of a "ruthless and insecure dictator", knowing the likelihood of bloodshed was high.

105
CT/14/10/92

THE SAID'S COVERT CCB unit to the
In that, the ANC said the 1984

"Phew!"

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CNA

First with the goodies

ANC ponders Bisho march

RAY HARTLEY 103

THE ANC's Border region
is considering a second
march on Bisho despite
concern that this would
lead to another massacre in
the Ciskei capital. *B10114*

ANC Border spokesman
Mcebisi Bata said yester-
day the march was being
considered because of re-
pression being conducted
by the Ciskei Defence
Force (CDF). *15/10/92*

But the CDF said this
week more than 700 attacks
on soldiers and supporters
of the ruling African Demo-
cratic Movement (ADM)
had been recorded since the
September 17 massacre.

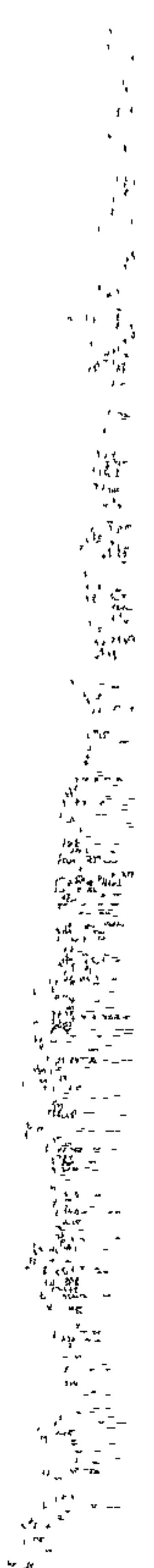
Bata said a private firm
— Peaceforce Security —
was training recruits who
were taking action against
the ANC "under the guise of
being security guards".

Well placed sources have
claimed Peaceforce Secur-
ity is being paid a large
sum by the Ciskei govern-
ment to put recruits
through a three-week "kits-
konstabel course".

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Ciskei killings (105)

EAST LONDON. — Gunmen shot dead four people and injured at least six in attacks on two houses of ANC activists in Alice in the Ciskei. *AP 6/10/92*



RIGADIER OUPA GOZOZO says he'll stop "the communists' nonsense" — and at least 400 Ciskeians who attended last weekend's consultative conference of his African Democratic Movement (ADM) take him seriously.

The conference, held in Bisho's agricultural hall next to the stadium, a stone's throw from the site of last month's massacre, was the ADM's first public meeting since its launch over a year ago.

On the platform with Gqozo were newly appointed general secretary of the ADM, Tamsanga Linda, and Aida Parker, rightwing luminary and editor of a newsletter named after herself. Copies of her newsletter, which were handed out at the conference, referred

Ciskei 'tiger' talks tough

Weekly Mail 16/10 - 22/10 p 2

Weekly Mail Reporter

The Ciskei ruler, known to his associates as "The Brig", wore what appeared to be a plastic imitation lion-skin with matching pill-box hat, and clapped whenever his own name was mentioned.

Behind the man who has been labelled the Butcher of Bisho was a handwritten placard stating: "Brig OG is a peaceful Christian leader". "Away with communists!", "CDF (Ciskei Defence Force) our heroes, protect us"

Rallying to calls of 'Tiger of the Nation', Brigadier Oupa Gqozo came out smoking at his party's conference.

Weekly Mail Reporter

"No more mass demonstrations in Ciskei" read other bills tacked on the walls around the hall.

As a prelude to his speech, which he said he had tried to make interesting, Gqozo invited the crowd to break into a song during his address whenever

they felt moved to do so. The offer was not taken up.

But the ADM leaders' rallying call of "Angwe Sizwe!" (Tiger of the Nation) — last heard at rallies of former Ciskei ruler Lennox Sebe, whom Gqozo ousted in a coup — proved hugely popular.

Neither Gqozo nor Linda dwelled on the policies of their organisation, but used the platform to ridicule those perceived as their enemies: the African National Congress, all communists and the Pretoria government. Gqozo vowed to "flush" ANC sym-

pathisers from his government and was later heard on Radio Ciskei threatening to lock up opponents and throw away the key.

Linda branded the ANC and South African Communist Party "criminals", and ANC president Nelson Mandela a communist "whose hands are full of the blood of innocent people".

"Mandela, (Steve) Tshwete, (Chris) Hani, (Ronnie) Kasrils and (Joe) Slovo are smelling, he told the delighted crowd.

Linda spoke about setting up ADM self-defence units, vowed to organise an alternative to the ANC in Ciskei and said the ADM would take part in future constitutional negotiations alongside the Ciskei military government.

Gqozo's new main man ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ will add fuel to the fire

THE appointment of former Ibhayi mayor Tamsanqa Linda as secretary general of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement is widely regarded as a move which could add to tensions in the Ciskei. *W. Mar*

Linda, who replaces Basie Oosthuizen, is a controversial figure with a well-known hatred of the African National Congress.

A former ticket inspector from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, he became publicly known in 1983, when his Zamukulungisa Party successfully campaigned against the Asinamali Party in the Ibhayi council elections. *16/10-22/10/92*

In 1984, he incurred the wrath of Ibhayi residents when, as deputy mayor, he occupied a house from which a widow and her two children had been evicted. Protests against the move were met by harsh police action and a number of residents were detained.

In April 1985, after Linda's home was attacked, he and his wife moved into a beachfront hotel in Port Elizabeth, where they rented two double rooms at a daily cost of R85 each. They ran up a bill of about R14 000, which the town council had to pay.

Linda was eventually fired as Ibhayi mayor for refusing to attend council meetings.

Other notable incidents in his chequered political career include:

- A three-week tour of Britain and the United States in 1986, during which Linda spoke out in support of the then South African president PW Botha, attacked international sanctions against South Africa and campaigned against the United Democratic Front (UDF).

- A call for the extension of the State of Emergency and his condoning of detention without trial.

- His call for the banning of the UDF and its affiliates

- His election in 1986 as co-president of the conservative United Christian Conciliation Party, which was later found effectively to be controlled by the government. — Ecna

The evaluation and possible release of prisoners who committed crimes with political motivation in terms of the decision by the Government on 26 September 1992, is conducted by a joint committee. Information which was submitted to this committee included information which also served before the Consulting Body and the Indemnity Committee and the principle of confidentiality which was applied there is now also being applied. Therefore, it is not considered advisable to provide the information as requested by the Hon member.

In general I can also refer the Hon member to the Statement by the Government spokesman dated 26 September 1992, which *inter alia* deals with the release of prisoners who have committed crimes with political motivation (see reply to Question No 382).

Handing over of land to Ciskei

388 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs

- (1) Whether approximately 12 000 hectares of land in the Chalumba area south-west of East London had been handed over to Ciskei by January 1989, if so,

- (2) whether, at that stage, approximately 8 000 hectares of the above tract of land were owned by the South African Development Trust and the remaining land was to be acquired as soon as possible, if not, what was the position in this regard; if so, (a) which farms constituted the land owned by the Development Trust and (b)(i) which farms were subsequently acquired by the Development Trust to make up the remaining approximately 4 000 hectares, (ii) at what total cost and (iii) in respect of what date is this information furnished.
- (3) whether any of the farms making up the above 12 000 hectares, or portions thereof, have been disposed of, if so, (a) to whom, (b) at what price and (c) for what purpose?

B886E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS

- (1) No. The so-called Chalumba area consisting of ± 12 000 ha would initially have been incorporated into the Ciskei in terms

of a bilateral decision. Certain factors have had the effect that the Government had decided not to incorporate the area into Ciskei, as originally decided, but that the area would be kept as part of the RSA for the purposes of settlement of the Imidushane Tribe under Chief Jonglangua.

- (2) and (3) Fall away

Citizen of Ciskei appointed as chief

389. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

- (1) Whether a certain citizen of Ciskei, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, was appointed as a chief in accordance with Notice 80 of 1990 published in the *Government Gazette* on 9 February 1990; if not, in terms of what statutory provisions and/or regulations was this person so appointed; if so, (a) why was he appointed and (b) what is his name;
- (2) whether the said notice has been amended since it was published in the *Gazette*, if so, (a) why and (b)(i) in what manner and (ii) to what extent?

B887E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes
- (a) The person referred to was appointed as chief after a formal request was received from the Imidushane tribe
- (b) Doyle Mphule Jonglangua
- (2) No
- (a) and (b) Fall away

Issuing of identity documents: Johannesburg

390 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

- (1) How many (a) identity documents had been issued by the (i) office of the regional representative and (ii) district representatives of his Department in Johannesburg since the referendum on 17 March 1992, and (b) applications for identity documents remained to be final-

ized, as at the latest specified date for which information is available.

- (2) whether there is any delay in the issuing of identity documents in Johannesburg; if so, (a) why and (b) what is the extent of the delay;
- (3) whether he will consider opening the offices of the district representatives in Johannesburg on Saturdays in order to deal with any applications for identity documents; if not, why not; if so, when?

B888E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

- (1) (a) (i) 25 597
(ii) 66 050
- As at 19 October 1992

(b) There is no backlog. Applications are forwarded daily to the Department's Head Office in Pretoria for processing.

- (2) No
- (3) The Department is continuously endeavouring to look after the needs of its clients, and it is also striving to arrange its office hours, whenever possible, in accordance with the needs of the public. In the light of the aforementioned, the Department is of the opinion that, also with due consideration of limited funds, the stage has not yet been reached to open the offices concerned for longer hours in the week, or on Saturdays, or to open more sub-offices in the Witwatersrand.

Imidushane Tribal Authority: development of villages

391 Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

- (1) Whether, with reference to a statement made in September 1990 by a certain regional representative of the former Department of Development Aid, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, any villages were developed or are being developed on State-owned land in the vicinity of the Imidushane Tribal Authority that used to be owned by the South African Development Trust; if not, what

is the position in this regard, if so, (a) how many villages are involved (b) where is each situated or to be situated and (c) what is the name of the above regional representative;

(2) whether the development of these villages has been completed; if not, why not, if so, when, in each case;

(3) whether it is the intention (a) to develop these villages further, (b) to extend the area covered by the Imidushane Tribal Authority to include these villages and (c) to build more villages; if so, what are the relevant details in each case?

B889E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) The Department of Regional and Land Affairs is not in possession of the statement issued by the Regional Representative, East London, of the former Department of Development Aid. The development referred to entails eight (8) residential areas (villages) which have been planned and which villages are being developed in the so-called Chalumba Area. The residential areas, with rudimentary services, are not proclaimed townships and are being developed for the settlement of members of the Imidushane Tribe and farm labourers employed on projects in the Chalumba Area allocated to the said tribe
- (b) The residential areas are situated in the allocated Chalumba Area, in extent approximately 12 000 hectares
- (c) The former Regional Representative referred to, is presumably Mr C L Attwell
- (2) No, the development takes place continuously according to available funds for the Chalumba Development Project
- (3) (a) Yes, the development of the residential areas and the provision of rudimentary services take place continuously
- (b) Yes.

Gqozo: I'm a fair man

UMTATA. — The Ciskei's controversial military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, often accused of illegitimate rule, maintains he has a democratic following in the Eastern Cape homeland.

Replying to questions on a Radio 702 talk show on Wednesday, Brigadier Gqozo said he had been elected democratically by

members of the military council.

He said he was not opposed to marches in the Ciskei, provided people were not bussed in from as far as Cape Town.

Brigadier Gqozo said there was free politicking in his territory. He cited as an example the SA Communist Party office in the capital, Bisho.

Referring to the fatal September 7 march, he claimed he had information that Ciskeians had been made to walk in front, which was why most of the people who had died were locals.

"We have information they are planning to attack our military base of Jongumsobomvu," he claimed.

(105)

CT 23/10/92

Own Correspondent
EAST LONDON. — The newly-appointed general secretary of the African Democratic Movement in Ciskei, Mr Thamsanqa Linda, was "handled" by a South African military intelligence front during 1987 in an operation known as Project Tommy.

An investigation has found that Mr Linda was used to pinpoint "moderate" black leaders to oppose the United Democratic Front.

Mr Linda was recruited on April 9, 1987 by Dr Ben Conradie, director of Eduguide, the Port Elizabeth branch of Adult Education Consultants (AEC), exposed as a military intelligence front organisation late last year.

Earlier this month Mr Linda took over as ADM general secretary from Mr Basie Oosthuyzen, the founder of Dynamic Teaching, which was also a part of the AEC front.

AEC and its branches have been linked to township violence in the Eastern Cape and to the training of Inkatha vigilantes in Natal.

Dr Conradie has admitted Eduguide was a military intelligence front and has provided documents signed on behalf of the SADF and AEC by former military intelligence chief General "Witkop" Badenhorst.

A former Port Elizabeth Ibhayi township mayor, Mr Linda was identified as a "very usable man" after speaking at a conference in Cape Town in April 1987, a former military intelligence operative said.

Mr Linda was then vice-president of the United Christian Conciliation Party, which opposed the SA Council of Churches.

"It seemed the AEC was supporting Linda in establishing UCCP as a party for non-ANC Christians," the former operative said.

On April 19, 1987 Mr Linda provided Eduguide with a written "appraisal" of the leader of Ama-Afrika, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, whom he labelled a Pan Africanist committed to socialism.

Military 'handled' top Ciskei party man

Unknown to him, Mr Maqina was at the time receiving funds from Eduguide in an operation known as Project Henry.

Mr Linda's job was to "identify positive leaders and submit their names and then to organise a conference", the military intelligence source said.

Between May 13 and 17, 1987 a conference was held at the Mpekweni Sun in Ciskei for 40 of these "leaders".

Another conference was held on September 5 at the Zuurberg Inn, near Addo. The AEC supplied "lecturers" at both conferences.

Almost all the participants were former councillors from township administrations.

At the first conference a R9 000 bar and room service tab was paid for by Eduguide.

The handlers were soon disillusioned by Mr Linda. On September 25 he was dumped by Eduguide.

After repeated denials Mr Linda finally admitted meeting Dr Ben Conradie.

He denied any knowledge of the Rev Ebenezer Maqina document, but confirmed he had been involved in two Eduguide-sponsored conferences in 1987.

Last week and earlier this week he denied meeting Dr Conradie. He said in a telephone interview: "I will never take dirty money to betray or belittle my people.."

"I have never been involved in any way with any military intelligence. No, I have never met Dr Conradie."

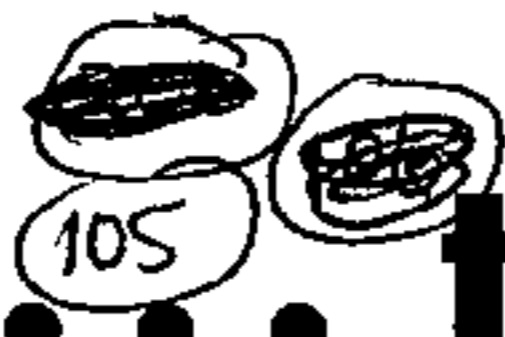
He admitted later he had met Dr Conradie through a professor at Vista University, but when asked to explain his earlier denial, he emphasised: "Now I am telling you that I know this man, but not militarily."

Commenting on the Maqina document, he said: "I don't know about anything of that sort. I am not interested to read anything about that kind of thing."

He later alleged that "people" were trying to "incriminate" him because he was involved with the Ciskei government. (105) CT 23/10/92

PENSIONS

FM 23/10/92



And now ... the Ciskei option

Ciskei plans to copy Venda by dissolving its R1bn State pension fund and distributing the benefits — which have probably been largely funded by SA taxpayers. A Ciskei spokesman confirmed this week that, “due to the wishes of some of the civil servants and the directors-general forum, it has been decided to look into the matter of the privatisation of pensions. The Ciskei government is presently making investigations as to how to handle this to the best possible advantage of the civil service.”

This is the third recorded State fund dissolution in which Sanlam has been involved.

The first was when Namibia was heading for independence and the second was in Venda. Though Sanlam is seen as close to some of the so-called independent States, a spokesman in the employee benefits division says it disapproves of the destruction of the pension programmes. He adds that retirement benefits should be “almost sacrosanct.”

There is a suspicion that Ciskei's rulers have been persuaded of the benefits of dissolving the fund by “somebody shrewd enough to spot an opportunity for earning huge commissions, by converting the pension payouts to individual life products.”

If the pensions are converted to annuity-type products, there will be at least some pension preservation. However, if Ciskei follows the Venda example, the capital sums can be transferred to unit trusts — effectively turning them into tax-free cash.

In the case of Venda, Sanlam was merely the investment manager and it was the actuary, Alexander Forbes, that was asked to apportion the fund between beneficiaries. In the case of Ciskei, Sanlam is both manager and official actuary. Sanlam now has to apportion the R1bn between 28 000 civil servants and about 1 000 pensioners.

It is easy to follow the reasoning for the independent States to dissolve their schemes. They have mostly fully funded their pension schemes, in stark contrast to SA's own State schemes which are at best about 40% funded. At the last valuation, Ciskei's scheme was 20% overfunded. In 1980, a sum based on a simple head count was transferred from the RSA fund to Ciskei and, as Ciskei low-level workers are poorly paid, the opportunities for those higher up the scale seem obvious.

Faced with the threat that they will be drawn back into an SA from which the TBVC countries will disappear, as will the politicians' jobs, it makes sense to the leaders of such States to protect their futures.

As the Jacobs Committee has hinted at support of the concept of capping pension rights, the scurrying for full pension payouts is understandable.

While Sanlam refuses to be drawn into controversy because Ciskei is still, in theory, a client, a source at the Bellville-based assurer questioned whether SA taxpayers had in reality funded the scheme. The fact it is overfunded, he suggests, derives from good investment performance and the fact that Ciskei had not prescribed where its fund should be invested in the narrow manner adopted for years by the SA authorities.

Also, Ciskei has not encouraged buy-backs of pension rights to the extent that this was practised in SA. He suggested that, to protect retirement benefits, Ciskei should not try to follow the Venda route. Instead, it could close the existing fund but keep it intact for the benefit of existing members.

How much more scurrying for pension protection will there be?

Parliamentarians must be conscious of their own insecurity. There is no fund as such for MPs and Cabinet Ministers. After they have duly served 7,5 years, they obtain handsome pension rights. Then there are the members of the President's Council. To spread the net even further, many local authorities provide for pensions for their councillors as well as running the conventional pension or provident schemes for employees. In most cases, these perks for serving councillors are not funded.

It has been estimated that a one-off funding of pensions for MPs and Ministers would cost more than R800m. Triple that for people who have served in local government.

An elected representative who has done honest service for many years is entitled to some sort of retirement benefit and few would argue with that principle, even if he stands on the other side of a political fence. But a homeland leader or Cabinet member who has already made use of the position for self-enrichment might reasonably be placed in a different category.

Very rarely are there cases where retroactive law is good law. In the present situation, those who will make up a future government might be forgiven if they looked at the self-enrichment process, including the disposition of pensions, and act accordingly when they come to power.

Bryan Deans

UK FM 23/10/92

Into the fire



To the relief of financial markets, as the *FM* went to press, it seemed probable that UK PM John Major's government would survive its third crisis in five weeks.

The partial U-turn on the wholesale closure of 31 coal mines undoubtedly humbled

FM 23/10/92

Major and consigned the political ambitions of Board of Trade president Michael Heseltine to the dustbin. But it seemed to have assuaged the wrath of enough rebellious Conservative MPs to ensure the government weathered the vote in the Commons, on Wednesday, on Labour's motion calling for a suspension of all closures pending a full inquiry and formulation of a UK national energy policy.

However, it was essentially a damage limitation exercise as was the sudden additional one point cut to 8% in base lending rates.

Following sterling's devaluation, the resignation of Arts Minister Michael Mellor over his extramarital flutter and, above all, the deepening recession, the Major government stands discredited, accused of drifting — even in the editorial columns of the Conservatives' most avid press supporters. Not since the Suez adventure of 1956 has any Tory government suffered such a mauling.

What astounded observers was that the government, which has been aware since 1989 that a massive shrinkage of the coal industry was inevitable, could have so badly misjudged public reaction. The blunt announcement that 22 Mt of annual output was to be axed and, with it, the jobs of 30 000 miners — affecting as many as 60 000 others in transport and the industry's suppliers — came at a time when unemployment was rising at the rate of more than 30 000 a month.

The causes of coal's demise is straightforward. Privatisation of electricity left the power generators and distributing companies free to compete on price. British coal at £43,50/t was twice as costly as free market imports and, in terms of generating costs, 31% more expensive per kWh than North Sea gas.

This produced the dash for gas among generators and distributors who are building their own gas-fired stations. So, even though coal will come down in price to £31,25/t under the new contracts with the electricity companies, demand will not be there.

Coal once accounted for 80% of power station fuel; now about half the need is supplied by gas and the heavily (£1,1bn) subsidised nuclear industry. Hence, from April generating companies will cut their use of coal from 65 Mt/year to 40 Mt. Stockpiles are already 35 Mt tons.

Heseltine's retreat, to jeers in the Commons, offered a three-month moratorium on all closures with only the loss-making 10 mines to shut at the end of it, and the number of lay-offs to be reduced to 7 400. The Treasury will fork out up to £37 000 a head in redundancy money.

But the reprieve still means British Coal

continued

'Project Tommy' adds to the rot in Ciskei

W/Mail 23/10-29/10/92

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THE newly appointed head of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) was once "handled" by South African Military Intelligence (MI) in an operation known as "Project Tommy".

This revelation adds weight to the view that the ADM, widely regarded as Gqozo's "Inkatha", bears an increasing resemblance to covert projects run by MI in the eastern Cape during the mid-1980s which supported organisations linked to violence in the region.

Thamsanqa Linda, a former mayor of Port Elizabeth's Ibhayi township, stepped into the boots of former acting general secretary of the ADM and ex-MI operative Basie Oosthuysen earlier this month.

Linda was approached by MI in Port Elizabeth in 1987. He was recruited and controlled for several months by Eduguide, a wing of Adult Education Consultants, exposed by *The Weekly Mail* in December last year as an MI front.

In an interview, educationist Dr Ben Conradie, who ran Eduguide, spoke of his support for Linda, who was well known as an ardent anti-United Democratic Front campaigner. Conradie said he had personally bought and delivered a car to Linda, and then took it away again four months later when Linda did not "produce enough".

When Conradie recovered the car, he found a shotgun and ammunition in the boot which he returned to Linda.

A joint *Weekly Mail* and Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression investigation has now established that Linda was part of MI's "Project Tommy" and was used to pinpoint "moderate" black leaders who would

Further links between Ciskei's leadership and Military Intelligence

were revealed this week, report

LOUISE FLANAGAN and

ANDREW TRENCH

sow division in UDF-supporting communities in the eastern Cape.

In one instance, Linda motivated the withdrawal of MI financial support for the leader of the anti-UDF AmaAfrika grouping, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina.

In a letter to Eduguide, he labelled Maqina a Pan Africanist front man committed to socialism, but claimed that Maqina was being controlled by Port Elizabeth businessman and National Party official David Abel.

"Abel, the man behind Maqina, is not a man with a knowledge of black people, even the different political movements. By giving Maqina financial assistance you are promoting the cause of the Pan Africanist Congress, which is banned in South Africa," he said.

Abel was involved during 1986 in Action for Peace and Prosperity (APP), a grouping which promoted Maqina's Black Crisis Centre and his Save the Child Campaign. APP worked closely with civil defence and provided assistance for defence committees in the suburbs.

Links between these groups were publicised at the time in a newspaper called *Focus*, believed to have been funded by the state.

Linda was also vice-president of the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP). "It seemed that Adult Education Consultants was

supporting Linda in establishing UCCP as a political party for non-African National Congress Christians to join," said a former MI operative this week.

"Linda kept promising that he would be gathering thousands and thousands of blacks to bring about this political party for moderates, but he could not produce on these promises."

One of the projects Linda undertook for his MI "handlers" was recruiting "moderate" blacks, most of them members of the discredited local town councils, to attend conferences at the Mpekweni Sun in Ciskei and the Zuurburg Inn near Addo. At one of these conferences, held from May 13 to 17 1987 at the Mpekweni Sun, Linda and about 40 associates ran up bar and room-service charges of R9 000, which MI had to pay.

The relationship between Linda and MI ended in September 1987. Linda, who allegedly referred to himself as "Alias Tommy" while working for MI, denied ever meeting Conradie and flew into a rage this week when asked about the allegations.

"No, that was mad. I have never been involved in any way with any Military Intelligence, they were just mad," he said from his office in the Ciskei Council of State buildings. "*The Weekly Mail* is just a paper that wants to incriminate everybody who happens to be against the ANC, which is very bad.

"To hell with you, I don't want to hear anything. If you were here in front of me, I would kick you in your f...ing arse. Get off my back, you bloody bastard, get off my back," he shouted and slammed down the telephone.

Ciskei Swoop on finding it ars on!

Ciphen 25/10/192

105

THE detention of the regional commander of Jinhonto we Sizwe by Ciskei authorities is part of an attempt to locate MK arms caches in the region, sources believe.

'Raids an attempt to find arms caches'

Lindie Yam was detained at his Mdantsane home last week, and is being held in the township's NU1 police station in terms of Section 26 of the National Security Act.

The detention comes amid escalating conflict between the ANC and Ciskei authorities.

At least 30 people have already died, including ANC and Ciskei government supporters.

Four other MK members were detained shortly before Yam, and appeared in the Mdantsane Magistrate's Court on Thursday on charges of illegal possession of arms.

The four are Phakalisa Ntshila, Mpunmelelo Losala, Lamla Tshona and Achusa Rumbu.

Unconfirmed reports from inside the cells say the four have been subjected to torture, and have been put in solitary confinement.

They have embarked on a hunger strike, sources say.

Ciskei police commissioner Gen Jan Viktor could not comment on the claims.

ed the house while others searched inside.

When they could not find anything during the search, he was arrested.

Yam's lawyer, Hintsa Siwisa, said the court had been told on Friday that Yam was no longer detained under Section 26 and that the police had submitted a docket to Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens.

Siwisa said Jurgens refused to prosecute Yam and he was expected to be released.

However, Jurgens said he had declined to prosecute Yam on charges of terrorism, but said he would be arrested on charges of murder. — Elnews.

On Friday the Ciskei Supreme Court was to hear an application presented by Yam's wife, Noxolo, to have his detention declared null and void.

The respondent is the Ciskei police commissioner, who opposes the application.

Yam, whose MK name is "Admiral", is a hardened soldier.

As could be expected of someone from Mdantsane, he was a professional boxer.

He participated in both the Eastern and Northern fronts in Angola where he participated in clashes with Unita between 1983 and 1987.

A recently released detainee who saw the four in detention said they told him they had been questioned about where they had hidden arms.

Three of them had refused to give any information, while one identified a hiding place in the Transkei.

It is believed Yam is also being held in connection with the search for arms caches.

The Ciskei forces and the SADF have repeatedly accused MK of being responsible for a spate of attacks against the homeland's forces since the Bisho massacre.

The SADF said recently the ANC had relaunched its armed struggle in the Ciskei.

The MK commander was taken from his home in a pre-dawn raid.

Armed members of the Ciskei forces, allegedly assisted by the SADF, arrived in two Hippo. Some troops surround-

MORE people have been killed in political violence in the Ciskei in the seven weeks since the Bisho stadium bloodbath than in the massacre itself.

The mayhem which has ripped apart Ciskei's social fabric in the massacre aftermath was underlined this week in a report by the Independent Monitoring Network.

According to the Network - set up after the massacre by a number of Human Rights' groups in the region - at least 30 people have been killed since September 7 when 29 ANC marchers were gunned down by Ciskei troops.

Unlike the massacre, images of the daily slaughter have not been beamed around the world.

But countless people have been injured; strife-torn villagers remain under siege; there has been widespread disruption of schooling and business activity; an enduring refugee crisis, and damage to property running into millions of rands. Independent observers

Low-key civil war follows massacre

C/Papers 25/10/92

105

talk about a low-intensity civil war in Ciskei.

The magnitude of the crisis supports this assessment. It has been punctuated by bomb blasts, the detention of numerous ANC and Umkhonto weSizwe cadres; hit squad-like assassinations; and continuing joint SADF/CDF house-to-house searches and patrols.

The network has been monitoring all politically-motivated incidents of violence in the region since early September.

Its report said tensions have been mounting between security forces and Ciskei government supporters on the one hand and ANC alliance supporters on the other.

"In the light of the political tensions both groups have clearly become targets of attacks," said the report. The warring parties use

little tact in their pronouncements on the violence.

When a limpet mine tore apart the private car of CDF operations chief Col Horst Schubesberger in a busy Bisho parking lot on October 2, the Ciskei security establishment blamed MK - although the PAC's military wing, Apla, later claimed responsibility for the blast.

The CDF described the attack as part of plan to relaunch the armed struggle countrywide.

The SADF has painted a similar picture of alleged MK insurgency. The ANC, reeling from a spate of attacks on its supporters and the detention of some of its office-bearers, has consistently denied the claims and has charged the CDF/SADF with

waging a military war against its supporters.

A pre-dawn attack on the homes of two ANC activists in Msobomvu village in the war-torn Alice district last Tuesday killed four people, three of them close relatives of well-known Alice activist Eric Badi. Six others were injured by balaclava-clad gunmen.

ANC Border media officer Mcebisi Bata claimed both the SADF and CDF were implicated.

Senior CDF and SADF officers rejected this.

Five days after the attacks, Bata's brother, Lizo, was killed in a grenade attack on his Tyutyu village home. Hours later the home of ANC NEC member Wilton Mkwazi was petrol-bombed. The Alice killings

brought to at least 15 the number of ANC supporters killed since the massacre.

Ciskei's African Democratic Movement (ADM) recently reported that at least 13 ADM members or supporters of the homeland's military government had been killed in 111 attacks.

Hundreds of refugees, among them several CDF soldiers and members and supporters of the ADM, have fled their villages.

However, the bulk of the refugees are young supporters of the ANC who fled their homes in Ciskei for King William's Town and the University of Fort Hare, all saying they were being assaulted and harassed by the CDF.

Shortly after the widely-reported looting spree at the Mdantsane Sun hotel on September 18 - the day of the Bisho funeral - it was reported that damage to property in Ciskei in the massacre aftermath ran close to R2-million.

That figure may well have trebled over the past month. - Elnews

Bisho was only the beginning; mayhem continues

Ciskeians suffer

■ **World is unaware of ongoing tragedy:**

Sowetan 26/10/92 (105)
MORE people have been killed in political violence in Ciskei since the Bisho stadium bloodbath than in the massacre itself.

The extent of the aftermath mayhem has been underlined in a report by the Independent Monitoring Network.

According to the Network - set up after the massacre by human rights groups in the region - at least 30 people have been killed since the massacre on September 7.

Images of the daily slaughter have not been beamed around the world, but the impact on the people of Ciskei is profound. - *Echna*.

Military intelligence front link admitted

CT (258) 26/10/92
Own Correspondent (105)

EAST LONDON. — The general secretary of the African Democratic Movement (ADM), Mr Tamsanga Linda, has confirmed his involvement with a military intelligence front company, Eduguide, saying it was intended to educate people about "communist infiltration".

Mr Linda, who is also Ciskei's director of communications, was reacting to disclosures of his recruitment and handling by Eduguide's director, Dr Ben Conradie, in 1987.

Mr Linda first denied last week ever meeting Dr Conradie, but later said he only knew Dr Conradie through a professor at Vista University. Yesterday he confirmed meeting him on April 9, 1987 "to discuss adult education for my councillors".

ANC man dies after attack

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — An African National Congress branch executive member at Quzini Village died in hospital yesterday after he was attacked in his home on Monday night. (105)

Ciskeian police Commissioner General J J Viktor confirmed the attack, but said he was not aware of any other attacks as claimed by the ANC.

Border ANC spokesman Mr Mcebisi Bata said a group of armed men fired shots at Mr Jackson Lefefe immediately after introducing themselves as members of the Bisho-based African Democratic Movement.

Mr Lefefe was taken to hospital where he died yesterday afternoon.

CT 28/10/92

Ciskei police chief ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ resigns

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, General Johan Viktor, announced his resignation yesterday, effective from the end of the year. *CT 28/10/91*

General Viktor said he had tendered his resignation with the South African authorities.

He had been seconded to Ciskei by the South African government for two years in April 1991.

General Viktor declined to say why he had resigned, but a Ciskei source indicated a rift had developed between the commissioner and Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

General Viktor is reported to have rebuked Brigadier Gqozo for criticising the police, saying: "I am the commissioner of police. It's got nothing to do with you."

He was appointed to "increase police efficiency and to improve training".

General Viktor is the third Ciskei police commissioner since the army, led by Brigadier Gqozo, gained power on March 4, 1990.

New Ciskei-ANC talks date

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Ciskei government yesterday proposed a new date for talks with members of the ANC's Border branch.

The National Peace Secretariat is to convey the new dates — November 10 or 11 — to the ANC.

It was reported on Monday that planned peace talks between the Ciskei and the ANC had been cancelled after an attack on a Ciskei Defence Force bus near Dimbaza, in which a soldier was killed and eight others injured. — Sapa

(105) CT 28/10/92

ANC officials under attack

Soweto 29/10/92. (105)
■ Ciskei executive member slain:

ATTACKS on members of the African National Congress in Ciskei continued during the past 36 hours, ANC Border region spokesman Mr Mcebisi Bata claimed yesterday

He said Mr Jackson Lufefe, an ANC Ciskei executive committee member, was attacked and shot dead at his Quzini home by men claiming to be members of Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement on Tuesday night.

Security forces in the Border area yesterday denied involvement in Lufefe's violent death. -
Sapa

(105)
Police chief quits
EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, General Johan Viktor, has announced his resignation.

3 more die in Natal unrest

Own Correspondent
MARITZBURG. — Three more people died in continuing violence in Natal when armed gunmen attacked the kraal of a headman in the Umbumbulu area yesterday morning (CT 30/10/92).
Also, a prominent IFP member, Mr Sichizo Zuma, was shot and seriously wounded while driving in Edendale early yesterday.

And police said yesterday they had opened an attempted murder docket after local IFP leader David Ntombela was shot at while driving near Henley Dam on Wednesday.

Meanwhile hundreds of residents from the Nkonyameni Reserve outside Umlazi attended a reconciliation service yesterday to celebrate the signing of a peace agreement.

IFP criticises Hadebe offer

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — The IFP has described the government's R250 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the killers of ANC leader Mr Reggie Hadebe as a "disgraceful display of selective morality" (CT 30/10/92).
"We remind the government that 252 IFP leaders have been assassinated since 1985," the organisation said.

Cop stabbed, shot to death

JOHANNESBURG. — A policeman died, one was injured and a group of policemen were stoned in unrest yesterday.

The body of a police constable with bullet and stab wounds was found in the veld next to KwaMazibuko Hostel in Katielohong yesterday.

In Soweto, a policeman was injured yesterday when a grenade was hurled into his house.

Constable M Khumalo was asleep in his house when the grenade was thrown into his bedroom.

At Mbekweni, near Paarl, policemen were stoned whilst conducting a search. A man was hurt when police used rubber bullets to ward off the attack.

A family caught in Natal's crossfire

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Beauty Ngcobe, a 46-year-old Inkatha supporter whose husband was gunned down in front of her three years ago, allegedly by ANC activists, endures attacks on her house in Imballi township, 10 kilometres from Maritzburg, almost every night.
Her crime is to live in an African National Congress area of Imballi, but she is stuck in a vicious circle, as her house, pockmarked with bullet holes,

is unsellable.
Mrs Ngcobe says one Friday in September, township ANC activists threw a grenade onto her roof while she was eating dinner with her five children, aged between four and 22.
The grenade rolled off, and exploded behind the house's side wall.
"They pay kids to do it," says Dennis, Mrs Ngcobe's 18-year-old son.
"The ANC tsotsis approach kids who have nothing, give them a grenade or

an AK-47, and say, 'here, if you kill so-and-so we'll give you R50'."
Dennis says he holds no bitterness towards his fellow Zulus, and he hopes for a time when he can live in peace with his neighbours.
During a night spent with the Ngcobe family in Imballi, the house was shot at several times and stoned once — a quite normal procedure for a Friday night, according to the family (CT 30/10/92).

Many of the people who are dying in Natal have little passion for politics, and, like the Ngcobes, differ from their enemies only nominally.
Dennis Ngcobe, in spite of being an Inkatha member, was fond of Mr Reggie Hadebe, whom he said had strived vainly for peace in the region. "It's not Reggie, or even Mandela who orders the fighting. It's the tsotsis right here." — Sapa-AFP

Natal: Troops to be doubled

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Amid indications that an urgent meeting of National Peace Accord signatories is in the offing, President F W de Klerk announced last night that the Defence Force will double the number of troops currently deployed in Natal.

Mr De Klerk also announced that unrest areas are to be declared in the violence-racked province and "high density" police patrols would be initiated "to stop the infiltration of Transkei into Natal".

Meanwhile, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze warned that the assassination of ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe could be "the spark that sets Natal alight".

The special investigation unit was doing "everything possible" to track down the killers.
In a statement issued in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the Defence Force would, within a week, "double the number of troops currently deployed in Natal in support of the South African Police".

Defence Ministry spokesmen last night declined to give details on their troop strengths in the province, saying such information was never made public for security reasons.

Mr De Klerk said the SAP would also further reinforce its manpower in Natal and "deploy additional units, including the Internal Stability Division, more widely throughout the province".

General Johan Swart, head of the division, told a press confer-

Govt, ANC will meet to plan 'bosberaad'

THE government and the ANC will meet "more than once" in the next week to plan a "bosberaad" between the two parties — but no date had yet been fixed for the proposed meeting, a government spokesman said last night.

The government also said it was unaware of plans for a November 15 summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

AFP reported that both parties had tentatively agreed to the summit date, but the Director-General of the State President's office, Mr Dave Steward, told a press briefing last night that he had no knowledge of such a meeting.

And senior Department of Constitutional Development spokesman, Mr Marius Kleynhans, said, "We don't

know anything about this."

Mr Kleynhans said the government would have discussions with the ANC on the proposed bosberaad "over the next week or two" but added that "no firm date has been set as yet".

Sapa reports that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night that he was not interested in bilateral talks with Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to end violence in Natal.

"The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the Patriotic Front is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum who should come together to address the matter," Mr Mandela said.

ence last night that about 300 members had been deployed in Natal in recent weeks and more would arrive over the weekend.

General Swart thought three unrest areas would be declared, but could not give details.

Government sources indicated earlier this week that Richmond and areas of the South Coast were of particular concern Maritzburg — the scene of fresh violence yesterday — may also be considered.

Mr De Klerk also said that the police may have to establish bases along the Natal/Transkei border to secure the area.

The ANC last night rejected as "brazen lies" allegations by Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw that Transkei was used as a base for MK to launch attacks on southern Natal and the eastern Cape.

Mr De Klerk added that the government would ask Mr Justice

Richard Goldstone to "become more personally involved" in the Goldstone Commission's investigations into violence in Natal.

"The government reiterates its call on Dr Buthelezi and Mr Mandela to meet as soon as possible," said Mr De Klerk.

National Peace Committee chairman Mr John Hall said last night after a meeting with Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi that "extensive preparatory work" was being done in the hope of making such a meeting possible.

Mr Hall held "constructive talks" with Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday, and with Chief Buthelezi yesterday.

He will now meet Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela and then report to an executive meeting of the National Peace Committee. It is understood this will take place early next week.

ANC man shot in Ciskei

Own Correspondent
EAST LONDON. — ANC member Mr Bejile Basayi was seriously injured when his house in Nonibe, between King William's Town and Peddie, was attacked with grenades and rifle fire on Wednesday night.
ANC media officer, Mr Mcebisi Bata, said Mr Basayi was shot in the leg and was admitted to Bishop Hospital.
● The deputy com-

mander of the police station in NU 13, Mdantsane, Lieutenant Jack Hulana, was shot dead at a party at the Mdantsane prison on Wednesday night. (CT 30/10/92)

A Ciskei Police spokesman said a police constable had been arrested.

Eyewitnesses said Lieutenant Hulana was shot 18 times in the stomach during a quarrel. He died instantly.

Transkei strike broadens

UMTATA. — Prison warders, court prosecutors and magistrates joined a growing civil servants' strike in the Transkei yesterday after a breakdown in negotiations over salary parity (CT 30/10/92).
And the homeland's military council issued an ultimatum to nurses on strike at more than 29 hospitals to return to work immediately.
In another development, the Transkei Radiographers' Association announced a general strike by all paramedics, beginning on Monday.
Prosecutors and magistrates said they would meet at Umtata's Regional Court today, and would remain there until further developments. — Sapa

TV TODAY

TV1		SBS	
8.00: GMSA	15.15: Viva Family Vh	8.00: Daybreak News	15.30: Fashion, Foot
8.00: CTV	16.00: Magic of Two I	9.00: The Vital Element. Platinum	16.00: Sugar & Spice
11.05: Larry King	16.30: Balansel the Lit	12.00: Headline News	16.40: Days of our Lb
13.30: Business Day	17.30: The Bold and t	14.00: 5-15	18.00: Exhmoit
14.30: Telaschool Home Economics	18.30: Doors	15.00: World of Chemistry	18.57: Devotion
15.30: The Paw Paws	19.00: News	16.05: Grimm's Fairytale Classics	19.30: Sports Arens
16.00: Lion Series of Bible Stories	19.30: Pick a Tune	16.35: Danger Bay	21.00: News update
17.00: Another Life	21.12: Royal Family	17.30: Music Biz Quiz	21.42: Lee Girls. A C
17.57: Compass	starring Gene K	18.00: News	Key Kandall s
18.15: Top Billing	which a music	18.15: Tropical Heat	and is then re-
19.00: Die Nuus	Joe Cool Liva. F	20.00: Die Nuus	this show incl
20.30: Sending Vietnam	pearance by c	21.30: Stoppie Bus	leading musicia
22.00: Dia Manne van Afdaling K3	ophonist Sadac	22.00: Dia Manne van Afdaling K3	with top US Est
23.30: Maupeasant Vertel	including Paul	23.00: Gadegta vir die Dag	Franklin
0.25: Transmissie ends	Franklin	0.30: Transmissie ends	0.43: CNN Informatie
CCV		SBS	
19.00: Inkom'Edia Voetsa Repeat	14.00: Kideo	13.30: Toyota Top 20 Repeat	14.30: Kideo
14.30: Kideo	14.30: Young Reader	15.00: Cancer kan be Beaten	

CISKEI FM 30/10/92

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Pretoria puts its foot down

Ciskei's attempts to "privatise" its State pension scheme — a process which could have led to the enrichment of political interests — seems to have been quashed by the SA government.

A scheme to pay out members of the mini-State's R1bn pension fund had been proposed, leaving them to make their own retirement arrangements with the proceeds. This plan would leave a 20% surplus — about R170m. There is no suggestion this sum would disappear — it would have been used for improved benefits — but the scheme as proposed created scope for huge commissions and fees to be earned. One estimate puts the figure at R18m.

It is rumoured it was Ciskei's new Finance Minister, Admiral Bert Becker, who put a stop to the scheme's implementation. But it has not been possible to confirm this because the affair has caused embarrassment in Pretoria and Ciskei and officials are reluctant to discuss it.

A firm trading as Unathi Financial Broking Services, run by eastern Cape businessman P J Marais, is said to have suggested the scheme. The arrangement included the placing of "some millions" of rands with political

interests.

Becker, seconded by Pretoria as Ciskei Finance Minister earlier this year, opposed the plan, as did the fund's investment manager and actuary, Sanlam. Becker spoke reluctantly to the *FM* about the affair but did confirm that the Ciskei directors-general forum had been in favour of breaking up the fund. Becker subsequently asked independent actuaries Malan & Partners to investigate and report. That report was received last week and will be considered by Ciskei's Council of State. Becker will not reveal its contents but simply reiterates that decisions will be taken in the best interests of Ciskei's civil servants (*Economy* October 23). Another source claims the pension scheme will now revert to the *status quo ante*.

Earlier, Marais, who is not a life assurance broker, had been trying to recruit suitable agency staff, apparently to assist civil servants convert their pension rights to suitable savings instruments. Attempts to reach Marais or Unathi this week, to clarify their roles, were unsuccessful. Becker said he did not know what part Marais had played.

The *FM* report (*Economy* October 23) on Ciskei's fund caused consternation in Pretoria.

ia. A committee of the Development Bank, which is considering restructuring the finances of the Ciskei, has received a note from Foreign Affairs urging it not to allow Ciskei's pension fund to develop into "another Venda debacle."

That reference to Venda — also a State with a fully funded pension scheme — alluded to its decision this year to privatise its fund before the possibility of reincorporation into SA becomes a reality (*Economy* August 28).

The SA government fund for civil servants is only about 40% funded, so if the Venda or Ciskei funds were merged with SA's, any surpluses would be swamped.

So in some ways, the concerns of civil servants in the TBVC countries are legitimate. They need to know their fully funded retirement plans are protected. But arrangements which could allow surpluses to disappear into some political void, or large commissions to be shared with politicians, are clearly unsatisfactory.

Sanlam, the life office which administers the investment of the Ciskei fund, has apparently also offered advice to try to protect retirement plans.

There are better ways of protecting the Ciskei's 28 000 civil servants and 1 000 pensioners than simply dividing the kitty. One is to make the fund paid up at the time of any incorporation of Ciskei and Venda into SA, allowing members to start anew in the SA government fund, while their existing retirement savings are protected, and growing, for their retirement years. Or, as in the case of Namibia, there should be strict regulation of how members can invest their share of the pension money, so it becomes available only on retirement. Perhaps most important is that pension surpluses belong to the fund: they cannot be distributed in any other way than to members and pensioners.

The surplus that has accumulated in Ciskei could go a long way towards providing better benefits for those on pension and those nearing retirement age.

Bryan Deans and Eddie Botha

Quarrelling Gqozo loses a general

Weekly Mail Reporter

20/10 - still 1992

20/10 - still 1992

Major Fouche in the security branch.

(105)

THE surprise resignation of Ciskei police commissioner General Johan Viktor provides further evidence of the increasingly strained relations between Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and seconded South African officials.

On Wednesday Viktor announced he was resigning with effect from the end of the year. A highly controversial figure seconded by the SAP, he had served as Ciskei's police chief since April 1991.

His resignation follows that of Basie Oosthuizen, the South African Defence Force-linked former political advisor to Gqozo, and it is believed both men left after clashes with the Ciskei leader. Viktor reportedly told Gqozo: "I am the commissioner of police. It's got nothing to do with you."

But Gqozo's administration still depends heavily on South Africa — the South African embassy in King William's Town confirmed that there were still "about 280" seconded officials in Ciskei. These include six senior officers in the Ciskei Defence Force, including CDF commander Brigadier Marius Oelshig, and "six or seven" policemen, among them a Colonel Fourie in finance and a Colonel Venter and a

Viktor has a controversial background, and many questioned his Ciskei appointment.

He was named by ex-police captain Dirk Coetzee as having once commanded the notorious Vlakplaas hit squads. He served as a regional commander in the northern Transvaal security police and was once the divisional head of the Soweto police.

Last month Law and Order Minister Hemus Kriel named Viktor as one of 100 policemen currently being investigated for undisclosed crimes. Details of the state of the investigation have not been forthcoming.

Only a few months after Viktor arrived in Ciskei, he was being accused of using his position to "purge" the Ciskei police force of "liberals" and ANC sympathisers and replacing them with former South African security policemen.

"It is aimed at putting the African Democratic Movement (Gqozo's 'Inkatha') and anti-ANC people into high ranks," a Ciskei police officer affected by the moves said at the time. "Viktor is trying to bring in more people he can work with smoothly in order to destabilise any ANC movement should the interim government be in process."

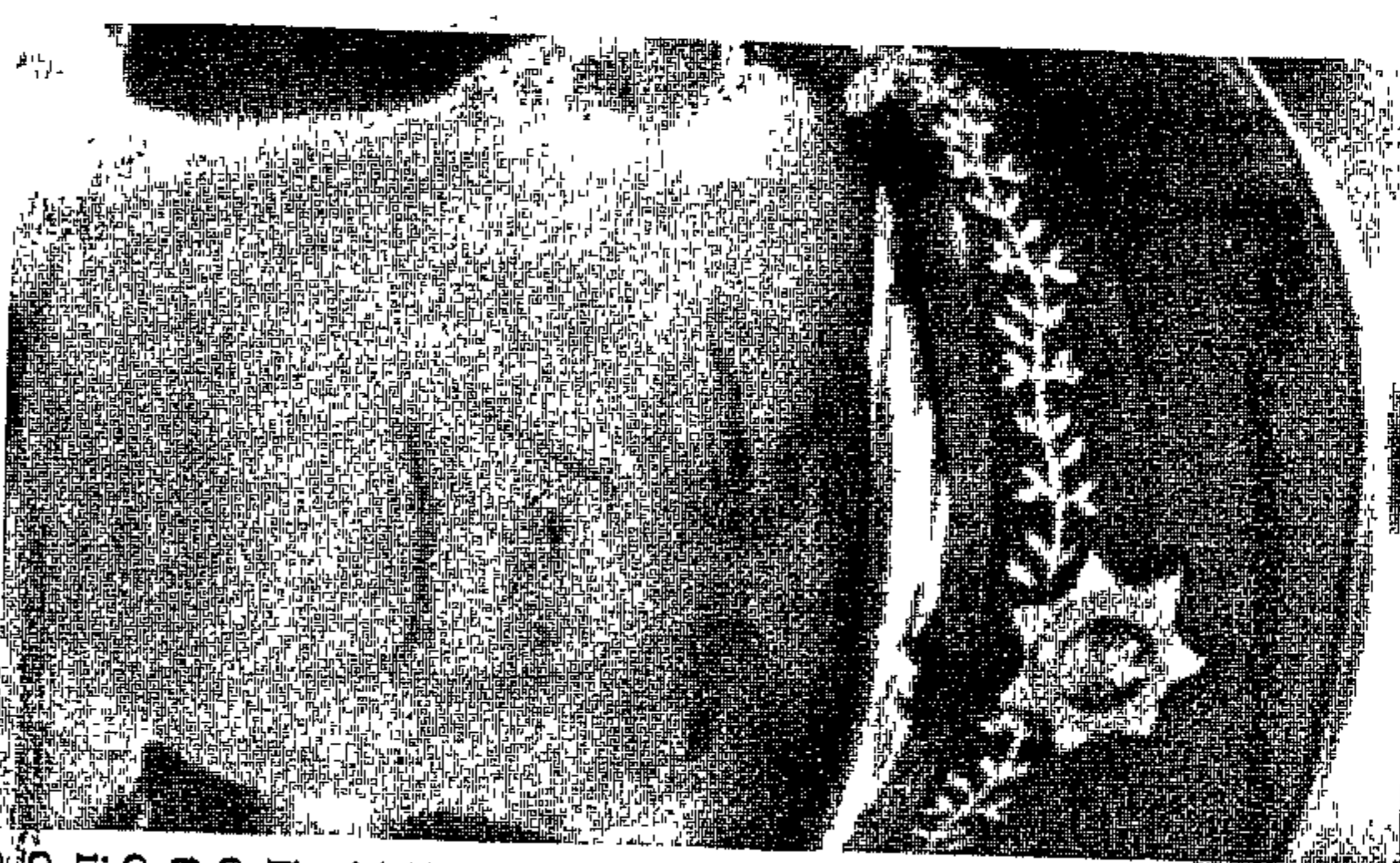
At that stage, more than 60 non-commissioned officers had allegedly been removed since Viktor's arrival.

In July this year, the allegations surfaced again when two former Ciskei policemen claimed they were among about 300 who had been unfairly dismissed since the beginning of the year.

The two said about 30 former South African security force members and black men speaking none of the country's indigenous languages had replaced them to do administrative work. Viktor denied this.

It was under Viktor's rule that former Ciskei security policemen, once jailed for the murder of activist Eric Mntonga, were allowed back to work. In another astonishing move, an officer who was in the process of appealing against his conviction for intimidation had the case quietly dropped and was promoted to chief of the murder and robbery unit for the two biggest townships.

In October last year, Viktor was allegedly part of a meeting at which chief magistrates and public prosecutors in Ciskei were ordered not to grant bail to anyone charged with a political offence, and not to give permission for protest marches.



Controversial ... Johan Viktor

ANC concedes MK soldiers are in Ciskei

EAST LONDON. — The ANC yesterday conceded there were some armed uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) soldiers in Ciskei but denied SA Defence Force claims of an unprecedented MK assault on the homeland. 105 et 3/10/92

And in another development the organisation claimed orders had been issued to senior Ciskei security force offices that ANC Border president Mr Smuts Ngonyama be "eliminated", possibly this weekend.

A Ciskei government spokesman could not be reached for comment on the allegation.

Earlier the ANC denied claims it was launching attacks in Natal from Transkei. — Sapa

Oupa Gqozo will soon be left to fight the battle alone

CISKEI Defence Force chief Brig Marius Oelsehig - seconded to the CDF from SA - is on the verge of resigning, reliable sources disclosed this week.

This followed last Wednesday's shock announcement that another top-ranking seconded officer, Ciskei Commissioner of Police Lt-Gen Johan Viktor, is quitting at the end of the year.

Confirmation of Viktor's resignation came hot on the heels of that of Basie Oosthuizen, Brig Oupa Gqozo's right-hand man and secretary-general of Ciskei's African Democratic Movement (ADM).

In April this year Ciskei's then Minister of Finance, Andries Pretorius - another seconded SA official - also resigned.

In the wake of the Bisho massacre there has been

speculation that SA supports, and may even be behind, moves by its seconded officials to pull out of the troubled homeland, leaving military ruler Gqozo to fight his own battles.

Attempts to trace Oelsehig for comment proved fruitless.

He was said to be "out of town".

Thamsanqa Linda, newly appointed secretary-general of the ADM, was also not available for comment.

Viktor, a veteran of 48 years' service with the police, confirmed his resignation, saying "it is not a secret".

But he refused to give reasons for his decision.

"I am a professional policeman, I do not tell the press about my moves," he said, and slammed down

C/1207 11/11/92

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the phone.

A police source said the Viktor intends settling on a farm in Hobhouse in the Free State.

His resignation came amid talk of a rift between him and Gqozo over the "negative" attitude towards the homeland police force.

The first counsellor at the SA embassy to the Ciskei, Izak Heath, said it was too early to say who Viktor's successor would be.

Asked about Oelsehig, Heath said: "The only thing I am sure of is that he hasn't resigned."

Oosthuizen's resignation, this month was widely interpreted as a major setback for Gqozo.

He reportedly had links with SA Military Intelligence prior to his Ciskei appointment. - Elnews

Soldier sleeps alone — waiting for an attack

By PATRICK
GOODENOUGH

LULAMA MAKWETU believes his three-roomed house may be the next in the Keiskammahoek district to be firebombed.

Three weeks ago he sent his wife and three sons to relatives in Mdantsane. Now he sleeps alone every night, waiting, fitfully.

Makwetu (not his real name) has served in the Ciskei Defence Force for eight years.

"I joined in the bad old days when Charles Sebe was around. It was a job," he said, pouring a beer in a King William's Town bar. "I was sent on courses, got promoted. It was — okay."

And is it still "okay" being a Ciskei soldier? Since CDF troops gunned down unarmed demonstrators in Bisho on September 7, two dozen Ciskeians linked to the government have been killed in handgrenade, petrol bomb or shooting attacks. More than 250 homes have been destroyed, according to records.

In the intensifying spiral of violence, ANC members in the homeland continue to die.

But, surely, it has always been difficult being in the CDF? "Actually, no. In Sebe's days things weren't so bad. It was the police that people hated. They were puppets."

When he ruled Ciskei, President Lennox Sebe, like his fellow despot in Transkei, Kaiser Matanzima, built up

STimes 11/11/92
and pampered the police force at the expense of the army. Neither trusted his army and both were proved right when disenchanted officers ousted them.

Makwetu remembers the March 1990 Bisho coup with pride. "My greatest moment was when we rode to the stadium behind (Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo, with our rifles in the air, and heard those crowds cheering. We were the heroes."

The jumped-up brigadier no one had heard of received the adulation of a people sick of Sebe's corrupt and vicious rule.

March

And did the troops share the popular enthusiasm for Gqozo? "Well, no one really knew him. We heard he had been in Pretoria (as military attache at the Ciskei embassy), but he wasn't well known at the barracks. But it was okay. We were tired of Sebe because he started trying to use the CDF against the people. Like Gqozo is doing now."

Observers of Ciskeian affairs predicted a spate of attacks on Ciskeian soldiers and policemen in the aftermath of the Bisho massacre.

Members of the armed forces live in strongly pro-ANC territory and many villages resemble closely-knit families rather than heterogeneous communities. Every soldier who was at Bisho on the day of the shooting would have been recognised as

someone's cousin, uncle or nephew.

Makwetu said he was not at Bisho. Along with many others, he took sick leave several days before the march was scheduled. "But this makes no difference. We are all wearing the same uniform... the people see us all as killers."

Sebe's divide and rule tactics triggered a rebellion in the army. Is the same likely to happen with Gqozo?

"The problem with Gqozo is that there are all these SADF members around now. He is much stronger than Sebe was because South Africa is behind him."

During his 30-month rule Gqozo has indeed faced considerable discontent within the army. But he suppressed all opposition, detaining two of his three officers who helped him seize power. Both fled the region. When one came back, he was shot dead by CDF troops.

Other officers have been detained, charged or fired. ANC sympathisers in government have been repeatedly threatened and rooted out.

Before he leaves to return to his empty home, Makwetu predicts the months ahead in Ciskei. "Look, the people are ANC — most of them. In the army too. They say the ANC is the enemy and we must destroy them, but many of us support the ANC. So I think the ANC will win. There are more people for them than there are for Gqozo."

New chiefs for Ciskei defence

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Ciskei is to get a new
commissioner of police
and chief of the defence
force. (105)

Yesterday's announce-
ment comes in the wake
of severe criticism of the
Ciskei's security forces
by the Goldstone Com-
mission of inquiry into
the Bisho massacre.

Ciskeian Defence
Force second-in-com-
mand Colonel D van der
Bank replaces Brigadier
Marius Oelschig, and
Brig Fikile Zibi takes
over from outgoing com-
missioner of police Lieu-
tenant-General J Viktor.
— Sapa CT5/11/92

Query puts R6-m food fund on ice

ARG 5/11/92

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EAST LONDON. — More than R6 million earmarked for feeding schemes in the Ciskei is on ice following concern over how R1,25 million was used by Ciskei's National Relief Fund.

The money comes from the Nutrition Development Programme (NDP) set up last year by the South African Minister of Health, Dr Rina Venter, in an attempt to tackle the hunger crisis in the country.

More than R50 million has been set aside for the Eastern Cape, including the Ciskei and Transkei, with R7,5 million being earmarked for Ciskei through non-government organisations.

The relief fund, purported to be a non-governmental organisation and managed by Mr Craig Stirk, applied for R5 million, but only R1,25 million was approved with several conditions.

One condition was that Mr Stirk prove he was democratically elected and representative of all non-government organisations in Ciskei.

He was given two months to meet the conditions and was scheduled to appear before a steering committee last week to prove the relief fund's claim to be an NGO and to account for the R1,25 million.

However, he did not attend the meeting.

Another meeting was held last week between the Ciskei government, Mr Stirk and the NDP regional director, Dr Willie Strauss.

Dr Strauss said he had raised the steering committee's concerns about the way the money was being used.

"I put the cards on the table,

I put the facts on the table," he said.

He conceded it was extremely unlikely the balance of the money allocated to Ciskei would be channelled through the relief fund, but he emphasised the steering committee would have to make the final decision.

"It is obvious the steering committee does not have confidence in a non-government organisation (the relief fund) which is obviously (Ciskei) state-controlled," he said.

Mr Stirk declined to comment on the controversy. — Sapa.

Ciskei considers murder charges against Kasrils

BLOOM 6/11/92 (105)
CISKEI's government is considering charging ANC official Ronnie Kasrils with murder for his part in the events leading to the Bisho massacre, a senior Ciskei source says.

Ciskei Attorney-general Uri Jurgens yesterday would not comment on the claim that an investigation was being conducted into charges against Kasrils.

Kasrils led a breakaway group of protesters beyond limits set by a Ciskei magistrate during the September 7. Ciskei soldiers fired on the group, killing 28 people.

While the Goldstone commission's inquiry into the massacre blamed Ciskei soldiers for the killing, the Pickard Commission — investigating at the request of Ciskei — found that soldiers who fired on the Kasrils group might have been justified in doing so.

Kasrils said yesterday he was not aware of the investigation. He would not voluntarily appear in a Ciskei court as he regarded the homeland as "illegitimate", he said. "The Ciskei government is the killer."

RAY HARTLEY

It's just simply outrageous for it to be contemplating anything of that kind.

"It would have to charge the entire Border regional executive plus the national leadership who sanctioned the march. This is another reflection of its addled brains," he said.

The ANC refused to repudiate Kasrils for his actions at the march, saying the decision to lead the breakaway section had been taken collectively.

Jurgens said progress was being made with investigations into murder charges against soldiers responsible, and significant progress would have been made by the end of the year.

He said statements, affidavits and ballistics tests were still being collected.

The source said investigators were having difficulty establishing direct links between individual soldiers and victims of the shooting.

Airfare increase expected as fees rise

AN INCREASE in airfares is expected soon, following a government announcement that aircraft landing and parking fees have been increased by 15% from November 1, with passenger departure tax to be increased by up to 50% from January.

Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed announced the increases in the Government Gazette after a meeting in August this year between the Directorate of Civil Aviation (DCA) and the Board of Airline Representatives.

At the meeting, the board proposed an increase of 100% in passenger departure tax, which was not accepted by the DCA.

Passenger levies, introduced in 1990 partly to fund

STEPHANE BOTHMA

improvements at Jan Smuts airport, have to date been built into the price of air tickets.

However, airlines have indicated they are not prepared to continue this practice. The levy will be shown on the ticket as a separate charge.

SAA spokesman Leon Els last night said the airline was evaluating the increases announced by the Minister and that an announcement in this regard would be made soon.

Industry sources believed the increased levies would have an almost instant affect on airfares.

Landing charges at SA's nine state airports had increased 15% to R135,70 for aircraft with a mass of

10 000 with an additional R20,50 for every additional 2 000kg or part thereof.

Parking charges for a period of 24 hours or part thereof had been increased to R414,30 for aircraft with a weight of 400 000kg, with an extra R63,70 for every additional 100 000kg or part thereof.

Departing domestic passengers will pay R5 service charges — increased from R3 — while international passengers will pay R15 instead of R10 from January 1.

It was expected that the increased levy would be shown on air tickets as a tax imposed by government and not the airlines.

During 1991/92, R23,3m had been raised from passenger levies.

Ciskei asks South Africa for 25% more aid money

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The South African government has yet to respond to a Ciskei memorandum demanding an increase of 25 percent in budgetary aid to the military government.

The memorandum was presented to the SA embassy in Ciskei by MI Tamsanqa Linda, secretary of the African Democratic Movement.

(105) ARG 6/11/92

MILLIONS of R1,25-m for drought aid missing

Ciskeians are starving as drought relief funds are stopped following allegations of aid abuse by the homeland government. By Weekly Mail Reporter

105

MILLIONS of rands in government funds for the starving in Ciskei are being withheld over fears that the homeland is channelling drought relief to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement.

The steering committee of the Nutrition Development Programme refuses to approve the release of R6-million in drought relief. This comes after the Ciskei National Relief Fund failed to account for a grant of R1,25-million, and failed to prove it was not linked to the Ciskei gov-

ernment. Committee chairman Dr Willie Strauss said it was unlikely further drought relief would be channelled through the fund. Steering committee members have voiced concern that a portion of the money allocated to the fund may have found its way to the ADM and been used to recruit support.

ADM general secretary Tamsanqa Linda confirmed the organisation was running feeding schemes to gather followers as part of the "new look" ADM. However, he denied any link with the fund. But the steering committee is not convinced. Strauss said if the money was going to the ADM, it was "totally unacceptable."

and no more money would be provided by the NDP. "The system is wide open for abuse and we are looking into it," he said. A question mark still hovers over how the relief fund used the original grant of R1,25-million. "Personally, I do not know where the money is going. We get calls from creches all over Ciskei ask-

ing where they can get food, and how they can get hold of the Relief Fund," said a member of the steering committee. The fund, managed by Craig Stirk, originally claimed R5-million from the R7,5-million set aside for Ciskei. It was granted only R1,25-million, partly over concern whether the fund was a non-govern-

mental organisation. The fund claims to be an NGO even though it was set up by the Ciskei government. The R1,25-million grant was made conditional on Stirk proving he was democratically elected and representative of NGOs in Ciskei, and he was given two months to do so. His deadline expired last week, but he did not attend

a meeting where he was to meet these two conditions. Strauss has met the Ciskei government and Stirk over the steering committee's concerns. He said it was unlikely the balance of R7-million earmarked for spending in Ciskei would be channelled through the relief fund. "It is obvious the steering committee does not have confidence in an NGO which is obviously state-controlled," he said. Stirk declined to comment. — Ecna

W/1/192
6/11/12
12/11/92
Everyone
is gunning
for
(105)

Ngonyama

By PHILA NGQUMBA:
King William's Town
AFRICAN National Con-
gress Border president
Smuts Ngonyama is not
dead yet, but opposing
organisations are already
accusing each other of his
assassination.

In an interview on Ciskei
radio this week, Ciskei mil-
itary ruler Brigadier Oupa
Gqozo warned Ngonyama
that he would be killed by
members of the ANC.

Gqozo was reacting to a
claim by ANC intelligence
officials that Ciskei securi-
ty forces, in collaboration
with members of the dis-
banded South African
Police counter-insurgency
unit, Koevoet, planned to
assassinate Ngonyama.

Gqozo denied meeting
members of Koevoet to
plan the assassination of
Ngonyama. "Let's wait
until he dies and then it will
be revealed that he was
killed by his own people.
"I want to warn Ngonya-
ma he is going to die and be
killed by his own people.
These people (from the
ANC) are liars, as there
have never been Koevoet
members in Ciskei."

Gqozo said Ngonyama
was a "madman" and his
"death should be placed
squarely in the hands of the
ANC".

The Ciskei Council of
State described the allega-
tions of Ngonyama's
impending assassination as
"ridiculous and incredible
disinformation. The Ciskei
government now suspects
Mr Ngonyama's own peo-
ple desire to kill their lead-
er, or it may be an attempt
to improve the low profile
of the ANC's regional
president by making him
appear to be a hero."

The Ciskei government
has reported the matter to
the National Peace Accord,
the International Monitor-
ing Group and other peace
keeping structures.

Ngonyama has good
reason to watch his back.
In May last year he and his
family escaped injury
when shots were fired at
their Dimbaza home. Last
month his neighbours
reported that Ciskei securi-
ty forces had looted his
house and destroyed prop-
erty. — Veritas

Ciskei, ANC hit their first obstacle on road to peace

BISHO. — The Ciskei government and the African National Congress hit their first stumbling block on the road to peace in the region when a dispute arose over the structure of a peace committee for the homeland.

After hours of talks in Bisho yesterday, which were described as "frank and cordial" by the two parties, it soon became clear a division had arisen over proposals for a dispute resolution committee for Ciskei.

However, it did not appear that there was an imminent breakdown in the newly initiated process as both sides reaffirmed their commitment to the peace process,

a cessation of hostilities and the implementation of the National Peace Accord.

The peace committee issue would be referred to the National Peace Committee for resolution, the two sides agreed.

The ANC recommended a meeting by the NPC executive, preferably on November 28 attended by the ANC, the Ciskei government, the current Border/Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee and the National Peace Secretariat.

Ciskei's Defence Minister Colonel S Pita countered, saying the manner in which the dispute be resolved should not be prescribed to the NPC. — Sapa.

3 000 bureaucrats lose Bisho reinstatement bid

BISHO. — The case by 3 000 dismissed Ciskei civil servants demanding their reinstatement has been dismissed with costs by the Bisho Supreme Court.

However, the court declared that the dismissal of temporary employees was unlawful.

Mr Justice M Claassens said the civil servants had embarked on an unlawful strike.

The civil servants struck in 1990 and 1991 over salary disparity with their counterparts in South Africa.

(05) CT 11/11/92

Gqozo confirms graft charges

KwaNdebele hit in shock report

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

BISHO. — Charges of serious irregularities in the Ciskei agriculture department were confirmed by the homeland's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday.

A committee appointed by him to restructure and manage the department had reported "a number of matters which verified my suspicions (of irregularities)", he said in a statement.

It had become "extremely obvious during the past year that there were serious problems in the Department of Agriculture and its related parastatals", Brigadier Gqozo said.

He and his cabinet had been "misled and betrayed" by the actions of the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Development.

THE government is expected to be severely embarrassed today by the release of another commission of inquiry report on the financial administration of a homeland — in this case KwaNdebele.

The Parsons Commission report on KwaNdebele is due for release this morning. It follows the damaging De Meyer Commission findings on Lebowa.

Although Pretoria has tried to shrug off responsibility for corruption and maladministration in Lebowa, it will find it more difficult to do so in the case of KwaNdebele.

In KwaNdebele the South African Police and the South African

crack of dawn



It's difficult to get all the reports of corruption in the paper. Perhaps they should serialise them.

cabinet was responsible for their activities. Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew yesterday slammed the waste of taxpayers' money, asking: "Who takes responsibility?"

"It is up to the State President to answer I challenge him to do so."

He noted that R14 billion has been voted to the homelands this year.

In related developments yesterday:

● Sapa reported from Lebowa that Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike hit out at cabinet colleagues allegedly implicated in corruption and called on them to resign.

● The National Land Committee (NLC) demanded the immediate reincorporation of 380 000 hectares of land given to Lebowa last month, and

● The Consultative Forum on Drought called for a full investigation into drought relief funds administered by Lebowa.

CT 12/11/92

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BUSINESS

Ciskei, ANC talking again

BISHO. — The first official contact between the Ciskei government and the African National Congress in almost a year went off well here yesterday.

Emerging from behind closed doors after more than four hours of talks, both parties said this was the start of a process of normalisation between the Ciskei and the ANC.

Common ground in the search for peace and stability was found and a second meeting was planned for November 18.

The meeting was hosted by the National Peace Secretariat. — Sapa

CT12/11/92 (105)

the news in brief

Peace talks are welcomed (105)

THE successful peace talks on Wednesday between delegations of the Ciskei government and the African National Congress in Bisho, Ciskei, have been welcomed in the Border region.

East London Mayor Carl Burger expressed the hope that peace and normality would return to the area.

Both civic and business leaders said it was vital that the common ground found at executive level between Ciskei and the ANC be carried through to their supporters.- Sapa

Soweto 13/11/92

ANC 'Kei talk peace

W/ma 13/11-19/11/92
(105)
The war talk in Ciskei came to an end on Wednesday. After four hours of intensive talks between a high-level Ciskeian government delegation and African National Congress alliance leaders, it was announced the ANC would be allowed free political activity in the homeland.

Both sides announced a "cessation of hostilities" — in essence a formal truce in the conflict which has raged in Ciskei since the Bisho massacre of September 7. The conflict has left scores dead and hundreds wounded since the shooting in Bisho which resulted in the deaths of 29 people.

Taking the peace process further, both sides agreed to meet again on November 18 following report-back meetings to their members and supporters which would set in motion "lasting peace in the region".

Those talks, like Wednesday's, would be chaired by a retired Johannesburg lawyer, Ben Mansell. In a joint statement, read by Mansell after the meeting, both parties reiterated their commitment to the National Peace Accord and their "resolve to work for the successful implementation of the accord in the area".

"This is the beginning of a process where we will be in a position to build long term peace and stability in our region," ANC Border president Smuts Ngonyama said after the talks.

"We don't just want to see words — action is needed," said Ciskei Defence Minister Col SS Pita, who led the homeland talks team. "We believe the ANC is sincere and committed to peace." — Sapa

Ciskei can't account for missing cars

Own Correspondent

105

EAST LONDON. — More than 700 Ciskei government vehicles worth millions of rands went missing between 1986 and late 1990 and could not be accounted for by the homeland's department of transport, it has been disclosed.

The disclosures were made by the homeland's auditor-general, Mr B H Pieterse, in a report which examined Ciskei's finances from 1989 to December 1990. The report was presented to the Ciskei government earlier this year.

Details of serious irregularities in financial control within the government specifically regarding the vehicles, incomplete bank reconciliation, and glaring inefficiency in stock-taking emerged in the report.

From January 1986 to October 1990 the government acquired 3 657 vehicles of which 1 416 were "boarded" leaving 2 241 vehicles available.

The asset registers were so inadequate that the auditor-general's office had to dispatch a large team to locate government vehicles throughout the homeland.

Only 1 503 vehicles were found.

Irregular government contract deals which benefited private individuals were also noted.

'No limits on Sebe spending'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A picture of virtually unbridled extravagance by Ciskei's former President-for-Life Mr Lennox Sebe has emerged.

Details contained in a report by the Ciskei auditor-general show more than a million rands were spent by Mr Sebe in one year on keeping himself, family, and friends in luxury. Mr Sebe spent R84 000 on air fares in a year.

Concern over Gqozo threats

Political Staff

DEATH threats made by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo against the World University Service's South African chairman were a cause for concern, the organisation said yesterday.

(105) CT 14/11/92
The chairman, Mr Smuts Ngonyama, is also the chairman of the Border Council of Churches and president of the Border ANC.

The organisation expressed its concern in a letter to President F.W. de Klerk.

Viktor memo: Chaos in the belly of Ciskei

WHILE Ciskei's overweight administration stands frozen in inactivity, the homelands' security force men play wargames among themselves.

This is the gist of a damning 17-page confidential memo compiled for military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo by Gen Jan Viktor, Ciskei's outgoing Commissioner of Police.

The memo was written just days before the military man, who was seconded from SA, resigned last month.

The memo was leaked to the East Cape News Agency (Ecna) this week.

It depicts a beleaguered police force caught between a community in revolt and a cold military government on the other.

Copy 15/11/92

The Viktor memo details tensions between the police and army; a chaotic administration in which not a single government department works effectively; attacks by Brig Gqozo on the police; and its senior officers; Ciskei Defence Force interference in traditional police work; growing community anger and attacks on the police and rumours of soldiers attacking police.

Viktor wrote that the only way out was for the police force to be "depoliticised" to prevent it from serving the aims of the ruling military council.

"Viktor will only say he is leaving for 'personal reasons', but he is known to have clashed repeatedly with Gqozo over the role of the police."

Viktor, and Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) chief Brig Martinus Oelshig, who left Ciskei a week after Viktor, were SA's key strongmen in the homeland.

It is believed their comments will be taken seriously by government.

Viktor said of the Ciskei administration: "No government department can at present be considered to be rendering efficient public services."

The education crisis was "unacceptable"; the postal service "of a low standard"; and the local government system had almost completely collapsed.

Since July there had been nearly 100 attacks on chiefs and headmen, including 16 murders.

"Many people are unaware of who their headmen are and only identify them when they receive pensions or the headmen become the subject of attacks."

"No headmen can in truth be considered to be functional."

"Embattled as they are, they have been issued with guns, and this has created further problems for the police."

"Headmen have effectively been placed above the provisions of the Arms and Ammunition Act and are being seen as part of the problem relating to the escalation of crime."

The use of firearms has increased and random firing of shots was common. — Ecna

105

Gqozo promise of peace (105)

BISHO. — Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has claimed political tension in the homeland is abating and has pledged to work for peace. *ET 17/11/92*

Welcoming a group of seven Commonwealth and European Community monitors to Ciskei yesterday, he promised his co-operation.

He mooted regional negotiations as the answer to South Africa's problems. — Sapa

ADM slams Viktor report

105
Dowefan 17/11/92

■ General accused of racism:

THE African Democratic Movement has accused Ciskei's former Commissioner of Police of racism and disloyalty to the homeland.

This comes after the publication of a 17-page report by General Johan Viktor criticising Ciskei's administration and describing tensions between the Ciskei army and police.

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday the ADM's secretary-general, Mr Thamsanqa Linda, said the general might have "deliberately chosen to join forces with our detractors. The ADM feels sorry for Viktor's *verkrampte* attitude and his sour-grapes justification of it".

He accused Viktor of having "deeply ingrained stereotypes of the black man of Africa".

He said contrary to Viktor's warning that the system of local government was on the verge of collapse, it is "gaining momentum on a daily basis".

Linda said the Ciskei police are happy with their new commissioner. *Eena*

Gqozo saps Pretoria influence

103 ARG 21/11/92

Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The sudden departure of South African officials from Ciskei represents a successful purge by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — and diminishes Pretoria's influence.

The three most prominent officials to leave since the Bisho massacre in September are Mr Basie Oosthuysen, acting secretary-general of Brigadier Gqozo's African Democratic Movement; Brigadier Marius Oelschig, head of the Ciskei Defence Force, and General Johan Viktor, Commissioner of Police.

They all gave several months' notice, but their places were filled within days.

Contrary to speculation that Pretoria was beginning to distance itself from Brigadier Gqozo, he has welcomed and even initiated some of the changes.

The departures have allowed him to load the upper echelons of his security forces with his own supporters at a time when he has vowed to fight any attempts to curb the homeland's power "until the last of us here is dead".

The only South Africans left head the Ministry of Finance and the lesser portfolio of posts and telecommunications.

However, there is still a significant number of senior civil servants in place.

Brigadier Oelschig will be "de-seconded" from Ciskei at the end of the year, South Africa's ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Piet Goosen, confirmed.

His position was filled within hours by CDF second-in-command Colonel Dirk van der Bank.

Mr Tamsanga Linda, an anti-ANC veteran, filled Mr Oosthuysen's shoes.

The new police commissioner, Brigadier Fikile Zibi, is deeply indebted to Brigadier Gqozo, who pardoned him after a conviction for intimidation.

Colonel Van der Bank is related to Anton Nieuwoudt, the former head of International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service (IR-CIS) — a unit with links to South African military intelligence, according to former Ciskei intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Gugo.

Mr Goosen, in respect of financial saving involved in the replacements, said: "In the light of the stringent financial and economic situation, we as a department go for minimising the number of seconded officials."

"Should we receive a request to replace (a seconded official) it will be more difficult to accommodate."

On the other hand, "it undoubtedly lessens the government's influence in Bisho."

A government source said Pretoria was far from happy with Brigadier Gqozo's activities but stressed: "We don't want a major upheaval during this time of transition."

"We want the ANC to calm down and we want the brigadier to move into line," a source said.

It is likely that Pretoria will continue to give qualified support to Brigadier Gqozo, even tolerating his attempts to bolster his position. — Ecna.

Gqozo digs in his heels over giving evidence

(105)

CT 24/11/92

BISHO. — Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday presented the Sebe-Guzana inquest with a third affidavit explaining why he could not testify before the judicial hearing here.

Earlier Brigadier Gqozo submitted an unsigned affidavit, which his advocate, Mr John van der Berg, asked the court to accept as a signed document.

In a second affidavit handed in to court, Brigadier Gqozo said he could not testify because of his workload and the political climate in the Ciskei.

In yesterday's affidavit, Brigadier Gqozo said last January's planned coup by Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana was the fourth attempt at toppling the government.

He denied he had

given an order that Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana be killed at the roadblocks, saying he was only concerned about the safety of his troops.

Brigadier Gqozo confirmed he conveyed to his soldiers that he required a "search and destroy" operation, and that he had offered a R5 000 reward for Mr Sebe's arrest. — Sapa

Gqozo ordered killing — inquest

STAR 26/11/92
BISHO — A transcript of an interview in which Ciskeian military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo confirmed he had given an order to kill alleged

coup plotter Charles Sebe was handed to a Bisho inquest hearing yesterday.

The inquest into the deaths of Sebe and Colo-

105
nel Onward Guzana last January heard Gqozo had also told Sunday Tribune reporter Yegin Devan his actions had been justifiable. — Sapa.

ANC win Ciskei restraint

BISHO. — The ANC has been granted an interim order in the Bisho Supreme Court restraining and interdicting Ciskei Police and a security firm, Peace Force, from assaulting and harassing members in Seymour.

The ANC cited the Ciskei Minister of Police as respondent.

In papers before court an ANC regional executive committee member, Miss Donne Cooney, said she had been informed by telephone from Cathcart of attacks on ANC members by Ciskei Police acting in concert with Peace Force.

She said it appeared that from midnight on Saturday until the early hours of Sunday Ciskei policemen from Kolo- mane police station in Seymour moved from door to door attacking ANC members with an assortment of weapons.

Miss Cooney said the attacks had apparently been sparked by the bombing of a house of a chief two weeks ago.

Mr Justice Claassens granted an interim order. The return date is December 3. — Sapa.

WE feel we have rid the world of scum in Charles Sebe really." The words were those of Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, in an interview with Yogin Devan of the *Sunday Tribune*.

A transcript of the interview was handed in to the long-running Sebe/Guzana inquest, which reopened in the Bisho Supreme Court this week.

The transcript is the latest in a large amount of evidence that points directly to Gqozo as having ordered the killing of Charles Sebe, former head of the Ciskei security forces, and Onward Guzana, a former security officer. The two were shot dead by Ciskei forces after being stopped at a roadblock early last year.

According to the transcript, Gqozo laughed when he was asked whether he would not have liked to take the two alive. "No, that was not our plan," Gqozo said.

Asked to confirm that he was on record as having given the order to kill Sebe, he responded: "Ja, I said search and destroy when you find him. So they did exactly that."

The reporter asked: "Surely you wouldn't have wanted him killed?" and Gqozo responded: "That never came into our briefs, we said search for him and shoot him on sight."

The two were travelling in a car near Stutterheim in late January 1991 when they encoun-

Gqozo's orders: Search and destroy Charles Sebe

Witness 27/11 - 3/12/92
Evidence in the inquest into Charles Sebe's murder suggests strongly that Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo ordered his assassination. By PHILA NGQUMBA

tered a Ciskei roadblock.

Guzana was shot at the roadblock, while Sebe managed to escape. He was later found hiding in a shop in Gubevu village and killed there.

Ciskei officials claimed that the two were on a mission to overthrow Gqozo, but there has been evidence that the two men were lured to their deaths in Ciskei by an undercover agent who falsely told them that there was a plot to overthrow Gqozo.

According to evidence from several former security officers, roadblocks were set up to wait for the two, and the troops were under orders to shoot them on sight.

The court heard that Sebe was cornered in a shop and had surrendered when he was killed. Soldiers said he had been naked, wounded and lying face down on the ground when Gqozo's

personal bodyguards killed him with a volley of shots.

This week, the presiding judge, Mr Justice Mike Claassens, also heard that the former chief of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile, had ordered troops not to shoot at Sebe after he was cornered.

However, Gqozo's bodyguards arrived and shot Sebe dead.

There has been extensive evidence of Gqozo's personal involvement. This has included a transcript of an interview with Radio Ciskei in which Gqozo speaks with pride of having had the two men killed.

There have been repeated attempts to get the brigadier into the witness box. Earlier in the hearing, he handed in an unsigned affidavit in which he denied having ordered the deaths.

Then, a second affidavit was handed in, in which he explained he could not testify because of "political turmoil" fomented by opponents of the homeland government.

"The extensive pressures upon my government as a consequence thereof have brought about such demands upon my time that I am precluded thereby from spending any significant period of time upon any other pursuit than addressing the immediate and urgent demands of my office," he said.

Then he passed a decree which said that he was "not compellable" as a witness in a court. This decree has been challenged, and its validity is due to be considered by the Ciskei Appeal Court.

Commenting on the decree, Mr Justice Claassens said he found it "reprehensible" that somebody could place himself above the law.

A third affidavit was handed in this week, in which Gqozo explains that although he described the operation as a "search and destroy" mission, this did not mean the two men were necessarily going to be killed.

Explaining the need for the operation, Gqozo said there had been unending threats of an insurrection. The two men had always been central to these plans and therefore he wanted to put an end to the threats. — Veritas

I ordered Sebe's death, boasts Gqozo



Oupa Gqozo

W/Mant 27/11 - 3/12/92

(105)

IN AN astonishing tape recorded transcript played to a Ciskei inquest, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo boasts of ordering the slaying of his political rival Charles Sebe, gunned down as he cowered naked on the ground.

The tape reveals Gqozo laughing when recounting how Sebe died, explaining that his men were ordered to "search and destroy. So they did exactly that." He added: "We feel we have rid the world of scum."

● Full details: PAGE 2

Guardian Weekly



CB manager refu

brief

Sowetan 2/12/92 (105)

Oupa Gqozo says a unitary state is not the solution to South Africa's constitutional future.

Addressing a regional summit at a Fish River hotel yesterday, Gqozo suggested the establishment of independent states within a greater South Africa. He specifically recommended the formation of a Kei region bounded by the Kei, Gamtoos and Orange rivers, including the metropolitan areas of Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage and East London-King William's Town

Gqozo's proposals

CISKEI military leader Brigadier

Sowetan 2/12/92 (105)

More patrols on Transkei border

LADYBRAND. — SADF patrols in the Free State/Transkei border area near Zastron have been increased after two people were killed in recent attacks on motorists on the Sterkspruit/Lady Grey road.

Troops have been assisted by police in the Lady Grey area.

WELCOME NCITA KNOCKED OUT

See BACK PAGE

BUSINESS BRIEF

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News in brief

Sowetan 3/12/92
Pageant picket protest

ABOUT 30 people held placard demonstrations outside three foreign embassies in Pretoria yesterday to protest against the participation of their beauty queens in the Miss World pageant at the Lost City.

The picketers were accompanied by United Nations observers and representatives of the National Peace Secretariat during the demonstrations at the Japanese, Israeli and US embassies. A small picket was also held outside the Bophuthatswana embassy.

Lighting up could cost you!

A CIGARETTE could cost up to R2 000 in Johannesburg - if one lights up on a bus. The city council has banned smoking on all its buses and offenders will face a fine of up to R2 000. *Sowetan*

The council said yesterday a survey conducted in July had found that 76 percent of all passengers were totally opposed to smoking, compared with a survey in May last year in which 62 percent supported the prohibition of smoking. *3/12/92*

"The change in opinion is seen to be in line with a general increased awareness of the dangers of smoking and its unacceptability in confined spaces," said a spokesman.

'Kei, Ciskei at loggerheads

TRANSKEI yesterday lashed out at Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for proposing the creation of an autonomous republic embracing Ciskei, the Border and the Eastern Cape. *(106) (105)*

Gqozo told a summit on regionalism on Tuesday the envisaged republic would exclude Transkei for what he said were historical and political reasons.

The Transkei Military Council in Umtata yesterday dismissed Gqozo's address as "rantings and ravings" and said it had "a hollow ring of political bankruptcy". *Sowetan 3/12/92*

Sasol workers want jobs

ABOUT 5 000 members of the SA Chemical Workers' Union will march on the offices of Sasol 1 in Sasolburg tomorrow to demand that they be reinstated. *Sowetan 3/12/92*

Most of the workers were dismissed in 1987 during a legal strike while others were sacked during the past five years. The march will begin from AECI at 3pm and proceed to the offices of Sasol 1 where a memorandum will be presented.

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Ciskei gets new judges (105) 2/23/12/02

BISHO. — Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has reappointed four South African judges to the Ciskei Appeal and Supreme Courts.

King killers: Unmanned and unknown

U|W and

U|17 - 10|12|92

(105)



WHO was behind the the precisely executed, military-style attack on the King William's Town golf club on Saturday night?

The police were quick to blame the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, for the attack, which left four whites dead and 17 injured. From the organisation itself, the message has been confused. Several spokesmen have claimed responsibility for the attack, only to have doubts cast on the claim by others.

There is doubt whether Apla has the capacity for this kind of operation. Even experts who believe it was Apla concede the golf club assault was a more professional operation than any carried out by the organisation in the eastern Cape.

And there are other suspects in the case.

Among the many theories doing the rounds are those which blame a "third force", or which postulate a case of mistaken venue — with the real target being a hall on the other side of town where the African National Congress was holding a meeting.

One theory that has gained currency in the area sees the attack as an attempt to assassinate the judge presiding over the Sebe/Cuzana inquest in the Ciskei Supreme Court.

Reliable sources suggest that at least eight, and possibly as many as 12, people could have been involved in the two-pronged assault on the clubhouse dining room, where 55 guests were attending a Christmas dinner, and on the adjoining bar.

About four people probably entered the clubhouse with grenades and firearms and split up to attack the two venues.

There are indications that other assassians were deployed at several points outside the clubhouse, including some who threw petrol bombs at the complex's gas cylinders — which did not explode.

Police said later the attackers themselves were amateurs "who were manipulated", possibly former cadres who knew the building's layout.

Louise Flanagan, a journalist who has been researching violence in the Border region, described the attack as "clearly quite sophisticated" — and said she believed it was beyond Apla's capabilities.

Dr Jackie Cilliers, co-director of the Institute for Defence Politics, an independent thinktank based in Midrand, stressed that he was not aware of anyone "outside of the intelligence community or Apla itself" who could be sure about the movement's strength. But Cilliers said he, too, had doubts about any Apla role in the attack.

Border's acting police liaison officer, Lieutenant Colonel Herman Koegeleberg, said evidence was emerging that Apla operatives were "highly trained", and many were back in the country as a result of the unbanning of the PAC.

An analyst who believes that Apla was capable of carrying out the attack is Helmoed Romer-Heitman, South African correspondent with *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

Heitman said he had been sceptical of most of Apla's claims relating to the assassination of policemen, but had since changed his mind about its military capacity.

Heitman said he had been told this week by separate reliable sources that Apla operatives had been deployed in large numbers to "hit" policemen (according to one source) or "specific soft targets" (according to the other source) over the Christmas period.

If Apla was responsible for the golf club attack, it has been a mixed blessing. For the PAC, the net effect of the incident has been to put its tentative

toenadering with the government on the skirts, with the government suspending talks with the organisation over the attack.

Recently, moderates in the organisation have made significant gains in moving the PAC closer to the mainstream of South African politics. Talks have been held with the government, and a recent economic conference in Harare came up with some surprising moderate positions.

Some observers believe that sections of the PAC's support base are uncomfortable with these developments.

Certainly, the organisation's reaction to the attack showed confusion and discomf. Secretary general Benny Alexander cast doubt on an anonymous telephone call to the police, in which the caller claimed responsibility for the "King William's Town mission" on behalf of Apla.

And when an Apla spokesman in Harare, Johnny Majozi, confirmed the organisation was responsible, the PAC's deputy chief representative there, Clayton Sibiyá, said the commander wasn't even in town. Contact-

received shrapnel wounds.

The judge has dismissed the possibility that he was the target. "I don't think they would choose an occasion like that to get at me — they would have had plenty of other opportunities — why choose that situation?"

The police have not ruled out the possibility, although the new regional commissioner of police, Major General Daanijie Huggert, said: "The attackers were not aiming at specific people."

Classens is presiding over the inquest into the death of Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana, both former Ciskei security officers who were shot dead early last year after being stopped at a Ciskei roadblock.

The court has heard evidence that the killings were ordered by Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and that the operation was planned by and executed by a covert Ciskei Intelligence Service, (IR-CIS), which has been linked to South African Military Intelligence. — Eena

Theories abound about who carried out the King William's

Town attack: some see the

hand of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, others blame thugs or a 'third force'.

By GUY JEPSON and

FRANZ KRUGER in Grahamstown

ed later in Dar es Salaam, Majozi backed on the claim.

The episode may indicate tensions between Apla and its parent body, which has a history of deep and ruinous divisions and fractious politics.

The attack comes in the wake of a series of attacks in the Border and eastern Cape which seemed to target whites. A number of these attacks seem to have been as professional, daring and determined as the one on the golf club. There have been attacks on farms and farm stores, particularly in

the north-eastern Cape. Police cars have been attacked at several points near the Transkei border. Two commuters died and two were injured in an ambush on the road between Sterkspruit, in Transkei, and Lady Grey towards the end of last month. This attack led to firms refusing to travel into Sterkspruit to supply shops.

Flanagan points out that police have linked Apla to several of these "one-off" attacks, but says many of the incidents blamed on the organisation need not be linked and could have been the work of "criminal thugs". But a campaign to terrorise whites in the region could also be in the interests of a "third force".

Another theory doing the rounds is based on the presence at the dinner of Mr Justice Michael Classens, who is hearing the protracted Sebe/Cuzana inquest. Classens narrowly escaped injury: he was sitting diagonally across the table from one of the couples that died; a man opposite him was shot in the face, and his wife, sitting next to him,

Gqozo refuses to go to court

STAR 5/12/92
BISHO — Evidence had shown that Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was at the least guilty of inciting the deaths of two opponents and should be made to appear before the inquest into the killings.

This was the submission to the Appellate Division of Ciskei Supreme Court yesterday by George Bizos SC

Bizos was representing Vivie Guzana, whose husband was killed with Charles Sebe during a Ciskei security force operation, early last year.

Gqozo has refused to appear, citing a recent decree protecting him from having to give oral evidence before judicial proceedings. Judgment was reserved. — Sapa.

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ANC, Ciskei in peace meeting

BISHO. — ANC and Ciskei officials meet here today under the chairmanship of the National Peace Secretariat (NPS).

Disagreements between the ANC and Ciskei on a dispute resolution committee for the homeland are the main item on the agenda.

The ANC and Ciskei agreed last month to have the NPS arbitrate in the dispute.

The ANC wants Ciskei to rejoin the regional dispute committee, from which it withdrew early this year, while Ciskei wants a committee comprising Ciskeians only.

— Sapa

(105) 2/9/92

We planned to take Sebe out — Gqozo (105)

CIPRES 6/12/92
THE operation to kill former Ciskei security officers Charles Sebe and Col Onward Guzana was not a secret CCB-type operation but an open one that was planned.

This was said in an interview Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo gave to a reporter on the *Sunday Tribune* days after Sebe's killing.

'Took him out'

The transcript of the interview was presented in court this week as an exhibit and was not disputed by Advocate John Van Der Berg for the defence.

Referring to the killing of Sebe, Gqozo said in the interview: "It was an operation to take him out and we did it openly, it's not like the CCB or some other thing like that. We took him out."

Former Ciskei minister of police, Gen Zebulon Makuzeni, told the hearing that the police were not used in the operation.

The court heard that under normal circumstances the police would

be used in any roadblock to make any arrests thought necessary.

Makuzeni told Judge Mike Claassens that when he met Gqozo before the two men were killed he gained the impression that the plot was a well-contained operation within the Ciskei covert intelligence unit.

Ciskei Deputy Attorney Gen Leon Langeveld told the court that Makuzeni was the last witness and the court would await the outcome of the application to set aside a decree exempting Gqozo from testifying at the inquest.

Refused

Judge Claassens was told by Langeveld that Anton Niewoudt, who headed the homeland covert intelligence unit, had refused to testify again.

This followed an application by advocate Marumo Moerane for the Sebe family that Niewoudt be recalled to give evidence.

The inquest was postponed until February 8 next year. Veritas

Inquest: Gqozo 'must appear'

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — Evidence had shown that Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was "at the least" guilty of inciting the deaths of two opponents and should be made to appear before the inquest into the killings.

This was urged before the Appellate Division of the Ciskei Supreme Court yesterday

by Mr George Bizos, SC, in an application to have declared invalid a decree which guards against the Ciskei ruler being forced to give evidence to judicial proceedings.

Mr Bizos was representing Mrs Vivie Guzana, whose husband was killed along with Mr Charles Sebe during a Ciskei security force operation early

CT 7/12/92 (OS)
last year.

Evidence before the inquest into the deaths has implicated Brig Gqozo in the killings, but the homeland ruler has refused to appear, citing a recent decree protecting him from having to give oral evidence before judicial proceedings.

Brig Gqozo also claimed that pressure of work prevented

him from appearing before the inquest.

In attacking the decree Mr Bizos said totalitarian rulers made decrees to suit themselves.

Brig Gqozo's representative Mr David Gordon, SC, argued the decree was not offensive and not unfair.

Judgment was reserved.

Detention law goes in Ciskei

EAST LONDON. — Detention without trial is now illegal in Ciskei.

Ciskei's Appellate Division yesterday declared invalid Section 26 of Ciskei's National Security Act — a section which allowed for indefinite detention without trial.

The decision was welcomed by organisations and former detainees, and was labelled by Ciskei's former minister of justice, Mr Keith Mathee, as "probably the most enlightened piece of legislation in South Africa".

The decision may open the door to successful challenges of other legislation inherited from South Africa by Ciskei at independence.

It will also have far-reaching consequences for organisations fighting for free political activity in the homeland.

The section has often been used by Ciskei authorities to stifle political opposition. (105)

CT 7/12/92

Hani sees defence role for MK in Ciskei

EAST LONDON — Umkhonto we Sizwe should help the people of Ciskei defend themselves, says SACP general-secretary Mr Chris Hani.

He was speaking yesterday at a rally in King William's Town to commemorate the 31st anniversary of the establishment of MK, the ANC's armed wing.

Mr Hani told the rally, which was marked by hostility to the Ciskei government, that the killing of 28 ANC supporters during the Bisho massacre in early September would not be forgotten.

He said people should organise in Ciskei and teach how to vote by conducting mock elections. He warned that Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo should not disturb the process.

"It must be clear that Gqozo is not accepted and his dream for his own region won't be successful"

Brigadier Gqozo recently unveiled a plan for a greater Ciskei region — to include Port Elizabeth — which would be largely autonomous in a federal South Africa. — ELnews.

SADF pulls ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ out of Ciskei

PORT ELIZABETH. — The South African Defence Force is to withdraw from the Ciskei, it was reported today.

Acting commander Johan Boshoff said the security situation in Ciskei had stabilised and troops were no longer needed. They will withdraw to East London today.

The soldiers have been in Ciskei since early September.

In terms of a notice in the Government Gazette, the state of emergency in the Border region is to be lifted this weekend. — Sapa.

CT 8/2/92

STAR 8/12/92

Kasrils may face charges

By Helen Grange (105)

The ANC's Ronnie Kasrils is one of the Ciskei Attorney-General's targets for possible prosecution resulting from his actions during the Bisho massacre in September.

Attorney-General Willem Jurgens is currently establishing a list of individuals, both in the ANC and the Ciskei Defence Force — who are likely to be charged in view of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's findings that both parties were blameworthy.

Bisho murder charges probed

JOHANNESBURG. — Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens is investigating 29 murder charges in connection with the Bisho massacre.

Mr Jurgens said yesterday ANC national executive committee member Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who allegedly precipitated the shooting by leading a breakaway from the main protest march, had been included in the investigation.

However, he would not confirm whether Mr Kasrils's name was on any of the murder dockets.

Noting that the Goldstone Commission had found that the ANC and the Ciskei Defence Force were equally responsible for the massacre, he said prosecutions would involve both ANC members and Ciskei soldiers.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday it was unlikely any ANC members would face prosecution.

Mr Jurgens said prosecutions would probably be initiated by the end of January.

● The SADF has begun withdrawing from Ciskei after nearly three months in the homeland.

The acting officer, Commandant Hermanus Boshoff, confirmed yesterday that South African troops in Ciskei had begun withdrawing. It was hoped that the movement would be complete by next Tuesday. He denied the troops were being removed to give greater protection to the Eastern Cape. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

NPS moves to break deadlock

EAST LONDON. — The National Peace Secretariat (NPS) would reach its own decision about the future of the Border-Ciskei region on the structure of a peace committee.

This was said by NPS chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys after a meeting between the ANC and the Ciskei government at the weekend.

The meeting was called by the secretariat in an attempt to break the deadlock in talks between the Border ANC and the Ciskei over a government proposal for a dispute resolution committee for Ciskei.

Neither the ANC nor the Ciskei government commented on the meeting.

(105) 277/12/92

SADF is withdrawing its troops from Ciskei

Sowetan 9/12/92

■ **NEW THREAT** Boost to security in Border

region after attacks attributed to Apla: (105) ~~(105)~~

SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS are pulling out of Ciskei to boost security in the Border region for the holiday season in the face of the recent spate of attacks on "soft targets".

The South African Defence Force started to withdraw its soldiers on Monday. Hundreds of troops, used in the homeland to quell rampant violence since the Bisho massacre, are involved

They will be deployed in the Border to bolster security during the festive season in the face of threats - attributed to the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) - to step-up insurgency campaign. The phased withdrawal of the troops - they were deployed during the wave of violence following the Bisho massacre - will be completed next Tuesday.

The acting commander of the East London-based SADF Group 8 headquarters, Comman-

dant Herman Boshoff, told *Ecn* the situation in Ciskei had "calmed".

Referring to the recent mayhem in the Border area, which culminated in last weekend's King William's Town grenade and rifle attack and the Queenstown restaurant bombing, Boshoff said the troops could be used more "fruitfully" here.

The troops were deployed in early September at the request of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

At least 70 people have been killed in Ciskei since September 1, including 29 at the Bisho Stadium on September 7 when Ciskei troops fired on unarmed ANC marchers.

According to violence monitors, conflict in the territory - where the National Peace Secretariat is attempting to rescue a peace process between the Ciskei government and the ANC - diminished in recent weeks.

Boshoff said the troop withdrawal had been negotiated with the Ciskei government.

The SADF would consider entering the homeland should there be another request or should they consider it to be necessary.

"We will do routine patrols, roadblocks and specific duties for periods or places, for example cricket matches," he said - *Ecn*

Bisho: murder dockets drawn up

STEPHEN COPLAN (105)

CISKEI Attorney-General Willem Jurgens is investigating 29 murder charges in connection with the Bisho massacre.

Jurgens said yesterday ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils, who allegedly precipitated the shooting by leading a breakaway from the main protest march, had been included in the investigation.

However, he would not confirm whether Kasrils' name was on any of the murder dockets. 8/PM 9/12/92.

After the Goldstone commission's finding that the ANC and the Ciskei Defence Force were equally responsible for the massacre, prosecutions would involve both ANC members and Ciskei soldiers, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday it was unlikely any ANC members would face prosecution.

The Ciskei government was merely trying to deflect attention from its own culpability, Niehaus said.

He added that it was "unacceptable to try to compare the guilty party in the incident with ANC protesters who were demonstrating peacefully".

Jurgens — who is compiling evidence such as forensic and ballistic test findings — said prosecutions would probably be initiated by the end of January.

□ SADF troops deployed in Ciskei since September are to be withdrawn, Sapa reports.

Group Eight acting commander Johan Boshoff said the security situation in Ciskei had stabilised to such a degree that the troops would withdraw to East London.

The ANC's Border region welcomed the troops' withdrawal.

In terms of a notice in the Government Gazette, the state of emergency in the Border region is to be lifted this weekend.

Courts strike a blow for freedom

Law Review Suppl in

A court ruling against Ciskei strongman Oupa Gqozo demonstrates the key role judges could play in a South Africa with a Bill of Rights, reports **CARMEL RICKARD**

W/Mail 11/12-17/12/92 (105)

In a far-reaching decision, Ciskei's highest court has asserted its power to uphold a Bill of Rights against oppressive legislation

With significant implications for Ciskei and South Africa, the judgment makes detention illegal and will almost certainly outlaw the present blanket ban on political meetings

This serious blow struck by the Appellate Division to the wide powers of military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo could be followed by another thrust the courts are considering whether to compel Gqozo to take the witness box in an inquest which could see him charged with murder

Last Friday the Ciskei AD decided that decrees or laws which clash with the Bill of Rights are invalid This is a crucial overturning of the

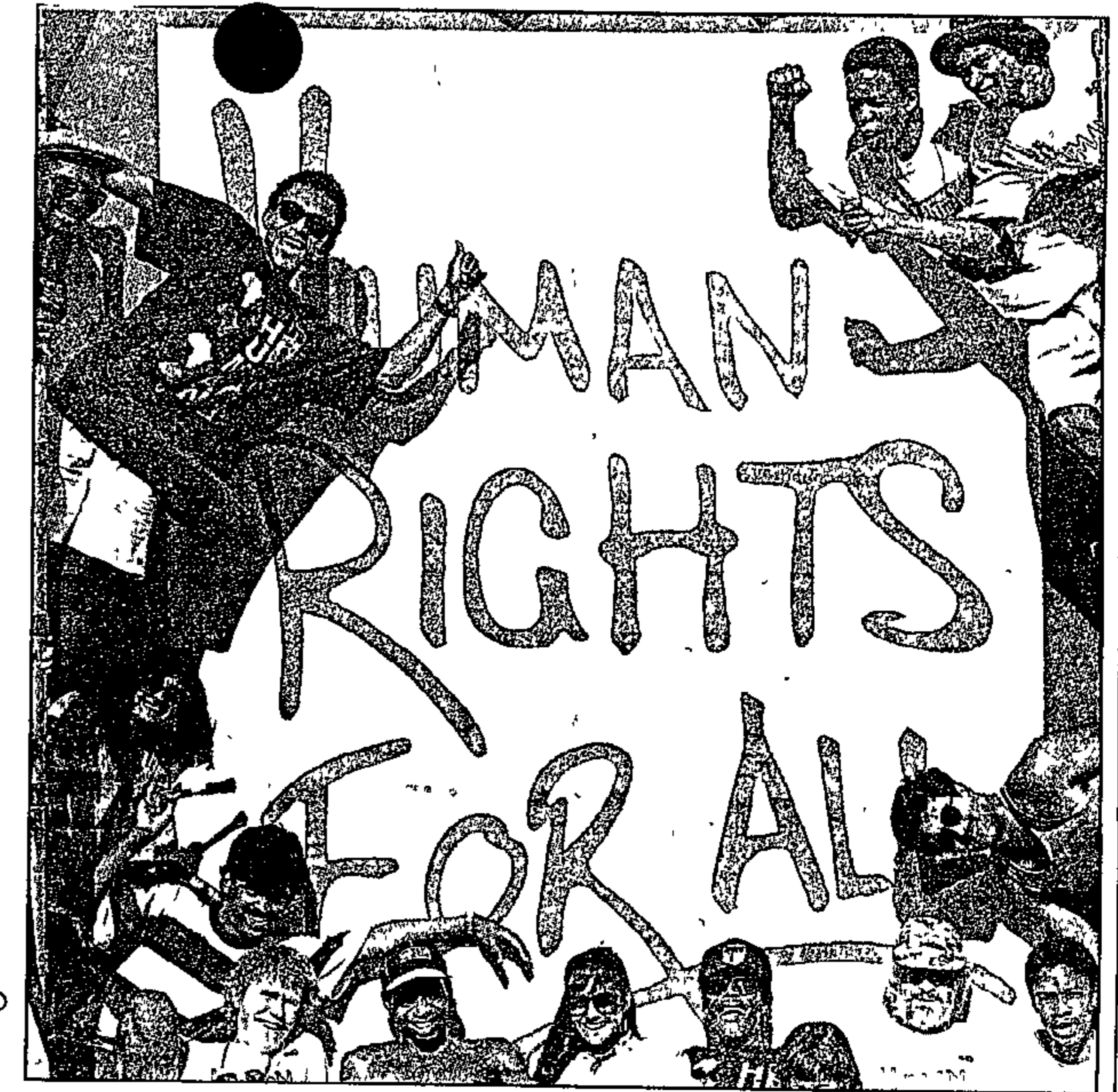
supreme court ruling handed down earlier this year, which said that even if legislation is repugnant to the "statement of rights and freedoms", no court can void the decrees

The implications of the AD decision are far-reaching It sets aside the indefinite deten-

tion powers of Gqozo and his security forces This law, Section 26 of the National Security Act, was one of the two key provisions used to stifle opposition to his rule

In another judgment earlier this year the supreme court declared Section 43 at odds with the Bill of Rights This provision im-

posed a blanket ban on all meetings of more than 20 people, except with the — almost impossible to obtain — permission of the local magistrate An application to have this section scrapped by the



A party down at the prison

In the old days, this was the forbidding wall of Durban's prison. But to celebrate International Human Rights Day on Thursday, a committee representing 17 organisations involved in public-interest work gave the old jail wall an unofficial face-lift

supreme court is in the pipeline, and could now be heard urgently However, given the clear ruling by the AD, laws repugnant to the Bill of Rights have to go, the hearing is expected to be a mere formality

The political implications of scrapping these two laws are enormous They form the twin pillars on which Gqozo buttressed his rule and suppressed all opposition Now the legal bars on political opposition are removed

The latest decision which results from an application brought by Thozama Bongopi is retrospective, and makes all detentions under Section 26 invalid Lawyers said hun-



Oupa Gqozo

dreds of claims are now likely by detainees who will ask compensation for illegal detention Similarly if the court rules Section 43 invalid, the number of claims from the Bisho shootings, carried out under this section, could dramatically increase

There is a double irony about the Bongopi decision first that it was written by former South African Chief Justice and Acting Chief Justice Pierre Rabie, now serving on the Ciskei AD, second, that a judgment so firmly committed to upholding a Bill of Rights should come from a homeland disparaged for its human rights record

Justice Rabie heard the appeal with Justice Marius Diemont and Justice Oscar Galgut To put it mildly, none of them has a record as an activist civil rights judge Justice Rabie constructed South Africa's long-feared security legislation (now partially removed, and a primary target

for lawyers under a Bill of Rights) He also closely protected the government's Emergency legislation during the mid to late 1980s, and was retained as South African chief justice after his retirement, apparently to keep the regulations intact

This decision shows that even with a very limited P... of Rights, quite cautious judges who are not in the activist mould can be influential in protecting basic freedoms A similar judicial message has come from Bophuthatswana, and legal experts see this as a sign of the important role to be played by judges in South Africa under a

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Striking a blow for freedom

Law Review Suppl IN

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justiciable Bill of Rights. Given the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana lead, how much more protection could be offered with a serious Bill of Rights, specifically designed to protect people, and a bench committed to upholding it.

In a further irony, the legal experience in these homelands is building up a body of law which could be influential in post-apartheid South Africa under a Bill of Rights.

Whether the Bongopi judgment was an aberration or a trend will become clear in the awaited AD decision on another case, brought by Viwie Guzana. She asked the court to set aside a decree which prevents Gqozo from being subpoena'd to give evidence in court. Argued in the AD on the same day as the Bongopi judgment was handed down, the case arises from the inquest into the deaths of her husband, Onward Guzana, and former Ciskei leader Charles Sebe.

In an affidavit handed to the inquest court, Gqozo denied he ordered them to be killed. But other evidence strongly disputed this. Called to

explain the discrepancy, Gqozo issued two decrees ensuring he could not be compelled to appear in court. Guzana's lawyers argued that these decrees fundamentally conflicted with Ciskei's Bill of Rights, namely the right to equality before the law and the right to a fair and public hearing

If the AD sets aside his decree, Gqozo will have to obey the subpoena and appear in court. Given the evidence before the inquest, Gqozo stands a real chance of being found responsible for the killings, and could well end up charged with two counts of murder. That, together with the removal of his powers to detain and to ban meetings, could spell the end.

●In the Bongopi case Dawid de Villiers QC assisted by Deva Pillay, instructed by Smith, Tabata and van Heerden appeared for the family. David Gordon SC, assisted by Isak Smuts, instructed by the Ciskei State Attorney, appeared for Gqozo.

●In the Guzana case George Bizos SC appeared for the family, with the other appearances as in the Bongopi case.

Holomisa links SA forces to abortive Transkei coup

W/Man 11/12 - 17/12/92

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By CHRIS MABUYA

TRANSKEI leader General Bantu Holomisa has confirmed the arrest of a man who allegedly proves the link between the South African security forces and the abortive Transkei coup in 1990.

Holomisa said yesterday that former Transkeian policeman Vulindlela Christopher Shologu had "confessed that he was present when South African security forces supplied the late lieutenant colonel Craig Duli with weapons to stage the abortive coup".

The South African government has repeatedly denied that it was behind the coup attempt.

Holomisa's statement comes at a time when he is under severe pressure in the wake of allegations that Transkei is harbouring Azanian People Liberation Army (Apla) operatives.

He said Duli, a former Transkei military council member, led the coup attempt on November 22 1990. Shologu was arrested "a few weeks ago" after being "under the guardianship of the South African Police" together with another former Transkeian policeman. This man, a former detective sergeant Gumengu, was implicated in the murder of African National Congress member Sithembale Zokwe in 1987 and was arrested on the day of the coup attempt.

Shologu had also disclosed that two other ex-Transkeian policemen — Aaron Tyani, also implicated in the killing of Zokwe, and Bongani Wana

— "are now in South Africa working hand in hand with the National Intelligence Service and Military Intelligence," Holomisa said.

He added that the men were presently operating from King William's Town and Ciskei "in their mission to destabilise Transkei" and that they were being managed by a Colonel Swanepoel, a South African seconded to Ciskei's security forces.

Ciskeian security police yesterday denied that a person by the name of Colonel Swanepoel was attached to the Ciskei security forces.

Holomisa said Shologu had confessed that on the eve of the attempted overthrow he travelled with Duli from East London to Umtata, and that he escaped after the coup was thwarted.

Shologu said he had travelled to Johannesburg "to meet a Colonel Venter of the South African security police at John Vorster Square". They then drove to SAP headquarters in Pretoria to meet senior police officers, Holomisa said.

"It has emerged from Shologu's statement that South African authorities were aware of the coup, as those senior officers blamed Duli for the failure of the coup because he was expected to start the coup at midnight.

"Those senior officers confirmed that South African helicopters which were on Transkei's borders had to return to their bases after realising that the coup did not go according to plan," he said — Elnews

Ciskei set to woo tourists

By Shirley Woodgate 105

Ciskei is set to launch a vigorous tourism campaign publicising the country as a premier destination, despite the Bisho killings which labelled the region a southern African centre of unrest.

Early in 1993, 14 top United Kingdom tour operators will visit the country with a view to including the independent state with the rest of the southern Africa tourist package.

Hiking, trout and sea fishing, ethnic culture, game parks and holiday resorts would be highlighted in the campaign, said Burger Oelofse, chief executive officer of Contour, the marketing arm of Ciskei Tourism Board, on his return from a fact-finding visit to the UK, Germany, France and the

Benelux countries.

The campaign would also focus on small conference facilities.

Last year's 180 000 tourists including 80 000 who used mountain and seaside resorts, had already been stepped up by 38 percent in 1992, 1 percent from overseas and 80 percent from South Africa, he said.

He claimed the Bisho incident had triggered no more than a "temporary tourist slowdown".

"What happened once in Bisho in September is occurring weekly in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg which are the major tourists attractions at the moment.

"By way of contrast, Ciskei is one of the most stable countries in southern Africa," Oelofse said.

STAN 16/12/92

ANC leaders visit Bisho again

By Esther Wang
Political Reporter

Instead of bullets, ANC leaders Steve Tshwete and Chris Hani met friendly crowds as they retraced their steps to Bisho on Monday.

In fact, they actually entered the Ciskei capital — an entry violently prevented by Ciskei soldiers on September 7 when 29 people were killed in an ANC march on Bisho.

Hani found himself at a loose end on Monday after missing a

flight from East London to Johannesburg, and decided with Tshwete to visit Bisho. Both men were among the leaders of the march in September.

They drove into Bisho along the road leading from King William's Town where on September 7, Ciskei soldiers with semi-automatic rifles opened fire on ANC members and supporters.

"We passed the stadium (where the shootings occurred), drove into Bisho and parked the car. "People recognised us and

there was a lot of excitement," Hani said yesterday.

"They followed us into shops and shouted slogans. "After some time Gqozo's security branch arrived and we greeted some of them.

"The security members told us not to think that they supported Gqozo, because they did not and had to earn a living," he said.

Hani said the visit was a "poignant reminder that we must never forget the people who lay down their lives for freedom."



Chris Hani . . . Bisho visit was a 'poignant reminder'.

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Civil claims lodged after Ciskei ruling

By PHILA NGQUMBA
SEVERAL civil claims have been launched against the Ciskei government after a recent court ruling declaring detention without trial illegal in the homeland.

The Ciskei Appellate Division declared section 26 of the homeland's National Security Act — one of two key provisions used to stifle opposition to military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — invalid.

Mdantsane civil rights lawyer Hintsá Siwisa said this week that his office had lodged about 40 civil claims against the state as a result. But Mike Smith, spokesman for the firm which successfully challenged section 26 on behalf of detainee Thozamile Bongobi, said his firm had received no further claims in this regard. "We are hoping they will come in once people understand the implications of the ruling."

Earlier this year, the African National Congress challenged section 43 of the Act, which imposes a blanket ban on all meetings of more than 20 people without the permission of a magistrate or headman. An application to set aside section 43 was shelved pending the outcome of the ruling on section 26.

Lawyers say that, given the clear ruling that laws repugnant to the homeland's Bill of Rights are invalid, the application for the repeal of section 43 is a mere formality. — Veritas