

HOMELANDS — CISKEI

1991

JANUARY — AUGUST.

The bottom portion of the page contains a faint, illegible table or grid structure. It appears to be a data table with multiple rows and columns, but the text within the cells is too light to be read. The table is located in the bottom left and center of the page.

Radio Ciskei man fired

105

THE acting managing director of Radio Ciskei, Mhleli Matyila, has been dismissed under mysterious circumstances.

6/1/91 CP-05

His dismissal a week before Christmas is the latest in a long line of officials fired without explanation by the military government since it took power in a coup last year.

Ciskei's ruler Brig. Oupa Gqozo has remained adamant that "disciplinary" issues of this nature are "internal matters" which do not warrant government comment.

On Wednesday, Matyila, who has been with the station since 1983, told a local newspaper he received a letter of dismissal on December 18 signed by the managing director of the station, Fikile Lubisi, and quoting a misconduct regulation as reason for his dismissal.

He said that when he returned from study leave in the US in May last year, he had been suspended on allegations of theft and fraud.

On November 9, the Zwelitsha Regional Court acquitted him of all charges and he was reinstated as news editor of the radio station.

Matyila said he had been given paid leave until December 31 and that his December salary had been paid to him. His subsequent dismissal had, therefore, taken him completely by surprise.

Approached for comment, a Ciskei government spokesman said Matyila's discharge was an "internal matter".

Last month, the government failed to answer questions regarding the detention of its deputy general of Foreign Affairs, Ezra Mtshontshi, and subsequently fired him, alleging his actions had endangered the security of the State.

Despite the fact Mtshontshi was released from detention without charge, the military council has yet to respond to further questions concerning his reinstatement.

Confusion also surrounded the dismissal of Ciskei's former Councillor of Works and Internal Affairs, M Mjolo, after over a month of conflicting reports about whether he had resigned or had been dismissed. He is believed to have fled to the Transkei. Sapa

Ciskei pension payout failures are denied 105

CISKEI'S military government has denied reports that a number of pensioners in the homeland are not receiving their monthly payments and has accused the local Press of bias.

Health, Welfare and Pensions Minister Dr Henk Kayser said in a statement issued in Bisho that his department was not aware of any individuals who were not receiving their full pensions.

He said every effort was being made to resolve problems arising from the fraudulent payment of pensions under the former Lennox Sebe regime.

Pensions inspectors had discovered more than 3 000 instances in which the recipients of pensions had not been entitled to them. *(Press 6/1/91)*

Dr Kayser said investigations were continuing. — Sapa

Give us a home, they say

EAST LONDON. — Fifteen years after thousands of people moved in search of a better life in Thornhill, Ciskei, they have threatened to move once again — this time across the border to occupy South African land they claim has been promised to them.

Thornhill residents have tried in vain for 15 years to get promised alternative land from South Africa.

This week they threatened to cross the border unless the government indicates by today when they will be given new homes.

Ciskei, however, has attributed the problem to the South African government's refusal to give more land to the homelands, and said a move by the residents onto South African land would be a "great favour" to Ciskei.

The 12 000 strong Thornhill community moved from the Herschel and Glen Grey districts in 1976 to escape homeland-style independence in Transkei.

They were promised sufficient land and grazing to compensate them adequately for the homes they left behind.

Despite 15 years of petitioning they have not received the promised land.

In July last year hundreds of men, women and children left the Thornhill dustbowl and crossed Ciskei's border into South Africa where they occupied domestic quarters on a farm called Merino Walk, which

is owned by the South African Development Trust.

The farm, originally earmarked for incorporation into Ciskei, is about 20km from Thornhill and several kilometres inside South Africa.

Nine days after the move, Ciskei troops allegedly forced more than 300 of the refugees to return to Thornhill — claims denied by the South African and Ciskei governments.

The Thornhill community then said it would no longer negotiate with the Ciskei government but would liaise directly with South Africa.

On Wednesday, the chairman of the Thornhill Residents Association, Mr Boilingwater Siswana, warned that if Pretoria did not end its "tongue tied" approach towards the community's plight by January 10, the residents would re-cross the border and occupy "vacant South African trust land".

SEPTEMBER DATE

At a meeting last year between representatives of the two governments, Mr Siswana said, it had been agreed that Thornhill residents occupying Merino Walk farm should be permitted to stay there until a final decision had been taken on the land issue.

It had also been decided that residents would not be forcibly removed from the

farm, and that a meeting to finalise the handover of land would be held on September 3 last year.

Mr Siswana said one thing which had not been clear was whether the land, once handed over, would fall under South Africa or Ciskei.

If the land came under Ciskei's jurisdiction this would contradict South Africa's decision that no more land would be incorporated into Ciskei.

Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said on Wednesday that if the community moved back into South Africa they would be doing him "a great favour".

"I have been fighting for the land they are referring to and I told the community that South Africa says that because overall land policy in the new South African context will be dealt with over the negotiating table, the South African government is no longer prepared to give an inch of any land to any homeland.

"The more they pressurise me the more they get themselves into problems with me because I cannot squeeze water from a stone."

Brigadier Gqozo said he had held three meetings with South African ministers about Thornhill and they had all maintained that there would be no more land.

South African officials could not be reached for comment. — Sapa.

Cattle in controversy

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CP Correspondent

THIS month a controversial decree comes into force in Ciskei, allowing the police to shoot unattended livestock that stray onto the roads, and to jail owners for up to a year.

The decree states that any person who allows livestock onto a public road and is found guilty of negligence can be fined up to R2 000 or imprisoned for a year, or both.

The police are empowered to impound or destroy livestock that are unattended and are indemnified from civil or criminal proceedings against them.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo said the decree was prompted by five fatal accidents within one weekend in early December.

"Cattle are the riches of the black man," Gqozo said. "I'll be seen as insensitive if there is shooting, but a man does not love his cattle if they roam at night and he does not know where they are. I'll be doing that man and the whole community a favour."

Although travellers throughout the Ciskei have welcomed the attempt to improve road safety, community organisations have criticised the harsh penalties imposed in the decree and the lack of consultation around it.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) expressed concern over the decree.

"People in the rural areas think in terms of animals. If they are destroyed, they are fighting the people," said Contralesa regional secretary Netlington Macanda. "The exorbitant fine is ridiculous and even the SPCA couldn't accept the shooting."

Gqozo said the penalties

were designed to be a deterrent for negligence. "They will definitely be enforced in a very serious manner. The police will shoot at an animal and start looking for the owner to tell him (they) just wasted a bullet."

Part of the dispute centres on just who is responsible for fencing on the side of the roads.

"The government is responsible for the fencing," said Macanda.

But Gqozo said: "Every time the government makes fences, they are stolen. Even the gates are carried away. The community must be responsible for seeing they are kept in place."

"The government is busy replacing fences that are down," said police spokesman Capt Mvuso Ngwendu.

Ciskei legal advisor Mickey Webb, who helped draft the legislation, said it was a serious attempt to remedy a social problem.

"The right to destroy is the last resort," said Webb. "For example, if a person denied ownership of the animal to avoid prosecution, then the animal could be shot."

"There would be no penalty if the stock is herded and controlled. If the stock is unherded then the owner is blatantly irresponsible and the

appropriate penalty will imposed."

Capt Ngwendu said stock owners have been co-operating in keeping stock off the roads since the enforcement of the decree. "Police have been trolling the roads and in only a few cases cattle have been lingering on the road. The police have impounded these and the owners have paid a fine to reclaim them," he said.

Ngwendu was unable to say how many owners had been fined.

"People are generally very poor in these areas. They must be given notice because of the severity of the penalties," said Ntsikilelo Sani, an organiser for Lawyers for Human Rights in the region.

"The people have been warned. I have made announcements on the radio and instructed traffic police to tell people in agriculture to hold meetings with various residential associations," said Gqozo.

However, officials from Mdantsane Residents' Association, UDF, ANC, Border Townships Congress and Contralesa were unaware of the decree.

"When you talk about live stock, you talk about rural areas and the Chiefs are involved. The traditional leader should have been consulted before the decree was issued,

Ciskeians told to return home

105

City Press 20/1/91

A GROUP of Ciskeians from the Hewu district who crossed the border into South Africa early on Friday morning were turned back by South African police.

Police media liaison officer in the Eastern Cape, Capt Pieter van Straaten, said about 300 Ciskeian citizens crossed the border on the Queenstown/Whittlesea road.

They told police they intended settling on the farm Deeside, owned by the South African Development Trust, a few kilometres from the Ciskei/South African border.

Police told them it was an illegal gathering and ordered their return to Ciskei.

The would-be refugees crossed back into Ciskei but gathered near the border where they disrupted traffic flow.

The decision by the Hewu community, which includes Thornhill, to occupy trust-owned land in South Africa, was motivated by promises of farmland by the South African Government in 1976, prior to Transkei's independence.

Communities reluctant to become Transkei citizens opted to settle in the Whittlesea district and were then caught up in Ciskei's subsequent independence.

The land question has been undecided ever since.

The 415 Thornhill families that moved onto the trust-owned farm Merino Walk last week will be allowed to remain on the farm until the South African Government reaches a decision on the land issue. Sapa

By Chris Mabuya and
Beverley Garson

MORE landless Ciskei communities this week walked out of the homeland to occupy South African Trust farmland.

Two communities, Sada and Ekuphumleni, left the Hewu district this week, following the walkout by at least 300 Thornhill residents from Ciskei last week.

A lawyer at the Legal Resources Centre in Grahamstown, Mr Pete Hathorn, said members of another Hewu community, Zweledinga, indicated to him that they were planning to leave Ciskei to occupy Trust-owned land in South Africa.

Grahamstown Rural Committee fieldworker Mr Mike Kenyon said the communities in the region could not wait for a new land policy.

More land occupied

South 24/11 - 30/11/91 (105)
He said the government should realise it had to "address past wrongs".

The Thornhill community last month left the Ciskei for the second time in six months and occupied two Trust farms. Families destroyed their homes in Thornhill.

Resolved

The government this week said the community could temporarily remain on the farms until the land issue had been resolved.

They also indicated that they would provide sanitation for the community on the two farms being occupied.

Shortly after the Thornhill community left Ciskei, about 300 Sada residents were turned back by the South African police when they tried to leave the homeland. However, by the end of

last weekend, more than 700 had already moved onto two Trust farms, Deeside and Canoona.

An urgent meeting with the Department of Development and Aid's regional director, Mr Clyde Attwell, the South African ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Peter Goosen, and representatives of the Hewu Residents Association was called shortly after the police turned back the 300 residents from the two communities.

At the meeting it was decided that only 250 residents and 100 head of livestock would occupy Deeside farm, while Canoona farm would accommodate 200 more residents and 100 head of livestock.

An executive member of the HRA, Mr J M Tukwayo, described the meeting as "another delaying tactic" by the South African government. — PEN

Ciskei activists 'losing patience' with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

By LOUISE FLANAGAN and PHILA NGOUMBA: East London

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is heading for a confrontation with the African National Congress and allied organisations after numerous clashes with local activists.

Local organisations have felt uneasy about working with Gqozo because of his background — he was trained in the South African Defence Force and was head of Ciskei military intelligence under deposed president Lennox Sebe — but have so far been prepared to talk to him.

Now they are becoming increasingly wary of dealing with him as recent contacts have ended with the brigadier questioning activists' credentials and hurling abuse at them.

At a South African Communist Party rally in the Ciskei township of Zweitsha on Sunday, ANC military wing Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Hami issued a veiled warning to

Gqozo, emphasising that the bantu-ists were temporary and their rulers should respect the ANC.

The current conflict between Gqozo and organisations revolves around Ciskei's recently announced plans for local government, plans which Gqozo said would pave the way for democratic local structures but which have been rejected by organisations.

While Gqozo initially invited comment on his plans for democratic rural administration, he has run into trouble by attacking his critics.

At last week's public meeting the ANC, United Democratic Front (UDF) and Border Civics Congress (Bocco) rejected Gqozo's local government plan on the grounds that it was similar to proposals presented at a

South African government meeting on local government, and that such initiatives could not be supported under bantustan rule as this would undermine negotiations.

Now Gqozo has angered organisations by announcing that a second public meeting on the issue will be held in February, at which individuals rather than organisational representatives may have a voice. This is seen as an attempt to side-step rejection by the ANC, UDF and Bocco.

Gqozo has also been heard on Radio Ciskei announcing that he will implement the new structures whatever happens.

When the plans were first announced last year they were strongly criticised by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Cotlaleisa),

which condemned Gqozo's plans to drop the Ciskei chiefs. While Gqozo emphasised that he intended dropping the chiefs "invented" by Lennox Sebe, Cotlaleisa saw the proposals as an attempt to do away with traditional leaders entirely. *(105)* *25/11 - 3/11/91*

Gqozo has little patience for reports and frequently asks why representatives of organisations can't make decisions on the spur of the moment. He does not react well to criticism and often seems to have no patience with lengthy statements.

"All I can see in this letter from this stupid Mr Nonkonyana is a bloody catalogue of criticisms and complaints," he complained after receiving a statement from the chairman of Cotlaleisa's Transkei region.

"We think it's a question of not understanding how organisations work and practise democracy," said publicly secretary for the Border region of the ANC Hlamba Siwisa. — *elnews*



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

Black trekkers claim their promised land

STimes 27/11/91.

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A DESPERATELY poor refugee community has taken the law into its own hands and occupied "white" farms they were promised 15 years ago by the government.

Some 411 families from Thornhill in Ciskei have driven their flocks across a wasteland of dongas to occupy vacant farms bought by the SA Development Trust.

In a hardline response to the trek, which began over a week ago, the director-general of Development Aid, Mr L van Gass, said "the illegal occupation of land can in no circumstances be tolerated".

He also insisted that the government had fulfilled its obligations to the community over the provision of land

Dustbowl

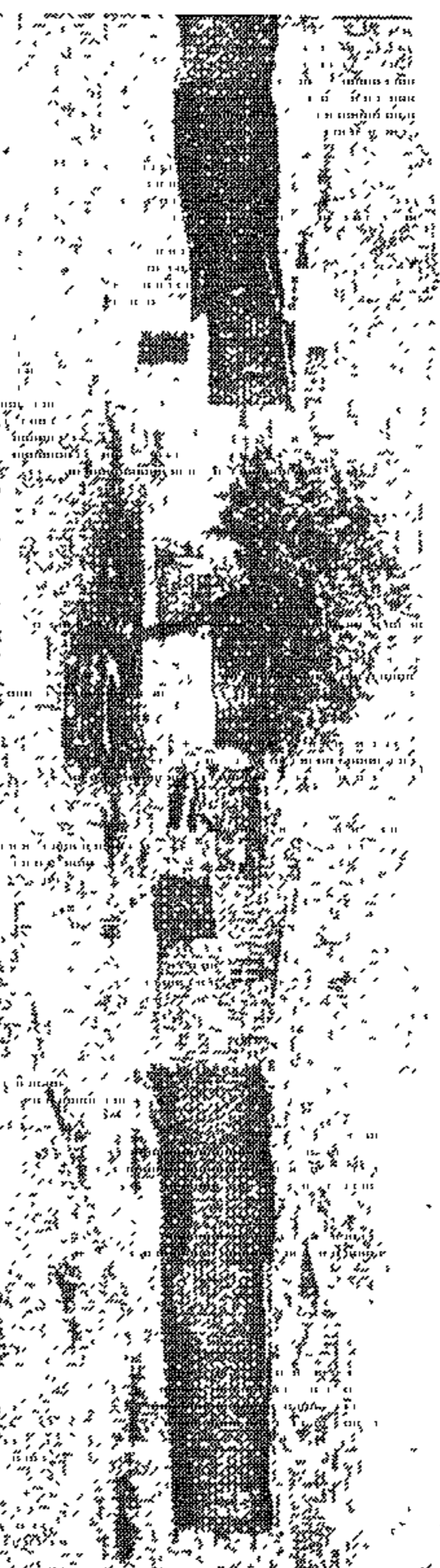
Last year the refugees occupied the same farms, only to be driven off South African soil at gunpoint — by Ciskei defence force troops.

This time they have vowed never to return to the dustbowl around the Thornhill transit camp, 20km away.

"This is our land. This is as it was meant to be," said Hagai Sabisa, 67, as he strolled along a shady avenue at the farm Lower Merino Walk on the banks of the Swart Kei River.

Deputy Minister of Development Aid Piet Marais met the community a week ago and was given an undertaking that no more families would trek to the farms while the government considered the situation.

Meanwhile, hundreds of refugees in a community near Sada, further south — similarly driven by desperation — have also occupied vacant farms in defiance of the authorities. The present crisis is the



DESOLATED ... some of the refugees, who have vowed never to return to Thornhill transit camp

manifestation of a unique apartheid tragedy which saw 50 000 people trek to South Africa 15 years ago rather than accept Transkei independence.

The districts they left — Herschel and Glen Grey — were excised from Ciskei and given to Transkei, despite a referendum in Glen Grey a few years earlier in which union with Transkei was overwhelmingly rejected.

Herschel and Glen Grey were among the carrots which persuaded Transkei to accept independence.

The people trekked after receiving explicit assurances from the government at a meeting in 1975, addressed by the deputy secretary of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr P Uys.

Tours

The minutes of the meeting show that four South African departmental deputy secretaries, magistrates as well as Transkei and Ciskei cabinet ministers were present when it was stated that a change in citizenship would not be forced on anyone.

If people chose to leave, compensatory land would be provided.

Community leaders from Herschel were taken on bus tours to the promised land some 100km away — including the farms Lower Merino Walk

and Bothashoek, which they have now occupied.

On the eve of Transkei's independence in October 1976, a heart-breaking trek got underway — not to the promised land but to near-Thornhill, which was designated a transit camp. Within days, tens of thou-

sands of Xhosa and Sotho refugees had flooded on to the fragile land near Queenstown.

Within a few years the transit camp was incorporated into an independent Ciskei — to which Pretoria referred refugees whenever they raised com-

plaints or queries about land.

The Herschel refugees split between those who accepted Ciskei tribal authority — and all the perks that went with it — and those who clung stubbornly to their South African heritage.

The 18 000 refugees who refused to accept tribal authority suffered neglect and poverty on an even more depressing scale than their colleagues. Hundreds died of starvation and diseases related to malnutrition.

Last July, they occupied Lower Merino Walk and Bothashoek and were driven off at gunpoint by Ciskei soldiers.

According to Mr Van Gass, the land (which still forms part of South Africa) is scheduled for incorporation in Ciskei.

Sampson Mhongo, a community leader, said "Enough is enough. It is time for us to get a place where we can build permanent houses and secure a place for our children."

Villagers may be paid out

THE South African government is reportedly to pay R500 000 to Nkqonkweni, East Peulton, residents to compensate for their homes being destroyed by Ciskei authorities in 1989.

And Ciskei's military government has asked Pretoria to take back East Peulton, which was incorporated into the homeland in August 1988, lawyers said.

The community's resistance to Ciskei rule raised the ire of former president Lennox Sebe, who ordered that houses be bulldozed and villagers be dispersed among areas of known pro-Ciskei sentiment.

More than 800 refugees fled to King William's Town and took refuge in church halls, until South Africa succumbed to mounting pressure and agreed to settle them on South African land.

The toppling of Sebe in a coup

last March enabled them to return home three months later.

A statement from Nkqonkweni Residents' Association, released though the community's lawyer, John Smith, said South Africa's offer came after he had submitted claims to the government.

Residents accepted it in good faith and were pleased that the matter had now been finalised.

The government had also agreed to pay for a school to be built in Nkqonkweni.

The statement said Ciskei's military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo, had agreed to compensate the villagers for moveable property - including livestock - lost when they fled their homes.

"Claims have already been submitted to the Ciskei government and a settlement offer is being awaited."

After community representatives consulted both governments, Brig Gqozo had formally asked Pretoria for East Peulton to revert to South African administration.

"This is presently being considered by the South African government at the highest level and the residents expect a decision to be communicated

to them in the near future," the statement said

"The residents are extremely encouraged by the recent developments and are determined to see that the process of reconstruction should benefit local initiative and create job opportunities for the residents"

The Peulton crisis may have played a significant part in Sebe's downfall. Rumblings were heard in the army and police force as senior officers voiced resentment at their orders to act against the community

When rural communities across Ciskei began revolting against homeland rule, Nkqonkweni was upheld as a model of defiance

Government officials called the affair an internal matter for Ciskei, while villagers claimed protection on the grounds they were South African citizens.

Churchmen here and abroad, foreign governments, the Democratic Party, extra-parliamentary groups and civil rights bodies urged the government to intervene.

Ciskei's official spokesman, Ian Dixon, said Brig Gqozo was away and could not immediately respond to inquiries. - Sapa

Ex-Ciskei official slain in coup bid

Sowetan 28/1/91

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A TWO-MAN coup attempt in Ciskei was foiled yesterday morning and one of the attackers shot dead.

Ruling Military Council leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said Ciskei troops confronted former military council member Colonel Mangwane Guzana and former Ciskei security head Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe in a roadblock about 9km from the capital Bisho.

Guzana was shot dead in the 3.30am skirmish and Sebe escaped wounded under cover of darkness.

The two were wearing bullet proof vests and had an Uzzi sub-machinegun and two Beretta 9mm

pistols with spare ammunition.

Gqozo said Sebe was being pursued by Ciskei security forces and police dog-squads who were combing the region.

He had reportedly been sighted, "deeply wounded and tired", at Cwencwe village about 7km from the roadblock, Gqozo said.

A R5 000 reward has been offered for information leading to his arrest.

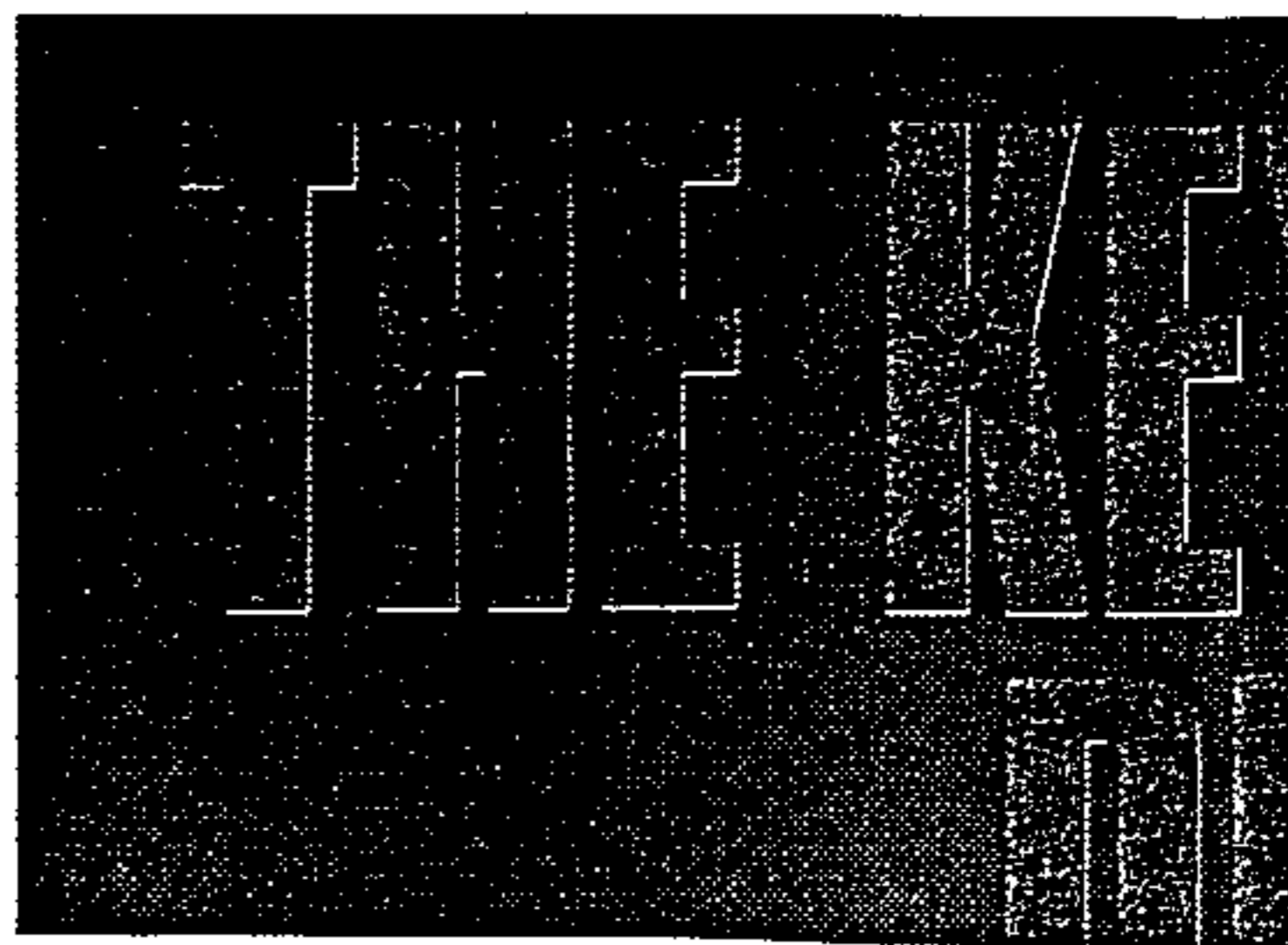
Two briefcases and a slingbag with documents and speeches relating to the attempted coup were found in the vehicle and handed to security experts for analysis.

Guzana was one of the four leaders of a bloodless coup which overthrew former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe in 1990 and established a military government.

Gqozo said his security forces had been monitoring the coup attempt for three weeks and

intercepted the vehicle shortly after it crossed the Ciskei border near Stutterheim.

He said the pair had apparently "overrated their popularity" and believed forces within the defence force would overthrow the ruling military before they arrived in Bisho. - Sapa.



C

Hunt for Sebe after 'coup' foiled

Call 28119 105

PORT ELIZABETH. — Ciskei security forces yesterday foiled an alleged coup bid in which an ex-member of the ruling military council was shot dead and former Ciskei security head Mr Charles Sebe was wounded. Mr Sebe, brother of deposed Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe, was being pursued through thick bush by police dog squads and troops yesterday afternoon, Ciskei Brigadier Oupa Josh Gqozo said. A R5 000 reward had been placed on his head. Brigadier Gqozo said the two-man coup was foiled when Ciskei troops confronted Colonel Mangawane Guzana and Mr Sebe at a roadblock about 9km from the capital, Bisho.



ON THE RUN

Charles Sebe He said they were wearing bullet-proof vests and had an Uzi sub-machine gun and two 9mm pistols with ammunition. Two briefcases and a slingbag with documents and speeches relating to the attempted coup had been seized. Brigadier Gqozo said his security forces had been monitoring the coup attempt for three weeks. They intercepted the vehicle shortly after it crossed the Ciskei border. He said the men were apparently relying on what they thought was a high level of dissatisfaction among Ciskeian security forces. ● South African troops were put on standby in King William's Town, an SADF spokesman said. — Own Correspondent Sapa

By PAT CANDIDO, The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The body of Mr Charles Sebe, a former head of the Ciskei Defence Force, was found at a clinic near Stutterheim by police early today after he was shot and wounded at a police roadblock yesterday.

The former second-in-command of Ciskei's military council, Colonel Onward Mangwane Guzana, was shot dead and Mr Sebe, brother of the ousted former Ciskei president, Mr Lennox Sebe, was injured when an alleged two-man coup was foiled.

A police spokesman in Bisho said Mr Sebe's body was found at the Gubedu Clinic in Izile near Ngubevu. It was believed Mr Sebe had been trying to reach the clinic for medical attention. It was not yet known exactly what happened but a statement would be released later.

The policeman confirmed that Mr Sebe was dead. He added that all was quiet in Bisho today and everybody was going to work as usual.

A statement from the office of the ruling Ciskei military council head, Brigadier Oupa Josh Gqozo, said the two-man coup was foiled when Ciskei troops confronted the two men at a roadblock about nine kilometres from Bisho at 3.30am yesterday.

Reward of R5 000 offered

Colonel Guzana was shot dead and Mr Sebe escaped but was seriously wounded. A reward of R5 000 was offered for his arrest.

A spokesman for the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria said the SAP had had a request from Brigadier Gqozo for assistance in the search for Mr Sebe.

The SAP had sent sniffer dogs and handlers to a "bushy area" to help with the search but had called it off at midday yesterday after finding nothing.

Brigadier Gqozo said his security forces had been monitoring the situation for three weeks and intercepted the vehicle shortly after it crossed the Ciskei border near Stutterheim.

Charles Sebe, always immaculately dressed and wearing his trademark teardrop dark glasses, developed a reputation for ruthlessness during his seven years in the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services.



Charles Sebe

Charles Sebe shot

APR 28/1991
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Charles Sebe

28/1/79
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Charles Sebe shot dead

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WHAT A STARI Champion filly Star Effort on the far side, struggles to stay with her during the Guineas gallop at Milnerston today.

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MEN OF DESTINY — in a special eight-page tabloid inside — brings you the up-front action and the behind-the-scenes drama as powerful political forces gather and men of destiny begin to shape a new nation.



Guineas favourite looks a star

By DEREK WILSNAGH, Racing Editor

CHAMPION filly Star Effort, favourite for the R-million TopSport Bloodline Million Guineas at Milnerston on Saturday, came through her final preparatory gallop with flying colours today.

Star Effort worked over 600 metres on the grass at Milnerston against the useful gelding Double Decker and looked most impressive.

Working away from her partner, she was tugging at the bit all the way and clocked an unextended 22.5 seconds for the final 400 metres.

Though times can be misleading at gallops of this nature, Star Effort is clearly in top shape.

The chestnut was the winner of the Cape Fillys Guineas and has been beaten only once in seven career outings. She will attempt to emulate the feat of Ro-

Latest betting

- STAR EFFORT** closed marginally from 16-10 to 12-10 after her gallop this morning.
- Latest betting
- 12-10 Star Effort
 - 3-1 Phantom Rock
 - 6-1 Spook And Diesel
 - 10-1 Empire State, Surprise Attack
 - 12-1 King Kama
 - 14-1 Bold Chieftain, Jungle Choni, Supersonic Surprise
 - 20-1 and upward other

JUST THIS

General Sebe shot dead at Ciskei clinic

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The former head of security in the Ciskei, Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, has been shot dead in a clinic in the Ciskei.

Brigadier Oupa Gqoza, the military ruler of Ciskei, said he heard of the death of General Sebe at 6.30 am this morning.

The former head of Ciskei's security was shot dead at the Gubebu clinic at Izile, near Stutterheim.

He had escaped from Ciskei soldiers who wounded him during a coup attempt yesterday, and had been admitted to the clinic.

Brigadier Gqoza said he did not want to make any further comment about General Sebe's death at this stage.

A former member of the Ciskei Military Council, Colonel Mangwane Guzana, was shot dead during the earlier encounter with Ciskei troops.

The 10-month-old Ciskei government survived the two-man coup attempt yesterday.

It was the second bid to take over a homeland country in the past three months: Transkei survived a similar attempt in November.

Brigadier Gqozo, the leader of Ciskei's ruling Council of State, confirmed the attempt in Bisho.

He said his former second-in-command, Colonel Guzana, and Lieutenant-General Sebe had been responsible.

Colonel Guzana was the apparent leader of the plot.

After being wounded, General Sebe was hunted down by Ciskei troops assisted by the South African Police, who were asked to help.

Colonel Guzana helped the brigadier overthrow the government of General Sebe's brother, Lennox Sebe, on March 4 last year.

Yesterday's attempt ended at 4 am at a roadblock close to the Ciskei Broadcasting Corporation offices in Bisho.

Ciskei government media spokesman Ian Dixon told The Star: "There has been an attempted coup. The bid was frustrated."

Brigadier Gqozo said that only two people had been involved in the coup attempt.

He said Colonel Guzana and General Sebe had had been wearing bullet-proof vests, and had an Uzi sub-machinegun and two Beretta 9mm pistols. — Sapa and Pretoria Bureau.

Ciskei 'coup attempt' foiled

CISKEI security forces foiled an alleged coup attempt yesterday in which an ex-member of the ruling Military Council was shot dead and Charles Sebe, the brother of former ruler Lennox Sebe, was injured.

Military Council chairman Brig Oupa Gqozo said yesterday that Col Mangwane Guzana, who helped lead the coup which toppled Sebe last year, was shot dead after troops and rebels exchanged fire at a road-block near King William's Town at 3.30am.

Charles Sebe, who headed the Central Intelligence Service under his brother, escaped after being injured in the ensuing gunfight. There was a R500 000 reward for information leading to his arrest.

The car in which the two men were travelling was intercepted at a road-block about 9km outside King William's Town on the Stutterheim road. An Uzi machine gun and two 9mm pistols were recovered, Gqozo said.

A large number of documents were re-

TIM COHEN

covered and these were being examined by Ciskei authorities. (105)

He said the men were apparently relying on what they thought was a high level of dissatisfaction among Ciskei security forces. Gqozo declined to comment on whether there was any Transkei involvement in the coup attempt.

Ciskei officials had tried to have Guzana, who was facing possible treason charges, extradited from the Transkei.

Gqozo said Ciskei intelligence authorities had been aware of coup plans for three weeks.

Sapa reports that an SA Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday SA had received no request for assistance from Ciskei.

TANIA LEVY reports an SA Defence Force spokesman confirmed SADF troops were on standby to protect SA lives and property in Ciskei if necessary.

8/Day 2 08/11/91

Forces gun down unarmed Sebe

EDYTH BULBRING

CO-LEADER of the failed Ciskei coup, former security chief Charles Sebe, was gunned down by security forces yesterday.

Sebe, wrapped in a blanket, was shot as he emerged unarmed from a hut in the village of Gubevu near Stutterheim early yesterday morning.

Military Council chairman Brig Oupa Gqozo said last night he had instructed security forces to "seek and destroy" Sebe.

Sebe was wounded on Sunday morning in a gunfight with Ciskei security forces at a roadblock near the capital Bisho following the failed coup attempt.

His companion, Col Mangwane Guzana, was killed but Sebe escaped with a R5 000 price on his head.

Gqozo said Sebe had sought refuge at the hut in Gubevu in the early hours of yesterday morning. He (Sebe) had asked the owner of the hut, an old man, for money for a train fare back to Transkei, Gqozo said.

The security forces were tipped off by one of the old man's sons and they surrounded the hut at about 6am.

After the old man had emerged, Sebe was warned that if he did not come out, the hut would be blown up. (105)

"When he appeared in the doorway, they blew him," Gqozo said.

He said Sebe was a long-standing enemy of Ciskei who had tried three times before to take over the government.

His intention was never to take Sebe prisoner as he was "poison" and no one in the country was interested in seeing him alive, Gqozo said.

Sebe was found to be unarmed after security forces opened fire, Gqozo said.

He said the coup plot had been monitored by his forces since November.

Gqozo declined to comment on relations between himself and Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa as it was a sensitive matter.

However, he said if Transkei had been involved in the coup attempt, it would have been better executed.

29/11/91

Rebel Sebe 'shot dead in cold blood'



Mr Charles Sebe

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Co-leader of the failed Ciskei coup, former security chief Mr Charles Sebe, was gunned down by security forces yesterday.

Mr Sebe, wrapped in a blanket, was shot as he emerged unarmed from a hut in the village of Gubevu near Stutterheim early yesterday morning.

Military Council chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said last night that he had instructed security forces to "seek and destroy" Mr Sebe.

Mr Sebe was wounded on Sunday morning in a gunfight with Ciskei security forces at a roadblock near the capital Bisho following the failed coup attempt.

His companion, Colonel Mangwane Guzana, was killed but Mr Sebe escaped with a R5 000 price on his head.

Brigadier Gqozo said Mr Sebe had sought refuge at the hut in Gubevu in the early hours of yesterday morning. Mr Sebe had asked the owner of the hut, an old man, for money for a train fare back to the Transkei, Brigadier Gqozo said.

The security forces were tipped off

by one of the old man's sons and they surrounded the hut about 6am.

"When he appeared in the doorway, they blew him," the brigadier said.

His intention was never to take Mr Sebe prisoner as he was "poison" and no one in the country was interested in seeing him alive, Brigadier Gqozo said.

He said Mr Sebe was found to be unarmed after security forces opened fire.

He said the coup plot had been monitored by his forces since November.

Gubevu villagers who witnessed the shooting said Mr Sebe had not tried to resist arrest.

Earlier reports stated that Mr Sebe had been shot dead at the Gubevu clinic in the Izeleni district near Stutterheim.

However, villagers said he had been taking refuge in a small shop behind a house several hundred metres from the clinic.

The whereabouts of Mrs Nomafakathi Sebe, Mr Charles Sebe's wife, remains a mystery. A spokesman for the Transkei government said they did not know where Mrs Sebe was.

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29/11/91
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Sebe was 'shot while unarmed'

Star 29/1/91.

105

BISHO — Badly wounded and unarmed, Charles Sebe was shot dead early on Sunday morning as he came out of a store where he had been hiding from police and soldiers, witnesses claimed yesterday.

Witnesses told journalists at Gubevu village, where the co-plotter in Sunday's failed coup bid was killed, that he had not tried to resist arrest.

Former Ciskei Military Council member Colonel Mangwane Guzana was shot and killed in an early Sunday morning skirmish with Ciskei troops. Mr Sebe escaped badly wounded in a bullet-riddled vehicle near Bisho.

SABC news had reported earlier that Mr Sebe had been shot dead at the Gubevu clinic in the Izeleni district near Stutterheim.

Witnesses, however, said he had been taking refuge in a small shop. Police tracked him down and called him to come out of the building. When he came out, he was

shot and killed, they said.

The owner of the shop, Sievwright Tise Dweshu, said his grandson was woken up by Mr Sebe on Saturday night. His grandson had then woken him up, saying there was "a man from Peddie" to see him.

Mr Dweshu's story was interrupted by plain-clothed Ciskei police who told reporters they could get the official version from Bisho police.

Other witnesses said police had arrived on the scene early in the morning and that the fugitive had been shot.

It was not clear whether anyone had claimed a R5 000 reward for Mr Sebe's capture.

A man who said he saw the body described how it was covered in "a lot of blood". He said there were no visible bullet wounds on his body.

There were bullet-holes in the shop's windows.

Ciskei Military Council chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqoza could not be contacted last night. — Sapa.

● The man who 'spoke to God'
— Page 19

The man who 'spoke to God'

Star 29/1/91

105

CHARLES Sebe, the former head of the Ciskei security forces, was gunned down yesterday by members of the army he himself created.

His death followed that of his co-conspirator, Colonel Mangwane Guzana, who was shot dead on Sunday after the two were implicated in a failed coup attempt against the ruling military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Lieutenant-General Sebe's life ran the gamut, from high farce to genuine tragedy.

In many ways he epitomised the greed, corruption and internecine feuding that seemed to have become endemic in the independent homelands over the past decade.

The youngest of five brothers, Khanti Charles Sebe was born in the village of Bellstone near King William's Town in 1934.

Although he was at one stage expelled from school for being troublesome, Charles decided early on to seek a career in the security services.

After joining the South African Police in 1957, he spent much of the 1960s helping anti-terrorism investigations directed against the newly formed armed wings of the ANC and PAC.

In 1973 he was drafted by the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), and given intelligence training after which he was assigned to keep tabs on Steve Biko and the increasingly influential Black Consciousness Movement.

These early activities led Charles Sebe to distrust and reject the prevailing black liberation philosophies.

He used to recount with bitterness how Steve Biko had once mocked him for equating Black Consciousness with Separate Development.

At the same time those experiences gave him a deep and fundamental abhorrence of communism - which he resolved to weed out and destroy.

"I know the communists are after my blood, but I cannot be killed by heathens," he once said.

However, it was not until his eldest brother, Lennox, became Chief Minister of the Ciskei in the late 1970s that Charles Sebe was able to put his philosophies into practice.

Heavily involved in preparing the homeland for "independence", he used his BOSS experience to good effect, quickly putting together a se-



Once so powerful . . . Charles Sebe, at the height of his power, was a feared man.

cret service that became involved in thwarting all "subversive" groups deemed hostile to the Sebes' plans.

After independence in 1981, the two brothers built on these activities and soon pushed a new security bill through the National Assembly that made Charles Sebe Commander-General of Ciskei's police force, army and intelligence services.

Under the new legislation, he became the single most powerful figure in the homeland with the authority to summarily detain people without trial, censor the press at the slightest whim and even prohibit any song, slogan or salute deemed unsavoury.

This was the pinnacle of Charles Sebe's career and he

Charles Sebe's life and death were filled with ironies. MARK SUZMAN reports.

applied himself vigorously to his new tasks.

Brimming with confidence and energy, he used to regale interviewers with stories of his physical prowess, describing how he once leapt from a speeding car to shoot down two ANC assailants.

He even claimed to have run a marathon in 2 hours - some eight minutes faster than the world record.

He was so keen to prevent any dissemination of subversive ideas that any poetry or

drama published in the Ciskei had to be read and cleared by him first to ensure that no hidden messages made their way to the general populace.

"We can't let them brainwash our people. If you don't monitor them, you find them contaminated," he used to assert.

This carefully created edifice of power, however, was to prove ephemeral, and it came crashing down in July 1983 when, after what was rumoured to be an attempted coup, Charles Sebe was stripped of his authority and arrested by his brother.

Lennox Sebe took over as head of the security forces and, after keeping his brother in detention for six months, put him on trial in 1984.

He was convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years' jail.

In a strange twist to the trial, Charles, after being stripped of his assets by the State, was forced to appeal to the human-rights group Amnesty International for legal aid to pay for his defence.

Only two years later, however, he escaped from prison after a commando of white men stormed the jail and staged a bizarre, Hollywood-style rescue.

That was apparently organized by Lennox Sebe's long-time foe, Kaizer Matanzima of the Transkei.

Once safely ensconced in the Transkei, the authoritarian former general underwent a miraculous conversion to democratic values and began to speak out about his deep revulsion at "the atrocities, dictatorship and corruption" of his brother's rule.

However, Charles Sebe's immediate plans were foiled. In the midst of his plotting with Transkeian government for Lennox's overthrow and the creation of a united "kwaXhosa" homeland, Major-General Bantu Holomisa ousted Chief Matanzima in a coup in January 1988.

Foiled by this unexpected occurrence, Charles Sebe moved to Durban and tried to set up another coup attempt on his own in 1989, which was apparently called off because he wasn't sure of army loyalty.

However, he persisted, and when Lennox Sebe was finally ousted by Brigadier Gqozo in March last year, it was widely rumoured that Charles Sebe had a hand in his brother's fall from power.

Nevertheless, Charles Sebe was tarnished by his earlier involvement in Ciskeian government and was denied a direct say in the new administration, run by many of his former subordinates.

Clearly frustrated by his isolation, on Sunday Charles Sebe launched a last, desperate and ultimately fatal bid to recapture the power and authority he once held.

In doing so, he wrote the final chapter to a chequered life that was, in its own way, warped by apartheid.

"God has spoken to me. He won't kill me until communism is eradicated from South Africa," he once declared.

It seems however, that God saw fit to end Charles Sebe's life with his great task unfinished. □

Sebe shot in cold blood — witnesses

Star 30/1/91

105

EAST LONDON — Charles Sebe was stripped naked and made to lie on the ground while troops radioed for orders, and then shot him "three or four times", eyewitnesses to the death of the former Ciskei security chief alleged yesterday.

The witnesses were speaking to journalists and a representative of Lawyers for Human Rights during a visit to Gubevu, the village where Mr Sebe was shot dead on Sunday.

Intercepted

The wounded, unarmed Mr Sebe was killed outside a shop after being hunted down by Ciskei troops and police, witnesses alleged.

Villagers testified that the body had lain covered outside the shop for several hours before it was removed. The witnesses said they were told not to speak to the media about the incident.

Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has confirmed he gave the order to kill the fugitive.

He said it was clear that Mr Sebe, along with Colonel Onward Guzana, who was killed on Sunday when the homeland's security forces intercepted their vehicle near King William's Town, had attempted to overthrow his military government.

Asked whether the family intended to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death, Mr Sebe's son, Khambashe, said there was little point as Brigadier Gqozo had "already indicated he had given orders to seek and destroy Charles Sebe".

Speaking from Umtata, Khambashe said: "There is no point investigating anything. The soldiers were just carrying out orders from above."

Mr Sebe's family hoped to bury him in Transkei, rather than Ciskei as "we don't want to give Brigadier Gqozo the satisfaction of harassment and helicopters flying overhead (at the burial)".

The family hoped to exhume the body at a later stage and have it reburied with their forefathers in Tshatshu, near Zwelitsha. — Sapa.

Charles Sebe



CHARLES SEBE ... gunned down

Sowetan 29/1/91

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is dead

FORMER Ciskei security strongman Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe was shot dead at a remote mission clinic yesterday.

This followed Sunday's abortive bid to take over the Ciskei government.

His co-conspirator and former second-in-command of the government Colonel Mangwane Guzana was killed when the two men were stopped at a roadblock in Bisho before dawn on Sunday.

Sebe, although badly wounded, managed to escape and made his way to the Izeli Mission clinic at Cwencwe, near Sutterheim, to obtain treatment.

There he was apparently surprised by Ciskei Defence Force soldiers and shot dead.

It is not known whether he

SOWETAN Correspondent

was shot on the premises or was taken outside by the soldiers.

The clinic could not be contacted yesterday and there was also no reply from the mission station. The mission's King William's Town office was also not manned.

Confirmation of Sebe's death came from Brigadier Guzana had helped Gqozo overthrow the government of Sebe's brother, Lennox Sebe on March 4 last year.

An SA Defence Force spokesman confirmed that troops had been put on standby to protect South African lives and property in Ciskei, if necessary.

This is a similar procedure to that which occurred when a coup attempt was launched in Transkei late last year.

Gqozo said in Bisho on Sunday that Guzana and Sebe

● To Page 2

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Sun sets for Charles Sebe

105
Sowetan 29/1/91



Every move that Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko made was closely watched by Charles Sebe. Charles Sebe was feared by many people and made it his mission to destroy what he called "communists" in South Africa and Ciskei

IN the end Charles Sebe's god failed him.

SOWETAN Correspondent

The body of the man who was once the most powerful policeman in Southern Africa was found by Bisho police early yesterday after he had been shot and wounded at a roadblock in Ciskei, while apparently leading a two-man coup attempt.

The body was found near a clinic at Tzele, near Ngubevu, and it is thought Sebe had been trying to reach the clinic for treatment. Details of his death were still sketchy by yesterday afternoon.

The former second-in-command of Transkei's military council, Colonel Onward Mangwane Guzana, was shot dead at the roadblock.

Power

Charles Sebe was wrong about a lot of things, and he was certainly wrong about God. In the heady days when he was in charge of security in Ciskei, sanctioned by the sweeping powers given him under the National Security Act, he told journalists God would help him in the fight against communism.

"I know the communists are after my blood, but I cannot be killed by heathens God has spoken to me. He won't kill me until communism is eradicated from South Africa," he said.

His rise to power was rapid, but not as rapid as his fall.

He joined the South African Police in 1957 where he served in both the uniformed and security branches. He was transferred from the Eastern Cape CID to the Bureau for State Security, where his primary function was to watch and report on the activities of Steve Biko, the Black Consciousness leader who died in detention in 1977.

In that year, with the rank of sergeant, he was transferred to the Ciskei to help establish the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service, and within five years had risen to the rank of lieutenant general, and was head of security in

the independent homeland.

He and his older brother, Lennox Sebe, then president of the Ciskei, were extremely close, and the two men had a regular evening telephone date to discuss affairs of state.

In July 1982 Lennox Sebe confirmed his trust in his brother by piloting through Parliament the National Security Act, which made Charles the most powerful man in Ciskei.

Sporting his trademark teardrop dark glasses and always dressed immaculately in either lounge suits or in uniforms adorned in medals and gold braid, he was a familiar and feared sight in Ciskei, with a reputation for ruthlessness.

He had delusions of grandeur even then. One weekend in November 1982 he set up a roadblock on South African territory between East London and King William's Town to stop members of the ruling Transkeian National Independence Party from attending a rally in the King William's Town township of Ginsberg.

Angry

Challenged by angry authorities in East London, he justified the move on the grounds that Ciskei had a claim to the area.

Somewhere along the line Lennox and Charles fell out, and in July 1983, amid rumours of a planned coup, President Sebe stripped his brother of his power. The president said the state security system was to be restructured, with Charles head-

ing a new national intelligence service.

It sounded fine until the fine print revealed that Charles had no executive powers or even powers of arrest. Later that month he was detained, and kept in prison for six months. In January he appeared in court, ironically in terms of the very Act that had given him such wide powers, the National Security Act, and three months later he faced formal charges of terrorism, intimidation and incitement to public violence.

Amid claims of South African interference on his behalf in the case, he was found guilty in the Supreme Court in Bisho of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment.

Jail

Mr Justice Pickard found that he had endangered the state by inciting a group of police, defence force and intelligence officers to forcefully release his former deputy, Brigadier Harvey Tamsanqa, from detention in Mdantsane. The Brigadier had been detained in July 1983 with (Charles) Sebe's knowledge.

Sebe was sent to the Ciskei's newly built maximum security jail at Middeldrift, where he languished for three years. Then, in September 1986, came newspaper reports that signalled the beginning of the next chapter in Sebe's life.

A group of white men, armed with machine guns, stormed the prison, fought their way into Sebe's cell, and helped him to escape with the aid of rope ladders and three fast cars to Transkei.

The same day President Sebe's son, Major General Khane Sebe,

head of an elite division of the Ciskeian security police was abducted near the Amatola Sun Hotel.

Tensions between the two independent homelands rose. In 1987 verbal mudslinging between the two states progressed to mass deportations of Transkeians from Ciskei and culminated in the abortive Transkei military raid on President Sebe's palace in Bisho.

Trouble broke out again in 1989 between the two states, with Sebe's continued exile in Transkei still a contentious issue.

Earlier that year Sebe's house in Umtata had been bombed, and three rooms destroyed.

In July 1989 the Sebe

family settled in Durban, with the new head of Transkei, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, demanding an assurance from South Africa that Sebe would not be handed to the Ciskei.

When President Sebe was overthrown by Brigadier Oupa Josh Gqozo in March last year, Charles announced he was "overjoyed".

He had had no part in the coup, he said, but had every confidence in Brigadier Gqozo, whom he had known for many years.

"I will return as soon as the brigadier calls."

The call never came. But this weekend, wearing a bullet proof vest and armed with an Uzzi ma-

chine gun and two 9mm pistols, Sebe and Colonel Mangwane Guzana went back to Ciskei.

Their vehicle was intercepted shortly after they crossed the border.

Among the items found in the car, according to Brigadier Gqozo, were two briefcases and a slingbag with documents and speeches relating to a planned coup.

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Sebe shot in cold blood — witnesses

Star 30/1/91

105

EAST LONDON — Charles Sebe was stripped naked and made to lie on the ground while troops radioed for orders, and then shot him "three or four times", eyewitnesses to the death of the former Ciskei security chief alleged yesterday.

The witnesses were speaking to journalists and a representative of Lawyers for Human Rights during a visit to Gubevu, the village where Mr Sebe was shot dead on Sunday.

Intercepted

The wounded, unarmed Mr Sebe was killed outside a shop after being hunted down by Ciskei troops and police, witnesses alleged.

Villagers testified that the body had lain covered outside the shop for several hours before it was removed. The witnesses said they were told not to speak to the media about the incident.

Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has confirmed he gave the order to kill the fugitive.

He said it was clear that Mr Sebe, along with Colonel Onward Guzana, who was killed on Sunday when the homeland's security forces intercepted their vehicle near King William's Town, had attempted to overthrow his military government.

Asked whether the family intended to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death, Mr Sebe's son, Khambashe, said there was little point as Brigadier Gqozo had "already indicated he had given orders to seek and destroy Charles Sebe".

Speaking from Umtata, Khambashe said: "There is no point investigating anything. The soldiers were just carrying out orders from above."

Mr Sebe's family hoped to bury him in Transkei, rather than Ciskei as "we don't want to give Brigadier Gqozo the satisfaction of harassment and helicopters flying overhead (at the burial)".

The family hoped to exhume the body at a later stage and have it reburied with their forefathers in Tshatshu, near Zwelitsha. — Sapa.

Piet 'Skiet' to be tried

Orde Boerevolk leader Piet "Skiet" Rudolph is to be tried in the Rand Supreme Court in August on terrorism charges.

Mr Rudolph and co-accused Hendrik Bredenhann face six charges of terrorism following a series of bomb blasts in the PWV area last year. They also face charges of housebreaking and theft after an arms raid on SA Air Force headquarters on April 13 last year.

The two rightwingers, both

section 29 detainees, appeared briefly in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday. Their attorney, J Nel, said he would submit his clients' applications for political indemnity to the State President's Indemnity Board.

Mr Rudolph and Mr Bredenhann, who were refused bail last month, and who remain in custody, will appear in the Supreme Court on August 8. — Court Reporter.

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Star 30/1/91

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mr Charles Sebe was stripped naked, made to lie on the ground while troops radioed for orders, and was then shot "three or four times", eyewitnesses said yesterday.

They were speaking to reporters and a member of Lawyers for Human Rights who were probing the killing at Gubevu, the village where Mr Sebe was shot dead on Monday.

The wounded, unarmed former Ciskei security chief was shot outside a shop after being hunted down by troops and police.

Villagers said the body had lain covered outside the shop for several hours before it was removed, and that the area was full of police and soldiers.

Sebe was 'stripped naked' before troops

Senior officers had told some villagers not to speak to newsmen about the incident.

Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has confirmed he gave the order to kill the fugitive.

He has alleged that Mr Sebe was involved in a coup attempt, along with Colonel Onward Guzana, who was shot dead on Sunday morning when government forces opened fire on the car the two were travelling in near King William's Town.

Mr Sebe escaped, wounded, in thick bush, and police and soldiers combed the area throughout the day

and late into the night.

The Daily Dispatch yesterday requested the Ciskei government to make available copies of the documents allegedly in Mr Sebe's possession which it claimed provided evidence the two intended to overthrow the state.

No response was received from the council of state, while police spokesmen have also remained silent.

Asked whether the family intended to investigate the circumstances surrounding the death, Mr Sebe's son, Mr Khambashe Sebe, said there

was little point.

He said Brigadier Gqozo had "allegedly indicated he had given orders to seek and destroy Charles Sebe".

Speaking by telephone from Umtata, he said: "There is no point investigating anything. The soldiers were just carrying out orders from above."

"My father was a military man, who died believing in what he believed in."

Mr Sebe said family members were negotiating to get his father's body from Ciskei authorities. They hoped to bury him in Trans-

kei, rather than in Ciskei.

They feared a burial in Ciskei would be held "under conditions of harassment, with helicopters hovering overhead... we don't want to give Brig Gqozo that satisfaction".

The family hoped to exhume the body later and bury it with their forefathers in Tshatshu near Zwelishu.

"The time will come when it will be conducive for us to exhume our father. Things won't stay like this forever... that's the way things are in Southern Africa"

shot him

Cape Times, Wednesday, January 30 1991 3/

105

Yesterday two cars with Zwelishu, Ciskei registration plates were parked outside Mr Sebe's house.

A spokesman for the Transkei ruling military council said they did not know where Mrs Sebe was

● Mr Sebe was the brother of the deposed former Ciskei president, Mr Lennox Wongama Sebe, who was ousted in a bloodless coup on March 4, 1990.

Mr Charles Sebe was arrested and stood trial in the Ciskei Supreme Court on terrorism-related charges. During his trial, he alleged that the feud was the result of a fight between their sons.

Mr Charles Sebe was convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment on June 17, 1984.

his father last Thursday, having telephoned him in Umtata from Johannesburg.

A spokesman for the Ciskei military council said Mr Lennox Sebe would not be formally informed of his brother's death.

● The whereabouts of Mr Sebe's wife, Mrs Nomafakathi Sebe, and their children are not known.

They left their home in Umtata on Sunday, the day Mr Sebe was shot and wounded.

People in the house said Mr Sebe had left with Colonel Guzana on Saturday.

Bids for power: 4 successes out of 13 attempts

By LOUISE FLANAGAN, East London
DEPENDING on how you count, there have been about 13 coups or attempted coups in Ciskei and Transkei in the past four years — four of them successful. Many of the attacks were met with strong resistance and resulted in deaths. Some went virtually unnoticed and there have probably been more that never came to light.

Last weekend's alleged attempt by Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana probably won't be the last; Ciskei's ruler Brigadier Onya Gqozo is rapidly losing any popularity he may have had and there are rumours of more plotting against him by the Ciskei army.

● In February 1987, Transkei soldiers attacked the then-Ciskei president Lennox Sebe's palace in a failed attempt to overthrow him. One Transkei soldier died, another was captured and this year Charles Sebe claimed responsibility for the attack.

● April 1987: Major-General Bantu Holomisa, at the time the second in command of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF), was released from detention. Within weeks Holomisa had taken over command of the TDF.

● September 1987: Holomisa took over in Transkei, deposing Prime Minister George Matanzima. He handed over to the civilian government of Silela Sigcau in October.

● December 1987: Holomisa took over in Transkei again, citing corruption by Sigcau as his reason.

● May 1988: Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima brought a court application to have Holomisa's government declared illegal. The court dismissed it.

● July 1989: Transkei arrested six men, all South Africans, allegedly on their way to kill Holomisa.

● March 1990: Kwane Sebe, son of president Lennox Sebe, plots a coup in Ciskei. Kwane was arrested in a dawn raid, and instead Gqozo took control.

● April 1990: Colonel Onward Guzana, member of the Ciskei military council, resigned and was detained on allegations of opposing Gqozo.

● April 1990: Transkei businessman Vulindlela Mbotoli, former Transkei military council member Colonel Craig Duli and his bodyguard Boetie Davis arrested in Queenstown, together with 17 others, after allegedly trying to establish training camps in the area from which to launch an attack on Transkei.

● June 1990: Guzana detained for a second time, again on allegations of plotting against Gqozo.

● November 22 1990: Duli and Davis attempted a coup in Transkei, apparently assisted by mercenaries from the Lesotho Liberation Army, and die in the attempt.

● November 27 1990: Ciskei announced that it has squashed an attempted coup, allegedly to have been led by Guzana and former military council member Major Peter Hauser.

● January 27 1991: Colonel Onward Guzana and General Charles Sebe both shot dead in attempt to topple Gqozo's Ciskei government.

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'Sebe was poisoned. We blew him'

W/Max 1/2 - 3/2/91 (105)

WAS it a coup attempt or was it just a very convenient way to get rid of Charles Sebe? That's the question being asked in Ciskei at the moment, following the deaths of the former brigadier-general and Colonel Onward Guzana, shot by Ciskei police after allegedly trying to take over the homeland government at the weekend.

Ciskei's views on the affair are simple. According to military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Sebe and Guzana were stopped at a roadblock on Sunday on their way to depose him. Guzana was shot dead in the initial skirmish, Sebe was wounded and fled to be gunned down early on Monday in a nearby village. Gqozo said the two were wearing bulletproof vests, were armed with Uzi sub-machine guns and 9mm pistols and speeches and documents relating to the coup were found on them.

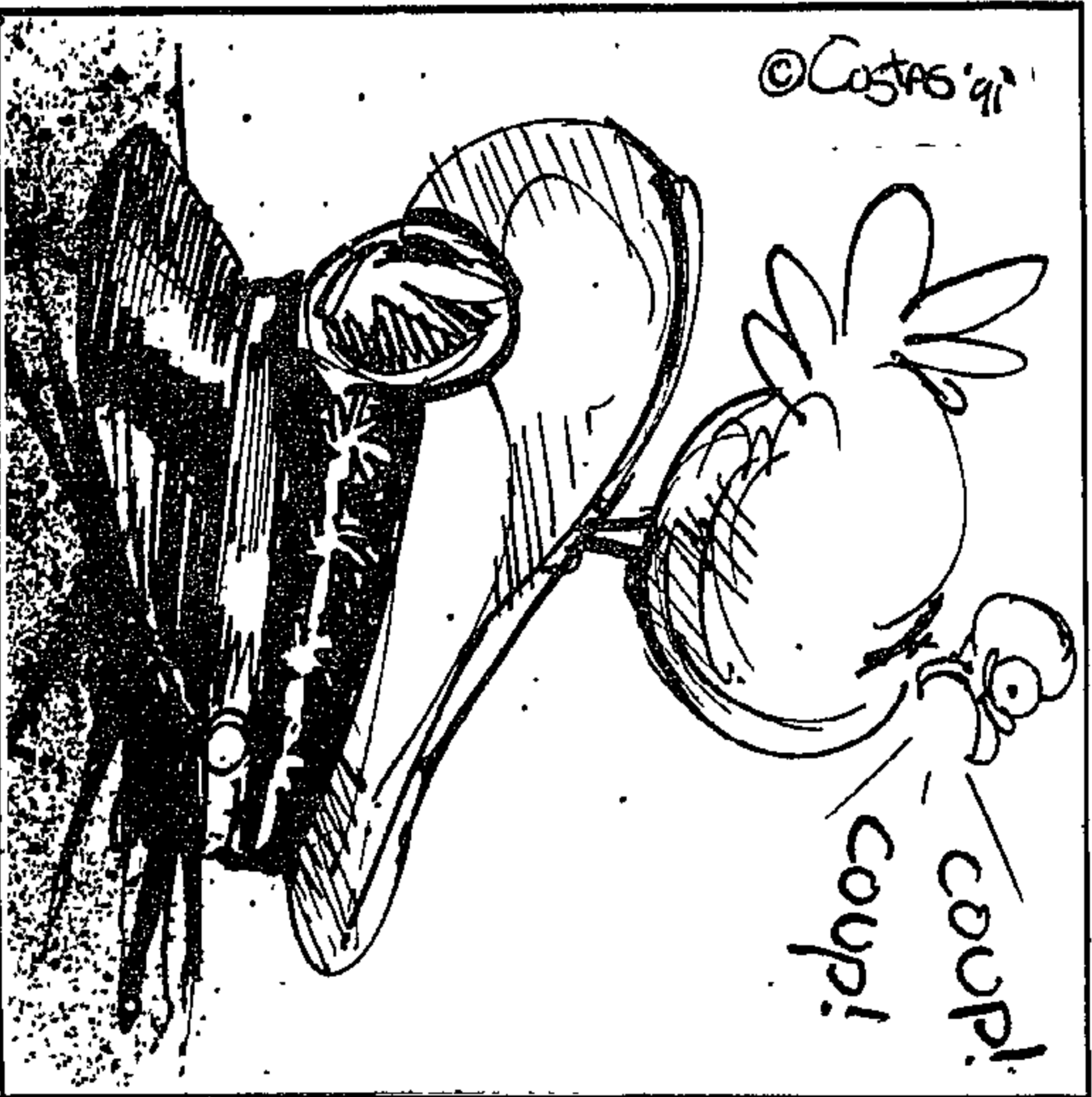
However, there are several unanswered questions.

The most obvious one is: were the two really likely to simply drive into Ciskei, where they were both wanted men, armed with minimal equipment and hope to take over by themselves?

Both Sebe and Guzana were military men. Both had been trained by the South African Defence Force. Sebe had once been the commander-in-chief of the Ciskei armed forces, making him the second most powerful man in Ciskei after his brother, the then President Lennox Sebe.

Both had experience of Ciskei, the Ciskei forces and wild plots: Sebe had been jailed for treason by his brother Lennox after he reached the rank of major-general. He broke out of the maximum security prison, helped set up an armed resistance group in exile in Transkei, and even admitted to involvement in the abortive February 1987 attack by Transkei

Charles Sebe's recent visit to the Ciskei cost him his life. While he was apparently not on a goodwill visit, there are unanswered questions as to exactly what he was doing there. **LOUISE FLANAGAN** reports



on Lennox Sebe's palace.

Guzana was another ambitious soldier, who rapidly rose within the Ciskei forces. He was one of the original four on the military council which pulled off the March 1990 coup, but fell from grace within months. Gqozo accused Guzana of plotting against him, detained him several times and he eventually fled to Transkei where he met up with Sebe.

While there is virtually no sympathy for Sebe from anyone — he was feared and hated throughout Ciskei for his brutal reign, apparently by his

were increased in the area. The two were stopped at a roadblock. Was the trap set up specially by Gqozo or his supporters to get rid of a persistent threat? Did someone in Ciskei contact them and tell them to come as there was support waiting for them?

Gqozo has announced that he took possession of documents and speeches relating to a coup attempt. He has consistently failed to produce any evidence of these, and when pushed simply issued a statement saying that "Guzana and Sebe were not on a goodwill visit".

Gqozo said the documents would not be released. "For on-going security considerations, it is obviously not possible to release all information pertaining to the coup attempt. The Office of the Council of State considers the matter closed."

Then there's the question of the execution of Sebe. Again, there has been no sympathy for Sebe, but there has been condemnation of the way he was killed.

The apparently wounded Sebe managed to flee the roadblock attack and get to a store in a nearby village, where watchers tipped off the police. Eyewitnesses said the police called on the unarmed Sebe to come out, and when he did, captured him and stripped him.

The captors then radioed for instructions and the orders apparently came back to kill Sebe.

When questioned about this later, Gqozo admitted that Sebe was executed while unarmed.

"When he appeared in the doorway, they blew him," he said, explaining that Sebe was "poison" and the intention had never been to capture him.

Quite simply it looks like a concerted — and successful — effort to get rid of the threat to Gqozo and remove any possibility of Guzana or Sebe explaining just how they happened to be in Ciskei in the first place.

Are they proud of this brutality?

Rev 2/2/91

THERE is a growing culture of political brutality that threatens to turn Transkei and Ciskei into areas where there is no respect for human life, and where military rulers can order the summary execution of political opponents.

A few weeks ago we saw on television and newspapers a grim spectacle of mutilated human bodies being publicly displayed by Transkei rulers. These were bodies of alleged initiators of an abortive coup which ended with their death in a shoot-out with members of the Transkei Defence Force.

There was never any explanation from Transkei authorities why they had found it appropriate to convene a gathering to display the bodies. Besides, there were allegations that one of the coup leaders was captured alive, wounded and blinded by shrapnel, but was finished off by machine gun fire.

Stripped naked

Early this week, another two alleged coup leaders were summarily shot by the Ciskei Defence Force. The military ruler of Ciskei appeared on SA television stating, without any qualms, that one of the alleged coup leaders who had escaped with serious gunshot wounds would "be shot on sight" if apprehended.

This alleged coup leader, Charles Sebe, was later confronted by the Ciskei Defence Force, wounded and unarmed. He was indeed "shot on the spot" as the Ciskei leader had promised and his body was left unattended for several hours. Rumour has it that before he was shot, he was stripped naked and ordered to lie on the ground.

Of course, no one has much sympathy for people who attempt to overthrow governments by staging coups and thereby making a mockery of democracy. Nevertheless, the rulers of Transkei and



Ciskei, who themselves grabbed power by staging coups, could do better than take the law into their own hands in such circumstances.

Both territories do have fairly independent courts of law which could be utilised to deal with people accused of subversion.

We all hope that Transkei and Ciskei will ultimately be reincorporated into post-apartheid South Africa and it is for this reason that we are gravely concerned about this growing tendency towards brutality and apparent disregard for democratic procedures.

Up to now I have not heard any outrage being expressed by news media or by those South Africans who claim to be liberal democrats over the brutality.

In the case of the Transkei, all I read was an account and pictures of the proceedings at the "ceremony" where the bodies were displayed.

In the case of the Ciskei, all I have read so far is the controversial curriculum vitae of the late Charles Sebe, his connections with the security police, his role in harassing black political activists and his fanatical hatred of communists.

It is as if we are saying that because of his controversial character, Charles Sebe was not entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Democracy still remains the noblest form of government and it behoves all rulers to act as democrats. Similarly citizens who prefer to live under democratic rule must always be forthright, fearless and unwavering in its defence.

Live by the sword, die by the sword

CP Correspondent

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FORMER commander-in-chief of the Ciskei Armed Forces Charles Xhanti Sebe, killed in an abortive coup in the homeland this week, died as he lived — dramatically.

Sebe's relentless pursuit for power came to an abrupt end when he was killed in cold blood by soldiers on Monday outside a store in Ciskei after he and co-plotter Col Mangwane Guzana were intercepted at a road-block on Sunday morning.

Guzana was killed in the skirmish, while Sebe escaped badly wounded in a bullet-riddled car.

Sebe served in the SAP and was one of its highest-ranking black officers.

He was also an agent for South Africa's Bureau of State Security in King William's Town and was known in Black Consciousness circles for harassing activists, especially

during the time of Steve Biko.

After Ciskei became independent, he was instrumental in the formation of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (CCIS) and was responsible for the detention of many journalists, lawyers and trade unionists.

In 1981 President Lennox Sebe appointed brother Charles commander-in-chief of the armed forces, where he had risen in rank at least once every six months.

During his days as head of the CCIS, the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) became one of his prime targets, being branded communists.

The entire Saawu leadership would be detained about once every two months and Charles would then announce the discovery of a big "ANC and communist cell".

It was during his reign of terror that Saawu was banned from organising in the Ciskei and a curfew declared.

A reliable source revealed how Charles would play on the emotions of former life president Lennox. He would dramatise the threat to his rule.

This was how he managed to engineer decisions like the banning of Saawu and the detention of many activists.

While Charles was in power, hundreds of

Mdantsane commuters died at the hands of Ciskei soldiers and police during the peak of the Mdantsane bus boycott.

By the time Charles found himself at loggerheads with Lennox, he had risen to the rank of major-general.

Lennox decided Charles had undermined the bantustan system and he was then detained. He was later found guilty of treason and sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment.

Five months later a group of mercenaries helped Charles escape from the Middledrift central prison in sensational style. He then fled to Transkei.

In Umtata, Charles lived with his brother Namba, who had also fallen out of favour with Lennox.

Charles became leader of the military wing of Iliso Lomzi, the banned Ciskei Peoples' Rights Protection Party.

It was in Transkei where he vowed to topple the Lennox regime using the "military might" of Iliso Lomzi.

The toppling of the Lennox Sebe empire by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo did not deter Charles from planning to take control of the homeland. He continued mobilising until he was brutally killed this week at the hands of Gqozo's soldiers.

BILL KRIGE analyses the former Ciskei security police chief executed in a coup attempt last week

THE first time I met Charles Sebe was in a dimly-lit pub in Umtata's Holiday Inn a few years ago.

We had an appointment. He strode in and was instantly recognisable: no one else wore dark glasses.

We marched briskly into the night. He asked if I packed a gun (I only had a pen) and we drove off through the streets of the Transkei capital, turning here and there, to cover our tracks and hide his destination.

So far so good; the signature of good security police training.

After 10 minutes of driving, he relaxed and parked his Audi 500 (a nice car for someone who hadn't worked in five years) in the street, close to the hotel we had left.

All of which was typical of Ciskei's one-time strongman. Despite his apparent caution, Charles Sebe was confident, trusting and, above all, careless.

Intrigue rested with him as comfortably as the military overcoats with fur-trimmed collars he wore. Conspiracy was a habit. Last Sunday it finally caught him out.

Charles Sebe — snappy dresser, affable, unprincipled, ruthless, fervent Christian and anti-communist zealot — was betrayed by an inner circle of conspirators.

He and his fellow refugee, Colonel Mangwane Guzana, were arrested near Shutterheim

CHARLES SEBE

STRONGMAN WITH A FATAL WEAKNESS FOR CONSPIRACY

STEWART 3/2/91

(105)

by soldiers loyal to Ciskei's government.

Guzana was shot dead when he tried to crash through a roadblock. Charles Sebe badly wounded, struggled off into the night leaving behind his briefcase, dark glasses and the text of a speech he was to have broadcast telling Ciskeians he had returned.

Next day he was tracked to Izile clinic. According to reports, he pleaded for mercy but was ordered outside. Then, apparently acting on direct orders, soldiers stripped him naked and shot him dead.

It was an execution with a whiff of Liberia about it. But then Ciskei, a narrow dagger of land thrust between South Africa and Transkei, has a history as melancholy and shameful as anything on the continent.

One fact about Ciskei Charles Sebe never did accept was that he was unwanted. In the end it killed him.

Since 1983 when he was jailed for terrorism, he was consumed by two passions — power and revenge. His focus was his erratic elder brother Lennox, President for Life until the military threw him out last March, who ran the country like a

medieval fiefdom.

Charles once had power, lordling it over everyone in uniform in Ciskei, from soldiers to traffic cops. Lennox suspected, with good cause, the vaulting ambition of his gaunt, handsome brother, but Charles always maintained

the feud which tore the family apart.

The feud began with bad blood between the sons. After the boys had had a punch-up relations between their parents were never the same.

In effect, Charles Sebe

said with a laugh, recalling the split, when it came, was dramatic. In 1983 Charles was detained and 10 months later jailed for 12 years for terrorism. "It was a terrible, terrible time," he would say with a laugh, recalling



ZEALOT ... former security police chief Charles Sebe, who refused to accept that the Ciskei never wanted him back

security cell by a bunch of retreated Selous Scouts and whisked off to Umtata. At the same time Lennox's son Kwane was abducted — to face, of all things, a charge of abduction in Transkei.

No sooner had Pretoria sorted out that mess than Charles became the target of a Ciskei hit squad. They found his house — no great difficulty this — and blew it up.

"My wife and I were in bed and we were thrown into the air by the blast. Before we came down I told her, 'Look out, there could be another one,'" he told me with unconscious humour.

Shortly afterwards he was shuffled off to Durban as part of a diplomatic settlement. The phone calls to my office became fewer until an exultant call last March to announce that he was going home.

His brother Lennox had just been kicked out in a coup. Charles Sebe flew to East London and begged to see Brigadier Oupa Gozo so that he could come home. He never got beyond his hotel room. Ciskei was burning.

No one wanted a Sebe around, particularly one who had run the security establishment with such ruthless fervour. That was a lesson Charles Sebe never learnt.

Ciskei

WE'LL SHOOT HANI

S/Times 3/29/81

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By BILL KRIGE

CISKEI'S head of state, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo warned Umkhonto We Sizwe leader Chris Hani this week: Stay off my land or you'll be shot on sight.

Brigadier Gqozo is convinced Mr Hani was involved in the abortive coup attempt last week-end, which ended in the death of Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe.

In a rare interview, the diminutive brigadier underlined a major rift with the ANC, which he blamed for thuggery and deepening Ciskei poverty. He dismissed the ANC's



UPA GQOZO

regional leaders in the area as "a bunch of nincompoops".

Brigadier Gqozo was unrepentant about the manner in which Sebe was shot after obeying an order to emerge from a village hut where he was hiding.

"The soldiers were acting on my orders, which were to shoot to kill," he said.

But while he had contempt for Charles Sebe and co-conspirator Colonel Mangwane Guzana, it was the ANC and outsiders "interfering" in Ciskei politics which drew his fury.

He accused Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa of "plotting like a criminal" for harbouring Colonel Guzana, whose extradition Ciskei had long sought.

"Holomisa has become a captive of the ANC. The Transkei is a stronghold for Mr Han," said Brigadier Gqozo. Transkei Defence Force



CHRIS HANI

members and heavily armed MK cadres patrolled the streets of Umtata in tandem when an attempted coup led by Colonel Craig Duli was crushed last year.

"Ciskei intelligence sources have confirmed

that MK was working hand-in-glove with Sebe, but we don't have sufficient evidence to say with certainty that the ANC was behind this attempted coup," he said.

"But I must caution the ANC that it would be very remiss of it to be involved in something like this. It would spell the end of the ANC in this region."

He said Mr Hani, who launched a scathing attack on the Ciskei in a recent speech in Mdantsane, would be barred from the homeland unless he first sought permission.

While supporting all moves to liberate blacks, he found the ANC's methods "provocative, confrontational and destructive".

Strikes

"The top leaders are reasonable people, but at regional level they oppose all authority unless it suits them and are against all leadership except their own."

Said Brigadier Gqozo: "The ANC is responsible for thousands of people being unemployed as a result of riots, stayaways, strikes and intimidation.

"They have politicised our schools and our teachers. All of them are rotten and contaminated and we are going to root them out."

See Strongman with a fatal weakness, Page 11

Oupa tells Hani: 'You'll be shot'

Cape Times 4/2/70 (105)
JOHANNESBURG. — Relations between the Ciskei government and the ANC have hit rock bottom, with the homeland's military supremo, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, accusing the organization of complicity in last weekend's abortive coup attempt.

A Sunday newspaper quoted Brig Gqozo as issuing a blunt warning to Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani: "Stay off my land or you'll be shot on sight."

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Brig Gqozo charged that Mr Hani was involved in the abortive coup attempt. "Ciskei intelligence sources have confirmed that MK was working hand-in-glove with Charles Sebe (killed during the coup attempt), but we don't have sufficient evidence to say with certainty that the ANC was behind this attempted coup."

He also accused the ANC of being responsible for thousands of people being unemployed through riots, strikes, stayaways and intimidation. — Sapa

Gqozo alleges Hani subversion

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — As confrontation loomed between the Ciskei government and the ANC, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday that he had no information "directly" linking ANC military commander Mr Chris Hani to last month's coup attempt in the homeland.

He said he was investigating rumours of Mr Hani's involvement, but had been "quoted out of context" by a Sunday newspaper which reported him as warning that the ANC man would be shot if he set foot in Ciskei.

He had said that if Mr Hani tried to enter Ciskei "with the protection of MK, there would be shooting because that would be a military confrontation".

At the same time, he accused Mr of "attacking and undermining" the military government.

"He has been subversive and has generally mobilised the people against this government through his careless public utterings," he said.

The brigadier vowed to "stand up for the people when they were intimidated", which was why he "could not allow Mr Hani to do as he pleased". Action would be taken against Mr Hani "in terms of the law" if he undermined the Ciskei government.

Brigadier Gqozo dismissed the suggestion that a confrontation was looming between his government and the ANC, despite the fact that the movement had "terribly misused" his hospitality.

Mandela enters Ciskei rumours

SA South 7/2-13/2/91.

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ANC deputy president Mr Nelson Mandela has become involved in a war of words with Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The homeland chief reportedly called the regional ANC leaders "a bunch of nincompoops" and announced he would have Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani, shot on sight.

In an interview on Radio Ciskei this week, Gqozo confirmed Mandela had contacted him.

Gqozo appeared to be backpedalling on his allegations against the ANC, claiming he had been misquoted in a newspaper article.

He repeated his threat that, if Hani continued to make utterances against his government at rallies in the Ciskei, he would not hesitate to "deal with him".

Defiantly

In the article Gqozo was quoted as linking Hani with Mr Charles Sebe, killed last week during an alleged attempt to topple Gqozo's government.

Meanwhile, Hani in an exclusive interview with SOUTH, reacted defiantly to Gqozo's threats.

"I am not going to stay away from any part of South Africa. If I'm called on to go to Ciskei to do the work of the ANC, I will go to Ciskei," he said.

Hani called allegations that he had plotted with Sebe "absolutely rubbish".

"I would never work with Charles Sebe. Sebe has his own history and track record. He persecuted all of us, he persecuted the ANC. He was responsible for the detention of our people."

The ANC was not interested in confrontation with homeland leaders. "However, just as we respect their right to express their views openly, we believe it is a democratic right of the ANC members to differ with some of the strategies of these bantustan leaders," Hani said.

'3 officers behind Ciskei coup'

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w/ KAR 9/2/81

JOHANNESBURG. — Three senior Ciskei military officers were said to be behind today's coup attempt in the homeland.

Only one of the officers, the head of Ciskei military intelligence, a Colonel Zantsi, has been identified.

The three officers went to the military base outside Bisho today and called a meeting of all officers. It would then appear that shooting started but there was confusion as to who started firing.

Reports said one of the three officers had been seriously wounded, other reports said there had been deaths.

The situation currently is reported to be calm, with soldiers guarding all the major buildings in the capital.

A journalist on a Ciskei newspaper reported that he saw troop carriers with Ciskei soldiers in them, but being commanded by white officers.

When the reporter asked if the white officers were from the South African Defence Force, one of the officers told him to contact Group 8, the SADF battalion in East London.

Group 8 has yet to comment on the report.

The South African embassy in King William's Town said it was aware that something was going on, but they would not comment.

The whereabouts of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, were still unclear, but it has been established that he was in Johannesburg last night. — Sapa.

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING: ~~19112191~~ ~~19112191~~

(aa) Mathematics (Higher Grade)

(a) 8 538

(b) (i) 15 (ii) 109 (iii) 263 (iv) 263 (v) 433

(c) 7 053

(bb) Mathematics (Standard Grade)

(a) 10 861

(b) (i) 8 (ii) 20 (iii) 86 (iv) 161 (v) 382

(c) 8 912

(cc) Physical Science (Higher Grade)

(a) 7 107

(b) (i) 2 (ii) 16 (iii) 87 (iv) 348 (v) 836

(c) 4 363

(dd) Physical Science (Standard Grade)

(a) 6 038

(b) (i) 1 (ii) 1 (iii) 18 (iv) 118 (v) 414

(c) 4 928

Note

This information is as on 7 January 1991.

Ciskei coup attempt: SADF troops involved

10. Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Defence: ~~105~~ ~~105~~

(1) Whether any South African Defence Force troops based near Ciskei were (a) put on alert or (b) ordered to take any specified action on or about 26 January 1991; if so, (i) (aa) what orders were they given and (bb) why and (ii) where were they stationed;

(2) whether any Defence Force troops were involved in assisting Ciskei following a coup attempt on 27 January 1991; if so, (a) what assistance did they render and

(b) (i) where and (ii) with what result was it rendered;

(3) whether Defence Force troops fired any shots on 27 January 1991; if so, (a) where, (b) why and (c) with what result? ~~19112191~~ B51E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE: ~~105~~ ~~105~~

(1) (a) Yes

(b) Yes.

(i) (aa) They were ordered to execute visibility patrols.

(bb) To act as a deterrent for a possible coup in the Ciskei.

(ii) King William's Town.

(2) No (a) and (b) fall away.

(3) No (a), (b) and (c) fall away.

Greater Cape Town area: residents

59 Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Home Affairs ~~19112191~~ ~~19112191~~

What estimated number of (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds and (c) Indians resided in the Greater Cape Town area as at 31 December 1990?

B153E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

Data for 1990 is not available at the Central Statistical Service. The population information is obtained from population censuses. The latest available information is that of the 1985 Population Census, namely:

(a) 542 705

(b) 1 068 921

(c) 17 437

The next population census will be held on 7 March 1991

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs

Orania: negotiations

Mr C B HERANDIEN to ask the Minister of Housing:

Whether he and/or his Department has conducted any negotiations in connection with the purchase of Orania; if so, (a) when and (b) with what result; if not, why not?

CIE INT

*The MINISTER OF HOUSING: Mr Chairman, the answer is yes. Pursuant to the decision by the Ministers' Council on 12 June 1990, negotiations commenced with the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs on 26 June 1990 with regard to the take-over of the town of Orania. The Department of Public Works and Land Affairs reported on 4 July 1990 that the town had already been offered for sale by public tender on 15 June 1990 and that the tender process could no longer be cancelled. Furthermore, the aforementioned department indicated that it would take the interest expressed by this administration into consideration during the final consideration of tenders.

Subsequently the department was informed that 12 tenders had been received. Thereafter, on 20 August 1990, this department made a written request for urgent information regarding the asking price for the town. On 21 August the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs reported that the Minister responsible had accepted the highest offer for Orania on 17 August 1990 and that an agreement had been concluded on that day with the purchaser, a certain Mr Pretorius. The Ministers' Council was notified of the transaction and informed, *inter alia*, that under the circumstances the purchase of the town was not being pursued any further.

*Mr C B HERANDIEN: Mr Chairman, I find it strange that the hon the Minister only began negotiating for the purchase of Orania on 12

June 1990. The hon the Minister and his department must certainly have become aware at an earlier stage that Orania was no longer going to be kept alive as a White town per se. Surely the concern, the fears and the interests of the people of Orania should have received primary consideration. There is a management committee, which I believe was kept in the dark.

I want to say today that the Administration House of Representatives will have to accept full responsibility for this blunder.

*Mr CINASSON: When did you become aware of it?

*Mr C B HERANDIEN: Keep quiet, man, you do not even know where it is. [Interjections.]

To think that a tender was submitted. Where is the hon the Minister going to get the money to house those people? Here was a golden opportunity—a town complete with infrastructure. But no, there was an endless stream of correspondence. It is the old story of "the matter is receiving attention." That is why I want to say today that the hon the Minister will have to go and apologise to the people of Orania as quickly as possible. [Interjections.] He owes them this, because the fact of the matter is that whenever there is a need to look after the interests of the Coloured people, one finds the old psychologists that this may reek of apartheid. Never in my wildest dreams could I have imagined that the day the Group Areas Act was abolished, we would be faced with a new type of apartheid, namely economic apartheid. If that is what the future holds for us, the time has come for the Ministers' Council either to resign or to wake up and decide where their true interests lie.

*Mr J D SWIGELAAR: What does the hon member have to say about Orania?

*Mr C B HERANDIEN: That hon member should keep quiet. I am coming to him. The year is still young.

The hon the Minister is aware of the fact that a similar situation is developing in the Western Cape. He will have to get his skates on, because Klapmuis is a problem. When we look at what happened to Orania, I already begin to have my fears about what is going to happen to the people of Klapmuis. The hon the Minister must learn to take the brakes off and to take the interests of the Coloured people—not those of anyone

GQOZO FOILS NEW CISKEI COUP

105
10/2/91

CISKEI soldiers fought a long gun battle in the military headquarters of the homeland in Bisho early yesterday morning to fend off a new coup attempt, and unconfirmed reports said "many" people had been killed.

Troop carriers with Ciskei soldiers in them, but commanded by white officers were seen. The South African Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday confirmed the SADF had given "limited assistance" to Ciskei ruler Brigadier "Oupa" Gqozo.

One of the "coup" leaders, Ciskei military intelligence head Colonel Zantsi, and two lieutenants, were wounded and admitted to a hospital in Mdantsane where they were treated for leg wounds, a correspondent told City Press.

Another alleged "coup" leader, Brigadier A Jamangile, and other co-plotters are at large and an intensive search for them has been launched. Several soldiers were arrested following the shootout.

A radio reporter in Ciskei had been killed while a corporal at the Ciskei Defence Force headquarters said: "There are many dead." These reports could not be confirmed.

The second-in-command in the Ciskei Council of State, Commandant SS Peta, yesterday said peace and order had been restored as "the devils" had been removed.

Peta said Gqozo was still in power and is "very much safe and alive". Peta, who arrived yesterday morning from Pretoria with Gqozo and two cabinet ministers, said on their arrival they heard on the radio that there was "trouble".

He said at 5.30am Jamangile, Zantsi and other officers called at the base and told about 25 soldiers to collect their rifles for a coup.

There was disagreement among the soldiers, as they were still having breakfast. Zantsi started shooting at soldiers who were loyal to Gqozo. Zantsi and others were wounded while Jamangile fled to a nearby village from where he was driven away in a car.

On January 28, Gqozo's troops shot dead Charles Sebe, brother and one-time security chief of former president Lennox Sebe. Sapa, CP Correspondent

Ciskei leader survives 2nd coup attempt

105

Sowetan 11/2/91

CISKEI military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo, who survived a second coup attempt on Saturday, said junior and non-commissioned army officers suppressed the bid and he thanked South Africa for prompt support.

He said in a statement on Saturday night rebel soldiers, led by Col Andrew Jamangile, launched their attempt at 7am, trying to enlist the support of soldiers at an army base.

"In the ensuing shooting, three of the dissidents were seriously wounded and are presently under guard in hospital," he said.

"The ringleader, Col A M Jamangile, tried to escape, but as a result of a follow-up operation by the security forces he was arrested at a house in the Tyutyu village near Bisho."

A Sapa correspondent in Umtata said a spokeswoman for the military government declined to say how many had been arrested.

"Those detained are being interrogated in an effort to establish first hand information about the aborted coup," Gqozo said.

"We have no doubt that more will be exposed and detained."

"Junior officers and non-commissioned officers suppressed the coup attempt and arrested the perpetrators."

"I thank the South African Defence Force for their prompt action. Their role was merely to make sure that violence did not escalate," he said. - Sapa

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Coup: Gqozo fingers ANC

BISHO. — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said there were signs of ANC and Transkeian involvement in Saturday's failed coup attempt.

Asked about the presence of the SADF and SAP in his homeland, Brig. Gqozo said his rivals should realise the SA army and the Ciskei Defence Force were doing "one and the same thing".

"I don't mind if they (the SADF) stay here longer. I don't mind sending my forces to South Africa and vice versa. We should work together," he said.

He warned that stringent military action would be taken against intimidators. — Sapa

● Pik calls for democracy — Page 7

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Pik calls for democracy in Ciskei

C.M.F. 7/12/81

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PRETORIA. — The South African Government is going to help restructuring the Ciskeian government to increase civilian participation, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night.

Ciskei soldiers foiled a second coup attempt at the weekend and captured the chief plotter Brigadier Andrew Jamangile along with 12 of his followers — wounding at least three of them.

Brigadier Jamangile was the chief of the Ciskei Defence Force.

At least 10 of the rebels are still at large — and were last night described by the Ciskei government as “armed, dangerous and desperate to escape”.

Mr Botha said 60 SADF members were deployed in Ciskei on Saturday at Brigadier Gqozo's request — but did not take part in any action.

He also said that his government supported constitutional order in Ciskei and, at the request of Brigadier Gqozo, urgent attention was being given to assisting him in the restructuring of the Ciskeian government in

such a way that there will be greater civilian participation.

Speaking on Ciskei Radio yesterday, Brigadier Gqozo said: “I am fully in control of the situation”.

On Saturday, at about 7am, junior and non-commissioned army officers suppressed the coup bid.

Brigadier Gqozo, who was in the Transvaal at the time, said the dissidents had tried to enlist support from other officers at the First Battalion base near Bisho.

“In the ensuing shooting, three of the dissidents were seriously wounded and are presently under guard in hospital,” he said.

● Sapa reports from Umtata that about 350 people, mostly from Ciskei, attended the memorial service of the former head of the Ciskei's combined forces, General Charles Xhanti Sebe, who was killed after a failed coup in Ciskei a week ago. Speaker after speaker condemned the manner in which General Sebe died. — Sapa and Own Correspondents

Ciskei leader berates 'elements' in ANC

By Helen Grange

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Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has suggested that ANC elements might have been behind the latest coup attempt in the homeland.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, Brigadier Gqozo said his government was angry over the evident intimidation of his top defence officers by certain political elements.

"The top military men involved were operating under instructions and feared retribution," he said.

The Ciskeian government had launched intensive investigations into the "whole revolutionary trend" in Ciskei. Specific elements in the ANC were misusing their platform, he claimed.

However, the dissident soldiers arrested, including the head of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile, would not be spared the "serious charges



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo ... dissident soldiers arrested will not be spared charges of treason.

of treason" against them.

At least seven rebel Ciskeian soldiers had been arrested so far.

The coup attempt, on Saturday afternoon, was foiled when top military leaders failed to get the Ciskeian soldiers on their side. A shoot-

out followed and a number of officers escaped.

Brigadier Gqozo said there was a problem with the top military leadership now the top structures had been "contaminated".

Following the previous coup attempt, Brigadier

Gqozo warned, in response to a suggestion that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, had planned the coup, that it would be unwise of MK chief Chris Hani to try as there would be a military confrontation.

● In a statement to Sapa yesterday, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said the Ciskei Defence Force had managed to bring the situation under control without the participation of the 60 SA Defence Force personnel deployed to meet the Ciskei's call for assistance.

He said the SA Government would help in restructuring the Ciskeian government to increase civilian participation.

He called on all civilian, traditional and military leaders in the Ciskei and elsewhere to put aside their differences and rivalries and contribute towards, and commit themselves, to peace and stability.

17 m held for influx control

Crime Staff

More than 17 million people were arrested under the Influx Control regulations between 1921 and 1986, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said in Cape Town on Friday.

It was against this background that the Ministry was trying to change the image and role of the police, he said.

Mr Vlok said the police wanted to be seen as the protectors of country's citizens, but for many years had been bound by the Police Act having to enforce the laws of the country — even when people hated them for it.

Mr Vlok said today's police had to protect and be the friend of all South Africans.

Mr Vlok's speech was part of the campaign to build bridges between police and the people in order to fight crime more effectively

US televangelists are heretics, claims WCC

CANBERRA — American television evangelists were branded heretics today by delegates at the Seventh Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC).

"I have denounced the use of TV to domesticate people with the gospel that has very little to do with the gospel of Jesus Christ," Rene Padilla, a Baptist minister from Argentina, told reporters.

"I do not agree with it. I think it is heretical."

American television evangelists were commercialising religion, said Walter Arnold, of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany. He is a member of the WCC central committee.

"We on the continent are trying to nourish different ways of pushing the gospel through the media because I am of the opinion those (American) programmes are highly commercialised," Mr

Arnold said.

"We should be very careful about mixing the gospel with those modern forms of commercialism. I think the Church must look for different terms of presenting the gospel through the media."

Both agreed the religious differences between evangelical Christians and ecumenicals were narrowing.

Mr Padilla said the stereotypical evangelist was a rightwing capitalist who interpreted the Bible literally. The stereotype of an ecumenical was a left-winger concerned with social issues.

But he said most people no longer fell into such rigid categories.

"Now you don't find harsh fighting between people who are affiliated with the world of evangelism or the (ecumenical) leaders of the World Council of Churches," said Mr Arnold. — Reuter.

Piet 'Skiet' on hunger strike

Staff Reporter

Leading Orde Boerevolk (OB) member Piet "Skiet" Rudolph stopped eating at Pretoria Central Prison today to protest against his treatment by the Government.

"He is handled like a criminal. He has to see his family, friends and lawyer through a glass panel," OB spokesman Coenraad Vermaak said.

"He is not allowed physical contact with them."

Mr Rudolph was also protesting against "the Government's refusal to discuss his position", Mr Vermaak said.

OB members Leonard Veenendal, Craig Barker and Arthur Archie ended a hunger strike earlier this month.

Mr Rudolph faces several charges of terrorism, including an attack on the British Embassy in Pretoria last year.

One killed as fighting rages

in Bekkersdal

VERA VON LIERES

ONE person was killed during renewed fighting between ANC and Inkatha supporters in Bekkersdal township at the weekend despite a peace meeting between top-level delegations from the warring factions last week.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Col Johan Mostert said yesterday firearms, explosive devices, spears and knives were used during the clashes.

He said one Inkatha member was killed and an unknown number of people were injured.

At last week's meeting, leaders of the ANC, Azapo, Inkatha and the PAC agreed to end violence.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday he did not believe the weekend clashes would threaten peace initiatives.

Mamoepa said the peace initiative should be seen as a continuing process, and that the various organisations needed to encourage unity.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports three incidents of unrest were reported in Natal where ANC and Inkatha leaders recently agreed on another peace accord.

Police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said a private home near Maritzburg was shot at and petrol-bombed, but no-one was injured in the attack.

Audit details massive misuse of state funds

LESLEY LAMBERT

had since been sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

The Department of Foreign Affairs wrote off R25 888 — R11 776 of which was attributed to overpayment of a former official's housing subsidy. The amount was not recoverable.

Similarly, various deficiencies in computer-assisted administrative procedures resulted in the payment of double pensions to members of the House of Representatives and double salaries amounting to R1,7m to examiners employed by the Department of Education and Training.

Salaries

An SADF official incurred unauthorised expenses of R62m on fictitious quotations and orders placed against fictitious tenders. Of this amount, the official assigned payments of R13,3m to himself. He was suspended and the R13,3m was recovered.

The Prisons Department spent an unauthorised amount of R1,4m, part of which was attributed to the adjustment of salaries of non-

whites arising from an incorrect interpretation of the measures for the elimination of salary disparities." The adjustment had not been budgeted for.

Investigations were being conducted into the control and supply of stores of the Department of Education and Training, the irregular use of state funds by private suppliers and outstanding GST.

Possible cases of bribery and corruption by officials in the Department of National Health and Population Development responsible for the purchase and distribution of emergency food supplies, were also being investigated, as were alleged irregularities in the SA Development Trust.

Local authorities came under strong criticism by Wronsley who said: "Generally viewed the finances of this important level of government are chaotic and warrant serious attention by all concerned."

Wronsley said he had been unable to furnish unqualified audit opinions on the SA Development Trust and the SA Medical Research Council. He was also unable to express audit opinions on the activities of the J L B Smith Institute of Ichthyology and the National Housing Fund (blacks).

Ciskei leader thanks SA for 'prompt help'

UMTATA — Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo, who survived a second coup attempt on Saturday, said junior and non-commissioned army officers supported the bid. He thanked SA for prompt support.

Rebel soldiers led by Col Andrew Jamangile launched their attempt at 7am, trying to enlist the support of soldiers at an army base, he said in a statement.

"In the ensuing shooting, three of the dissidents were seriously wounded and are presently under guard (in) hospital," he said.

"The ringleader, Col A M Jamangile, tried to escape, but as a result of a follow-up operation by the security forces (he) was arrested at a house in the Tyutyu village near Bisho."

From Johannesburg it is reported that military authorities confirmed the SA Defence Force had offered "limited" assistance in stabilising the situation in Bisho shortly after the incident.

A number of officers had been detained, while the injured were admitted to the Cecilia Makiwane hospital at Mdantsane, authorities said.

The SA government said it was monitoring the situation closely and was in close contact with the homeland government.

East Cape News Agencies reports that residents of Skobeni village, which borders the military base, saw a "white-skinned man" escape from the base, steal a car in the village and drive off. Brig Jamangile is reported to be of fair complexion.

The atmosphere in Bisho was tense and confused on Saturday morning. Soldiers were running around, and a carload of nervous and heavily armed soldiers threatened to shoot journalists if they saw them in the area again.

The roads past Parliament, the presidential palace and Radio Ciskei were blocked off, and armed soldiers were guarding the buildings. — Sapa.

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Oupa Gqozo's hold on Ciskei looks increasingly tenuous

AKW 12/2/91 (105)

From FRANZ KRUGER in Grahamstown

THE attempted coup against Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo comes amid a deepening political crisis facing his rule.

In past weeks, he has become

Dictators

increasingly isolated, alienating several important constituencies in the Ciskei. He has clashed with the African National Congress over an earlier attempted coup, and with his own civil servants who launched a protest strike last week.

The latest coup attempt comes less than two weeks after two former Ciskei officers were killed in an alleged attempt to overthrow him. One of them was Colonel Onward Guzana, who helped Gqozo seize power and later fell from grace. The other was Charles Sebe, the brother of self-styled President for the Life, Lennox Sebe, who was toppled by Gqozo a year ago.

Charles Sebe, formerly head of Ciskei state security, was apparently summarily executed at a country store near Stutterheim on Gqozo's orders.

Duped

Gqozo boasted he had given his men orders to shoot Sebe, saying he did not want him alive. He also intimated people "loyal" to him had duped Sebe and Guzana into thinking there was a groundswell of opposition to him.

Despite claims that the men were carrying documents proving that they were

attempting a coup, Gqozo has not produced any of the evidence.

In the wake of the incident, a major row broke out between Gqozo and the ANC, with the brigadier accusing the organisation of complicity in the coup attempt, and threatening to have MX chief of staff Chris Hani shot if he set foot in Ciskei.

His attitude to the ANC did not go down well in Mdantsane. The day his threat to shoot Hani was published, residents of the huge township gathered on street corners to condemn Gqozo. A confrontation seemed inevitable when the ANC announced that it stood by Hani and would defend him, and regional spokesman Hintsa Siwisa slammed the comments as "the most disgusting statement of the decade".

Rift

Siwisa also pointed out that it was "ludicrous" to think that Hani was allied with Charles Sebe. During his reign as chief of Ciskei's armed forces Sebe was hated and feared by both his victims and those he commanded, and was well-known for his strong anti-ANC stance. Gqozo in fact later retracted this although he reiterated his promise to shoot Hani.

The rift became serious enough for ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela to personally telephone Gqozo to discuss it with him, and a meeting has been planned between the two although no date has yet been set.

Brigadier Gqozo's increasingly imperialistic style has

come under fire. He is not receptive to criticism; he issued an order threatening stiff jail sentences to anybody showing him disrespect. The order was later withdrawn, after an outcry.

In the latest incident some weeks ago, he convened a meeting to discuss his plans for reorganising rural local government. A delegation led by the widely-respected ANC regional chairman Arnold Stofie presented some criticism of the Gqozo plan and came up with alternative proposals.

Reshuffle

The brigadier angrily responded that he would go ahead with the proposals anyway, and said the ANC, UDF and its allied Border Civics Congress (Bocco) were not the only organisations in the Ciskei, and he would hold a meeting with individuals, not organisations.

In the incident, which seemed to encapsulate his growing estrangement from the ANC, he reportedly had senior ANC and SACP leaders Raymond Mhlaga, aged 70, and Govan Mbeki, aged 80, body-searched before meeting them.

On Wednesday, he held a press conference to announce a major reshuffle in his government, and made his attitude towards ANC-aligned organisations clear. He bluntly told journalists that he would not tolerate any attempts to undermine his government.

Although he was careful not to mention any organisation by name, his comments were clearly aimed at the

ANC and his reference to individual "rascals" seemed aimed at Hani.

"We are going to be very strict on anyone who tries to undermine the government. Pressure groups will not be tolerated", he said firmly, adding that he would not allow organisations to dictate to him.

He also announced senior civil servants would not be allowed to join organisations. He said officials who belonged to political organisations would be biased and only employ members of their organisations.

A day later, Bisho ground to a halt as officials launched a strike in protest against the move. It is not the first time he has clashed with his own officials, among whom the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) is rapidly organising.

These are indicators of how rapidly his popular support is declining from the high point of enthusiasm and relief that greeted the end of the hated rule of Sebe.

His first public appearances took place under the banner of the ANC, and people were amused but pleased at the halting attempts of the former military intelligence chief to sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Early this week, however, his hold on power was looking increasingly tenuous. While it is unlikely that the ANC itself is behind the latest events, his increased isolation may have encouraged some group in the military or elsewhere to seize the opportunity to unseat him.

(bb) The amount of R73,950 million was spent country-wide

The amount of R150,009 million is being spent country-wide. Concerning the reduction of backlogs in school buildings the following number of classrooms are being erected per region:

Region	Number of classrooms
Diamond Fields	115
Highveld	68
Johannesburg	40
Cape	88
Total	717

Details per school are available

Some of these projects will only be completed in 1991/92. The cost of completion in 1991/92 will be financed out of the balance of R187,491 million

(iii) The Council for Education and Training, other statutory advisory bodies and Regional Chief Directors



School	Town	Project
Diamond Fields Region		
Zingisa Primary	Kimberley	Extension
Tlhabane Secondary	Kimberley	Extension
Tshireleco Secondary	Kimberley	Extension
Valspan Primary	Jan Kempdorp	Extension
Inyatelo Primary	Orkney	New school
Tlhoafalo Secondary	Sannieshof	New school
Umso Secondary	Colesberg	New school
Highveld Region		
Lungisani Primary	Germiston	New school
Mashushung Secondary	Lydenburg	Extension
Itireleng Primary	Witbank	Extension
Phuthumani Primary	Kempton Park	Extension
Maphanzela Primary	Alberton	Extension
Boneha Primary	Heidelberg	Extension
Thakgalang Primary	Nigel	Extension
Johannesburg Region		
Ithute Primary	Alexandra	New school
Thaba Jabula Secondary	Klipspruit	Extension
Cape Region		
Phahameng Primary	Jamestown	New school
Indwe Secondary	Mossel Bay	New school
Umtha Welanga Secondary	Maclear	New school
Natal Region		
A J Mwelase Secondary	Durban	New school
Northern Transvaal Region		
Nnayaboswa Primary	Carletonville	New school
Makhutjisha Secondary	Naboomspruit	New school
Tswasongu Secondary	Carletonville	New school
Phateng Secondary	Pretoria	New school
Vulinqondo Secondary	Pretoria	Extension

Handwritten signature or scribble.

School	Town	Project
Tiyelelani Secondary	Pretoria	Extension
Orange-Val Region		
Thabeng Primary	Vereeniging	New school
Phinduzame Primary	Reitz	Extension
Vrede Primary	Vrede	Extension
Warden Primary	Warden	Extension
Leifo Iziko Secondary	Reitz	Extension
Tisetsang Secondary	Bethlehem	Extension
Qalabotjha Secondary	Villiers	Extension
Orange Free State Region		
Phomolong Primary	Hennenman	Extension
Mmoso Primary	Hennenman	Extension
Mahlatswetsa Primary	Excelsior	Extension
Inoseng Primary	Petrusburg	Extension
Zanoxolo Secondary	Bloemfontein	New school
Maisripe Secondary	Ventersburg	New school

SAP: new guide-lines

*17 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, since the State President announced his new initiatives on 2 February 1990, the South African Police has issued new guide-lines, instructions or memorandums to its members orally or in writing about the way in which the activities of members of previously illegal organizations are to be dealt with now, if not, why not, if so, what were the contents of these guide-lines, instructions or memorandums (a) in general and (b) in respect of police presence and action at protest marches and other mass actions in particular?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and (b)

Immediately after the banning of the relevant organizations was lifted, discussions were held with all commanders of the Police at Headquarters and on a regional level, during which the following guide-lines were laid down.

All activities of organizations and persons must receive attention strictly in accordance with statutory and common-law provisions and conduct be determined accordingly.

In respect of police presence and action at protest marches and other mass actions, the following guide-lines apply

Without an obligation being placed on the Police or the organizers of protest marches and other mass actions obtaining a right thereby, when considered necessary and circumstances permit, the Police must have discussions with such organizers beforehand to ensure that the march or mass action takes place in a legal manner without the public order being disturbed.

Protest marches and other mass actions which take place in a peaceful manner within legal limits, must be allowed to continue unhindered. In such a case the Police must ensure that law and order are maintained, that persons participating in the march or action are afforded the opportunity to exercise their democratic rights and also that the democratic rights of other persons are not violated.

All statutory and common-law provisions must be strictly complied with

Ciskei coup attempt (105)

*18. Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether he received any information on an impending coup attempt in Ciskei prior to 27 January 1991, if so, (a) (i) on what day and (ii) at what time, (b) from what source and (c) what steps did he take as a result,

(2) whether he communicated with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo regarding this information, if so, what are the relevant details?

He... 12/2/91 105
B52E
The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(1) Yes Since the coup of March 1990 frequent rumours of impending coup attempts against the government of Brigadier O J Gqozo had come to our notice, including rumours concerning the attempt of 27 January 1991 These rumours were brought to the attention of the South African Embassy in Bisho from time to time by Brigadier Gqozo who requested that South Africa take no action

(2) No

Crude oil: landed cost

*19 Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises *He... 12/2/91*

In respect of the latest specified date for which figures are available. (a) what was the landed cost in South Africa of crude oil in United States dollars per barrel and (b) what, in respect of 93-octane petrol, was this cost expressed in cents per litre at the pump?

B53E
The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES.

(a) US Dollar 27,9682 during January 1991 Payment is effected thirty days after the loading date at the price negotiated at the time of concluding the contract

(b) The above-mentioned cost is not directly taken into account in the South African price for 93-octane petrol The average landed cost of 93-octane petrol for four refineries—three in Singapore and one in Bahrain—is being used as basis to determine the South African price The landed cost currently reflected in the price of 93-octane is 59,242 c/l

93-Octane petrol: pump price

*20 Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises

a vote is taken on a choice between education models, parents can make a clear choice in favour of the status quo model?

B159E INT

*The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE Mr Speaker, parents of schools that are considering one of the additional models have at least two opportunities to express themselves in favour of the status quo, if that is what they wish

It is well-known that school communities need not vote for a model, but when management boards or parent communities begin to send out feelers, for example by means of information meetings or informal opinion polls, every parent has the right to express themselves opposed to change, or rather for the retention of the status quo I think it happened in quite a number of places that it was resolved during such prior meetings not to proceed with an official vote.

In this connection one must also remember that management boards are elected by the parent communities themselves. Indirectly the guidance emanating from the management boards are therefore the result of parental involvement, and if management boards do not represent the opinion of most parents, it is their democratic right to establish another management board This happens periodically at various schools

When a school community proceeds to vote on the matter, the choice on the official ballot-paper is clear Each parent must make a cross next to one of only two alternatives, namely he or she must indicate whether he or she is voting for one of the additional models—the model involved is clearly defined on the ballot-paper—or whether he or she is voting against it If the parent votes against the proposed model, he or she is of course voting for the status quo, and he or she has every right to indicate in that way that he or she is satisfied with the present admission policy and does not want any change

Every parent has an equal opportunity. Each one of our parents received an information document in which the options were clearly defined, and therefore no one can be misled Every parent receives timely notification if an official vote is arranged according to a fixed procedure, and provision is even made for postal votes and special votes

*Mr A GERBER Mr Speaker, in spite of the attempt by the hon the Minister to furnish an explanation, it is as plain as a pikestaff that he is not doing anything to ensure that parents who have been misled—there are parents who have been misled in this connection—are able to cast a clear vote in favour of the status quo

*An HON MEMBER: Misled by the CP

*The ACTING SPEAKER Order!

*Mr A GERBER The ballot-paper prescribed by his department makes provision only for voting either for or against one of the additional models In practice, particularly at English-language schools, parents are being erroneously brought under the impression that only the three additional models are involved They have to choose between Model A, B or C Models A and C—this is the argument—are not affordable All that remains is model B, and therefore it is logical that that model should be voted for

I want to quote an example to the hon the Minister Under the official letterhead of the Durban High School the following was written to parents under the signature of the principal on 1 October 1990.

The school committee at their recent meeting felt that of the three models available

Please note, I am emphasising "of the three models available"—

model B should be the one to be seriously considered

This gross form of deception was brought to the attention of the hon the Minister's department from more than one source. The question now is what is being done about this deception I maintain that the hon the Minister is turning a deaf ear to valid objections that were raised in this connection The reason for this is obvious. The Government is actually trying to promote Model B, the open State school model The Government wants to force Model B on parents

Last week the hon member Mr P J Swanepoel boasted in this House about the number of schools which—

have already applied to admit pupils of colour

In reaction to an interjection he admitted that he preferred the open State school model

ANC, Cosatu want Gqozo's resignation

Am 7/4/98 13/2/98 108

EAST LONDON—The resignation of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was demanded yesterday by the Border Civics Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the Congress of South African Students and the ANC Youth League.

Brigadier Gqozo had "abused the courtesy" they had extended to him and did not represent the people of the region, the organisations said.

Pik knew of Ciskei coup

THE government was informed beforehand of the January 27 coup attempt in Ciskei, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Rumours of coup attempts were frequently relayed to South Africa's embassy in Bisho by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Mr Botha said in parliament, responding to a question from the Conservative Party.

Asked if he had communicated with Brigadier Gqozo regarding the January coup information, Mr Botha replied: "No".

The organisations also condemned the presence of the SADF in Ciskei, which they said destabilised the peace "which has been established by the people".

Ciskei's military government meanwhile stated yesterday that it saw the future of Ciskei as part of a constitutional democracy in a united South Africa.

In a statement yesterday, the government said the Council of State was actively promoting constitutional development in Southern Africa.

Outlining what it called its manifesto, it said it was committed to the maintenance of law and order, the protection of all law-abiding citizens and to its responsibility for the protection of human rights including freedom of expression.

Ciskei to have more civilians in govt — Pik

Apr 14/2/91
105



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — Ciskei is to get a new constitution and a new government with greater civilian representation, South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha announced here yesterday.

Mr Botha spoke in the National Assembly after brief discussions with Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

He said he was grateful to Brigadier Gqozo for his willingness to accept a greater civilian participation.

Brigadier Gqozo, who hinted that his own position could become a more ceremonial one, encountered further opposition yesterday as black organisations in the Border clamoured for his resignation.

In the centre of the storm was an alleged payment of R8,5 million by Brig Gqozo to the KwaZulu government for damage caused during last year's violence at coal mines in Natal. The violence involved Ciskei migrant workers in Natal and KwaZulu mine labourers.

However, the Military Council denied that the Ciskei government had paid any money to KwaZulu.

SA gives Oupa a helping hand

South 14/2-20/2/91 105

There is method in South Africa rushing to the assistance of the beleaguered Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqoza last weekend when a second coup in as many weeks failed.

Observers believe South Africa will attempt to reincorporate Ciskei into South Africa by stealth, thwart ANC designs on the tiny homeland and, in Gqoza, gain an ally at the negotiations table, writes Louise Flanagan

SOUTH Africa has offered to "help restructure" the Ciskei government in what appears to be the beginning of reincorporation by stealth.

The announcement by South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, came almost immediately after last Saturday's failed attempt to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government — the second in two weeks.

Details are still unclear, however.

All that Botha said was that Pretoria would help to restructure Ciskei's government to increase civilian participation.

Restructuring

A spokesman for the South Africa Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, Ms Elsa Dry, said the restructuring had been requested by Ciskei and had been discussed in the days just before the coup attempt.

Ciskei has had little to say on the matter.

"We welcome this support and the precise terms are still being negotiated," said government spokesperson, Mr Victor Hoyana.

But privately, South African officials conceded it was the first step towards incorporation — an inevitable prospect agreed on by groups across the political spectrum, except perhaps the more starry-eyed elements in the bantustan bureaucracy.

From South Africa's point of view, there are powerful reasons for reincorporation.

On the one hand, Ciskei has been looking more and more unstable in past months. Gqozo's increasingly authoritarian style has alienated significant constituencies in the homeland.

Last week he was embroiled in a bitter war of words with the ANC, which prompted deputy president Nelson Mandela to set up a meeting to discuss their differences.

At the same time, civil servants downed tools over a range of issues and in protest against a decree forbidding senior officials from joining organisations.

The row with the ANC followed the first coup attempt and there was widespread shock at the openness with which Gqozo admitted having Mr Charles Sebe summarily executed.

Gqozo has been increasingly at log-



IN AWE: Brigadier Oupa Gqozo meets Nelson Mandela during the ANC leaders tour of the Eastern Cap last year. Now relations have soured

gerheads with the regional ANC leadership, whom he called "a bunch of nincompoops".

What sparked his anger was apparently that the ANC dared criticise a plan for rural local government he had asked them to comment on.

Generally, the impression is growing that Gqozo personally is unable to take criticism, and is falling in love with the role of backyard dictator, as evidenced by his decree last year threatening heavy jail terms to anybody insulting him.

The decree was withdrawn after an outcry.

Gqozo's outrageous and impolite behaviour is creating increasing instability, and observers are freely predicting another attempt to overthrow him.

In the light of last weekend's failed coup, it seemed only a matter of time before somebody else tried.

Clearly this kind of instability is not in South Africa's interests.

If Pretoria does take a firm hand in the homeland's running, it seems highly unlikely there will be any further incidents of this kind.

South Africa has another powerful motive for reincorporation by stealth:

Gqozo has shifted significantly away from the close relationship with the ANC that characterised the first days of his rule. South 14/2-20/2/91

And with constitutional talks coming up, both the government and the ANC are hard at work trying to draw as many groups as possible to their side of the negotiating table.

With Pretoria playing a more direct role in the homeland, it can make sure that Gqozo maintains his drift away from the ANC.

Botha's offer comes on top of several indications that South Africa is increasing its involvement in the running of Ciskei.

It is not clear why Gqozo was in Pretoria in the week before the coup attempt for what was officially called "a special meeting", but he may well have been summoned there by South Africa.

While he was there, he issued a hasty, hand-written and apparently unconstitutional decree allowing for the Chief Justice to take over the government if he was indisposed.

This was faxed from the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

The Ciskei government said this was

necessary because both Gqozo and the only other soldier on his ruling council of state, Commandant SS Pita, were out of the territory at the time.

However, there is still a suspicion that South Africa told Gqozo to do it, particularly in the light of the persistent — and wellfounded — rumours of another coup plot in Ciskei at the time.

Days before the Pretoria trip, the South African Defence Force (SADF) seconded two brigadiers to the Ciskei Defence Force.

Overthrow

Ciskei has been very quiet about them and declined to respond to enquiries, but it is believed that one is to be Gqozo's personal assistant.

And when Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Aaron Jamangile attempted to overthrow Gqozo early on Saturday morning, the SADF moved in rapidly.

Botha confirmed that about 60 SADF members were deployed at Gqozo's request, and this week South African troops were still in Ciskei.

When Gqozo returned to the region hours after the attack, he didn't go straight home.

Instead, he is believed to have stayed with the South African ambassador to Ciskei, Pieter Goosen, in his King William's Town home.

There were also rumours in Ciskei that coup leader Jamangile was subsequently picked up at either the embassy or Goosen's home after seeking refuge there.

Rhodes University economist Andrew Donaldson said he thought the restructuring would be an interim measure paving the way for full reintegration, and possibly a way for South Africa to gauge popular support for such moves.

Donaldson pointed out that the bantustans are still running up enormous debts and Ciskei is per capita the most indebted of the "independent" homelands, having borrowed R500m from South Africa and commercial banks in addition to its annual budget from South Africa. — ELNEWS



OLD FRIENDS: Slain Ciskei rebel Colonel Onward Guzana, left, with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo shortly after they had led a coup against then president Lennox Sebe



Charles Sebe

Sebe lured to his death

CISKEI's new army chief is the man accused of luring Charles Sebe to his death.

The appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel HJ Poyo as the new head of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) was announced on Radio Ciskei just days after a coup attempt by his predecessor, Brigadier Aaron Jamangile, was crushed.

Jamangile and several supporters have been detained after last weekend's abortive attempt to overthrow Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's military government.

Only days before his appointment, Poyo was named by Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa as one of three CDF soldiers who trapped Ciskei exiles Charles Sebe and Colonel Mangwane Guzana into returning to the homeland.

Holomisa, who was responding to Gqozo's allegations of Transkei involvement in Sebe's attack at the time, said Guzana and Sebe's families told him the two had met with a group of CDF soldiers only weeks before their deaths.

"According to family members this group on both occasions was led by Lt-Col Poyo, Lt Ngculu and Lt Mguzulwa, all from the Ciskei Defence Force," said Holomisa.

"The view from the families of the deceased is that Sebe and Guzana were lured into a trap.

Investigation

"I hope that this revelation will assist Ciskei in their investigations," said Holomisa.

Meanwhile, Ciskei has declined to comment on any further developments in the investigation into last Saturday's developments.

No more details of arrests were given, although by Sunday it was believed that about a dozen rebels had been captured and seven more were being searched for.

Ciskei officials said those arrested would face charges "in due course".

Ciskei reported that three rebels were injured in the attack, and two of them were taken to the main Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane. However, hospital sources said the two soldiers were removed from hospital on Monday after troops arrived.

There's still no word from Ciskei on the rebels' supporters, if any.

Over the weekend Gqozo said "someone" was behind the grouping, but he has so far declined to give any details.

Television news bulletins inferred Gqozo had blamed Transkei for involvement in Jamangile's attack, leading to a row between Holomisa and the SA Broadcasting Corporation.

Ciskei confirmed Gqozo had not, in fact, made any such accusation, and Holomisa has demanded an apology from SABC. — ELNEWS

The boyish soldier who tried to bite his master

The man who led the foiled Ciskei coup was once a dutiful, albeit flamboyant, homeland military figure. **105** writes **GAVIN EVANS**

MONWABISI ANDREW JAMANGILE, top dog in the Ciskei Defence Force, is a man who might still aspire to be very much the model of a modern major general.

For the moment he is believed to be safely behind bars in the detention cells of his erstwhile leader, awaiting trial for treason. But the rise and fall of the homeland brass is such a giddy affair that today's prisoner can be tomorrow's leader, and vice versa.

Such was the fate of Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa, who rose from his detention cell to seize power from a ruling clique, some of whose members ended up on trial. So too went Major General Charles Sebe, once Pretoria's favourite homeland policeman, who was gunned down last week on the instructions of the present Ciskei generalissimo, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. *W/Man 15/2-21/491*

What prompted Jamangile to initiate his failed coup is as yet unclear. Gqozo blamed the African National Congress, noting that the "top military men involved were operating under instructions and feared retribution". He said the same thing about Charles Sebe's strange re-entry into his old homeland hunting ground last week, pointing a finger directly at the Transkei-based ANC leader Chris Hani.

In the strange world of the youthful homeland military leaders (Gqozo is 38, Holomisa, 35, for instance), Jamangile cuts a raffishly boyish figure.

I spent four days with him when covering an Idasa conference between local military figures and Umkhonto weSizwe in Lusaka last May.

Jamangile, who had been the Ciskei military chief for over 14 months, was then 31 years old, but looked several years younger. Small and quiet, his main distinguishing features were the cotton floral trousers, pink socks and imitation leather flying jacket he wore each day, which seemed oddly out of step with the ironed creases of the rest of the brass present.

But in other ways he was very much a South African army product.

He started his military career with the SA Defence Force's 21 Battalion in 1978 and fought Swapo on the Namibian border. He joined the CDF and in 1983 was commissioned as an offi-



Andrew Jamangile

cer. A year later he was back on the Namibian border and went on to complete a number of SADF staff officers' courses, rising to become Commander of 1 Ciskei Battalion.

When Gqozo seized power in March 1990 the loyal Jamangile was appointed chief of the CDF.

At the time of the Lusaka gathering he was definitely Gqozo's man and, when called upon to do so, crossed swords with the ANC, and particularly with the Transkei Defence Force delegation, on behalf of his leader.

At that stage the Ciskei's relations with the ANC seemed to be placed somewhere between the strained cordial of the Venda delegation and the backslapping of the Transkei.

Jamangile, who was accompanied by former Austrian-cum-Rhodesian Colonel Horst Schubesburger, who was serving as the CDF's training officer, read out two lengthy statements of support on behalf of Gqozo, one which fa-

vourably quoted both Hani and ANC military chief Joe Modise.

A CDF position paper noted that Hani's statement "that the ANC regards the homeland defence forces as extensions of the SADF is a more or less fair account of the situation", and went on to support the ANC's position of integrating all military forces, including Umkhonto weSizwe, in a future South Africa of which Ciskei would be an integral part.

Since then, however, Gqozo has backtracked from this enthusiasm, reverting instead to asserting his homeland's independence and attacking the ANC at every opportunity.

Jamangile revolted, and together with intelligence chief Colonel B Zantsi announced the coup to his fellow officers.

Instead a gun battle ensued, Jamangile fled with his girlfriend Corporal Private Baleka, but was arrested together with six other men.

Ciskei succumbs gratefully to the silent SA coup

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W/Man 15/2 - 21/2/91
CISKEI'S Brigadier Oupa Gqozo this week quietly and gratefully succumbed to a third coup attempt in as many weeks — this one mounted by the South African government.

Ciskei now appears to be firmly under the control of Pretoria. The territory's "independence" now seems more of a fiction than ever.

The way the new plans for Ciskei were announced was a good indication of who is calling the shots. Foreign Minister Pik Botha, after a cursory meeting with Gqozo, announced Ciskei's government would be restructured to bring in more civilians.

Gqozo himself said little, merely indicating his approval and hinting his role would become largely ceremonial. He would probably be "Ciskei's ambassador and public relations officer", he said.

Already, the extent of the South African presence is reflected in the South African Defence Force (SADF) troops now guarding Gqozo's palace in place of the Ciskei Defence Force.

The SADF moved into Ciskei on Saturday to counter the unsuccessful coup and is showing no signs of leaving.

"There are still troops there," said an SADF spokesman in Pretoria

this week. "They are there at Brigadier Gqozo's request and for as long as he needs them."

When asked if the SADF was guarding Gqozo in particular, the spokesman would only say that "they are busy with protection tasks".

Speculation is that the SADF troops might be 21 Battalion, the unit in which Gqozo himself served when he was in the SADF. The impression given by their presence is that Gqozo no longer trusts his own troops and has now firmly become South Africa's man.

There have been indications for some time that South Africa is getting more involved in the running of Ciskei.

Gqozo was in Pretoria a couple of weeks ago for what was officially termed "a special meeting", and he may well have been summoned there by South Africa.

While he was there, he issued an apparently unconstitutional decree allowing for the chief justice to take over the government if Gqozo himself was indisposed. This was faxed from the South African Department of Foreign

With the entrenchment of South African troops in the homeland, Ciskei now appears to be firmly — and willingly — under the control of Pretoria

Affairs.

South African officials would not confirm that Botha's announcement marks the beginning of reincorporation. But there are powerful reasons for South Africa to reincorporate preemptively and by stealth.

Ciskei has become more and more unstable in past months. Gqozo's increasingly authoritarian style has alienated significant constituencies in the homeland. And, while it seems highly unlikely that Gqozo will be toppled now that he has South Africa's backing, trouble continued this week with Ciskei police arresting scores of striking civil servants.

The civil servants have been on strike since last Thursday. They are demanding the recognition of their National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union, as well as pay parity.

They are also demanding the return of an alleged R8,5-million payment which Gqozo is alleged to have made to Inkatha in compensation for damage caused

at Durncoll colliery after fighting between Xhosas and Zulus there. While Ciskei has denied the payment, striking civil servants insist they have evidence it was made.

Tensions over the strike rose appreciably on Wednesday when Ciskei police arrested large numbers of demonstrating officials.

Conflict with the African National Congress is also evident. Distrust of Gqozo is growing rapidly, and the Border Civics Congress and ANC Youth League have called for him to step down.

A delegation of senior ANC members, including secretary general Alfred Nzo, was reported to be meeting Gqozo yesterday.

Gqozo has shifted significantly away from the close relationship with the ANC that characterised the first days of his rule last year.

With constitutional talks coming up, both the government and the ANC are hard at work trying to draw as many groups as possible on to their side of the negotiating table. — elnews



Pik Botha ... calling the shots

Peelton villagers celebrate victory

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w/ma 15/2-21/2/91 105

The Nkqonkweni community's battle against incorporation into Ciskei dragged on for three years but the villagers have now won the right to live in South Africa — and R500 000 compensation.

By CLAIRE KEETON and PHILA

NGQUMBA

THE Nkqonkweni community in east Peelton has bounced back after a year and a half of violence under the Ciskei government, to secure an unprecedented R500 000 compensation from the South African government and an agreement that they be taken back by South Africa, the land of their birth.

The compensation is for homes which were bulldozed by Lennox Sebe's Ciskei government in 1989.

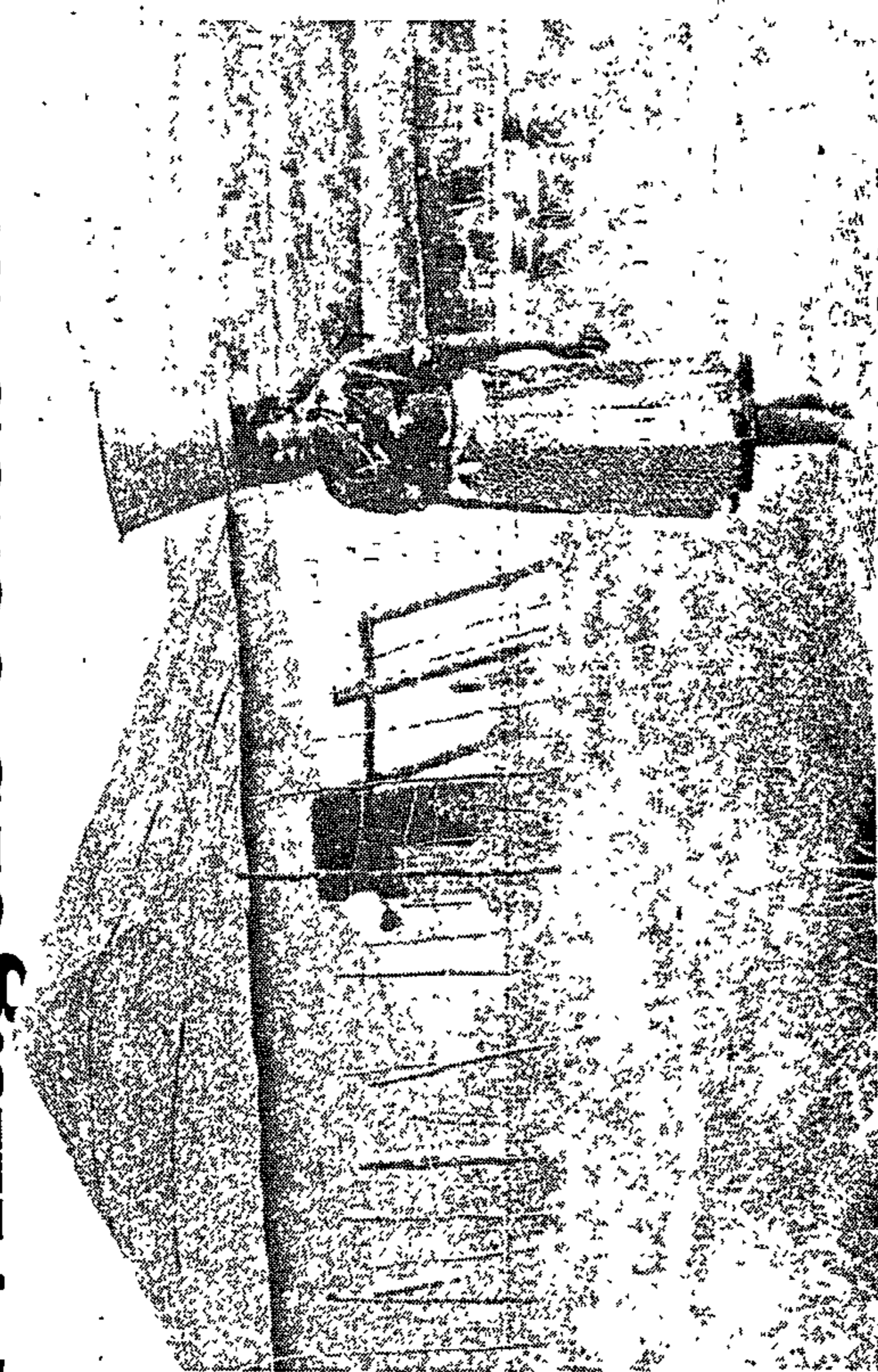
The elated mood of the residents reflects not only the victories they have won from the two governments, but also that they have secured these agreements largely by themselves.

They negotiated directly with the South African ambassador to Ciskei, Pieter Goosen, and his deputy, Izak Heath, calling on their lawyers to assist them only when it was "tough".

The previous ambassador, Chris van Aardt, consistently refused to help the community and at one point even admitted he knew in advance that Ciskei planned to demolish homes at Peelton.

Commenting on the victories, the chairperson of the Nkqonkweni Residents' Association (NRA), Msondezi Simandla, said: "It doesn't mean this South African government is the government we want. We want a South Africa under a people's government."

South Africa has promised the residents water, sewage and a school. The residents have agreed that the government borrow R40 000 of the compen-



Before the bulldozers... the Sebe regime destroyed most of these homes in east Peelton villages.

sation for building the school and for payment of Department of Education and Training teachers.

The move by the South African government came after more than a year of resistance to Sebe's rule by the community following their forced incorporation into the "independent homeland" in August 1988.

Now the Ciskei military government under Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has formally requested Pretoria to take back Nkqonkweni, after consultation with the residents.

Gqozo also agreed to compensate the villagers for movable property, including livestock lost when they fled.

The residents are extremely encouraged by recent developments and determined to ensure the process of re-

construction. The meeting place arranged with committee members of the NRA last week illustrated the transformation that is taking place. Children were playing in the building that was once used as a police station and which has since been appropriated by the residents for their projects, including a creche.

Residents have organised several projects to create job opportunities and promote education in the community. These include a pre-school, literacy and adult education classes, a piggery, chicken runs and sewing sessions.

Two men and two women from the eight-member committee of the NRA, representing approximately 2 000 residents with elected street committees, spoke about the gains they have won

since they returned to South Africa. The clearest cause for celebration is the half-a-million-rand compensation. In September last year the community submitted claims to the South African government to compensate them for the houses they had lost.

The claims included inventories of the costs of materials and labour to rebuild their houses. South Africa agreed to pay a reasonable amount of the figure submitted although it was not the full amount requested.

Another achievement is the payment of pensions to Nkqonkweni residents by South Africa every month since October last year.

Simandla described how "South Africa asked the residents' association for permission for the Ciskei police to enter

the village to protect the money". This is in sharp contrast to the period under Sebe's regime when the police would routinely enter the village and beat up the residents.

Now there are no police from South Africa or Ciskei in Nkqonkweni. When census officials from the Ciskei entered the village without permission, they were escorted by youths to members of the residents' association who told them they had "no right to be there if they were coming from the Ciskei".

The census officials returned about two months later and they were sent back to Gqozo.

The community has now agreed to allow South African census officials to come in March and count the residents. South Africa has already taken over the administration of the area but there are still some problems, such as registering babies' births in South Africa.

"Goosen told us not to worry as the homelands will be abolished soon, possibly in about five years," said Simandla.

The history of the struggles of Nkqonkweni residents is grim. They spent over a year under Ciskei rule facing the wrath of then president-for-life Sebe. Over 100 residents were detained and others were charged but refused bail.

During this time at least 70 houses in the Nkqonkweni and Tambo villages were demolished. Sebe ordered that the houses be bulldozed and villagers be dispersed among areas known to be pro-Ciskei at the time.

More than 800 refugees fled to a group across the South African border in King William's Town, where they took refuge in church halls.

Now that the residents of east Peelton are settled again, they are able to start developing their community and can plan ahead. — elnews

Transkei, Ciskei

Sowetan 15/2/91 make up after an apology by Gqozo



Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

AN ATMOSPHERE of mistrust has been cleared between Transkei and Ciskei following an apology by the Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

After receiving the apology, the Transkei military ruler accused

SABC-TV of "engineering the state of distrust".

The atmosphere arose as a result of allegations supposedly made by Gqozo that Transkei had a hand in the recent troubled state of affairs in Ciskei.

(105) Coup *(100)*

Holomisa said in a statement on Wednesday that the Transkei government had unconditionally accepted Gqozo's apology.

"It is patently clear that the persons who were engineering the state of distrust were the SABC-TV and its sponsors," he said.

He said SABC-TV was proving its complicity in the matter by persistently refusing to broadcast Gqozo's public apology to Transkei.

Part of Gqozo's apology reads: "There is no evidence that the coup in which Sebe and Guzana were killed was inspired by the Transkei Government. Any inference of such is regretted."

Security

"Any embarrassment which may have arisen from the wording of my comments on the part of Major-General Holomisa is regretted."

Holomisa said, however, that the claims by a member of the Guzana family, who is a member of the Ciskei security forces and who has also fled to Transkei, needed to be investigated.

Approach

The Guzana family

claimed that three senior Ciskei Defence Force members approached General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Mangwane Guzana to be ready to assume leadership once a coup against Gqozo had been staged.

Trap

"It is the view of the Transkei government that thorough investigations against the said Ciskei officers be made after which they will have to be brought to book.

"If there are no steps taken against them, it cannot be claimed that General Sebe and Colonel Guzana had indeed gone to Ciskei to stage a coup except being lured into a trap," he said. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Kei army refuses to rebel

□ **From Page 1**
mandant SF Pita, disclosed the State Council's version of events.

Brigadier Gqozo, whose forces ambushed and killed would-be homeland leaders Charles Sebe and Lieutenant-Colonel Mangwane Guzana last week, was in Pretoria at the time of yesterday's coup attempt.

He has since returned to Ciskei and is understood to be in his palatial official residence, which yesterday was under heavy guard.

In an interview last week it became clear that

Ciskei's military government, in power for less than a year, has made enemies across a broad spectrum.

Following the coup which ousted President-for-life Lennox Sebe last March, a number of dissident factions have appeared among those who were ousted from power.

The area has always been a solid base for the ANC, but the liberation movement has been increasingly alienated by the military government in recent months.

Brig Gqozo said last

night the loyalty of his troops was "beyond any doubt".

"I'm fully in control of the situation and will keep the nation informed of further developments," said the brigadier.

● A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Brigadier Gqozo had flown to Pretoria on Thursday night for talks with the department.

He confirmed Brigadier Gqozo had drawn up a document before leaving the Ciskei stating that in the event of his death, Ciskei's chief justice was to take over the homeland's government.

Sebe bid to recover property dismissed

Cipres 17/2/91.

A SUPREME Court application by Ciskei's deposed president Lennox Sebe for the restoration of his family's property to their ownership and the dissolution of the State Trust Board (STB), was dismissed with costs on Thursday.

The Sebe's property is vested in the STB which was established by Ciskei's military government after Sebe was overthrown in a coup in March last year.

Sebe, with his wife Virginia and son Kwane, had applied for a Supreme Court order declaring a council of state decree which placed their properties under the STB to be declared invalid, and for the STB itself to be declared null and void.

They also applied for the STB to be divested of the estates of the three Sebe's.

The family also claimed costs and alternative relief.

The respondents were cited as Ciskei's military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo, his councillors and the STB.

In his judgment Justice MH Claassens said the new government had been in power for 11 months and was firmly established.

There was no evidence of any danger that the new government would be ousted from power.

He was satisfied that the people of Ciskei were behaving in conformity with the new government's mandates.

He said the respondents had succeeded in establishing that the revolution had been successfully completed.

As a result the applicants were not entitled to any relief sought by them and the application was refused with costs. — Sapa

ANC and Ciskei ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ talk ^{S/Times} ^{17/2/91} peace

Sunday Times Reporter
CISKEI head of state
Brigadier Oupa Gqozo met
senior ANC members this
week.

In a statement issued
after the seven-hour talks
in Bisho, the ANC's Alfred
Nzo said the meeting was
designed to review the de-
teriorating situation in the
independent homeland.

Both parties had re-
affirmed their commit-
ment to the maintenance of
good relations and peace
between the ANC and the
Ciskei government, said
Mr Nzo.

Inspired

Earlier in the week,
Brigadier Gqozo apolo-
gised to General Bantu Ho-
lomisa for comments pub-
lished in the Sunday Times
on February 8, in which the
Transkei head of state was
accused of "plotting like a
criminal" for harbouring
Colonel Mangwane Gu-
zana.

In a letter to General
Holomisa, Brigadier Gqozo
said:

"There is no evidence
that the coup in which Sebe
and Guzana were killed
was inspired by the Trans-
kei government and any in-
ference of such is
regretted."

Ciskei to axe chiefs

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — All appointed chiefs in Ciskei would be dismissed at the end of the month, Ciskei's military government announced yesterday.

However, the government would continue to accord hereditary chiefs the respect and status which they deserved.

The government statement was issued following the findings of the Bulube Commission on chieftainship, under the chairmanship of Mr Monde Bulube, a Ciskei magistrate.

It said the commission had made certain findings concerning who were hereditary chiefs and who had been appointed chiefs by the deposed president, Mr Lennox Sebe.

The appointed chiefs had been given to the end of February to make any further representation to the government to show they had valid claims to hereditary chieftainship.

"The government is of the opinion that this system of appointed chiefs undermined the status and unifying role of chiefs in the community."

'SEEK AND DESTROY'

RUTHLESS former Ciskei security police chief Charles Sebe paid dearly for his political ambitions this week when the homeland's soldiers carried out an order to kill him on sight.

Stunned villagers at Gubevu village milled around the blanket-covered body of the once-powerful man, who was killed in cold blood outside a shop on Monday.

Security forces found Sebe sleeping in a hut about 100m from a clinic after a 12-hour search involving helicopters and sniffer dogs.

After surviving a skirmish with the security forces at a roadblock where Colonel Mangwane Guzana was killed on Sunday, Sebe crawled to the hut looking for help.

After a tip-off, security forces - who had probably been trained by Sebe himself - ordered the former

105 commander out of the hut.

Villagers told journalists Sebe was ordered to undress ... the soldiers then opened fire.

Ciskei leader brigadier Oupa Gqozo was reported to have instructed his men to "seek and destroy Sebe", who had attempted to gain control of the homeland three times.

Journalists were told that after the shooting, Sebe's body lay in front of the hut for several hours before police took it away.

The ground was covered with blood and a bullet hole through a window bore testimony to execution.

The owner of the house where he was found, Tise Dwashu, was instructed by police not to grant journalists interviews until the matter had been cleared by the military. Veritas News Agency

UP/PROS

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UPASS

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Ciskei closes college

Sowetan 2/2/91
CISKEI has closed Masibulele College of Education near Queenstown after students "admitted" 400 students more than the college could accommodate.

They also invaded the college's administration block and staged a sit-in, Ciskei's military government said this week.

Students at the college had taken into their own hands the duty of enrolling other students, the government said.

"The college is designed to accommodate only 600 students. The students who usurped the functions of the rector enrolled an extra 400 students who have no accommodation.

They also demanded that the number of first-year students be increased to 600 and that prefabricated classrooms be built to accommodate them.

Resources

"The department of education sees this as educationally unsound. The department also does not have the financial resources to meet these demands.

"The department therefore had no choice but to close the college when the students invaded the administration block and staged a sit-in," the government said. - *Sapa*.

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Ciskei officer tells of Gqozo's CCB-style squad

Journalist 22/2 - 28/2/93

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A Ciskei army officer emerged briefly from hiding this week to make startling claims about the alleged coup attempt in which he has been implicated.

He claims the incident wasn't a coup at all, but that the alleged plotters fell victim to a desperate attempt by military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to cover up a secret operation by a Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB)-type group operating out of a Ciskei ministerial house.

He also claims that the group involved former South African Defence Force (SADF) officers, reported directly to Gqozo and may have controlled him; that South Africa captured alleged coup leader Brigadier Aaron Jamangile and handed him back to Ciskei, and that the group also planned the earlier operation in which Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana were lured to their deaths in Ciskei with promises of false coup plans.

Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) military intelligence member Lieutenant Nian-tiso Kleinboo surfaced this week to

recount his version of the events of February 9. Kleinboo is currently on the run and spoke on condition his whereabouts were not revealed.

His version directly contradicts that of the Ciskei government, which states that on February 9 there was an early morning shooting incident at 1 Ciskei Battalion outside the capital of Bisho. Officials subsequently announced that the plotters, led by CDF chief Brigadier Aaron Jamangile, had tried to overthrow the military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo whilst he was in Pretoria.

According to Ciskei, loyalist soldiers refused to follow and the "rebels" simply opened fire, although officially only "rebels" were injured.

At least one man is believed to have been killed and three injured, and Ciskei detained at least twelve soldiers.

This week Kleinboo maintained there was no such coup attempt, and told a story of an "army within an army" run by former SADF officers, secret arms caches of AK-47s and

A Ciskei army officer came out of hiding this week to tell of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's involvement with a secret CCB-type organisation involving former SADF officers.

LOUISE FLANAGAN and PHILA NGQUMBA report

PPG-7s, and a letter signed by senior CDF officers calling on Gqozo to resign.

Kleinboo said that, the day before the alleged coup, a "Warrant Officer Melane, who is attached to a CCB-type organisation called International Research, brought information to Lieutenant-Colonel Zantsi (head of military intelligence in the CDF) that in the house at number 14 in the ministerial complex an assortment of Eastern bloc weapons was stockpiled."

Kleinboo said this address "houses International Research which was established in September last year by Brigadier Gqozo and three white men".

Then, Kleinboo said, Colonel Zantsi ordered the weapons transported to 1 Ciskei Battalion. The following day Zantsi "summoned all the senior officers of the CDF to 1 Ciskei Battalion to see the weapons and decide what was to be done."

Kleinboo was one of the officers called to the base. "On my arrival I met Col Zantsi who briefed me about the weapons. They said amongst the weapons were AK-47s, SKS rifles, RPG-7s, SAM-7 surface-to-air launchers and missiles.

"We were on our way to the place where the weapons were stockpiled when I saw about 40 troops approaching from the barracks... When we were in the space between the officers' mess and the offices they opened fire on us."

Kleinboo said he escaped with Brigadier Jamangile. They later split up, Jamangile going to the South African embassy in King William's Town from where he was allegedly handed over to Ciskei.

The body of Lieutenant Kadefunwa Qamata was found in a dam near the military base this week. Ciskei officials described his death as suicide but pathologists found he had been shot in the back, probably on February 9, and dumped in the dam some days later.

During the past few weeks there have been repeated rumours about covert operations being planned in Ciskei involving both the CDF and SADF, with Gqozo forming closer and closer ties with South Africa.

The SADF moved into Ciskei on February 9 at Gqozo's request. SADF soldiers have been guarding Gqozo's home and it's believed Gqozo no longer has confidence in his own troops.

Sources have reported rumours of a joint operation between Gqozo and South Africa allegedly aimed at attacking the African National Congress' Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas in the Ciskei township of Mdantsane. The operation is rumoured to be code-named "Cable" and involves the build-up of an arms cache. — ecma

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

Mr Charles Sebe: report of death

26 Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

- (1) Whether he or any member of his Department requested a briefing or report from the Ciskei Government on the death of Mr Charles Sebe following an abortive coup on 27 January 1991, if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) with what result;
- (2) whether he or his Department registered any protest with the Ciskei Government following the death of Mr Sebe; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the nature of the protest and (c) with what result,
- (3) whether he or his Department has been in contact with any foreign governments or their representatives with regard to the abortive coup in Ciskei, if so, (a) with which governments, (b) when, (c) what specified issues related to the coup attempt were covered and (d) what was the outcome in each case?

B82E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- (1) No. In cases of this nature the South African Ambassador reports fully to me and the Department about the facts and circumstances. Naturally, reports of this nature are confidential.
- (2) No. The incident occurred on Ciskei territory and the late Mr Charles Sebe was a citizen of Ciskei. In so far as South Africa's interests are affected by an event of this nature, the South African Government's point of view is of course conveyed. Such conversations are likewise of a confidential nature.

- (3) No Except in general to provide background on enquiry during meetings with representatives of other countries I issued a statement in which I called upon leaders to commit themselves to a peaceful solution of disputes

Public Service: recruitment of other race groups

72 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination:

- (1) Whether the Commission for Administration has considered or is considering a specific policy for the recruitment of qualified personnel of any South African race group other than White to the senior ranks of the Public Service; if not, why not, if so, what is this policy;
- (2) whether Public Service bursaries and/or loans are made available in general proportion to the racial composition of the South African population; if not, why not; if so, what was the distribution of such bursaries and/or loans amongst the four race groups as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

ANSWER 25/2/91 B200E
The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION

- (1) No The existing policy for the recruitment of qualified personnel is applicable to all South African population groups. The policy for the filling of vacant senior posts is embodied in Section 10 of the Public Service Act, 1984. It stipulates, inter alia, that in the filling of a post—
— no person who qualifies for a post shall be favoured or prejudiced; and
— only the qualifications, level of training, relative merit, efficiency and suitability of the persons who qualify for the appointment, transfer or promotion concerned shall be taken into account

Factors such as candidates' linguistic proficiency, liaison capability, experience as well as background are inevitably taken

Ex-SA spy (105)

**now Minister
in Ciskei** ^{Star} 25/2/91

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A confessed Bureau for State Security spy, who operated on the Durban campus of the University of Natal for two years, is the new Minister of Justice in Ciskei.

Keith Mathee (35) hit the headlines 14 years ago when, as president of the university's SRC, he revealed he had spied for BOSS.

Last week, the advocate who helped draft the homeland's new constitution and bill of rights said he had repented of his spying activities.

Besides his justice portfolio, Mr Mathee is also a member of the five-man Ciskei Council of State.

Mr Mathee stressed he had agreed to be a Boss spy only because, "as a youngster of about 18 who had been brought up rather conservatively in the Free State, I had never been exposed to the realities of South Africa".

SunCiskei seeks JSE listing

5/0am 27/2/91.
MARCIA KLEIN

SUN International Ciskei (SunCiskei) is seeking a listing of its shares on the JSE. This will be achieved by way of an offer of shares to Ciskei residents.

SunCiskei's operations include the coastal resorts of the Fish River Sun and Mpekweni Sun located between Port Elizabeth and East London, the Amatola Sun in Bisho and the Mdantsane Hotel.

The listing, which was mooted in financial 1989, was postponed because of unsettled trading conditions in the Ciskei and a fire at the Mdantsane Hotel in March 1990. The hotel was reopened in October 1990.

An announcement by directors yesterday said the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank would offer about 5-million of the shares it holds in SunCiskei to citizens and permanent residents of Ciskei.

The listing would commence

in April, subject to approval by the JSE and completion of the offer. A prospectus would be issued in mid-March. (105)

Directors said the purpose of the listing was "to afford citizens and permanent residents of Ciskei the opportunity to participate directly in the equity of the company". No additional funds would be raised through the listing.

A SunCiskei spokesman said yesterday that SunCiskei's turnover was about R82m in financial 1990.

He said the listing would result in Sun International retaining its one-third interest in the company, the Ciskei People's Development Bank (which holds 40% of SunCiskei) holding a third, and the remaining third being in the hands of the Ciskei people and other shareholders.

Ciskei, 105

SA coy over deal

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa and Ciskei signed a major financial and economic agreement yesterday, but details are being kept under wraps.

The deal is expected to improve relations between the two countries and help ease tension in the Ciskei.

Both Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, delivered rather cryptic statements.

Mr. Botha said: "We have just signed an agreement about economic and financial assistance. There are implications which members of the two delegations will immediately pursue. Details will be released later.

"Generally we had a very useful and necessary meeting. We have agreed on procedures to make further financial relations more mutually acceptable."

Mr Botha appealed to all leaders to "give Ciskei a chance".

"It is in the interest of both countries that the turbulence be allowed to subside to avoid disruption of services, education and commerce. We believe that this could be accomplished."

Brigadier Gqozo said the agreement was "of great value" to Ciskei and "gives much hope for stability in the area in the next few days".

rsday, February 28 1991

d Politics

Ciskei to return to SA fold

Chak. T. ...
28/2/91
105

Political Staff

CISKEI has taken the first step towards reincorporation into South Africa, a move that spells the end of Verwoerdian grand apartheid.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night that an agreement hammered out between South Africa and Ciskei meant that the republic would now appoint the independent homeland's ministers in four portfolios. They are: Economic affairs, finance and state administration; justice; transport and public works, and agriculture.

Mr Botha also said South Africa had undertaken "to support Ciskei with, inter alia, budgetary aid, guaranteed overdraft facilities, technical and personnel assistance and the maintenance of law and order".

The Ciskei statement went further. Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the chairman of Ciskei's Council of State, said the treaty signed by the two countries was "the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial, democratic South Africa".

The brigadier said that at the commencement of his rule "we committed ourselves to stabilising the

government and to the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa".

"I believe that the treaty just concluded serves both these goals."

The treaty comes after an amendment to the Ciskei constitution this month in terms of which "public international law and treaties" are an integral part of the homeland's law and shall take precedence over its own legislation. This effectively empowered the military authorities to legislate themselves out of existence.

Sound government

The Ciskei aim is understood to be to rule itself out of existence. Part of the reason is thought to be that Ciskei was anxious not to allow itself to become part of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani's fiefdom.

Mr Botha's statement last night said the agreement, signed on Tuesday, was designed to promote "sound government, stability and economic development in Ciskei".

He added that: "Ciskei agreed to adhere to guidelines and measures considered to be essential by both countries for ensuring sound financial planning, control and management."

Banana republics... SA style

South 28/2-6/3/91.

UP to now South Africa has maintained a strict appearance of dealing with the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatwana, Venda and Ciskei) only in terms of international diplomatic conventions, however farcical these may have seemed.

Communications between officials concerning agricultural projects or road building have been tediously routed through Departments of Foreign Affairs and ambassadorial fax machines.

Where governments have embarked on obviously foolish projects, like Matanzima's attempt to start a navy, Sebe's unused airport and Venda's peculiar little university, Pretoria has had to smile tolerantly and pay.

Network

A labyrinthine network of "multilateral technical committees" coordinated by the so-called Secretariat for the Economic Community of Southern Africa (SECOSAF) with its headquarters alongside the Development Bank of Southern Africa offices at Halfway House (near Johannesburg), ensures that everything from postage stamps to cattle dipping programmes get discussed at length by infinite numbers of bored civil servants.

Because nothing is decided without being referred back to respective ministries and cabinets for approval, everything is discussed more than can possibly be necessary.

However, the system has done very little to prevent foolish and wasteful projects from being undertaken. And

we can be fairly sure that "reincorporation" has not been on the agenda.

The TBVC states are all in financial difficulties. During the mid-1980s, South Africa insisted on the establishment of "joint financial adjustment committees" (JFCAs) for each state, with the Development Bank acting as a facilitator.

For Pretoria, the purpose was to impose financial discipline, while for the TBVC states the committees became a channel for articulating increased demands for development-related funding.

The total amounts allocated to the "independent homelands" from South Africa increased during the 1980s with inflation and population growth, and came to about R5bn in 1990. For both Ciskei and Transkei, transfers from Pretoria represent something like 80 percent of the total revenue. Even this does not set the limits to homeland spending.

During the 1989/90 fiscal year the Ciskei government budgeted to spend R1.3 billion, while revenue for the year including budgetary assistance from the South African government was estimated at just under R900m.

The shortfall of nearly R500m was to come from loans from the South African government and the Development Bank of SA and from so-called "financial adjustments" (government-guaranteed bank overdraft facilities).

The frightening truth is that the TBVC states can borrow as if they were sovereign governments without having to pay the price of excess spending -- a devalued currency.

The economic agreement signed this week by South Africa and the Ciskei adds another twist to the complex and sometimes farcical relationship between this country and the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatwana, Venda and Ciskei). South Africa's main hold on the "independent" TBVC countries has been its financial leverage but at the cost of billions of rands to keep them afloat. But what are the economic and financial implications of reincorporation into South Africa? **Andrew Donaldson** examines the issue:

The JCFA's may have made undisciplined overdraft borrowing a little more difficult, but the homelands still face what Polish economist Jan Kornaï called "soft budget constraints".

"Soft" budget constraints arise because officials are not themselves responsible for the problems of overspending.

When Transkei announced generous civil servants pay increases last year, Pretoria sent an admonishing diplomatic note, but nobody's salary cheque

bounced.

Total government expenditure in 1980/81 at the time Lennox Sebe took independence, was R137m. Spending has increased dramatically and to date Ciskei's total debt is probably between R4- and R5bn.

The only thing that can be said with any certainty about the future repayment of this debt is that it will not come from the surplus generated from the Ciskei enterprises.

Evaluate

How should one evaluate the increase in spending of the TBVC regimes, and their increased indebtedness? On the one hand, relentless growth of the bantustan bureaucracy, conspicuous indulgence in infrastructural excesses, and fraud, incompetence and corruption, represent a shameful waste of taxpayers' money.

On the other hand, there has been substantial improvement in distribution and availability of schooling and health facilities and industrial growth. Agricultural development account for some share of increased spending, as do pensions and other social welfare transfers.

Reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa, along with other independent homelands, would presumably lead to the standardisation of social services at norms essentially determined by central government, along with adjustment of the anomalous features of industrial policy and taxation in the Ciskei.

Removal of discrimination in South Africa, will, of course, dictate substantial improvement in the standards of

social services in (currently) black rural areas.

Unless a massive exodus of people from Ciskei locations occurs accordingly, spending on education, health and welfare must be expected to continue to rise.

The only real prospect for reduced spending in homelands is on bureaucratic functions and on activities which do not require local or regional programmes.

Dismantling the redundant bureaucracy involved paying off civil servants, many of whom are earning far more than they could in the labour market. They have become accustomed to privilege and influence, and will not go away quietly.

Perhaps more difficult than closing down superfluous offices will be the reintegration of various state functions into a unified South African government.

Restoration of administrative efficiency and discipline, attention to quality and promptness of services and standardisation of policies and procedures will bring numerous tensions and problems. Unfortunately the short-term financial saving from dismantling homeland governments will be very slight -- perhaps R150m in Ciskei's case.

But this is not the issue. At stake is the quality and coherence of regional government in the country. The benefits of restructured government in the Eastern Cape cannot be simply stated in rands saved. The Ciskei regime is in trouble not because it spends so much, but because it governs so badly.

Ciskei opts for reincorporation (105)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Ciskei has taken the first step towards reincorporation into SA, a move that spells a reversal of Verwoerdian grand apartheid.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night that an agreement hammered out between SA and Ciskei meant SA would now appoint the independent homeland's ministers in four portfolios. They are: economic affairs, finance and state administration; justice, transport and public works and agriculture.

Botha said SA had undertaken "to support Ciskei with, inter alia, budgetary aid, guaranteed overdraft facilities, technical and personnel assistance and the maintenance and enforcement of law and order".

Council of State chairman Brig Oupa Gqozo said the treaty signed by the two countries was, "from our perspective, the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial, democratic SA".

He said that at the commencement of his rule "we committed ourselves to stabilising government and to the reincorporation of Ciskei into SA. I believe that the treaty just concluded serves both these goals".

The treaty comes after an amendment to the Ciskei constitution this month in terms of which "public international law and treaties" are an integral part of the homeland's law and shall take precedence over its own legislation. This effectively empowered the military authorities to legislate themselves out of existence.

Botha's statement last night said Tuesday's agreement was designed to promote "sound government, stability and economic development in Ciskei".

"Ciskei agreed to adhere to guidelines and measures considered to be essential by both countries for ensuring sound financial planning, control and management."

Ciskei first to start move back into SA

105

Political Staff

star
28/2/91

CAPE TOWN — Ciskei last night became the first homeland to move towards reincorporation into South Africa after striking a historic agreement with the South African Government.

South Africa is to designate four people to key Ministerial Ciskei posts and will provide financial aid and assistance to help maintain law and order.

Ciskei's part of the deal is to adhere to guidelines and measures considered essential by both countries for ensuring "sound financial planning, control and management".

The far-reaching deal was debated at length at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

The chairman of Ciskei's Council of State, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, hailed the agreement last night as "the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial South

Africa".

"It is my hope for the coming year that greater stability will return to this region which I believe would further facilitate the process of reincorporation into South Africa," he said.

South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha released a statement saying South Africa would "designate suitably qualified people who are acceptable to Ciskei" to be appointed as Ministers in Ciskei for the following portfolios: Economic Affairs, Finance and State Administration, Justice, Transport and Public Works and Agriculture.

"South Africa has undertaken to support Ciskei with budgetary aid, guaranteed overdraft facilities, technical and personnel assistance and the maintenance of law and order," Mr Botha said.

Brigadier Gqozo said that while separation might be the prevailing trend in eastern Europe, "I believe the contrary is true about South Africa".

As Magnus totters, the heirs apparent wait

11/2-3/19

GENERAL Magnus Malan and the post of defence minister look set to part company later this year, in the face of mounting pressure from within the cabinet, National Party and the South African Defence Force (SADF).

The auditor general's revelations of continued funding for the SADF's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) has helped re-awaken the antagonism of the general's party colleagues, according to sources close to the cabinet.

And, says one senior SADF source who asked not to be named, "some of the guys near the top of the defence force are talking hard and seriously about the need for a change."

"They realise Malan needs to be sacrificed to secure the future of the SADF, because while he's there it will be impossible to win wider public trust."

One problem that some among the SADF top brass concede is that there are several others whose close association with CCB-type activities will not assist the creation of a fresh image for the defence force. Names mentioned

As pressure mounts for the resignation or dismissal of Defence Minister Magnus Malan, **GAVIN EVANS** looks at the controversial general — and candidates to succeed him

include Major General Eddie Webb, Major General AJM Joubert, and even the present chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg.

Since FW de Klerk took over the leadership of the National Party two years ago, the 61-year-old general's relations with the party leadership has ranged from warm to cold.

In the early days of De Klerk's presidency Malan was said to be out on a limb in his antagonism to moves such as the unbanning of the African National Congress and Communist Party. With the CCB scandal unfolding, Malan kept a low profile and was seen as a liability by several of his colleagues.

When the Harms Commission delivered several short, sharp slaps on the

general's wrist, De Klerk chose to implicitly Malan had been exonerated.

But with the latest CCB scandal the talk in the cabinet now is that it's time for Malan to go — and the only question is one of timing.

One problem, however, is to find a suitable candidate as Malan's successor. It needs to be someone tough enough to win the respect of the generals, but flexible enough to build a new army by merging the SADF with homeland armies and Umkhonto weSizwe.

One option is Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Leon Wessels, an ultraverdige who served as deputy law and order minister in 1989 and 1990 when he was in control of the National Security Management System. But several insiders say Wessels, who turns 45 in April, is too young, soft and pliable to stand up to the SADF top brass.

Another possibility is Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who is a former deputy defence minister. Coetsee, 60 in April, is known as a tough and wily negotiator who would be able to stand up both

to the SADF generals and to the ANC. But his key role in the broader negotiations may put him out of the picture.

In terms of the line of succession the logical successor would be the present deputy minister, Wynand Breytenbach, who has now held the position for five years. Breytenbach (55) is a former airforce pilot who spent nearly six years in the Permanent Force, holds a degree in military science, and currently serves as chairman of the Defence Planning Council. He would probably be an acceptable choice to the SADF, but not necessarily to the government's negotiating partners.

Also sometimes mentioned is Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, who served as law and order deputy between 1986 and 1988. Meyer (43) is also an enthusiastic reformist but is generally regarded as tougher than Wessels — but may well be too young for the position.

A fifth possibility is that De Klerk take over the position, and appoint someone respected by the SADF as his deputy.

Ciskei does away with Sebe's chiefs

11/3-3/19

THE Ciskei government announced this week that it would dismiss all chiefs who were appointed during the rule of former president Lennox Sebe.

The status of hereditary chiefs would still be maintained. **(10S)**

The move has contributed to growing tension between the government and local leaders, including the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, who have said the move is "unacceptable". — Elnews

UK subscriptions

UNITED Kingdom subscribers have been receiving erratic service recently as a result of problems at our London distribution point. From today's issue, UK subscriptions will henceforth be airmailed from South Africa, as is the case with other European subscriptions. We hope this will improve the service.



Crossing the 'Kei to end chaos - and halt Hani

By ARTHUR MAIMANE: Cape Town

THE treaty, or agreement, signed this week by the nominally independent Ciskei and South Africa has made the re-incorporation of the homeland a reality in fact if not in law. It was reached at talks here on Tuesday between the military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

In a statement from Bisho the brigadier said the Cape Town deal, which allows South Africa to appoint ministers to four key portfolios, "is the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial democratic South Africa". The ministries that will be controlled by South Africa are Economic Affairs, Finance and State Administration; Justice; Transport and Public Works as well as Agriculture.

Sources in parliament believe that if the treaty had not been signed at Tuesday's meeting, Gqozo would have declared a unilateral dissolution of Ciskei and its incorporation. That would have caused political and judicial embarrassments.

Gqozo says he's always been for incorporation because the viability of Ciskeian independence was already a myth when he staged a coup almost a year ago on March 4. Parliamentary sources say his hand was forced, ahead of negotiations for a new South African constitution, by a chaotic situation — two attempted coups in February alone — which the four new ministers, backed by an infusion of more South African money, are meant to resolve.

Botha's statement issued here says Ciskei has "agreed to guidelines and measures" to bring order to the administrative chaos. But sources in Cape Town believe that while Gqozo wished to be rescued from that mire, the South African government was prepared to help at short notice for more than the stated reasons.

That reason is political — to prevent African National Congress leader Chris Hani from spreading what's called his "fiefdom" in Transkei to Ciskei. The Umkhonto we Sizwe chief's position in the neighbouring homeland, that's run by another soldier, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is said to have caused concern within certain ANC circles — and more than that in Pretoria and Cape Town.

Troubled Ciskei returns to Daddy

C/press 3/3/91

105

By SEKOLA SELLO

"INDEPENDENT" homelands Transkei and Venda could soon follow the example of the Ciskei which was effectively reincorporated into South Africa this week - but Bophuthatswana is expected to put up a fight for its "sovereignty".

The Ciskei move this week drew little enthusiasm from extra-parliamentary opposition but others saw it as signalling the end of Verwoerdian grand apartheid.

With Ciskei having paved the way, the three remaining homelands of Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana could also tumble.

The factors which forced Ciskei to agree to incorporation - poverty, political instability and economic dependence on South Africa - could produce the same results in these homelands.

While both Transkei and Venda military leaders have stated they are not opposed to incorporation, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is the most uncompromising about the homeland's "sovereignty".

The decision to reincorporate Ciskei into South Africa follows two alleged coup plots in the last two months and a crippling strike by civil servants in the past three weeks that brought the homeland close to financial ruin.

PAC spokesman Patricia de Lille says Ciskei's reintegration into South Africa is "meaningless" because the organisation has "never recognised Ciskei's independence".

She said the PAC wanted all the so-called independent homelands to dissolve. It was however not a foregone conclusion that the other three will follow the Ciskei example.

The motives for Ciskei's reincorporation are not known. What brought about the decision to reintegrate Ciskei into the Republic may not necessarily apply to the other three homelands.

Azapo secretary general Don Nkademeng said the move was not of any "substantial political consequence" and charged that the decision to reincorporate was taken by Pretoria and not by Brigadier Joshua "Oupa" Gqozo's government.

Nkademeng said Pretoria was trying to "rectify mistakes of the past" and actions which stopped the balkanisation of South Africa were welcome.

A spokesman for the Venda government Brian Du Toit said Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana (Venda's head of state) has indicated that Venda will return to South Africa. At the moment it is premature to speculate on the time this will happen.

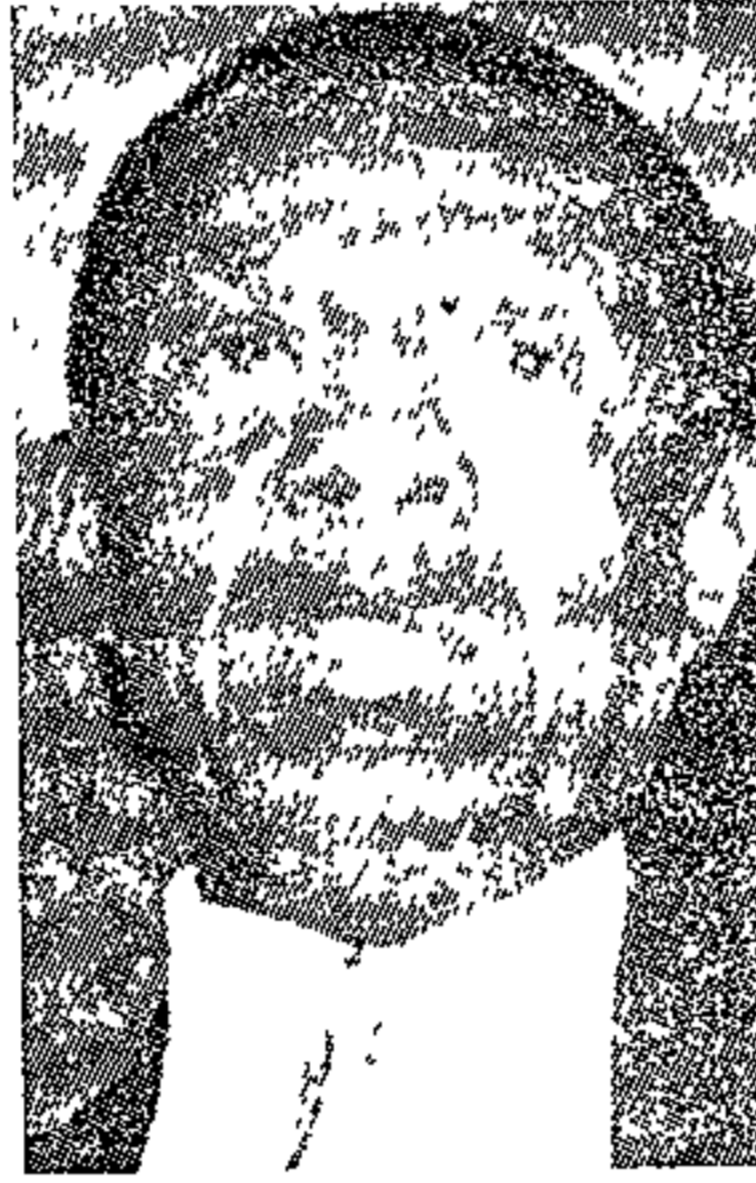
According to Du Toit the Venda administration is still discussing "how and when Venda would return to South Africa".

Although Major General Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei is popular compared to the others, he has earned the dis-

Transkei and Venda likely to follow but Bop says no



Bantu Holomisa: not opposed.



Lucas Mangope: a resounding no.

pleasure of the South Africa government for allegedly making the homeland the "fiefdom" of Chris Hanu, Umkhonto weSizwe Chief of Staff.

Some observers claim Pretoria may force the Transkei to accept reincorporation. This, it is claimed, is aimed at clipping the wings of Hanu and Holomisa. The growing popularity of the two is causing concern in some political circles.

Opposition to Mangope's rule is growing and should Venda and Transkei opt for reincorporation, Bophuthatswana's leader would find himself under more pressure to return to South Africa.

Mangope is believed to have abandoned his earlier talks of reincorporation into Botswana and is now considering a federal relationship with South Africa.

This is not likely to find favour with the ANC, PAC or Azapo. The government also seems to have abandoned the idea of a federal South Africa and is now talking of a unitary state.

The decision to reincorporate Ciskei was announced simultaneously this week by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Cape Town and Ciskei Justice Minister Keith Matthee in Bisho.



Brigadier 'Oupa' Gqozo. His homeland rejoined South Africa this week.

Objection to Ciskei move ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

UMTATA — In a major contradiction of resistance policy, the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) has come out in opposition to Ciskei's moves towards reincorporation into SA, saying Ciskeians should have a chance to decide the matter for themselves.

In a statement on Friday, Contralesa said it could not support the takeover of certain Ciskei portfolios by SA as it was a violation of an entrenched principle of international law — "once freedom is granted, it cannot be revoked." ^{10/24 4/3/91}

Contralesa's chairman in Transkei, Chief M Nonkonyana, said the people of Ciskei should be given an opportunity to decide for themselves. — Sapa.

Man behind Ciskei's return to the fold 105

The Argus Correspondent *Argus 4/3/91*
JOHANNESBURG. — The man behind Ciskei's move towards a return to South Africa is Mr Keith Mathee, the homeland's new Minister of Justice.

A treaty on the Ciskei's re-incorporation has been hammered out with South Africa and signed by the two countries.

The treaty resulted from an amendment to the newly drafted Ciskeian constitution which, according to Mr Mathee, effectively empowers the military government under Council of State chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to legislate themselves out of existence.

PASSION FOR RULE OF LAW

Mr Mathee said: "This constitution could serve as a guideline for new South Africa. If South Africa's new constitution doesn't at least contain what we have in ours, I don't want to be part of the country."

Asked whether the Ciskei constitution was similar to Namibia's, he said Unisa's constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers had guided the drafting of both.

"I have a passion for the rule of law and this constitution has a Bill of rights which is fully justifiable by the Supreme Court."

Brigadier Gqozo was fully committed to a Bill of rights and only a public referendum could alter these rights with a two-thirds vote.

OUTLAWED DEATH PENALTY

Mr Mathee said that in terms of the Bill of rights Ciskei had outlawed the death penalty and this meant 16 people had been removed from Death Row.

At 37 the Natal University-trained advocate is possibly the youngest Minister of Justice in southern Africa.

Besides his justice portfolio, Mr Mathee is also a member of the five-man Council of State.

Asked how he had come to be appointed, Mr Mathee said that as an advocate he had been practising in Grahamstown and had done legal work for Ciskei.

"After March 4 — the day of the Ciskeian coup — the brigadier approached a local attorney and I was then instructed by the attorney to give legal assistance.

"The new constitution was officially promulgated in Bisho on February 6."

ROLES IN PFP AND DP

Although he comes from a conservative background in the Free State, Mr Mathee has in the past played various roles in the former Progressive Federal Party and the Democratic Party.

He made headlines in 1976 when, as president of Durban university's students' representative council, he publically confessed to spying activities.

"Throughout my life I have consistently tried to achieve a more democratic future, driven by a desire to serve God and my neighbour."

been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, if so, (a) which section of the Defence Force, (b) to which of these organisations and (c) to what extent,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 5/3/91

B363E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) and (2) As far as the SA Defence Force is concerned, I refer you to the answer given by the State President regarding the National Intelligence Service, which suffices.

Organisational support to self-governing territories

*22 Mr J H MOMBORG asked the Minister of Development Aid †

(1) Whether, over the past 10 years, any section of his Department or of the governments of the self-governing territories has directly or indirectly given financial or organisational support to any of the cultural or political organisations of the said territories, if so, (a) what sections of his Department or the departments of the self-governing territories, (b) to which such organisations and (c) to what extent, (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

Hansard 5/3/91

B366E

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AID:

(1) Yes.

(a) Directorate Social and Ethnological Services

(b) Historical Monuments Committee of KwaNdebele

(c) An official of the Department of Development Aid is serving, since the establishment of the Department, as member on the Historical Monuments Committee of KwaNdebele where he is rendering expert advice. No financial or further organisational assistance is rendered.

Inquiries were made to the Governments of the self-governing territories in order to reply in full to the question. Feedback is still awaited.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Hansard whereafter the honourable member will be furnished with a written reply on these questions

(2) No. A statement is not deemed necessary.

Electrification of schools

*23 Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Training

(1) Whether any investigation has been conducted into the electrification of schools falling under his control, if not, why not, if so, (a) when and (b) what was the outcome,

(2) what will be the additional (a) capital and (b) annual operating cost of providing electricity to all schools other than farm schools?

B367E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) No. The provision of additional classrooms, teachers and equipment enjoys priority over the electrification of those schools where electricity has not been provided. Where electricity is available, new schools and schools where extensions are being added to the buildings, are provided with electricity.

(2) The information is not available.

Avoidance of military service: indemnity

*24 Lt-Gen R HD ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence

(1) Whether any persons who left the Republic for the purpose of avoiding military service and who have subsequently been granted indemnity by the Government will be subject to conscription by the South African Defence Force upon their return,

(2) whether any other persons returning to the Republic from voluntary exile are to be made subject to conscription,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B376E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(1) Such an indemnity covers an instance where an individual has committed the

offence of contravening section 126A(1)(a) of the Defence Act (Act No 44 of 1957). It stands to reason that he can no longer be prosecuted for that offence. The indemnity does not, however, preclude him from being called up again for military service in terms of the Act.

(2) Yes

(3) No.

Ezibeleni Township: water supply

*25 Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and National Housing

(1) Whether the municipality of Queenstown has cut off the water supply to Ezibeleni Township, if so, why,

(2) whether these residents have embarked on a consumer boycott in Queenstown, if so, what were the reasons advanced for this boycott,

(3) whether the cutting off of the water supply had any other effects on the residents of this township, if so, what effects, (4) whether he has investigated the grievances of these residents and the underlying reasons which led to dispute, if not, why not, if so, what were his findings?

B377E

The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes, Ezibeleni is situated in the Transkei. The water supply was cut off by Queenstown Municipality because Ezibeleni did not pay its account to Queenstown. The water was connected again on 22 February 1991 after negotiations.

(2) Yes, the reasons advanced for the boycott are

— Arrear amounts for what must be written off

— Two prisoners must be released

— The Town Clerk and Mayor of Queenstown must resign

(3) Yes, there was a possibility of a health risk before the water was connected again on 22 February 1991.

(4) The matter was investigated from which it became evident that Ezibeleni is situated in the Transkei and it is accordingly the responsibility of the Transkei Government to find a solution, if necessary in co-operation with Queenstown Municipality.

Certain persons: deportation

*26. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs.

(1) Whether arrangements have been made to deport a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, if so, (a) when is the deportation to take place, (b) to which country is this person to be deported and (c) what is his name,

(2) whether he has consulted the Minister of Defence or the head of the Civil Cooperation Bureau about the proposed deportation,

(3) whether he will make a statement on this matter?

B378E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

(1) Yes

(a) 31 March 1991.

(b) He may possibly be removed to Ireland as he is the holder of a valid Irish passport. He may, however, at his own expense depart from the Republic to any country of his own choice.

(c) Donald Acheson

(2) No. The decision concerning his removal rests solely with the Department of Home Affairs.

(3) No.

Surplus of 1 000 teachers

*27 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Finance

(1) Whether he recently made the statement that the Department of Education and Culture of the House of Delegates had a surplus of 1 000 teachers, if so, how was this figure arrived at,

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

SUNCISKEI

LISTING PLANS

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FM 8/3/91

Sun International has been looking to list its Ciskei operations for at least two years but has previously postponed such moves because it thought the timing was inappropriate.

Management must now be wondering whether it stalled for too long. No sooner had the group announced that the listing was to go ahead than the government of Ciskei completed the first major step towards re-incorporating the State back into SA.

Sun International, with local partner the Ciskei People's Development Bank, still intends proceeding with the listing of SunCiskei in April. However, the mooted reincorporation of Ciskei raises questions about the vulnerability of the group, especially separately listed subsidiaries SunBop and Transun, to changes in legislation affecting its gaming licences and tax. It is questionable whether Sun International's operations in Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda would enjoy the same gaming rights and low rates of tax were those States to be absorbed back into SA.

Buddy Hawton, executive chairman at Sun International's Kersaf parent, acknowledges the effects of the possible re-incorporation of the TBVC States are unclear.

"We take the view that in the event of re-incorporation, it would be unlikely that a central authority would grant gaming licences willy-nilly," he says. "We have put a great deal back into these communities in terms of employment, foreign exchange and taxation and the governments of these States are our shareholding partners in the local operations."

He says there are a lot of imponderables but the group is, nonetheless, substantially expanding its resorts in these States. Some analysts point out that one of the reasons for this sudden spurt of high capital expenditure could be to increase its influence in these States ahead of any review of gaming licences.

The listing of SunCiskei, which includes the Amatola Sun, Fish River Sun and Mpekeni Sun and is estimated to have turned over R80m last year, is intended to enable Ciskei residents and citizens to take a stake in the operation. No additional funds will be raised.

The Ciskei People's Development Bank holds a 50% stake (together with Sun International) in a holding company which owns about 67% of SunCiskei. It also holds a further 7% directly in SunCiskei. It is this parcel of 5m shares that the bank intends to release.

continue

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Issue price of these shares has yet to be determined. Further information, including details of SunCiskei's track record, will only be forthcoming once the prospectus is published on March 15. Kersaf financial director Alan van Biljon says similar schemes, though not including listings on the JSE, are being considered for the group's Swaziland and Botswana operations. *Simon Cashmore*

SEBE TRIED TO GET CISKEI BACK INTO SA

BY S'BU MNGADI

THE reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa last week was nothing new – it had already been advocated by former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe before he was ousted from power last year.

In January last year he tried to negotiate with Pretoria for reincorporation rather than be reincorporated by a hostile ANC government.

He sent a 12-page confidential document entitled *Ciskei and a Future Democratic South Africa* to State President FW de Klerk.

The decision to reincorporate Ciskei was announced simultaneously last week by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Cape Town and Ciskei's Justice Minister

Keith Matthee in Bisho.

Sebe's document argued for the rapid establishment of a federation



Lennox Sebe ... advocated reincorporation before he was ousted.

of the four TVBC homelands and South Africa, with entrenched clauses to prevent the first post-apartheid government scrapping the homelands in favour of a unitary state

The document was apparently drafted by senior Ciskei civil servants – many of them white Pretoria bureaucrats seconded to the homeland.

The document examined options open to the homelands when South Africa reached a negotiated settlement leading to full voting rights for all.

It cited five options for Ciskei's future but the one option which Sebe found most satisfactory was a five-member federation

This would give the TVBC states a position roughly equivalent to the

states in the United States of America.

Sebe's document recognised the need to defend the homeland against mobilisation of the ANC and the MDM which advocate straight reincorporation.

It argued that the option chosen should give homelands "participation in the affairs of post-apartheid South Africa".

A federal structure, it argued, would go some way towards providing this

"It will strategically be simpler for the TVBC-South Africa negotiations to proceed before the 'final' negotiations," Sebe's document said.

Agreement to a federal system before actual negotiations would exclude the ANC and its allies, the document said

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across the floor of this House. [Interjections]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! This is not a matter the Chair can rule on. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I should like to explain that 10 minutes ago [Interjections]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, on a further point of order. With the greatest respect I want to tell you that that hon Minister is blurring out for political gain information he has access to in his ministerial capacity, and which, as far as I know, is confidential in terms of the law. I submit that this is illegal and that you must stop him [Interjections]

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I am not prepared to continue calling the House to order. Hon members will oblige me to take drastic steps against the next hon member who misbehaves. My throat is sore from calling members to order and getting no reaction.

*Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, on a point of order.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! First I want to deal with the point of order of the hon member for Soupsansberg. It is not possible for the Chair to rule here and now whether the hon the Minister is abusing information at his disposal or not. I do not know what all the implications are of what is being discussed here, and I am therefore unable to rule on a point of order now. I can go into the matter later and give a further ruling, but I cannot restrain the hon the Minister here and now from using the argument he used. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, 10 minutes ago I telephoned the NP office and a quarter of an hour ago my private secretary telephoned the office in Kimberley. The voters' list of Kuruman is a public document in which any person may obtain any information, including the hon member's number which I shall not even mention here. It is a public document. I shall never abuse my position.

*Mr J H HOON: You are a disgraceful Minister!

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! No, the hon member for Kuruman must withdraw that allegation.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

*Mr J H HOON: That hon Minister is extremely disgraceful!

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I am not going to argue about that, the hon member must withdraw that allegation.

*Mr J H HOON: I shall not withdraw it; he is disgraceful!

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! In that case the hon member for Kuruman must withdraw from the Chamber.

[Whereupon the hon member withdrew.] [Interjections]

*Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: The Chair has given repeated rulings that when an hon member addresses you on a point of order, it must be done in silence. While the hon member for Soupsansberg was addressing you on a point of order, the hon member for East London North shouted loudly at you.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I have already indicated my dissatisfaction at the fact that appeals for order are not obeyed. I agree with the hon member for Losberg as far as his point of order is concerned, but unfortunately hon members seem to take pleasure in disregarding the appeals of the Chair. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: Finally I want to say it is regrettable that this fine subject has been pointed. [Interjections] I regret that the opportunity has been abused in an attempt to get at this side of the Government, as though enough devout attention was not being devoted to the concepts of Afrikanerhood, of being English, or any concept which defines culture. This side of the House respect this at all times.

*Mr S P BARNARD: You are lying again!

*Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: The hon member for Hercules has just said that the hon the Minister is telling a lie. Is that permissible?

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! It is not permissible. Did the hon member for Hercules make such a statement?

*Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Speaker, the hon the Minister caused the voters' list.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I am merely asking the hon member whether he made such a statement.

*Mr S P BARNARD: I said he was lying again. He is lying when he claims to have said that.

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! The hon member for Hercules must withdraw that immediately or withdraw from the Chamber. [Interjections.] Order!

[Whereupon the hon member withdrew.]

*Mr A L JORDAAN: Mr Speaker, on the point of order I wanted to make a moment ago. While you were giving a ruling and were asking for order in this Chamber, an hon member of the CP made the allegation that the hon the Minister was a disgrace to the Afrikaners. Is that permissible?

*The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! I shall reserve judgment on that matter. The time for the first interpellation has most definitely expired. That brings us to the second interpellation. Debate concluded.

Ciskei: Incorporation into RSA

2 Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether the Government is considering any steps to have Ciskei re-incorporated into the Republic of South Africa; if so, what steps; if not, why not?

105 B537E INT

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, at present the situation is that Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei are independent states. They gained their independence from South Africa firstly by way of legislation passed by the South African legislature, secondly legislation passed by their legislatures and, thirdly, bilateral agreements on a large number of subjects concluded with South Africa.

The governments of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei—those three—have expressed a wish in general terms, in discussions and in public statements, to be re-incorporated into South Africa. [Interjections.] However, no formal proposals have been received by the South African Government.

Even if and when formal requests or proposals are received, I must point out that the Government of one state cannot unilaterally take a decision to join another. The South African Government cannot take a decision until this matter has been thoroughly canvassed and all the complex implications have been analysed at bilateral meetings.

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, I would point out that in fact the hon the Minister's reply begs the question, because it actually passes the buck to other people, when in fact those states were the creature of this Parliament.

They were created at a time when, in terms of the hon the Minister's own definition, the South African Government was sinning by appointing political rights on the basis of race and skin colour.

I raise the issue of Ciskei, because it fills many South Africans with deep concern. Ciskei has become a political and ideological disaster, as well as a bottomless pit for the South African taxpayer's money. [Interjections]

Leaving aside the financial aspects from this debate, a year ago South African troops went in there after a coup to save lives, to save property and to try to prevent thousands of people from becoming jobless. A few days later, Mr Brand Fourie was appointed overall co-ordinator of the Eastern Cape and Ciskei operation. [Interjections.] Two months later, the South African Government recognised Oupa Gqozo's military government without ascertaining whether he in fact had the support of the people of Ciskei.

Since then, we have had the appointment, subsequently withdrawn, of Vito Palazzolo as a special envoy. We have had further disclosures about the operations of Jale. We have had ongoing tensions between Ciskei and Transkei. We have had tensions between Ciskei and the ANC. We have had the cold-blooded killing of Charles Sebe, and there has been a further attempted coup, with South African military intervention, resulting finally in an agreement with the Ciskei government, with an independent state, that South Africa would appoint four of Ciskei's Cabinet Ministers.

We say that this is a farce. What is the South African Government's positive policy towards re-incorporation? We are not asking what other people say. We want to know what the South

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

African Government's policy is What is the South African Government's objective? What is the South African Government's motive?

I put it to hon members, firstly, that the latest move, the latest treaty, makes a farce of the concept of independence, if there ever was independence for that territory. Secondly, it props up a military regime which achieved power through the barrel of a gun, without any attempt by the South African Government to see who enjoyed popular support.

Finally, one must ask oneself whether the partial takeover of Ciskei by the South African Government is in the interests of the people of Ciskei or of the people of South Africa, or whether it is part of a game of political manoeuvring by the NP Government to try to thwart the influence of the ANC in that particular territory. [Interjections.] Recent developments in relation to Ciskei have wide-ranging implications. This is an opportunity for the hon the Minister to come clean and say in fundamental terms what his policy, objective and motive are [Time expired.]

*Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, it surprises me that the party to which the hon member who has just sat down belongs, is suddenly concerned about Ciskei as an independent entity. [Interjections.] He should rather sing the praises of the hon the Minister and his Government and support them, because Ciskei, Transkei or Venda did not fail as independent states. It is that hon Minister and that Government who want those states to fail. That is what this is all about. [Interjections.]

The South African Government and the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs are the great destabilisers of the independent states, the creators of separate development [Interjections.] I shall say why they do this. It is because it was agreed upon in the secret Pollsmoor Minute or Victor Verster Protocol that, for the sake of the ANC, those independent states should be destroyed before other things could take place. The Whites in South Africa would then be in an even worse and more critical position as far as numerical ratios are concerned, because between 5 million and 8 million Vendas and Xhosas would then be added to the population of South Africa. Billions and billions of rands paid by generations of taxpayers would go down the drain, as one would say in plain English [Interjections.]

We support re-incorporation, and the sooner it happens, the better

By re-incorporation we are not suggesting that Ciskei should become a self-governing state of South Africa with the same artificial boundaries that exist at present. That will not solve anything, and the problems that were caused by and associated with independence will not go away. We are saying that if regional government is to exist, it should govern over an area which forms an economic entity. The Border corridor and Ciskei form such an interdependent economic entity [Interjections.]

The future of the area should be considered as a whole and not Ciskei alone as a remnant of the old South Africa. It is reported that Ciskei has not only asked for re-incorporation, but has demanded it [Interjections.] It has been said that they have undertaken to legislate themselves out of existence if the Government does not co-operate. I should like the hon the Minister's comment on that.

In his Opening Address on 1 February the hon the State President said that the time had arrived to build a nation. This could not be more significant for the Border-Ciskei area at the moment. I urge the Government to take the opportunity to act in the spirit of the hon the State President's statement. It is important for the hon the Minister to accept the re-incorporation of Ciskei, and I believe he should announce a plan of action as soon as possible. [Interjections.]

It is also important that as wide a range of opinion as possible be canvassed at local level, and I am pleased that the hon the Minister has mentioned consultation. [Time expired.]

*Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Speaker, I want to introduce a motion of heartfelt sympathy with the hon the Minister. The reality is that the hon the Minister is a captive of the past. He talks of independent states—he knows that at the time they became interdependent, they had no option. They either had to have nothing in South Africa, or independence. They were not offered full, equal citizenship in a non-racial South Africa.

He is dealing with an imperfect situation. He talks of independent states, and yet he is nominating four hon Cabinet Ministers to the cabinet of an independent state! How independent is that? It is not an independent state in the

ordinary sense of the word. A formative Government policy in respect of these territories is lacking. We have damage control once a year and crisis management every few months. We do not have a very firm commitment from the Government to try to do whatever it can to reincorporate or bring those people back into the body of South Africa [Interjections.] . . . not into a new apartheid South Africa, but into a new non-racial South Africa.

We will press this hon Minister, this Government, until it expunges the sins of the past and says: Yes, we want to co-operate in a positive way, we will try to co-operate and we will find a way to enable those people to be at the negotiating table talking about a new non-racial South Africa. But the hon the Minister must stop egg-dancing. He must not pass the buck to the victims of apartheid. He, as the perpetrator of apartheid, must accept the responsibility for putting things right [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, I want to caution the hon member against a holier-than-thou attitude. We are dealing with a given situation today in which there is unrest, suspicion and conflict. If the hon member thinks one is going to create a paradise by merely reincorporating that territory, it shows that he has no idea of what is really going on. [Interjections.] That is my first point.

Secondly, I have stated publicly that there are complex issues to be discussed and resolved. What does the hon member want? Does he want Ciskei to become a district, a province or a federal state? [Interjections.] How should it be done? Tell me? The hon member just wants to jump in there and grab it. [Interjections.] Has the hon member thought about this and discussed the matter with experts who are acquainted with the implications? [Interjections.] I have indicated to the hon member that I have no formal proposal. So what must I do? [Interjections.] Should I send the army in and annex it? Is that the way things will be done in the future South Africa? Is that hon members' idea of creating peace and stability? [Interjections.]

I have stated publicly that the South African Government has no formal request or proposal and I have said that our main task now is to promote stability and sound administration

Mr C J W BADENHORST [Inaudible]

The ACTING SPEAKER Order: The hon member for East London North is too vociferous [Interjections]

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The MINISTER: I have stated that the highest priority now is to ensure peace and stability. We must get along with each other in this country by means of negotiations. We should not introduce new points of conflict. I do not know what the reaction of the negotiating parties will be at the forthcoming multiparty conference on the new constitution of South Africa. [Interjections] Is this not an item that should rather be placed on that agenda? [Interjections.] These are important matters that ought to be discussed in a calm atmosphere, but not in the mood and tone that that hon member has evidenced today. [Interjections.] He and the CP must tone down their utterances, and all these highly emotional speeches must disappear from this Parliament. [Interjections.] We must reason with one another in moderate language

Debate concluded

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply.

General Affairs.

State President

Answered 12/3/91

Certain organization: support

*1 Mr F J LE ROUX asked the State President:†

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Whether the State is directly or indirectly giving any financial or other support to a certain organization, whose name has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply, if so, what is the (a)(i) extent of the financial support and (ii) nature of the other support and (b) name of the organization concerned?

B416E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FOR INFORMATION SERVICES (for the State President)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Answered 12/3/91

The hon member is referred to my reply to question No 1 on Tuesday 5 March 1991.

"I am not prepared to comment in any way on whether or not there exist any specific relations between the National Intelligence Service and any persons or institutions. This will defeat the purpose of lawful actions and also the rightful, legal protection of security information as contemplated amongst other things, in the Act on the Protection of Information, 1982 and other relevant laws. Denials in related instances may lead thereto that later refusals to supply information in other instances because it will not be in public interest, can be construed as admissions. This principle also applies to similar questions directed to other members of the Cabinet."

In view of how the hon member's question might possibly be interpreted, that reply also applies to this question 259

Parts (a)(i) and (ii) as well as (b) fall away

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE. Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I would like to ask the hon the Deputy Minister what assurances he can give the country that evading the reply to the question is not just a handy method for the Government to escape a tricky situation [Interjections]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, I would like to refer the hon member to the provisions of the Protection of Information Act, Act No 84 of 1982. In terms thereof I would like to submit that we are indeed not entitled to make the information available.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE. Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I want to say that there is nevertheless still a discretion linked thereto whether to reply or not I would like to ask him now if it is fair that the hon the State President may refuse to reply and be allowed to get away with it on the grounds of reasons like state-security, while someone else, like Mr Andries Beyers, who also for serious reasons refuses to answer a question, goes to jail for 14 days [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, I refer the hon member to what I said in the reply a week ago and which I have just repeated. It is that denials in fitting instances can lead to refusals to supply information in other instances, because it would not be in the public's interest,

Answered 12/3/91 TUESDAY, 12 MARCH 1991

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which can be construed as admissions. It is therefore only logical that we do not reply to this

Adv J J S PRINSLOO. Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon Deputy Minister's reply, in his reply he refers to the National Intelligence Service, but the question does not apply to the national intelligence service. It applies to the State in all its ranks. I would like to ask the hon the Deputy Minister whether his reply therefore has to be so interpreted that he does not want to reply to the question whether there is funding of or support for this organization, also with regard to those parts of State which are not connected to the National Intelligence Service

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, the hon member was apparently not here last week. The questions for last week specifically dealt with the National Intelligence Service, and that is why my reply to him should be the same as the reply to the question of last week. The hon the State President in that reply also specifically referred to the fact that this principle that applies in regard to the Protection of Information Act in fact also applies to all similar questions put to other departments and to other Ministers. That is why the Protection of Information Act applies to all relevant actions of the Government and that is why in this instance the question is answered in this way.

†Mr J A JORDAAN. Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does he believe that the political playing field in this country should be equal for all parties, and if so, whether it is the Government's policy not to fund any political party or organization at this stage which is involved with the process. If it is the policy to give support, we would like to get a little more clarification on it

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, the hon member could really have been present last week when this question he has now asked had been answered. Then he surely would not have asked this follow-up question [Interjections.] He was not here then. The important point is that here are questions which point to insinuations about matters in which the Government is or is not involved. The point under discussion is—this is this week's and last week's reply—that to make information available in any degree, or to think about making it available, would mean the defeat of the purpose of the legislator. Secondly, the denial of certain instances would

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mean that not replying in other instances would by implication be an admission and therefore this standpoint was taken by the hon the State President.

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO. Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, would he just explain to the House how this stance of the Government can defeat the objectives of the relevant Act to which he refers if all these questions can in any case be put later and must be replied to, for example, during appropriation debates?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, I would like to refer the hon member to section 4 of the Act concerned and I think he can safely read it.

Ministers.

Question standing over from Tuesday, 5 March 1991.

MP for Claremont: arrest 275

*6. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order †

Answered 12/3/91

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 7 on 12 February 1991, the reasons for the arrest by the South African Police on 3 November 1990 of the member of Parliament for Claremont, as furnished by the Western Cape Commissioner of Police and quoted in certain newspapers on 3 November 1990 (copies of which have been supplied to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply), are still the valid reasons for the arrest of this member of Parliament, if not, why not; if so, how can these reasons be reconciled with those furnished in the reply to the above-mentioned Question No 7,

(2) on the strength of what unrest-related incidents and circumstances that occurred and applied in the area of Khayelisha where the member of Parliament concerned was arrested did the officer who arrested him come to the decision to arrest him;

(3) whether the presence, in the relevant area of Khayelisha, of the members of the ANC and the leader of the Khayelisha Civic Association who accompanied the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Mr C J W BADENHORST [Unaudible]

The ACTING SPEAKER: Order! The hon member for East London North is too vociferous [Interjections]

105

The MINISTER I have stated that the highest priority now is to ensure peace and stability. We must get along with each other in this country by means of negotiations. We should not introduce new points of conflict. I do not know what the reaction of the negotiating parties will be at the forthcoming multiparty conference on the new constitution of South Africa [Interjections]. Is this not an item that should rather be placed on that agenda? [Interjections] These are important matters that ought to be discussed in a calm atmosphere, but not in the mood and tone that that hon member has evidenced today. [Interjections] He and the CP must tone down their utterances, and all these highly emotional speeches must disappear from this Parliament. [Interjections] We must reason with one another in moderate language

Debate concluded

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply

General Affairs

State President

Answered 12/3/91

Certain organization: support

*1 Mr F J LE ROUX asked the State President:

Whether the State is directly or indirectly giving any financial or other support to a certain organization, whose name has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if so, what is the (a)(i) extent of the financial support and (ii) nature of the other support and (b) name of the organization concerned?

B416E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND FOR INFORMATION SERVICES (for the State President)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The hon member is referred to my reply to question No 1 on Tuesday 5 March 1991:

"I am not prepared to comment in any way on whether or not there exist any specific relations between the National Intelligence Service and any persons or institutions. This will defeat the purpose of lawful actions and also the rightful, legal protection of security information as contemplated amongst other things, in the Act on the Protection of Information, 1982 and other relevant laws. Denials in related instances may lead thereto that later refusals to supply information in other instances because it will not be in public interest, can be construed as admissions. This principle also applies to similar questions directed to other members of the Cabinet."

In view of how the hon member's question might possibly be interpreted, that reply also applies to this question

Parts (a)(i) and (ii) as well as (b) fall away

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE. Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I would like to ask the hon the Deputy Minister what assurances he can give the country that evading the reply to the question is not just a handy method for the Government to escape a tricky situation [Interjections]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, I would like to refer the hon member to the provisions of the Protection of Information Act, Act No 84 of 1982. In terms thereof I would like to submit that we are indeed not entitled to make the information available.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE. Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I want to say that there is nevertheless still a discretion linked thereto whether to reply or not. I would like to ask him now if it is fair that the hon the State President may refuse to reply and be allowed to get away with it on the grounds of reasons like state-security, while someone else, like Mr Andries Beyers, who also for serious reasons refuses to answer a question, goes to jail for 14 days [Interjections]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, I refer the hon member to what I said in the reply a week ago and which I have just repeated. It is that denials in fitting instances can lead to refusals to supply information in other instances, because it would not be in the public's interest,

which can be construed as admissions. It is therefore only logical that we do not reply to this

Adv J J S PRINSLOO Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon Deputy Minister's reply, in his reply he refers to the National Intelligence Service, but the question does not apply to the national intelligence service. It applies to the State in all its ranks. I would like to ask the hon the Deputy Minister whether his reply therefore has to be so interpreted that he does not want to reply to the question whether there is funding of or support for this organization, also with regard to those parts of State which are not connected to the National Intelligence Service.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, the hon member was apparently not here last week. The questions for last week specifically dealt with the National Intelligence Service, and that is why my reply to him should be the same as the reply to the question of last week. The hon the State President in that reply also specifically referred to the fact that this principle that applies in regard to the Protection of Information Act in fact also applies to all similar questions put to other departments and to other Ministers. That is why the Protection of Information Act applies to all relevant actions of the Government and that is why in this instance the question is answered in this way

†Mr J A JORDAAN. Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does he believe that the political playing field in this country should be equal for all parties, and if so, whether it is the Government's policy not to fund any political party or organization at this stage which is involved with the process. If it is the policy to give support, we would like to get a little more clarification on it

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, the hon member could really have been present last week when this question he has now asked had been answered. Then he surely would not have asked this follow-up question. [Interjections] He was not here then. The important point is that here are questions which point to insinuations about matters in which the Government is or is not involved. The point under discussion is—this is this week's and last week's reply—that to make information available in any degree, or to think about making it available, would mean the defeat of the purpose of the legislator. Secondly, the denial of certain instances would

mean that not replying in other instances would by implication be an admission and therefore this standpoint was taken by the hon the State President

†Adv J J S PRINSLOO. Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, would he just explain to the House how this stance of the Government can defeat the objectives of the relevant Act to which he refers if all these questions can in any case be put later and must be replied to, for example, during appropriation debates?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER. Mr Speaker, I would like to refer the hon member to section 4 of the Act concerned and I think he can safely read it.

Ministers:

Question standing over from Tuesday, 5 March 1991.

MP for Claremont: arrest

*6. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 7 on 12 February 1991, the reasons for the arrest by the South African Police on 3 November 1990 of the member of Parliament for Claremont, as furnished by the Western Cape Commissioner of Police and quoted in certain newspapers on 3 November 1990 (copies of which have been supplied to the Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply), are still the valid reasons for the arrest of this member of Parliament, if not, why not; if so, how can these reasons be reconciled with those furnished in the reply to the above-mentioned Question No 7;

(2) on the strength of what unrest-related incidents and circumstances that occurred and applied in the area of Khayelitsha where the member of Parliament concerned was arrested did the officer who arrested him come to the decision to arrest him;

(3) whether the presence, in the relevant area of Khayelitsha, of the members of the ANC and the leader of the Khayelitsha Civic Association who accompanied the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Ciskei hasn't asked to be part of SA again, says Pik

Star 13/3/91

105

The Government had received no formal request from Ciskei that the territory be reincorporated into South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to an interpellation from Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) on whether the Government was considering steps to have the homeland reincorporated, he said one state could not unilaterally decide to join another.

While Ciskei, Transkei and Venda had expressed the wish, in general terms, to be reincorporated, no formal proposals had been received by SA.

Even if and when formal requests and proposals were received, the SA Government could not take a decision until

the matter had been thoroughly canvassed and discussed.

"The policy is that they are independent and that we will not force them to return to the RSA," Mr Eglin said.

The Government had sent in troops and appointed senior officials in Ciskei in a serious effort to help the territory promote sounder administration and ensure stability.

Andre de Wet (DP, nominated) said Ciskei should be governed as part of an economic unit that included the Border corridor.

It had been reported that Ciskei had not only asked for, but demanded, reincorporation and had threatened to legislate itself out of existence if Pretoria did not co-operate. — Sapa.

**SunCiskei reports
Star 15/3/91
details of listing**

Finance Staff

105 @ 15c

Sun International Ciskei (SunCiskei) today announced details of its public offer of 5,1 million shares to Ciskei citizens.

The listing of the shares, which have been priced at 150c each, on the JSE's Beverages, Hotels and Leisure sector is scheduled for April 17.

The group, which includes the casino resorts at the Fish River and at Mpekweni and the Amatola Sun and Mdantsane Sun hotels, reported total assets of around R100 million and earnings of R20 million in June 1990.

In the current year SunCiskei expects earnings of about R27,7 million, or 40c a share, on which a pro-forma dividend of 28c is forecast. This translates to a dividend yield of 19 percent.

FALLING IDOL: Oupa Gqozo seized power a year ago. Today it is slipping out of his hands, report Louise Flanagan and Langa Zita

LAST year Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was a people's hero in the Ciskei. Now his only support comes from the South African Defence Force.

Gqozo took over last March on a wave of popular relief at the demise of president-for-life Lennox Sebe, in a move hailed by the United Democratic Front as "a victory for the people". Now he has lost the respect of organisations and the African National Congress, he distrusts his own army, and he's swapped financial control for South African backup. The SADF is permanently in Bisho and it's rumoured that Gqozo doesn't even live there anymore but spends every night in East London.

On the anniversary of his takeover Gqozo has outlined plans for reincorporation on South Africa's terms, and seems destined to be a ceremonial leader dependent on South Africa. He has been strongly criticised for surrounding himself with white South African advisors, inviting in the SADF and even setting up secret Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB)-type organisations to preserve his position.

It's quite a change from a year ago. Back then he seemed to be good-hearted and sincere, if a little ingenuous. On the day of his takeover, Gqozo gave speeches under ANC flags and tried to sing along with the national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* — although he clearly didn't know the words.

He started off with the tacit support of organisations representing the majority of Ciskei residents. He also had strong support from the Ciskei middle classes, although some almost immediately fell to commissions of inquiry. Sebe's police were antagonistic, but Gqozo spent hours trying to re-educate them through public speeches and reshuffled the police structures

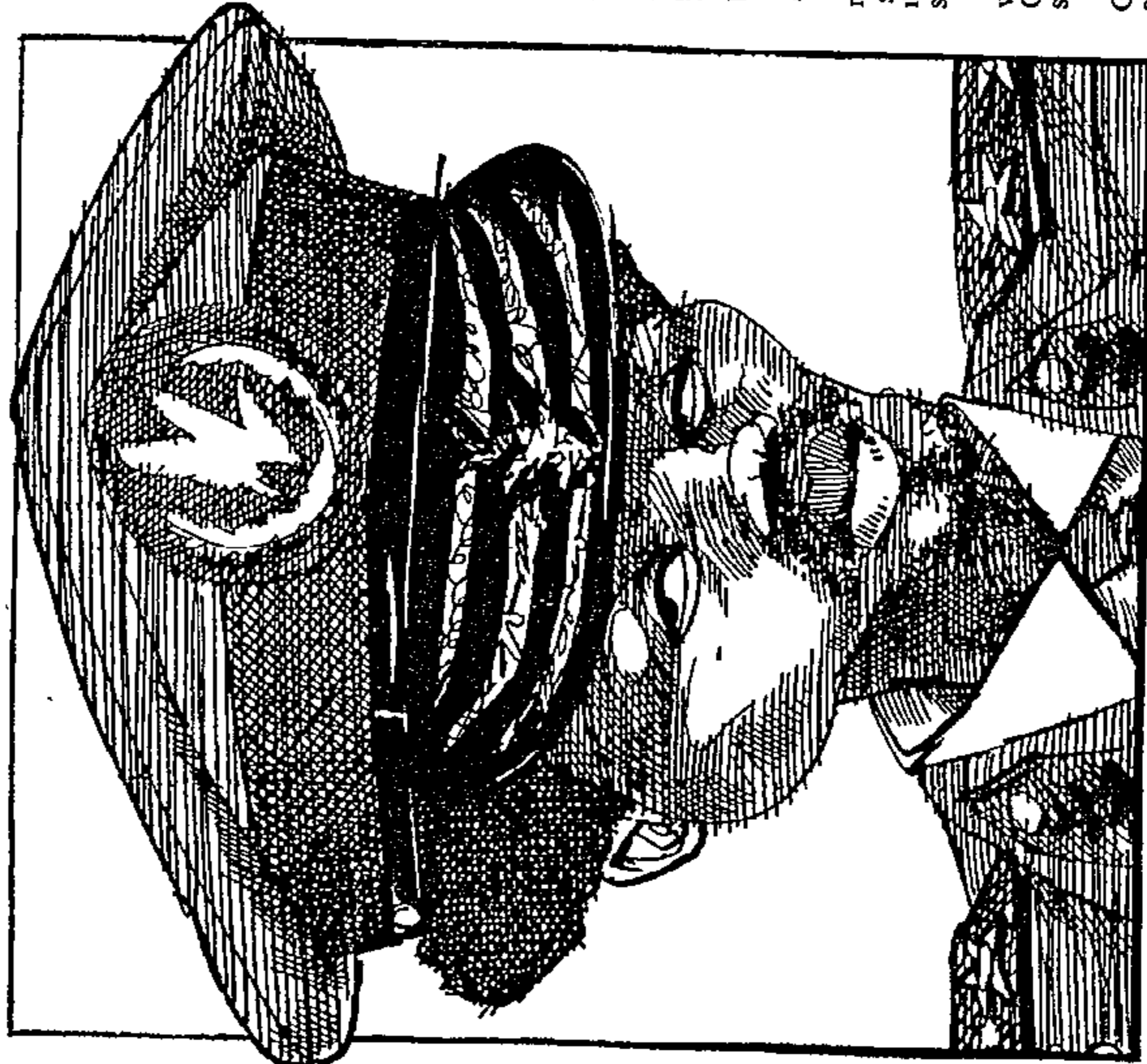
- He did some good:
- He abolished the death penalty.
- He opened the jails, releasing political prisoners and detainees.
- He drew up new labour laws, drafted together with Cosatu
- Although detentions continued, he ended the mass arrests and terrorising of entire communities so typical of the Sebe era.
- He asked South Africa to take back Peilton, an issue which is still not resolved
- He drew up a trend-setting Bill of Rights and constitution.

However that soon changed. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela referred to him as a hero of the moment, but his moment now seems to have passed.

Over the year he has angered organisations by criticising local leadership and even telling the Mdanisane Residents' Association to go back and get re-elected.

A Strongman loses his grip

W/Mail 15/3 - 21/3/91 (105)



He is remembered as the man who ordered ANC leaders Alfred Nzo, Raymond Mhlaba and Govan Mbeki to be bodysearched before he met with them, and for his cheerful admission that he ordered Charles Sebe to be shot dead rather than captured.

Where did Gqozo go wrong?
Gqozo tried to please everyone, and ended up pleasing nobody
His problems seemed to come with his inability to understand organisations or how to deal with them. With a strong SADF background and training in army methods of simply issuing orders, he clearly lost patience with endless re-

quests for time for consultations. He also became increasingly sensitive to criticism, to the point of paranoia.

He attacked the Mdanisane Residents' Association, calling them "rabble-rousers motivated purely by self interest" with "an insane catalogue of demands". He has continually attacked the Border Civics Congress. He asked for comments on his new local government proposals last year, but reacted furiously when the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa offered criticisms.

With this change in direction, the tacit support so many gave him began to fall away. Things got worse when Gqozo threatened to shoot Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Chris Ham on sight. By the beginning of this year relations between Gqozo and the ANC were at an all-time low and are still delicate.

He became increasingly suspicious of his own army. The controlling council of state dropped from the original four soldiers to only two, as the others fled Ciskei after allegations of coup plots.

Charles Sebe and former military council member Colonel Onward Guzana returned to die in mysterious circumstances, in a killing which was loudly condemned throughout Ciskei.

The Commission of Inquiry made sure that Gqozo had no more supporters among the middle classes, and the Inquiry was suspended in January without explanation.

Gqozo felt himself locked in a power struggle with the ANC, and made a fool of by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union during the civil servants' strike that brought Ciskei to a standstill.

Threatened on all sides, he turned to South Africa

He has been accused of setting up a shadowy military unit, described as "a CCB-type organisation", late last year and taking directions from it. His change in attitude towards organisations seems to stem from that time.

With the alleged coup attempt last month which resulted in the arrest of the cream of the Ciskei Defence Force, the SADF moved in and still hasn't left.

It's in South Africa's interests to support Gqozo because this way they ensure a cooperative presence at the negotiating table. They also avoid a Transkei type of situation, where military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa rubs shoulders with Ham.

South Africa's in Gqozo's only hope. If he can survive in Ciskei for much longer, his options seem quite simply to be limited to a ceremonial role held at South Africa's whim. — elnews

SADF assistance in Ciskei (105)

127. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence. Hansard 15/3/91

- (1) Whether Ciskei called for assistance from the South African Defence Force in connection with the coup in that country on or about 8 February 1991; if so, when,
- (2) whether the Defence Force assisted in stabilising the situation in Ciskei; if so, (a) what actions did they take and (b) how

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

559

FRIDAY, 15 M

(105) many Defence Force personnel were deployed for this purpose? 3324E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

- (1) No, but the South African Government was requested on 9 February 1991
- (2) Yes. Hansard 15/3/91.
 - (a) The protection of state buildings and the conduct of follow-up operations in the Republic of South Africa
 - (b) 90

Bogus cops assaulted an army officer's wife

Sowetane 2013/9
THE wife of an army officer who recently claimed knowledge of a CCB-type military unit operating in the Ciskei, Lt Ntantiso Kleinbooï, has alleged she was assaulted by men posing as police officers.

In a statement to Lawyers for Human Rights, Mrs Nokhanyo Kleinbooï, of Alice, said five armed men, two in military uniform, raided her home close to midnight on March 6, searching for Lt Kleinbooï.

They identified themselves as police, but did not give their names.

A Ciskei police spokesman, Brig Avery Ngaki, said on Monday he could not comment as there was "nothing on our police records about this allegation". He said such complaints should be reported to the nearest police station as soon as possible.

Mrs Kleinbooï said in her statement she had told the men who raided her house she had not seen her husband since he left on February 9, and had no

idea where he was. She claimed she was then repeatedly assaulted.

Lt Kleinbooï fled the Ciskei after a shooting incident early last month, described by the Council of State as an abortive coup.

The incident resulted in the arrest of eight Ciskei Defence Force officers, including CDF chief, Brig Monwabisi Jamangile. They were later released and charges against them dropped.

Weapons

Speaking last month on condition his whereabouts not be disclosed, Lt Kleinbooï told certain news media about a covert military unit, known as International Research, which he alleged had been stockpiling weapons in a house in Bisho's ministerial complex.

The Council of State has confirmed that a covert military operation existed in the homeland, adding it would cease operating with effect from this week. -
Sapa

COMPANIES

Sun Ciskei may face dearth of subscribers

010 am
22/3/91
BRENT VON MELVILLE (105)

THE only stumbling block to the April 17 listing of Sun Ciskei is the possibility there might not be enough subscribers for shares.

The main condition of the Sun Ciskei offer of 5,1-million shares at R1,50 a share is that it is only open to Ciskeian citizens.

In terms of JSE regulations, a company needs a minimum of 300 shareholders to be considered a public company and industry sources have suggested that Sun Ciskei may not recruit enough interest to obtain the minimum.

It is understood UAL Merchant Bank (which has structured the deal) has been feverishly trying to recruit buyers since the offer opened on March 15.

UAL GM Mike Farrell discounted the suggestion the offer would not be fully subscribed and said, based on the response to the prospectus so far, the offer was expected to be very well received. A simple explanation of the offer has been included in the prospectus.

Sun Ciskei has 75-million ordinary shares in issue, two thirds of which are held by Sun Ciskei holdings, which is composed equally of Sun Hotels International (SHIL) and the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank (CPDB).

The CPDB has allotted a further shareholding of 6,77%, or 5,1-million shares to the Ciskei public and the remainder (26,6%) is controlled by "other shareholders" under the auspices of the Port Ciskei International Development Corporation.

According to the prospectus, the unaudited pro-forma results for the six months to end-December 1990 reflect net income after tax of R13,4m. The directors have forecast earnings by year-end of R27,7m. Forecast earnings, calculated on a weighted average number of shares in issue of 68,75m, has thus been set at 40,3c a share.

In terms of Ciskei legislation, Sun Ciskei elected in 1985 not to pay company tax. However, withholding taxes at a maximum rate of 15% are deductible from dividends, interest, management fees and royalties paid to non-residents.

If management forecasts are correct, successful applicants can expect to receive a dividend of 6,7c a share for the year to June. The group intends paying annual dividends of 70% of attributable earnings, though the first payment will be considerably reduced by special dividend payments exceeding R20m, arising from a capital restructure in March.

The pro-forma balance sheet for June 30 1991 shows gearing at about 30% — though there are several low interest loans — with net current liabilities of R25,2m. Creditors and provisions including management fees, casino levies and refurbishment costs account for R26,4m out of current liabilities of R33m.

Management warns that the rapid rate of political and economic change makes it difficult to anticipate the group's performance but adds that the casino resort industry has shown "remarkable resilience."

A question over these resort groups is the possibility of changes in tax and gambling legislation (*Fox* March 8). Sun Ciskei has exclusive gambling rights in Ciskei until 1999 and first option on any rights the government may grant in the next 10 years. However, the prospectus warns that the legal enforceability of these rights should be regarded as uncertain.

Sun Ciskei raises no cash from the share offer. Ciskei Peoples Development Bank is undertaking the offer to enable Ciskei citizens and residents to participate in the equity and to facilitate a listing, on April 17.

As a result of the share offer, Sun Hotels International and the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank will, through joint venture company Sun Ciskei Holdings, hold 66,7% of Sun Ciskei. Consortium Lenton members will retain 26,5%, with only 6,8% held by the public.

Though the terms look favourable, for those who can apply, the tight control of the share will obviously limit tradeability.

Simon Cashmore

SUN CISKEI FM 22/3/91 UNCERTAIN RIGHTS

105

The proposed sale by the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank of its direct shareholding in Sun Ciskei appears to favour investors.

The bank is offering Ciskei citizens and permanent residents 5,075m Sun Ciskei ordinary shares — 6,8% of the leisure group's total equity — at 150c a share. The method of allocation will be determined once the bank has gauged the response to the share offer.

According to the Sun Ciskei prospectus, EPS for the year to June 1991 will be 40,3c. At an issue price of 150c, this puts the share on a forward p/e of 3,7 and pro-forma dividend yield of 18,8%, which compares well with the rating of Sun International's other listed subsidiaries. The flagship, Sun Bop, is trading on a p/e of 15,2 and 4,1% yield, while TranSun has a 7,6 times earnings multiple and 8,3% yield.

The prospectus states that in the five years to June 30 1990, turnover grew at a compound rate of 42% a year to R82,1m, while earnings climbed 20,2% a year compound to R19,6m. NAV at that time was valued at the equivalent of 66,6c a share and is expected to climb to 68,6c by year-end.

female educators in qualification category B and lower. Later in 1990 the Cabinet decided to eliminate all the remaining disparities in two phases (a) Phase 1 will be implemented during the 1991/92 financial year and Phase 2 during the 1992/93 financial year.

With the implementation of Phase 1 the salary disparity which is at present two salary notches in respect of female educators in qualification categories A, B, C

and D, will be reduced by one salary notch, while the remaining disparities will be eliminated in Phase 2. A press statement in this regard was issued on 4 October 1990 (b) The prevailing salary scales of male CS educators at the time of the implementation of the respective phases will be applied.

(2) Yes, as and when a decision is made regarding the date of implementation in respect of each of the two phases

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version

For written reply.

General Affairs.

Namibia: amount donated/budgeted

23. Dr W J BOTHA asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs †

- (1) What amount did the Government (a) donate and (b) budget for donation to Namibia in the 1990-91 financial year,
- (2) whether he has been informed that the government of Namibia has donated money to the ANC, if so, what are the relevant details,
- (3) whether the Government intends donating an amount of money to Namibia this year;
- (4) whether the Government has donated money to other countries in Southern Africa during the current financial year; if so, what total amount has been donated to each of these countries? B67E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(1) (a) and (b) *HowSerch* 22/3/91

No amount was specifically budgeted for purposes of a donation to Namibia, but as declared repeatedly, an amount of R36 million was provided for demobilisation purposes for ex-servicemen

(2) No, not officially. I am, however, aware of newspaper reports to the effect that an amount of R1 million has been donated by the Namibian Government to the ANC. I have no further details.

(3) No.

(4) Money as such has not been donated, but milk powder to the value of R250 000 and cholera antidotes to the value of R61 503 have been donated respectively to two countries in Southern Africa.

Ciskei: involvement of SAP

27 Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Law and Order *(105)*

(1) Whether any members of the South African Police assisted the Ciskei Government in the search for persons involved in the alleged attempt to overthrow the military government in Ciskei on or about 27 January 1991, if so, (a) at what time were they given the order to assist in the search, (b) how many policemen were involved and (c) what was the nature of the assistance provided.

(2) whether any members of the South African Police operated within the borders of Ciskei on this occasion, if so, in what areas, *HowSerch* 22/3/91

(3) whether any policemen accompanied or assisted the Ciskei forces that located Mr Charles Sebe in or near Gubevu near Stutterheim; if so, what were the circumstances surrounding the shooting of Mr Sebe;

(4) whether any members of the South African Police (a) fired any shots or (b) apprehended any suspects while assisting Ciskei; if so, (i) under what circumstances and (ii) with what result? B83E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) On 27 January 1991 at 09:30

(b) 16.

(c) Making available patrol dogs to help track down a fugitive who was presumed wounded. Due to the trampling of the area the dogmasters and patrol dogs were withdrawn after a short fruitless search.

(2) Yes, in the Izelvi and Gubevu administrative areas.

(3) No.

(4) (a) No.

(b) No

(i) and (ii) Fall away.

No let-up on Gqozo

105

CIP/press
3/13/91



Brig Oupa Gqozo

THE Transkei branch of the ANC has reaffirmed its call for the overthrow of Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo, saying it was "not aware" of an agreement by the organisation's NEC not to attack Gqozo in public.

Last week, a joint statement from the ANC, Cosatu and SACP called on its supporters to "intensify the campaign to rid Ciskei of the Gqozo-Maqoma-Matthee axis".

Chief Len Maqoma and Keith Matthee were recently appointed Minister of Manpower and Minister of Justice respectively.

Last week's statement also rejected Ciskei's move towards reincorporation as being on the "orders of Pretoria over the needs of the people".

It "noted with great concern the intensification of co-optation strategies of the Pretoria regime".

Identified as part of this co-optation were the "manipulation of Gqozo by advisers foisted on him by Pretoria in the persons of Keith Matthee and other known operatives of the SADF"; the involvement of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in the drafting of the new

constitution; the co-opting of chiefs; and the "stated intention to extend this constitutional manipulation to the Transkei".

The statement also charged that South Africa was trying to build up "notorious elements" such as the former police anti-insurgent unit Koevoet, and called on its followers to rid the region of "South African Defence Force Askaris".

The tone of the statement was in marked contrast to that of a declaration issued last month after talks between the Ciskei and a top-level ANC delegation led by secretary general Alfred Nzo.

The eight-hour talks came at the height of the war of words between the ANC and the Ciskei, and the declaration said both sides would stop publicly attacking each other.

However, Transkei ANC publicity secretary Ezra Sigwela has now defended last week's attack on the Ciskei, claiming the Transkei branch of the organisation had "not been aware" of the NEC's agreement with Gqozo.

Ciskei 'has a right to exist'

105

Sowetan 9/4/91

CISKEI was no "mutant offspring of the Verwoerdian apartheid plan" but a territory which had a legitimate claim to the broader South Africa, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday.

Opening the Ciskei pavillion at the Rand Show at Nasrec, the chairman of the homeland's military council said:

"Described by some

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

political entities as the mutant offspring of the Verwoerdian process and unworthy of an individual identity historically, we do, in fact, have a legitimate claim for our own place in the sun.

"Before elevation to national status (independence) in 1981, Ciskei

was a unitary district in the Eastern Cape.

"Earlier still, it was known as British Kaffraria and, even before that, it was ruled over by traditional chiefs such as Sandile and Maqoma," Gqozo said.

Defending the free enterprise system as opposed to socialism and communism, Gqozo scorned at charges that the South African

Government maintained a firm grip on Ciskei through the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Yesterday's event also saw relations between Ciskei and KwaZulu strengthened.

Ciskeian foreign minister Mr SM Manzi praised KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, describing him as "a man of peace".

Firms of attorneys: SADF interests

*10. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Defence: *Hansard 16/4/91*

Whether the South African Defence Force commissioned any firms of attorneys, in addition to or in place of the State Attorney, to represent its interests and members for the duration of the Harms Commission of Inquiry in 1990; if so, what (a) are the names of the attorneys concerned and (b) total amount had been charged in fees by these attorneys as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B742E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

Yes.

(a) The firm Havinga and Kruger (Incorporated). Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyancers

(b) As at 20 December 1990 the amount was R225 000 plus a closing fee of R112 500. The firm's instructions were, however, extended prior to the completion of the Harms Commission and were executed against the negotiated closing fee. Both amounts are, however, still subject to confirmation by the Law Society and taxation

†Adv C D DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is he aware of the fact that the said Mr Havinga is a son of one of the officers who dealt with the question of the CCB? Secondly, that the said Mr Kruger, to whom the hon the Deputy Minister referred is the same Mr Kruger as the one who was commissioned in the other case [Interjections]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not aware of that, but I find it a great pity that the hon member has raised such reflections here where he enjoys the privilege of Parliament, and not outside [Interjections.]

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C(3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament

Electoral Act: amendments

*11 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Whether he is contemplating amending those sections of the Electoral Act, No 45 of 1979, which disqualify from being registered as voters or becoming members of Parliament persons who have been found guilty of offences such as treason or of offences under the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, involving sentences of imprisonment without the option of a fine; if not, why not; if so, (a) what amendments are envisaged and (b) when?

B760E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS.

No, because it is not expedient at this stage of constitutional development in the country, to introduce adjustments to the existing Electoral Act

(a) and (b) fall away

Mr Lennox Sebe: resident in SA

*12. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs *(105)*

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 24 on 17 April 1990, Mr Lennox Sebe is still residing in South Africa; if so, (a)(i) under what conditions has he been granted permission to do so and (ii) at what total anticipated cost to the State and (b) when is it envisaged that he will leave South Africa,

(2) whether he is to be granted political asylum, if not, why not, if so, for what reasons? *Hansard 16/4/91*

B762E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

(1) Yes

(a) (i) Under circumstances where he left his country as Head of State and where a coup d'état was carried out in his country during his absence He was not unwilling to return to Ciskei After consultation with the South African Embassy in Ciskei and the Council of State of Ciskei, he was advised not to return to Ciskei for the time being in the interest of the promotion of peace and quiet in Ciskei, which is at the same time in the interest of South Africa Further, Mr

Hansard 16/4/91
Sebe is receiving medical treatment in South Africa.

(ii) He and his spouse are being accommodated in a house which was available. He pays for their upkeep himself

(b) Mr Sebe is keen to return to Ciskei as soon as possible Sensitive discussions between legal representatives of Mr Sebe and legal representatives of Ciskei regarding his return are well advanced. Further details regarding the outcome of these discussions could only be announced upon completion thereof.

(2) No request for political asylum has been received

1989 Matriculation results: investigation

*13. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Training: *(105)*

Whether, with reference to information furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, the investigation into the 1989 matriculation results in schools falling under his Department, as announced by his Department in January 1990, has been completed, if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed, if so, (i) when and (ii) what were the findings? *Hansard 16/4/91*

B761E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Yes

(i) February 1990

(ii) The major causes of the low percentage pass were briefly as follows:

— The bad results were inter alia caused by poor attendance, 'lesson dodging' and an indifferent attitude to their responsibility on the part of many teachers, effective teaching for a maximum of only five periods per day; the fact that schooling only started during February 1989 and was discontinued in September 1989, and the influence of many disruptions

— Poor attendance, late arrival and early departure from school on the part of pupils *Hansard 16/4/91*

— Ineffective supervision, and in some instances, a total lack of guidance and control by principals and management teams.

— An absence of positive parental influence on educational activities at schools

— The intimidation and manipulation of children and teachers for political ends

— A system of promotion which includes the haphazard condoning of marks and results which too easily allowed pupils to progress from Sub-Standard A to Std 9

Sundays: films

*14 Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the Government is giving consideration to amending the Prohibition of the Exhibition of Films on Sundays and Public Holidays Act, No 16 of 1977, with a view to allowing generally the screening of motion pictures on Sundays; if so, (a) what steps does the Government intend taking in this regard and (b) when, if not, why not;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the position of cinemas as against the SABC, M-Net and video distributors in regard to the screening of motion pictures on Sundays?

B768E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) I am continuously in consultation with interested parties concerned with the motion picture industry and the matter is receiving attention

(2) A statement is not necessary

1991-92: new taxpayers

*15. Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Finance *Hansard 16/4/91*

(a) How many individuals is it estimated will cross the tax threshold and become taxpayers

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE Mfengu is the name given to a group of tribes driven westwards during the early 1800s by their warlike Zulu cousins.

They settled uneasily among the Xhosa-speaking peoples of the Eastern Cape and by the 1830s had joined with the British to fight against the Xhosas.

For this help, the British colonial authorities awarded to the Mfengu and their descendants virgin forest land in the Tsitsikamma district to be held in trust "in perpetuity".

There the tribe flourished until late 1977, when repeated threats from Pretoria to remove them forcibly were realised. The 4 000 or so Mfengu people were taken from their 7 800 hectares at gunpoint and dumped 600km to the east in what later was to become independent Ciskei.

Their new "home", ironically named Elukhanyeni (meaning place of light or place of enlightenment), was in the remote Keiskammahoeck district.

Many had left behind self-built brick homes to be smashed by the bulldozers. They were given instead tents or wood-slat homes. A few found themselves in two-roomed cement brick constructions. They had brought with them only what could be carried; their crops remained behind to rot in the ground.

Starvation

The poor soil, thin vegetation and low rainfall soon claimed most of their livestock. The rest had to be sold off for the uprooted community merely to survive. Then the people began to die. First the old, sick and the very young. Some of heart-break, most of starvation and disease. The new Mfengu cemetery at Elukhanyeni soon became well populated.

The compensation in land promised the Mfengu — the equivalent in production potential to the land they lost, plus 30% — did not materialise. In all the Mfengu received just R200 000 as compensation.

Four years after the removal, the government sold off the Mfengu land to 19 white farmers in lots averaging about 200ha of arable land each, at about R70 000 a lot.

With the assistance of "soft" government loans and the local co-operative the new owners cleared the land, which, though well watered, was heavily forested, acid and leached of most useful nutrients. Tens of thousands of rands had to be spent on fertiliser programmes.

The construction of homes,

Mfengu people fight to regain tribal land they lost at gunpoint

The campaign by about 3,5 million South Africans to wrest back land taken from them during four decades of apartheid is rapidly building to a climax — and the claims of the Mfengu people are being seen as a test case. USA Today's CHRIS ERASMUS investigates.

milking sheds and purchase of high-tech computer and milking equipment took its toll in money and human suffering. Many farmers nearly went under, the strain began to break up families and there were divorces. With time and the continued help of the co-operative, most pulled through.

Shadow

Today this area, described by the Department of Agriculture as having the potential of becoming "South Africa's little New Zealand", is living up to its promise and is the country's best milk-producing area.

Although most of the farms are now making healthy profits, the shadow of apartheid still looms large over their fields: the Mfengu are claiming back their traditional lands and leaving the farmers uncertain of their future.

The government's recently-proposed land reforms have spurred the Mfengu's determination to win back the land they lost, a determination long fuelled by the Mfengu's impoverished circumstances.

Despite being told they were going to an agricultural paradise, about 2 000 Mfengu still live in Elukhanyeni in what amounts to a township in the bush. Around their wood-slat and cement-brick homes there are a few meagre plots of land and a single irrigation scheme — in all no more than 1 000ha. The rocky soil and low rainfall ensure that their crops are scraggly and sparse.

Many have abandoned the area for life in the urban townships, with most of the tribe scattered between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Mr Wilson D Bunu, 60, is a

diminutive member of the Tsitsikamma Exiles Association executive committee, set up by the Mfengu to fight their case.

He has no vindictiveness against the men who came in the night with guns and arrested him while his family was taken away and his six-roomed brick home smashed. But he wants to go home.

"We do not want the white farmers who have our land to suffer as we did — there has been enough suffering. But we want to go where we know how to farm; where we can have our cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens; where we can grow our beans, pumpkins, potatoes and water melons. There we will be happy."

At 66, Mr George Xayimpi is too old to seek work in the urban townships. He longs for the old days when he too had cattle by the dozen and scores of other domestic livestock.

"I lost everything — my three houses, all my crops and, soon after, all my animals. About four years after we got here, my wife became sick and died soon after. I am sure she died of sadness. She was never the same after we came here. They call this place the place of light, but really it is the place of sadness," he says.

'Hopeless'

Both sides realise it is a matter of time before the ANC is a major player in a new government and that if the Mfengu land issue (with numerous similar disputes) is not settled by then, there is little doubt who eventually will own the land.

Says Mr Riaan van Schoor, 47, a leader among the white farmers involved in the dispute

and a Conservative Party supporter: "Frankly, I am depressed and just about hopeless about all this. All we want is a resolution so we know where we stand."

Mr Peter Korkie, 42, another of the farmers on former Mfengu land, says he bought his farm unaware of its background. A political liberal, he abhors apartheid and admits that the Mfengu may have a point — but asks what will happen to the white farmers who now occupy the land.

Despite the apparent deadlock, there may be a way out for the demoralised farmers and the Mfengu — who are to launch a Supreme Court action based on an Appeal Court ruling against the state in a similar dispossession case.

Although neither the Department of Agriculture nor that of Land Affairs and Development Aid would discuss the matter on the record, officials sounded hopeful when it was suggested to them that the Mfengu would negotiate.

Compromise

For their part, the Mfengu might accept a compromise involving the return of 2 700ha of land, taken over by the Moravian Church in the late 1950s in obscure circumstances, and a further 2 000ha of their land used by the state for forestry — but only as long as another 4 000ha are found in the vicinity.

Agriculture officials admit some white Tsitsikamma farmers are financially troubled and might sell.

Tsitsikamma Exiles Association executive members agree that such a deal could work. Although a vote would have to be taken before they could speak for their people, individually they are all for the idea. The white farmers are open to working out a deal, perhaps involving selling back to the government some of the undeveloped land on their farms.

Pupils hurt as cops open fire

Call-tips 26/4/01
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Four Whittlesea pupils were reported to have been wounded on Wednesday when Ciskei police fired on them.

Residents said police used live ammunition and sjamboks to disperse pupils who marched to the Sada police station to protest against the detention of four colleagues.

A Ciskei police spokesman said yesterday that the detained pupils had been charged and would appear in court in Whittlesea today.

He did not elaborate on the charges laid, but said the situation in Whittlesea was now under control.

No news is good news to Ciskei

THE Ciskei Council of State has cancelled a government department subscription to a local newspaper — because it doesn't like what the newspaper says about it.

In an statement the Council of State said it had cancelled subscriptions to the *Daily Dispatch* because the newspaper was "not serving its purpose within the government services".

The statement said: "Since the newspaper had displayed a biased attitude to the ruling military government, the government will look at other channels of communication to convey its message."

It added that the military government also felt it was under no obligation to use the paper as a vehicle of communication in the near future.

Daily Dispatch editor Glyn Williams said the newspaper was not biased against Ciskei and that it would always try to get the other side of the story where there were allegations or contentious issues concerning the homeland.

"We send them faxes, we ask them questions. Sometimes we get a response, sometimes we don't," he said.

Williams said he had sympathy for the chairman of the Council of State, Brig Oupa Gqozo, who "has a tough job".

He said the newspaper would continue trying to get responses to questions from the Council of State and he hoped their decision would not make this more difficult.

The statement said government employces "may buy the paper for their personal use". — Ecna



Mr Peter Soal

'Help control spending of SA aid'

Political Staff AUG 18 7/5/91
FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha has been advised to reach transitional agreements with Venda and Transkei to control their spending of South African aid.

Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) told parliament an arrangement made by the South African government with Ciskei recently had been "highly significant."

Ciskei had been on the verge of total collapse when it was agreed that South Africa should appoint the Ciskei's Ministers of Finance, Economic Affairs, State Administration, Justice, Transport, Public Works and Agriculture.

Mr Soal said South Africa should make similar transitional appointments in Venda and Transkei, pending re-incorporation, to ensure aid was properly controlled.

He said President De Klerk had indicated last week that the situation was different in Bophuthatswana which was "doing well" financially.

Mokaba too old for youth league?

CAP 7-17B 10/8/91
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba and half his provisional leadership could find themselves without jobs if the ANC's proposed new constitution is adopted in July — because they are not youthful enough.

The constitution — to be proposed for ratification at the ANC's consultative conference in Durban — states that membership of the league should be open to people between the ages of 14 and 30.

The league's assistant secretary-general, Mr Billy Masethla, said the question of the maximum age was a matter of "strenuous" debate among league and ANC members.

About half the 25-member provisional leadership group was over 30, he said.

Mr Mokaba, whose taste for designer shirts and militant style have made him a high-profile and popular figure among the youth, is 33.

The Youth League's current maximum age is 35, and this age limit would be adhered to until a final decision was taken, Mr Masethla said.

Ciskei children dying of hunger

CAP 7-17B 10/8/91
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Almost 24 000 people in Ciskei's Hewu district are being fed daily by Operation Hunger, yet children there are still dying from malnutrition.

The organisation is feeding 85 000 in the homeland daily and another 60 000 had applied for help, according to the Border regional director of Operation Hunger, Mrs Glynis Baer.

Organisations involved in the region blame South African and Ciskei government incompetence and insensitivity as the cause of the deaths.

"There is no doubt we have a problem," said Dr Vincent Shaw of the paediatric ward at Hewu Hospital, who said 17 children died of kwashiorkor, resulting from long-term malnutrition, in March.

While no accurate figures of the infant mortality rate in the area were available, a survey in Oxton, a village in the district, revealed that 60% of respondents had lost one child or more, while 30% had lost three children or more.

Mrs Baer said the malnutrition problem was exacerbated by a shortage of food and water and by the area's geographic isolation.

● Africa famine warning
— Page 5

Khans and can'ts of petty apartheid

By BRONWYN DAVIDS

APARTHEID is still pecking fit and taking flight in a bird park, a Ravensmead man found while holidaying in the Transvaal.

On Sunday — two weeks into his "very expensive" Transvaal sojourn — Mr Abdulla Khan and his companions visited Hartebeespoort Dam where he was handed a handbill advertising the Makapani Bird Park and Picnic Resort.

Excited by the thought of picnicking to the twitter of 1 000 exotic birds, Mr Khan drove to the spot and was told it was "for whites only".

Mr Khan was told by the manager that the resort was in a "CP and AWB area and the people would not like it if Indians, coloureds and blacks were allowed in".

But an apologetic manager did allow Mr Khan to see the birds — which "I thanked them for".

Mr Khan said he was so disillusioned by the incident that he and his wife packed their bags and cut short their holiday.

The manager could not be reached for comment last night.

'Kei court orders halt to threats

(105) Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Bisho Supreme Court here yesterday granted an interim order restraining Ciskei's Intelligence Unit from threatening and harassing a former Ciskei Defence Force member, Warrant-Officer Vuyo Melane.

WO Melane had brought the application asking that the "servants" of the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, members of the International Research Foundation, be interdicted from threatening him.

He also asked that they be restrained from having any contact with him.

In an affidavit, WO Melane claimed his life had been threatened by Mr Anton Niewoudt, who he said was a member of International Research.

WO Melane said he had been recruited to the unit late last year.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, I am not aware that the Stone Commission's report has been made public. I am aware of certain information pertaining to that report that has been made available to the public, the veracity of which I cannot vouch for. The fact is that I did not release that information officially or unofficially and I do not intend to do so.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is he aware that somebody from somewhere leaked that report to the Press? My second question is this. Is the hon the Minister carrying out an investigation as to the source from which the leak took place?

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am aware that certain aspects of the report have been published in the newspapers. Instructions have been given to the intelligence service of the State to conduct an investigation into how the Stone Committee's report was leaked.

*2 Leader of the Official Opposition—Housing [Question standing over]

Chief executive director's post: short-list

*3 Mr K PANDAY asked the Minister of Education and Culture. 105

- (1) Whether a short-list of candidates for appointment to the post of chief executive director has been finalised, if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it expected to be finalised, if so,
- (2) whether he will disclose the names of the persons on the short-list, if not, why not; if so, who are they,
- (3) (a) by whom and (b) when will the final selection be made?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE D127E

- (1) No
 - (a) The seven candidates who applied, have yet to be assessed
 - (b) The short-list can only be compiled after the candidates have been assessed by a panel of experts
- (2) No, owing to (1) (b) above

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

(3) (a) Cabinet.

- (b) The recommendation of the panel is submitted to me as the political head of the Department. Due to the post being in the management structure of the Public Service a recommendation is made to the Ministers' Council for their concurrence. The Ministers' Council's decision is then submitted to the Commission for Administration for its recommendation to Cabinet. Hence, this procedure makes it impossible to predict a date.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, as the hon the Minister has indicated that this is a Public Service post, is it not correct that the ratings for the purposes of promotions in Public Service posts are not done in the same manner in which promotions are done in terms of the Indians Education Act? My second question is this: If two or more applicants have equal ratings, what are the criteria used to select the successful candidate?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the answer to the first question is no. This is not done in terms of the ratings pertaining to the Indians Education Act, 1965. Secondly, if two people have similar ratings, it is the job of the Directors-General in the House of Delegates to give us that recommendation, and thereafter to implement it. We do not have that particular right and we do not interfere.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is it not correct, when two persons have equal ratings, that the Director-General or the hon the Minister has no alternative but to recommend that the more senior person of the two be appointed?

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if that situation should arise, we will look at it pertinently at that particular time. Since the matter has not arisen, we cannot state what we would do. At that juncture there could—as was the case when the Acting Chief Executive Director was put in this post—be a situation in which a personal promotion is given to the lesser candidate, or the candidate who is less senior in this particular regard. I do not say that this is the case, but many

other interpretations could be made regarding appointment to this particular post

MR RAJAB: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, would the hon the Minister tell this House who will make up the panel of experts he referred to? 105

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the Director-General in the House of Delegates, together with the education chiefs in the other Houses, will make up that panel of experts

Educators: promotions/new appointments

*4 Mr K PANDAY asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

- (1) Whether any educators who were promoted with effect from 1 January 1991 failed to take up their appointments at the schools to which they had been promoted; if so, (a) how many and (b) for what reasons;
- (2) what is the policy of his Department in such cases?

D128E

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) Three
 - (b) Too costly to take up post away from home due to cost of boarding and lodging, cost of fuel required to travel to and from work; spouses serving in another Province, family adversely affected
- (2) Such educators are required to relinquish their post and the vacancies are filled by the next most suitable candidate by way of promotion

However, in very deserving cases and in the interest of the Department, appointments at new headquarters are deferred until the incumbent is in a position to take up his post

Also, in the interest of the parties concerned, wherever possible, applications for mutual transfers have been considered very sympathetically without adversely

affecting the Department's efficient functioning.

THE LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is there any rule or policy that those persons who have just been promoted must serve in that particular school for a minimum period before any transfer application, even as a result of accommodation problems or a request for mutual transfer, could be considered?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, it is the desired policy of my Department that people who have received promotion should generally stay in that position for two years so that they will gain experience in that post before applying for another post. That is a generality, however. In specific circumstances, when the needs of my Department prescribe differently, the situation changes

MR K PANDAY: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, will he agree that it is possible, because of the departure from the normal procedure without—and I want to stress "without"—all educators being aware of this deviation, that the most suitable teachers may not have applied for promotion last year, and that hence all positions filled as at 1 January 1991 are suspect?

THE MINISTER: Mr Chairman, this situation was obtained for the last 15 years. I know that, because my Department conducted a survey. Realistically, everybody has a chance to apply for promotion, if he so desires. If he does not, obviously the opportunity escapes him. Further than that, I cannot answer my learned friend

For written reply

Own Affairs

Certain Departments: cost of administration
21. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services

- (a) What was the cost of administering the Department of (i) the Budget and Auxiliary Services, (ii) Housing, (iii) Education and Culture, (iv) Health Services and Welfare and (v) Agriculture and Local Government in the 1990-91 financial year and (b) how many personnel, including Ministers, were involved in the administration of each such Department?

Ciskei services reportedly near collapse

EAST LONDON — Sections of the Ciskei public service are reportedly near collapse following the dismissal of more than 3 000 civil servants who were on strike last month.

Ciskei's military government has remained silent on the developments in its strike-affected departments. Yesterday spokesmen again did not respond to faxed inquiries.

In Mdantsane, monthly bills for electricity, water and rent have not

been posted to residents since the beginning of the year. (105)

About 1 500 workers had been fired from the Health Department and in the Mdantsane courts, interpreting staff left during the strike. They have reportedly been replaced.

A series of civil servants' strikes in the homeland began last November, fuelled by a demand by public servants for salary parity with their South African counterparts. — Sapa.

TRAVEL Fm 24/5/91 (105)

BISHO'S BACKDOOR

Bisho's international airport, built in 1986 at enormous cost to taxpayers by Ciskei's extravagant former president, Lennox Sebe, may yet come into its own.

Never having had an international aircraft touch down on its tarmac on a scheduled flight, it is about to become the home of a new charter service to London.

Charter Leisure Services, a private company registered in Ciskei, has acquired permission to charter 16 flights between the UK and Ciskei during the peak Christmas season. The flights, beginning early in December, will fly between Bisho's previously unused international airport and Luton 70 km north of London.

The service is intended to offer eastern Cape residents a more direct air route to the UK. Currently, residents have to travel as far as 500 km to the nearest international airport for overseas connections.

Charter Leisure Services chairman Nigel Erskine says the service is long overdue. He expects a heavy demand for tickets, the price of which has been guaranteed at R3 600 for six months for return fares, with reductions for children.

Company director Angela Malia says: "If all goes well, we hope to expand the service on a more permanent basis. There's the whole of Europe. The possibilities are end-

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Continue →

Fm

24/5/91

(105)

less"

The new service has been able to squeeze in through the backdoor because Ciskei is outside of South African Airway's jurisdiction. Previous attempts to establish similar charter services have failed because of SAA's monopoly of international routes and stringent government regulations.

In terms of the Air Services Act, a charter flight on an existing route is permitted only where SAA and its pool partners cannot offer a "satisfactory service" This seldom arises as SAA and its pool partners are generally perceived to be offering a satisfactory service relative to existing demand. The situation is further complicated by another regulation that prevents charter services from picking up SA passengers.

In this instance, the Department of Civil Aviation merely had to approve overflying rights in SA airspace. This did not stop SAA from contesting Charter Leisure Services' application though. Informed sources say SAA was concerned about the origin of passengers (mostly South Africans from Port Elizabeth and East London) but was told to refer the matter to the Department of Foreign Affairs. Foreign Affairs was adamant — Ciskei is an independent country.

The Ciskei government hopes the new venture will attract foreign capital. Brigadier Oupa Gqozo must be relieved that Bisho international airport may finally be put to good use. To date, the only planes to have used it are those belonging to the Ciskei Defence Force and a few private businessmen.

Funds for the venture are being put up by Erskine, a former director and shareholder of John Swain, a private British printing firm taken over by the Wace Group in 1989. And while neither Erskine nor any of his directors appear to have had any previous experience in the travel industry, Erskine promises that the public's money will be well looked after.

"A trust account has been opened with the Standard Bank and will be jointly administered by Hutton & Cook, a firm of attorneys, and KPMG Aiken & Peat, which, in turn, will audit the account and make all payments," he says.

Tickets will be available from Charter Leisure Services and travel agents.

Ciskei party on the cards?

(105) C/Prens 26/5/91

CISKEI military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, is apparently attempting to establish a political party.

A source who declined to be named said workers at a government printing firm in the homeland had witnessed the "massive production" of membership cards for the Ciskei Freedom Party (CFP). The cards were printed in black, green and gold.

In Ilitha, near Berlin, a government official is alleged to have disbanded the local civic organisation and urged residents to join the CFP.

Gqozo has clashed with chiefs and headmen in the past over the authenticity of their positions.

It is also believed that pensions are to be increased as a bribe. An Mdantsane pensioner confirmed she had been promised an increase of R150.

Border Civic Congress publicity secretary Richard Gantolo said: "Ciskei has been working hand in hand with KwaZulu and they are planning to use this new party as a tool to secure a seat at the new South Africa negotiating table." Elnews

Ciskei blamed for attacks on ANC

Sowetan 29/5/91

105

THE Border region of the ANC has called an urgent meeting to discuss threats against the organisation's members and the attack on its vice-chairman's house.

The house of Mr Smuts Ngonyama in Dimbaza was attacked early yesterday by a gunman apparently using an R5 rifle.

Ngonyama said there were growing threats of violence against the ANC, posed by special military units operating both in Ciskei and South Africa.

"There have been threats against Border's ANC chairman, the Rev Arnold Stofile. So, in the light of that, I rather expected this attack on me."

Windows

The attack shattered windows and damaged furniture but nobody was injured.

Ngonyama blamed Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for setting the tone for such incidents by launching

verbal attacks on both the ANC and church groups.

"I am also the organising secretary of the Border Council of Churches," he said.

Ngonyama said attempts were being made to introduce violence to the Border region in an effort to "neutralise" the role the ANC was playing in the area.

"There are forces working against the climate of peace and justice we are trying to create in this area," he said.

AK47s used in Ciskei

The Argus Correspondent

BISHO. — AK 47s, like the ones used in the shooting of alleged Ciskei rebels Mr Charles Sebe and Mr Onward Guzana, were generally used only by special forces like Koevoet, the inquest on the two men has heard.

This was said by a South African ballistics expert, Warrant Officer Burger Kloppers, under cross-examination yesterday by counsel for the families of the two men.

Warrant Officer Kloppers said he had found a spent AK 47 cartridge inside a car. The red car the two were travelling in had 17 bullet holes on the driver's side and 14 holes on the passenger side. The front of the car was not damaged.

He disputed reports that Mr Sebe was shot while naked. His long-sleeved shirt had two bullet holes and his T-shirt had four bullet holes that corresponded with wounds in his body, he said.

There had been accounts from villagers who said Mr

Sebe had been told to strip and lie on the ground, and then shot. These reports were published in the Press at the time, but Warrant Officer Kloppers said there was no evidence that Mr Sebe was shot while lying down.

Mr Guzana, formerly a member of Ciskei's ruling military council, and Mr Sebe, the territory's chief of state security under President Lennox Sebe, died in late January.

They were stopped at a roadblock, where Mr Guzana died. Mr Sebe reportedly escaped, but was later found and shot near Stutterheim.

The Ciskei government afterwards said they had been on a mission to overthrow it, but this was disputed by their families. Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was quoted as saying he had given instructions to "seek and destroy" Mr Sebe on sight.

There were later claims that the deaths had been engineered by a secret Ciskei unit which lured the two men to their deaths.

ARGUS 5/10/91

Fired minister 'had already resigned'

CT 7/6/91 Own Correspondent (165)

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's fired Minister of Justice, Mr Keith Matthee, had resigned from his Constitutional Development portfolio almost two weeks before his dismissal on Wednesday, it emerged yesterday.

Sources in Ciskei disclosed that Mr Matthee had resigned after a speech made by the military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, in Bloemfontein, in which the brigadier had slated the ANC and the churches.

Mr Matthee was appointed Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development earlier this year. He and the former Minister of Works, Mr H Salie, were appointed jointly by Ciskei and South Africa to their ministerial posts.

Ciskei fired both men on Wednesday.

The National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) said the dismissals signalled the end for the Ciskei government.

The government was "in tatters", with council of state members at loggerheads and divided on many issues, Nehawu said.

Ciskei confrontation looms

TENSION is rising in the Ciskei as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government and the ANC move closer to direct confrontation.

Key demands in the consumer boycott launched by the ANC in the Border region this week are the resignation of Gqozo and the dismantling of the Ciskei.

While the boycott appears to be generally effective, Gqozo is showing no inclination to step down. On the contrary, there have been persistent rumours he is setting up his own party, the Ciskei Freedom Party (CFP), to establish a support base to pit himself against the ANC.

In a related move, Gqozo has begun reinstalling chiefs he deposed when he first came to power early last year.

This is seen as a move against local residents' associations, mostly ANC-aligned, which took over local government functions when the chiefs and headmen were deposed.

It seems Gqozo's attempt to build an organisational base is directed primarily at the rural areas, where the ANC alliance is weaker than in the cities.

There are fears the CFP might cause violence to be imported into the region. *C (Press 9/6/91)*

Fears of hit squad activities directed at the regional ANC increased when the house of the ANC's Border vice-chairman, Smuts Ngonyama, was attacked last week-end.

The consumer boycott was announced last week and began in centres throughout the region on Monday. It is the first time the entire region has embarked on a co-ordinated consumer boycott.

Several demands centre on regional issues. They include the lifting of the curfew in Whittlesea and the reinstatement of all dismissed Ciskei civil servants.

The ANC also demanded that Gqozo resign and that Ciskei be reincorporated into South Africa "through a proper

process of consultation with mass-based organisations and with the popular mandate of the Ciskei people". **105**

The Ciskei imposed a curfew in the Whittlesea area after clashes between students and security forces.

The ANC Youth League in the area has been defying the curfew regulations.

So far, 11 people have been arrested as a result.

There have been reports of attempts, primarily in rural areas, to recruit members for the party and reports of party cards in black, green and gold being printed in Dimbaza.

The colours are, of course, those of the ANC and Inkatha, and there have been accusations that the CFP shares more than a similar name with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Inkatha has denied any connection with the CFP, but Gqozo is known to have great sympathies for Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. — Ecna

New ministers for Ciskei 105

EAST LONDON. — The South African and Ciskei governments could be expected jointly to appoint new ministers to the homeland's recently vacated portfolios, SA ambassador to Ciskei Mr Pieter Goosen said yesterday. CIT #16191.

This comes after last week's sacking by the Ciskei government of its minister of justice, Mr Keith Mathee, and minister of works, Mr H Salie. — Sapa

AKS used in Sebe shooting

South 6/6-12/6/91

105

From Phila Ngqumba
Bisho

AK47s like those used in the shooting of alleged Ciskei rebels Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana in January were generally used only by special forces like Koevoet, the inquest into the deaths of the two men heard here on Tuesday.

A South African ballistics expert, Warrant Officer Burger Kloppers, said under cross-examination by

counsel for the families of the two men, Mr Deva Pillay, he had found a spent AK47 cartridge inside the car in which the two were travelling.

The car had 17 bullet holes on the driver's side and 14 on the passenger side. Kloppers disputed reports that Sebe was shot while naked. His long-sleeved shirt had two bullet holes and his T-shirt had four bullet holes that corresponded with wounds in his body, he said.

There had been accounts from villagers who said Sebe had been told to strip and lie on the ground, and then shot. Guzana, formerly a member of Ciskei's ruling military council, and Sebe, the territory's chief of state security under President Lennox Sebe, died in late January.

They were stopped at a roadblock where Guzana died. Sebe reportedly escaped, but was later found and shot near Stutterheim. The Ciskei government afterwards said they had been on a mission to overthrow it, but this was disputed by their families. — VERTAS



CISKEI MILITARY COMMANDERS: From left, brigadier Oupa Gqoza, colonel Onward Guzana and commandant S Pita

Tensions (105)

rise in Ciskei

7/6 - 13/6/91
TENSION was rising in the Ciskei this week as the government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the ANC moved closer to direct confrontation.

Key demands in a consumer boycott launched by the ANC in the Border region on Monday are Gqozo's resignation and the dismantling of the Ciskei.

While the boycott appeared to be generally effective, Gqozo showed no inclination to step down. Rumours persist that he is setting up his own party, the Ciskei Freedom Party, and he has begun reinstalling regional chiefs he deposed when he came to power early last year.

This is seen as a move against local residents' associations, mostly ANC-aligned, who took over regional government functions when the chiefs were deposed.

The ANC's demands include the lifting of the curfew in Whittlesea — Ecca

Sebe inquest seeks Gqozo tapes

THE SABC was this week requested to provide the Ciskei Supreme Court with all its recorded interviews with Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Ciskei's Acting Chief Judge Claassens made the request during an inquest into the deaths of former Ciskei security police chief, Charles Sebe, and Colonel Onward Guzana, a former member of the Ciskei military council.

Sebe and Guzana were killed earlier this year during an alleged coup attempt.

Guzana was shot dead at a roadblock, from which Sebe escaped to the nearby village of Gubevu where he was shot dead the next day.

Radio Ciskei was earlier ordered to hand over tapes of an interview in which it is alleged Gqozo admitted "giving instructions for the two men to be killed, as he had information they were coming to stage a coup".

Gqozo allegedly also told the SABC he had ordered his soldiers to "seek and destroy Sebe on sight".

A corporal in the Ciskei Defence Force, Themba Matyobeni, told the inquest he was among the contingent of soldiers manning the roadblock at which Guzana was shot dead on the night of January 27.

Matyobeni said the soldiers were earlier briefed by a Colonel Mteti to "be on the lookout for a red Jetta car with an

SW registration".

He said Colonel Mteti informed them who the occupants would be and that they "posed a threat to the government".

Matyobeni said the car approached the roadblock as expected but then failed to stop. He said shots were fired from the car "leaving us soldiers with no alternative" but to fire in self-defence.

He acknowledged that the shooting carried on even after their commander, Lt M Mguzulwa, had ordered them to stop.

Matyobeni said Mguzulwa ordered that the car be surrounded and searched. Guzana's body and two firearms were found inside the car. The other occupant had escaped.

He denied that Guzana had been shot at close range after the car had stopped.

Last week pathologist Dr Leon Wagner told the inquest it was "impossible for Guzana to have sustained the bullet wounds while driving through a roadblock, due to the angle at which they were inflicted".

Wagner told the court two bullet wounds in Guzana's head were "contact" wounds - inflicted with the weapon's muzzle pressed against the skin.

The inquest has been postponed to a date in September. - Veritas

105

11/9/97
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1971

TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1972

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
Non recoverable financial assistance	7 134 183	1 200 522	—
Relief of distress	—	—	—
Special Job creation	2 479 372	2 095 036	—
TOTAL	302 956 807	357 860 436	444 540 646

B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS

Tax compensation	10 322 361	12 621 392	16 000 000
Customs union	86 653 000	90 390 000	99 580 000
Common monetary area	2 601 173	3 559 250	4 335 067
TOTAL	99 576 534	106 570 642	119 915 067

C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)

	11 344 730	27 058 928	15 078 000
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D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE

Manpower provision	11 551 110	14 549 855	10 964 806
Flour subsidy	1 762 451	1 130 893	921 744
Technical assistance	928 541	545 222	197 296
Salaries of Judges	191 541	401 041	204 729
TOTAL	14 433 643	16 627 011	12 288 575

GRAND TOTAL

	428 311 714	508 117 017	591 822 288
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* 1) Actual expenditure

** 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

1973

TUESDAY, 18 JUNE 1991

1974

SCHEDULE 4

AID TO CISKEI

	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
	R	R	R

A. DIRECT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Budgetary Aid	384 930 928	440 033 134	561 934 117
Incentive scheme for industries	31 310 570	16 098 888	35 324 135
Non recoverable financial assistance	99 278	—	—
Relief of distress	—	—	—
Special Job creation	6 457 660	4 995 317	—
TOTAL	422 798 436	461 127 339	597 258 252

B. TRANSFER PAYMENTS

Tax compensation	33 141 862	40 523 332	53 000 000
Customs union	180 489 000	221 776 000	265 989 000
Common monetary area	4 794 133	6 561 400	7 993 440
TOTAL	218 424 995	268 860 732	326 982 440

C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)

	11 544 730	20 359 114	11 649 000
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D. TECHNICAL AND OTHER ASSISTANCE

Manpower provision	17 570 022	17 112 280	13 786 329
Flour subsidy	454 378	322 036	117 755
Technical assistance	432 276	573 049	473 421
Salaries of Judges	345 508	726 976	382 505
TOTAL	18 802 184	18 734 341	14 760 010

GRAND TOTAL

	671 570 345	769 081 526	950 649 702
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* 1) Actual expenditure

** 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:

Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Desai ejected from Ciskei radio HQ - PAC

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN
PAC publicity and information secretary Barney Desai was allegedly forcibly removed by Ciskei soldiers on Sunday from the Radio Ciskei headquarters while he was being interviewed for a programme.

The PAC office in King William's Town said in a statement yesterday that Mr Desai, a lawyer, had agreed to an exclusive interview on his life with the organisation which he joined in 1960 before attending a June 16 rally to commemorate the 1976 Soweto uprising.

Comrade Barney was hardily 10 minutes into the hour-long programme when Ciskei soldiers, accompanied by one of the station's workers, stormed into the studio.

With a very hostile attitude, and shouting obscenities, they chucked both Barney Desai and his regional publicity and information secretary in the Border area, Zamikhaya Gxabu, out of the studio and off the station's premises.

PAC officials (later) confronted Ciskei Foreign Affairs Minister Sam Manzi, who was visibly shocked.

After phone calls to other officials, he apologised to Mr Desai and the PAC, and assured them the incident would be investigated thoroughly. — Sapa

ROW OVER Ciskei's new law

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Lawyers have condemned a recently gazetted amendment to Ciskei's "notorious" indemnity legislation, which under certain circumstances renders the state un-touchable in terms of civil and criminal law.

As amended, the laws would deprive the individual of the right to challenge arbitrary actions and the abuse of state power by public officials, National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) national secretary Mr John Smith said yesterday.

A regional director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Thomas Smit, said yesterday that it was clear the indemnity laws achieved the purpose of placing political figures and members of state above the law.

The original decree was promulgated less than two months after a military coup last March.

It indemnified the government, the Council of State, the Ciskei Defence Force, the police and civil servants in respect of certain "actions".

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(105)

Breakthrough in Ciskei law

Wimant 14/6-20/6 '91
Weekly Mail Reporter

IN A major breakthrough for trade unions, Ciskei has amended its labour decree to include workers on farms, domestic and small business employees, and provide for a novel industrial court system.

Praising the developments, labour lawyer Amanda Armstrong said South Africa could learn from the Ciskeian model.

The latest amendments remedy key defects in the decree, the product of negotiations between the Congress of South African Trade Unions, employers and the government in the wake of last year's military coup.

Cosatu has also secured the incorporation of domestic, farm and small business workers in Ciskei's Conditions of Employment Act. Most South African statutes still exclude farm and domestic labour.

The decree outstrips South Africa in another vital respect: it provides for the election of a panel of independent adjudicators and presiding officers by the unions and the Ciskei Chamber of Commerce.

Civil servants remain excluded from the legislation, but negotiations with the Ciskei government are continuing.

In Bophuthatswana, talks between Cosatu and a cabinet committee last week on the homeland's Industrial Conciliation Act, which bans "foreign" unions, made some progress towards an accommodation. A joint statement said changes were planned to the Act, that Cosatu would be able to study proposals and that a joint working committee would be set up "to discuss matters relating to the proposed legislation".

However conflict is looming over Cosatu's organising drive in the homeland, which it officially launched in Babelegi recently.

Bophuthatswana Secretary for Labour Herbert Moloantoa said it was "in Cosatu's interest" to suspend organising. Cosatu regional secretary Donsie Khumalo, however, stressed that organising would continue "within the context of Bophuthatswana's Industrial Conciliation Act".

Khumalo also revealed that Venda and kwaNdebele had drafted labour legislation which substantially met Cosatu standards. Venda's legislation, already promulgated, included all public sector workers except the police.

Both Lebowa and Gazankulu aimed to adopt South Africa's amended Labour Relations Act but with additional provisions which included farm, domestic and public sector workers, he said.

Darmag in solid showing

o. Day
28/6/91 **MARC HASENFUSS** *(105)*
CISKEIAN rubber and plastic producer Darmag has bounced back, reporting a 167% increase in earnings a share for the year to end-March 1991.

Earnings rocketed to R2m (R728 000 for 13 months to March 1990) or 8,8c (3,3c) a share, enabling the group to reward shareholders with a 2c dividend — the first payout in two years.

Directors said that while the removal of loss-making operations assisted the turnaround, the improved results were due mainly to the success of Darmag's reduction in overheads and operating expenses.

Although turnover was static at R26m, vastly improved margins at 12% (5,6%) and a hefty decrease in interest paid to R980 000 (R1,2m) aided the bottom line.

Directors said a restriction on capital spending and control over working capital resulted in better plant and equipment utilisation. Long-term loans were cut.

Darmag's business remains dependent on the level of activity of the lead acid battery industry.

Ciskei will 'keep to release plans'

ARG 29/6/91

(105)

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei is ready to adhere to South African agreements on the release of political prisoners, Lawyers for Human Rights said this week.

A statement from LHR said it had been told by Ciskei Minister of Police, Prisons and Traffic, Lieutenant-General Zebulon Makuzeni, that "the spirit of the agreement between the Republic of South Africa and the African National Congress in respect of the release of (political prisoners) will be adhered to".

It was impossible to obtain comment from the Ciskei itself, which some time ago stopped responding to almost all media inquiries.

However, since the Ciskei some months ago signed over to the SA Government the right to veto key appointments to its cabinet, it seems likely that it will fall in line with South African positions on the question.

According to the ANC, there are eight political prisoners in the Ciskei. — Eena.

BY CLAIRE KEELTON: East London
ALMOST 100 percent of pigs in the Ciskei are infected with a tapeworm which can cause brain disease in humans, according to Dr Jack Thorn, the only neurologist in the Border region.

He said the disease was the most common cause of epilepsy in the Ciskei and surrounding area.

While the disease — cysticercosis — has virtually disappeared from developed countries, it is widespread in countries where most of the population live in poor socio-economic conditions like South Africa and Mexico.

"There is a high incidence throughout South Africa, particularly in the so-called homelands and more rural areas, where people normally keep pigs," said Thorn.

He said in the Ciskei he had seen a six-month-old baby with cysticercosis, a 13-year old girl from Mdamtsane who

Ciskei pigs present health risk

was totally brain-dead and a man from Peddie who was psychotic.

"I have seen more cysticercosis in a week here than 10 years in the city."

However, he said, he could not make a proper comparison as in Cape Town he worked in private practice while in the Ciskei he works for the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital.

Thorn said: "I see between five and 10 new cases of epilepsy a week and around 50 percent of these cases will probably have cysticercosis."

Although people infected with the disease may seem healthy and have no symptoms they could be severely affected, becoming acutely ill and even brain damaged.

"It is so distressing to see young chil-

dren irreparably, profoundly brain damaged with cysticercosis as it is a preventable condition."

In addition to the health hazard, Thorn said the social implications were profound: "People's lives are affected by this disease. Children lose out on schooling and adults may lose their jobs. For example, a heavy duty truck driver would lose his job if he became epileptic."

The head of paediatrics at Cecilia Makiwane, Dr Dave Power, said his department had seen 42 children with cysticercosis in the last nine months.

Dr Charlie Miller, who works with children at SS Gida Hospital at Keiskammahook, said seven out of eight children scanned towards the end of

last year and the beginning of this year had the disease.

Both Thorn and Power said it was likely many more adults and children had the disease than were known about, although it was easier to diagnose because there was a brain scanner at Cecilia Makiwane.

The doctors often only discovered the disease by chance, when people came to hospital with another complaint. Many people who had it never went to hospital because they felt healthy.

A computer scan of the brain will show cysticercosis in the early stages, while skull X-rays will show the calcified lesions in the brain that are present in the latter stages and cause epilepsy. Cysticercus lives in pigs and is ingested

when people eat undercooked pork or badly cured bacon. It matures into a tapeworm in the gut.

Thorn said the adult tapeworm was benign and could be safely treated with a drug. "However, the mature tapeworm lays thousands of eggs in the tail segment which are excreted in human faeces.

"If the eggs are ingested through poor hygiene and faecal contamination, they change into cysticerci and invade the body," he said.

The cysticerci spread to the muscles and in the Ciskei are commonly seen in the brain. The whole cycle may take months before it is complete.

When it dies it releases toxins which can cause local inflammation. The base of the brain, the lining of the brain or the ventricles may become inflamed, any of which can cause complications endangering the health of the person.

105
317/91
Ciskei Justice appointment

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei military government has appointed Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's deputy, Commandant Sipiwo Silence Pita, as Minister of Justice.

Commandant Pita (35) replaces Keith Matthee, an advocate who was dismissed together with the Minister of Works and Posts, H R L Salie.

The new Justice Minister is one of the four military officers who constituted the first executive

committee of the Ciskei Council of State after last year's bloodless coup that ousted the government of Lennox Sebe.

The others were Colonel Mangwane; Onward Guzana, who was shot dead in February at a roadblock, and Major Peter Hauser, who has returned to his native Austria.

Commandant Pita, a commander of One Ciskei Battalion, is from Middledrift. — Sapa.

Apartheid is not dead or even ill

S/Times 7/7/91

105

BANNER headlines celebrated the death of apartheid recently after the demise of the Population Registration Act.

At the same time, however, we read about the construction of new parliament buildings in Mmabatho, the mass dismissal of recalcitrant civil servants in the Ciskei and the proposed execution of two condemned prisoners in Bophuthatswana.

It is here, in the "independent" offspring of apartheid, that the anomaly of the new South Africa comes home to us. Despite the fact that the independence of these areas is only recognised by the government of South Africa and a couple of friendly military dictatorships elsewhere in the world, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President Lucas Mangope continue to exert control over the lives of their "citizens".

If the question of the "homelands" is not addressed by those involved in the negotiation process, moves towards a just and democratic dispensation in our country will fail.

In the light of this, it is perhaps appropriate to look more closely at the human rights records of the people currently enjoying power in some of these areas — I have taken the Ciskei as a case in point.

BRIAN CURRIN, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, finds the legacy of apartheid alive and well in Ciskei

The March 1990 coup in the Ciskei heralded a welcome end to the repressive rule of Mr Lennox Sebe. There was some pressure on the new ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, to ensure that the atrocities committed under the old regime would be eliminated.

Initially, the future of the Ciskei looked promising as Brigadier Gqozo, on the face of it, appeared to be actively promoting regional stability. The elimination of forced removals, the abolition of the death penalty and the open consultative policy adopted by the government indicated some measure of commitment to human rights.

Recent events in the Ciskei have raised serious concerns about that government's commitment to a human rights culture

Brigadier Gqozo continues to make use of his curiously named International Researchers, a covert military hit squad, despite their recent exposure. Threats of extra-judicial execution, imposition of a minimum 10-year prison sentence for participants in the Border consumer boycott, detentions without trial, and inaction in dealing with victims of drought and famine are further examples of the countless incidents of blatant human rights abuse.

Political activists in the area live in fear of their lives, as abductions and attacks on their homes become the order of the day. The syndrome of the "disappeared", for so long a feature of political struggles in South America, is now the experience of those living in the Border and Ciskei regions.

Recent events, on many different levels, demonstrate quite clearly the repressive nature of the Gqozo regime. The recent attack on the house of the vice-president of the Border region of the ANC, Smuts Ngonyana; the abduction, on the night of March 5 1991, of Nokhanyo Kleinbooi, the wife of a Ciskeian Defence Force dissident; the introduction of a mandatory five-year prison sentence for any violation of Gqozo's

"dignity"; the roadblock death of his former second-in-command, Colonel Onward Guzana, following three periods of detention without trial, the suspension, by Gqozo, of the Jardine Commission of Inquiry into corruption in the Ciskei.

As a result of Brigadier Gqozo's flagrant disregard for human rights in the region and the destructive and destabilising role which he now plays, Lawyers for Human Rights in the Border region has called for his immediate resignation.

The Ciskei remains, in the mind of most civilised nations, an intrinsic part of South Africa. That the South African government, which has ostensibly committed itself to political negotiation and an end to repressive legislation, not only observes but also supports those committing the atrocities detailed above, is reason to question its commitment to the abolition of apartheid.

Until we see the demise of the ethos and practice of separate development, which has given our country hundreds of borders and a myriad of parliament buildings, we cannot begin to say that apartheid is actually ailing, never mind dead.

No cash for care centre

CIP news 7/7/91

105

THE former Nontsapho Cripple Care Centre is struggling to gain popular support after years of being associated with the regime of ousted president Lennox Sebe.

It was named after Virginia Nontsapho Sebe, the homeland's former First Lady, and relied heavily on "donations" extracted from unwilling Ciskeians.

The centre has been renamed Enoch Sontonga Rehabilitation Centre after the celebrated composer of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, and is trying to shed its past associations with the Sebe regime.

But now that Sebe has gone, people who felt obliged to pay R2 a month towards the centre are no longer willing to do so.

This has meant a dramatic decrease in revenue for the project. Last year's donation to the centre was R2 000 - as opposed to the R50 000 to R80 000 previously obtained through donations.

Involuntary donations were a R2 "fee" collected in each government department and in residential areas.

During Sebe's time, the centre also attracted enormous donations from businessmen inside and outside the homeland. It also enjoyed an annual government grant.

The present government has increased this grant, but the project is still struggling to survive financially.

Centre director Nomandla Molefe said the project was established in 1985

Since then, it had trained 208 people. Of these, 97 were working in

factories at Dimbaza and Fort Jackson

Currently there are 45 students, who are taught weaving, knitting, carpentry and joinery, said Molefe. There was no shop to sell its products, but the centre planned to set up a bazaar.

At Sontonga, there is a space problem, but two four-room timber houses are at present being built to ease congestion.

The sewing class is so overcrowded that only a few students can be taught at a time, while others have to sit idly by. The same situation exists in the carpentry class. Storage, woodcutting and display are in one congested building.

Plumbing instructor Hamilton Jobo said: "Our problem is that we have no workshops. For woodwork we need a powershop, sprayshop for finishing, a workshop and a stall."

Besides the association with the Sebe regime, there is also general apathy toward the problems of the disabled.

"I do not know whether it is our upbringing, but it is mostly whites who are concerned about disabled people," said Molefe.

"Initially we were helped by social workers to identify disabled people and prospective students for the centre. This year, our instructors had to go up and down looking for disabled people. Social workers no longer help. They see this as extra work.

"We cannot do anything without the support of the community," said Molefe. - Elnews

New party to be 'closed to communists'

(105) ALC 9/7/91
The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has launched a new political party, the African Democratic Movement which will be open to everyone except communists.

Brigadier Gqozo, the newly-elected interim leader of the ADM, said the movement would ensure those who wanted to destroy Ciskei were removed from positions of power.

"We are going to clean up Ciskei," he said.

The announcement of the formation of the ADM, at the House of Assembly in Bisho yesterday, put to rest a month-old rumour that Brigadier Gqozo was preparing to launch an Inkatha-linked "Ciskei Freedom Party".

Brigadier Gqozo said the ADM rejected "a unitary state and nationalisation because it is dictatorial and not democratic".

Ciskei party for silent majority ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

BISHO — The newly formed African Democratic Movement believes there is no other political movement that represents the silent majority of southern Africa on a realistic and moderate basis.

Speaking at the official announcement of the formation of the ADM yesterday, the chairman of the Ciskei Council of State, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo,

said the ADM rejected a unitary state and nationalisation.

Brigadier Gqozo — the "elected leader" of the ADM — said no single party or movement could claim the right to be the sole representative of the majority.

The ADM would accommodate all peace-loving people who did not wish to be intimi-

dated or involved in violence.

The brigadier said the ADM supported the unity of people through the common objectives and core values of the freedom of association, religion, responsible freedom of speech, a free economy, a bill of rights, an independent judicial system, and the right to equal opportunities and education. — Sapa.

Star 12/7/91

Ciskei 'condemned to servitude'

By Thabo Leshilo 105

The South African Government had reneged on its commitments to Ciskei and had condemned it to a state of financial servitude, the homeland's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, claimed last night in a scathing speech.

Addressing a South African Institute of Race Relations briefing in Johannesburg, Brigadier Gqozo said Ciskei had to be reincorporated into a federal South Africa if it were to become viable and prosperous.

He said South Africa had reneged on the three cardinal principles spelt out in the report governing the independence of Ciskei.

The principles were, according to the brigadier, that:

- Ciskei should not be made "worse off" by independent status.
- The new state would be provided with all the necessary infrastructure required of a sovereign state.
- It would share equitably in the "commonwealth" resources of the Greater southern Africa.

"To us, the credibility of the SA Government is at stake. And it is that lack of credibility that



Brigadier Gqozo.

makes us uneasy bedfellows with the new SA."

Brigadier Gqozo said that when Ciskei assumed independence, SA had arranged, through its Parliament, for the enactment of a "Financial Arrangements Bill" which set down an amount as the budgetary provision which Ciskei would receive from the SA commonwealth.

"No provision was made for escalation of inflationary factors. No provision was made for any indexing or loss of foreign exchange value to the rand," the brigadier charged.

Describing the Ciskei situation as a "paradox", he said the people of Ciskei were given "so-called independence" for which they were expected to be grateful, whereas they

were actually being condemned to a state of perpetual servitude.

"Budgeting allocation comes in dribs and drabs. When it suits them, we are independent, making it difficult to plan. We are told to sort out our problems. We are controlled paternalistically when we advance projects."

Ciskei was an integral part of SA and reincorporation was essential if the homeland were to be prosperous and viable.

The Ciskei government would, therefore, favour a federal state that promoted self-determination through broad-based consultation in the new South Africa.

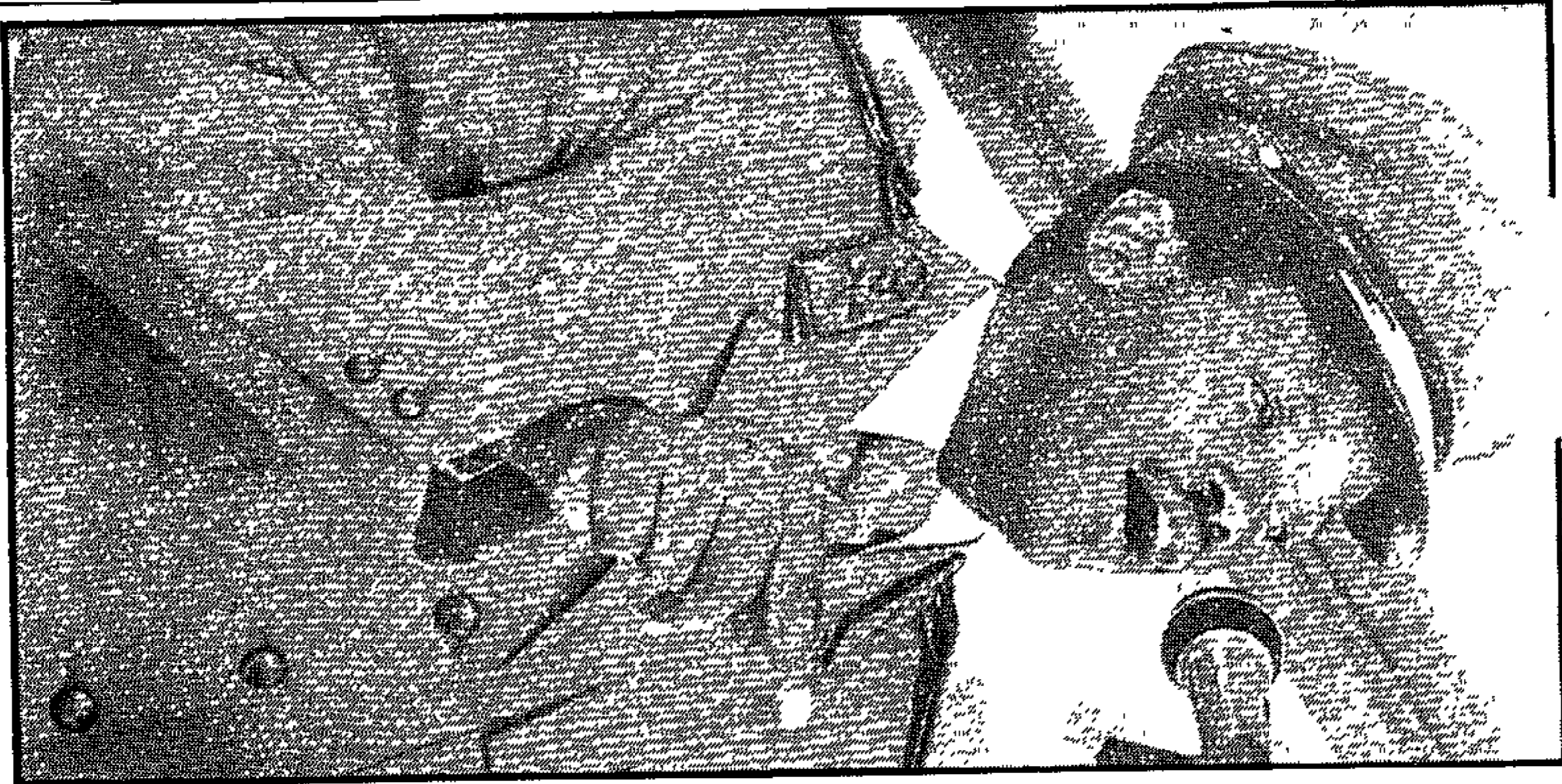
He denied allegations by Lawyers for Human Rights of human rights violations by his government, saying the organisation was guilty of "grossly misleading and inaccurate propaganda" from the ANC and should change its name to "Lawyers for ANC Human Rights".

He said the newly formed African Democratic Movement, of which he is chairman, would cater for the needs of "those who do not want to toyi-toyi and jump around raising flags and AK-47s".

Party time in Ciskei!

14/1/91

105



UNIFORM POLITICS ... Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo launches his new party.

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo this week launched a new political party, the African Democratic Movement (ADM), which he said would be open to everyone except communists.

The move was criticised by the ANC which said the launch came at a time when the brigadier was prohibiting mention of opposition politics on Ciskei's airwaves and threatening to ban organisations.

The DP said it had a problem with a political party representing a military government at the negotiating table.

Gqozo, introduced as the "newly-elected interim leader" of the ADM, told a crowd at the launch that the ADM would ensure those who wanted to destroy Ciskei were removed from positions of power. "We are going to clean up Ciskei," he said.

The announcement of the formation of the ADM at the Ciskei House of Assembly in Bisho put to rest a month-old rumour that Gqozo was preparing to launch an Inkatha-linked "Ciskei Freedom Party".

Ciskei Foreign Minister MS Manzi told the assembled crowd: "We are witnessing a decline in moral values and it is time to say no!"

Speakers were at pains to explain that the choice of Gqozo as leader was their's and not his.

Referring to ANC-aligned groups in the region, the chief organiser of the founding committee, VW Mati, said: "When they

talked of the Ciskei Freedom Party they were heating our foot-steps."

Elderly AB Hlahoya, of the ADM's adult's section, said: "As an old man I have endured pain and felt thorns in the flesh. We are terrorised by kids. My own grandchildren are meeting out corporal punishment to us. Our things have been broken. Mdantsane is like a varkhok"

Gqozo said the party rejected a unitary state and nationalisation because they were "dictatorial" principles

He said: "The ADM ... believes that there is no other political movement that represents the majority on a realistic and moderate basis.

"The ADM will accommodate all peace loving people who do not wish to be intimidated or involved in violence."

He said the new movement was against the armed struggle.

"These are words forced on us by Soviet and communist ideologies. We will not be dictated to by foreigners, with their transparent double agendas, on how to conduct our African lives."

He said the movement supported:

- Freedom of association;
 - Freedom of religion;
 - "Responsible" freedom of speech;
 - Freedom of economy;
 - A bill of rights;
 - An independent judiciary; and
 - The right to equal opportunity and education.
- ANC Border region informa-

tion officer Marion Sparg said: "We are strong reservations about a political party sponsored by a homeland military government.

"The launch of this political party by an individual as problematic as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo can only add to the already tense situation in Ciskei and Border region."

She said fears expressed by the organisation in the past were "well grounded in the light of new regulations regarding Radio Ciskei" - in terms of which no mention can be made of liberation movements like the ANC, PAC and others on the airwaves - and also in terms of Brigadier Gqozo's stated intention to ban the civic structures in Ciskei

She said these moves were taking place when the ANC had reaffirmed a commitment to political tolerance at its recent conference.

Democratic Party MP for Albany, Errol Moorcraft, said that peaceful means of resolving problems in Ciskei were welcome and that he hoped the launching of the new party meant a return to civilian rule.

However, he said the DP had problems with a party that would represent the Ciskei military government at the negotiation table.

"We would like to see Ciskei return to a civilian government immediately. We are not comfortable with a military government at all."

The PAC and Azapo were unavailable for comment - Verias and Elnews.

Return Mfengu land, ^{Star 16/7/91} Tutu urges De Klerk ¹⁰⁵

By Jo-Anne Collinge

"that we feel deep in our turn-tums that we've not in fact been screwed".

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday spent 90 minutes with President de Klerk arguing for the return of land to the Mfengu community of the Tsitsikama area who were removed to Ciskei at gunpoint in 1977.

He emerged from the Union Buildings with Bishop Bruce Evans of Port Elizabeth, members of the Tsitsikama Exile Association and their legal representatives, declaring: "In this case of removal I am very deeply personally involved because I am also an Mfengu."

Archbishop Tutu had suggested that the Government meet those communities that had been affected and allow them to make proposals so that solutions were not unilateral.

People were not unreasonable, he said. They wanted equitable solutions so that they could feel justice had been done.

The new land laws empowered the State President to make land allocations of the kind needed to redress the Mfengu case, he said.

Archbishop Tutu believed the delegation had received a "very sympathetic hearing" from the State President and two deputy Ministers. He noted with satisfaction that Mr de Klerk had described himself as "solution-oriented".

Thobile Makhamba of the Tsitsikama Exile Association pointed out that the Mfengu had made many fruitless representations in the past and felt it was up to the present Government to solve the problem.

He said the community had numbered about 500 families at the time of removal. Since then 75 percent of their land had been sold to white farmers and the remainder retained by the South African Development Trust.

The delegation had pursued moral arguments, based on the fact that the land had been placed in trust for the community some 150 years ago, legal arguments, which challenged the validity of the transfer of the land to 19 white farmers, and arguments highlighting the community's hardship since 1977 and the sheer violence of the removal.

A statement issued by Mr de Klerk's office said he had been assisted by Deputy Minister of Development Aid Piet Marais and Deputy Minister of Agriculture Tobie Meyer.

While they had listened closely to representations, "the State President did not commit the Government to any specific decisions or actions, but assured the delegation that careful consideration would be given to their representations".

In addition to yesterday's meeting, the Mfengu have instituted Supreme Court action in which they argue that the sale of the land was invalid. Papers were served two months ago but the hearing has yet to begin.



Putting forward his case . . . Archbishop Desmond Tutu emerges from the Union Buildings where he spent 90 minutes with President de Klerk yesterday, arguing for the return of land to the Mfengu community who were forcibly removed to Ciskei in 1977. Picture. Reuter



(105)

Star 19/7/91

Top PAC delegates talk to Ciskei leaders

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

A high-level Pan Africanist Congress delegation yesterday held talks with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei military government, according to a press statement.

The statement, issued by PAC Border region publicity-secretary Zamikaya Gxabe, said the meeting was scheduled to discuss political, social and economic problems.

The meeting, Mr Gxabe said, followed the PAC's numerous attempts in the past to hold talks with the Ciskei Council of State on various issues of local and

national importance.

The PAC delegation included national executive council members Mahlubi Mbandazayo, Mpolose Mangqangwana and Victor Zamela.

Also in the delegation were Border regional executive committee members Mvuyo Mhangwana, Walter Tshikila and Mr Gxabe.

Relations between the PAC and the Ciskei government were strained in mid-June after homeland soldiers hauled PAC publicity-secretary Barney Desai out of a radio studio where he was giving an interview.

Brigadier Gqozo later apologised for the incident.

Come join the party

CISKEI'S military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has launched a new political party, the African Democratic Movement which, he said, would be open to everyone except communists.

Brigadier Gqozo, the newly elected interim leader of the ADM, said the movement would ensure those who wanted to destroy Ciskei were removed from positions of power.

"We are going to clean up Ciskei," he said.

The announcement of the formation of the ADM, at the Ciskei House of Assembly in Bisho, put to rest a month-old rumour that Gqozo was preparing to launch an Inkatha-linked "Ciskei Freedom Party".

Gqozo said the ADM rejected "a unitary state and nationalisation because it is dictatorial and not democratic".

Mouthpiece

"The ADM will be a mouthpiece of the silent majorities in Southern Africa. It believes that there is no other political movement that represents the majority on a realistic and moderate basis.

"The ADM will accommodate all peace loving people who do not wish to be intimidated, or involved in violence.

"You can choose to be cowards and allow yourselves to be intimidated and manipulated, or you can choose to follow a peaceful route of change and democracy.

"True democracy means the freedom to choose."

**...but
not you**

*Sowetan
25/7/91*

commies

says

Gqozo

He said the new movement was against violence, intimidation and the armed struggle, believed in the free market system and was not confined to a single population group.

He said the movement supported unity of the people through common objectives and fundamental core values such as freedom of association, religion and economy, "responsible" freedom of speech, a bill of rights, an independent judiciary and the right to equal opportunity and education.

However the exact name of the movement was elusive to the end, as various speakers at the function to launch the

party recently gave it three different names.

Officially announced as the African Democratic Movement, the Rev GT Hopa, who gave the opening prayer, preferred to call it the African Independent Party.

Gqozo himself referred to it as a cultural movement.

Ciskei's foreign minister Mr MS Manzi told the assembled crowd: "We are witnessing a decline in moral values and it is time to say no!"

He said: "We have chosen Brigadier Gqozo as the interim leader of our ADM, because he has demonstrated himself to be a man of action not just words, a Christian, a diplomat and a mentor, a

man with moral values.

"We believe that we are the only political movement that offers us membership as Africans first and foremost, dissolving our individual differences and forging a common identity."

All the speakers were at pains to explain that the idea did not come from Gqozo but from them.

VW Mati, chief organiser of the founding committee, said they went to Gqozo to ask: "Can't we go to the silent majority, as Africans we suffered under conditions that cannot be disclosed."

Referring to ANC-aligned structures in the region he said "when they talked of the Ciskei Freedom Party they were hearing our footsteps".

The elderly AB Hala-hoya, of the adult's section of the ADM, said: "As an old man I have endured the pain and felt thorns in the flesh.

"We are terrorised by kids. My own grandchildren are meeting out corporal punishment to us.

Market

"Our things have been broken. Mdantsane is like a *varthok* (pig sty).

"These are words forced on us by Soviet and communist ideologies. We will not be dictated to by foreigners, with their transparent double agendas, on how to conduct our African lives."

He said the ADM believed in the free market system and was not confined to a single population group.

"(It) believes in a multiparty democracy for the new South Africa, and



OUPA GGOZO ... no communists allowed

that no single movement of party can claim the presumptuous right to be the sole representative of the black and white majority," said Gqozo.

He said the ADM was "solidly built on discipline, a work ethic, obedience to law and order and a shared vision of the future".

Interests

The movement would "address the real needs of the people and serve their real interests and would not tolerate power plays in political corridors, neither will it endorse the personal gains of its leaders".

"Most important of all the ADM is based on sound Christian principles, values and ethics, and acknowledges God as the creator and true leader of us all," said Gqozo.

Elwyns

**We are terrorised by
kids. My own
grandchildren are
meeting out corporal
punishment to us.**

Gqoza: Ciskei ⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ should be in SA

ET 25/7/91
Political Staff

THE homelands had only one route for both quality survival and international recognition and that was the road back to South Africa, the chairman of Ciskei's military council of state, Brigadier Oupa Gqoza, said yesterday.

Brigadier Gqoza said during a speech to the Cape Town Press Club: "We, along with the other TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) states, are expecting reincorporation.

Although it had gained its so-called independence, Ciskei had never relinquished its dependence on South Africa, he said.

Ciskei also wanted to be involved in the multi-party talks, he said.

● Brigadier Gqoza also told the Press Club that Ciskei accepted the new tax rates for individuals and companies, VAT and the development of industry with maximum export potential.

The focus of economic development was to remove all obstacles and barriers to international trade and investment in Ciskei, he said.

Rebel Radio Ciskei man fired

South 25/7-4 31/7/91
By Claire Keeton (105)

DISMISSED Radio Ciskei journalist Crosby Kolele alleges that he is being victimised over his opposition to the increasingly authoritarian rule of Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Kolele claims he was dismissed on direct orders from Gqozo.

The dismissal came hard on the heels of reports that Gqozo had ordered the radio to ban all mention in its newscasts of political organisations he doesn't like. These include the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Kolele, who was given no reason for his dismissal, claims he was fired because of his opposition to Gqozo's new African Democratic Movement (ADM). Kolele's dismissal has been condemned by the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) and the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ).

Marietjie Myburg of the SAUJ said:

"The sacking of a Radio Ciskei employee as part of an alleged ploy by the Ciskei authorities to purge the station of opposition to the newly formed ADM, is not only a serious threat to media freedom, but also constitutes a serious case of unfair labour practice."

The chairperson of the Radio Ciskei board of directors said the station had agreed with Gqozo to run a "propoganda-free station", but these claims seem increasingly thin as evidence mounts of accelerating censorship at Radio Ciskei.

At the same time as mention of political groups was banned, news broadcasts were cut dramatically, both in length and number.

And as Gqozo tightens control over Radio Ciskei, the Ciskei government is involved in negotiations with the SABC to have its signal boosted to reach right across the Cape Province.

Observers believe that both moves are linked to the launch of the ADM. They suggest that Gqozo wants to use the radio station to boost his party. —

ELNEWS

Border ANC

Star 25/7/91

to contest Ciskei laws

EAST LONDON — The Border region of the ANC will challenge Ciskei's National Security Act in Bisho's Supreme Court in November.

The ANC will argue that the security legislation is illegal on the grounds that it contradicts the homeland's constitution decree, passed earlier this year.

A lawyer representing the ANC said this week papers had been served on the Ciskei government and that the matter had been set down to be heard over three days from November 13.

The Supreme Court will be asked to decide whether the Ciskei Constitution Decree of 1990 — which guarantees Ciskei citizens certain fundamental rights — is contradicted by amended portions of the National Security Act of 1982.

The sections provide for detention without trial for indefinite periods for interrogation, and restrict gatherings.

— Sapa.

Ciskei ruler told to ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ stand down for peace

EAST LONDON. — Speakers at a Border peace conference at the weekend blamed the government for instability in the region and called Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, "a stumbling-block to regional peace".

Some alleged the government had a "hidden agenda" to destabilise the region and foster ill-feelings between the Ciskei and Transkei governments.

Several delegates said Brigadier Gqozo should stand down to ensure peace in the region.

The conference was hosted by the African National Congress and the Border Business Action Committee (BBAC).

Delegates included Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Border ANC chairman, the Rev Arnold Stofile, the Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, Bishop David Russell, BBAC spokesman Mr Errol Spring, Democratic Party MP Mr Andre de Wet, and National Party MP for King William's Town Mr Ray Radebe.

Also present were ANC national executive members Mr Chris Hani and Mr Steve Tshwete, as well as observers from the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

Brigadier Gqozo withdrew from the conference on Friday, saying the meeting would be nothing short of a "kangaroo court". — Sapa.

The two ...

Call for ⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Kei chief to quit

Own Correspondent

CT 29/7/91

EAST LONDON. — Speakers at the weekend "peace conference" here placed the blame for instability in the Border squarely in the lap of the South African government and called Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo a stumbling block to regional peace.

They accused Pretoria of having a "hidden agenda" to destabilise the region and foster ill-feeling between the two homeland governments, and work against the possibility of the Bisho administration adopting policies similar to its counterpart in Umtata.

Several delegates said Brigadier Gqozo should stand down, for the sake

of the region. Many warned that, if he did not do so, violence would inevitably result.

The conference was jointly arranged by the ANC and the regional business initiative, the Border Business Action Committee.

Although he was invited, Brigadier Gqozo withdrew on Friday, saying the meeting would be nothing short of a "kangaroo court".

A brief statement released afterwards said a steering committee of representatives from the participating bodies had been formed "to pursue matters raised and proposals mooted at the conference".

105 CT 29/7/91

Former Ciskei colonel held

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's rebel military intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, who fled to Transkei last week in fear of his life, was last night in South African Police custody in King William's Town.

After giving statements to Transkei Police and journalists in Umtata on Friday, Colonel Hugo was handed over to South African embassy officials — having been refused asylum in

Transkei.

He revealed details of a Ciskei covert unit run by former SADF officers — International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS) — which he said was effectively running the homeland

IR-CIS allegedly operates from a house on Balasi Farm, outside King William's Town.

Colonel Hugo's wife yesterday expressed concern for his safety

and said she was sure he would be questioned by former colleagues from Ciskei

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday Colonel Hugo was handed over by embassy staff to police in Queenstown on Saturday

The station commander at King William's Town confirmed Colonel Hugo was at the police station, but said the matter was a "security branch" one.

SA colonel CT 30/7/91 'training Ciskei men'

Own Correspondent

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EAST LONDON. — Colonel Jan Breytenbach, the founder of the South African Defence Force's 32 Battalion, is reportedly training paratroops in Ciskei.

Ciskei's rebel military intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, who defected to Transkei last week, told journalists in Umtata that Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had hired Col Breytenbach on the advice of the secret International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS).

Earlier, Col Breytenbach had been seen in Ciskei military uniform, driving a Ciskei military vehicle.

Col Hugo said IR-CIS had warned Brig Gqozo that he had no one in the Ciskei Defence Force to rely on in an emergency, and urged him to get Col Breytenbach to form a parachute battalion.

He said he believed Col Breytenbach was being "led by the nose" by IR-CIS.

Brig Gqozo on Friday refused to answer queries about Col Breytenbach, saying he would not

Hugo out on bail

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Ciskei's rebel intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, was released yesterday on R5 000 bail after appearing in a court here.

Colonel Hugo was released pending an application for his extradition to Ciskei in connection with alleged fraud involving R51 500.

Conditions of bail were that he report to the police here every second day and relinquish his identity documents.

During argument for bail, an advocate representing Colonel Hugo, Mr Keith Matthee, said Ciskei police officers — including the commissioner, General J J Viktor — had questioned Col Hugo in the police cells here.

jeopardise Ciskei's security by "divulging information relating to my security personnel, relating to personal particulars".

Asked to comment on Col Breytenbach's whereabouts, an SADF spokesman would only say that he "retired from the SADF years ago".

More details are emerging of the men involved in or linked to the secret IR-CIS.

Information on the people involved — compiled from revelations by Colonel Hugo, information gathered by a researcher for the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, and through investigations — includes the following:

● Mr Jan Anton Nieuwoudt is believed to be in charge of IR-CIS. Brig Gqozo apparently approached Mr Nieuwoudt while the latter was an officer in SADF military intelligence. Mr Nieuwoudt dictated his own terms, said Col Hugo.

● Mr Ted Brassell is a retired SADF major, a former staff officer at Group 8 here, and a former deputy mayor of East London. Col Hugo believes Mr Brassell was originally hired by Ciskei to train Brig Gqozo's bodyguards.

● Colonel Ockert Swanepoel is a former member of 32 Battalion and SADF Special Forces, in which he did intelligence work. Col Hugo said IR-CIS recruited Col Swanepoel to work in his office and he feared the man was there to spy on him for IR-CIS.

LHR to visit Ciskei 'political' prisoners

JOHANNESBURG. — Lawyers for Human Rights will soon visit prisoners in Ciskei who, the organisation believes, qualify for indemnity as political prisoners.

Ciskei's Department of Correctional Services confirmed that it had received a list of eight people the LHR wanted to see and had granted the organisation permission to visit them.

Major-General Dumo Silandela, of Correctional Services, said that of the eight prisoners on the list, four had been discharged and one was unaccounted for.

However, General Silandela insisted there were no political prisoners in

Ciskei. The homeland had released all political prisoners — seven of them — in February last year.

"But we will throw our doors open and will allow them to visit."

Ciskei recently set up a panel of three judges to consider applications for indemnity.

When questioned about why Ciskei bothered with a board when it insisted there were no political prisoners, Correctional Services spokesman Colonel B Simandla replied: "There were prisoners claiming to be political prisoners, so to clarify the situation we set up the board."

Prisoners wanting to qualify, including those on the LHR list, would have to apply in writing to the board. But since the panel's inception earlier this year none had applied, Colonel Simandla said.

LHR spokesman Mr Sandi Nisikelelo said he was cynical about the board as it was formed unilaterally and consisted only of government officials. He was also doubtful about their definition of a political prisoner.

In Bophuthatswana, Mr Paul Daphney of the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum said prisoners there were on the verge of embarking on another hunger

strike.

"I have the impression that if they are not released soon, they will embark on a hunger strike and this time they will fast until death," he said.

Sixty prisoners in Bophuthatswana prisons recently suspended a fast after an emergency visit by top ANC officials, including ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The 60 are still in hospital recovering from their hunger strikes. Most of them were on hunger strike before and their health was considerably improved.

— Sapa

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Strike

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Sixty prisoners who are still in hospital in Bophuthatswana prisons recently suspended a fast after an emergency visit by ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

At Pollsmoor Prison in the Cape, two Azanian People's Movement members entered their 15th day of a hunger strike on Tuesday, according to the Human Rights Commission.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday said there were at least 800 unrest-related cases and all would still be tested for political status.

- Sapa

105
Sowetan
31/7/91

A TIMEBOMB is ticking away in Ciskei. Concern is mounting that violence could explode into open conflict in the Ciskei, turning the region into the country's latest political battlefield.

Statements from church leaders, Lawyers' for Human Rights (LHR) and the ANC have all warned of the possibility.

A joint statement from six regional heads of churches called on the government to reintegrate the Ciskei as a matter of urgency.

"We are now deeply alarmed at the possibility of an explosion of destructive and divisive violence between the different groupings in the region," said the statement, signed by bishops from the Methodist, Anglican and Catholic churches, by the Order of Ethiopia, and by the moderator of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

LHR called for the resignation of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, identifying him as the "greatest destabilising factor in the region".

Ciskei fuselings

Gqozo opponents warn of outbreak

105
c/News 4/8/91

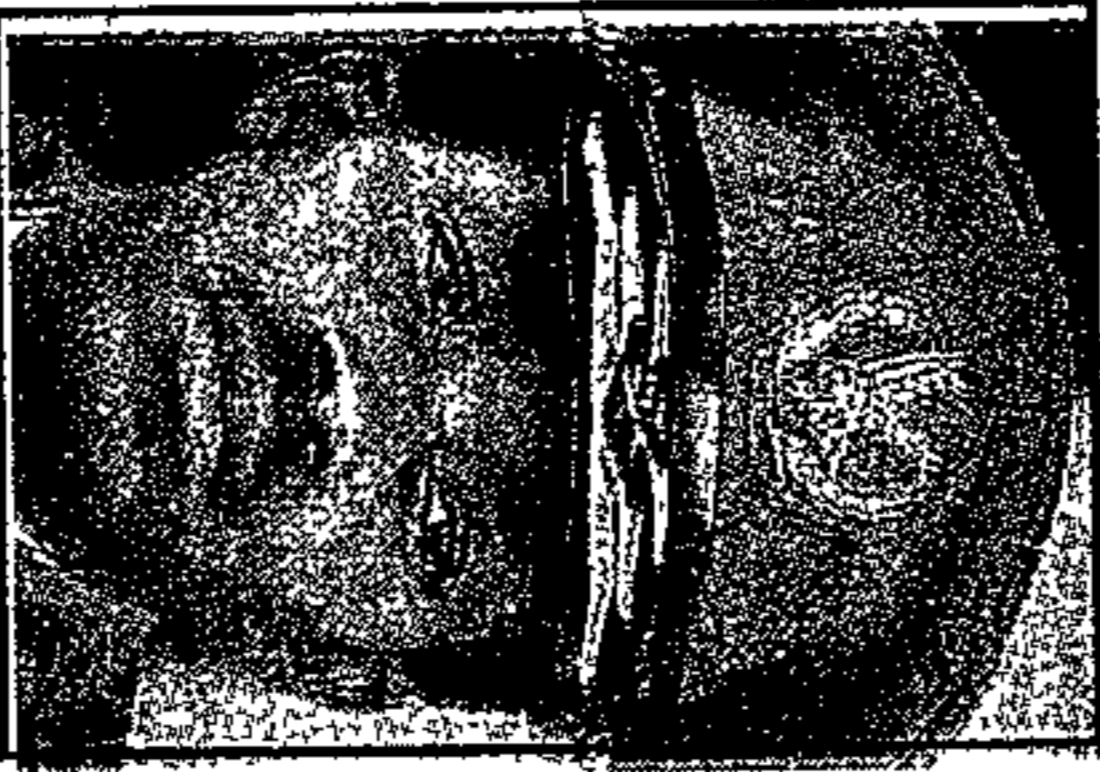
They accused Gqozo of destroying human rights development in the region and launching a new offensive against the democratic movement, particularly the Border ANC.

LHR also believed Ciskei security forces included hit squads, and were linked to the harassment, abduction and execution of individuals.

The ANC mounted a consumer boycott during June over the issue. It demanded the freeing of political prisoners, an end to the curfew imposed in the northern Ciskei, the removal of "all the CCBS, Koewoet and Askari elements", Gqozo's resignation and the reincorporation of the Ciskei after consultation.

They point to an increase in political intolerance and old-style repression by Gqozo's forces, who are largely the same people who kept President Lennox Sebe's corrupt regime in power.

The common factor is Gqozo's new-found ambition to change his status from homeland military dictator to a political leader.



OUPA GGOZO ... "a destabilising factor"

After months of speculation and rumour, he finally announced the formation of the African Democratic Movement (ADM) some weeks ago. At the launch on July 8, Gqozo firmly positioned the ADM as a con-

servative, anti-communist movement.

The move was widely seen as an attempt to build a support base to pit against the ANC, which is the dominant force in the region, and to earn himself a place at the negotiating table.

But there is an additional factor: the sinister presence of a CCB-type unit known as International Researchers which apparently reports directly to Gqozo.

The first indication of the unit's existence came in late February, when Ciskei arrested a number of soldiers after a firefight, claiming to have foiled a coup. One of the alleged rebels who escaped later claimed that

in fact the soldiers had uncovered an arms cache inside the Ciskei ministerial compound.

The cache had been established by a covert unit known as International Research. The officers had been discussing what to do about their find when they were attacked, according to this account.

Some weeks later, another of the "rebels", Yuyo Melane, obtained an interim Supreme Court interdict protecting him from the unit. In his founding affidavit he claimed to have been threatened by its head, former SADF officer Anton Nieuwoudt.

In responding affidavits, Ciskei Minister of

Police Zebulon Makuzeni acknowledged the existence of a unit of "security personnel operating under the title of International Researchers". Another affidavit was filed by Jan Anton Nieuwoudt in his capacity as head of the unit.

There have been firm allegations that the unit was involved in the killing of former Ciskei strongman Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana, a former member of the Ciskei military council.

The two were shot at a roadblock some months ago and International Research was blamed.

There have been other incidents: at the end of May unknown gunmen opened fire on the Dimbaza house of Smuts Nkonyama, deputy chairman of the Border ANC.

In mid-April there was an unsuccessful attempt to kill the chairman of an ANC branch in a village near Lady Frere in the Transkei. Nkosinathi Ndika survived the attack, but 19 bullet holes were found in his car afterwards - Ecna

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Ciskei fuse is smoldering

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105

CP News 4/8/91

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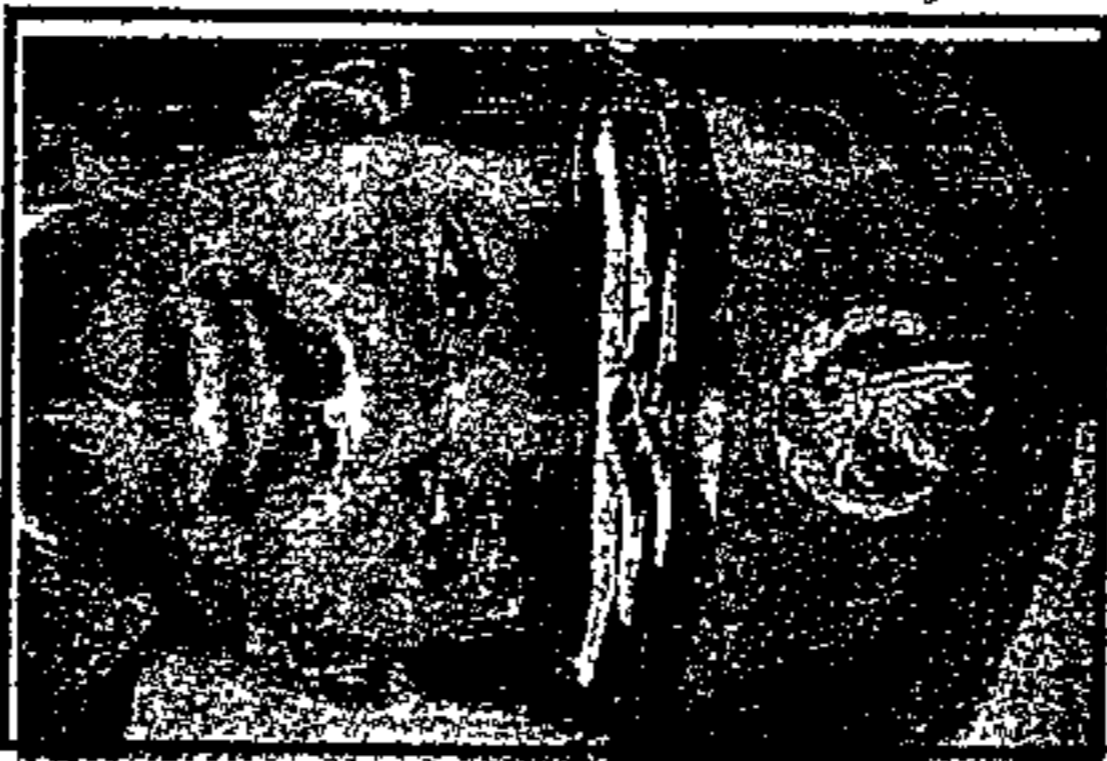
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OUPA GOZO ... "a destabilising factor".

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Some weeks later, another of the "rebels", Vuyo Melane, obtained an interim Supreme Court interdict protecting him from the unit. In his founding affidavit he claimed to have been threatened by its head, former SADF officer Anton Nieuwoudt.

In responding affidavits, Ciskei Minister of

There have been other incidents: at the end of May unknown gunmen opened fire on the Dimbaza house of Smuts Nkonyama, deputy chairman of the Border ANC.

In mid-April there was an unsuccessful attempt to kill the chairman of an ANC branch in a village near Lady Frere in the Transkei. Nkosinathi Ndika survived the attack, but 19 bullet holes were found in his car afterwards - Ecna

SACC urges government to re-incorporate Ciskei

(105) ARGUS 7/8/91

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches has called on the government to urgently start re-incorporating Ciskei into South Africa.

SACC general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday that political instability was worsening in the homeland.

"The South African government must intervene to resolve a potentially-explosive situation.

"The government should not

continue to maintain a Ciskei government whose policies contradict the new spirit of tolerance and discussion that President De Klerk is promoting."

Mr Chikane said the SACC was aware that South Africa argued it could not intervene in the affairs of an independent state pending negotiations on re-incorporation.

"But we are convinced the situation is so serious that it could be disastrous for the South African government to wait." — Sapa.

SADF head met Ciskei leader

(105)

CT 7/8/91

EAST LONDON. — South Africa's deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Rusty Evans, and Defence Force chief General Kat Liebenberg met with the Ciskei's Council of State at Bisho on Monday, for "confidential discussions on matters of mutual interest".

The Ciskei government yesterday confirmed the meeting, but would not divulge details.

Mr Evans said there was nothing unusual about his meeting the Ciskei government, as it was part of his responsibility to ensure a sound administration for the homeland government.

The parties had wide and constructive discussions covering a range of activities, he said.

Nothing sinister should be read into the meeting, or the fact that General Liebenberg had accompanied him. The SADF chief had wanted to meet the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, as he had never before had the opportunity.

Brigadier Gqozo would be encouraged to develop closer contact with Group Eight Military Command in East London, Mr Evans said.

He said closer contact between the Ciskei and South Africa in all areas would be encouraged in future. — Sapa

FIRST IT WAS NATAL, then the Transvaal. Now signs are emerging that the Ciskei is set to become the next killing fields of South Africa Church leaders, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and the ANC have all warned that the Ciskei may be the next region to erupt into bloody violence.

A joint statement from six regional heads of churches called on the government to reintegrate the Ciskei into South Africa as a matter of urgency to avert a possible looming bloodbath.

"We are now deeply alarmed at the possibility of an explosion of destructive and divisive violence between the different groupings in the region," said the statement, signed by bishops from the Methodist, Anglican, Catholic churches, the Order of Ethiopia and the moderator of the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

LHR also called for the resignation of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, identifying him as the "greatest destabilising factor in the region".

They accused Gqozo of destroying human rights in the region and launching a new offensive against the democratic movement, particularly the Border ANC.

LHR also believe Ciskei security forces include hit squads, and are linked to the harassment, abduction and even murder of individuals.

The ANC mounted a consumer boycott for the month of June, primarily around the crisis in the Ciskei.

The ANC regional organiser, Billy Simenuka, from Aliwal North, said: "Geographically the violence in the PWV, Natal, Northern Orange Free State as well as the Border region and Ciskei may appear remote from our one-horse town, but on closer analysis we are in the exact place where these forces of doom will meet from the north and the south."

The boycott demands emphasised regional issues, including an end to the curfew in the northern Ciskei, the removal of "all the CCBs, Koevoet and Askari elements", Gqozo's resignation and the reincorporation of the Ciskei.

None of these demands were met, but the ANC claimed it succeeded in alerting the business community to the seriousness of the Ciskei crisis.

The result was a joint conference on regional peace, held last weekend, involving the ANC and the newly established Border Business Action Forum.

SPEAKERS FROM A range of groups accused the government of being behind the instability in the region and called Gqozo a stumbling block to regional peace.

The concern about looming violence is backed by rumours in the region; of mysterious training camps, Zulu-speaking police, chiefs being armed and hit lists of prominent ANC figures.

Rumours aside, there is an increase in political intolerance and old-style repression by Gqozo's forces, who are largely the same people who were used to keep President Lennox Sebe's corrupt regime in power.

Gqozo has banned all mention of the ANC and other political groups he does not like on Radio Ciskei.

A meeting of the ANC Youth League was broken up by police using teargas.

Civil servants, dismissed for striking, have to meet in the open veld as Ciskei police block them from using Mdantsane halls.

An unnamed man was arrested at work after being overheard criticising Gqozo in a taxi.

These apparently unrelated incidents

Fears mount of Ciskei killing fields

South 8/8L 14/8/91.

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Oupa Gqozo

Human rights groups accuse Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his security forces of destabilising the bantustan. **FRANZ KRUGER** reports:



MILITARY RULE: Ciskei security forces are accused of harassment and murder

PICS: AFRAPIX

suggest that Gqozo is determined to turn himself from a homeland military dictator into a political leader.

After months of speculation and rumour, he launched the African Democratic Movement (ADM) on July 8 Gqozo firmly positioned the ADM as a conservative, anti-communist movement.

It was not a party but a cultural movement, he said, and anybody would be welcome to join, except communists.

He said it rejected "a unitary state and nationalisation because it is dictatorial and not democratic."

The ADM will be a mouthpiece of the silent majorities in Southern Africa.

"The move was seen as an attempt to build his support base in his battle against the ANC — by far the dominant force in the region — and to

The Ciskei security forces include hit squads, and are linked to the harassment, abduction and even murder of individuals — Lawyers for Human Rights

earn himself a place at the negotiating table.

There is an additional factor; the sinister presence of a CCB-type unit

known as International Researchers which apparently reports directly to Gqozo.

The first indication of the unit's existence came in late February, when Ciskei arrested several soldiers after a fight, claiming to have foiled a coup.

One of the alleged rebels, who escaped later, claimed that the soldiers had uncovered an arms cache inside the Ciskei ministerial compound.

The cache had been established by a covert unit known as International Research.

The officers had been discussing what to do about their find when they were attacked, according to this account.

Weeks later another of the "rebels", Vuyo Melane, obtained an interim Supreme Court interdict pro-

tecting him from the unit.

He claimed to have been threatened by its head, former SADF officer Anton Nieuwoudt.

In his founding affidavit, he gave detailed descriptions of the unit, and made some sensational claims about its operations.

In responding affidavits, Ciskei Minister of Police Zebulun Makuzeni acknowledged the existence of a unit of "security personnel operating under the title of 'International Researchers'".

Another affidavit was filed by Nieuwoudt in his capacity as head of the unit.

The Ciskei government tried to have the hearing conducted in camera on the grounds of national security, and succeeded in having sections of Melane's affidavit struck out by the court, including his most damaging claims.

Although the existence of the unit has now been officially admitted, it is less than clear what it does.

There have been firm allegations that it was involved in the killing of former Ciskei strongman Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana, a former member of the Ciskei military council.

THE TWO WERE SHOT at a roadblock, and Ciskei claimed they were on a mission to overthrow Gqozo. However, there have been claims that International Research lured them to the Ciskei, ambushed and then executed them.

A number of court cases and inquests still proceeding may reveal more about the unit's activities: the Melane interdict, the inquest into the death of Sebe and Guzana and the inquest into another former "rebel" found dead in a river.

There have been other incidents: At the end of May, unknown gunmen opened fire on the Dimbaza house of Smuts Nkonyama, the deputy chairperson of the Border ANC.

In mid-April, there was an unsuccessful attempt to kill the chairperson of an ANC branch in a village near Lady Frere, in the Transkei.

Nkosmathi Ndika survived the attack, but 19 bullet holes were found in his car.

The community reported the arrival of "Zulu-speaking strangers" in the district just before the incident.

Observers say the attack bore the hallmarks of a professionally planned operation.

Whether incidents such as these can be linked to International Researchers remains a matter of speculation.

But the rising political tension in the area is real, as is the mounting concern that it might spill into open conflict — *ECNA*

Bloch royalties boost dividend

MARCIA KLEIN

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CISKEI-registered Bloch increased its earnings by 7% to 4,6c (4,3c) a share, and upped its full year dividend by 8,3% to 4,5c (4,2c) a share in the year to end-June.

The DCM-listed company derives most of its income from royalties for the use of its trademarks by trading companies in the Bloch Supermarket group.

Income of R1,07m (R992 600) was received from interest and royalties. Net income totalled R1m (R937 500) after expenditure of R71 700.

Chairman Bernard Rabinowitz said this was the first time since the company's listing in 1987 that net pre-tax income topped R1m.

Licensees had reported an improvement in trading conditions.

The proceeds of the sale of a store in Grabouw would be used for new acquisitions, Rabinowitz said.

If the sale went through, Bloch Supermarkets had guaranteed to pay minimum royalties of R1,04m in financial 1992 and R1,18m in financial 1993, indicating earnings of at least 5,1c a share in the year to June 1992.

Ciskei's CCB-style unit under scrutiny

Top South African government and army officials visited Ciskei this week apparently to investigate a shadowy intelligence unit

By FRANZ KRUGER

W/ Mail 9/8 - 15/8/91

AS the secrecy surrounding Ciskei's covert intelligence unit wears increasingly thin, the head of the South African Defence Force this week visited the homeland in an apparent attempt to have the unit closed down or at least restructured.

General Kat Liebenberg was accompanied by Rusty Evans, deputy director general of foreign affairs. They met the Council of State, but Ciskei gave no further details.

Evans afterwards said only that the parties had held "wide and constructive discussion" covering a "whole range of activities". Nothing "sinister" should be read into the meeting, or the fact that the chief of the SADF had been part of it. Liebenberg had accompanied him because he had wanted to meet Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Evans said.

However, there was strong speculation that discussions centred on the increasingly embarrassing activities of the Civil Co-operation Bureau-type unit known as International Researchers (IR), or Ciskei Intelligence Service (CIS). It is believed the South African delegation pressed for the unit to be disbanded, or at least restructured to ensure greater accountability.

The unit, led by former SADF members, has been accused of involvement in a range of violent incidents, of planning to assassinate African National Congress leaders and of pursuing a plan to destabilise the region.

Ciskei itself has issued contradictory statements on whether the unit even exists. In affidavits filed in April, Police Minister Zebulun Mankuzeni confirmed the existence of a group of "security personnel operating under the title of 'International Researchers'".

However, in late July the Council of State released a statement denying the unit existed. It said: "A company search has revealed no evidence of an organisation called 'International Research' within Ciskei's borders."

The denial seems based on the minor semantic difference between "research" and "researchers". In any event, the unit has apparently since been renamed Ciskei Intelligence Service.

Somewhere in between, Ciskei announced it was disbanding an intelligence unit it did not name, and would be issuing a decree outlawing covert units. The decree never materialised.

Information on the unit remains patchy, but the recent Border peace conference convened by the ANC and businesspeople heard a paper which drew together what is known on the unit. The paper was written and presented on behalf of the Informal Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression by its researcher, Louise Flanagan.

The paper said the unit, set up in August last year, was led by three white former SADF officers: Jan Anton Nieuwoudt, Ted Brassell and Clive Brink. Nieuwoudt, a former colonel, was its head, and was linked to the secret SADF camp called Hippo in northern Namibia where Inkatha fighters were allegedly trained in guerrilla warfare.

The unit also included Ciskei soldiers and policemen, some of whom had been involved in "death squad" killings in the Border. Flanagan named Mabandla Mbejeni as one of these, a former Ciskei police colonel who was jailed for his role in the murder of trade unionist Eric Mntonga.

Flanagan said: "While both soldiers and police were involved, neither the Ciskei army nor the police appears to have had any control over it and there are indications that for a long time senior army officers did not even know of the existence of the unit." Gqozo was its ultimate head.

The unit had access to substantial resources. She said Nieuwoudt, Brassell and Brink were believed to be receiving between R130 000 and R140 000 a year.

The unit was initially based on Gqozo's farm, Blacklands, but then moved into



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo ... Ciskei not prepared to divulge details of intelligence forces



SADF chief Kat Liebenberg ... nothing 'sinister' in the meeting

house number 14 in the ministerial compound in Bisho, where they stayed until earlier this year.

IR is clearly an intelligence unit, and Flanagan noted that it seems to have been working to protect "Gqozo himself rather than the whole military council or the general population of Ciskei".

It was also involved in operations. There was apparently some involvement in last year's abortive coup against Transkei, in which coup leader Colonel Craig Duli was killed. Just a few weeks ago, Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa asked South Africa to help get statements from a number of people in connection with the coup attempt. The list included Nieuwoudt, Brassell and Brink.

IR was also named as being involved in the deaths of former Ciskei officers Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana. "There has been evidence from several different sources that International Researchers planned and carried out the luring back to Ciskei and ambushing of Sebe and Guzana," the paper said.

These sources include three disaffected Ciskei officers. One of them, Warrant Officer Vuyo Melane, described the operation in affidavits submitted in support of a Ciskei Supreme Court application in April for protection against the unit. These sections of his affidavit were struck out by order of the court, but Flanagan quoted from them on the grounds that East London did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Ciskei courts.

Ciskei has denied setting up such a trap, and the issue is still under investigation in the context of the supreme court inquest into the deaths of the two men.

Flanagan also pointed to the February shooting incident at Bisho military base, which occurred when senior soldiers found an arms cache stockpiled by IR. The shooting was an attempt to prevent the officers from revealing the existence of the cache and IR, although Ciskei at the time claimed it was a coup attempt it had put down.

Flanagan said the unit was currently expanding. "The group is composed of highly trained men who have already demonstrated that they are involved in destabilising this area. The Ciskei and South African governments and Brigadier Gqozo in particular must be called to account for the unit's continued existence," she concluded.

In response to questions, Ciskei said in a statement it would not give further details on this week's meeting with Evans and Liebenberg. On the existence of IR, it said: "All governments and military forces in the world have intelligence forces tasked with the clear definition of the threat existing against such government or force."

"Ciskei has such an ability but is not prepared, in accordance with internationally accepted practice, to divulge details of this asset."

The statement added it did not wish to comment on "unsubstantiated speculation which has been addressed in certain of your questions. Others are still sub judice and it would be improper to even consider providing replies".

It did confirm Flanagan's assertion that Colonel Jan Breytenbach, the founder of 32 Battalion, was "attached" to the Ciskei Defence Force "to provide specialist technical advice in the upgrading" of a parachute unit.

— Ecna

GRACELESS UNDER PRESSURE

By FRANZ KRUGER Grahamstown

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CISKEI'S response to recent criticism has been a mixture of sullen silence, contradictory statements and furious counter-attack.

Only in the past two weeks has the Ciskei government again begun responding to inquiries from journalists. Before, it was largely impossible to obtain comment on almost any issue.

When allegations of the existence of International Research first surfaced, Ciskei maintained a complete silence. Only when the issue came before court did Police Minister Zebulon Makhuzeni confirm the unit's existence. *w/Min 9/8-15/8/91*

But later, Ciskei said "a company search" had revealed that no such unit existed. In the meantime, it seems the unit's name has been changed to Ciskei Intelligence Services.

Similarly, the clampdown ordered by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo on Radio Ciskei was first vehemently denied. "The fact that we are in agreement with Brig Gqozo in pursuit of a clean administration and a propaganda-free station is incidental," a statement said.

Ciskei also didn't respond to calls for Gqozo's resignation and the reincorporation into South Africa. Only much later did

Gqozo even refer to the statements from the churches and Lawyers for Human Rights.

In announcing he would not attend the Border peace conference late last month, Gqozo said it was going to be a kangaroo court. "I base this opinion on the well-known recent activities of Lawyers for Human Rights, African National Congress Women's League and the bishops' letters to President FW de Klerk."

This statement contained the most direct response to the accusation that the Ciskei government was destabilising the region.

Gqozo said the intention of the conference was to discuss destabilisation. "My country maintains law and order. There is no violence or instability in my country. If violence comes now it is clear it will have been initiated from outside."

Launching his African Democratic Movement, he said it was the "mouthpiece of the silent majorities of South Africa". There was no other party which represented the majority on a realistic and moderate basis.

He dismissed claims it was linked to Inkatha, but said he now had a mandate to do what the people needed "even ... to go to the negotiating table".— Ecna

Palazzolo's waste dump scheme

By MARTIN WEIZ
and MIKE ROBERTSON

SOUTH AFRICA threatened Ciskei with drastic action if it continued with a scheme by Sicilian businessman Vito Palazzolo to import thousands of tons of poisonous waste from Europe and dump it in the independent homeland.

The Sunday Times can reveal that Pretoria, went as far as threatening to expel the Ciskei from the Customs Union to stop the

highly controversial Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had already turned down a personal appeal from President Fyfe de Klerk — made on November 4 last year — to abandon the scheme. The Ciskei government finally bowed to the pres-

sure and the scheme was scrapped earlier this year. At the time Palazzolo was Brigadier Gqozo's ambassador-at-large.

The Italian was reinstated to this position shortly after his return to South Africa from Switzerland, after he served the final 18 months of a three-year prison sentence there. He was convicted for pro-

viding huge sums to international drug dealers. Brigadier Gqozo regularly visits Palazzolo at his Franschoek farm, and official talks between his military council and South African government representatives have, on occasion, taken place there.

The toxic waste scheme, originally proposed to Ciskei by Palazzolo in 1987, entailed annual imports of up to 200 000 tons of industrial waste containing toxic heavy metals and so-called PCBs, toxins that cause serious damage to the skin and liver and genetic defects.

In countries where the public is well-informed, concern about the lethal effects of the toxins means costly safety measures are required. Many companies find it cheaper to export the waste to Third World countries which are too poor or ignorant to care.

A Ciskei company already set up to receive the waste stood to make as

much as R1.5 billion a year.

The Department of Foreign Affairs sent a team of officials to Ciskei to investigate. In January this year, they reported that the conclusion of such a deal, which would damage South Africa's image abroad, was imminent — despite President De Klerk's appeal to Ciskei.

Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Rusty Evans, went to Ciskei to inform Brigadier Gqozo of what might happen if the deal went through. In February the Ciskei bowed to

the pressure and the deal was called off.

● An urgent Supreme Court order preventing the Sunday Times from publishing details of Palazzolo's past was set aside this week.

Rand Supreme Court judge Mr Justice M Stegmann discharged the order on Tuesday when Mr J Gauntlett SC, representing Palazzolo, said he would not ask for confirmation of the order issued by Mr Justice Margo on June 21. Palazzolo agreed to pay the Sunday Times's costs.

● See Pages 8 and 9

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Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government has denied reports that controversial Sicilian businessman Mr Vito Palazzolo proposed a plan to import toxic waste into its territory.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said there had been nothing sinister in the Ciskei government's discussing projects with Mr Palazzolo — "or with anyone else for that matter".

Brigadier Gqozo confirmed that a Cape Town attorney, who also acts for Mr Palazzolo's behalf, was "one of the consultants used from time to time by the Ciskei government".

Mr Palazzolo was an ambassador for Ciskei between May and July last year.

Reports have claimed that in 1987 he proposed importing 200 000 tons of toxic waste for processing by a company in Ciskei. It was estimated the project would earn R1,5 billion a year.

Earlier this year Brigadier Gqozo admitted having shelved a deal with an Austrian company to set up a waste-recycling plant in Ciskei. The South African government had advised him against it, he said.

A report yesterday claimed the South African government had "threatened Ciskei with drastic action" — even expulsion from the Customs Union — if it went ahead with the scheme.

Brigadier Gqozo said his office was prepared to talk to anyone who might stimulate business in the region.

Sicilian role ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ in waste imports denied

CT 13/8/91

Ciskei Sunshine

By DAVID CARTE

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S/Timed
(Bus) (T) 18/8/91

SUN INTERNATIONAL Ciskei reports taxed profit up 51% to R28,6-million in its first results since listing.

The number of shares in issue after the listing increased by 50% to 75-million, with the result that earnings a share (on a weighted 68,7-million shares) rose 10% to 41,5c (37,8c). This beats the prospectus forecast of 40,3c.

With occupancies of 56% — in line with those of SA — Ciskei Sun increased turnover by 26% to R103-million. Operating profit rose 22% to R32,7-million. The slightly lower margin was the result of large pay increases.

Interest paid dropped 43% to R4,2-million and tax was negligible at R64 000.

Casino revenue rose 30% thanks to an increasing number of day trippers, high-value jackpots and cost-effective marketing and promotions.

The directors report that the Government is not in favour of maintaining gambling exclusivity, but they "do not consider that any meaningful competitive gaming situation will arise in the short to medium term".

Chief executive Ken Rosevear says: "Flagship Fish River Sun struggles to cope with the trade, so we are spending R18-million on expansion. The Mpekweni family resort and the Amatola at Bisho met budgets."

3 Ciskei soldiers drown, 5 missing after training jump

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ARG 21/8/91

The Argus Bureau and Sapa

PORT ELIZABETH. — Three Ciskei Defence Force paratroops drowned and five are missing after a parachute training exercise.

In a statement, the Ciskei Council of State said yesterday's exercise had been conducted about 4 km upstream from the mouth of the Fish River.

During a drop from a CDF Skyvan aircraft, some of the paratroops landed in the river, probably as a result of unexpected wind near the ground, according to the statement.

Other paratroops landed on the bank.

Of the 16 paratroops, three died while eight were rescued. Two of the eight were resuscitated and taken to Settlers Hospital in Grahamstown. Five of the soldiers are still missing.

A hospital spokesman said one of the two injured men was in a serious condition.

Divers from rescue services and the police are searching the river and its banks for the missing soldiers.

A Metro rescue service spokesman said today rescue work was hazardous because divers could easily get entangled in parachute lines.

He said the soldiers landed in the water with full military kit, which included rifles and ammunition.

First on the scene were a farmer and a friend who launched a rubber dinghy, he said.

Ciskei pilots Major Peter Molls and Mr Budgie Burgers, private pilot to Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, hooked the helicopter's skids into three parachutes to pull three men to safety.

A board of inquiry has been set up to investigate the incident, the Ciskei Council of State said.

Ciskei paratroopers tell of narrow escape from river

Star 22/8/91
Own Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN — Two Ciskei paratroopers yesterday described their narrow escape from death in a training exercise which went horribly wrong, killing at least three colleagues.

Algoa Regional Services Council assistant divisional officer A H Human said five paratroopers were still missing. Three bodies had been recovered and the others had been rescued or had landed safely.

Mr Human said 40 divers from East London, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and the Cis-

kei Defence Force were searching the Fish River for the missing men.

Corporal Leslie Delihlazo and Lance-Corporal Mabutho Majola were among 16 paratroopers dropped from a Ciskei Defence Force Skyvan aircraft about 4 km from the mouth of the Fish River on Tuesday.

A number of them landed in the Fish River in full military kit, including rifles. They were apparently blown off course by a strong wind.

Corporal Delihlazo and Corporal Majola were saved by the quick action of Ciskei helicopter pilots Major Peter Molls and Budgie Burgers, who hooked

their parachutes with the helicopter skids and used the downdraft to blow them towards the river bank.

Speaking from their beds in the Settlers Hospital yesterday, the men said they remembered nothing of the rescue.

They said they had jumped from a height of more than 200 m and the last thing they could recall was hitting the water hard and losing consciousness.

When they came round they were in hospital.

Both men are seasoned jumpers. Corporal Delihlazo became a paratrooper in 1982 and Corporal Majola in 1984.

FM 23/8/91

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SUN CISKEI

Forecast beaten

Sun Ciskei has experienced occupancy levels about in line with the hotel industry, around 56%. While hotels in SA, however, are only just breaking even, Sun Ciskei has an operating margin of 32%, higher even than Sun Bop's 30%, which has occupancies of around 75%. Revenue from casino operations increased by 30%, which enabled Sun Ciskei to beat the EPS forecast made at the time of listing by more than a cent.

Based simply on the historical results, Sun Ciskei looks like one of the few bargains available on the industrial boards. It has an earnings yield of 15,8% and a dividend yield of 11,1%. This is about three times the yields available from Sun Bop.

Sun International MD Ken Rosevear says that, for the casino resorts, hotel occupancy is not the crucial factor it would be for normal hotels. This is particularly true of the Ciskei operations. The flagship Fish River Sun has an occupancy of 65%. But, Rosevear says, it is overbooked at peak times. This is one reason the group is spending R18m on extensions to the resort.

Occupancy averages are brought down by the Mdantsane Sun, which is primarily an entertainment facility and where accommodation plays a minor role. The Amatola Sun caters for the East London business market, and it has suffered from the slump in the Border region.

Three factors may account for the relatively low rating of Sun Ciskei's share. Debt is one. Sun Ciskei still has R31m in long-term debt, which Rosevear says is unlikely to be reduced this year. Gearing was halved to 62% during the past year, because of the conversion of A shares into ordinary shares in October 1990 and the listing in March.

Secondly, Sun Ciskei is paying almost no tax and this could change along with the political status of the Ciskei. Thirdly, the Ciskei government has indicated that it may alter the group's exclusive licence to gambling in the territory. Management, though, does not believe that any meaningful competitor will arise in the medium term.

The full effects of the share dilution on listing will be reflected in next year's results. There are 75m issued shares, 50% more than at the end of 1990 and 9% higher than the weighted average for the 1991 year. Sun Ciskei's growth is almost certain to outstrip the dilution by a considerable margin.

Stephen Cranston

CISKEI'S THE LIMIT

Year to June 30	1990	1991
Turnover (Rm)	82	103
Operating income (Rm)	27	33
Attributable (Rm)	19	29
Earnings (c)	37,8	41,5
Dividend (c)	—	6,7*

* For three months as a listed company.

Controversial unit in Ciskei disbands

(105) ARG 30/8/91

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

BISHO. — Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is disbanding the controversial International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service unit.

The unit has been at the centre of allegations that the Bisho administration has its own anti-ANC hit squad.

Pressure from the South African government was among the chief factors behind the decision.

Pretoria is central to salary and retrenchment negotiations with several of the former SADF officers recruited by the brigadier and has paid substantial sums to run the clandestine unit.

In a frank interview with *The Argus*, the brigadier angrily rejected suggestions that the unit had been set up as a "dirty tricks outfit". But he acknowledged that the revelation of the unit's existence earlier this year had created the "perception that we had established a private army".

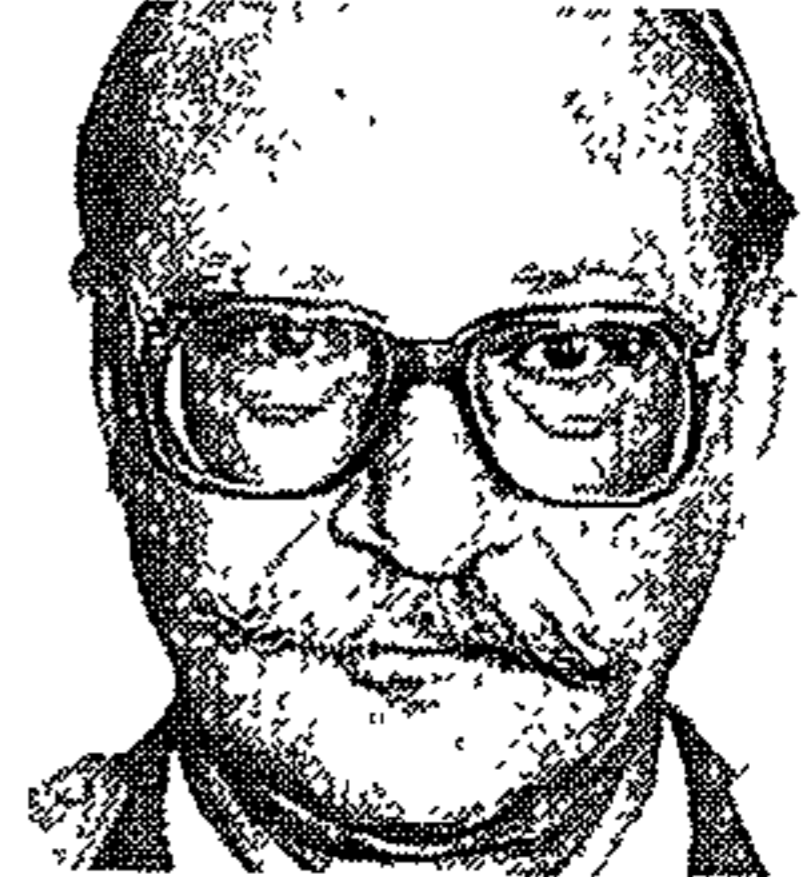
Brigadier Gqozo also revealed that

- he had established the unit "as an extension of my bodyguard";
- the IR-CIS had reported "directly to me";
- he had purposefully formed the unit as a security arm operating entirely outside the command structure of the Ciskei Police and Ciskei Defence Force because he suspected many of the homeland's policemen and soldiers "had been recruited by enemy forces";
- deputy-director of Foreign Affairs Mr Rusty Evans and Chief of the SADF General Kat Liebenberg had urged him during a meeting in Bisho on August 6 to disband the unit;
- most of the 50 members of IR-CIS would now be integrated into the Ciskei Defence Force, though half of the dozen-odd senior officers (mostly South Africans, and some former SADF officers) had opted out of the Ciskei services altogether;
- International Research, the cover name for the unit before its name was changed to Ciskei Intelligence Service, was trained "to be a lean, mean reaction force in cases of surprise attack against the government of the Ciskei and the country".

The existence of the IR-CIS came to light in February this year after a Ciskei Military Intelligence officer Lieutenant Ntantiso Kleinbooie "fled" from the region.



**Brigadier
Oupa Gqozo**



**General Kat
Liebenberg**

At the time, the Ciskei government issued a statement saying that "any government in the world has the right and responsibility to establish a covert and secret intelligence service to ensure the security of the State and its citizens. To imply that such a service is sinister and abnormal would be totally irresponsible".

Since then, however, the IR-CIS has attracted considerable hostile attention from the ANC and human rights monitoring groups in the region who believe the unit was intended — or actually operated — as a CCB-type organisation to shore-up Brigadier Gqozo's hold on power.

In his interview with *The Argus*, Brigadier Gqozo admitted the role of the unit was to protect him and his administration, even from attempts to oust him launched from within Ciskei's regular security apparatus, but insisted its function was defensive, rather than aggressive.

"These people — there were about 40 or 50 altogether — were contracted by the Ciskei government, not the Defence Force," he said.

"It had been set up specifically to be an extension of the security of the Council of State — it was essentially an extension of my bodyguard — as it was under constant threat of violence from our enemy forces. I will not elaborate.

"It was also intended to be a lean, mean reaction force in cases of surprise attack against this government and country. They could and would do it because they had the capabilities to collect intelligence."

● See page 6.

Death of parabats 'a tragedy' but church uneasy at military training

The Argus Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The Border Council of Churches has described the death of eight Ciskeian soldiers in a parachuting accident as a national tragedy.

But the council was concerned that the soldiers died undergoing military training and it asked why Ciskei was "gearing itself up for war and violence".

The soldiers, members of the Ciskei Defence Force parabat battalion, died during a training exercise on August 21, when they landed in the Fish River.

"As representatives of the Christian Church in this region we are deeply concerned that lives have been lost.

"The untimely death of one single human being is a great loss to

humanity, but when eight lives are lost in one incident it ceases to be a matter of individual concern. It becomes a national tragedy.

"Although accidents will always be with us, we are concerned that these men lost their lives while undergoing military exercises.

"South Africa is at a time when all parties are turning away from war and violence and entering into a new spirit of negotiation, peace and reconciliation.

"While the rest of South Africa is celebrating a crucial breakthrough contained in the Peace Accord, in Ciskei we see the exact opposite — the creation of covert armies, a huge military budget, intensive recruitment from

the SADF, rumours of a CCB-like hitsquad, military attacks on people's homes and surveillance of our homes."

The council welcomed the announcement that the deaths would be thoroughly investigated, but called on the South African government to "see to it that the principles of the Peace Accord are adhered to by their appointed authorities in the homelands".

In an address this week to soldiers attached to the Ciskei Defence Force's Air Wing at Bullembu airport, military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said his government hoped the parents of the dead parabats would work with the government "in a united spirit".

Rowdy reception for Ciskei's military ruler at Rhodes meeting

The Argus Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Students at Rhodes University jeered Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo at a meeting on the campus this week before walking out.

They said they were protesting against his presence and continued repression in the homeland.

Brigadier Gqozo was invited to speak on the campus by the Liberal Student Democrats, a rightwing group until recently affiliated to the National Students' Federation.

Members of the audience greeted Brigadier Gqozo and his entourage of bodyguards and security police with shouts and

whistles when he entered the packed lecture theatre.

The chairman of the meeting tried to introduce Brigadier Gqozo but was interrupted by a Nusas/Sansco representative, who said he had a number of questions to put to the brigadier.

He asked Brigadier Gqozo to give a detailed account of the "notorious" International Research, a CCB-type organisation that had been "linked to a secret camp used to train Inkatha members in guerrilla warfare", and to explain why the Whittlesea Sada area was under curfew.

He then called on all "peace-loving" people to walk out and

join a protest outside.

Addressing the 30 or so people left in the lecture theatre, Brigadier Gqozo devoted much of his speech to attacking the ANC.

Members of the audience asked a couple of questions at the end of the address, but the meeting quickly turned into a shouting match between Brigadier Gqozo and some of the protesters who had wandered back into the room.

His bodyguards eventually urged him out of the room while he shouted at a heckler that he would "spank" him if he ever set foot in Ciskei.

Alleged Ciskei hit squad to disband

By Michael Morris
Political Staff

BISHO — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo will today disband the controversial International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service unit, at the centre of allegations that the Bisho administration has its own anti-ANC hit squad.

Pressure from the South African Government was among the chief factors behind yesterday's decision.

Pretoria is central to salary and retrenchment negotiations with several of the former SADF officers recruited by the brigadier and paid substantial sums to run the clandestine unit.

Brigadier Gqozo has angrily rejected suggestions that the unit had been set up as a "dirty-tricks outfit".

In one of his most candid interviews since taking power in a coup in March 1990, Brigadier Gqozo revealed that.

- He had established the unit "as an extension of my bodyguard" and that it had reported directly to him.

- He had formed the unit as a security arm operating entirely outside the command structure of the Ciskei Police and Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) because he suspected

many of the homeland's policemen and soldiers "had been recruited by enemy forces".

- South African deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans, and the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, had urged him during a meeting in Bisho on August 6 to disband the unit.

- Most of the 50 members of IR-CIS would now be integrated into the CDF, though half of the dozen-odd senior officers (mostly South Africans) had opted out of Ciskei services altogether.

The existence of the IR-CIS came to light in February after Ciskei military intelligence officer Lieutenant Ntantiso Kleinbooi "fled" from the region.

At the time, the Ciskei government issued a statement saying that "to imply that such a service is sinister and abnormal would be totally irresponsible".

Since then, however, the IR-CIS has attracted hostile attention from the ANC and human rights monitoring groups in the region, who believe the unit was intended — or actually operated — as a CCB-type organisation to shore-up Brigadier Gqozo's hold on power.

In the interview, Brigadier Gqozo admitted that the role of the unit was to protect him and his administration,

but insisted that its function was defensive rather than aggressive.

Among those who will not be joining the CDF is the former head of the IR-CIS, Anton Nieuwoudt, reputedly a former colonel in the SADF. He is believed to have been part of a secret SADF camp, called Hippo, in northern Namibia which was mentioned in reports on the training of Inkatha fighters in guerilla warfare.

Others who have decided to opt out of the CDF alternative are almost certainly Clive Brink, also reputedly a former SADF colonel in the intelligence service, and Ted Brassell, thought to have been a major in the SADF in East London, where he was a city councillor in the 1970s.

Much of the controversy over the IR-CIS arises from allegations that it did not limit its activities to defence and information-gathering.

The East London-based Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression says actions the IR-CIS has been linked to include last year's abortive coup attempt in Transkei in which coup leader Colonel Craig Duli and others were killed, and the deaths in January of Ciskei rebels Colonel Onward Guzana and Charles Sebe. The board says various sources indicate the IR-CIS may have planned the ambush in Stutterheim.

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Ciskei disbands secret unit

BISHO. — The functions of the controversial International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service Unit (IR-CIS) have been transferred to the Ciskei Military Intelligence Department, the Ciskei Council of State said in a statement yesterday.

The unit itself has disbanded.

"This is in line with a decision taken in principle at the national peace conference, held in Johannesburg on August 23, and attended by delegates from the Ciskei," the statement said.

The decision was made "in order to promote a spirit of trust and co-operation whereby private or secret organisations should be discouraged"

It was a "mutual agreement" made after discussions with the South African government, the council said

Allegations were, it was reported yesterday, that the unit had been the Bisho administration's own anti-ANC hit squad.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has, however, angrily rejected suggestions that the unit had been set up as a "dirty-tricks outfit".

The existence of the IR-CID came to light in February after Ciskei military intelligence officer Lieutenant Ntantiso Kleinboo fled the region. — Sapa (105) CT 31/8/91

HOMELAND - CISKEI - GENERAL

1991

SEPT. - DEC.

Gqozo part of false coup, court hears

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BISHO. — Allegations that the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was involved in a false coup plot resulting in the deaths of Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana were heard at an inquest in the Supreme Court here.

Colonel Guzana was killed at a roadblock outside King William's Town on the night of January 26 while Mr Sebe, who had been travelling in the same car, escaped. He was shot dead a day later in a nearby village.

Under cross-examination, based on an affidavit, a former senior army officer in the Ciskei Defence Force, Lieutenant-Colonel Lalela Naka, testified that the "dummy coup" was set up by members of the Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, International Research, and senior CDF officers with the full knowledge of Brigadier Gqozo.

He had referred to it as a "seek and destroy" operation.

At a meeting at his home on the day of the shooting, Brigadier Gqozo had allegedly informed Brigadier A Jamangile (then head of the CDF) that when Mr Sebe and Mr Guzana arrived at the roadblock that night, they must be killed.

In the affidavit, Colonel Naka said Brigadier Gqozo said he had no place in the cells and that the two would be a threat and could escape.

Colonel Naka said in his statement he had been recruited to organise troops, transport and weapons.

It had been mentioned that "there was going to be a dummy coup to be committed by people from outside Ciskei. C Sebe and M Guzana were mentioned," Mr Naka said.

Mr J van den Berg, acting for Brigadier Gqozo and CDF, questioned Mr Naka whether Mr Sebe had been part of the pretence or believed the coup was real.

Mr Naka said Mr Sebe thought the coup was real.

He earlier agreed that the plan was to cause Mr Sebe and Mr Guzana to believe that a coup had been carried out and that Brigadier Gqozo had been detained.

The inquest continues today. — Sapa.

The unbridgeable differences over the River Kei

TWO South African-trained soldiers rule the Xhosa states of Ciskei and Transkei, but there's no love lost between them. Since taking power in bloodless coups, both General Bantu Holomisa in Umtata and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in Bisho have turned out to be equally avid in their politics, but politically poles apart. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS visited both leaders to find out what they had on the agenda. 103 105 ARG 5/19/91

THE Kei river cuts a deep, rugged canyon between Ciskei and Transkei that amply reflects the political chasm, now, between the two homeland states.

Going north, the valley can take an hour to cross, particularly as the road on the Transkei side is single carriage and heavy vehicles soon reduce the flow to a series of long columns that snake their way out of the valley at an exasperating snail's pace.

In contrast, the political rift, under present regimes, is probably unbridgeable.

The two military men who rule on either side of the majestic Kei are at daggers drawn. They are alike in some ways, though.

Both are South African-trained soldiers. Both took power in swift, bloodless military coups. Both ousted the men — Matanzima in Transkei and Sebe in Ciskei — who had led their countries to independence. Both overturned administrations they claimed were corrupt and self-seeking, and both cited high levels of corruption as the chief reason why it was necessary and urgent to wrest control from the politicians.

Both saw the need to — and did, in fact — liberalise the politics of their countries and both complain that South Africa does not give them enough money to run their administrations as they wish to.

And, arguably, both are now equally keen in their political careers.

Here they diverge.

Dressed in a grey suit and puffing on a long-stemmed traditional Xhosa pipe, Brigadier Gqozo made a curious first impression. The pipe is more or less doctor's orders ... he used to smoke cigarettes, but is now committed to an anti-stress regimen.

I had been told by his detractors to expect a "twit"

who could not think on his feet, nor express himself without advisers at his elbow. We were alone for two hours and, in fact, I found him both articulate and remarkably frank, albeit often bluntly.

What has made him bitterly controversial is his change of heart towards the Left — the ANC and its civics.

His first public address in the dizzying week after ousting the Sebes was under an ANC banner. He went further, endowing the civics, as the "people's representatives", with prominence in local affairs. This is described now, by his critics, as "outrageous flirting".

He loosened the administrative grip the Sebes had had and sought consultations on a new local government model. This is where the problems arose.

The Left claims he became arrogant and refused to discuss views differing from his own. The Brigadier says the ANC insisted its model be accepted unaltered.

Tension mounted after a series of crippling strikes and he got tough. He castigates the ANC for using the Ciskei to "promote their ideologies at the expense of the people".

"There is intolerance, intimidation and nepotism. Youngsters interfere in the marital affairs of their parents. Teachers play politics. The activists are scaring the hell out of people.

"I must tell you that my government is not prepared to lower standards in order to be the 'good boy' of the ANC.

"What we need in this country is respect, discipline and a reliable workforce. We need a growing economy which everyone will benefit from."

What clearly worries Pretoria is how far Brigadier Gqozo is prepared to go to keep his opponents under his thumb.

He says, for instance, of organisations which employ "destructive" tactics that "I make no apologies ... I will be the first on the sub-continent to start banning them again".

To the north, in Umtata, General Holomisa has his eye fixed on the broader state-building exercise.

He believes moves towards black political unity through the Patriotic Front conference could speed up negotiations.

What he advocates is that President De Klerk and black organisations should jointly formulate a programme of economic and investment needs to present to the international community. He believes the world will take note only once there is a united plea from all South Africans.

In his newly refurbished Presidential suite in the Botha-Sigcau building — his office was wrecked in the battle that ended Colonel Craig Duli's ill-conceived coup attempt last November — the General is at ease and confident.

He's better equipped for politicking and administration now too. Right at his desk is a fax machine that's a godsend to a man with his penchant for firing off usually unrelentingly critical fusillades at Pretoria. South Africa's newsrooms are but a button away from his HQ.

Despite his protestations that his career as a soldier is his future, General Holomisa is as near a consummate politician as one could find: measured and cautious where he needs to be, bold where he can afford to be and statesman-like in the space between.

Where Brigadier Gqozo is seeking a role in the new South Africa, General Holomisa already appears to have one

Colonel extradited to Ciskei

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's former military intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, was extradited by consent yesterday to the homeland to face theft charges.

He appeared in Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court and was released on R3 000 bail. The case was postponed to October 4.

Colonel Hugo fled to Transkei in July. An application for asylum was turned down, and he was handed over to the South African authorities. — Sapa

Learning to live together

IN the still August dusk, Grahamstown has the appearance of an old English town relishing its distinguished gentility.

The piercing spire of St Michael and St George, famed as South Africa's tallest steeple, commands the cluster of restored buildings around it with a patriarchal pride.

The sense of quietude extends even to the township sprawled over the hill in a haze of smoke.

From having once been a flashpoint of bitter violence, the Eastern Cape finds itself in a new political season, a hush almost.

Dialogue has replaced confrontation. A weariness of fighting has spawned a peace and better lines of communication between the authorities and the people have helped to ease frustration and prevent aggression.

In this climate, the political focus throughout the Eastern Cape is on finding a better form of local government in which all people are adequately represented.

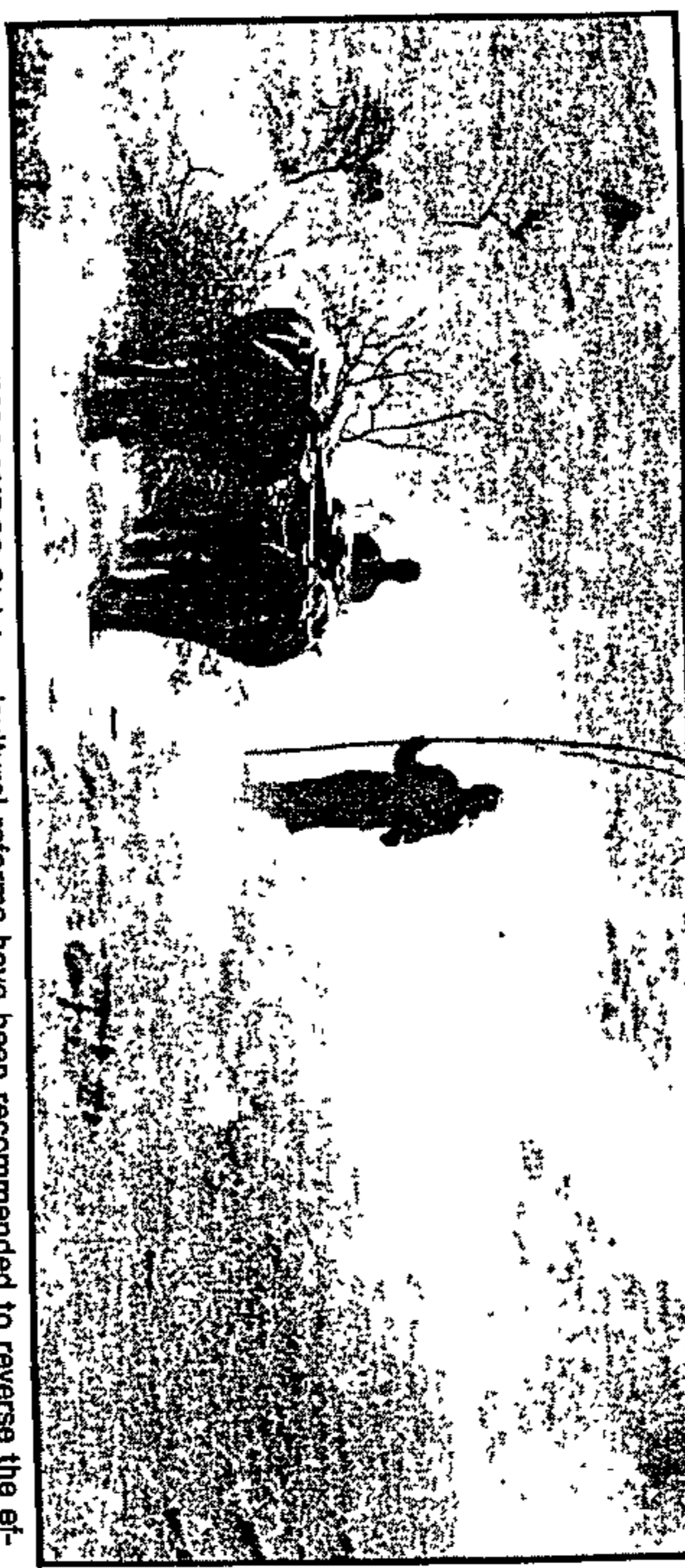
Negotiations and talks of one kind or another are underway throughout the region. In what Eastern Cape co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), Mr Max Mamase believes is a promising process of tackling the nitty-gritty of running towns and communities.

Idasa has taken a lead in arranging seminars and conferences to draw politically divergent groupings into talks on local government.

But there have been difficulties. Chief among them was the government's Interim Measures for Local Government Act promulgated this year. It angered the ANC and brought community negotiations in Port Elizabeth to a halt.

There is a strong demand for a nationally negotiated framework for working out

HISTORICALLY, South Africa's eastern seaboard, settler country, set the scene for the first, somewhat fitful encounters between Europeans and Africans. Wars and treaties, political conflicts and constitutional settlements have since produced a pattern of co-existence that reflects a greater measure of shared South African-ness. However, difficulties in achieving the fundamentals of living together remain. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS considers some.



HOMELANDS TO FARM LANDS? Strict agricultural reforms have been recommended to reverse the effects of traditional farming practises in the potentially bountiful homelands.

joint interim local government structures.

Despite this, and what appears to be a high level of distrust over the National Party's motives, political cross-pollination is continuing.

Mr Gugile Nkwinti, a researcher at Rhodes University's department of psychology and the ANC's regional secretary in the Eastern Cape, helps oversee the interests of 65 000 members in the region.

He, too, believes the Eastern Cape is "battling weary". "The politics of confrontation has been replaced by the politics of discussion." Development and "reconstruction" is increasingly being seen not merely as an end in its own right, but as an instrument of reconciliation.

Mr Nkwinti acknowledges

that one of the most intense debates is over political competition between the ANC and its allied civics. Greater or sometimes intemperate assertiveness from the civics is apparently irking the ANC.

Mr Nkwinti is candid also about the organisational problems the ANC now encounters.

"There is a concern that all this co-operation between groups might demobilise and demoralise the activist who can see quite clearly that we are not yet out of the woods. This is the kind of problem we face as we shift from highly mobilised, confrontational politics to more a phase of more sophisticated policymaking."

THE granting of nominal in-

dependence to Ciskei in 1981 was in part a political recognition of the rights of the people encountered, and subjugated, by the colonists in the early 1800s.

But that is not the whole story. It was also a piece of a constitutional mosaic designed in Verwoerd's Pretoria to secure white hegemony in South Africa.

It was never a genuine independence, but, as in the other homelands, was dressed up to seem to be. And that has been a multi-billion rand exercise.

For Pretoria, the cost of setting up unpeeped different administrations and keeping them going has been enormous.

And for homelands like Ciskei, development and administrative demands have meant a growing reliance on the South African treasury.

Bisho, though, is not happy with what it gets.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo says transfers and loans dropped markedly in 1986/87 and have never returned, in real terms, to the levels of the early 1980s.

"Budgetary assistance has continued to be insufficient to meet Ciskei's needs and we have had no option but to make further use of our overdraft facility."

It is estimated Bisho's overdraft debt will be in the region of R1,8-billion by the end of this year.

South Africa blames Ciskei's difficulties on growing State spending. Bisho says its spending is not unreasonable, and claims it has sustained an annual economic growth rate of 13 percent.

Bisho wants Pretoria to write-off the R1,8-billion overdraft debt.

At the heart of the problem is a political mistake. Independence went ahead in December 1981 despite a scientific report warning that Ciskei would never be able to achieve financial viability as an independent State.

And, while millions have been spent on follies such as Bisho's international airport and other distinctly non-priority items, development needs are crying out to be met.

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It was astonishing one afternoon last week watching three or four Xhosa women from a nearby village bent over their washing on the banks of the Umtata River, one of many big rivers in Transkei that snake their way to the coast from far inland.

It was not astonishing for being uncommon. What was

striking was that the water was an uncannily bright ochre and it was hard to imagine any item of clothing emerging from it anything but a uniform earthy hue.

It is said the Umtamvubu River discolors the sea at Port St Johns for several kilometres with the same orange stain.

This tremendous loss of top soil is an acute illustration of one of Transkei's biggest problems, harmful, yet culturally ingrained, agricultural practices.

The results are chronic over-grazing and extensive erosion.

It is estimated that there are between three and four million head of cattle across the homeland's hut-dotted hills, about twice as many as Transkei's ecology can bear.

Motorists know the perils too — fencing is rare and the animals seem impervious to traffic.

The absence of effective planning or modern farming methods is spoiling one of South Africa's potentially richest agricultural areas.

South Africa has tried to help change all this, but officials who have been closely involved say there has been little progress and they are not optimistic.

One South African recalled a discussion with a Transkei Minister in which he urged him to order a mass sale of cattle, at least to halve the livestock population as a first step towards rehabilitating grazing land.

"The Minister shook his head 'No,' he told me, 'that would be impossible. It's the system. It's Africa!'"

The dawning of a new South Africa is expected to bring with it some tough directives to the rural population of Transkei and other homelands for the sake of survival.

Sebe inquest probes into 'dummy' coup

BISHO. — A witness in the Sebe-Guzana inquest, Mr L N Naka, was asked yesterday whether it was possible Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Mangwane Guzana had approached a member of Ciskei's intelligence service (CIS) with information about a planned coup — or whether it had happened the other way around.

Mr Izak Smuts, appearing for CIS, was cross-examining the former CDF officer during the inquest into the shootings of Colonel Guzana and Mr Sebe on January 27/28 this year.

Mr Smuts examined the issue of whether or not Mr Naka had any evidence that a certain Mr Kula had been planted by the CIS as an agent provocateur to plan a dummy coup, and had been told to contact Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana.

Mr Naka responded that he had been informed (by Mr Anton Nieuwoudt of CIS) on January 26 that the dummy coup was to be staged by the CDF. He confirmed that he had no facts to prove that the coup had not come about in the way Mr Smuts suggested.

The inquest continues on Monday.

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Only R4s used, says Sebe witness

BISHO. — A witness in the Sebe-Guzana inquest here denied yesterday that bullet holes in the vehicle the men were travelling in could have been made by weapons other than R4 rifles.

Rifleman Mzwabantu Makiwane, of the Ciskei Defence Force, was testifying during the inquest into the deaths of Colonel Onward Guzana and Mr Charles Sebe.

Colonel Guzana was shot dead on January 27 at a roadblock manned by CDF soldiers. Mr Sebe, who had been in a car with him, was shot by soldiers the following day in Gubevu village.

Rfn Makiwane, who had been at the roadblock, told Mr L J Langeveld (leading evidence) that the soldiers had been armed with R4 rifles and light machineguns, and denied the presence of AK-47s, R1 rifles and 9mm pistols.

Mr M T Moerane, acting for the Sebe family, later told Rfn Makiwane there was evidence before the court that some of the bullet holes in the car had been made by 9mm weapons, AK-47s and R1s. Rfn Makiwane denied this.

He said a red Jetta car had driven through the roadblock and shots had been fired from it. Searchers on the left-hand side of the vehicle as it drove past had returned fire.

The hearing continues.

(105) CT 10/9/91

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Civic bodie



Rejoining SA tops Ciskei list

PRETORIA. — The re-incorporation of Ciskei into South Africa will be at the top of the agenda of the proposed multi-party conference, Brigadier Oupa Ogozo, head of the territory's ruling military council, said yesterday.

Addressing the press at the State Guest House here with Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Pik Botha, he said talks they had just had would be "of great benefit to the people of Ciskei".

SA backed coup, court told

12/9/91
BISHO — A witness at the inquest into the death of two alleged leaders of the failed Ciskei coup attempt in January said yesterday that he had been informed the coup bid had the support of President de Klerk.

The witness, former Ciskei Defence Force officer Mlandeli Kula, also said he had been told Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha had wanted to interview one of the coup plotters "to establish his acceptability as a head of state".

Mr Kula said in an affidavit that Charles Sebe, who died in the coup at-

tempt, had claimed that neither the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, nor Transkei would be used to overthrow Ciskei "because South Africa had advised him not to do so".

Mr Sebe had said the use of Umkhonto or the Transkei Defence Force to overthrow Ciskei would have resulted in South Africa's intervention to stop the coup.

According to the affidavit, Mr Sebe had the support of South Africa, the Transkei Defence Force and Umkhonto.

The coup attempt in

105
January is central to the inquest into the fatal shooting of Mr Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana by Ciskei soldiers on January 27-28.

Two possibilities have been put to the court that the coup may have been organised by Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, the Ciskei Intelligence Services (CIS), using Mr Kula as an agent provocateur to lure Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana; or that Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana had genuinely plotted the coup and the CIS had led them to believe they had its assistance. — Sapa.

'SA approved coup plan'

(105) Own Correspondent CT 12/4/91 in order to establish his acceptability as a head of state"

BISHO. — A witness in the Sebe-Guzana inquest yesterday said he had been informed that a plot by the two men to overthrow the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had had the support of the South African State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

The witness, a former Ciskei Defence Force officer, Mr Mlandeli Alfred Kula, also said he had been told Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha wanted to interview Colonel Onward Guzana

Mr Kula said in an affidavit before court that Mr Charles Sebe had said he was "not going to use Umkhonto or Transkei in the coup" because South Africa had advised him not to do so.

The alleged coup attempt in January this year is central to the inquest into the killing of Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana by Ciskei soldiers on January 27-28.

The Ciskei government alleged they had been plotting a coup.

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Sick-pigs scare confined to Ciskei

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — While almost all of Ciskei's pigs are reportedly infected with a disease which could cause brain disease in humans, pigs marketed here are believed to be almost unaffected.

The extent of the disease in Ciskei emerged in reported revelations by the only neurologist in the Border area, Dr Jack Thorn. He claimed the disease — cyticerrosis — was the most common cause of epilepsy in Ciskei.

A veterinarian who inspects meat at the municipal abattoir here said yesterday the infestation among pigs sent for slaughter was less than 1%. He could not be named for professional reasons.

Nieuwoudt denies Ciskei coup plot fabrication

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By PHILA NGQUMBA, Bisho
ing International Research, which
Nieuwoudt said was "a cover
name".

ANTON NIEUWOUDT, a director of Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, on Tuesday denied his unit had made up stories of an attempted coup in order to lure Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana to their deaths.

Nieuwoudt (34) was giving evidence before the inquest into the deaths of the two men who were shot after being stopped at a roadblock in January.

The Ciskei has claimed the two, both former senior Ciskei security officers, had been on a mission to overthrow Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Nieuwoudt told Ciskei's Acting Chief Justice Michael Classens the Ciskei Council of State employed him in October last year as an intelligence adviser to Gqozo. He said he had known Gqozo long before then, and had been Gqozo's instructor in 21 Battalion in 1978-1979.

Asked why he was offered the job, he said he had been part of the first SADF instructors to train black soldiers. "I was well known in the black battalions of the SADF," he said.

Nieuwoudt agreed with a suggestion by Marumo Moerane, appearing for the Sebe family, that one of his tasks was to counter coups which were rife at the time of his arrival, train bodyguards and establish a covert intelligence unit. He confirmed his unit had used many names, includ-

ing International Research, which Nieuwoudt said was "a cover name".

The unit has since been disbanded. Moerane asked him who the handler of intelligence agent Mlandeli Kula, who gave evidence last week, had been, but Nieuwoudt refused to answer, saying he was bound by the Official Secrets Act.

Nieuwoudt said Kula had first been a suspect in the coup plot but later supplied reliable information. This was why Kula had been compensated by Ciskei and re-employed.

Nieuwoudt told the court that when Sebe escaped on the morning of January 27, Brigadier Monwabisi Jamangile was in charge of the follow-up operation as commander of the Ciskei Defence Force. Jamangile had given the order that Sebe "should be caught and killed", Nieuwoudt said.

Asked by Moerane why he had not mentioned this in his affidavit, Nieuwoudt said police had not asked him. "I did not find it necessary as I did not want to involve myself in Xhosa politics," he added. He denied having trained Inkatha vigilantes as claimed in some press reports.

The witness also denied having been a member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) or the police unit Koevoet. "I am a member of the military intelligence and a good one," he said. The inquest hearing continues. — Veritas

Si



Gqozo warns Sebe home

By THEMBA KHUMALO
City Press 22/9/91

CHAIRMAN of Ciskei's Military Council, Brig Oupa Gqozo, is keen to have former President Lennox Sebe back home.

He toppled Sebe in a military coup last year while Sebe was away on a State visit to Hong Kong.

Sebe is presently believed to be housed by the South African Government in Waterkloof, Pretoria.

But it is the ANC Gqozo loathes most.

This week he told City Press that relations between him and the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, plummeted to new lows after he had refused a request by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Chris Hani to establish military bases for MK guerrillas in the homeland.

Gqozo also said his friendship with ANC president Nelson Mandela ended when the organisation's Border region wanted to take over the homeland's administration. ANC supporters became unruly and burned down the houses of those who disagreed with them.

Gqozo was speaking in his Johannesburg hotel after he attended the signing of the National Peace Accord.

"Initially I was sceptical about the success of the accord but logic dictated that I give it a chance and attend. I hope this will help to restore peace not only between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters but between the Ciskei government and the ANC too," Gqozo said.



TOP MAN ... Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

He said soon after his take-over he had good relations with the ANC and Mandela.

"Unfortunately, ANC supporters in the region mistakenly thought that the coup was meant for them. Suddenly they wanted to take over from us and dictate the running of affairs in Ciskei. They even plotted to topple me when I called them to order," Gqozo said.

He said he became so worried about the situation that he approached Mandela to ask him to speak to his supporters but the ANC leader shunned him. Hani vilified him at each rally and turned his supporters against him, he claimed.

Matters got worse after the release from prison of the ANC's Border spokesperson, Marion Spang. She used a morning newspaper to denigrate the Ciskei authority, Gqozo charged. Spang said she doubted the brigadier had understood the content of the National Peace Accord.

105

stood the content of the National Peace Accord.

"As we understand it, the agreement is supposed to usher in a new era of peace and freedom in which all political parties work together to build a climate of democratic tolerance," she said.

Spang said the ANC questioned Gqozo's commitment to the spirit of the peace agreement because just after he signed it he told City Press he would never reconcile with the local regional executive committee members.

Gqozo said he had found an ally in IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, with whom he said he shared political views.

"I respect Chief Buthelezi because he is consistent in his views."

He said his government has also forgiven Sebe. Gqozo said his council was finalising plans with Pretoria to repatriate Sebe voluntarily before Christmas.

"We met him recently while meeting South African authorities."

"We told him all is forgiven and he should return home peacefully."

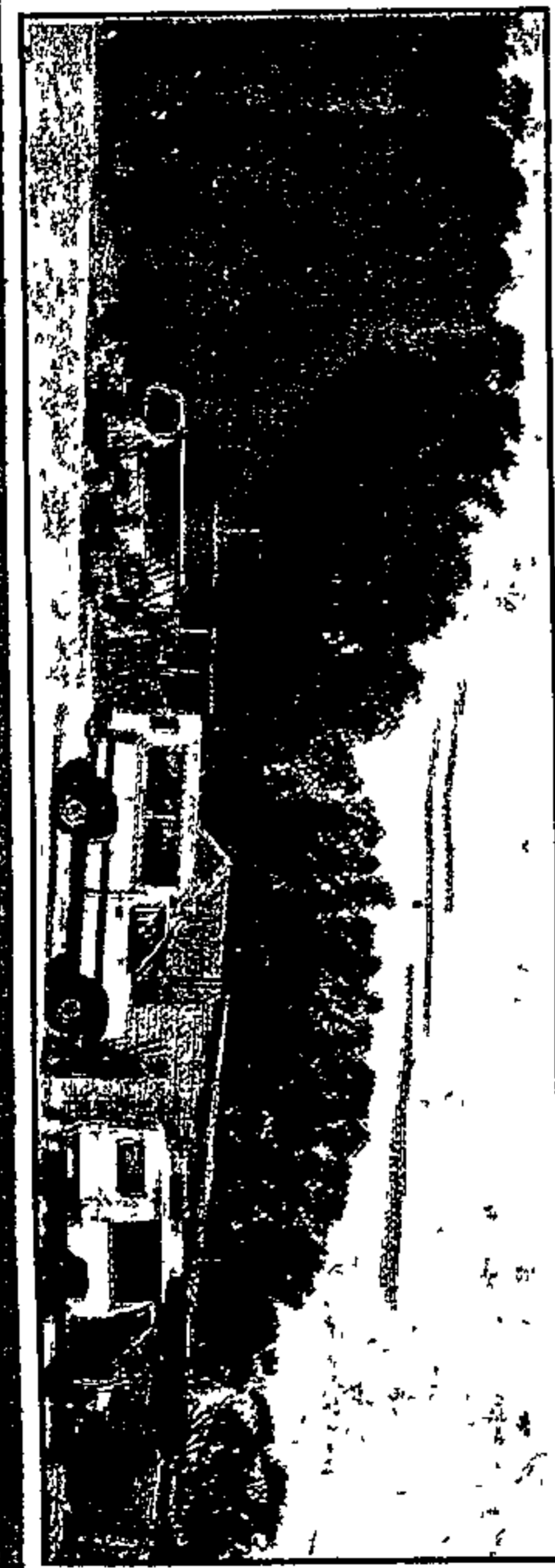
"It's only us in the military council who have buried the hatchet. The rank and file haven't forgotten his atrocities," Gqozo said.

Gqozo said he staged the coup after he had been approached by many people who complained about Sebe's dictatorship. A group of young soldiers who formed an elite army and led by Sebe's son, Kwame, unseathed a reign of terror in the homeland.



Streets of fire as taxi war explodes

IN FLAMES ... Photographer FANIE JASON graphically captures the bitter Cape taxi feud which led to five taxis worth R300 000 being destroyed last Sunday after 22 taxis of the Gugulethu, Langsa and Nyanga (Lal-gunya) Taxi Association were set light in Khayelitsha. Police said they raided the Khayelitsha terminus of the Western Cape Black Taxi Association (Webta), confiscating shotguns and ammunition. Five people died in last weekend's violence.



Arrested man to get R22 000

105

Southern 27/9/91

THE Appeal Court yesterday dismissed an appeal by the Minister of Law and Order against a judgment in which he was ordered to pay a trade unionist R22 000 for unlawful arrest and detention.

Mr David Mthuzimele Thandani, an organiser of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was arrested on August 17 1983 at the African Food and Canning Workers' Union office in East London.

He was detained by the security branch of the South African Police and, later the same day, was handed over to members of the Ciskei Security Police, who detained him until October 14, 1983.

While he was detained in the Ciskei he was neither interrogated nor charged with any offence. He was never brought before a court of law in Ciskei.

On October 11, 1989 Mr Justice JFJ van Rensburg, in the Eastern Cape Supreme

SA Press Association

Court, ordered the Minister to pay damages of R22 000, with costs, to Thandani.

Yesterday Mr Justice Joubert said the Minister's defence was a denial that the detention and handing over of Thandani was wrongful and unlawful. It was also claimed that he was lawfully detained by the government of Ciskei.

The judge said that the evidence of the police captain, who testified at the trial on behalf of the Minister, was virtually destructive of the Minister's entire defence, save for the alleged validity of Thandani's detention in Ciskei.

He correctly conceded the invalidity and unlawfulness of Thandani's arrest and detention without a warrant of arrest.

The arrest and detention was executed on the instructions of the captain's commanding officer, since a request had been received from the Ciskei government.

Ousted (105)

Sebe gets

a R2,3m

5.7.91 29/9/91
handout

By BILL KRIGE

LENNOX SEBE, ousted as Ciskei's President for Life amid allegations of corruption, has been invited home, offered indemnity from prosecution — and given a cash settlement of about R2,3-million.

The terms of the settlement offered to a man whose rule was described as erratic, despotic and greedy have been received with astonishment in the Xhosa homeland.

The deal, which Foreign Minister Pik Botha apparently helped broker, has been offered in spite of an indictment on various charges drawn up by Ciskei's attorney general.

During his rule, Mr Sebe accumulated massive wealth by buying property cheaply and expanding and furnishing his homes, usually at state expense.

Before being overthrown in March last year, Mr Sebe, now living off the SA taxpayer in Pretoria, received R520 000 a year in salary, living expenses and his wife's salary.

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NEWS

The Brothers Breytenbach

CLAIRE KEETON

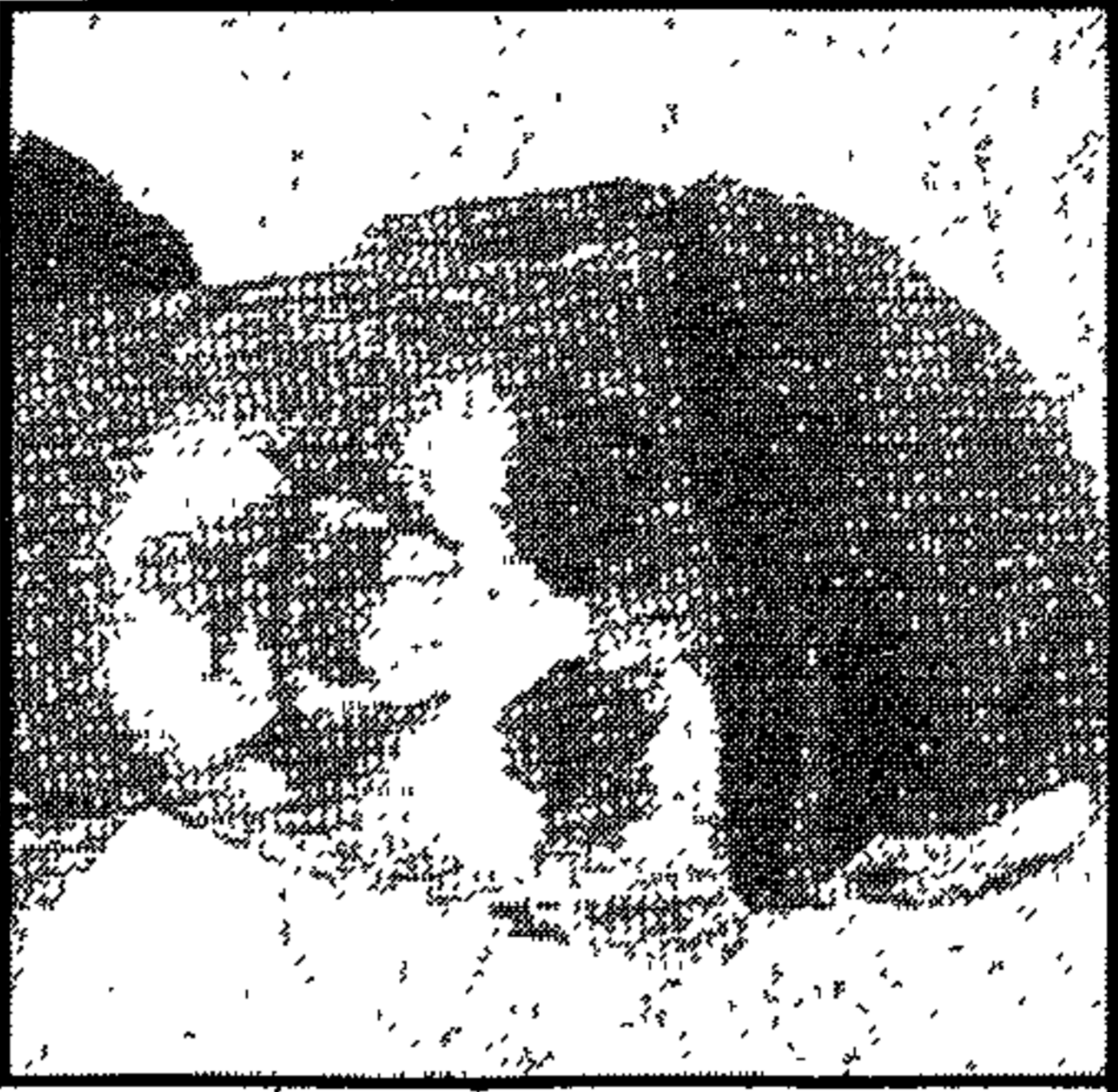
EAST LONDON

Two of South Africa's Breytenbach brothers are working together again — this time for the Ciskei military government.

Colonel Jan Breytenbach has been commanding officer of 1 Ciskei Parachute Battalion since earlier this year, while Cloete Breytenbach was appointed head of media for the Council of State in Bisho last month.

A third brother, left-wing poet, painter and author Breyten Breytenbach, is living in self-imposed exile in France.

Cloete, a former photo-journalist, covered the activities of UNITA leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in Angola at the same time as Jan, was training former



SOLDIER: Jan Breytenbach.



MEDIA MAN: Cloete Breytenbach.



EXILE: Breyten Breytenbach.

Two hold controversial posts with Ciskei government

Star 28/9/91.

Angolan soldiers for South Africa's controversial 32 Battalion.

Jan founded the battalion in 1976 and led it for more than a decade in the South African De-

fence Force's war against Swapo in Namibia. On a number of occasions, members of the battalion were accused of atrocities against civilians and guerrillas.

After Namibia gained independence the battalion was transferred to the northern Cape.

SADF spokesmen would not comment on Jan's new position, say-

ing he left the defence force some time ago. His name was not among those SADF officers seconded to the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

Colonel Gert Hugo, who defected from Ciskei two months ago, said Jan was recruited to Ciskei by the CCB-type group International Researchers.

Hugo claimed at a press conference in Um-tata that Jan was hired by Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, on the advice of International Researchers (also called Ciskei Intelligence Services) and that IR-CIS head Anton Niewoudt had then recruited him.

A press statement issued by the Ciskei Council of State would not comment on the IR-CIS allegations, but said: "It is no secret that Colonel Breytenbach, a respected retired officer of the SADF, is at present attached to the CDF in order to provide special technical advice in the upgrading of the CDF's parachute element.

Cloete Breytenbach at first refused to comment on his appointment, saying he had been "instructed not to respond". Later, however, he confirmed he held a position in the media section but declined to give details.

105

R2,3m indemnity 'deal' for Sebe?

ET 30/9/85

105

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ousted Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe has reportedly been offered R2,3 million as part of a deal allowing him to return home and be indemnified from prosecution for alleged corruption.

In return he has to promise to keep out of politics.

Mr Sebe was ousted in March last year amid evidence of large-scale corruption and mismanagement of public funds. The man who overthrew him, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, vowed to have him extradited to face charges. Mr Sebe has apparently been offered a lump sum of R1,7 million and a further R600 000.

Last October, a legal adviser to the Ciskei government, Mr Mickey Webb, said the process for Mr Sebe's extradition application was well on its way, but was hampered by practical problems. Now lawyers acting for the military government and for Mr Sebe are hammering out an agreement for his return.

In 1988, Mr Sebe received a salary of R185 000 a year and spent another R264 000 on property maintenance. He was reported to have bought up white-owned farms at rock-bottom prices, owned numerous businesses and spent millions on furnishing and upgrading various properties.

After the coup the military government froze his assets. Since then Mr Sebe has lived in a guest house owned by the South African Department of Public Works and Land Affairs in Waterkloof Heights, Pretoria — at taxpayers' expense.

Conditions of the settlement offer have now been leaked. If Mr Sebe accepts, he will lose his 1 000-hectare farm, a luxury mansion in Bisho, a beach cottage at Hamburg, a bottle store and other properties. He will keep his considerable luxury furnishings and personal effects.

At 65, Mr Sebe is said to be in poor health.

In 1985 he collapsed in Johannesburg and had a four-hour heart bypass operation.

It is unclear where he would stay on his return. One possibility is a farm called Zantvula, near Stutterheim.

Asked whether the South African government had been involved in the talks, the chairman of Ciskei's council of ministers, Dr Henk Kayser, confirmed that "all our communications with South Africa go through Foreign Affairs".

The settlement itself, however, was being handled by lawyers, he said. Mr Sebe's Pretoria-based lawyer could not be reached for comment yesterday.

ANC supporters 'held in Ciskei'

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress has claimed that Ciskeian police have arrested several of its supporters at Msobomvu near Alice and that tension is reaching a "crisis situation".

Ciskeian security and uniformed police had arrived in large numbers to search a forest outside Msobomvu, an ANC organiser, Mr Fukhumzi Fomyo, said.

The alleged arrests followed a weekend clash between ANC supporters and supporters of recently re-introduced headmen which left two people seriously injured.

The Ciskei police in Alice yesterday refused to comment and the Commissioner of Police, General J J Viktor, could not be reached for comment.

ANC youth who had been present at the weekend clash reportedly fled into the forests fearing arrest by the Ciskei police or retaliatory attacks.

The clash had followed a meeting to encourage "unity and peace" in the Msobomvu community over the "divisive" headman system, Mr Fomyo said.

Last week, ANC leaders were allegedly arrested after the Ciskei police disrupted a meeting in the village. — Sapa.

Cast dismisses whites made administrators

ARG 3/10/91
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) has dismissed the appointment of white administrators for Alexandra and Kagiso as a non-event.

Cast's vice president, Mr Kgabisi Mosunkutu, said nothing had changed as black local authorities were still intact.

The MEC, Mr Olaus van Zyl, said in a statement the Regional Services Council chairmen of the areas in which Alexandra and Kagiso were situated would take over from councillors who had not yet bowed to pressure from extra-parliamentary organisations to resign.

The councillors would retain their positions, but would relinquish all decision-making powers to the newly appointed administrators, Mr CA du Bruyn and Mr John Griffiths.

Mr van Zyl said this would ensure the continued provision of essential municipal services.

Mr Mosunkutu said the civics had repeatedly called for the resignation of all black councillors.

Full probe underway into Ciskei cell death

EAST LONDON. — Authorities said they had launched a thorough investigation into the death in a Ciskeian police cell of 22-year-old Mount Coke man Mr Thandile Mtya.

The homeland's deputy attorney-general, Mr Leon Langeveld, said it had not been decided whether anyone would be prosecuted or if an inquest would be held as police had not completed their investigations.

Ciskei police told Mr Mtya's family on September 13 that he had been found hanged in a Punzana police cell. This followed his arrest two days following the alleged theft of a pistol and a cassette player.

His father, Mr Mzwanele Mtya, has voiced concern over wounds on his son's body and the circumstances of his death. He saw his son's corpse in a Dimbaza mortuary last Thursday.

Mr Langeveld said he had ordered a full investigation. The police were continuing their investigations and it would probably take "a bit of

time" before a docket was submitted to his office for consideration. (KS) ARG 3/10/91

• A Butterworth magistrate has heard that a Transkeian key-point guard killed two Sri Lankan nationals and attempted to hide their bodies in a river.

Mr Zingisa Maqanda, 25, appeared before Mr MK Brown on two counts of murder and a charge of armed robbery.

The prosecutor, Ms Bulelwa Pakathi, told the court that Mr R Janagan, 25, and Mr T Kathirgamanadhan, 43, were walking past a fuel depot on September 8 when Mr Maqanda shot them and robbed them of a pair of shoes and a wrist-watch.

He then dragged them to a river where he covered their bodies with grass, Ms Phakati said.

In his defence Mr Maqanda said the men taunted him about his work when they walked past the depot.

The case was postponed to October 11. — Sapa

Sebe can go home, but . . .

105

NO agreement had been reached between exiled Chief Lennox Sebe and the Ciskei Council of State for him to return to the homeland, the council said this week.

The council said, however, it was correct that Sebe had been informed he would be permitted to return to Ciskei. The offer had been made "in a spirit of reconciliation". *Sowetan*

Reacting to rumours of Sebe's imminent return from South Africa, where he has lived in exile since he was ousted in a military coup, the council said it would, however, not be party to any agreement which transferred funds or property belonging to the people to Chief Sebe. *4/10/91*

"A thorough analysis has been conducted into Mr Sebe's financial affairs and the assets of the people have been separated from the private assets of Mr Sebe," the statement said. - *Sapa*.

Ciskei row: 9 held

A FURTHER nine residents were arrested on Friday in Msobomvu village near Alice, where there have been violent clashes between supporters and opponents of Ciskei's headman system. *C/Pres 6/10/91.*

The arrests bring the number of people held to 25.

Alice ANC spokesman Singatha Mafanya said the headmen, led by Jimmy Kula, on Friday went to the Ciskei government to inform officials of their decision to resign.

The headmen were said to be planning to announce their resignation today. - Elnews 105

Sebe return plans slated

Elnews 6/10/91
THE Congress of Traditional leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has urged the South African Government to reconsider their plan to return former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe to the homeland.

Sebe, who was overthrown in March last year after allegations of corruption, has been offered indemnity from prosecution and R2,3-million. *(105)*

Contralesa national president Patekile Holomisa said the money should rather be used to ease the plight of Ciskei civil servants dismissed during a strike earlier this year. - Elnews *6/10/91*.

Sovetam
Seven die

8/10/91
FIVE Ciskei soldiers and two civilians were killed and 11 others injured when a military truck crashed at Whittlesea in Ciskei, the military government announced yesterday. (105)

The truck driver misjudged a bend in a road and overturned, killing the seven instantly last Thursday. - Sapa

Ciskei 'headmen' meet rising resistance

South 24/10-30/10/91

105

Widespread opposition is mounting in Ciskei as military strongman Oupa Gqozo moves to bolster his support base and crush the ANC, CLAIRE KEETON reports:

ATTEMPTS to reintroduce the headmen system in Ciskei have led to a wave of resistance by residents and their associations. Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo abolished the system after he came to power in March last year and demoted chiefs installed by the previous regime. Now the Ciskei government is re-installing the same chiefs and cutting ties with the residents' association.

A campaign of defiance led by the Border Civic Congress has met with fierce reaction from the authorities. Events over the past three months indicate the homeland could be returning to the turbulence of the regime of Lennox Sebe's, before he was swept away by a mass uprising.

● July 8: Gqozo announces the launch of his own political party — the African Democratic Movement (ADM).

● July 14: Residents of 22 villages in Hewu announce their opposition to Gqozo's plan to reintroduce headmen. Several people are injured and six arrested when Ciskei police teargas the launch of the ANC Youth League branch in Thornhill.

Police deny detaining ANCYL member Mkululi Baukubukwana but he later appears in court charged with intimidation.

● July 22: Ciskei's head of military intelligence, Colonel Gert Hugo, defects to Transkei. He says the Ciskei is controlled by the covert grouping International Researchers/ Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS).

● August 7: Several people are arrested after a hand grenade is thrown at the shop of an ADM organiser in Masele village in Peddie.

● August 30: Ciskei announces the closure of IR-CIS and says the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) will take over its functions.

● Sept 3: Headman Jimmy Kula of Msobomvu village, near Alice, imposes a curfew and calls for the CDF to patrol his area. He claims he received a threatening letter from an activist but cannot produce it.

● Sept 4: Residents of the Tyume district claim two headmen were elected at a meeting attended by three people. Kwezana village residents say a headman who failed to get support was voted in by his two sisters.

● Sept 8: An elderly man is killed and a number of people injured in a clash between supporters of Chief Makinana and residents' associations near the Tyefu Irrigation scheme. The ANC claims police sided with the chief's supporters.

● Sept 9: The Zweledinga Residents' Association claims residents are being harassed by newly-elected headmen supported by police. There are claims those who rejected the headmen system were refused employment at a job creation scheme.

The Hewu Residents' Association says people are being forced to accept headmen by making the headmen's attendance in certain matters compulsory — for example, in compensation claims.

● Sept 13: A Seymour magistrate refuses permission for a march in Balfour to protest against the re-introduction of headmen and living conditions.

Alice ANC official Malusi Mayatula is questioned by Ciskei security police about why he spoke against headmen at a rally.

● Sept 14: Gqozo signs the National Peace Accord.

The family of Thandile Myya, found hanged in a police cell three days after being arrested in connection with theft, say they saw bruises on his body.

● Sept 30: Nine people are arrested and two hospitalised after fighting over the headmen system in Msobomvu village.

An Alice magistrate tells pensioners they will get their pensions only if they are accompanied by their headmen.

● Oct 2: Thirteen Msobomvu residents appear in the Alice Magistrate's court on charges of attempted murder and assault. Ten are jailed because they cannot pay bail of R300 each. Some of them say they were assaulted in police custody.

● Oct 4: An ANCYL member and his girlfriend are shot by an off-duty policeman while asleep at their house in Dongwe. The ANCYL says the Whittlesea police refused to act against the policeman, saying they were scared of him. Five Ciskei policemen hijack the car of a residents' association member at gunpoint.

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of

staff, Chris Hani, refuses to obey an order delivered to him in Alice to leave the homeland.

Fifteen Ciskei armed security policemen conduct a night raid on the home of a former SACP Border secretary general and MK member who was with Hani during his visit.

● Oct 8: An Msobomvu headman resigns, bringing to 10 the number of headmen who have resigned.

● Oct 10: Forty Kwezana residents are arrested for marching against the headmen system. The ANC says the march was peaceful until police disrupted it, beating elderly people and throwing teargas canisters.

Organisations at a rally in Whittlesea decide there is no point in trying to talk to Gqozo anymore, and issue an open letter to SA State President FW de Klerk.

● Oct 11: About 40 people arrested at Kwezana are released in Alice without being charged. They claim they were assaulted by Alice police. The residents' association, the ANC and the ANCYL plan to boycott all activities of the headmen.

● Oct 12 and 13: Houses of three headmen from Peelton are firebombed by youths. Ten people are arrested for arson.

The Ciskei government and police have consistently refused to comment on these incidents. — Elnews

Ciskei govt
sanctions ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾
Sebe's return _{25/10/91}

BISHO. — Former Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe, who has been in exile since being ousted in a coup in March last year, will be allowed to return to his country, a statement from the Ciskei Council of State said yesterday.

This follows an agreement reached with the Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday afternoon, in terms of which Mr Sebe's assets will be disposed of to the benefit of the people in Ciskei.

Mr Sebe will, however, be legally entitled to pension rights when he is back in Ciskei. — Sapa

Sebe may return to Ciskei

105

By THEMBA KHUMALO

FORMER Ciskei president Charles Sebe may announce his return to the homeland this week at a press conference he will hold at SABC offices in Johannesburg.

This speculation follows an announcement by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's military council on Friday that the homeland's for-

mer dictator was free to go back to Ciskei as an ordinary citizen.

The greying Sebe refused to be interviewed by City Press on Friday at the house in Waterkloof, Pretoria, where he is being hosted by the government.

"I don't wish to be interviewed by the press at this stage because I will

make a formal announcement at SABC offices in Johannesburg on Tuesday," Sebe said.

Sebe's return to Ciskei is a sequel to cloak-and-dagger diplomatic moves between Pretoria and the Ciskei Military Council this year.

A statement issued by the Ciskei Military Council on Friday said Sebe

had committed himself in an agreement to refrain from any political activity and could return to Ciskei as an ordinary citizen.

Sebe was deposed in a bloodless coup by Gqozo in March last year. He was on a state visit to Hong Kong when the coup took place. On his return he sought asylum in Pretoria.



CHARLES SEBE... No more politics.

AV

Covert unit 'still alive'

THE Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, International Researchers (IR), may not have been completely disbanded despite government promises to this effect, says the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR). *C/P res 27/10/91*

(CDF) (105)

The Ciskei military government announced on August 30 that the unit had been closed and that its functions would be taken over by the Ciskei Defence Force

But according to research conducted by the IBIR in the Border region, there are indications that "former members will continue to operate as individuals or even that a similar group under the same name will be set up to continue with the same work".

Ciskei Council of State media officer, Cloete Breytenbach, refused to comment on the allegations. - ECNA

EARN R20,000

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN,
Political Staff

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has declared a state of emergency in the homeland to curb what he claimed was ANC-sponsored arson and terrorism.

Reports indicated Bisho was quiet early today as Brigadier Gqozo prepared to make public what his staff described as "documents" allegedly showing the extent of intimidation and violence planned or supported by the ANC.

Brigadier Gqozo, who made the announcement last night, was not available for comment this morning but was to address a Press conference later today.

The ANC has angrily dismissed Brigadier Gqozo as a "bantustan leader with no standing in the eyes of the people".

A spokesman for the Border region of the ANC, Ms Marion Sparg, said: "Gqozo cannot force himself down the throats of the people. It is quite clear they do not want him, or the headman system he is trying to impose."

Brigadier Gqozo said: "I am announcing officially and formally that from today Ciskei will have a state of emergency in all its regions and in all its districts. This is to combat arson and terrorism."

The state of emergency follows a row between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC over plans by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to visit the homeland.

Brigadier Gqozo said the ANC had not observed the correct protocol in telling him of Mr Mandela's visit, which he had heard about in the media.

But Ms Sparg said that given Mr Mandela's standing, the ANC was under no obligation to observe any kind of protocol with the homeland leader.

Brigadier Gqozo said he and his Council of State met chiefs on Sunday to discuss a reported wave of crime, violent attacks and alleged intimidation of traditional leaders.

"The Ciskei government is not going to sit and fold its arms while its people are being massacred, are being destroyed, are being intimidated and are being trampled upon by the African National Congress," Brigadier Gqozo said.

"If the ANC had such a good policy it would not need to resort to the politics of aggression and intimidation."

Ms Sparg said statements by Brigadier Gqozo at the weekend were being interpreted as a declaration of intent to increase repression in Ciskei.

He stated publicly that he is dissatisfied with magistrates in Ciskei because they are not acting with enough vigour against the ANC. The ANC, he said, needs to be hit on the head and that he intends doing so as soon as possible.

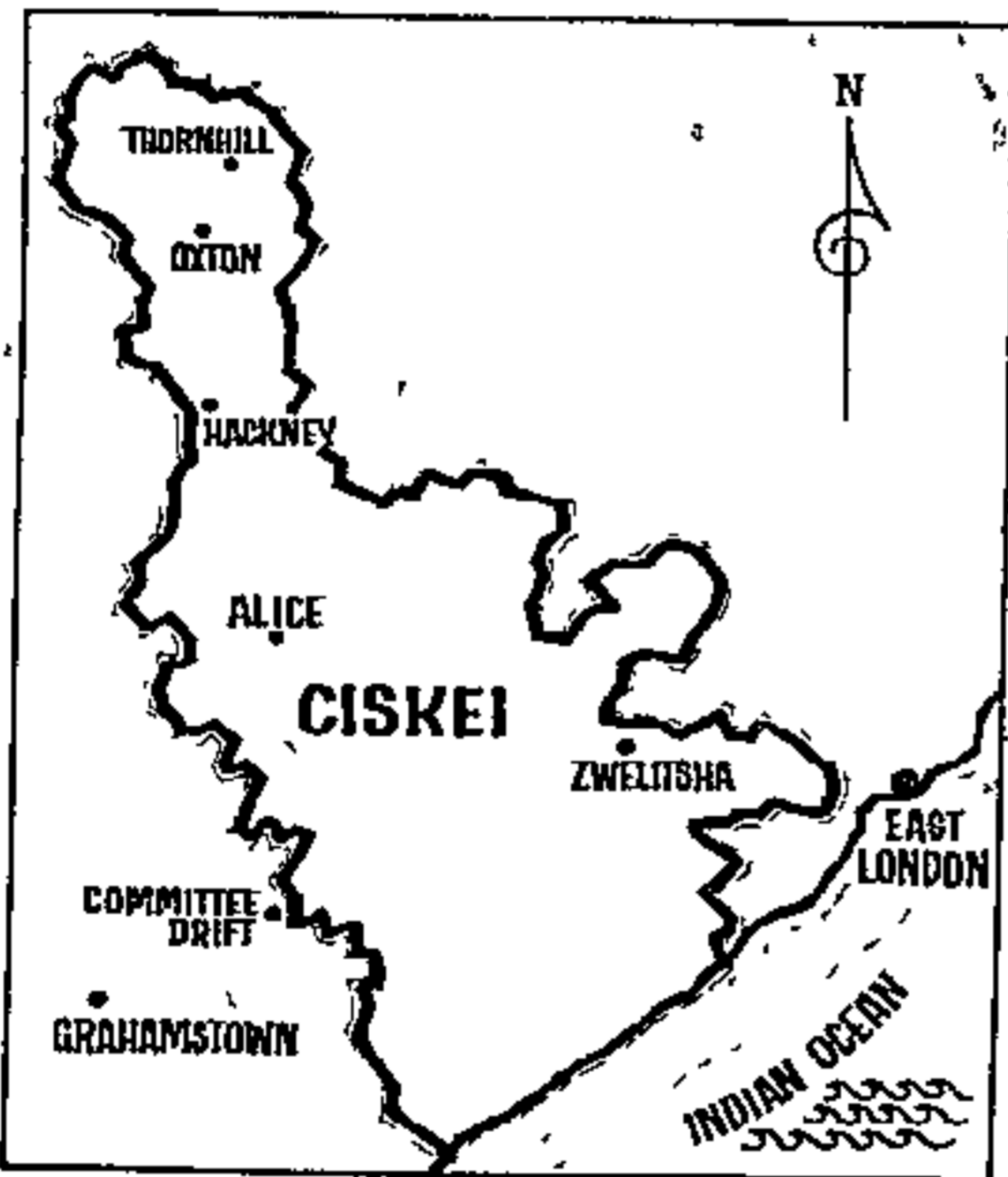
"All this was stated during a meeting with chiefs. It is interesting to note, though, that the chiefs themselves publicly admitted to Gqozo that they did not have the support of the people."

"The ANC has warned for months of the increasing tension in Ciskei. Tempers are beginning to flare. Gqozo is trying to impose himself on the people of Ciskei through the imposition of the headman system and his so-called African Democratic Movement."

"All the police and magistrates in the world cannot rescue Brigadier Gqozo from political oblivion," she said.



Brigadier Gqozo Mr Mandela



Ciskei states of emergency

105
ANC 29/10/91

Nelson who?

NEITHER Nelson Mandela nor the African National Congress are entitled to dictate terms to any homeland, the Ciskei Council of State chairman Brig Oupa Gqozo said last night. (105)

Gqozo was reacting to ANC criticism that he was a bantustan leader with no standing. - Sapa.

11/10/81
Somerset

ANC lashes out at Ciskei leader

THE African National Congress has accused Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of using his position to force the organisation into a relationship with him.

In a statement lashing out at the homeland leader on Monday, ANC representative Marion Sparg called Gqozo a "bantustan leader with no standing at all in the eyes of the people".

She said the ANC was under no obligation to observe any kind of protocol with him.

The latest war of words between the organisation and the Ciskeian leader erupted after statements made by Gqozo over the weekend which the ANC has interpreted as a declaration of his intention to increase the level of repression in Ciskei.

"He stated publicly that he is dissatisfied with magistrates in Ciskei because they are not acting with enough vigour against the ANC. The ANC, he said, needs to be hit on the head and he intends doing so as soon as possible.

"All this was stated during a meeting with Chiefs. It is interesting to note though that the chiefs themselves publicly admitted to Gqozo that they did not have the support of the people.

"The ANC has warned for months of the increasing tension in Ciskei. Tempers are beginning to flare. Gqozo is trying to impose himself on the people of Ciskei through the imposition of the headman system and his so-called African Democratic Movement.

"Gqozo cannot force himself down the throats of the people.

It is quite clear they do not want him, or the headman system," Sparg said. *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Why Ciskei declared emergency

105
Sovetan 30/10/91

CISKEI decided to declare a state of emergency because security in the homeland was being seriously compromised, the Ciskei's Council of State media office said in a statement yesterday.

The proclamation, issued yesterday, empowers the Commissioner of Police to authorise, without warrant, the arrest or detention of any person deemed a threat to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order.

The statement said despite the signing of

the Peace Accord, members of certain organisations were "pursuing a course of violence".

"In September and October the people of the Ciskei have had their security seriously compromised.

"They have been intimidated, their properties have been burnt down and government buildings have been subject to arson and sabotage," it said.

It said the commissioner had a right to restrict any media presence in certain areas or to prohibit the sale of printed matter

Ciskei order: Bring detained to court

105

CT 21/10/91

BISHO. — The Supreme Court here last night ordered that 83 detained Izele residents should appear in court this morning.

This followed developments earlier yesterday when lawyers acting for the detainees were granted an interdict ordering Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, General J J Viktor, to ensure that 55 of the more than 300 reportedly detained residents appear in court before noon yesterday.

A lawyer acting for the residents, Mr John Smith, said police had failed to do this and the lawyers had moved for contempt of court.

'No assaults'

General Viktor had tried to have the first interdict overturned by arguing that the residents were detained under Section 26 of Ciskei's security legislation, Mr Smith said.

The court had ordered that 83 people named in a list before the court appear in the Supreme Court at 10am today to be identified by family and to be inspected for any evidence of assault, he added.

The first interdict also ordered General Viktor to issue strict instructions to the police to disregard a statement in which the military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had allegedly told police to assault people.

Police were ordered "in no way" to assault the applicants. — Sapa

SA might intervene 'if asked'

105

11/3/16
33/10/91

EAST LONDON. — The South African government would consider attempting to resolve the situation in Ciskei if asked to do so by parties in the homeland, said the SA ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Piet Goosen.

He stressed that Pretoria would not intervene unilaterally.

As the Ciskei government and the African National Congress — now at loggerheads over the emergency — were both signatories to the National Peace Accord, Mr Goosen urged them

to resolve the situation under the accord.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the Ciskei military leader, said he implemented the emergency as a measure to quell unrest which he claimed was initiated by the ANC.

Just a few months ago the SA Foreign Affairs Ministry indicated that relations between Ciskei and SA were improving, and Mr Goosen said yesterday that it was too early to tell if the situation would deteriorate.

Lawyers and church leaders here continued to condemn the declaration of an emergency.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers said the proclamation contravened Ciskei's bill of rights, and the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev David Russell, appealed to President F W de Klerk to intervene.

In a letter to Mr De Klerk yesterday Bishop Russell asked South Africa to appoint an administrator-general to govern the homeland.

The SA Union of Journalists yesterday expressed concern at the declaration, particularly provisions restricting media presence in certain areas and the prohibition on the distribution of printed material.

The SAUJ further condemned an assault on two of its members from the Daily Dispatch newspaper by Brigadier Gqozo's bodyguards.

The two reporters have laid charges of assault in connection with an incident outside SABC studios. — Sapa

DO you know that when you say "I do", you are giving blanket consent to your husband to do with you as he chooses — to love and to cherish you, to honour and to rape you until death do you part?

That was the law in Britain until last week — and it is still the law in South Africa. In Britain, the land's highest court of appeal overturned a 250-year-old ruling that said a husband cannot be found guilty of raping his wife. Women's rights campaigners heralded the ruling as "the end of 250 years of sexual slavery". The first offender to be charged is a South African-born man, an accountant, who, it is charged, repeatedly bound and gagged his wife before raping her at knifepoint.

If he had stayed in South Africa, he would be free to practice his peculiar proclivities with impunity — for, despite recommendations of a South African Law Commission in 1985, the law of this land expressly gives a husband the right to force his wife to submit to sexual intercourse.

But an astonishing piece of legal activism in Ciskei is currently challenging this. In a case that is being heard in the Bisho Supreme Court, a man has been charged, for the first time in southern African legal history, for having raped his wife.

Mandisi Raymond Neanywa, a Grahamstown businessman, and his wife Nombulelo, a nursing sister, were married in 1980. But due to a gradual deterioration of the relationship they separated — and Nombulelo Neanywa had initiated divorce proceedings when he visited her on March 26 1990.

She alleges that he stormed into the house, accused her of having sexual relations with her cousin Mzoxolo Mqungwana, who was also present, and then instructed them to have sexual intercourse.

"Fearful of the accused's wrath," as the prosecution's Summary of Substantial Facts puts it, they tried unsuccessfully, to comply. Then, after "shaving off the pubic and cranial hair of both the Complainant and Mqungwana" and "confiscating their underwear", it is alleged that Neanywa forced his estranged wife to have sex with him.

The couple is now divorced. But did Mandisi Neanywa rape his wife — or was he, as he now claims, acting within a husband's legal rights to force his wife to submit to intercourse?

In order to obtain clarity on the law, the Ciskei State Advocate's office has asked Newanya to challenge the charge. Thomas Tyler, the state advocate who is arguing the case, comments that "if the judge rules in favour of the state, it would set a precedent for Ciskei, and it would be strong persuasive authority for all of South Africa".

The British ruling that was overturned is

To love, to honour, to obey and to rape

w/mant 1/11 - 4/11/91

In South Africa, a man may not be convicted for raping his wife. This archaic law has just been overturned in Britain — and may well be overruled in Ciskei. By MARK GEVISSER



known as Hale's Rule in the 18th century, the chief justice Lord Hale, remarked that "the husband cannot be guilty of a rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife — for by their mutual matrimonial consent and contract the wife hath given up herself — unto her husband which she cannot retract".

No wonder the current chief justice of Britain, Lord Lane, has written this year that the time has now arrived when the law should declare that a rapist remains a rapist subject to the criminal law — irrespective of the relationship he has with his victim.

In Bisho, Tyler is arguing that Hale's Law, being British, has never been applicable in South Africa. He is also arguing that the law has been considered faulty by both British judges and South African commentators, because it puts the rule of marriage over the rule of law, making the husband judge in his own court.

He quotes South African legal commenta-

tors who call it "a rather uncivilised doctrine", "an archaic symbol of the subordination of wives" and who say there is "flimsy" evidence for its existence in South African law.

He adds that while Roman-Dutch Law originally gave a man unlimited "marital power" over his subordinate wife, "marital power no longer exists in its original form in South Africa. It might give the husband the right to choose a place of residence, but it certainly no longer sanctions personal subjugation".

In 1985, a law commission recommended that marital rape be criminalised, stating that a husband's legal immunity from a rape charge dates from "a time when a wife was regarded as the husband's property and had virtually no rights of her own, and is in direct conflict with the modern Western view of the marriage relationship".

But when the South African Ministry of Justice attempted to pass this recommendation into law in 1988, there was widespread opposition — particularly from the Houses of Delegates and Representatives — on the grounds that it would cause a break-up in the family structure. And so, a committee came up with the compromise that rape can be an aggravating factor — if a man is convicted of assaulting his wife.

But like many compromises, this did more harm than good. We now have it entrenched in our statutes that a man has not broken the law if he rapes his wife — said Lydia Levine of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Levine feels it is a travesty of justice — to use the cohesion of a family as an excuse to avoid prosecuting a man for rape. The committee said that a woman would be responsible for breaking up the family if she reported her husband for rape — but that's blaming the victim — if he rapes her, it's he who is breaking up the family. Just because she married him doesn't mean that she gave him the right to violate her body. A woman has the right to live in safety in her own home, and the law must protect this right.

According to organisations like People Opposed To Women Abuse (Powa) and Rape Crisis in South Africa, most of the battered wives who are counselled also say they have been raped.

Women in Ciskei might find new-found protection as a result of Tyler's initiatives but, until the South African statute has been changed, women in the rest of South Africa will still be subject to a rule that even a law commission appointed by the Ministry of Justice has termed "archaic, unjust and unequal".

Beverage & Hotel sector and the market generally

One cloud that hangs over Suncisk is that the Ciskei government is not in favour of giving Sun International gaming exclusivity in the long term. Chairman Ken Rosevear says he does not expect any meaningful competition in the short-term-to-medium term, which seems fair comment. Sun Ciskei's assets are valued at R105m and in the Fish River Sun and Mpekweni Sun it has two of the best tourist sites in the country.

Investors will not forget in a hurry that the Mdantsane Sun was destroyed by fire last year; Ciskei has certainly been racked by more unrest than either Transkei or Bophuthatswana and the image of Suncisk's hinterland, the Border Region and Eastern Cape, does not help. Mdantsane, particularly, has suffered from the depressed business scene in East London. Average occupancy was 56% compared with 77% for Sun Bop.

Yet Sun Ciskei is an extremely profitable business, even in a recession in a depressed region. Attributable earnings increased by 51%, and EPS at 41,5c was more than a cent higher than the forecast in the pre-listing prospectus. Casino revenues rose by almost a third. Suncisk carries about R32m in debt; this is more than R10m down on the previous year and cash resources have increased to R15,7m (1990: R1,3m).

SUN CISKEI FM 1/11/91

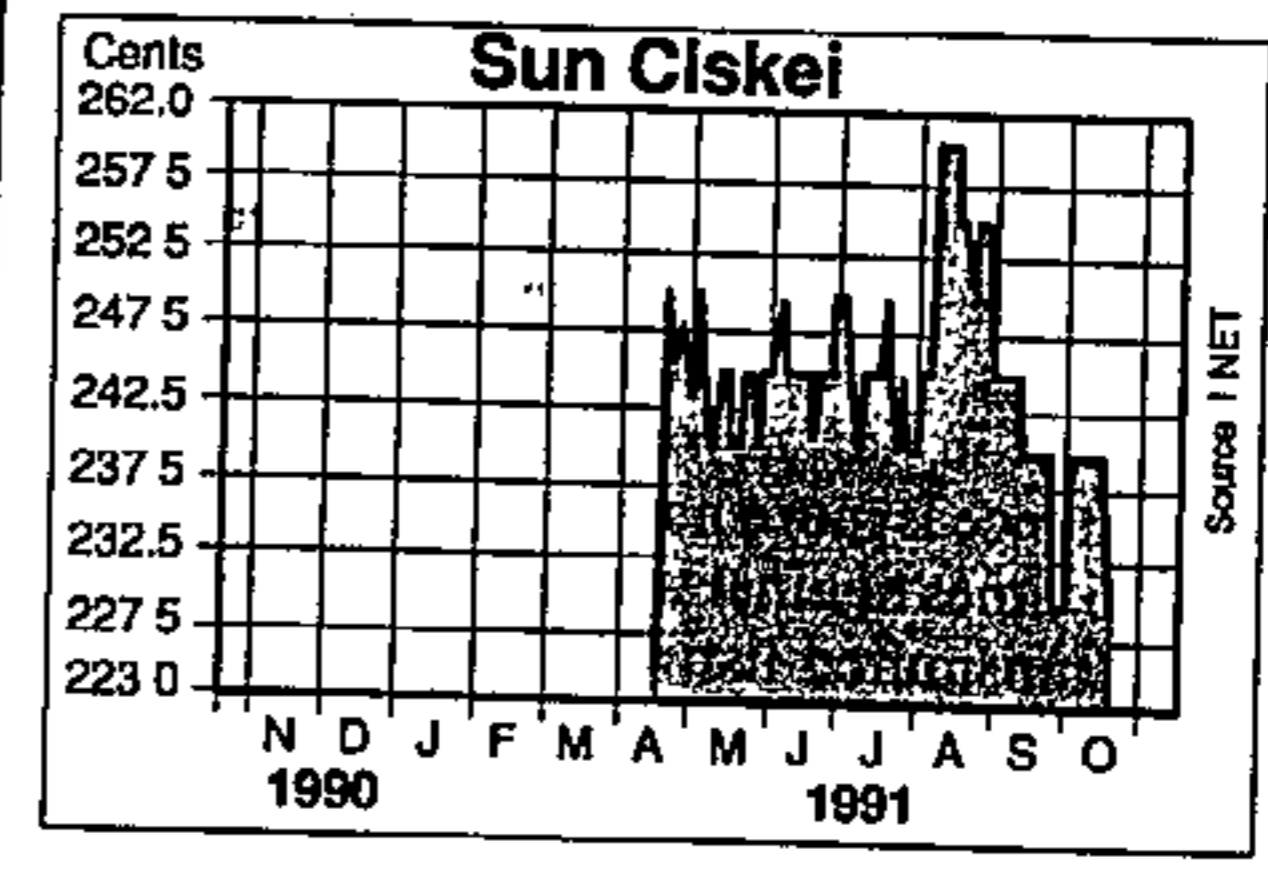
Poor relation (105)

Activities: Operates four casino resorts in the Ciskei.
Control: Sun International 33%. Safren has ultimate control.
Chairman: K A Rosevear; GM: G S Vass.
Capital structure: 75m ords. Market capitalisation: R173m.
Share market: Price: 230c. Yields: 13,7% on dividend; 18,0% on earnings; p:e ratio, 5,5; cover, 1,3. 12-month high, 260c; low, 210c. Trading volume last quarter, 1,2m shares.

Year to June 30	'90	'91
ST debt (Rm)	2,3	0,8
LT debt (Rm)	40,4	30,9
Debt:equity ratio	1,24	0,31
Shareholders' interest	0,34	0,45
Int & leasing cover	3,5	7,5
Return on capital (%)	27,2	28,9
Turnover (Rm)	82	103
Pre-int profit (Rm)	26,8	32,7
Pre-int margin (%)	32,7	31,7
Earnings (c)	37,8	41,5
Dividends (c)	26,4	31,4
Net worth (c)	66,6	68,6

Despite Sun Ciskei's high trading margins, and the good profit growth it has enjoyed this year, investors treat it as the poor relation of the Sun International group. A p:e of little more than five is the sort of rating that would more often be awarded to an ex-growth counter.

The share was listed on April 17, during a bull market, when there were complaints about a lack of quality scrip. Yet the share has not been given the boost seen by the



Suncisk enjoys tax-free status but this might be jeopardised by reincorporation of Ciskei into SA. This adds risk to the counter.

This year the Fish River Sun will be expanded at a cost of R18m, which is expected to make a material contribution to the second half. Day visitor facilities will be expanded because of pressure. The biggest pressure on margins is likely to be wages which continue to increase well ahead of inflation.

Even with the uncertainties, Suncisk looks like a buy at current prices. *Stephen Cranston*

ANC condemns arrest of members in Ciskei

star 1/11/91
Political Reporter

At least 13 ANC activists, youth organisers and community leaders had been arrested since the Ciskei's state of emergency was imposed, the ANC said yesterday.

The security police who had carried out these detentions had told residents they had a "long list" of people to detain and they should expect many more arrests, said the ANC's department of information and publicity.

The ANC warned that bloody conflict could erupt in the homeland if urgent steps were not

taken to restore civil and political freedom.

The ANC said the declaration of the state of emergency was the culmination of months of repression.

Tension between Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the ANC has mounted over recent months.

The ANC has opposed Brigadier Gqozo's "increasingly repressive regime", particularly the imposition of headmen and the restriction on political activities.

The ANC appealed to people to support the demands by the Border Peace Committee.

Talks bid for peace in Ciskei

105
C11/11/91

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A Border Peace Conference steering committee delegation will meet the National Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall, tomorrow in an attempt to bring peace to the Ciskei-Border region.

The move is a joint initiative between business and political organisations, amid concern over regional stability.

The steering committee has tried unsuccessfully to meet President F W de Klerk for months. Now with the declaration of a state of emergency in Ciskei earlier this week, peace initiatives in the region have become a matter of urgency.

The nominated Democratic Party MP and co-chairman of the committee, Mr Andre de Wet, said the delegation — also comprising an ANC Border executive member Mr Andrew Hendricks and the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr Errol Spring — will meet Mr Hall in Johannesburg with the hope of setting up regional dispute-settlement structures.

There was growing concern over stability and peace in the Border region in the light of the proclamation of a state of emergency by Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, earlier this week, Mr De Wet said.

"The situation has become more tense in the last few days. We do not need an outbreak of violence," he said.

While Mr De Klerk had declined to meet the delegation in earlier correspondence, he had suggested discussions with Mr Hall and with various government ministers to try to resolve the situation.

Mr De Wet said the steering committee had sent a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, requesting he set up a meeting — as suggested by Mr De Klerk — with the ministers of law and order, trade and industry and of manpower.

A response had not yet been received to this request, Mr De Wet said.

Ciskei teeters on edge of a popular uprising

S/TIMES 3/11/91
By BILL KRIGE

CISKEI'S state of emergency may provide the spur for the replacement of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's military government with an administrator-general and a figurehead leader.

The possibility of Pretoria taking tighter control of the wayward statelet is being seriously touted as Ciskei is poised on the brink of a popular uprising.

An ANC spokesman warned that this week's clamp could ignite violence similar to that which has ravaged Natal.

The beleaguered brigadier — increasingly isolated from business, church and political leaders — insisted the ANC was to blame.

He claimed moderates in the ANC regional leadership had been ousted by "frustrated Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers".

"Who do you think makes the petrol bombs?" he asked.

Urgent steps to defuse the tension got underway before the national peace committee in Johannesburg yesterday amid widespread calls for the military to step down to prevent a bloodbath.

Several people have died in political thuggery in the impoverished Xhosa homeland because of a struggle for control at local level between government-appointed headmen and ANC supporting residents' associations.

The emergency, declared on Tuesday, has effectively outlawed political activity — and introduced powers of arrest and detention which the ANC

claimed were virtually unlimited. (105)

It is understood that the administrator-general option — broadly similar to the post in transitional Namibia — is being punted as a solution to a problem Pretoria does not need at a time when constitutional talks are delicately poised.

Control over appointments to key cabinet posts was assumed by Pretoria some months ago and re-incorporation is just a question of time.

It is understood that Chief Lent Maqoma, an exile who blew the whistle on corruption in Lennox Sebe's government and who enjoys broad support, might be invited to fill a figurehead slot while a top official takes charge of the administrative mess.

Officers

ANC regional spokesman Marion Sparg said the military leadership was responsible for bringing Ciskei to the brink of disaster.

"What worries us is not only the potential for community violence, but the SADF officers who surround Gqozo," she said, adding that the brigadier had "lost touch".

She said headmen were being foisted on unwilling communities who felt they were better served by residents' associations.

Meanwhile, the National Peace Committee has been asked to appoint a facilitator to convene talks between the Ciskei government, the ANC and business groupings in the Border region, said committee chairman John Hall.

The appointment depended on whether Brigadier Gqozo would agree to it.

As the brigadier had committed himself to the principles of the National Peace Accord, he should have no reason to reject the move, Mr Hall said.

No death penalty, but certain deaths arouse suspicion, writes Jo-Anne Collinge

Extra-judicial Ciskei executions?

Star 4/11/91

105

CISKEI, under the rule of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has become the only area in greater South Africa to outlaw the death penalty. But suspicion lingers that extra-judicial execution is practised in the territory.

At the heart of the matter are three deaths inflicted during two alleged coup attempts early this year. They are currently the subject of two inquests. Observers are hoping that inquest evidence will throw light on the broader questions:

- Were the coups genuine, or were they ploys by Ciskei to eliminate persons who represented a threat to the brigadier's regime?
 - What was the involvement of the covert organisation International Research/Ciskei Intelligence Service, led by former members of the South African Defence Force and recently disbanded by Brigadier Gqozo?
- The first inquest is into the

deaths of one-time Ciskei police chief General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana, once second in command to Brigadier Gqozo. Both men had fled the territory — separately and years apart — and they returned in January to be shot by Ciskei security forces at a roadblock in Bisho.

The official explanation is that the two men were on their way to overthrow the government.

Colonel Guzana died at the roadblock. General Sebe fled to a nearby village, where he was tracked down and killed the next day. According to press reports at the time, he was unarmed.

lieve they had its support.

Anton Niewoudt, chief of the disbanded IR/CIS, denied his organisation had lured them to their deaths, but refused to disclose Mr Kula's handler to the inquest.

He acknowledged that Brigadier Monwabisi Jammangile of CDF had given the order that General Sebe "should be caught and killed" after he escaped the roadblock.

In an interview shortly after the killings, Brigadier Gqozo told the Sunday Star that "people loyal to me fooled Charles into believing he had their support. They wanted to trap him because he had caused the country misery".

The brigadier said a "decoy" car was sent to meet the pair of plotters as the approached Bisho.

The second inquest is that of Lieutenant Kadefuwa Qamata of the Ciskei Defence Force, whose body was found floating in a dam in Bisho days after a second al-

leged coup bid in February. He had been shot in the head.

Lieutenant Qamata was one of those sought by the authorities in relation to a second alleged coup attempt. The government immediately dubbed his death suicide.

But autopsy results cast sufficient doubt to occasion an inquest. The official version of the February coup was that 13 army officers attempted to rouse soldiers to overthrow the Gqozo regime.

The soldiers refused to take part and shooting broke out in the military base between the rebels and the loyalists. Some of the rebels were injured, some arrested and others fled. Brigadier Gqozo accused the ANC of inducing the rebel officers to act.

At least two witnesses at the inquest have stated that they received information that Lieutenant Qamata was dead before his body was found in the dam. □

Ciskei police arrest 250 ANC members

Sowetan 6/11/91

105

ABOUT 250 ANC members were arrested in Dimbaza near King William's Town on Monday afternoon, bringing the number detained since the Ciskei state of emergency was declared to 278.

Among those arrested were ANC regional executive member Mr Sam Kwelita, the chairman of the Dimbaza Residents Association, Mr Vuyisile Radoni, and an executive member of the ANC and the resident's association, Mr Amos Mpela.

The ANC's Border publicity secretary, Ms Marion Sparg, said police were still refusing to confirm the whereabouts of emergency detainees.

"Many of our members have been held for over a week now in terms of the emer-

gency regulations. Friends and relatives have approached police stations where they are believed to be held to take them fresh clothing and food parcels.

"In all cases, they are told that no emergency detainees are held in that particular station."

The ANC has also claimed that in Komga, near East London, an armed group of PAC supporters led by an SAP special constable roamed the township on Sunday night, attacking residents.

"Seven people received stab wounds inflicted by pangas and axes and several stonings also took place," said Sparg. - *Elnews*

Might SA toe about to ditch Ciskei's Gqozo?

South Africa 11-13-1991

CISKEI'S state of emergency has deepened the isolation of military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and there are indications South Africa may be preparing to end relations with him. This week there were claims the National Intelligence Service (NIS) is plotting to overthrow Gqozo. This was denied by all sides, but South Africa has made no secret of its embarrassment.

South Africa's ambassador to the Ciskei, Mr Piet Goosen, said it was "regrettable" the situation in the homeland was seen as having deteriorated to the extent an emergency was necessary.

As another indication of Gqozo's worsening relations with South Africa, he said on Radio Ciskei this week he would not listen to state president FW de Klerk or Foreign Affairs minister Pk Botha on how to resolve the crisis caused by the ANC. "They will not tell me what to do. Ciskei is a free country and we have very good relations with South Africa anyway," Gqozo said.

During the past two weeks in Ciskei: ● An estimated 314 people, mainly ANC members and civic leaders, have been arrested or detained. In addition, 86 villagers were arrested two days before the emergency started. All have been charged with public violence and released. The courts ordered another detainee be released.

● Gqozo's bodyguards allegedly threatened and assaulted two journalists who tried to talk to him about the emergency.

● Gqozo announced the emergency on SABC-TV, but no regulations were available for 24 hours, giving rise to speculation these were drawn up after the announcement.

● Ciskei lawyers confirmed media regulations had been drawn up in terms of the emergency regulations and were in force, but days later copies of these regulations were still not available.

● Gqozo instructed his policemen on Radio Ciskei to hit "silly people" on the head as court action was too slow. The Ciskei Supreme Court subsequently ordered police to ignore the instruction.

● Chief magistrates and public prosecutors were allegedly ordered not to grant bail to anyone charged with a politically-related offence, and told not to grant permission for protest marches.

There have been several attempts to mediate in the crisis. The state of emergency is generally seen as directed chiefly at the ANC and allies.

Immediately after the emergency was announced, Ambassador Goosen said his government would act as a mediator between Gqozo and the ANC and allies if asked to. Ciskei has not taken up the offer.

However, an initiative is now underway in terms of the National Peace Accord. A day after the emergency was declared, the steering committee of the Border Peace Conference—a local initiative involving businessmen, the ANC, Cosatu, SACP, the Democratic Party and the National Party—called for Gqozo's government to be replaced by an interim administrator and transitional management council.

After meeting with the committee, the chairperson of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, secured Ciskeian agreement for a peace con-

ference and the appointment of a facilitator. There is optimism the peace talks could start next week.

However, the ANC announced this week it had information the NIS planned to topple Gqozo within the week. In his place, the ANC claimed, South Africa hoped to install the current Minister of Manpower, Chief Lent Magoma. Magoma has at various times been aligned to deposed Chief Lennox Sebe and his brother, Charles Sebe, who was regarded as an enemy by both Lennox Sebe and Gqozo.

Magoma has now been accused of arming headmen in his area and has been linked to Gqozo's covert military grouping, International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services. The NIS, Magoma and South Africa, denied all knowledge of a coup plan.

Gqozo also announced this week he was abolishing residents' associations on the grounds local government, in the form of headmen, had been introduced to operate on residents' behalf.

105

The conflict between residents' associations and headmen is at the heart of the Ciskei crisis.

Gqozo has resurrected the unpopular headmen system of the Lennox Sebe government in a move seen as an attempt to recruit support for his African Democratic Movement (ADM).

In Alice, there has been considerable resistance to the headmen system — only eight of the 78 villages have headmen, half of them installed at meetings of less than 12 people.

These headmen's homes were stoned, their businesses boycotted, they have been refused transport on taxis and at least three have resigned. As one civic leader explained, the headmen system and the ADM are linked: "If this headmen system fails it means his party is a failure."

Resistance has meant the headman system has failed and this is why Gqozo initiated the emergency. With the failure of the ADM and the repressive actions of the past few weeks, Gqozo has become a political liability for South Africa.

It is a far cry from the situation only a few months ago, when it was believed Gqozo hoped to become part of a broad government-linked alliance of "moderates".

He publicly praised the Inkatha Freedom Party and seemed to be moving to an alliance with it with the July launch of ADM. — Ecna.

APARTHEID BAROMETER

UNREST VICTIMS

The Alexandra Health Centre and University Clinic treated 28 people with gunshot wounds and 52 others for injuries resulting from assaults and stabbings — from Saturday until Tuesday, according to the Centre's acting director, Dr David Robb.

Eight people seen on Saturday and another eight seen on Tuesday "were known to be related to political violence," he said.

SASH REPORT ON UNREST

The Black Sash Unrest Monitoring Group overview report on violence in Natal says about 1088 have died in unrest situations in the province this year. A further estimated 350 homes have been burnt down, affecting the lives of about 3 500 people.

Schools have been burnt down or disrupted for significant periods of time in KwaMashu, Umbumbulu, Malukazi, Richmond and other areas.

The report says the Natal Midlands towns of Mooi River and neighbouring Bruntville are the worst hit this year, "with at least 55 people dead, scores injured and over 40 homes razed."

W/M 8/11-14/11/91

HUNGER STRIKERS

There are 21 political prisoners on hunger strike in the homeland of Bophuthatswana, according to the Human Rights Commission.

One of them is former Bophuthatswana Defence Force soldier, Bushy Molefe, who has been on a fast since September 23. He is serving an eight-year jail term for his part in the 1988 coup attempt.

The hunger strikers are hospitalised in the Bophelong and Thusong hospitals, the report says.

REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION

Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has declared a State of Emergency throughout the territory.

This will enable any police commissioner in Ciskei to arrest/detain any person deemed a threat to state security. A policeman can also search premises, if he "is of the opinion that it is necessary for public safety, and maintenance of public order". Press freedom may be restricted and "distribution and sales of printed matter can be prohibited by the Commissioner of Police."

W/M 8/11-14/11/91

1/2/11/11/91

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Ciskei raid nets 13 MK members

THIRTEEN MK members were arrested during an early-morning raid in the Ciskei yesterday, according to the ANC. *Sowetan 8/11/91*

ANC Border publicity secretary Ms Marion Sparg said Lindela Saba, Mfundo Nazo, Bubele Buya, Mxolisi Mziweni, Dumile Ngwevu, Xolani Robogi, Bandile Ngcelwane, Dlaki Vani, Mbeko Twaku, Humphrey Maxengwana, Derick Melude, Mzingisi Hobana and Thembani Saba were detained under Ciskei's Internal Security Act.

They were all former exiles who recently returned to South Africa after receiving indemnity from the South African Government.

Sparg said the arrested people were initially taken to Mdantsane's NU1 police station, where they were questioned about their membership of the ANC and Umkhonto and any military training they may have received in exile.

"They are all now being held at Mdantsane Central Prison," she said.

Another four members were also detained but released later in the day.

Police carrying out the arrests at 3am yesterday said they were acting on orders from Bisho and had a list of 160 MK members who were all to be arrested.

Sparg said the ANC condemned the arrests and also reiterated its concern for others being held under emergency regulations.

"It has been reported that 11 detainees being held in Tamara police station, who were arrested last weekend, had not been given anything to eat until yesterday," she said.

elnews

Ciskei: The song remains the same

14/11/91
 2/11/91 - 14/11/91

Twenty months after Oupa Gqozo toppled Ciskei strongman, Lennox Sebe, the homeland is again in rebellion. **By MIKE KENYON** of the Grahamstown Rural Committee, which predicted the end of the Sebe regime a week before the Gqozo coup

ENNOX SEBE is about to return to the Ciskei. He may no longer be ruler, but the homeland appears remarkably similar to when he left it 20 months ago.

When Sebe went on a business trip to the Far East, he left behind an area that was in open rebellion.

The rural population of the Ciskei had had enough of years of authoritarian and corrupt rule by Sebe's appointed chiefs and headmen — the tribal authorities which ruled the countryside. People had simply had enough of years of extortion and forced membership of Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP).

If you wanted a pension, a job, a piece of land or to get your child into school, then you had to bribe the chief and headmen, join the CNIP, and pay "voluntary" taxes to the Sebe government.

One of the first things Brigadier Oupa Gqozo did after ousting Sebe in a bloodless coup was to announce the abolition of the hated tribal authorities and to welcome in their place the residents associations which had led the rebellion against Sebe.

Now Sebe is returning to a Ciskei in which Gqozo has been trying to re-impose the tribal authorities and suppress the residents associations. This time the chiefs and headmen are not trying to coerce support for the CNIP, they are doing it for Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM).

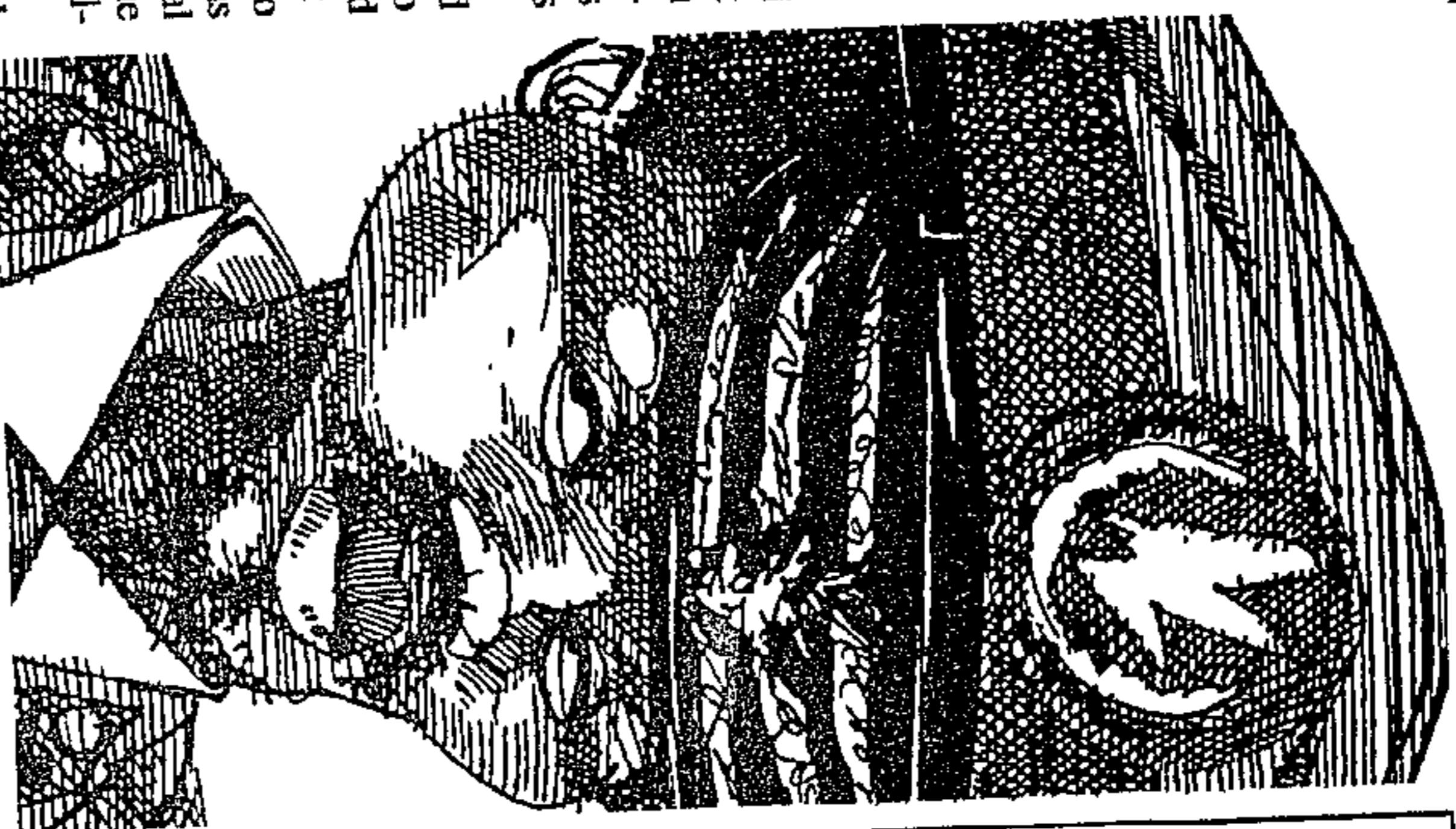
Local magistrates charged with re-establishing the tribal authorities have threatened villagers that if they did not elect headmen they stood to lose their old-age pensions.

Sebe is returning to a Ciskei where the countryside is again in rebellion. Last year villages were collecting and burning CNIP membership cards. Now they are burning ADM cards.

Like Sebe, Gqozo has imposed a State of Emergency. Gqozo's Emergency is even more extensive and vicious than Sebe's.

Gqozo has used the age-old combination of threats and promises to try to get support for his ADM. In June, Gqozo visited two villages in the northern Ciskei. He promised the people that he was planning to establish a new town for them and to set up development projects that would create job opportunities for the unemployed. This same new town has been promised to other rebellious communities in the area.

But the comparison ends there. The stories of coercion now are more alarming than under Sebe. Gqozo went on to ask the two villages to immediately make available 200 people who



Oupa Gqozo ... On the way out?

would undergo some form of military training to protect government property in the promised new town. Rumours of the recruitment and training of ADM vigilante forces emerged from all over the Ciskei.

Sebe's thugs were certainly capable of severely assaulting opponents. But generally only his security forces were heavily armed. Over the past month there have been numerous reports of bands of ADM supporters, supposedly civilians, brandishing weapons including shotguns and threatening villagers to join the ADM. The most likely source of the firearms are the chiefs and headmen themselves.

Gqozo's use of Ciskei state resources over the past year reveals a calculated attempt to build himself into a regional political force.

At a time when South African State President FW de Klerk was talking about federal constitutional models, Gqozo was listening carefully and thinking about his political future. In August 1990 Gqozo outlined his view of the Ciskei as a regional administration in a future federal South Africa, a Ciskei expanded to include Border and much of the Eastern Cape.

Sebe had started to tout this position just before Gqozo pushed him aside. Gqozo also heard De Klerk say that only political parties would be represented at national negotiations,

Plan to dump Gqozo?

CISKEI'S State of Emergency has deepened the isolation of its military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and there are indications South Africa may be preparing to dump him.

This week, there were claims that the National Intelligence Service is plotting to overthrow Gqozo. The claims were hastily denied by all sides, but South Africa has made little secret of its embarrassment at Gqozo's latest antics.

An indication of cooling relations was Gqozo's statement on Radio Ciskei this week that Ciskei would not listen to President FW de Klerk or Foreign Minister Pik Botha on how to resolve the crisis.

An initiative is now underway in terms of the National Peace Accord. National Peace Committee chairman John Hall has secured Ciskei agreement for a peace conference. There is optimism that peace talks could start next week.

However, the ANC announced this week it had information that the NIS was planning to topple Gqozo within the week. In his place, the ANC claimed, South Africa hoped to install Manpower Minister Chief Lent Magoma. The NIS, Magoma and South Africa all denied any knowledge of a coup plan. — Eena

not military governments.

But Gqozo's methods are not liberal. Gqozo has forbidden mention of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress, etc, on Radio Ciskei. He has negotiated with the SABC to have Radio Ciskei broadcast into the Cape Town and Port Elizabeth areas, no doubt to advertise his party.

The day after Gqozo launched his party harassment of ANC members by Ciskei police began. But in May already Gqozo had shown his repressive hand — 3 000 residents from around Whittlesa were violently dispersed by Ciskei police.

Gqozo's methods have been seen elsewhere — in Natal, in the PWV and before that in Namibia, Mozambique and Angola. And his approach has certainly been fostered by the South African security establishment.

Sometime during 1990 Gqozo established a covert military unit called International Research. It was managed by people with strong South African Defence Force links. This unit has been implicated in the killing of opponents of Gqozo.

It is suspected of involvement in an assassination attempt on the ANC regional vice-president. This unit has officially been closed down. Its huge and supposedly secret cache of

weapons, including automatic weapons, has not been mentioned. Speculation is that these may be the weapons that now are finding their way into the hands of ADM vigilante groups in the villages.

Since late last year the Ciskei has been flooded with officials from South Africa, many from the SADF. Early this year South Africa formally took control of four cabinet portfolios in the Ciskei. South African "special forces" such as 32 Battalion, which comprises Angolan and Mozambican troops, have been deployed in various parts of the Ciskei.

Clearly, the South African government has provided encouragement for Gqozo. The Ciskei has not lacked resources from South Africa, especially not finances for expanding its security capacity.

While De Klerk might wish the ANC to be weakened in its strongest region, the Border, can the reformist image which De Klerk is trying to project afford to be tainted with an ally such as Gqozo and his increasingly transparent and repressive tactics?

After all, Pretoria has clearly learnt heavily on Bophuthatswana to release most of its political prisoners and detainees in order to take the international heat off.

If De Klerk wants allies at the negotiating table, he needs allies who at least have some standing, who can deliver some support. Gqozo now has about as much support as did Sebe two years ago — the support of some senior bureaucrats, rural desperados and mercenaries.

The Border ANC has managed to win over even the Border business community to its demand that De Klerk remove Gqozo to prevent increasing instability in the region.

Two years ago Sebe had already become an embarrassment to South Africa as he stuck steadfastly to corrupt and repressive measures. The South African government was happy to see him go. They won't be sad to see Gqozo go either, but may be keen to have more influence in choosing his replacement.

While Gqozo has clearly overplayed his hand, someone in his position with a little more credibility, perhaps a real chief, and a little political understanding, could act as a relatively successful rallying point for traditionalists, and moderate middle-class interests. The South African government has not been at pains to court Contralesa for no reason.

Ironically, if Gqozo had handled the issue of chiefs and headmen better, he may not have ended up like a reflection of Sebe two years down the road. — Eena

●The Grahamstown Rural Committee has been supporting community struggles around land and local government and monitoring developments in the Border region, including the Ciskei, for the past eight years.

Military leader's isolation continues amid claims of overthrow plot

Ciskei crisis deepens

105 RRG 9/11/91

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

EAST LONDON — Ciskei's state of emergency has deepened the isolation of its military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and there are indications South Africa may be preparing to dump him.

This week, there were claims that the National Intelligence Service was plotting to overthrow Brigadier Gqozo.

The claims were hastily denied by all sides but South Africa has made little secret of its embarrassment at Brigadier Gqozo's latest antics.

In an early reaction to the emergency, South Africa's ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Piet Goosen, said it was "regrettable" that an emergency was deemed necessary.

And in another indication of Brigadier Gqozo's cooling relations with South Africa, he said on Radio Ciskei this week that Ciskei would not listen to State President F W De Klerk or Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pk Botha on how to resolve the crisis. "They will not tell me what to do Ciskei is a free country and we have got very good relations with South Africa anyway," he said.

Since the emergency began, an estimated 314 people, mainly ANC members and civic leaders, have been arrested or detained.

Brigadier Gqozo's bodyguards allegedly assaulted journalists who tried to ask him about the emergency.

Brigadier Gqozo, speaking on Radio Ciskei, instructed his police to hit "silly people" on the head as court action was too slow. The Ciskei Supreme Court later ordered police to ignore this.

Chief magistrates and public prosecutors were allegedly ordered not to grant bail to anyone charged with a political offence, and told to refuse permission for protest marches.

There have been several attempts to mediate in the crisis, which is being seen as directed chiefly at the ANC and its allies. When the emergency was announced, Mr Goosen said his

government would act as a mediator if asked to.

Ciskei has not taken up the offer but an initiative is now underway under the National Peace Accord.

A day after the emergency was declared, the steering committee of the Border Peace Conference, a local initiative involving businessmen, the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance, the Democratic Party and the National Party, called for an interim administration.

After meeting with the committee, there was optimism that peace talks could start next week. But the ANC then announced it had information the NIS were planning to topple Brigadier Gqozo and replace him with the current Minister of Manpower, Chief Lent Magona.

He has been accused of arming the headmen in his area and been linked to Brigadier Gqozo's covert military grouping, International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services.

The NIS, Chief Magona and South Africa all denied any knowledge of a coup plan.

Brigadier Gqozo this week announced he was abolishing residents' associations on the grounds that local government, in the form of headmen, had been introduced to operate on residents' behalf.

The conflict between residents' associations and headmen is at the heart of the Ciskei crisis.

Brigadier Gqozo has resurrected the unpopular headmen system of the Lemox Sebe government in a move seen as an attempt to recruit support for his own African Democratic Movement (ADM).

A look at the Alice region gives some idea of resistance to the headmen. Only eight out of 78 villages have headmen — in half the cases installed at meetings of less than 12 people.

These headmen have had their homes stoned, their businesses boycotted, have been refused transport on local taxis and at least three of them have now resigned.

As one civic leader explained: "If his headman system fails it means his party is a failure."



KA... BLAMI Stuart Ralph, captain of the Western Province Metallic Silhouette Shooting A team, kneels and fires in this dramatic double exposure shot. The team won the national championships in Bloemfontein last month. The tearful which involves with target practice silhouettes' original State

Sebe goes back home

105
C/100 16.11.91
FORMER Ciskei president Lennox Sebe, who has lived in exile in Pretoria since March last year, has returned home.

Sebe, who has been allowed to return to Ciskei by the country's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, would not reveal his future plans, saying only he was "back to stay". - Sapa

Exiled despot Sebe buys SA mansion

By BILL KRIGE

DEPOSED despot Lennox Sebe, recently indemnified from prosecution in the Ciskei, has bought a R380 000 mansion in King William's Town. The previous owner of the mansion was found hanged in the garage. The former president-for-life was ousted in a military coup last year and lived luxuriously in exile for the past 18 months in Pretoria at the taxpayers' expense. He flew to East London on Friday with his wife, Virginia. Although a free man in terms of a deal which gives him about R2,3-million in cash in exchange for a vow to stay out of politics, Mr Sebe elected to stay in South Africa. He had to forfeit his R2-million palace in Bisho in terms of the settlement.

105 Death

Mr Sebe's new home in Shaw Road was previously owned by German businessman Dieter Krubbe. He hanged himself in the double garage of the mansion about three months ago. Mr Krubbe was apparently experiencing financial difficulties at the time of his death. He had previously invested about R2-million in a shop in the town. His wife, apparently a highly successful businesswoman, lives in Paris. The three-level house on a steep slope has four bedrooms, two lounges and several staircases. Mr Sebe is believed to have paid the full asking price. He was met at East London airport by family and friends. Mr Sebe's son, Kwane, once the commander of Ciskei's Elite Unit, was not there to meet him. He was jailed for 12 years last December for bombing a house. However, the sentence will come into effect only when he has completed a nine-year sentence for bombing a bottle store.

Brigadier Gqozo's behaviour has become an embarrassment to the Government, it is argued

Will SA dump Ciskei's ruler?

(105) Star 11/11/91
CISKEI'S state of emergency has deepened the isolation of its military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and there are indications that South Africa may be preparing to dump him.

Last week, there were claims that the National Intelligence Service was plotting to overthrow Brigadier Gqozo. The claims were hastily denied by all sides, but South Africa has made little secret of its embarrassment at Brigadier Gqozo's latest antics.

In an early reaction to the emergency, South Africa's ambassador to Ciskei, Piet Goosen, said it was "regrettable" that the situation in the homeland was being seen as having deteriorated to such an extent that an emergency was necessary. And in another indication of Brigadier Gqozo's cooling relations with South Africa, he said on Radio Ciskei last week that Ciskei would not listen to President de Klerk or Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on how to resolve the crisis caused by the ANC.

An estimated 314 people, mainly ANC members and civic leaders, have been arrested or detained in Ciskei since the emergency started.

Brigadier Gqozo's bodyguards allegedly threatened and assaulted two journalists who tried to ask him about the emergency.

The Ciskei ruler announced the emergency on SABC-TV, but no regulations were available for the next 24 hours, prompting speculation that these were drawn up only after the announcement.

Brigadier Gqozo instructed policemen to hit "silly people" on the head as court action was too slow — an instruction which the Ciskei Supreme Court subsequently ordered police to ignore.

Chief magistrates and public prosecutors were allegedly ordered not to grant bail to anyone charged with a politically related offence, and told not to grant permission for any protest marches.

There have been several attempts to mediate in the crisis, which is generally being seen as directed chiefly at the ANC and its allies. Immediately the emergency was announced, Mr Goosen said his Government would act as a mediator if asked to. Ciskei has not taken up the offer.

However, an initiative is now under way in terms of the National Peace Accord. A day after the emergency was declared, the

steering committee of the Border Peace Conference, a local initiative involving businessmen, the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance, Democratic Party and National Party, launched a call for Brigadier Gqozo's government to be replaced by an interim administrator and transitional management council.

After meeting with the committee, the chairman of the National Peace Committee, John Hall, secured Ciskei agreement for a peace conference and the appointment of a facilitator. Last week there was optimism that peace talks could start this week. Then the ANC announced it had information that the NIS was planning to topple Brigadier Gqozo, within the week. In his place, the ANC said, South Africa hoped to install the current Minister of Manpower, Chief Lent Maqoma. The NIS, Chief Maqoma and South Africa all denied any knowledge of a coup plan.

Also last week, Brigadier Gqozo announced he was abolishing residents' associations, on the grounds that local government in the form of headmen had been introduced to operate on residents' behalf.

The conflict between residents' associations and headmen is at the heart of the Ciskei crisis. Brigadier Gqozo has resurrected the unpopular headman system of the Lennox Sebe government in a move seen as an attempt to recruit support for his own African Democratic Movement (ADM).

A look at the Alice region gives some idea of resistance to the headmen: only eight out of 78 villages have headmen, in half the cases installed at meetings of fewer than 12 people. These headmen have had their homes stoned, their businesses boycotted, have been refused transport on local taxis and at least three of them have now resigned.

With the failure of the ADM and its headman system, and the repressive actions of the past few weeks, Brigadier Gqozo has become a political liability for South Africa. It is a far cry from the situation only a few months ago, when it was believed that he hoped to become part of a broad Government-linked alliance of "moderates". — ECNA □

● David Walker is away on holiday. His column, Walker At Large, will resume when he returns.

Barend rules out intervention in Ciskei

PRETORIA — The government has ended speculation that the embattled Ciskeian military government could be replaced by an administrator. (105)

This emerged in talks between a high-powered government delegation and members of the Border Peace Conference steering committee in Pretoria yesterday.

"In view of the South African government's formal recognition of the sovereign independence of the TBVC states, it could

under no circumstances entertain discussion on any proposal for the replacement of a government of such a sovereign state," Acting Foreign Minister Barend du Plessis said after a two-hour meeting.

Military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo has placed the homeland under emergency rule in a bid to quell unrest amid a row with the ANC. The government has urged the Border Peace Conference to enter into negotiations with the Ciskei. — Sapa.

S/Day 13/11/91

Ciskei regime to stay ¹⁰⁵ Govt

Star 13/11/91
The South African Government yesterday effectively ruled out the possibility of replacing the embattled Ciskeian military government with an administrator.

This emerged after talks in Pretoria between a high-powered Government delegation and members of the Border Peace Conference (BPC) steering committee.

"In view of the South African Government's formal recognition of the sovereign independence of the TBVC states, it could under no circumstances entertain discussion on proposals to replace a government of such a sovereign state," Acting Foreign Minister Barend du Plessis said after the meeting.

At a meeting in July the BPC resolved to work towards the replacement of Ciskei's military government with "an accountable interim administration".

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has placed the homeland under emergency rule in an effort to quell unrest amid a quarrel with the ANC.

The ANC said that well over 100 of its members had been arrested during the 15-day-old emergency.



Oupa Gqozo . . . faces battle with ANC over state of emergency.

Among matters discussed yesterday were the political situation in the Border region, the potential of violence there spreading, and the depressed state of the region's economy.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Manpower Minister Eli Louw joined in the talks with a BPC delegation that included ANC regional leaders and Border businessmen.

● Judgment in an application to strike down Ciskei's state of emergency was postponed again yesterday to allow the court to hear an application challenging its security legislation.



Barend du Plessis . . . can't jeopardise TBVC states' sovereignty.

Yesterday a full Bench of the Ciskei Supreme Court heard applications on behalf of Thornhill pensioner Kolsile Siswana and an Anglican priest from Peddie, the Rev Alfred Dlamini. Both are being held in terms of the emergency.

The court will today hear argument in an application to strike down the National Security Act.

This action is being brought by the former chairman of the ANC in the Border, the Rev Makhenkesi Stofile, and Mafuza Sigabi, an ANC member from the Whittlesea district. — Sapa and Elnews.

SA won't interfere in Ciskei govt

105
ET 13/11/91

PRETORIA. — The South African government yesterday effectively ended speculation that the embattled Ciskeian military government could be replaced in favour of an administrator

This emerged in talks here yesterday between a government delegation and members of the Border Peace Conference Steering Committee.

"In view of the government's formal recognition of the sovereign independence of the TBVC states, it could under no circumstances entertain discussion on any proposal at the replacement of a government of such a (Ciskei's) sovereign state," Acting Foreign Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said.

● Meanwhile, four children were left destitute when their parents were among those detained recently in the continuing detentions in Ciskei.

An ANC spokeswoman said in a statement that Mr Mzwandile Ntlantsana — who was to appear in court in Alice yesterday on charges of intimidation — was immediately detained when he arrived. His wife Zodwa was detained a week ago and had to leave her four children at home — Sapa

Students demand "share" of school funds

Widespread misuse of funds by Student Representative Councils (SRC) in Mdantsane and other Ciskei high schools have been revealed. (S) (105)

However, reports indicate that school administrators are also not immune from this practice. Reports from the area have indicated that students have embarked on a campaign demanding a slice of school funds.

In their demand, the students were guided by a provision of the SRC constitution which stipulates that the student body is entitled to funds from the school budget to run students affairs.

Finance

According to the reports, principals in some schools were forced to hand over funds to the students, while in others the students' campaign drew a blank.

At Nyameko Secondary School, the principal reportedly gave over R3 000 to the SRC and the money was used to finance a beauty contest and a party. Liquor and meat were among the stock purchased for the event.

However, the report said the students' were angered by the fact that some principals refused to account to the community on how the money was used, creating suspicions of misuse of school funds.

If teachers are not able to account for the money to run the school, how can students be expected to, the students ask?

New Nation (Lenny Nkomo) 15/11/91 - 21/11/91



Numsa members held (105)

■ The National Union of Metalworkers has hit out at the detention of two of its members — Dimbaza Foundries workers Richard Xhero and Tamsanqa Thomas — by Ciskei police while they were attending a meeting in Pine Village near Dimbaza.

w/mail 15/11-2/11/91

10/11/91

10/11/91

More sex makes higher taxes

W/maul 15/11-21/11/91
CISKEI'S military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, says sexual accountability would reduce the load on the economy "with planned population growth and the arrest of the Aids epidemic".

Gqozo said: "Sexual accountability is the major key to economic growth and redistribution of wealth in South

(105)
Africa" and would release women to be economically productive and improve access to quality education.

"People who are governed by their reproductive organs only without regard for the consequences should be penalised with higher taxes," he said. —
efnews

BABIES TO BE SOLD IN CISKEI

prep 17/11/91

105

A PLAN to turn Bisho into the baby-trade capital of the world was being touted at high levels in Ciskei's government, it was disclosed this week.

Well-placed sources said senior Ciskei Government officials appeared ready to launch a massive international adoption agency that would place thousands of foreign orphans with rich Western couples.

City Press has established that the scheme is in its final stage of planning.

CP Correspondent

Financial assistance for the project was secured three months ago, sources said.

Efforts to get comment from the Ciskei Government failed this week.

The baby trade could bring in important foreign exchange to the impoverished homeland.

However, the proposal's disregard for the children's wellbeing is likely to spark an outcry from child protection agencies.

City Press has established that the system of screening potential parents is dangerously inadequate and that large sums of cash will change hands.

"Buying" children, banned in many countries, is condemned internationally.

Market

Behind the plan is British-born businessman Doug Turvey, mastermind of a failed attempt last year to import a plane-load of Romanian children to Johannesburg.

Turvey aims to market up to 2 000 homeless boys and girls, mostly toddlers, through Ciskei every month.

The children would be obtained from Third World countries. They would be airlifted from their native countries on flights returning from mercy missions to disaster-struck nations, sources said.

The children would be taken to Ciskei's Bulembu Airport to be collected by their new parents.

It is understood that childless couples in Britain, Australia, Scandinavia and the United States and Canada will be solicited.

The plan was first broached with senior Ciskei government officials late last year. Sources said homeland officials secured initial capital for the programme in July, giving the project their blessing on condition that a public relations professional be appointed to deal with it.

It is understood that Turvey had difficulty finding someone to take on the job.

Ciskei's new communications consultant, Johannesburg-based PR specialist Denise Bjorkman, denied any knowledge of the homeland's adoption agency plans.

"I know nothing about this," she said. "I'm as fascinated as you are. This is propaganda Ciskei has enough homeless children of its own."

A document leaked to City Press this week showed the Ciskei adoption plan to be open to abuse.

While prospective parents would be screened before being allowed to adopt, this process was likely to fall short of recognised procedures.

A high-level source said would-be adopters would not have to be checked out by a qualified social worker - a step designed to avoid abuse by underworld connections.

No attempt would be made to assist children and their new parents cope with the trauma of adoption.

The children would have no contact whatsoever with their new guardians prior to their arrival in Ciskei.

Despite its inadequacies, the adoption bureau was expected to attract thousands of desperate couples willing to fork out for a child.

One of the Ciskei baby bureau's drawcards is that it will reduce much of the red tape usually experienced with international adoptions.

Childless couples often wait for weeks in foreign countries for their adoptions to be approved. The Ciskei scheme is to handle the formalities so that instant families will be able to head home in a matter of hours.

Adopters will have to pay the agency a service fee and cover the costs of the flights to Ciskei.



SEA BELLE ... Ngabisa Mcata was a sight for shore eyes on Cape Town's beach recently. ■ Pic: FANIE JASON

Security ruling is expected

(105)

clp/rev 17/11/91

THE full bench of the Ciskei Supreme Court is expected to hand down judgment next week on the validity of the homeland's state of emergency.

Judgment in four separate applications was reserved this week.

In one of the cases, ANC Border senior officials challenged the validity of the Ciskei National Security Act, particularly its detention provisions.

In other applications emergency detainees, including Anglican priest Rev Alf Dlamini of Peddie, applied for release and for the emergency to be set aside.

The argument common to all the applications is that the emergency and the National Security Act are contrary to the Ciskei's Bill of Rights.

The applications are being considered by Acting Chief Justice M Claassens, Justice W Heath and Justice R Claassen.

Challenging the validity of the National Security Act are ANC national executive committee member Rev Arnold Stofile and Mafuza Sigabi, a top local ANC figure.

The Ciskei emergency was imposed two weeks ago. — Veritas

Ciskei ANC youth plan mass action

(105)

APR 12 11/11/91
OVER 400 people are in detention under Ciskei's state of emergency and the Border ANC Youth League has announced that it plans mass action against the government of Ciskei's military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

In the latest incident, several schoolchildren from Siyabonga High School in Alice are reportedly in hiding after seven others were detained this week.

Phaki Hobongwana, of the league's department of information and publicity, said in a statement his organisation had decided to embark on an programme of mass action. The league would "rise in defence of our people and freedom", he said.

"All dictatorship will be challenged. The reign of terror perpetuated by Brig Gqozo and the seconded security officers from South Africa will be resisted."

The ANC charged that Ciskeian security police had detained at least seven schoolchildren in Alice, while other schoolchildren had gone in to hiding to escape arrest.

The Ciskei Council of State wanted to know what the "alleged schoolchildren" had done to fear arrest.

The council statement added that if the children



**BRIG OUPA GQOZO ...
Challenged by ANC.**

"are old enough to join adult resident associations, then they are old enough to pay adult penalties for alleged crimes".

ANC Border publicity secretary Marion Sparg further charged that two ANC members, who are also executive members of the Emajwareni Residents' Association, were detained on Thursday.

A member of the ANC Youth League in Masele, near King William's Town, Tobela Rhivana, was detained on Friday, she claimed.

Sparg said she had also received reports from Masele that three members of the ANC Youth League were attacked by a group of African Democratic Movement supporters last week. After the attack, residents decided to patrol the village to prevent further incidents.

The Council of State did not respond to these charges. — Elnews Sapa

Military ruler to spend R2m on his image

SJ Times

19/11/91

105

Sunday Times Reporter

CISKEI leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is spending nearly R2-million of taxpayers' money on a massive public relations campaign to boost his image. He has hired communications psychologist Dr Denise Bjorkman, who was consulted by former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, to do the job.

He's already swapped his military dress for civilian clothes, discarding his starched avocado-green uniform for suits of fine fabric and big, brightly coloured ties.

Scholarly, square-rimmed glasses and a patchy beard have transformed his youthful features into a look of confident maturity and relaxed astuteness.

Dr Bjorkman said this week she had been hired to establish Ciskei's communications department and once that was done she could take things a step further.

Dr Bjorkman, head of four communications-related companies and author of a number of books, will receive an undisclosed fee.

Expand

The bubbly Houghton-based businesswoman, who has worked on everyone from conservatives to communists, is a specialist in image packaging.

The Ciskei government said in a press statement this week that R1-million was being spent on launching a newspaper called the Border Post. There has been a protracted tussle between the brigadier and East London's Daily Dispatch.

Ciskei spokesman Vatiswa Ntshanga said this week that Ciskei planned to expand its public relations departments.

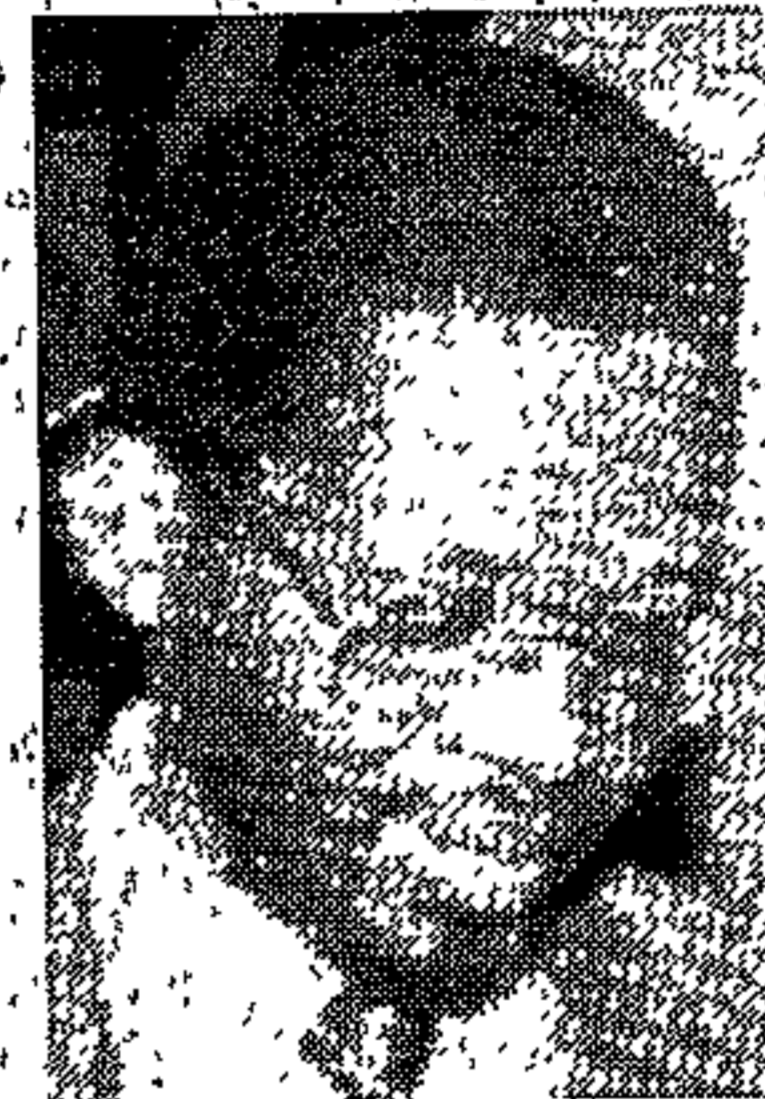
Impoverished Ciskei, under a state of emergency, is being racked by violent civil strife as pro-ANC communities continue to resist self-appointed Brigadier Gqozo's rigid rule.

The rural rebellion began three months ago when the brigadier, leader of the newly formed Africa Democratic Movement, reimposed the hated system of village headmen — interpreted by villagers as an attempt to force people into the ADM.

Last month, the military ruler's tattered image slumped to an all-time low when he bluntly ordered



OLD severe military look



NEW suave civilian look

his forces to "beat silly people on their heads".

The Bisho Supreme Court subsequently ordered Ciskei's commissioner of police, General JJ Viktor, to instruct his men to disregard the remark.

The new-look Brigadier Gqozo gave a rousing speech this week, his first since drawing on Dr Bjorkman's expertise at the beginning of the month.

He moved a black-tie function of the East London Institute of International Affairs to spontaneous applause.

Border pineapple king Corder Tilney stood up in front of the 200-strong audience and thanked the grinning military man for his efforts in bringing "stability" to Ciskei.

"It was the most polished performance I have seen from Brigadier Gqozo," said one businessman who attended the meeting.

RICA

LETHU

(105)

Ciskei to lift state of emergency

Star 18/11/91

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei government yesterday agreed to lift the 17-day-old state of emergency in the homeland.

The announcement followed talks at an East London hotel between Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Ciskei government agreed to lift the emergency and the ANC undertook to suspend the recent war of words between the homeland government and the organisation.

In a joint statement after the talks, the parties also agreed to refrain from further public statements about one another.

They further undertook to work together in an effort to bring peace to the region.

However, mass action called for by the ANC in Ciskei for today would continue, but Mr Mandela said everything possible would be done to avoid confrontation and violence.

Brigadier Gqozo gave his assurance that the ANC's right to stage demonstrations would be respected.

A Ciskei Council of State spokesman said in response to inquiries that no decision had been made concerning people detained during the emergency — estimated to number about 400. — Sapa.

Ciskei may lift its curbs soon

105

THE Ciskei government and the African National Congress have reconciled and the state of emergency in the homeland could be lifted soon.

In a joint statement in East London yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo committed themselves to peace in the region.

Gqozo confirmed that the state of emergency would be lifted and Mandela said all ANC members in Ciskei would be called on to conduct themselves peacefully.

Both said accusations levelled at each other in recent days had caused a deep rift between the Ciskei government and the ANC.

Differences had been settled at yesterday's meeting and agreement was reached on the need to resolve future disagreements by negotiation. - Sapa.

Sowetan 18/11/91

Ciskei and ANC agree on peace

(105)

ET 18/11/91

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress has made peace with the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and the state of emergency in the homeland will be lifted soon.

In a joint statement yesterday ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Brig Gqozo committed themselves to the national peace accord.

The two men finally met yesterday after months of hostility and a weekend in which Mr Mandela called Brig Gqozo a coward.

Both leaders said that accusations levelled at each other had caused a rift but that differences had been settled at yesterday's meeting and agreement was reached on the need to resolve future disagreements by negotiation.

Mass action called for by the ANC in Ciskei today would continue, but Mr Mandela said everything possible would be done to avoid confrontation.

A Ciskei Council of State spokesman said in response to inquiries no decision had yet been made concerning people detained during the emergency.

Brig Gqozo said the parties had agreed to "bury the hatchet and forget all previous allegations".

● A Ciskei government spokeswoman, Dr Denise Bjorkman, yesterday dismissed as "laughable" claims that Brig Gqozo was spending R2 million of taxpayers' money to improve his image.

She did confirm that there was an attempt to start a communication's department for the homeland government. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Mass action threat to force out Gqozo

EAST LONDON. — The ANC is still determined to force Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to quit and will step up a programme of mass action to achieve this.

The Border ANC's liaison officer, Ms Marion Sparg, said yesterday the lifting of the state of emergency would help to create the proper climate for further negotiation.

However, the ANC believed Brigadier Gqozo's resignation was the only way peace could be maintained in the region.

At a meeting on Sunday between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, the Ciskei government agreed to lift the emergency regulations and both parties said they would refrain from a war of words.

Ms Sparg said the ANC intended pursuing a programme of mass action which would intensify in the next few months. The key demands of the campaign would be calls for an interim government at both national and regional levels.

A Ciskei government spokesman said last night Brigadier Gqozo had no intention of handing over to an interim administration. While accepting Ciskei was not sovereign, the government had "domestic jurisdiction" over the homeland.

Father Alf Dlamini, one of the more prominent detainees, was released on Sunday night. He was the subject of an application in the Bisho Supreme Court which sought his release and challenged the validity of the state of emergency. — Sapa.

Ciskei crisis not over for Gqozo or the ANC

South 21/11
 CISKEI'S state of emergency has ended, but the crisis is not over for the military government or the ANC. The lifting of the emergency underlined military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's increasingly weak position and lack of control over his forces. It also highlighted the ANC's ambivalent strategy towards the homeland. During an extensive visit to the region last weekend, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela persuaded Gqozo to lift the emergency.

The meeting on Sunday had itself been the subject of dispute. Initial attempts by the ANC to arrange it failed, and on Saturday afternoon Mandela launched a stinging attack on Gqozo, calling him a "coward" and accused him of avoiding a meeting because he had broken every clause in the national peace accord. It was a long and, by all accounts, tense meeting. In the end, Gqozo agreed



ANC president Nelson Mandela

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

to end the emergency and — reluctantly — to allow protest marches against his rule. In return the ANC gave a promise to stop mud-slinging. The release of hundreds of detained Umkhonto we Sizwe guerillas.

105
 However, a number of issues remain unclear. During the emergency residents' associations were banned and detained ANC members told their organisation was banned, but there has been no announcement on the status of ANC-aligned groups.

The emergency seems to have been an expensive mistake for Gqozo as it severely undermined his already shaky political support base. South Africa seemed embarrassed by the move, and there was speculation it might drop him.

Opposition to his rule has deepened, and it is unlikely widespread protests against him will stop.

Mass protests organised by the ANC against him were planned to begin on Monday, but lifting the emergency seems to have taken the wind out of protestors' sails. Several marches and pickets failed to materialise as planned on Monday.

But opposition remains deep. An ominous indicator of continuing tensions was the petrol bomb attack on the house of ANC leader Rev Arnold Stofile. The attack came on Sunday night — hours after Mandela's agreement with Gqozo. The bombs did not ignite, and little damage was caused.

Detentions continued. In the Seymour region on Monday, activists were again reported detained and even assaulted. A total of 415 people are believed to have been detained.

The emergency has strengthened calls for the military government to step down. The Border Peace Conference, representing business, the local ANC and local MPs, backed the call.

While calls for Gqozo's removal are clear, the ANC's strategy for dealing with him is less so.

While it agreed to stop public mud-slinging, the organisation firmly insisted on its right to continue campaigning for his removal.

The meeting between Mandela and Gqozo occurred despite previously firm policy by the regional executive not to have dealings with Gqozo.

Mandela first signalled his more conciliatory approach at the beginning of October, when he said the ANC would do everything to hold direct discussions with Gqozo.

On the same visit, Mandela tried unsuccessfully to telephone Gqozo, a move local officials later described as "a personal contact by Mandela".

Although there was no public criticism of the NEC's conciliatory moves towards Ciskei, regional officials cautiously said they had not made a "definite decision" about calling for a meeting with Gqozo. — *Eena*

Gqozo's bodyguard to be exhumed

(105) CT 21/11/91

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The body of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's chief bodyguard, Lieutenant Kadefunwa Qamata, who was shot dead under mysterious circumstances in February, is to be exhumed in Transkei next week.

The skull will be examined by experts in Cape Town to determine the exact measurements of a bullet wound on it.

The type of weapon which caused the wound, and the distance from which the shot was fired, may be crucial to the out-

come of an ongoing inquest into Lt Qamata's death.

In evidence led in the inquest a police ballistics expert testified that a 7mm bullet from a high-velocity rifle could have caused the head injury.

He agreed, however, that the wound could also have been inflicted by a 9mm Parabellum service pistol — of the type found on the river bank nearby, and allegedly belonging to Lt Qamata.

A doctor who conducted the initial autopsy, and measured the skull wound as

7mm, admitted he had not been provided with ideal tools. To clear up any doubt an exhumation would be essential, he told the court in May.

Lt Qamata went missing on February 9 after a shooting incident at the 1 Ciskei Battalion. His partly decomposed body was found in the Sikobene River near the base on February 13.

The Ciskei government claimed the shooting attempt was a bid by army officers to overthrow Brigadier Gqozo's government.

Baby ^{24/11/91} trader given boot

CP Correspondent

THE Ciskei government this week confirmed it had been approached to set up a baby-adoption bureau, but claimed the plan had been rejected.

A Ciskei spokesman said the man behind the scheme, Bethel-based businessman Dough Turvey, had been "sent packing" and told never to return.

However, Ciskei earlier denied all knowledge of the plan. The homeland's communications consultant, Dr Denise Bjorkman, told City Press last Friday its information was propaganda. Meanwhile, Turvey this week insisted that his negotiations with Ciskei were continuing.

He said he was awaiting "confirmation" from a Ciskei government official who he failed to name.

British-born Turvey aims to fly thousands of children from Third World countries to Ciskei's Bulembu Airport where they will be adopted by childless Western couples.

Turvey this week estimated that his adoption agency could bring more than R10-million a month to its host nation.

Parents wanting to adopt the children would have to fork out more than R10 000 each in "licensing" fees.

He plans to airlift children from their native countries on flights returning from mercy missions to disaster-struck countries.

Ciskei claimed Turvey was now negotiating with Namibia, but Turvey, who has been refused permission to operate in SA, declined to comment further.

ANC youths detained in Ciskei 105

CISKEI police detained 15 ANC Youth League members near King William's Town on Friday, according to the organisation's Border president, Themba Kinana.

Kinana said three plainclothes policemen - known as Paraffin, Peki and Abrahams - arrived in private cars at Mzantsi on Friday morning.

He said they ordered people preparing for Friday night's launch of the Mzantsi ANCYL branch to disperse within three minutes.

The youths decided to disperse and to go ahead with the evening meeting, but soon after they went home police arrested them.

19/11/91
C/P/105 24/11/91

Ciskei confirms marital rape

w/mail 29/11-5/12/91 (105)

IN a strongly worded judgment, the Ciskei Supreme Court ruled this week that a husband may be charged with raping his wife. Until now, common law in Ciskei and in South Africa has maintained that a husband may not be charged with raping his wife because, according to an obsolete British law from the 17th century known as Hale's Rule, a wife gives her husband blanket and irrevocable consent when she says "I do".

But, in dismissing an objection by Mandisi Raymond Ncanywa that he could not be charged with raping his wife, Ciskei Supreme Court Judge WH Heath ruled that "South African society is against ... the old, mediaeval concept of the husband's dominion over his wife's body" and that "it is unlikely any civilised country or legal community will still adhere to such a principle". Heath saw the principle of irrevocable consent as a "fiction" with "no foundation in law".

A ruling in the Ciskei Supreme Court means that men may now be charged with raping their wives. What impact this will have on South African law remains to be seen
By MARK GEVISSER

In modern society, he said, "the husband and wife have ... become equal partners with full dominion over their own bodies". And so, he continued, "the marital obligation does not ... entitle the husband to take the law into his own hands by having intercourse with his wife against her will".

With this ruling Ciskei has come into line with Britain, where last month the highest court of appeal in the land dismissed Hale's Rule as "an anachronistic and offensive fiction".

But will this ruling from an "independent" homeland have any impact in South Africa?

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) has commended the ruling as "a major step forward in

the long and hard battle for an end to legitimised violence against women" because "domestic violence, including rape, remains a silent and hidden crime perpetrated against thousands of women daily in South Africa".

While Heath made it clear that he believed his decision applied to South African law as well, a South African man may still rape his wife with impunity. This is despite an explicit recommendation by the Law Commission in 1985 that a statute be passed criminalising marital rape. But when the recommendation was brought before parliament in 1988, it was rejected because of widespread opposition, particularly in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, on the grounds that this would cause a break-up in the family structure.

A compromise was reached, stating that marital rape itself is not a crime, but that it could be an "aggravating factor" if a man is convicted of assaulting his wife.

Demos urge Ciskei's ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Gqozo to ^{STAR} stand down ^{3/12/91}

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Hundreds of people marched to Ciskei's National Assembly building in Bisho yesterday to demand the resignation of military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the appointment of an interim administrator.

The march was led by the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party and the Border Civic Congress.

Armed soldiers and police locked the gates to the building as the crowd sang and danced and called for Brigadier Gqozo.

ANC national executive committee member Arnold Stofile addressed the crowd and appealed for peace.

"It is the right of the people to decide who to lead them and as such they have got a right to remove that leader."

"We are here to make the point that Ciskei is governed by the will of the people. The ANC is not fighting to govern bantustans, but it is fighting for national unity."

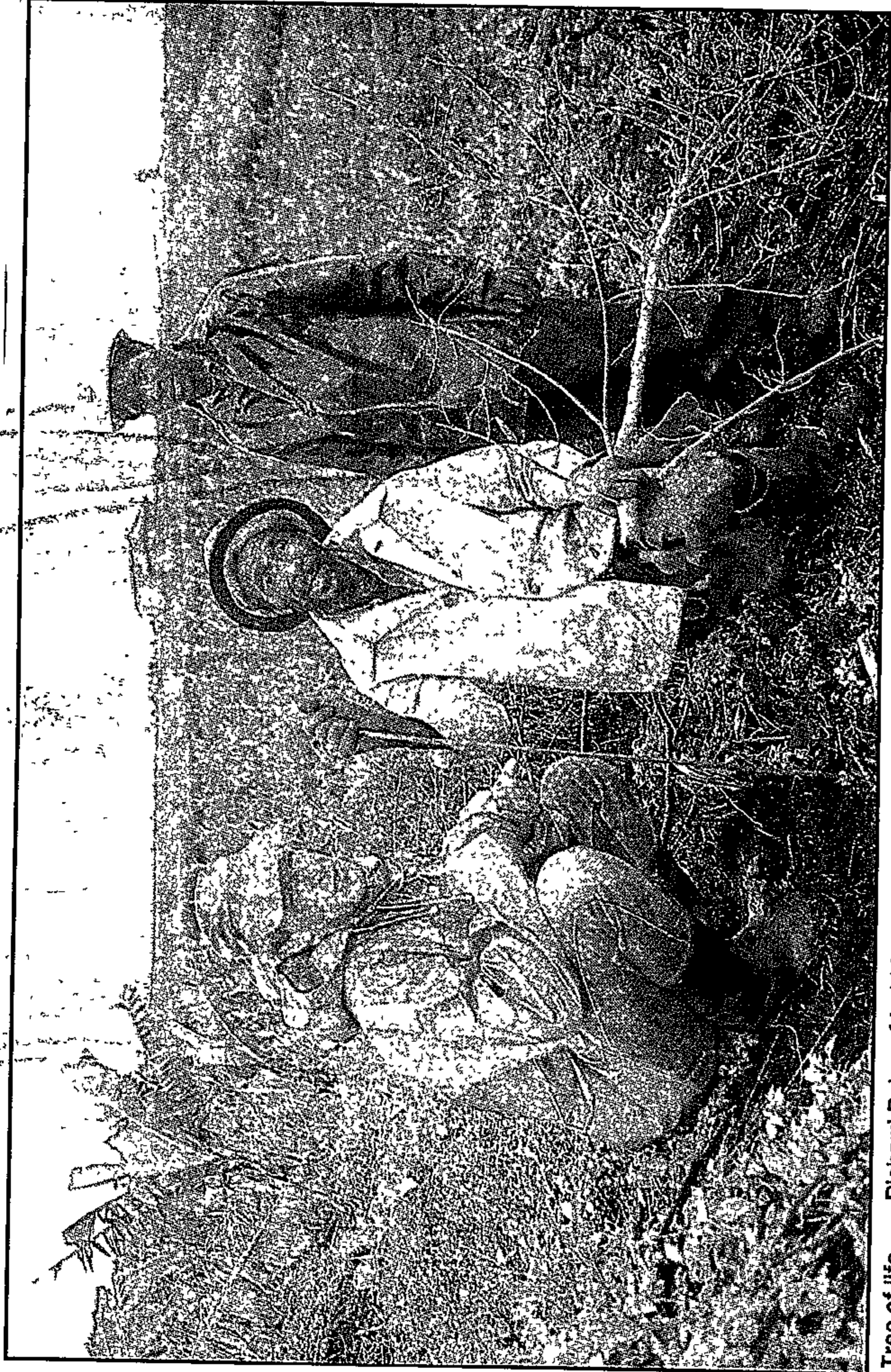
The march ended without incident when the protesters dropped their placards and left.

The Ciskei Council of State granted permission for the march in line with an agreement reached between Brigadier Gqozo and ANC leader Nelson Mandela last month.

At that meeting Brigadier Gqozo agreed to lift the state of emergency in the homeland, but the ANC said it reserved the right to continue with mass-action campaigns and to demand Brigadier Gqozo's resignation. — Ecna

CASH CROPS

A few Transkei farmers are breaking new ground by using agro-forestry to cultivate crops successfully, with the help of a fast-growing "supertree".



Tree of life . . . Richard Bolus of Imithi ye Afrika with Mhlabeni Simanga and the son who will follow in his footsteps, Dumile Simanga (25), on his Transkei farm. Picture: Chris van der Merwe

Green revolution

105

STAR 4/12/91

WHILE Mhlabeni Simanga was mining coal and gold deep in the earth, he thought constantly of plants. Now retired from the mines at 62 years old, his fingernails are practically non-existent and his hands crusty from working the rich black soil of the Lusikisiki region of Transkei. His farm is flourishing.

Mr Simanga is one of the few farmers in Transkei who is using agro-forestry to cultivate crops successfully. On his two-hectare piece of land he has about 20 different crops.

When he started three years ago, the steeply sloped land was non-productive. Then Imithi ye Afrika, a group promoting agro-forestry, gave him some luceana trees, a fast-growing, high-protein, nitrogen-fixing hybrid referred to as the magic or supertree.

Some of his ground slopes at about 50 degrees, so he used the luceanas to hold the soil. He also grew them as a fence and windbreak for his banana plants — his first potential cash crop.

Now the fence is impenetrable. He added aloes, peach trees, guava trees and orange trees. His banana crop is flourishing.

Some of the luceanas have been cut down for fencing of another field while others have been felled and left to release nitrogen and fertilise soil.

His enterprise is so successful that the Transkei government has given him permis-

sion to work as much land as he can.

"I work from sunrise to sunset, without a break, because I love it," said Mr Simanga.

His sloping land is contoured with sugar cane, and mango trees grow beside pumpkins. Sweet potatoes compete for space with pine-apples, peach trees, yams and gooseberries.

Mr Simanga has nine children. He is confident he will be able to pay for their education when all his plants yield crops.

Richard Bolus of Imithi ye Afrika told journalists on a National Environmental Awareness Trust coastal expedition that his organisation was trying to promote agro-forestry and woodlots to take the pressure off Transkei's indigenous forests.

Fodder

The group is trying to raise money to appoint a permanent training officer who will go around to train local people in agro-forestry.

Apart from the benefits of agro-forestry Mr Simanga has seen, the rapidly growing luceana can also be used as fuel and fodder. Agro-forestry also helps to cut down on pests found in a mono-culture.

Mr Simanga has been speaking to his neighbours about agro-forestry, but so far to no avail. "They don't have their heart in it, but I will keep on trying."

JULIENNE DU TOIT

Ex-director ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ CT 7/12/91 knew of plot

Own Correspondent

BISHO — Although a former Ciskei director of publications knew about a plan by Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana to take over the homeland, he did not tell any Ciskei authorities because he had fled the homeland and no telephone was available.

The director, Mr Goodman Makongolo, was testifying in an inquest into the deaths of Colonel Guzana and Mr Sebe. When Mr I Smuts, appearing for the intelligence unit, suggested that he was not opposed to the plans, Mr Makongolo said there was nothing he could do because it was clear the matter had been planned and finalised.

When Mr Smuts put it to Mr Makongolo that the matter had not yet been finalised and that he had had an opportunity to redeem himself, Mr Makongolo said he had been scared.

He said Mr Sebe left in a car with Colonel Onward Guzana for Ciskei. At that late stage nobody could disrupt their plans as they would be in power in Ciskei the following day.

Firearms said to have been found in the car in which Colonel Guzana and Mr Sebe were travelling were shown to Mr Makongolo.

He admitted they resembled those that he saw in the car before the men left Umtata for Ciskei.

When Mr Smuts pointed out the firearms had the letters TP on them, which indicated they could belong to the Transkei police, Mr Makongolo said he did not know where they came from.

Colonel Guzana and Mr Sebe were killed in Ciskei in January amid allegations that they were involved in a coup to overthrow the government of Brigadier O Gqozo.

Ciskei's detention law invalid, court declares

105 ARG 10/12/91

The Argus Correspondent

BISHO. — The Ciskei state of emergency and the detention clauses of the Ciskei National Security Act have been declared invalid on the grounds they conflict with the territory's Bill of Rights.

A full bench of the Ciskei Supreme Court yesterday gave judgment on four applications, three of them dealing with the emergency and one with section 26 of the National Security Act.

The court upheld the argument central to all four, that the provisions conflicted with the Bill of Rights and were therefore invalid.

The emergency was imposed on October 29, and lifted on November 20 after a meeting between ANC President Nelson Mandela and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

However, the security law re-

mained in force. The ruling on the emergency was of more than academic interest since the question of costs hinged on it. Costs were awarded against the Ciskei government.

The court has sent a strong signal that it will uphold the primacy of the Bill of Rights.

The challenge to the security law was brought by a senior ANC official, the Rev Arnold Stofile.

The judgment was given by Ciskei's Acting Chief Justice, Mr Justice Michael Claassens, Mr Justice Willem Heath, and Mr Justice Roger Claassen.

The judges said: "We are of the view that the regulations proclaimed under the state of emergency unquestionably had the effect of abolishing, diminishing or derogating from the fundamental rights" set out in the Bill of Rights.

Ciskei's ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ emergency invalid, ^{STAR} 10/12/91 say judges

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The judges said: "We are of the view that the regulations proclaimed under the state of emergency unquestionably had the effect of abolishing, diminishing or derogating from the fundamental rights set out in the Bill of Rights." — Veritas.

New paper hits snags (105)

THE Ciskei government's newly launched newspaper is already embroiled in a major row, with its former editor resigning and threatening to sue the Ciskei Council of State.

The first edition of the fortnightly *Border Post* appeared just over a week ago, but its editor, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, has already left.

The Ciskei government initially claimed he had been fired over the poor quality of the edition. But Breytenbach in turn called the claim "a downright lie", and said he had resigned.

He produced a letter of resignation as evidence.

He said the claim was libellous, and said he was considering legal action.

In the letter, addressed to Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Breytenbach said he had resigned to avoid future friction and confrontation.

He said the Council of State had no right to fire him or any staff member in the newspaper.

As a former managing director, Breytenbach said any dismissals would be between him and the board of trustees.

Approached for further comment on a range of issues around the newspaper and its future, the Ciskei gov-

ernment in an apparent about-face faxed a terse reply which only said: "The Ciskei government wishes to place on record that it has no service contract with Mr Cloete Breytenbach and therefore he could not have been fired from its services."

Talking about the paper, Breytenbach said the first edition "was not well received in government circles", and that the Council of State was planning to appoint an editorial committee to screen every edition before it went public.

Breytenbach said he was criticised for not being pro-government enough - *Ecna*.

Sowetan

18/12/91

Ciskei government and its ex-editor battle over paper

The Argus Correspondent

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ARC 19/12/91
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The Ciskei government said in a statement: "The Ciskei government wishes to place on record that it has no service contract with Mr Cloete Breytenbach and therefore he could not have been fired from its services."

Let Mandela go back to Transkei

ANC followers say hostel dwellers must be driven back to Natal and their accomodation destroyed because they cause all the violence.

The same should apply to Mandela for if after his release he had been deported to Transkei where he comes from, there would never have been any violence in the Transvaal except in Natal where ANC and IFP Zulus are mercilessly killing each other.

Those Zulus are stupid by having allowed themselves to be divided by Mandela into two groups. He should go and stay in Transkei and there will be peace in the transvaal.

The squatter camps should also be destroyed as they were built by Xhosa people who came from Transkei to the Reef to look for jobs after the abolition of the influx control laws

The ANC turns a blind eye to the squatter camps because the bulk of their supporters stay there.

All they know is to shout that hostels be destroyed. The hostels were erected long before the influx regulations were scrapped and some townships built.

We the hostel dwellers did not flock to the Reef during that time but have been living in hostels for many, many years.

We are permitted to reside and work in the Johannesburg area. The ANC supporters in the townships, the ones with big mouths, must also demand that Mandela be driven to Transkei and the squatter camps be destroyed.

Zulus are not only in Natal but everywhere in this country. We did not opt for independence like the Xhosa people.

NTABANYANA, NDEBELE Merafe Hostel, Soweto.

Soweto 19/12/91

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Two Ciskei ministers quit

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The embattled Ciskeian military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has been dealt yet another blow with the resignation of two cabinet ministers.

Mr Bantubonke Tokota, director-general in the Council of State office, said the Minister of Police, General Zebulon Makuzeni, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr M S Manzi, had resigned.

He declined to give reasons for their resignation and refused to comment on speculation that former Ciskei police chief Brig Fikile Zibi would take over General Makuzeni's post. Brig Zibi is currently out on bail pending an appeal against a year's imprisonment for intimidation.

Brig Gqozo, who seized power from former Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe 21 months ago, has had a turbulent year.

(105) CT 27/12/91

In January he claimed he had foiled a plot to overthrow him, in February his chief bodyguard was shot and later in the year there was a spate of government sackings.

On October 28 he declared a state of emergency to curb what he called acts of arson and terrorism fomented by the ANC. The emergency lasted only 17 days and was lifted after he had a meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela

Ciskei ministers quit

BISHO.— Ciskei's director-general in the Council of State office, Bantubonke Tokota, has confirmed the resignation of the homeland's Minister of Police, General Zebulon Makuzeni, and the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. M. S. Manzi.

Sapa. APR. 27/12/91

Ciskeian cabinet ministers quit military govt

PORT ELIZABETH — The embattled Ciskeian military government of Brig Oupa Gqozo has been dealt yet another telling blow with the resignation on Tuesday of two cabinet ministers.

Ciskei's director-general in the council of state office, Bantubonke Tokota, has confirmed the resignations. Tokota said the resignations of Police Minister Gen Zebulon Makuzeni and Foreign Minister M S Manzi had been accepted by Gqozo.

Tokota declined to give reasons for their resignations. He also refused to comment on speculation that former Ciskei police chief, Brig Fikile Zibi, would take over Makuzeni's post. Zibi is out on bail pending

31 Dec 27/12/91

Own Correspondent

an appeal against a year's imprisonment for intimidation.

Gqozo, who seized power from Lennox Sebe 21 months ago, has had a turbulent year since January.

That month Gqozo claimed he had foiled a plot to overthrow him in an incident during which former Ciskei security chief Charles Sebe and Col Mangwane Guzana were gunned down.

In February Gqozo's chief bodyguard Lt Kadefunwa Qamata went missing after a shooting incident at No 1 Ciskei Battalion. His body was found near the military base.

105
The Ciskei government claimed the shooting was a bid by army officers to overthrow Gqozo. Gqozo's government later claimed Qamata had committed suicide.

Less than six months ago Gqozo sacked two of his more credible councillors, justice minister Keith Matthee, and works minister H R L Salie

Gqozo had been at loggerheads with the ANC which called for his resignation

On October 28 Gqozo declared a state of emergency in the homeland to curb what he called acts of arson and terrorism fomented by the ANC. He claimed the ANC was trying to undermine his government.

The emergency was lifted after 17 days.

ANC, Ciskei hold talks after 3 slain

By Abel Mushi
and Sapa

ANC leader Nelson Mandela sent veteran ANC activists Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba to Ciskei on Saturday for talks with the homeland's military ruler in connection with the murder of three people by alleged ANC supporters on Thursday.

According to Ciskei police, a mob swept into a field in Masele last week and killed three people, one of them the village headman.

Three other people are reported to have been seriously injured.

Mr Mhlaba said the ANC and the Ciskei government — represented at the talks by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — had agreed to work together to restore peace in the troubled Border area.

Speaking from Port Elizabeth in a telephone interview with The Star yesterday, Mr Mhlaba said his organisation had recommended that the regional structures of National Peace Accord be invited to resolve the conflict.

"Although the exact cause of the conflict is not yet known, it appears that there has been a

misunderstanding between our supporters and members of the newly formed African Democratic Movement in the area, which is loyal to the Ciskei government," he said.

"Gqozo blamed the lack of tolerance on the part of the ANC, whom he says want to be the only dominant party in the area. But our supporters have denied the claims, stressing their recognition of other organisations' democratic right to co-exist peacefully."

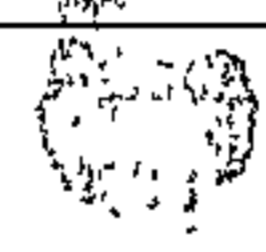
Mr Mandela's intervention and the delegation of himself and Mr Mbeki formed part of the organisation's duties to perform political tasks in keeping with the spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa.

A total of 175 people were arrested in Masele after the killings.

ANC Border publicity secretary Marion Sparg yesterday said an ANC request that all those held should be immediately released had not been accepted, but the Ciskei had agreed to give detainees access to doctors and lawyers and bring them to court "as a matter of urgency".

(105)

1977/12/21
S. THE 30/12/91



ANC hopes to prevent Ciskei bloodbath

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC wanted to prevent a "Natal-type" situation of violence and revenge developing in the Ciskei-Border region, ANC leader Govan Mbeki said yesterday.

Mbeki was speaking after ANC president Nelson Mandela dispatched him to meet Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo in an attempt to defuse simmering tensions in the area following the deaths of three people in the homeland last week.

He said it had been decided that "regional peace structures" should be set up, consisting of members of Ciskei's military council, the NP, the ANC and other organi-

sations committed to the peace accord.

"We would not like to have a situation arising as one has in Natal. We could get a situation where in a number of other locations a conflict would arise between the structures established by the Ciskei military council and the (ANC) structures already operating," Mbeki said.

The ANC delegation, which included national executive committee members Arnold Steúle and Raymond Mhlaba, met Gqozo after the arrest of 175 people in

connection with Thursday's killing of Masele village headman Solomon Mbambani, his sister-in-law and another woman.

A 500-strong crowd went on to attack the homes of supporters of the African Democratic Movement which draws its strength from traditional leadership structures.

Mbeki said the ANC was opposed to the headman system in the Ciskei, but not to leaders drawn from the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA.

He said his delegation had asked that the arrested people be released, but this was opposed by the homeland government.

30/12/91
BIB

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HOMELANDS - CISKEI - GENERAL

1992

JANUARY - AUGUST.

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Patients were dying unnecessarily at Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital because of general inefficiency and unsupervised staff at satellite hospitals, a doctor has claimed.

The Border secretary of the National Dental and Medical Association, Dr Clarence Mini, yesterday blamed the increase in deaths on "the national crisis in the health sector and the decay in effective health administration in the area".

Dr Mini said the number of deaths of mothers and newborn babies had increased over the festive season when fewer doctors were on call.

Also, satellite hospitals in Hewu, Mount Coke and Keiskammahoeek often referred patients to Cecilia Makiwane in a serious condition, he said.

Head of the paediatric ward Dr Felicity Goosen said she was unaware of an unusual increase in death statistics.

'Hospital ¹⁰⁵ inefficiency is killing CT 4/1/92 patients'

Vision of justice blurred?

By ZB MOLEFE

CISKEI's strongman Oupa Joshua Gqozo has a vision for his troubled homeland.

It goes like this: "I have a vision of justice for my people - and for all the people in our region."

Then Gqozo, who is under fire for human rights violations since taking power in a bloodless coup two years ago, changes gear. Particularly when he talks of his hatred for the Ciskei's financial dependence on South Africa.

"Why should we pick up the tab for eight years of misuse of money by (Lennox) Sebe and his cronies when the South African government sat back and folded its arms?" asks Gqozo in the latest issue of *Focus Ciskei*, official organ of the homeland's Council of State.

He argues that the Ciskei was never economically viable in the first place. But Ciskeians accepted independence on three principles

These are that the homeland would not be worse off as an independent

state; that the Ciskei would share in the resources of a greater South Africa and that his homeland would be provided with the infrastructure required by a sovereign independent state.

"Certain aspects of these promises have never been fulfilled despite bilateral agreements with the South African Government," said Gqozo.

He does not spell out what aspects of these agreements were never met.

What about reincorporating Ciskei into South Africa?

"Its almost ludicrous to talk about reincorporation," Gqozo laughs. "Although termed independent, Ciskei could never relinquish its dependence on South Africa. We have always been bound by servitude."

■ *Focus Ciskei* also carries an article headlined "Ciskei trailblazes in human rights" which spotlights what it calls "the rarest species on the whole southern African sub-continent" - ombudsman Mxolisi Mekuto and the Harvard University-educated Viwa Notshe, the homeland's newly-appointed public defender.

Gqozo, ANC agree to refer Masele violence to forum

THE bloody violence in Ciskei's Masele village, where three people were hacked to death on December 26, is to be referred to dispute resolution structures set up in terms of the National Peace Accord.

This was agreed at an urgent meeting between top-ranking delegations of the Ciskei Government and the ANC last week.

The ANC delegation was led by executive member Raymond Mhlaba while the Ciskei delegation by military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Both sides pledged to do all in their power to spread a message of peace to the village and to Ciskei and the Border region as a whole, ANC Border region publicity secretary Marion Sparg said.

Months of tension between supporters of the ANC and those of Brig Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) erupted on December 26 when an enraged mob killed the village headman Solomon Mbambani and two family members.

They were reportedly avenging the stabbing of

a resident by a supporter of the ADM during a fight on Christmas Day.

Ciskei police then detained 175 people.

Sparg said both parties agreed to use the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee to resolve the conflict.

An ANC request that all those held should be immediately released had not been accepted.

The ANC had also expressed concern at reports that ANC supporters in police custody had been beaten and assaulted and the Ciskei had agreed to ensure no further incidents of this kind took place. *105* *11/92*

She said the ANC remained concerned about the situation in Masele and that people were still very angry.

She said similar incidents could happen in other parts of Ciskei.

"We appeal to our supporters to exercise discipline and restraint and not to react to any kind of provocation from any quarter," Sparg said.

Gqozo was not available for comment. — *El-* news.

One step forward steps back in Ciskei

When Ciskei's Lennox Sebe was overthrown in a bloodless coup in March 1990 by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo there was hope that the homeland's citizens would enjoy political freedom.

But within months these hopes were dashed as Sebe-style repression returned, says Africa Watch, a committee of the United States-based Human Rights Watch, in its latest report *Ciskei: Ten years on human rights and the fiction of independence*. ZB MOLEFE reports.

REPRESSION characterised the Ciskei for the decade from December 4, 1981 to March 1991.

With this background there is little hope of an adequate resolution in the immediate future to the homeland's complex problems, says the latest Africa Watch report.

According to the human rights group, "these problems can, however, not be solved without addressing the underlying cause - the homeland policy itself".

The report says that despite official commitments to reincorporating Ciskei, there has been no corresponding action.

Africa Watch says that in 1991 Gqozo attempted increasingly to silence opposition with repression.

This was after he initially aligned himself with anti-apartheid groups seeking reincorporation.

"Allegations of government-supported hit squads and covert military operations surfaced, and a new organisation, the African Democratic Movement (ADM), was launched with a simultaneous crackdown on opposition groups and individuals," it adds.

It says the movement was a thinly disguised attempt to prop up the dictator.

The Africa Watch report is based in part on the findings of its researcher Bronwen Manby, who visited the Ciskei in late July and early August last year.

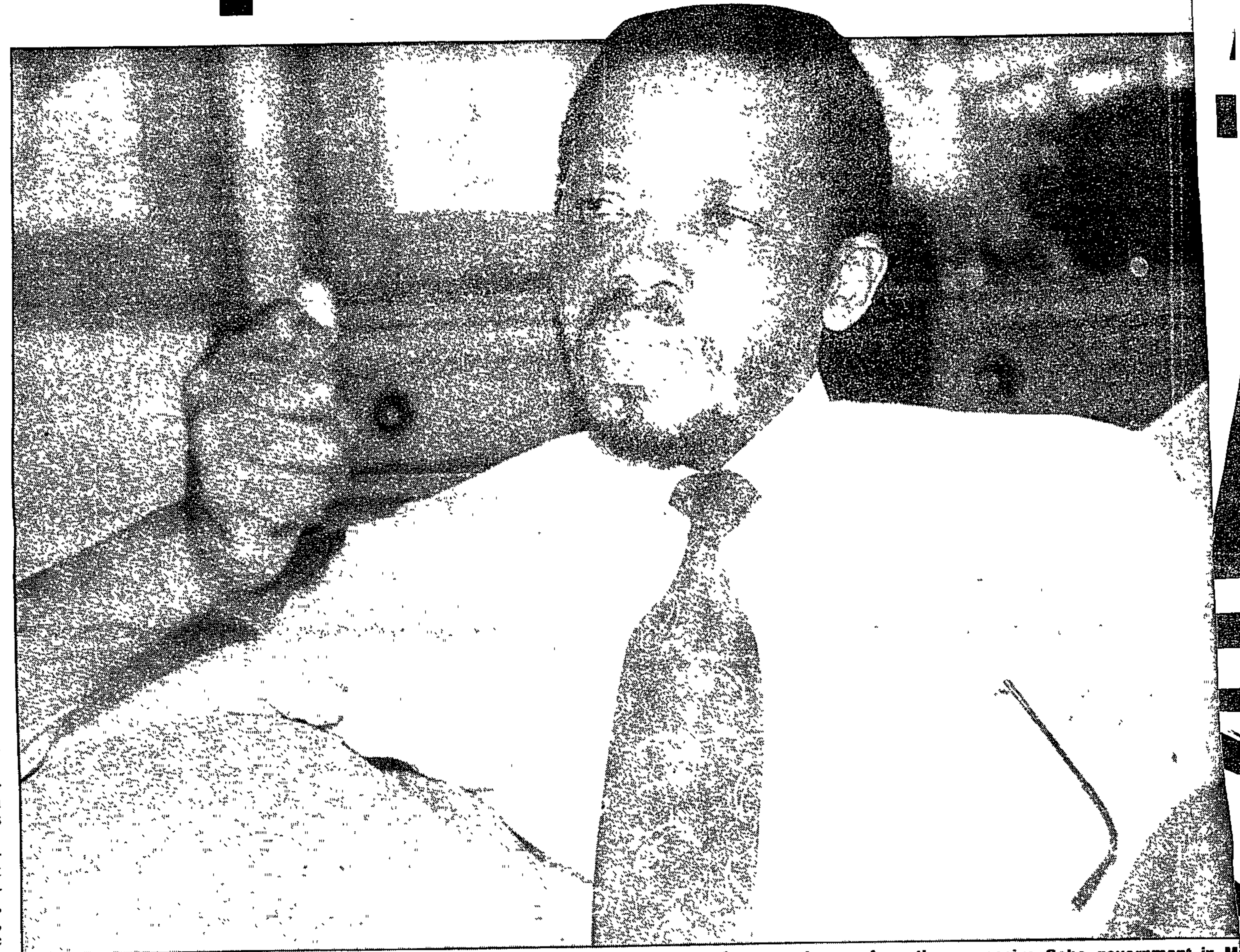
Other information came from the Grahamstown Rural Committee, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression and the East Cape News Agency.

Matters came to a head on October 29 when Gqozo declared a state of emergency. Earlier, on September 14, he had signed a national peace accord together with the South African government and representative groups.

Africa Watch says the agreement established a code of political conduct and was intended to encourage the promotion of political tolerance.

But while he initially supported the notion of creating an atmosphere of reconciliation and reform, the report says he went ahead with support for hit squads and covert military operations "with the tacit support of the South African Government".

Africa Watch says that in the week leading up to the emergency Gqozo used the radio to exhort his police "to hit silly people on the head because courts take a long time while they (Ciskeians)



A DIFFERENT WOLF ... Hopes for a democratic Ciskei soared when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo took over from the repressive Sebe government in March 1990. But little changed.

Democracy in Ciskei: the 'Oupa' obstacle

continue to burn people". Ciskei's emergency also seemed to clash with the South African Government which announced proposals for the eventual reincorporation of the homelands.

The emergency was lifted on November 17 following a meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Gqozo. Nevertheless the Ciskei government still retains wide powers under non-emergency security legislation, Africa Watch findings have shown.

The report criticises the NP for continuing to provide 95 percent of the Ciskei military and economic budget and for "refusing to seek a resolution to the injustices".

Instead South Africa refuses to intervene in the violence until it is asked by the Ciskei authorities.

"This abdication of responsibility toward communities in Ciskei prolongs the bitter struggle to attain a non-racial, democratic South Africa," it says.

Gqozo has been particularly hostile towards the media - especially Radio Ciskei. In February he ordered the suspension of presenter Lindile Silimela for showing the leader too little respect.

This arose after Silimela dared to telephone Gqozo for a comment on the death of Charles Sebe at a police roadblock.

On April 3 Ciskei security police detained disc jockey Mputani Mafani for three days after allowing an official of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union to telephone Radio Ciskei and announce a union meeting on the air.

In May, during former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's visit to South Africa, two news presenters were suspended for inviting Transkei's Bantu Holomisa to comment on the visit.

On June 16 last year (1991) Ciskei soldiers burst into the radio station's studio and forcibly ejected PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai while he was on the air.

Ciphen 5/11/92

105

Most Masele villagers freed

CISKEI Police have released all but 23 of the 175 Masele village residents who were detained in connection with the death of three African Democratic Movement members on December 26.

Ciskei's deputy Attorney-General Leon Langeveld said on Friday police dockets had been received but investigations were continuing.

CIP/92
Hacked 5/11/92

While he could not say whether villagers still being held would be charged, some people would appear in court tomorrow or Tuesday.

They would face several charges, including three counts of murder,

three of attempted murder and arson.

Langeveld could not say when the majority of the detainees were released.

The 175 were held after a mob hacked to death a headman and two others in a field near the village.

The local residents' association said the villagers were avenging the stabbing of a resident on Christmas Day.

Meanwhile, Errol Spring, of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, said he knew nothing about the Masele incident being referred to by the committee following a meeting between the ANC and the Ciskei government.

This was earlier claimed by the ANC but no confirmation of this could be obtained from the Ciskei government.

Langeveld said he was busy with a docket concerning the death in suspicious circumstances of a Mount Coke man, Thandile Mtya, in a Ciskei police cell.

Hanged

There were a few matters which had to be clarified before a decision, expected in two to three weeks, would be made.

Mtya died in custody in September and police claimed he had hanged himself, but after seeing the body, his family thought there was foul play. — Sapa-AP

Ciskei (105) zaps in a Zibi

CIPREN 5/11/92
CISKEI is appointing a man convicted of intimidation as its new Minister of Police.

Brig Fikile Zibi is expected to take over the position soon, as Gen Zebulon Makuzeni has resigned.

Zibi is on bail pending an application for leave to appeal against a Supreme Court judgment upholding his conviction on charges of intimidation.

Earlier this year he was sentenced to two years in jail - one year conditionally suspended - on the charges.

His application for leave to appeal is to be heard on February 7.

The Ciskei government has remained tightlipped about Makuzeni's resignation, which came at the same time as that of Foreign Affairs Minister MS Manzi.

Council of State director-general BR Tekota would not disclose why the two men had resigned.

Neither Manzi nor Makuzeni could be reached for comment yesterday.

Military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo would not respond to inquiries. - Eena

■ See Page 11

More detained in Ciskei by 'men in balaclavas' (105)

South 30/11 - 5/2/92.
By Claire Keeton

A NUMBER of people have reportedly been detained in Ciskei in the past two weeks as tension mounts between villagers and headmen.

Last week "a host of 27 unregistered hippos and police vehicles" drove into Masingata, said King William's Town attorney Mr Russel Linde.

He said residents had reported the detention of five ANC members by men in balaclavas.

Linde said the Ciskei Commissioner of Police, General JJ Viktor, had confirmed the detention of Mr Cyril Wase, but not the detentions of Mr Mzukisi Pisani, Mr Gcobani Ntshebe, Mr Hozana Cikiswa

or Mr Motela Songanga.

King William's Town advice office administrator Ms Pumla Maglingazi said security forces detained a young boy in the village of Masingata.

Maglingazi said five ANC supporters were arrested two weeks ago in Quzini location, following the petrol-bombing of the headman's house. It is not known whether they have been charged.

She said at Masele village, the scene of fierce fighting over the festive season, a temporary police station and soldier's camp have been erected and security forces are patrolling the village.

"Armed people from (Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's) African Democratic Movement (ADM) are patrolling with the hippos," she said.

SOUTH's Repression Dossier focuses on political trials, detentions, ...

(105) (103) (2021)

Outcry over CP's

dirty tricks claim

STAR 31/1/92

Plans to destabilise the homelands had been made in 1990 by President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the State President's opening of Parliament address, he said this information had been in secret documents leaked to the Conservative Party (CP).

He also claimed that when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo refused to sign the declaration of intent at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in December last year he had been threatened that his would be replaced by another government.

National Party MPs shouted denials to both allegations.

Dr Hartzenberg said the SA Communist Party was the leader of an alliance with the ANC and Cosatu that "would return socialism to its rightful place" in South Africa.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa wanted recognition for his country and the only way he would get that was from the CP, which were true nationalists.

The National Party had consigned itself to a coffin with its support of Codesa as it could not win an election based on one man, one vote. — Sapa.

Pushy Ciskei parents detained 105

TEN people have been detained by Ciskei police after parents at Mdantsane's Solomon Mahlangu High School forced the school to take more students. *CIPres 2/2/92*

They were detained after registering the students without the permission of the school authorities. The principal had refused to take more pupils on the grounds that it could not take more than the 800 already registered, but parents ignored him and registered more students.

All those registered by the parents were removed later the same day by the Ciskei police.

Ciskei's leader for talks with CP

MICHAEL MORRIS (105)
Political Correspondent

CISKEI's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, is visiting parliament today for talks with the Conservative Party.

He is lunching at parliament with Dr Andries Treurnicht and CP for-

eign affairs spokesman Mr Tom Langley. □□□

THE Department of Education and Training is launching a pilot TV education scheme for black schools this year

Daily programmes for matrics will be broadcast from April 1 to September 30. ARG 5/2/92

CP, Gqozo find common ground

CAPE TOWN — Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht have agreed, after holding talks in Cape Town yesterday, that they have much in common politically.

"We found ourselves discussing, to our relief, a lot of common aspirations," Brigadier Gqozo said after the talks.

The talks follow similar recent discussions between the CP and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu

Dr Treurnicht said the CP and Brigadier Gqozo agreed that Christian values must remain in place; that there must be a free-market economy; that there was a necessity for the maintenance of law and order; that they both rejected communism as well as the control of security forces by



Gqozo . . . shares many values with Treurnicht.

any parties other than the legitimate government; and on the necessity of self-determination.

They both rejected any form of domination, and demanded the recognition of the right to self-determination.

Brigadier Quozo said although they both rejected the concept of a unitary state, he believed

in a federation with a strong central authority.

He had had qualms about signing Codesa's Declaration of Intent as it called for a united SA.

"But after consultations we were told a united South Africa does not necessarily mean a unitary South Africa, and we decided to sign"

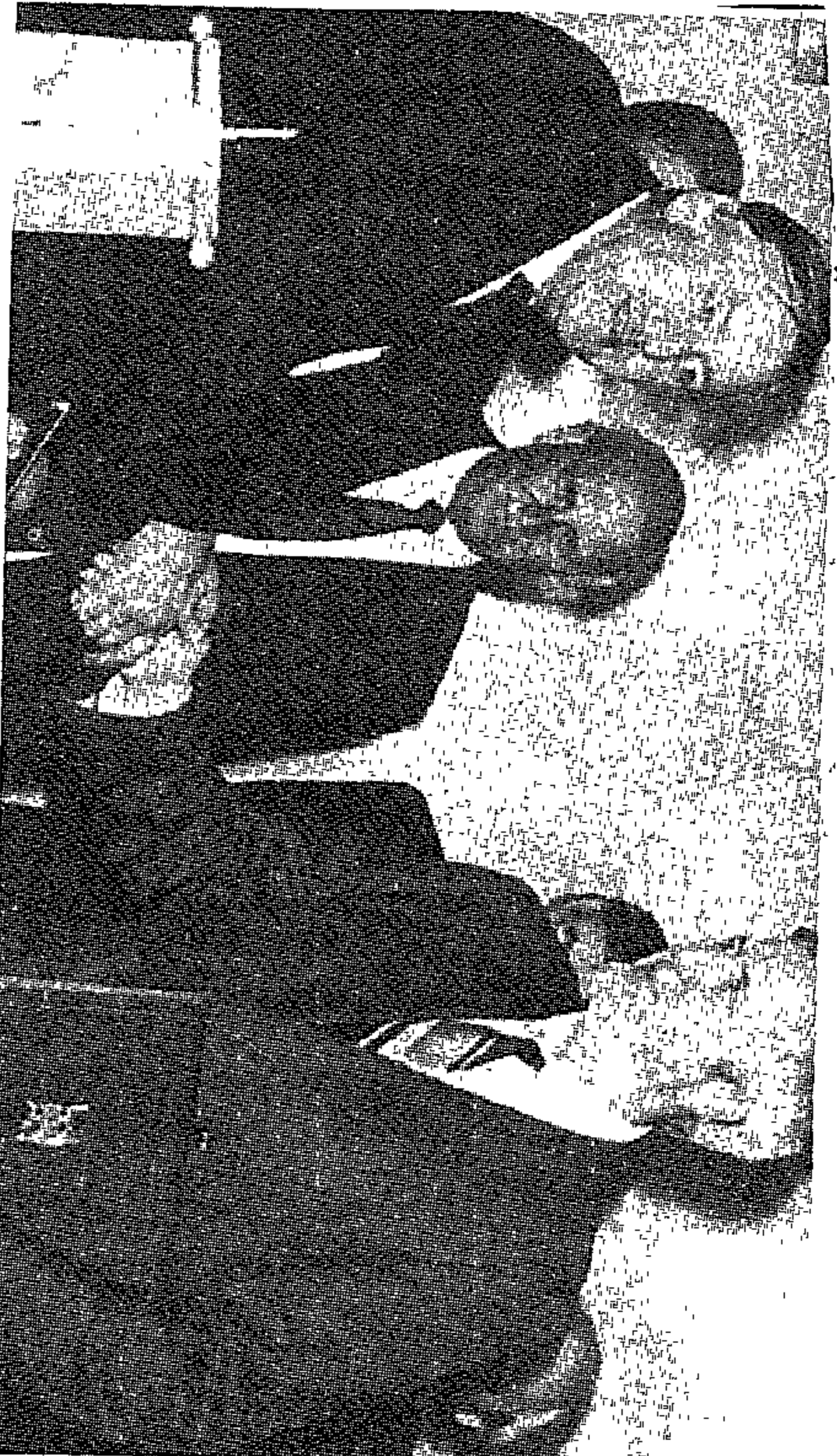
It was too early to speculate on whether or not Ciskei would consider joining forces with the CP. Ciskei had "touched on the subject" of encouraging the CP to join Codesa.

"I think that if we are to have lasting solutions to South Africa's problems, all parties should be represented at Codesa," the brigadier said.

Dr Treurnicht said he did not envisage an alternative to Codesa, but would welcome talks with any leaders who subscribed to self-determination. — Sapa.

(105)

6/2/79
5-11-79



NO VISAS REQUIRED . . . Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha (left) and his Hungarian counterpart Mr. Geza Jeszenski shake hands after signing an agreement on lifting visa regulations in Budapest yesterday as President F. W. de Klerk looks on.

Picture AP

CP, Ciskei agree on self-rule

Political Correspondent

EFFORTS by the Conservative Party to forge a loose alliance with homeland leaders supporting "self-determination" received a boost yesterday at its meeting with a Ciskei government delegation at Parliament.

The leaders of the two delegations, CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht and the Chairman of the Ciskei Military Council, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said afterwards that they rejected a unitary state and demanded recognition of "our right to govern ourselves".

After two hours of "cordial and constructive" discussions, the leaders also noted that they subscribed to the principle of "self-determination over our peoples" and rejected "any form of domination over our peoples".

After the meeting, Dr. Treurnicht told a press conference the CP was considering expanding the bilateral discussions the CP had held with six homeland leaders to a round-table discussions with all leaders who agreed with self-determination.

This would "serve as a strong argument against certain trends at Codesa" but should not necessarily be seen as a rival to the negotiating forum.

Brigadier Gqozo said it was "too early" to start talking about an alliance between the CP and the Ciskei government, but if the ANC or the government tried to "bulldoze" the smaller parties into accepting an agreement at Codesa, things could change.

He said the Ciskei government believed in a federation — under the control of a central government.

The CP, Dr. Treurnicht said, envisaged a confederation in terms of which the various "peoples" governed themselves but co-operated with others on a voluntary basis.



Today's business

ASSEMBLY: Motion on thought
REPS: Appoint new chairman
DELEGATES: Questions
Extended Public Committees
Legislation

Treurnicht, Gqozo find common ground

3/Day 6/2/92
CAPE TOWN — The CP leadership yesterday met Ciskei military council chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — giving fresh impetus to CP efforts to forge alliances with homeland leaders.

After the meeting CP leader Andries Treurnicht told a news conference that the CP was exploring the possibility of a meeting of all leaders who agreed with self-determination.

However, he did not "necessarily" see this as an opposing forum to Codesa.

Gqozo is the sixth leader of an independent or semi-independent homeland to meet Treurnicht recently. He has also met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After yesterday's meeting, Treurnicht and Gqozo issued a statement in which they listed a number of areas of agreement which included the principle of self-determination.

Gqozo said if the right to self-determination was not recognised it would "amount to a threat to (certain) peo-

105
Political Staff

ple's future".

He stressed that the Ciskei government believed in a federation — under the control of a central government. He felt the homelands should be "dissolved" into broader areas, but opposed any suggestion that Ciskei and Transkei should merge.

The CP envisaged a confederation in terms of which the various "peoples" governed themselves but cooperated with others on a voluntary basis, Treurnicht said.

Gqozo said the Ciskei government was committed to Codesa and did not think that signing the negotiating forum's Declaration of Intent was in conflict with its stand on federalism.

He also disclosed that President F W de Klerk had been approached in connection with perceptions that government and ANC were reaching agreements behind closed doors and presenting them to their negotiating partners to be "rubber stamped"

Ciskei water scare (105)

The source of a sewage spill into East London's main drinking water dam, the Bridle Drift Dam, has not yet been established.

The Ciskei Council of State announced over Radio Ciskei last week efforts to locate the source of the spill — believed to have come from Mdantsane township — were not successful.

The East London's city health department opened a clinic to prevent the possible spread of typhoid. Drinking water from the dam is safe to drink, but members of the public who used the dam for recreational purposes were asked to contact the clinic. south (southeast)

ELNEWS

6/2-12/2/92

Bloch reports 4,3% rise in ¹⁰⁵ performance

MARCIA KLEIN

CISKEI-registered Bloch has reported a 4,3% earnings increase to 2,4c (2,3c) a share in the interim period to end-December as the retail trade experienced a difficult six months.

Income of R516 700 (R490 200) was received from royalties, and pre-tax profit increased by 3,7% to R519 100 (500 400). After a small increase in taxation, profit after tax was 4,3% up at R445 200 (R426 900).

Bloch paid a 15,8% higher dividend of 2,2c (1,9c) a share. *Bloch*

Chairman Bernard Rabinowitz said the higher dividend "underscores Bloch's consistent performance since listing... in 1987". *11291*

He said retail trading had been tough and meat sales in particular had been negatively affected by the introduction of VAT.

But Bloch licensees expected "a gradual recovery in the economy and a concomitant improvement in their turnovers".

Bloch has forecast that royalty income for the full year would generate profit after tax of 5,2c a share, which would represent a 13% increase over the previous year.

Cop appeal fails

THREE senior Mdantsane policemen who were convicted of assault-related charges in 1990 lost their appeals in the Bisho Supreme Court on Friday and had their sentences doubled instead.

The three are Fumankile Willie, 38; Manzodidi Mejeni, 38; and Themba Halom, 42. *105*

Mejeni died in a car accident last year.

On Friday, Ciskei Chief Justice, Judge Benjamin Pickard, sitting with Judge Roger Clasen, said the offences were "depraved and raised horror".

The sentences passed on the three — an effective

18 months' each — were "shockingly inadequate". He increased their sentences to three years each.

The three policemen arrested two young women in 1989 while looking for a suspect in Mdantsane and detained them over a weekend.

The women were forced to drink urine, had ice cubes inserted into their private parts, were stripped naked, suffocated with plastic tubes, kicked and slapped.

Said Pickard: "This type of offence is prevalent in Ciskei... Because police have powers, they think they can do as they like." — Sapa

Palazzolo is Ciskei citizen

21/5/2192
JOHANNESBURG. —
The Ciskei Council of
State yesterday ad-
mitted that controver-
sial Sicilian business-
man Mr Vito Roberto
Palazzolo is a Ciskei citi-
zen and presently re-
sides in the homeland.

Mr Palazzolo, who
lived in a luxury man-
sion in Franschhoek,
was forced to leave
South Africa in October
last year after the Minis-
ter of Home Affairs, Mr
Gene Louw, revoked his
permanent residence
permit following claims
of alleged shady busi-
ness deals. — Sapa

Downturn, disputes hamper SunCisk

8/Day 18/2/92
105
105

MARCIA KLEIN

LOW occupancies and labour disputes have affected the performance of Sun International, Ciskei (SunCisk), in the six months to end-December.

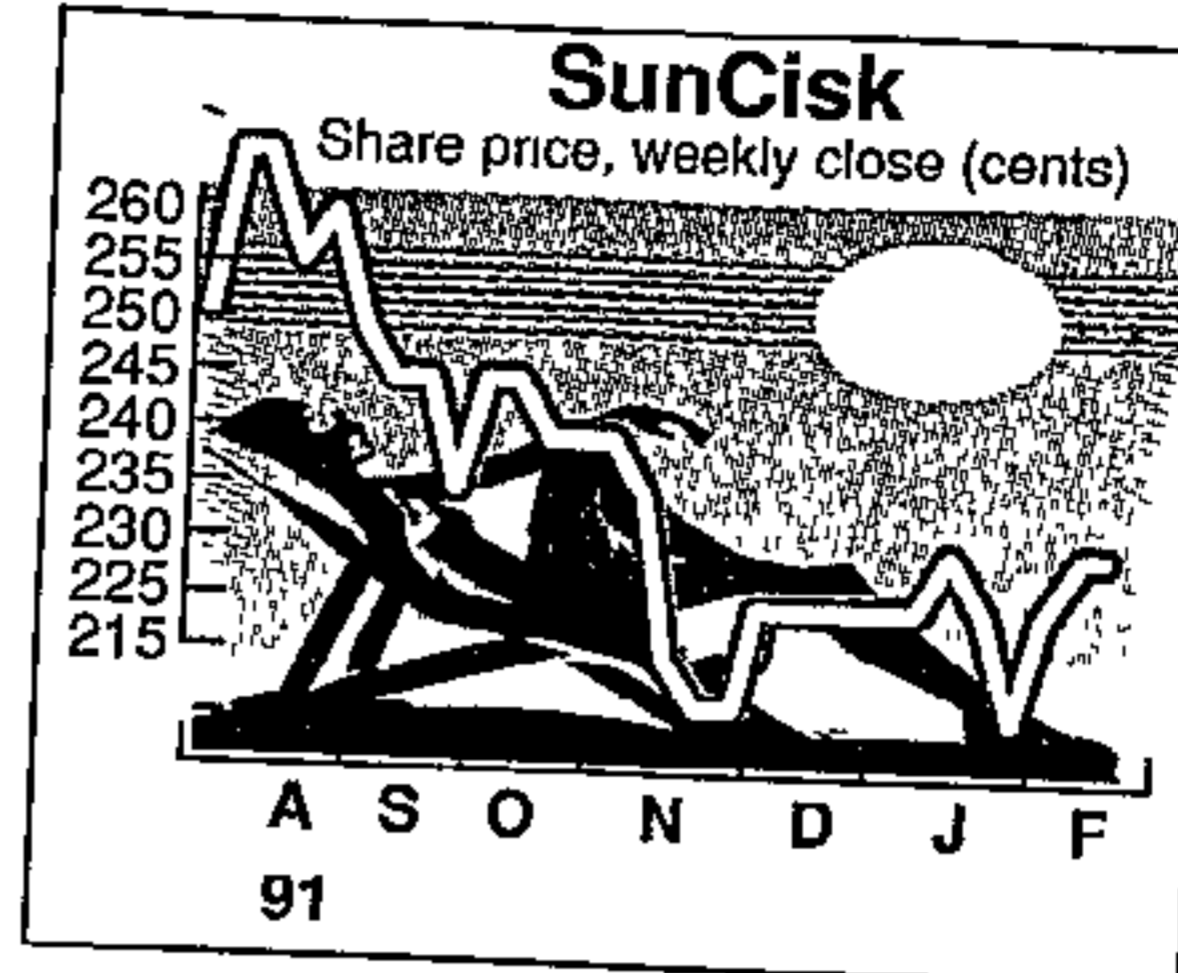
Chairman Ken Rosevear said results, in which earnings were fractionally lower than the previous year, reflected the effects of the continuing recession, high interest rates, inflation and unemployment.

SunCisk hotels averaged an occupancy of 55%, which was in line with other three, four and five star hotels in southern Africa, but below occupancies achieved by the other Sun International companies.

Rosevear said the Amatola Sun, reliant on business travellers, had experienced depressed trading conditions and had pulled down the average occupancy figure.

Turnover over the six months increased by 13% to R59,5m (R52,6m). Rosevear said revenue growth was reasonable, notwithstanding the disruption caused by construction at the Fish River Sun as well as labour disputes and strike action.

A 35% increase in payroll costs affected operating profit, which rose by only 5% to R17,2m (R16,4m). Rosevear said SunCisk had now reached a wage level comparable with other major players, so operating income should not be affected by such high



wage increases in future.

In spite of sluggish growth in operating income, pre-tax profit rose 19% to R15,9m (R13,4m), mainly because of a reduced interest cost of R1,2m (R3m) arising from an increase in the company's share capital.

Attributable earnings were 19% up at R15,9m (R13,4m), but earnings a share, calculated on a weighted number of shares in issue, were down 1% to 21,3c (21,5c).

SunCisk declared an interim dividend of 15c a share compared with 17,5c a share in 1990 calculated on a weighted average number of shares.

SunCisk expected a moderate improvement in second-half earnings.

Palazzolo 'in Ciskei but not as adviser' ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

CT 18/2/92

BISHO. — The Ciskeian government has denied that Sicilian businessman Vito Palazzolo is serving as adviser to Council of State chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

However, a government statement confirmed he was living on property owned by Brigadier Gqozo.

"There is nothing sinister about this arrangement because Palazzolo is a personal friend of Brigadier Gqozo," the statement said.

The suggestion that Palazzolo had been allowed into the Ciskei in return for donations to the homeland's development was also not true, it added.

● Reporters visiting Brigadier Gqozo's mansion found it deserted and the grounds overgrown. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

SunCiskei's growth hit by labour disputes

By Sven Lünsche

Sun International's Ciskei subsidiary, SunCiskei, managed to report satisfactory earnings growth in the six months to end-December, despite a drop in occupancy levels at its key hotels.

Turnover increased by 13 percent to R59,5 million (R52,6 million) but a significantly higher payroll costs reduced growth in operating profit to five percent at R17,2 million (R16,2 million).

Profits before and after tax were 19 percent up on last year mainly due to the reduced interest cost arising from the increase in the company's share capital.

Interest payments dropped from R3 million to R1,2 million.

Attributable earnings were up 19 percent from R13,4 million to R16 million, but earnings per share fell slightly from

21,5c to 21,3c as a result of the increase in the weighted number of shares in issue.

An interim dividend of 15c (17,5c) a share was declared.

In their comment on the results the directors said that revenue growth was adversely affected by labour disputes and the expansion work at the Fish River Sun, which was completed in December.

SunCiskei's hotels averaged an occupancy of 55 percent, in line with the national average, but below the occupancies recorded at Sun City and the Wild Coast Sun.

Looking ahead, the directors said that earnings should improve moderately in the second half, due mainly to the recently completed extensions to the Fish River Sun, provided there was no further significant deterioration in conditions.

STAR 18/2/92

105



Brig OUPA GQOZO

Ciskei leader denies giving Vito ¹⁰⁵ a top ^{South Africa} post

CISKEI leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has denied rumours his government had appointed former Sicilian businessman Mr Vito Palazzolo as its political adviser

Gqozo also denied that Palazzolo was to stay in a Bisho mansion belonging to former Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe.

Sebe's house has been unoccupied since he was overthrown in a bloodless coup by Gqozo-led troops in March 1990

Media reports claimed Palazzolo had been appointed as adviser to the government in return for a cash donation.

According to the reports he would be involved in a multimillion rand project for the development of the Ciskei coastline

This was despite threats by South African authorities to arrest him if he entered the Republic without a visa.

Palazzolo first entered South Africa in the 1980s with the assistance of the

Eastern Cape News Agency

then National Party MP for East London City, Mr Piet de Pontes

The Sicilian was forced to leave South Africa last year after his permanent residence permit was revoked by Home Affairs Minister Mr Gene Louw

He reportedly returned during the festive season to visit family and friends on a temporary visa

Last week the Ciskei government confirmed Palazzolo was in the homeland and that he was "free to engage in any activity as an unqualified citizen of the multiracial Republic of Ciskei".

Speaking on SABC radio, Gqozo said "Mr Vito Palazzolo is a friend, a personal friend of mine. When I took over, I saw no reason for his citizenship to be revoked.

"As a citizen of the Ciskei, he has freedom of movement, activity and association".

SA's ambassador to the Ciskei, Mr Pieter Goosen, said he could not comment on rumours of Palazzolo's appointment until he received confirmation from the Ciskei government.

The former town clerk of Hamburg, Professor James Thom, who was fired by the Ciskei government after resisting a coastal development by a company linked to Palazzolo, said he would comment later "after all the denials by the Ciskei authorities were over".

There was no sign yesterday of any residents at the Sebe mansion where Palazzolo was reported to be staying

The house - one of the biggest in Bisho - stands deserted on the outskirts of the homeland capital. It has been unoccupied since the 1990 coup staged by Gqozo

However the house was guarded by soldiers sitting in the main entrance to the driveway, and workers were busy cleaning the yard

The area was patrolled by a Ciskei military police van

The guards refused to say who would be staying in the house, referring all inquiries to the Council of State

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Palazzolo for Kei project?

105 Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The whereabouts and activities of Mr Vito Palazzolo continued to remain a mystery yesterday as Ciskei government officials ignored press questions on the issue.

A question which has remained unanswered is whether Mr Palazzolo is involved in a development planned for the Ciskei coastline.

It is believed that he is poised to pour millions into a coastal development project. CT 19/2/92

The Ciskei denied that he had been appointed political adviser to the homeland government, but did not respond to reports that he was to move into a mansion which once belonged to Mr Lennox Sebe.

will no longer be allowed in
Ciskei schools, according to the
homeland's education minister.
Addressing school inspectors,
principals and deputies in Bisho
last week, PP Jacobs said school
management committees should
replace student representative
councils. — ecna (105)

6/2/2-2/1-2
y no W/m

Haven for army men

ANY unemployed South African soldier - preferably with a background in Special Forces or Military Intelligence - who heads for Ciskei will probably find a job.

All the top posts in the Ciskei military appear to be filled by officers who are either directly seconded from the SADF to the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) or who are former SADF personnel now fully employed by Ciskei.

Between them they control the defence budget, employment of personnel, weapons bought and operations carried out.

Last July, South African officials named six officers as being seconded to Ciskei. Most of them now appear to have resigned to become directly employed by Ciskei, apparently in an attempt to sever direct links with the SADF.

The inheritance of covert military unit International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS) can also be seen.

CDF chief Brig Marius Oelschig had been seconded from the SADF to the CDF. He appears to have become one of Gqozo's chief advisers.

Second-in-command of the CDF is Col Dirk van der Bank.

Although van der Bank was initially a seconded officer, he is now contracted directly to the CDF. He spent a period as acting commander of the CDF after an alleged "coup attempt".

Military Intelligence is run by Ockert Swanepoel and his deputy Hendrik Chris Nel.

Chief of Staff, Finance, is Col Raymond Williams, formerly of the EP Command and a former Special Forces member. - Ecna

TOTAL EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS (R million)

Period	1987/88	% growth	1988/89	% growth	1989/90	% growth	1990/91	% growth	1991/92	% growth
April to Jun	7 291	5,9%	8 773	20,3%	11 986	36,6%	14 302	19,3%	14 399	0,7%
Jul-Sep	10 445	18,3%	13 236	26,7%	16 850	27,3%	18 969	12,6%	20 517	8,2%
Oct-Dec	9 270	8,9%	12 298	32,7%	14 202	15,5%	15 747	10,9%	17 851	13,4%
Jan-Mar	10 617	6,8%	13 904	31,0%	17 963	29,2%	17 776	-1,0%		
Total	37 623	10,2%	48 210	28,1%	61 000	26,5%	66 794	9,5%		

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ISSUES AND RECEIPTS

Period	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92
April to Jun	4 653	4 206	4 409	3 176	6 691
Jul-Sep	539	(262)	(1 104)	(615)	547
Oct-Dec	2 076	639	1 556	1 111	2 428
Jan-Mar	3 049	3 811	(63)	3 930	
Total	10 317	8 394	4 798	7 602	

() Surplus
+ Deficit

TABLE 2

Exchequer issues and receipts (cumulative)

This table has been compiled from the Statements of Receipts in and Transfers from the Exchequer Account published monthly. Any analysis of these statements should bear in mind that they are shown on a cash flow basis.

(a) Total Exchequer issues

Total issues do not represent actual expenditure. Late issues and surrenders in respect of a specific fiscal year result in total issues (as shown here) differing from the actual expenditure figures as shown in the Budgetary documentation.

(b) Total exchequer receipts:

The receipts for month X do not include amounts in transit for that month, but include those in transit for month (X-1). This means that the April figure of each fiscal year includes the "in transit" figure for March (the previous fiscal year).

Proceeds from privatisation, other capital revenue and loans are excluded from these figures.

(c) Difference between issues and receipts
As a result of (a) and (b) this does not represent the actual deficit before borrowing.

TOTAL EXCHEQUER ISSUES (cumulative)

Period	1987/88	% growth	1988/89	% growth	1989/90	% growth	1990/91	% growth	1991/92
April to Jun	11 944	18,5%	12 979	8,7%	16 395	26,3%	17 478	6,6%	21 089
Sep	22 927	20,3%	25 952	13,2%	32 141	23,8%	35 832	11,5%	42 154
Dec	34 274	21,3%	38 889	13,5%	47 899	23,2%	52 690	10,0%	62 433
Mar	47 940	18,6%	56 604	18,1%	65 799	16,2%	74 396	13,1%	

TOTAL EXCHEQUER RECEIPTS (cumulative) (R million)

Period	1987/88	% growth	1988/89	% growth	1989/90	% growth	1990/91	% growth	1991/92
April to Jun	7 291	5,9%	8 773	20,3%	11 986	36,6%	14 302	19,3%	14 399
Sep	17 736	12,9%	22 008	24,1%	28 836	31,0%	33 271	15,4%	34 916
Dec	27 006	11,8%	34 306	27,0%	43 038	25,5%	49 018	13,9%	52 767
Mar	37 623	11,5%	48 210	28,1%	61 000	26,5%	66 794	9,5%	

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ISSUES AND RECEIPTS

Period	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92
April to Jun	4 653	4 206	4 409	3 176	6 691
Sep	5 192	3 944	3 305	2 561	7 238
Dec	7 268	4 583	4 861	3 672	9 666
Mar	10 317	8 394	4 798	7 602	

Guarantees/sureties: Ciskei

81 Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

- (1) Whether any guarantees or sureties were given directly or indirectly by the Government or any Department or agency of the Government to any person or organization for (a) loans granted, (b) lines of credit granted and (c) other specified financial services rendered to (i) the Government of, (ii) any Government Department of, (iii) a development corporation in and (iv) any other specified person or organization in Ciskei in the 1990-91 financial year; if so,
- (2) (a) what amounts were involved in each case and (b) what was the total amount outstanding in terms of such guarantees or sureties as at the latest specified date for which information is available,
- (3) whether foreign currencies are involved in any of these guarantees or sureties, if so, (a) what currencies, (b) how much is involved and (c) who is responsible for bearing the potential cost of exchange rate fluctuations?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

- (1) (a) No
(b) Yes, a guarantee in respect of overdraft facilities to the Government of Ciskei.
(c) No
- (2) (a) R262 Million
(b) R262 Million.
- (3) No
(a), (b) and (c) fall away

Guarantees/sureties: Venda

82. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:
- (1) Whether any guarantees or sureties were given directly or indirectly by the Government or any Department or agency of the Government to any person or organization for (a) loans granted, (b) lines of credit granted and (c) other specified financial services rendered to (i) the Government of, (ii) any government Department of, (iii) a development corporation in and (iv) any other specified person or organization in Venda in the 1990-91 financial year; if so,

B226E

Exposed: Plot to whip up revolt against Gqozo fails

HOW ANCO TRIED TO GRAB CISKI

SITWES 11/3/92

By PETER MALHERBE

A BIZARRE ANC plot to seize control of the Ciskei has been thwarted.

The ANC planned to mobilise intensive mass action by the Ciskei people for the removal of leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, culminating on April 3 with ANC president Nelson Mandela announcing a "people's assembly" for the homeland.

The conspiracy was exposed this week when a blueprint for the campaign was leaked to Brigadier Gqozo.

Sources within the ANC confirmed this weekend that the strategy had been drawn up by the ANC's Border region executive, but would not say whether it had the approval or knowledge of the ANC National Executive Committee.

One of the aims of the plan was to weaken the South African government's position at Cofesa by installing an interim administration in the Xhosa homeland.

Brigadier Gqozo learned of the plot — which he described to the Sunday Times on Friday as "diabolical" — within days of the ANC proposing that a Xhosa region, consisting of the Transkei, the Ciskei, East Griqualand and Border, be added to the government's nine regions in a united South Africa.

Objective:

1st Tuesday, Brigadier Gqozo, planned ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and told him he knew of the plan. Brigadier Gqozo sent a copy of the documents to the ANC's head office in Johannesburg and later discussed them with Mr Mandela.

An ANC delegation will hold talks about the plot with Brigadier Gqozo within the next few days.

According to the blueprint, the "Campaign Around Ciskei Crisis" had five objectives

Illness riddle of a balding balladeer

By CHARIS PERKINS

POPULAR Country and Western singer Cora Marie, once nicknamed "bosstekop" for her thick mop of tight curls, would forgive her fans for calling her "bleskoppie" instead.

The 39-year-old crooner of romantic songs is fast going bald because of a mystery ailment. All that she has left of her once glorious mane is a fuzzy dome.

But after weeks of covering up with a turban, she



THEN: Cora's thick locks

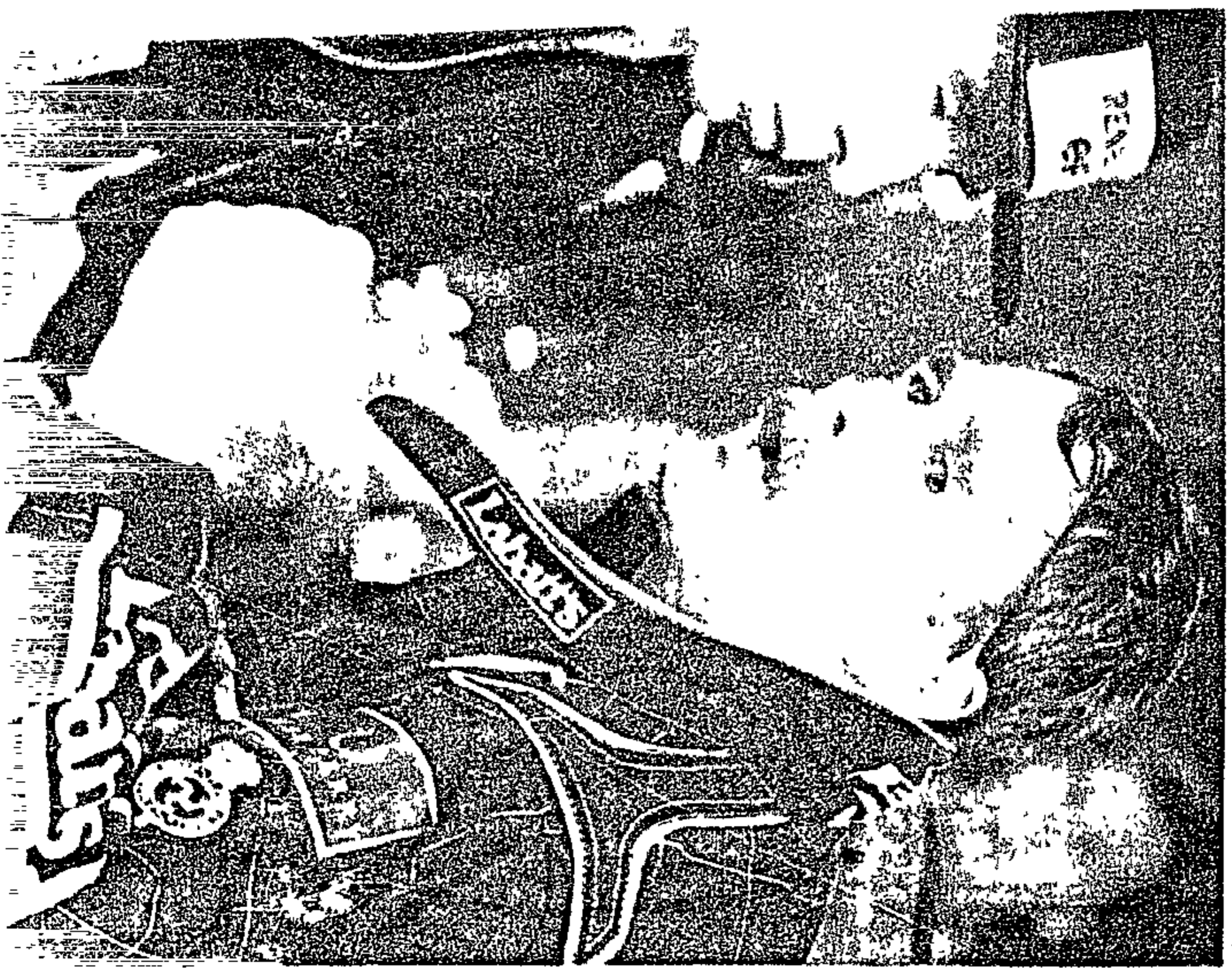
decided to go public this weekend when she repped on stage in Standerfontein, in the Eastern Transvaal, with her balding head bare for all to see.

"I was so nervous it was like being on stage for the very first time," she said. "But my fans tell me they will like me no matter

□ To Page 2



NOW: A mystery ailment has left crooner Cora Marie with a balding pate. Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN



Objective

Last Tuesday, Brigadier Gqozo phoned ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and told him he knew of the plan. Brigadier Gqozo sent a copy of the documents to the ANC's head office in Johannesburg and later discussed them with Mr Mandela.

An ANC delegation will hold talks about the plot with Brigadier Gqozo within the next few days.

According to the blueprint, the "Campaign Around Ciskei Crisis" had five objectives:

- To weaken Brigadier Gqozo's position at Codesa;
- To isolate him politically;
- To expose South Africa's agenda in Ciskei and, "in particular", Military Intelligence's programme in the homeland;
- To bring about an interim administration in Ciskei;
- To "consequently" weaken government's position at Codesa.

The ANC devised the campaign because it did not believe Brigadier Gqozo represented the people of Ciskei at Codesa, and that he was a stumbling block to peace in the region.

The documents claim that an interim government at national level "is the only way to prevent further govern-

ment attempts to destabilise the transition process" and that "the people demand democratic elections for a constituent assembly to ensure a stable and prosperous future for all South Africans".

The campaign was to be launched on March 10 at a press conference, where members of the public would be urged to sign demands for Brigadier Gqozo's removal. There was no indication that military force was to be used.

The launch of the campaign was to have been followed by pickets in all urban centres, door-to-door canvassing for support, mass meetings and rallies.

Votes

On Saturday, March 14 — three days before white South Africans voted in the referendum — polling booths were to have been set up in major urban centres and mobile booths sent to rural areas to collect votes for a new Ciskei administration.

On Sharpeville Day — March 21 — rallies were planned to mobilise support for a people's assembly, which was to have been announced by Mr Mandela on Friday, April 3.

Three days later, on Solomon Mahlangu Day, the people's assembly was to have been convened in King William's Town and an interim administration announced.

The administration was

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ANC grab at Ciskei

□ From Page 1

to symbolically occupy the Ciskei capital of Bisho the next day, and signatures of support were to be handed over.

On May Day, the campaign was to have ended with report-back rallies in all sub-regions.

A budget of R142 550 was allocated for the campaign.

Transport costs — including car hire for 60 days — were estimated at R50 400, while R17 650 was earmarked to hire venues, sound equipment and stages for six rallies and for the stadium where the people's assembly was to have taken place.

Newspaper and "sky" advertisements, banners, pamphlets and posters

were budgeted at R41 000, while 20 temporary organisers were to be paid R1 000 each for work on the campaign.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the matter was being dealt with by the organisation's senior leadership, the Border regional organisation, and Brigadier Gqozo.

She said it was not known who had drawn up the document and "this is one of the things we are looking into".

However, reliable sources confirmed the plan was the brainchild of the ANC's leadership in the Border region and that the documents were intended for "internal use only".

The plan is the latest move in a protracted dispute between the ANC and Brigadier Gqozo, who seized power in a military coup that ousted President Lennox Sebe in 1990.

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Page 34

IMES

ANC to go ahead with anti-Gqozo plan

3/10/92 2/3/92 (105)

TIM COHEN

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THE ANC said yesterday it would go ahead with its plan to oust Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo through a mass action campaign, and denied this contradicted its commitment to negotiations.

The statement follows a Sunday Times report which disclosed that the Border region planned a mass action campaign to press for Gqozo's removal.

The campaign would culminate on April 3 with ANC president Nelson Mandela announcing a "people's assembly".

ANC Border region secretary Lucille Meyer yesterday criticised "the sensationalism" of the Sunday Times report and denied the plan was contradictory to the national peace accord and the Codesa declaration of intent. She said the ANC had made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to discuss its difficulties with Gqozo.

According to documents released by the ANC yesterday, the plan is designed to

weaken Gqozo's position at Codesa; to isolate him politically; to expose SA's military intelligence programme in Ciskei, to bring about an interim administration in the homeland; and to weaken government's position at Codesa. The region had budgeted R142 000 for the campaign.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the plan conflicted with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord and Codesa's declaration of intent.

He said a meeting between Ciskei and the ANC was planned.

ANC 'coup' is 'symbolic'

(105)
CT 2/3/92

EAST LONDON. — The ANC plans to go-ahead with a "symbolic" ousting of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and replace him with an interim administration over the next few weeks.

This was the message from a delegation representing the tripartite alliance of the ANC, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions here yesterday.

The alliance was reacting to a Sunday newspaper report that a "bizarre ANC plot" to oust Brig Gqozo from power had been thwarted.

The Border ANC's publicity secretary and ANC national executive member, Miss Marion Sparg, denied the "sensational" claims that a local ANC "conspiracy" existed to oust Brig Gqozo. "We are not talking of an actual process where we are going to (physically) remove the man from power," Miss Sparg stressed.

According to documents released by the ANC the objectives for the plan are:

But Ciskei demands reasons

- To weaken Brig Gqozo's position at Codesa;
- To isolate him politically,
- To expose South Africa's military intelligence programme in Ciskei;
- To bring about an interim administration in the homeland, and
- To weaken the government's position at Codesa.

The region had budgeted R142 000 for the campaign.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement yesterday that the plan conflicted with the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's declaration of intent. He said the government had been informed of the ANC's plans by Ciskei and would not allow South African territory to be used to destabilise homeland governments.

He said a meeting between Ciskei and the ANC was planned.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus confirmed this.

Miss Sparg said Mr Botha's statement should be taken with "a big pinch of salt" as the campaign was no different from the ANC's "people's parliament" campaign held in Cape Town recently.

There had been no response to the latter as "some sort of sinister plot" to oust President F W de Klerk. "Surely that so-called plot would have received far more attention," she said.

Brig Gqozo yesterday said he would give the ANC until Wednesday to explain the plot — Own Correspondent, Sapa

'ANC breach of Codesa'

STAR 2/3/92

105

By Helen Grange

Pretoria condemns 'plot' against Ciskei

The Government has accused the ANC of breaching the spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent after learning of the organisation's plot to take over Ciskei.

Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said in a statement last night he would give the ANC until Wednesday to explain the plot — a blueprint of which had been leaked to him.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed on Saturday that a delegation of senior members is to hold talks this week with Brigadier Gqozo about the reported plan.

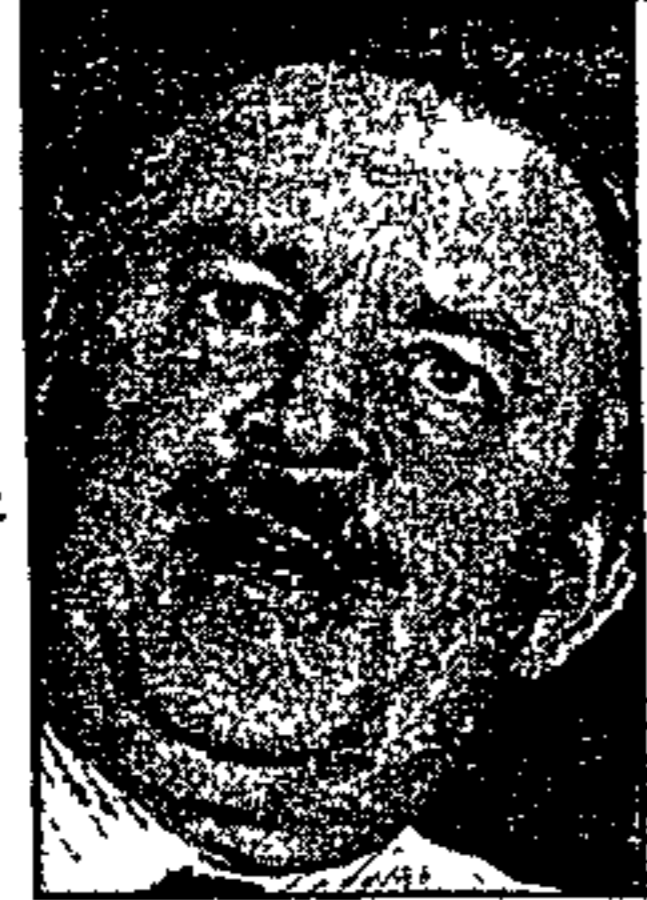
Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday said South Africa would not permit its territory to be used in plots to destabilise homeland governments.

Mr Botha said the plan conflicted with both the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent accepted at Codesa. He added that he hoped the matter would be quickly resolved at the meeting between Ciskei and the ANC.

The East London News Agency reported that the executive committee of the ANC's Border region yesterday dismissed as "panicky" reports of the ANC plot.

And in another development, Border branches of the ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu yesterday endorsed the "Campaign Around Ciskei Crisis" — and vowed to continue with the programme of action.

Hitting back at yesterday's newspaper reports about the "bizarre ANC plot", the vice-president of



Pik Botha . . . SA won't allow its territory to be used in plots against homelands.



Marion Sparg . . . doesn't see campaign as different to people's parliament.

the regional executive, Andrew Hendricks, said "We believe this is the year of democratic elections, and the first shots have been fired by the media."

Members of the Border ANC executive who drafted the programme for the campaign said that, far from being a conspiracy, it was simply a continuance of ANC action that had started last year to bring about an interim administration in Ciskei.

"It is no secret we want to see the life-span of the Gqozo and the South African Government brought to an end in the shortest time possible," said Mr Hendricks.

He said the campaign had been adopted at a regional general council meeting of all ANC branches in the Border area last Saturday, and that the programme for the campaign was a public docu-

ment that had been circulating in Ciskei.

And Border ANC secretary-general Lucille Meyer said the ANC had previously told Brigadier Gqozo their demands in meetings, adding there was "nothing new" in the objectives of the campaign.

The Border ANC executive has said that if Brigadier Gqozo would like to discuss the campaign, they would have no reason not to meet him this week along with members of the ANC national executive committee.

According to the programme of action given to the press yesterday, the campaign aims:

- To weaken Brigadier Gqozo's position at Codesa.
- To isolate him politically.
- To expose South Africa's Military Intelligence programme in Ciskei.

- To bring about an interim administration in the homeland.
- To weaken the Government's position at Codesa.

A campaign of mass action is to be launched on March 10 with a collection of signatures demanding Brigadier Gqozo's removal. Later next week, Ciskei citizens are to vote "yes" or "no" for an interim administration in Ciskei. On March 21, rallies are to be held mobilising support for a people's assembly.

An interim administration for Ciskei will be announced at a people's assembly in King William's Town three days later and the following day they will take symbolic occupation of Bisho.

"We don't see the campaign here as different to the people's parliament in Cape Town, and no one saw that as a plot to unseat F W de Klerk," said Border ANC publicity secretary Marion Sparg.

Ms Marcus said any internal action regarding members of the Border region executive — which includes former Umkhonto we Sizwe insurgent Ms Sparg — would depend on the outcome of discussions with Brigadier Gqozo.

The campaign is the culmination of a history of strained relations between the ANC and Brigadier Gqozo. In October, the brigadier said the ANC was trying to make his homeland ungovernable and that he would hit back with all the means at his disposal.

In his statement last night, Brigadier Gqozo said his territory was stable and was "fully equipped" to contain the plot.

"My government wishes to confirm that it is in possession of the ANC document," the statement said.



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo . . . a delegation of senior ANC members is to hold talks with him this week about the reported plan — a blueprint of which was leaked to the Ciskei military leader.

NEW

REGGIO TOBACCO CORPORATION
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Ciskei bans peace accord meeting

South 21/3 - 26/3/92

By Chris Mabuya

105

Ciskei has banned a meeting to set up a peace committee because the organisers had not asked for permission in writing.

The meeting in Middeldrift was to have set up a Local Dispute Resolution Committee in terms of the National Peace Accord.

The director-general of Ciskei's Department of Justice, Mr Viwe Notshe, said organisers had not applied in writing to hold a meeting.

They had only asked the magistrate to assist in the planning and to be present.

"We are not part of the Border-Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee," Notshe said.

"We are not going to involve ourselves in such meetings until we have reviewed our decision."

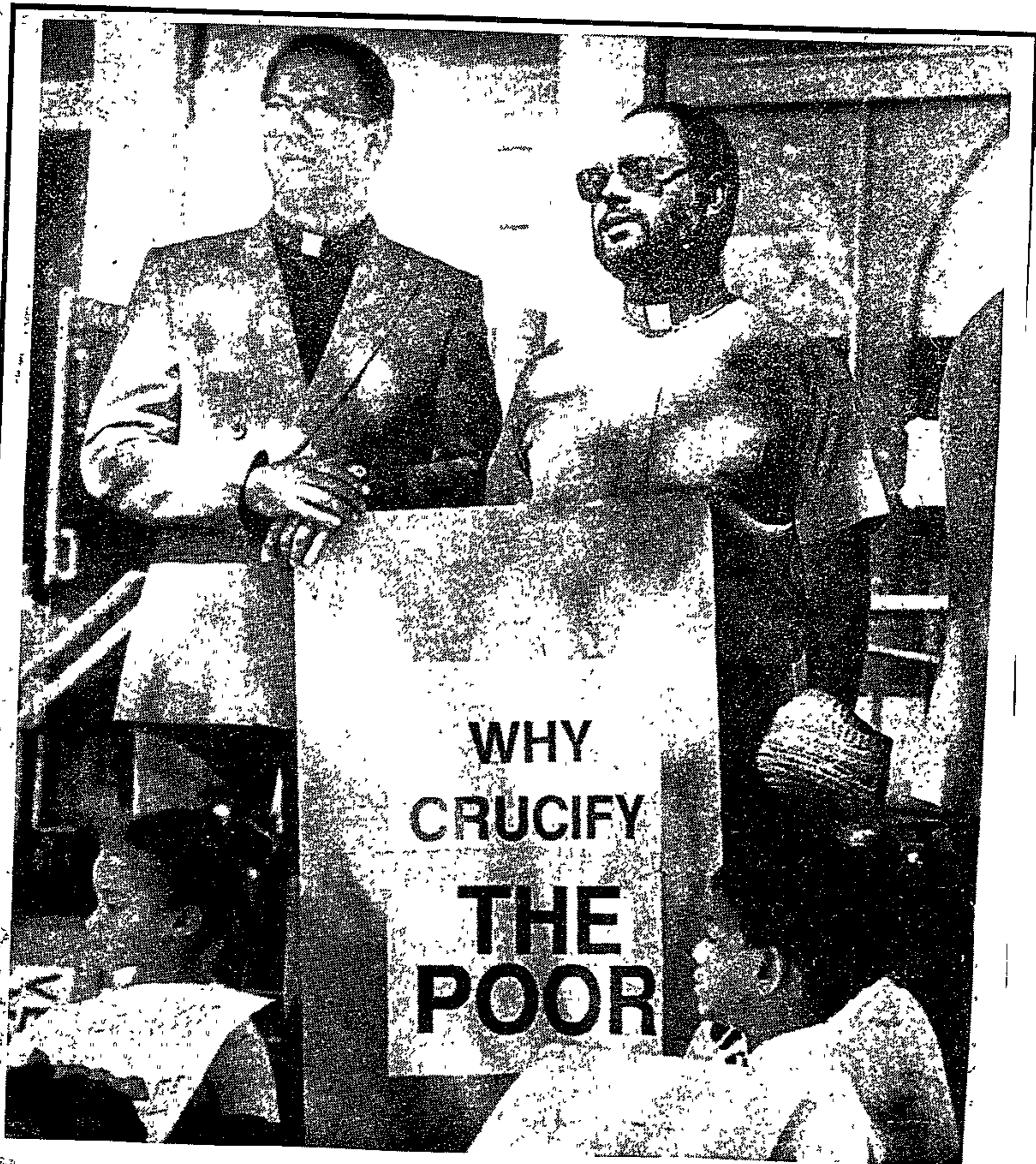
The Border-Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee and the Border Council of Churches (BCC) have criticised the ban as an attempt to disrupt and undermine peace in the region.

The BCC has also challenged Ciskei to prove its commitment to the principles of Codesa and the National Peace Accord.

The church organisation asked Ciskei to resume its active participation in the regional peace committee.

Mr Reg Mason, chairperson of the Border-Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee, said: "I am extremely disappointed that yet again efforts to bring peace to the region have been frustrated."

— Elnews



AWAY WITH VAT: Clerics from various denominations in the Western Cape picket against VAT. The demonstration was held to demand the extension of the list of tax-exempt foods and a total exemption of tax on all health care for the poor by March 31

CT 4/13/92

Ciskei 'still committed to Peace Accord' ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

BISHO. — The Ciskei is still committed to the National Peace Accord in spite of its decision to withdraw from the Border Peace Committee, the homeland's Council of State said yesterday.

In an earlier statement yesterday the council announced its withdrawal from the Border Peace Committee with immediate effect, following disclosures last week that the ANC's Border region had plotted to destabilise the homeland.

The Ciskei Director-General of Justice, Mr Viwe Notshe, claimed that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance acted in total disregard of the principles of the peace committee.

Commenting on the controversial document allegedly drawn up by the ANC's Border regional executive, the statement said there still had been no direct response from the chairman of the Border Peace Committee on the document. — Sapa

Ciskei pulls out of peace body

105

Sowetan
4/3/92

CISKEI has pulled out of the Border regional peace committee.

This comes after the disclosure of African National Congress' plans for a campaign against Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

At a Press conference yesterday, Ciskei's director general of justice, Mr Viwe Notshe, said since the formation of the Border-Ciskei regional dispute resolution committee, the ANC-led tripartite alliance had displayed total disregard for the principles of the National Peace Accord.

The committee had become simply a forum for the airing of political points of view and the scoring of political points, Notshe said.

The homeland, however, reaffirmed its commitment to the National Peace Accord.

Regretted

Reacting to the Ciskei's decision, the ANC said it was "not surprised", but regretted the step.

Ms Marion Sparg, the Border region's publicity secretary, said the Ciskei administration had "never been interested in peace from the start".

It was also significant that the decision came just as Ciskei was required by the peace committee to explain why Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act had not been repealed.

This section had been used to ban ANC meetings.

Nevertheless, the ANC hoped Ciskei would rethink its decision.

"The only way to achieve peace in the region is for all parties to sit together and discuss the situation honestly and squarely," Sparg said.

Ex-Inkatha leader quizzed on letter

STAR 613192

105

One of the chief sources of alleged SA Defence Force implication in Inkatha training, Mbongeni Khumalo, was yesterday accused of having applied for a job from Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation investigating the Weekly Mail's claims heard that Mr Khumalo had had a meeting with Brigadier Gqozo on November 8 last year.

Catalyst

Mr Khumalo told the committee yesterday he had not asked for a job at the meeting. Instead they had discussed "general issues" which he was not able to expand on.

Pierre Rabie, for the SADF, then produced an unsigned letter allegedly drafted by Mike Davis, of Creed Consultants, in

which Mr Khumalo referred to the November 8 meeting and said Brigadier Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) should act as a catalyst to bring together South African pragmatists so that "the future of South Africa will be better than its past".

He also mentioned that the ADM should "start initiating training programmes so that the movement will be ready for the inevitable election". "I believe I could be invaluable in this regard," the letter said.

The letter also said Mr Khumalo's previous experience with Inkatha would allow him to offer a substantial contribution to the brigadier.

Mr Khumalo, who was an Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser, denied speaking to Mr Davis or asking him to draft a letter to Brigadier Gqozo.

Mr Khumalo's information on an elite group of Inkatha members who were trained at a camp in the Caprivi Strip, and

the training of a group called the "Black Cats" from Wessington near Ermelo, formed much of the basis for the setting up of the investigative committee.

Mr Khumalo was adamant that Creed Consultants was responsible for the hit-squad training of Inkatha members in the Caprivi in 1986, although it had been registered as a close corporation only in February 1989.

Funding

He was also insistent that he visited Creed's offices in 1988.

The reason he thought Creed had been behind the training and funding was that Guy Boardman of Creed had spoken to some of the Caprivi trainees in 1989 and been on first-name terms with them.

Some of the trainees had told Mr Khumalo that Mr Boardman was at Caprivi with them.

The commission's hearing continues. — Sapa.

THE row over the African National Congress 'plot' to oust the Ciskei government has thrown into sharp relief the differences between the organisation's national leadership and its activists on the ground.

While national ANC leaders are prepared to talk to the Ciskei in the conciliatory spirit of negotiations, the organisation's Border branches — confronted by old-style repression — has opted for mass action.

The controversy erupted last weekend, when the Ciskei announced it had thwarted a conspiracy to overthrow the homeland government.

The Ciskei Council of State said the ANC's blueprint for an interim administration which would occupy the homeland's capital, Bisho, in early April — had been leaked to Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The initial response from the ANC was cautious. Sources would not say whether the plan had the approval or the knowledge of the ANC National Executive Committee.

But the organisation's Border region quickly took a more assertive line. It said the plan was perfectly legitimate, and vowed to go ahead with it.

It said far from being a top-secret plot, it was a public programme which has been endorsed by more than 100 ANC branches the previous weekend.

Softly-softly vs the Big Stick

Behind claims of an ANC plot in Ciskei lie tensions between the conciliatory ANC national leadership and the militant Eastern Cape branches, reports CLAIRE KEETON

The campaign called for intensive mass action, culminating in the announcement of a "people's assembly" by ANC president Nelson Mandela on April 3.

The assembly would announce an interim administration to take symbolic occupation of Bisho on April 7.

The Border regions of the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, have thrown their weight behind the

campaign.

ANC Border publicity secretary Marion Sparg said the organisation has always maintained there was no contradiction between mass action and negotiations. "It is no different to the 'people's parliament' in Cape Town, and no one saw that as a plot to unseat President De Klerk," she said.

Gqozo insisted the ANC must explain the campaign to him, and a top-level delegation, including

Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa, agreed to meet him. The Border regional executive was to accompany the national delegation.

"It is usual for the regional executive to be present at talks," said national ANC spokesman Saki Macazoma.

He denied there were tensions between the ANC nationally and regionally. "We may have different strategies but regions have a fair amount of autonomy and we

believe Border has a right to protest against the Ciskei government," he said.

Ciskei, for its part, pulled out of the regional peace committee during the week, claiming the tripartite alliance had acted in disregard of its principles.

The move came at an opportune moment. As the ANC pointed out, it meant the Ciskei government could avoid having to answer to the regional dispute resolution committee on why

provisions of its security legislation used to ban meetings and detain people could not be repealed.

This is not the first time differences have emerged between the national ANC and its activists in the region. At the height of the repression under the Ciskei's State of Emergency, Mandela was in contact with Gqozo, despite reservations from local ANC members.

In mid-November Mandela came to Border to talk to Gqozo, who agreed to lift the Emergency.

But even with the lifting of the Emergency, tensions have been high in the homeland for months. Meetings are frequently broken up, people have been detained without trial and there have been numerous allegations of assaults by police. — Elnews

TALKS to resolve tension between the ANC and the Ciskei government deadlocked on Friday.

An angry Brig Oupa Gqozo, Ciskei's military ruler, has now vowed to use all the force at his disposal to stop a planned ANC campaign against him. (105)

The talks dealt with the ANC's plans for a mass-action campaign against the Ciskei Government, culminating in the "symbolic" installation of an interim government for the territory.

Reg Mason of the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee yesterday said he was

Gqozo to crack down on ANC plan

disappointed at the outcome of the talks.

"The least we will do is to try to make the two parties come together as soon as possible," he said.

Gqozo described the ANC plan as a recipe for conflict and confrontation.

He said it was in con-

SEBI / AV
CDD / ANZ
travention of the National Peace Accord, to which both parties were signatories. C/PREV 8/3/92

He was shocked to hear that the ANC's national leadership knew about the plan.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the plan was not a subversive plot, but rather a campaign for democratic expression and free political activity.

"The document containing what our region and its structures is about to embark on is not aimed at engineering a coup of any sorts," he said. — E-news

Pik warns ANC against Ciskei plan

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha warned yesterday that mass action by the ANC in support of an interim administration in Ciskei could lead to violence and bloodshed in the territory.

He said the South African government viewed the deadlock in talks between the ANC and the Ciskei government in an "extremely serious light".

Reacting to the ANC's refusal to back down on its campaign for an interim administration in Ciskei, Mr Botha said the government could not allow the Eastern Cape region to be destabilised and would not hesitate to take any action necessary to prevent this.

S Times 8/3/92
By PETER MALHERBE

The ANC and the Ciskei government failed to reach agreement at a meeting in Bisho on Friday, called to discuss a plan — exposed in the Sunday Times last week — to oust Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. The campaign is due to be publicly launched in East London this week. (S) (105)

The alleged presence of SADF military intelligence personnel in Ciskei has become a major issue following the meeting.

The ANC said it was "ominous" that Brigadier Gqozo had ad-

mitted to the presence of SADF personnel in Ciskei, and claimed it was clear that the homeland government would continue to use military intelligence members against the ANC.

The leader of the ANC delegation to Ciskei, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, came out in full support of the organisation's campaign yesterday. He called on Brig Gqozo not to take any action during the non-violent campaign, which, he said, could lead to bloodshed and further conflict.

But Brigadier Gqozo responded: "I will use every means within the parameters of the law to ensure that the disruptive and callous

campaign is nipped in the bud." He accused the ANC of trying to destabilise the territory.

Mr Ramaphosa said the campaign was no different from any other programme of mass action undertaken by the ANC. The ANC would be calling on its supporters to "vote" in favour of an interim administration in Ciskei, and the results would be announced during a "people's assembly" on April 6, he said.

He said the only "illegal" element of the campaign was the intended defiance of repressive laws in Ciskei, which were used to ban ANC meetings there.

ARG 9/3/92
105

ANC shuns plea on Ciskei plan

Political Staff

THE ANC is determined to go ahead with its campaign for an interim administration in the Ciskei, undeterred by warnings from the Ciskei and South African government.

But government sources said they did not believe South Africa would intervene militarily.

A deadlock was reached between the two parties at a meeting in Bisho on Friday after revelations of ANC plans to oust Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha warned that mass action by the ANC in the homeland could lead to violence and bloodshed.

The South African government regarded the deadlock between the ANC and the Ciskei government in an "extremely serious light".

He said the government would not hesitate to take any action necessary to prevent destabilisation of the Eastern Cape region.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the

movement's campaign in the Ciskei was no different to other ANC programmes of mass action.

The ANC would call on its supporters to express their support for an interim administration in the Ciskei and the results would be announced on April 6 at a "people's assembly".

But Brigadier Gqozo had said he would use every means within the law to prevent the campaign.

The Border ANC's publicity secretary, Ms Marion Sparg, said the ANC had not changed its plans.

The campaign would begin with a Press conference later this week, followed by pickets with the ANC's demands. Polling booths would be set up for the vote on an interim administration.

The ANC Youth League promised to throw its weight behind the campaign on the grounds Brigadier Gqozo "represents nobody but himself at Codesa".

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Ciskei, ANC fail ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ to settle differences ^{cf 9/3/92}

BISHO. — The Ciskei government and the ANC failed to settle their differences at a weekend meeting.

The meeting intended to resolve the controversy caused by the ANC's stated plan to "symbolically overthrow" the administration of military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

After the meeting, Brigadier Gqozo expressed dismay at the "militant attitude" of the

ANC.

He said the ANC had threatened to continue with its destabilising programme of mass action in the region.

The Border Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee expressed disappointment that the issue was not resolved.

● The ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, has come out in full support of the organisation's campaign.

In a statement on Saturday he issued an urgent call to Brigadier Gqozo

Buthelezi 'incensed'

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned of underground activities by the African National Congress in its plan to "overthrow" the government of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

"I am incensed by what the ANC is trying to do in Ciskei," he said. "The ANC obviously have difficulty in abiding by normal democratic rules of the game."

"I will call for this matter to be monitored by the National Peace Committee and Codesa," he said. — Sapa

not to take any action during the non-violent campaign which could lead to violence and further conflict.

He said it was regrettable the meeting had ended in deadlock with the Ciskei military ruler issuing threats against the ANC.

It was hoped the Ciskei Government would reconsider its position and allow the campaign to proceed peacefully as was intended, Mr Ramaphosa said. — Sapa

Govt holds breath as ANC, Gqozo square up

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The Government was yesterday trying to defuse a potentially explosive clash between the ANC and Ciskei.

SA Government sources said they did not believe Pretoria would intervene militarily.

A deadlock was reached between the two parties at a meeting in Bisho on Friday after revelations of ANC plans to oust Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned at the weekend that mass action by the ANC in the homeland could lead to violence and bloodshed.

The SA Government regarded the ANC-Ciskei deadlock in a very serious light.

Mr Botha said the Government would not hesitate to take any action necessary to prevent destabilisation of the eastern Cape region.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the movement's campaign in Ciskei was no different to other ANC programmes of mass ac-

tion. The ANC would call on its supporters to express their support for an interim administration in Ciskei, and the results would be announced on April 6 at a "people's assembly".

Brigadier Gqozo has, however, said he would use all legal means to prevent the campaign.

● IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned of underground activities by the ANC in its plan to undermine Ciskei's government.

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said ANC activists relied on the support of Umkhonto we Sizwe to set black against black and promote mass action.

"I am incensed by what the ANC is trying to do in Ciskei," he said. "The ANC obviously has difficulty in abiding by normal democratic rules of the game.

"Brigadier Gqozo must be assured the whole of South Africa wishes him well and regards the ANC offensive against his leadership as being contrary to the spirit of Codesa and the National Peace Accord." — Sapa.

Row over Ciskei rocks Codesa

CODESA was rocked yesterday by a call from four participants for a suspension of proceedings until the ANC called off its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

Delegates were concerned at the move by the Ciskei government, Inkatha, Qwa-Qwa's DikwanKwetla Party and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party (which later said it did not intend jeopardising Codesa). The call was supported by Bophuthatswana and Solidarity.

Discussions on the call for the suspension until there was "an unconditional undertaking... from the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn" dominated the management committee meeting.

The ANC told a news conference that discussions, brokered by government, would be held in Pretoria today in an attempt to resolve the issue.

ANC national executive committee member Thabo Mbeki refused to spell out whether the ANC would go ahead with the Ciskei campaign. But he did not rule out

TIM COHEN

the possibility of similar campaigns against other homeland and TBVC governments, specifically Bophuthatswana.

Mbeki said the Ciskei campaign was aimed at ensuring free political activity in Ciskei for all parties.

ANC delegates confirmed that a document which called for the resignation of Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and for an interim government was produced by the ANC's Border region. "Gqozo is not fit to govern Ciskei, even during the transition," the document said.

The ANC said it had made several attempts to discuss the "crisis" with Ciskei leaders. All had been rejected.

Management committee member Pravin Gordhan said the ANC had informed the committee it would postpone the launch date of the campaign until talks between the parties had been held.

● See Page 2

10/13/92
S10
S11

Call for suspension of Codesa

(105) CR 10/3/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa was rocked yesterday by a call by four participants for a suspension of proceedings until the ANC called off its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

Delegates were concerned at the move by the Ciskei government, Inkatha, GwaQwa's Dikwankwetha Party and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party (which later said it did not intend jeopardising Codesa). The call was supported by Bophuthatswana and Solidarity. Discussions on the call for the suspension until there was "an unconditional undertaking from the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn" dominated the management committee meeting.

The ANC told a news conference that discussions brokered by the government would be held in Pretoria today in an attempt to resolve the issue.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Thabo Mbeki refused to spell out whether the ANC would go ahead with the Ciskei campaign. But he did not rule out the possibility of similar campaigns against other homeland and TBVC governments, specifically Bophuthatswana.

Mr Mbeki said the Ciskei campaign was aimed at ensuring free political activity in Ciskei for all parties.

ANC delegates confirmed that a document, which calls for the resignation of Ciskei mili-

tary leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and for an interim government, was produced by the ANC's Border region. "Gqozo is not fit to govern Ciskei, even during the transition," the document says.

The ANC said it had made several attempts to discuss the "crisis" with Ciskei leaders. All had been rejected.

Codesa management committee member Mr Praveen Gourdhan said the ANC had informed the committee it would postpone the launch date of the campaign until talks between the parties had been held.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the conflict was an "unfortunate, non-vital sideshow" and did not yet warrant the suspension of Codesa.

ANC asks (105) Ciskeians to disobey orders

EAST LONDON. — The ANC Border region has called on Ciskei policemen and soldiers to back a campaign "for peace and democracy" in Ciskei.

The call came after two ANC meetings in Alice and Middledrift were broken up by Ciskeian police at the weekend.

Border ANC publicity secretary, Miss Marion Sparg, said they were calling on Ciskei police to disobey orders to disperse ANC meetings, and to refuse to carry out provisions of Section 43 of the homeland's National Security Act.

The Act empowers the police to ban and break up meetings.

"Members of the Ciskei police and Defence Force truly committed to defending their people, have a valued role to play in the security forces in a new South Africa," said Miss Sparg. — Ecna. 11/6 10/3/92

Call for Codesa suspension over ANC drive in Ciskei

By Esther Waugh ^{STAR}
Political Reporter 10/3/92

Four Codesa participants have called for its proceedings to be suspended until the ANC has given an undertaking that it would withdraw its campaign in Ciskei.

But the Ciskei government, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Ximoko Progressive Party (XPP) of Gazankulu and the Dikwankwetla Party of Qwa-Qwa yesterday stressed they would not walk out of Codesa.

However, in a surprise move, the XPP yesterday afternoon distanced itself from the call.

XPP national chairman E P Mhinga said support for the Ciskei government's call was given on the strict understanding that this matter would be dealt with by the management committee "behind closed doors in the spirit of Codesa"

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed yesterday that talks between the SA and Ciskei governments and the ANC would be held today. The meeting, he said, would be "a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in Ciskei"

Codesa's management committee has come out in support of today's meeting. Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the trilateral meeting could make a substantial contribution to the resolution of the dispute.

He said the committee did not want to become involved in the dispute at this stage and felt the issue would be best resolved by the parties themselves

The groups who called for the suspension of proceedings said the ANC campaign was contrary to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and

contemptuous of Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

"We, accordingly, call upon the management committee to suspend the proceedings at Codesa until such time as it has obtained an unconditional undertaking from (secretary-general) Cyril Ramaphosa on behalf of the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn," the groups said.

Asked if this was the start of a loose alliance, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said this was not necessarily so, but "if it happened, there would be nothing wrong".

Dr Henk Kayser of Ciskei said his government wanted Codesa to succeed and sought to safeguard Codesa's principles.

The ANC said it regretted the Ciskei move to bring a regional dispute to Codesa. "We appeal to all those committed to the Codesa process not to allow this false hysteria to destabilise it,"

said Mr Ramaphosa.

The Ciskei government's move was "unhelpful" as the Codesa management committee was in the process of discussing the matter when Ciskei was going public with the dispute.

"All the steps are clearly calculated to sensationalise the issue and are contrary to the spirit of resolving matters through negotiations and discussion," Mr Ramaphosa said.

From the moment the issue arose, the ANC headquarters had been involved with discussions with its Border region, the Ciskei administration and the SA Government in order to find an effective solution, he said.

"Our commitment to the negotiations process is unchallengeable," said Mr Ramaphosa.

The issue was not the alleged destabilisation of Ciskei but the fact that there was no political freedom in the homeland.

Ciskei brings Codesa into its row with ANC

Sowetan 10/3/92

THE Ciskei government yesterday asked Codesa's management committee to suspend all proceedings of the convention until the ANC had called off its campaign to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

And Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday that the South African and Ciskeian governments and the ANC would meet today in "a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in the Ciskei".

Codesa's management committee, however, has decided not to be drawn into the dispute.

Earlier at Codesa, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dikwankwetla Party of QwaQwa and Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu had allied themselves with the Ciskei call, agreeing that proceedings be discontinued until the ANC committed itself to a "ceasefire".

Mr N Nqocantsi, chairman of Ciskei's council of ministers, said yesterday: "We believe that

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

(the parties cannot in good faith continue with the negotiating process while this threat remains in existence and the ANC acts unilaterally in contravention of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent."

According to a document of the ANC Border region - verified by NEC leaders yesterday - the ANC planned, among other things, to:

- Weaken Ciskeian leader Oupa Gqozo's position at Codesa;
- Isolate Gqozo politically;
- Expose Pretoria's agenda in the homeland;
- Bring about an interim administration in Ciskei.

● To page 2

Row in Codesa

● From page 1

The Border region also said the Ciskei government did not have the support of the people in the region and it, therefore, had to resign. (105) (3074) (114)

However, the ANC said yesterday it regretted the fact that the Ciskei government had dragged a "regional dispute" into Codesa.

The ANC said the move was "calculated to sensationalise" the dispute while discussions around the issue were under way at Codesa's management committee.

The ANC Border region on February 13 requested a meeting with the Ciskei Cabinet to resolve the differences between the two parties in the region.

But in a letter from the Ciskei government, signed by Gqozo, the ANC request for talks was dismissed.

"The reasons for the appointment which has been requested are irrelevant and far-fetched and do not warrant a meeting," Gqozo said in his reply dated February 17.

Codesa's management committee chairman Mr Previn Gordhan last night said that the convention had decided not to get involved in the dispute between the Ciskei and the ANC. Sowetan 10/3/92

"The view of the management committee is that the dispute is best solved on a bi-lateral basis between the ANC and Ciskei," he said.

SADF

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Ciskei

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link 25/11/92

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The South African Defence Force said yesterday it respected the independence of Ciskei and its military and was not involved in appointments made in the homeland administration.

The statement follows one by the South African embassy that it knew about a protest last week in Ciskei against several former SADF officers under contract to the homeland.

Junior officers had protested against the presence of former SADF officers in the Ciskei Defence Force.

The embassy said the officers involved were not seconded SADF officers, but "appointed on contract by Ciskei".

Earlier yesterday, the embassy named two men as former SADF officers now contracted to Ciskei intelligence.

The chief of the CDF, Brigadier Marius Oelshig, was said to be on leave, and could not be reached.

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STAR 11/3/92

Ciskei and ANC shake hands and look to the future

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Ciskei government has agreed to urgently review its security legislation to enable peaceful public meetings and marches — following a meeting yesterday between Ciskei leaders, the ANC and the Government in Pretoria.

In what was termed an "exceptionally productive" meeting, the ANC also agreed to review its campaign to call for the resignation of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and replace the Ciskei government with an interim government.

Disputes

Further meetings between the ANC and Ciskei have been planned to discuss co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability, the peaceful resolution of disputes, freedom of political expression and the headman system in the homeland.

The breakthrough in relations between the Ciskei government and the ANC is the culmination of months of bitter disputes between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC's Border region ex-

ecutive. Scores of ANC activists have been arrested in the homeland for participating in mass protest action over the past year.

In a joint statement yesterday, the three parties said the meeting had taken place in a "spirit of goodwill and willingness to accommodate each other".

Ciskei is to review its National Security Act to enable all parties in the homeland to hold peaceful public meetings and marches.

"The ANC agreed to review its campaign in the light of the spirit of the discussions and the undertakings made consistent with the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent of Codesa," the statement said.

All parties reconfirmed their commitment to Codesa, it added.

On Monday, the Ciskei, QwaQwa and the Inkatha Freedom Party called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans.

Yesterday's meeting was hosted by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and attended by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Brigadier Gqozo.

ANC to tone down campaign

Pact averts

Codesa crisis

B/Daw 11/3/92

Over Ciskei

(105)

CODESA was saved from possible suspension yesterday after the ANC, government and Ciskei leaders resolved to allow free political expression in Ciskei, while the ANC undertook to tone down its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

The crisis was sparked after the Ciskei government called for Codesa's suspension until the ANC called off its campaign. Ciskei's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, who was supported at Codesa by several other groups, claimed the campaign was aimed at overturning his government, although this was subsequently denied by ANC leaders.

In a statement after the meeting in Pretoria, the parties agreed to abide by their undertakings in terms of the national peace accord and the Codesa declaration of intent.

The parties, led by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Gqozo, agreed that meetings would take place between the ANC and the Ciskei government to discuss a range of issues. These would include co-operation within the Border region to promote peace, freedom of political expression and the headman system by Gqozo. The Ciskei government undertook to review Section 43 of its National Security

TIM COHEN

Act, which restricts political gatherings, to bring it into line with Section 46 of the SA Internal Security Act and provisions of the peace accord. This would allow all parties to hold peaceful public meetings and marches in the region, the statement said. For its part the ANC agreed to review its campaign, while government identified itself with the conclusions of the meeting. Ramaphosa described the outcome of the discussions as a "victory for all".

ANC NEC member Thabo Mbeki said it had not yet been decided exactly which aspects of the ANC's Ciskei campaign would be reviewed, as this required discussions with members of the ANC's Border region. Mbeki said the discussions would result in the Ciskei government withdrawing its call for a suspension of Codesa, and encouraging parties that supported the call to do the same.

Meanwhile, Codesa management committee member Pravin Gordhan said yesterday discussions on suggested amendments to the Codesa declaration of intent had made "very encouraging progress" and were all but completed. His comment confirms the views of Codesa delegates that discussions had resulted in a resolution to attach an explanatory

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Ciskei B/Daw 11/3/92

(105)

From Page 1

statement to the declaration of intent. The statement would make changes to the declaration unnecessary, but would clarify the meaning of phrases; some of which were fiercely resisted by Inkatha. In particular, the declaration's statement that SA should be a unitary state would be clarified so it was clear this did not militate against the principle of re-

gional government. The agreement deals with all but one of Inkatha's objections to signing the declaration: the non-participation of the Zulu king. Gordhan said a process was in place to deal with traditional leaders' participation, which should resolve the issue.

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26/11/19
Ensa 18

Row over Gqozo

THE National Union of Mineworkers condemned the invitation by Genmin Impala Refineries to Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo to speak at the refinery yesterday. ~~105~~ 105

A Genmin spokesman said no official invitation had been issued, but when management learned he was apparently due to arrive, it asked him not to. Gqozo agreed and no address took place.

ANC, Ciskei

Turnce

Sunder 11/3/92

THE Ciskeian government and the ANC made peace yesterday after days of conflict that threatened the proceedings at Codesa.

The peace meeting came just in time to prevent bloodshed in the homeland.

Senior Ciskei police officers had been told to "shoot to kill" during the ANC's campaign against the homeland government.

The order was given at a special briefing for the officers in King William's Town on Monday by commissioner of police General Jan Viktor hours before Ciskei, the ANC and the South African Government were to meet in Pretoria to resolve animosity between the ANC and the homeland administration.

Meeting

A source who attended the meeting, and who declined to be named, said the officers were told the order came "from above".

ANC activists travelling with mobile polling booths as part of the campaign to elect an interim administration in Ciskei would be shot, the source said.

The source said the officers were "in a predicament" as a result of the order. The

officers were told no leave would be granted during this period and all policemen were expected to be on standby.

Viktor refused to comment yesterday, saying the issue had been referred to the Ciskei government's media office. The media office did not respond to inquiries yesterday.

Meanwhile, heavily armed Ciskei Defence Force soldiers were yesterday seen patrolling Bisho and surrounds in Buffels.

Dispute

The ANC had launched a campaign of mass action against the Ciskei government, which was to culminate in the "symbolic" installation of an interim administration for Ciskei.

On Monday Ciskei, QwaQwa and the Inkatha Freedom Party called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans. But Codesa's management committee decided that the convention should not become immediately involved in the dispute.

After yesterday's meeting in Pretoria it was announced that the Ciskei government would urgently review its National Security Act to enable political parties to hold peaceful public

To page 2

meetings and marches.

A joint statement by the parties also said: "The South African Government delegation identified itself fully with the spirit and the conclusions of the meeting. All parties reconfirmed their commitment to Codesa."

It was also agreed that further meetings would take place between the ANC and the Ciskei government to discuss, among other things, co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability.

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Sunder 11/3/92

From page 1

Wills
SPECIAL

ENGLAND'S LUXURY ARKUN CIGARETTE

Wills
SPECIAL

Also in this of 20

ANC's Ciskei action starts

105
12/3/92

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The ANC and allied organisations last night officially launched — with one significant amendment — the controversial campaign for “peace and democracy” in Ciskei.

The launch followed Tuesday’s “truce” in Pretoria between the ANC and the Ciskei government, which was seen as defusing tensions over the campaign calling for an interim administration for the homeland.

The “Popular front for peace and democracy in Ciskei”, consisting of 17 organisations, last night said it had dropped plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

This concession followed Ciskei’s undertaking to review Section 43 of its National Security Act which allows for the banning of public meetings.

Yesterday the first leg of the campaign kicked off with placard demonstrations around Ciskei.

No about-turn

The ANC in Whittlesea claimed Ciskei police had teargassed a demonstration there, injuring four people. The Ciskei government has not responded to inquiries.

Last night, a senior ANC official conceded that an undercurrent of the campaign would be an attempt to win support from the Ciskei police force, army and civil service — seen by the ANC as areas of dissension within Ciskei.

The front maintained the decision to launch the campaign was not an about-turn on agreements reached in Pretoria. The campaign would continue even if Section 43 was scrapped as it was part of a national demand for an interim government and constituent assembly.

Border ANC media officer Miss Marion Sparg dismissed claims that the campaign was ill-timed and would play into the hands of a “no” vote in Tuesday’s referendum.

She stressed the campaign was aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the Border region.

● Signatories to the campaign’s declaration were The ANC, ANC Youth League, SACP, Cosatu, Boco, Popcu, East London Taxi Association, Sadu, Afes s Advice and Resource Centre, East London Arts and Culture Union, National Education Co-ordinating Committee, Nosc, African Culture, Young Christians Society, Sached, Corplan and Cosas.

ANC launches its Ciskei campaign

105 B/day 12/3/92

EAST LONDON — The ANC and a broad front of allied organisations last night officially launched — with one significant amendment — the controversial campaign for “peace and democracy” in Ciskei.

The launch followed Tuesday’s “truce” in Pretoria between the ANC and the Ciskei government, which was seen as defusing tensions over the campaign aimed at calling for an interim administration for the homeland.

The Popular Front for Peace and Democracy in Ciskei, consisting of 17 organisations, said last night it would push ahead with the campaign, but had dropped plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

This concession was made following Ciskei’s undertaking to “review” Section 43 of its National Security Act which allows for the banning of public meetings

Own Correspondent

But even as the campaign kicked off, an incident of Ciskei police action against protesters was reported.

The front maintained the decision to launch the campaign was not an about-turn on agreements in Pretoria and added Ciskei had recognised the right to free political activity in the homeland.

The ANC said Ciskei had been made aware the campaign would continue.

Yesterday placard demonstrations were held around Ciskei.

Sapa reports from Bisho that the Ciskei council of state confirmed Ciskei police used teargas to disperse about 300 placard-bearing demonstrators in Whittlesea.

It said the demonstrators were bran-

□ To Page 2

Ciskei B/day 12/3/92

dishing placards “denigrating” and “degrading” the Ciskei government. Police gave them 20 minutes’ warning before dispersing them.

“It is regretted that the protesters acted prior to acquainting themselves with the results of the fruitful meeting between the Ciskei government, SA government and the ANC,” the council said.

“The requests for the marches reached

authorities after midday today, when the marches had already commenced.”

Signatories to the campaign’s declaration included the ANC, ANC Youth League, SACP, Cosatu, Bocco, Popcru, East London Taxi Association, Sadtu, Afesis Advice and Resource Centre, East London Arts and Culture Union, National Education Co-ordinating Committee, the Nosc, African Culture, Young Christians Society, Sached, Corplan and Cosas.

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Ciskei cops teargas 300 protestors (105)

Sowetan 12/3/92

CISKEI police used teargas to disperse about 300 placard-carrying demonstrators in Whittlesea yesterday, the Ciskei Council of State said.

It said in a statement that the demonstrators were carrying placards "denigrating and degrading" the Ciskei government. Police gave them 20 minutes to disperse.

"It is regretted that the protesters acted prior to ac-

quainting themselves with the results of the fruitful meeting between the Ciskei government, the South African Government and the ANC," the council said

At a joint meeting with the ANC and the South African Government on Tuesday, Ciskei undertook to review provisions of Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which restrained freedom of political activity.- Sapa

Buthelezi warns of 'interference'

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Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The government has a very good chance of winning the referendum on Tuesday but it could lose it on the issue of the ANC "interference" in the affairs of the Ciskei.

This was said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last night by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He revealed he and his cabinet held talks yesterday morning with the Ciskei military council leader, Brigadier Oupa Qozo, and some of his ministers.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC attacked a self-governing region contrary to the Codesa statement of intent.

He said the worst thing that could happen during SA's political transition would be for the government to lose its will to rule.

The people threatening to bring about "mayhem" in the Ciskei were people from South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said developments in the Ciskei would make many people who might have voted "yes" on Tuesday debate that decision now.

If the government failed to act in this dispute, it would amount to endorsing the anarchy the ANC wanted to introduce into SA.

• Earlier Chief Buthelezi said Brigadier Qozo told him the ANC intended destabilising other self-governing regions, including KwaZulu.

(Report by P. Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

CT 13/3/92

Buthelezi warns of 'interference'

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Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — The government has a very good chance of winning the referendum on Tuesday but it could lose it on the issue of the ANC "interference" in the affairs of the Ciskei.

This was said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last night by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He revealed he and his cabinet held talks yesterday morning with the Ciskei military council leader, Brigadier Oupa Qozo, and some of his ministers.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC attacked a self-governing region contrary to the Codesa statement of intent.

He said the worst thing that could happen during SA's political transition would be for the government to lose its will to rule.

The people threatening to bring about "mayhem" in the Ciskei were people from South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said developments in the Ciskei would make many people who might have voted "yes" on Tuesday debate that decision now.

If the government failed to act in this dispute, it would amount to endorsing the anarchy the ANC wanted to introduce into SA.

• Earlier Chief Buthelezi said Brigadier Qozo told him the ANC intended destabilising other self-governing regions, including KwaZulu.

(Report by P. Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

THE Ciskei is bracing itself for the beginning this weekend of the African National Congress 'peace and democracy' campaign, which could easily spill into violence.

The ANC on Wednesday announced it was going ahead with the campaign, despite a truce reached with the Ciskei at South African-brokered talks in Pretoria the day before.

Tuesday's talks ended with the ANC agreeing to review its campaign, and the Ciskei agreeing to review controversial security legislation.

Announcing the launch of the campaign, however, the ANC said it was modifying its campaign by cancelling plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

It maintained the decision to go ahead was not in contravention of the Pretoria agreement. ANC Border president Silumko Sokupa said "All we will be doing is picketing for a free political climate in the region."

The ANC also insisted Ciskei had been left in no doubt in Pretoria that the campaign would go ahead.

Pickets already took place this week, but the weekend will see polling booths being set up around the territory. People will be asked whether they support the establishment of an interim administration in the Ciskei.

Results are to be announced at a People's Assembly on April 6, when elections for an interim administration will be held. It is not clear whether the ANC will go ahead with its planned "symbolic" occupation of Bisho.

Despite the truce agreed in Pretoria, the campaign could easily escalate into confrontation. Already, there have been reports of the Ciskei police tearing down a demonstration in Whittlesea. The Ciskei claimed permission for the march had only been sought after it had begun.

ANC supporters concede there could easily be violence there were reports before the Pretoria talks of senior Ciskei officers being instructed to "shoot to kill" during the campaign.

Indeed, the campaign could easily turn from a "symbolic" to an actual ousting of the Ciskei regime of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

There have been signs of mounting restlessness in the Ciskei forces. There were reports this week that junior officers in the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) protested against the presence of South African officers. The South African embassy confirmed it knew of the protest.

The presence of South African officers in senior positions in the CDF, and the activities of South African

Ciskei braces for ANC protests

W/Mail 13/3 - 19/3/92. (105)
The African National Congress and the Ciskei government clashed this week over ANC plans for a campaign in the territory. After South African government intervention the protest will go ahead — but the possibility of violence is still strong, reports FRANZ KRUGER

Military Intelligence in the homeland are among the issues raised by the ANC in its motivation for the campaign.

Given the truculent nervousness in Bisho, and the difficulty of ensuring Ciskei forces adhere to the agreement to

allow political activity, almost any of the planned activities could lead to violence.

The Pretoria agreement came days after the Ciskei, backed by Inkatha, Gazankulu and QwaQwa, demanded the Convention for a Democratic

South African (Codesa) suspend its activities until the ANC had called off its campaign.

There should be an "unconditional undertaking from the ANC that the campaign would be withdrawn", the

homelands said.

With the exception of Inkatha, the four hardly constitute heavyweights at Codesa. They know that if anyone called their bluff, they might be left out of the only show in town.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer described the row as an "unfortunate, non-vital sideshow".

Nevertheless, the ANC has so far come out of the affair less than well. The episode provided the Ciskei with its first real

opportunity to make its presence felt on the national stage.

The ANC hasn't so far found much support for its argument that its campaign is merely legitimate political activity. The South African government said it was in contravention of the National Peace Accord.

While remaining carefully guarded in its responses, the National Peace Committee displayed little sympathy for the ANC's position.

Committee chairperson John Hall said in his personal capacity he thought the campaign was "a little too robust for normal political activity". — Etna



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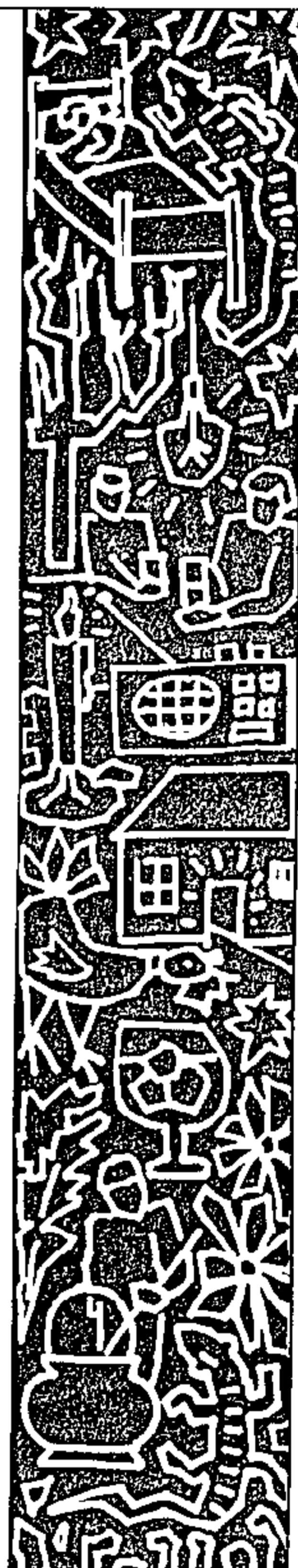
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All manuscripts must be accompanied by an



Ciskei town rallies to fired clerk's side

STAR 14/3/92

The authorities did not realise what they were taking on when they fired the town clerk of a small coastal town — and then the entire town council — because they opposed a development project. (105)

EAST LONDON — Residents of the small coastal resort of Hamburg in Ciskei have rallied to the support of their former town clerk, Professor James Thom.

When Ciskei police tried to evict the dismissed employee from his government-owned house last week, about 200 residents occupied it and refused to budge.

Thom was fired last month after opposing a planned development project for the town. But when the town council refused to relieve him of his duties, they were also dismissed.

The council objected to the development on the grounds that they had not been consulted and because it was rumoured to involve controversial Sicilian-born businessman and fraud convict, Vito Palazzolo.

One of the participants in last week's incident, pensioner Hence Forth, said they occupied Thom's house "to prevent the authorities from taking it into their possession".

He said the trouble started when a messenger of the court arrived at Thom's house with an eviction notice. "Then the whole of Hamburg gathered here," said former councillor Gloria Steeman, speaking from her office which is just down the road from Thom's house.

The messenger phoned Peddie police for reinforcements — three cars and a van — and the residents started moving up the hill to Thom's property. While they were on their way, they saw police "drag and push" Thom into a car. One witness said they threw him into the car "like a bag of mealies".

Steeman said the police were "panicky" and "narrowly escaped" the large crowd, who followed the car to the police station. They were ordered to leave by armed policemen.

"We sat in the professor's house until early Saturday morning, when he came home," said Steeman.

On Monday a Mdantsane magistrate set aside the eviction order, saying it was outside the jurisdiction of the Peddie court. Thom, for his part, seemed untroubled by the uproar — although he admitted he had resisted arrest.

A wiry, small man in his 60s, he said

he was physically tired and bruised, but spiritually strong. "When, in any society, the innocent are incarcerated because they are fighting against corruption and malpractice, and the guilty are outside, I can draw only one inference: something is seriously wrong with the system," he said.

A former dean of the law faculty at Fort Hare University and a former mayor of Hamburg, Thom has a long association with the town. Ciskei's move to replace him and the town council with more co-operative officials followed their demand to be informed about development plans for Hamburg late last year.

In November the Hamburg Town Council received a letter asking them to ensure "Professor Thom is relieved of his services".

When they failed to comply, they were advised that their appointment was not in accordance with the Muni-

'When in any society the innocent are incarcerated because they are fighting against corruption and malpractice, and the guilty are outside, I can draw only one inference: something is seriously wrong with the system'

pal Act of 1987 and they were relieved of all responsibilities.

On the same day, Ciskei authorities appointed a senior Peddie magistrate, Thozamile Tetyana, as commissioner of Hamburg. A few days later Tetyana sent a letter terminating Thom's services. He also reappointed a former town clerk, Lungisi Ntutu.

But council members and Thom refused to take their dismissal lying down, and both white and black residents vowed to defend them in their fight.

Now the town council and Thom are embroiled in a legal battle with the Ciskei authorities. On Wednesday they lodged two urgent applications with the Bisho Supreme Court.

The applications have been postponed until April 9. — Elnews.

ANC, Ciskei deadlock

CP 1015 15/3/92
ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday came out in full support of the organisation's campaign for an interim administration in the Ciskei.

Ramaphosa made an urgent call yesterday to Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo not to take any action during the non-violent campaign. ~~104~~ 105

He said it was regrettable a meeting between the ANC and Ciskei government had ended in deadlock with Gqozo issuing threats against the ANC.

Ramaphosa said he regarded as particularly ominous the admission by Gqozo during the meeting that there was a presence of SADF Military Intelligence personnel in Ciskei. - Sapa

ANC ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ calls off vote on Ciskei

S/Times 15/3/92

By PETER MALHERBE

THE ANC has suspended plans to hold a symbolic vote for the removal of Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Voting was due to have taken place in the territory yesterday, but was put on hold after a meeting between a high-level national ANC delegation and regional ANC structures on Friday.

Controversial elements of the ANC campaign for an interim government in Ciskei were dropped after the meeting between the national and regional delegations.

Noticeably absent from the "reformulated" version of the campaign were the original intentions to weaken Ciskei's and South Africa's positions at Codesa and to isolate Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sources said ANC heavyweights Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Patrick Lekota, Steve Tshwete and Raymond Mhlaba had decided on a meeting with the regional executive because "head office" was unhappy with the way the dispute with Ciskei had been handled.

Ciskei acts against ANC

CT 17/3/92
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government has been granted an interim interdict in the Bisho Supreme Court restraining the ANC here from continuing with certain aspects of the organisation's controversial campaign in the homeland.

This was confirmed yesterday by a lawyer acting for the ANC, Mr Hintsa Siwisa (105)

Ciskei goes to court over ANC campaign

(105) ARCT 18/3/92
EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government has been granted an interim interdict in the Bisho Supreme Court restraining the African National Congress' Border region from continuing with certain aspects of the organisation's controversial campaign in the homeland.

This was confirmed by a lawyer acting for the ANC, Mr Hintsa Siwisa, who said the interdict had been granted to the government by the chief justice, Mr Justice Pickard, last week.

The interdict was granted shortly after the ANC region decided, following talks with ANC national executive committee members, to drop most of the elements of the campaign targeted by the Ciskei in the interdict.

Mr Siwisa said the interdict

restrained the ANC from compelling or forcing people to occupy government buildings or to defy security legislation.

The application sought, but failed, to stop the ANC setting up polling booths and encouraging people to vote last Saturday for an interim administration in the homeland, Mr Siwisa said.

On Friday the ANC revised its original campaign, dropping the "symbolic" occupation of government buildings and the defiance of security legislation and postponed the voting procedures.

Border ANC spokeswoman Ms Marion Sparg said the ANC had received a letter from the Ciskei government's lawyers saying the Ciskei had decided not to pursue an interdict to halt the voting process itself.

ANC renews the Ciskei fight

S/ Times 22/3/92
AN accord between Ciskei and the ANC is in tatters, and the latter has vowed to intensify its campaign for "peace and democracy".

Three weeks after the ANC dropped plans to oust the military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, it has announced it will "intensify its campaign" of mass action.

(105)

Ciskei police teargassed me - Sparg

(105) (100)
STAR 24/3/92

EAST LONDON — ANC national executive committee member Marion Sparg was teargassed and threatened at gunpoint by members of the Ciskei police and defence force at Tentergate in the Whittlesea district at the weekend, the ANC has alleged.

The incident occurred on Saturday when the ANC attempted to hold a meeting to commemorate the Sharpeville shootings, the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC said Ciskeian security police had arrived at the venue before the meeting and asked if they had permission for the meeting in terms of section 43 of the National Security Act.

After Miss Sparg arrived, three members of the security police returned and identified themselves as Warrant-Officer M M Mrubata, Sergeant S Duda and Sergeant N T Mntu. Miss Sparg said they told her the meeting could not take place.

She then went with members of the ANC sub-regional executive to the house of one of their members for a meal.

"While we were eating, the security forces arrived and told us that our meal in fact constituted an illegal gathering in terms of section 43," Miss Sparg said.

"Police and soldiers deployed themselves around the house. We explained to Warrant Officer Mrubata that the people who were at the house ... were simply going to eat a meal and then leave for home.

"One of the soldiers walked up as we spoke and threw three teargas canisters directly at us.

"When we moved a few steps forward to ask him to refrain, a line of soldiers walked towards us and cocked their guns."

Miss Sparg said the ANC delegation then left the house.

A Ciskei police spokesman said he had no comment on the allegations. — Sapa.

ANC's Sparg 'teargassed'

EAST LONDON. Senior ANC member Ms Marion Sparg was tear-gassed and threatened at gunpoint by Ciskei policemen and soldiers at Tentergate in the Whittlesea district at the weekend, says an ANC statement.

A Ciskei police spokesman would only say "No comment" to inquiries. CT 24/3/92

The incident occurred on Saturday when the ANC tried to hold a commemorative meeting of the 1960 Sharpeville shootings. — Sapa

Govt pays for riot damage

(105)
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Businesses damaged during the rioting after the 1990 coup which brought Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to power have been recompensed to the tune of R500 000. CT 24/3/92

A spokeswoman for the Ciskei National Relief Fund said yesterday the money had been paid last week to 47 businesses and another 40 claims were due to be considered next week.

Ciskei has paid out R500 000 in riot relief ¹⁰⁵

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei National Relief Fund, has paid out R500 000 to businesses whose premises were damaged during rioting in 1990.

The rioting followed the March 1990 coup which brought Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to power in the homeland.

A spokeswoman for the fund said this week the money had been paid last week to 47 businesses whose claims had been approved by the organisation. — Sapa.

STAR 2513/92

Peace row in Ciskei

JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, has accused the ANC of disrupting the establishment of a Dispute Resolution Committee in the Border-Ciskei region.

He said the disruption was caused by the ANC's plan to destabilise the Ciskei's government.

The ANC Border region publicity secretary Ms Marion Sparg said the ANC had not expected Mr Hall to be so misinformed about the situation or to make such ill-considered statements.

"To attempt to lay the blame entirely at the door of the ANC is a deliberate misrepresentation of facts," she said.

Mr Hall criticised the ANC in responding to the resignation on Wednesday of the Border-Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman Mr Reg Mason.

"Reg Mason showed himself to be a fully dedicated chairman and worked

Hall blames ANC for 'disruption' ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ 27/3/92

incredibly hard to establish the Dispute Resolution Committee," Mr Hall said.

"The procedure was disrupted by the ANC's plan to destabilise the Ciskei government. He obviously felt that the resolution of that problem was in the hands of the politicians and his committee could not function.

"In his view, this was an exercise in futility. The position will be resolved and we need to carry on with the peace procedure."

Earlier this month the Ciskei uncovered plans by the ANC to launch a destabilisation programme in the homeland.

Ciskei then called for the suspension of negotiations at Codesa until the ANC renounced its plans. The issue was resolved at a meeting in Pretoria between Ciskei, the ANC and the South African government.

"In good old Peace Accord tradition, it is one step forward and two steps backwards," Mr Hall said.

Ms Sparg said the problem in Ciskei, as far as the ANC was concerned, and a number of other parties at the DRC, was the lack of free political activity in the homeland. This was why the ANC had initiated its campaign for peace, democracy and free political activity in Ciskei, she said.

Ms Sparg added that the ANC was still committed to the National Peace Accord.

Meanwhile, the Eastern Cape Regional Dispute Resolution Committee was established in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

This is the last of the committees to be established in terms of the National Peace Accord.

Bishop Bruce Evans and Mr Brian Smit were elected joint chairmen of the committee — Sapa

Replying last night to the ANC's criticisms, Mr Hall said: "As chairman of the National Peace Committee, one walks a tightrope and appearing judgmental or one-sided is clearly inappropriate and not my role," he said.

"Nevertheless, each political party bears the responsibility on its shoulders to promote the principles of the Peace Accord, and I feel the ANC erred in that regard.

"However, I regret having omitted significant factors such as the banning by the Ciskei government of public meetings," he said. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

STAR 27/3/92 105

Colonel leaves Ciskei unit

EAST LONDON — The founding commander of the SADF's controversial 32 Battalion, Colonel Jan Breytenbach, has left the employ of the Ciskei Defence Force, Ciskei has confirmed.

Colonel Breytenbach had been training the Ciskei parachute regiment since mid-1991.

A Ciskei Council of

State spokesman yesterday confirmed that the colonel's "contract with the Ciskei government has been terminated by mutual agreement".

He had left the unit, based near Bulembu airport, about three weeks ago and his whereabouts were unknown.

The spokesman said the unit remained operational. — Sapa.

Peace body's failure ANC's fault ⁽²⁰¹²⁾ ₍₁₀₅₎ Hall

STAR 27/3/92

The establishment of a dispute resolution committee in the Border-Ciskei region was disrupted by the ANC plan to destabilise Ciskei's government, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

He was responding to the resignation on Wednesday of Border-Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman Reg Mason.

"Mr Mason showed himself to be a fully dedicated chairman and worked incredibly hard to establish the dispute resolution committee.

"The procedure was disrupted by the ANC's plan to destabilise the Ciskei government. He obviously felt that the resolution of that problem was in the hands of the politicians and his committee could not function.

"In his view, this was an exercise in futility. The position will be resolved and we need to carry on with the peace procedure," said Mr Hall.

Earlier this month, Ciskei uncovered plans by the ANC to

launch a destabilisation programme in the homeland.

Ciskei then called for the suspension of negotiations at Codesa until the ANC renounced its plans. The issue was resolved at a Pretoria meeting between Ciskei, the ANC and the SA Government.

"In good old Peace Accord tradition, it is one step forward and two steps backwards," Mr Hall said.

He refused to comment on a string of allegations against the National Peace Committee, including claims that he had not responded to requests by Mr Mason to bring Ciskei back to the regional peace table.

The ANC said it was appalled at Mr Hall's statement and rejected his allegation that the organisation was responsible for disruption of the regional dispute resolution committee.

ANC Border region publicity secretary Marion Sparg said the attempt to lay the blame entirely at the door of the ANC was a deliberate misrepresentation of facts.

The ANC found it strange that Mr Hall had decided to

highlight only one point mentioned in the lengthy memorandum which Mr Mason had submitted to substantiate his reasons for resignation. Most of these reasons related to problems experienced with the agreement reached in Pretoria between the ANC and Ciskei, Ms Sparg said.

In keeping with that agreement reached, the ANC had revised its first document on the campaign and dropped some of the clauses to which Ciskei had objected. The campaign, as it was now, consisted of peaceful political protest.

The ANC said it was unfortunate that a National Peace Committee member had decided to issue such a statement at a time when it had been agreed at a meeting that two members of the National Peace Secretariat, Gert Myburgh and Ayendra Naidoo, would attempt to mediate in the dispute to facilitate a peaceful solution in terms of the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

The ANC added that it remained committed to the Peace Accord. — Sapa.

Border-Ciskei region committee chairman resigns

105

Sowetan 27/3/92

Sowetan Correspondent and Sapa

THE chairman of the Border-Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr Reg Mason, has resigned, fuelling fears that the National Peace Accord could be heading for failure.

Mason resigned on Wednesday night, saying he was "tired of beating against a brick wall" in trying to bring peace to the region.

The Peace Accord has been dogged by problems since its inception last September. Legislation to give it teeth has not yet been introduced, while "justices of the peace" and "police reporting officers" provided for in the accord have not yet been appointed.

A police board - appointed in terms of the accord to effect neutrality in the police - is still to have its first meeting, and regional dispute resolution committees in some areas have not yet got off the ground.

The Government warned on Wednesday that continuing violence in black townships could stall negotiations at Codesa, intimating that the Peace Accord had failed so far to address the violence.

The Human Rights Commission said 62 people had been killed and 52 injured in political violence last week. This brought to 300 the number of blacks killed since the declaration of the referendum.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the implementation of any agreement depended on the reduction of violence so that individuals could obtain information "without intimidation or forceful interference with their freedom".

The ANC has accused rightwing whites and Government security forces of instigating township violence to destabilise the black opposition movement.

The Government denies involvement - but these are exactly the sort of disputes the National Peace Accord was aimed at resolving.

In a comprehensive "list of concerns" attached to his letter of resignation, Mason challenged the South African and Ciskei governments' commitment to the peace process.

He also criticised the ANC for its "ill-timed" and "ill-considered" anti-Ciskei campaign and the delay the dispute had caused to the peace development programme in the region.

Mason said the Ciskei government had ignored the National Peace Secretariat's offer of help in the homeland's dispute with the ANC, and had not been prepared to discuss its withdrawal with the secretariat.

Ciskei's Minister of Justice had undertaken last week to arrange a meeting with the regional peace structure which he had agreed was long overdue, but "there has been no response".

The homeland ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had still not replied to a secretariat request sent on March 12 asking for a meeting to discuss a "working relationship" and how to effectively implement the peace accord.

Ciskei had further failed to support the formation of local dispute resolution committees by banning a launch of such a committee at Middledrift.

It had also banned public meetings in Whittlesea and Keiskammahoek, Mason said.

A request to the chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, to bring Ciskei back to the regional peace table following Ciskei's signing of the accord had gone unanswered, Mason added.

He said his fax message to Hall suggesting possible action to resolve the Ciskei-ANC dispute had also gone unanswered.

Ciskei, ANC mediation bid

JOHANNESBURG. — Unionist Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr Gert Myburgh, both members of the National Peace Secretariat, will mediate between the ANC and the Ciskei in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the two, the secretariat said yesterday. (105)

Bishop Trevor de Bruyn will act as interim chairman. CT 28/3/92

Earlier this month it was revealed that the ANC was planning a destabilisation campaign in the homeland.

In other peace initiative developments during the past three days the secretariat said peace structures had been set up in Kimberley, Klerksdorp and Port Elizabeth. — Sapa

THEO RAWANA

THE national peace accord was firmly on course and there was no reason to believe it was heading for collapse, spokesman Val Paquet said at the weekend.

Paquet was reacting to speculation that the accord was in jeopardy after the resignation of Border-Ciskei dispute resolution committee chairman Reg Mason on Wednesday and the ANC's repudiation of accord chairman John Hall's criticism of the

Peace accord 'not heading for collapse'

312005 30/3/92
"Tremendous work has been done and many lives have been saved by the peace process," she said. (105) ~~215~~

On ANC Border spokesman Marion Sparg's attack on Hall for singling out the ANC as being solely responsible for disrupting the dispute resolution committee, Paquet referred to a paragraph in Hall's second statement on Thursday.

It read: "I regret having omitted (in

previous statements) significant factors such as the banning by the Ciskei government of public meetings in Whittlesea and Keiskammahoek and its lack of support for the formation of local dispute resolution committees by banning a launch of such a committee at Middledrift — factors referred to by Mr Mason in his letter."

The committee also announced at the weekend that peace structures had been set up in Kimberley, Klerksdorp and Port Elizabeth last week.

Attempt to settle ANC, Ciskei row

105

Sowetan

30/3/92

UNIONIST Jayendra Naidoo, advocate Gert Myburgh and two members of the National Peace Secretariat will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the two parties.

The secretariat said in a statement at the weekend an agreement that the two men be involved in the mediation was reached after the peace secretariat visited East London last week.

"Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, who is presently the deputy chairman, will act as interim chairman," the statement said.

It was reported earlier this month that the ANC was planning to launch a campaign aimed at destabilising Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's military government.

Ciskei then demanded that negotiations at Convention for a Democratic



OUPA GGOZO

South Africa be suspended until the ANC had announced its intentions.

In other peace initiative developments during the past few days, the secretariat said peace structures had been set up in Kimberley, Klerksdorp and Port Elizabeth.

The three structures were launched by the chairman of National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, and other members.

A steering committee for

the Northern Cape established in Kimberley on Wednesday would prepare the ground for the formation of a regional dispute resolution committee on April 8.

The meeting was attended by the National Party, the ANC, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the SA Police, church bodies, civic structures, SA Chambers of Business and other business organisations.

Mr EF Cahill, of the Northern Cape Chamber of Business, was appointed chairman of the steering committee.

After a report-back by the steering committee formed last month, a regional dispute resolution committee for the Western Transvaal region was formed in Klerksdorp.

The Eastern Cape regional dispute resolution committee was established in Port Elizabeth on Thursday. - Sapa.

Ex-chairman tells why he quit

(105) ARG 31/3/92

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Attempts to bring peace to Border and Ciskei have been bedevilled by political immaturity in some quarters, says the former chairman of the local Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr Reg Mason.

Mr Mason resigned after heightened tension between the Ciskeian government and the local leadership of the African National Congress.

He said after his resignation that both sides shared the blame for the tension in the region.

Mr Mason said the ANC's campaign to oust the Ciskeian mili-

tary administration was ill-timed and to some extent ill-conceived.

And he was also sharply critical of the Ciskeian government's attempts to frustrate the work of his committee.

He said Ciskei had withdrawn from his organisation and then effectively banned meetings to establish dispute resolution committees in several towns in the region.

Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had still not replied to a request from his secretariat on March 12 for a meeting to discuss the implementation of the peace accord in the region.

When a military ruler took office by a coup, there was uncertainty about whether he really represented the people, Mr Mason said.

Perhaps this uncertainty caused him to feel threatened.

Mr Mason felt the Ciskeian government had been biased against him from the outset.

"They seemed to think that I was working hand in glove with the ANC, which is nonsense I am prepared to work with anybody for peace," he said.

He had, however, found the local ANC to be genuine in its support for the peace process.

'Intervene over Ciskei chief'

STAR 1/4/92 105
The eastern Cape region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has asked Codesa, President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha to intervene in the alleged harassment of Ciskei Paramount Chief Maxobaya-kawuleza Sandile by the homeland administration.

Contralesa said yesterday that the chief received a threatening letter last week from the Ciskei Council of State because he refused to sell "cards" of the African Democratic Movement.

The body has also requested a meeting with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, "pointing out to him that we wished to discuss the issue of intimidation of traditional leaders to sell these cards". *Political Reporter.*

Jurists' report part of ANC plan against IFP, Ciskei tells chief

105

STAR 2/4/92

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor



Ciskei leader Dupa Gqozo takes swipe at the ANC.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... described as a brother and friend.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given his full support to the Inkatha Freedom Party, and simultaneously launched an extraordinary attack on the ANC.

In a letter directed to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — which was released for publication from Ulundi yesterday — Brigadier Gqozo congratulates the KwaZulu leader for his response to the recent findings of the "so-called International Commission of Jurists (ICJ)".

The ICJ published a report this week which was highly critical of the IFP's role in Natal violence.

Brigadier Gqozo writes to Chief Buthelezi: "Your handling of the situation was ... absolutely brilliant.

"I was once again extremely glad to be able to call you a brother and a friend," he said.

"I was also reassured of my admiration for you since my childhood days."

Brigadier Gqozo said it was "obvious that (Chief Buthelezi) is a primary target of the ANC and that the elimination of your IFP forms an integral part of an orchestrated plan.

"The recent despicable action to use the international jurists in order to once again attack the IFP is clearly part of that plan."

Congratulating Chief Buthelezi on his rejection of the ICJ report, Brigadier Gqozo writes. "You have reflected the sentiments of the many South Africans who are fed up with the wicked ways of the ANC.

"You have once again stood up to expose the ANC for the subversive and corrupt organisation it is.

Myopic

"I trust that all peace-loving South Africans have been convinced that the people who use such dubious means to score political points should never be allowed to run this country.

"The ANC's actions demonstrate to all of us how morally bankrupt and politically myopic they are."

Brigadier Gqozo concludes: "I thank you and your party for your unwavering stand against the evil forces who are bent on destroying our country.

"I thank you in particular for the co-operation and support you are rendering to me and my government ... Rest assured of our full support."

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Paramount Chief defies Oupa Gqozo

105
Sowefar
3/4/92



OUPA GQOZO

THE battle lines have been drawn between Ciskei's Paramount Chief Maxhoba Sandile and the homeland's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, as Sandile continues to defy attempts to pull him into line.

The animosity between the two surfaced again this week when the Council of State director-general, Mr BR Tekota, wrote a letter to Sandile, king of the Rharabe, threatening to cut his R800-a-month salary for "not performing all of his duties".

A source close to Sandile said this followed an instruction from Bisho last month that the chief should surrender his official car before the end of March.

Two weeks ago, the king led a separate delegation of six chiefs to a Codesa sub-committee meeting in opposition to a delegation selected by Gqozo and led by the homeland's Minister of

Manpower, Chief Lent Maqoma.

Before going to Codesa, Sandile wrote a strongly-worded letter expressing his opposition to Gqozo's involvement in the nomination of chiefs.

"I wish to inform you that the nomination of the delegation of chiefs is the prerogative of my paramountcy," Sandile wrote to Gqozo.

"According to our understanding, homeland governments were requested by Codesa to act as facilitators for Wednesday's meeting.

"I therefore wish to inform you that I do not approve of the delegation you nominated and that I will personally be leading a delegation to Codesa."

The letter reportedly angered Gqozo, who has repeatedly failed in his attempts to get Sandile to support his African Demo-

cratic Movement.

One of the more recent attempts was the offer of a luxurious Bisho mansion, formerly the home of Ciskei's deposed life-president, Mr Lennox Sebe.

The king openly refused the offer, asking Gqozo to first consult his (the king's) subjects on the matter.

Sandile has now sought legal advice on the latest move by the Ciskei ruler.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, of which Sandile is a staunch member, has sent memoranda to State President FW De Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Codesa, asking them to intervene.

The pending formation of a "non-political" association of traditional leaders is seen as a "sour grapes" attempt by the Gqozo government to oppose Contralesa and undermine the king.

The formation of the body, spearheaded by Chief Maqoma, is a joint effort between conservative chiefs in the Ciskei and Transkei.

Contralesa national president Chief Patekile Holomisa said they suspected the De Klerk Government had a role in the formation of "fragmented and tribal-based" traditional leaders' associations in order to destroy Contralesa and weaken the ANC.

But confrontation with the homeland regime is nothing new to Sandile. He was unpopular with Sebe, who, for a long time, would not let him assume his position as paramount chief.

Sebe allegedly connived with Sandile's mother, Nolizwe - whom he had installed as regent - to sideline the then prince.

Because of her friendship with Sebe, Nolizwe became a pariah in the

homeland and almost alienated the Sandile chieftaincy.

Now, however, Gqozo's actions have brought the monarch closer to his subjects. Ordinary residents are starting to voice concern over the attacks on the king, not to mention their outrage that he is paid only R800 a month.

They've said this indicates Gqozo has no respect for Sandile, and are beginning to echo the ANC's call for an interim administration in the Ciskei.

A meeting scheduled for next Wednesday at the Mngqesha Great Place, Sandile's residence, is to discuss latest developments and could take a strong stance against Gqozo.

Sources say many chiefs and their traditional councillors are pushing for Sandile to openly distance himself from the Ciskei leader. - Ecna

New body to give chiefs voice at Codesa

By Eric Naki

South
4/4 - 9/4/92

CONSERVATIVE chiefs from Ciskei and Transkei opposed to the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) are to set up a non-political association.

A "unanimous" decision to establish the new body was taken at a meeting in the House of Assembly from the Ciskei Council of State.

More than 200 Ciskeian chiefs, councillors and headmen attended the "fruitful discussions permeated by a spirit of goodwill and oneness", it said.

The 16-person delegation from

the Transkei Traditional Leaders Association (TTLA) was led by their president, Chief GSK Nota.

The association said the purpose of its visit to Ciskei had been to forge unity between the two homelands and to encourage Ciskei's chiefs to form a non-political association.

Once formed, the association for chiefs and paramount chiefs of kings, it said.

"It is inconceivable that Codesa can decide on the land, subjects and rights of traditional leaders without involving them," said the statement.

The TTLA has in the past

voiced opposition to unification with Contralesa on the grounds that the latter was a South African body with little support in Transkei.

Contralesa in turn called the TTLA a "puppet organisation" consisting of conservative chiefs who supported the homeland system.

The Bisho meeting delegated Minister of Manpower, to meet paramount chief King Maxhoba Sandile and ask him to convene a meeting to decide on the formation of a non-political association for Ciskei's traditional leaders

— Enews

'People's Assembly' in Ciskei (105)

THE ANC this week announced it would hold a "People's Assembly" in King William's Town tomorrow as part of its ongoing campaign for peace, democracy and free political activity in Ciskei. *CPren 5/4/92*

Resolutions approved by the assembly will be sent to Codesa's working groups. These would include the demand for a speedy reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.

ANC to meet
on Ciskei
105 of 6/4/92

EAST LONDON. — The ANC on Friday announced that it will hold a "People's Assembly" in King Williams's Town today as part of its ongoing campaign for peace, democracy and free political activity in Ciskei.

Resolutions approved by the assembly will be sent to Codesa, ANC Border region spokeswoman Ms Marion Sparg said.

Demands to be tabled include speedy reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa and the establishment of an interim government and constituent assembly. — Sapa.

FW backs Buthelezi over king at Codesa

STAR 7/4/92

(ZKA)

(107)

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has assured Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Government's support for an accommodation of the Zulu king at Codesa.

Mr de Klerk and the IFP leader addressed the media after nearly four hours of talks yesterday.

Mr de Klerk said he had held discussions with various parties and representatives of homeland

governments at Codesa regarding what Chief Buthelezi described as "the thorny issue of the Zulu king".

He had impressed upon them the need for the matter to be brought urgently to a head, "reiterating the Government's support for accommodation of KwaZulu in an agreed-upon form, including the king, if KwaZulu so wishes."

Both men said some misunderstandings had

been cleared up, and that further meetings would follow.

One issue raised was the Government position on transitional arrangements.

Chief Buthelezi said misunderstandings had arisen by things being read into certain concepts. He had been reassured on all of the issues on the agenda, he said.

"I return home much happier..."

He said he was in Co-

desa through the IFP presence there, but "I am concerned about the Zulu nation, which you know is a sovereign nation and which is not represented at Codesa".

He believed the discussions the State President had held with individual members at Codesa had been very helpful.

"The king has suffered a lot of indignity through the matter being so protracted," he said. — Sapa.

Ciskei's brazen rustlers leave bloody trail behind

South 11/4 -16/4/92

By Chris Mabuya

THEY DON'T even wait for the dead of night anymore. They shoot and kill anyone blocking their way and make off with their booty in broad daylight.

They are the stock thieves of the Transkei and their new modus operandi has led to the deaths of at least 10 people in one village in the past six months.

People living in Qumbu village are quick to say stock theft is an "old habit". Many villagers' sheep have disappeared without trace over the past few years, with the numbers stolen each time varying from 17 to 52.

But, as resident Mrs Madlamini Mvanyashe explained, stealing in the past never involved the killing of livestock owners or members of the community. "Now they are taking animals by force," she said.

The violence started last year, with four people being killed in different armed robberies in Qumbu.

And in January this year, bandits armed with R4 rifles killed five people and injured four others.

Eight suspected killers and 115 suspected thieves were arrested after investigations by a special detective from Umatata. But residents alleged the local police were doing nothing to stop the violence.

In fact, they claimed, the local police were in cahoots with the thieves. Residents succeeded in having these policemen transferred to other villages on January 14.

The most recent victim of the violence was a fieldworker from the

Umatata Adult Literacy and Advice Centre, Mr Sindiso Siyothula. He was shot dead at his home by a balava-clad man on February 29.

Last month, on the day of his funeral, residents of the village vowed to stop the stock thieves.

The dead man's former colleague, Mr Themba Manyosi, called on the people to unite and take action against the "ugly situation" in the village.

"How many people must die before the state can take immediate action to stop the killers?" he asked.

And an Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) commander in the region spoke angrily about crime in the village. Mourners cheered when he promised MK would deal with the thieves and stop the killings.

But the armed robbers don't operate only around Qumbu. They also have networks in Tsolo, Mount Frere and Libode.

Some information about the gang was revealed last year when two men having an argument in Qumbu inadvertently exposed each other as thieves. The two men later helped the community to hunt for their stolen sheep.

Residents managed to recover some livestock, although they were met with armed resistance.

Local shop owner Mr Siluami Mbombo described how he narrowly escaped death at the time. "In November last year, a group of residents was led to a place not

(105)

'Rustlers were ambushed by the riot unit hiding in the toyi-toying crowd'

far from my shop where some of the stolen sheep were kept.

"A few minutes later a group including young boys started shooting at them. The residents ran off and no one was killed."

The gunmen later returned to his shop and started shooting again.

"My shop still has bullet holes in the front and the windows were completely destroyed," he said.

The incident was reported to the local police but, said Mr Mbombo, no action was taken.

As a result, chiefs, residents associations and organisations like the PAC and ANC got together and launched their own defence unit — "Operation Funa".

The unit was in the news this week, with reports of a clash between MK members and police. But it emerged later that the skirmish had been a misunderstanding

and that police had mistaken members of the defence unit for bandits.

One of the participants in Operation Funa, Mr Zukile Siyothula, explained how the unit had helped the police riot unit from Umatata arrest a group of armed thieves.

The thieves were based at a nearby village, which from the community's experience was a "no-go area" for Operation Funa.

Residents staged a toyi-toyi to the village, with members of the riot unit hiding in the crowd. When gangsters attacked, the residents dropped to the ground and the police took control.

Mr Siyothula said police arrested 15 people and seized 11 rifles and shotguns. "But some of these people are now carrying licensed 76.5 pistols and moving freely among us," he said.

The head of Transkei's Criminal Investigation Department, General Thozamile Ngccke, agreed little had been done to stop the violent crime in Qumbu. But he blamed the situation on the community's demand for the removal of the local police.

"The removal of the police has been a drawback as far as the investigating work is concerned," he said. "I am not defending the police against all the accusations, but not all the police can be involved in one thing."

"We don't depend entirely on rumours although they can be useful. We have other means like informers in the area to help in our investigation." — **Elnews**

5 792
106
230

Profit
Revenue
Costs
Profit

After-tax losses in five
Lorraine moved back
to December quarter.

New Ciskei-based airline links Jo'burg and Bisho

15/4/92

LINDEN BIRNS

(105)

A NEW Ciskei-based regional airline, Southeast, which will operate scheduled return flights between Bisho and Johannesburg, was launched yesterday.

The airline will use an ex-Safair Lines twin-engined 52-seater Convair CV 580 propliner on the route.

There will be two return flights on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and a single flight from Johannesburg to Bisho on Sundays.

In a statement yesterday the airline said it was established in response to the need to service the Ciskei's tourist and industry sectors.

The aircraft, which is being leased from Johannesburg-based firm Regional Air, has been configured to carry eight first class seats and 44 economy class seats.

Economy class fares on the route will cost R320 one way and R640 return. First class tickets are being sold for R400 one way and R800 return. Several discount incentive fares are also being offered.

In the past travellers using scheduled flights to travel between Bisho and Johannesburg have had to travel via East London, which is about 76km from Bisho.

Flying time between Johannesburg and Bisho is about one hour and 40 minutes.

Ciskei's previous attempts to start an airline linking the homeland with SA were never realised, even though the Ciskei government spent millions buying two old Convair 880 jetliners.

Last year the Ciskei government auctioned off the two planes for R10 each after they had been left to rust on the tarmac at the Bisho Airport for several years. They were not flown after their delivery to Ciskei.

New look for SAA planes

LINDEN BIRNS

SAA announced yesterday that it had refurbished several of its older aircraft and would start to phase in new crockery, cutlery and other in-flight service items, as part of its latest "re-imaging" campaign.

Airline spokesman Zelda Roux said SAA was not prepared to say how much the "cabin enhancement programme" would cost.

Several foreign airlines have announced extensive refurbishment and re-imaging programmes.

SAA's oldest Boeing 747-200s, some of which have been in service since 1971, have had their cabins refurbished and given new interiors similar to those installed in its two new Boeing 747-400s.

Airline staff began wearing their new uniforms this morning.

These mark the first uniform update for SAA since the early '80s.

Don't drink and drive, and save lives

Ciskei airline takes off

NRD 16/4/92
EAST LONDON. — A commercial airline flew from Ciskei's Bulembu Airport yesterday — the first time since the controversial airport was completed five years ago. The only flights from Bulembu have been by the Ciskei Defence Force, the government and private charter. Southeast Airline, in which the Ciskei government has invested R2,1 million, is to operate return flights between Bisho and Johannesburg. — Ecna

(105)

New airline to Bisho

By **LEN KALANE** ^{Express} 19/4/92

A NEW airline, Southeast, began a scheduled service between Johannesburg and Bisho in the Ciskei this week.

Using an twin-engine turboprop, Convair 580 leased from Regional Air, Southeast will operate two return flights daily on Monday, Wednesday and Friday and one on Sunday.

The aircraft carries eight First Class and 44 in Economy Class. (105)

Southeast will use check-in and arrivals facilities at Terminal C at Jan Smuts Airport.

The potential air travel market between Johannesburg and Ciskei is estimated at 20 000 flights a year, according to a statement released by the airline.

Ciskei finance minister quits

(105)
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs Dr Arno Pretorius, a South African appointee in terms of a bilateral agreement reached last year, has resigned.

While it is believed the move is linked to his unhappiness with public spending in Ciskei, Dr Pretorius yesterday would only say: "I have my reasons." A senior source in Bisho said the "final straw" for Dr Pretorius had been attempts by directors-general to improve their salaries and perks.

CT 23/4/92

said he had gone into Trust Feed on an Inkatha household at an have never returned to their homes.

Finance minister may quit Ciskei

By CLAIRE KEETON, East London

w/mam 24/4-29/4/92 (105)
THE finance minister of Ciskei has decided to resign because budgetary restraints were being ignored by strongmen at the top of the Ciskei hierarchy.

Andries Pretorius was appointed minister of economic affairs, finance and state administration by South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. Botha signed an economic treaty on February 26 with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, in which the brigadier effectively surrendered control of the homeland's finances in exchange for a constant South African Defence Force presence. The South African officials were sent in to salvage the situation last year when Gqozo was

under attack from mass-based organisations.

The homeland's failure to toe the line on spending culminated in Pretorius deciding to return to Pretoria and resign in a few months. He implied Ciskei had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty.

Reports of the resignations of other seconded South African officials could not be confirmed. Director General of Finance Rod Smith said as a seconded official he could not resign but he could be "de-seconded".

Meanwhile, members of the Ciskei Defence Force are angry about the prominent role played by South Africans in the security forces. South African military personnel have held most of the top posts. — Elnews

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Meanwhile, members of the Ciskei Defence Force are angry about the prominent role played by South Africans in the security forces. South African military personnel have held most of the top posts. — Elnews

South
By Claire Keeton 25/4-30/4/92

New airline attempts takeoff in Ciskei

A COMMERCIAL airline flew from Ciskei's Bulembu airport last week — the first time since the controversial airport was completed five years ago.

Southeast Airline, in which the Ciskei government has invested R2,1 million, is to operate return flights between Bisho and Johannesburg for a few rands cheaper than the SAA East London-Johannesburg route.

Southeast's managing director, Mr Ian Dixon, said the airline was based on a need to service the tourist and industry sectors in Ciskei.

But the launch is not the first attempt by the Ciskei government and private companies to operate an airline out of Bulembu, near Bisho.

The R30-million airport was opened — along with the launch of Ciskei International Airways — in July 1987 at an official ceremony which set the tone for future operations. Neither CIA's two aircraft nor the airline's managing

director arrived at the ceremony.

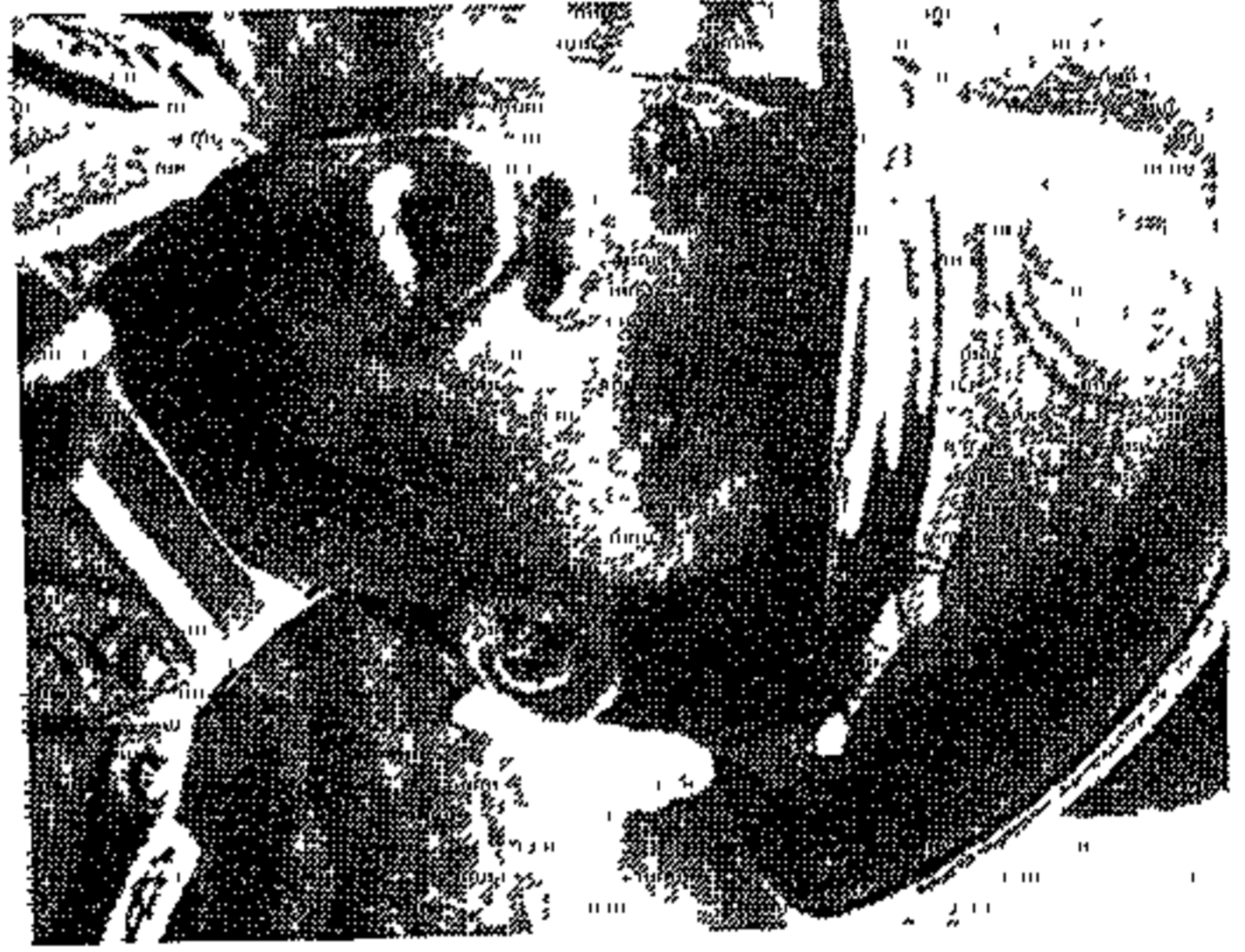
The aircraft — a 42-seater Convair 880 originally owned by a Saudi king and a 146-seater Convair 990 — cost R5 million. The first one finally arrived but never took off again. The second arrived six months later.

CIA's inaugural flight was postponed several times. The airline missed its registration deadline and it had a high turnover of top officials.

The Ciskei government eventually increased its ownership of CIA from 50 to 100 percent. But in January 1989, 18 months after the launch, the airline was scrapped.

The only flights from Bulembu airport were undertaken by the Ciskei Defence Force, the government and private charter companies.

A year after the collapse of Ciskei International Airways, two planeloads of tourists paid a visit to the Ciskei — the first commercial flight to land at the airport.



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

Later that year, in September 1990, airline company Acorn announced a passenger service from Bisho to Johannesburg. The firm said it would later extend the service with flights to Cape Town and Durban.

The service never took off.

At the same time, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo announced that two companies had expressed interest in the 42-seater Convair. (The Ciskei government had confiscated it from former president Lennox Sebe, because overdue parking fees exceeded its value.)

The other Convair was sold for around R250 000 to a Belgium-based company in 1990.

In July last year Ciskei's Department of Transport advertised senior posts at the airport in preparation for international charter flights.

Cape Charter was to schedule flights from Bisho to Luton, north of London, for fares that would compete favourably with SAA. The return fare was about R3 500.

The plans floundered when the British government refused to recognise the Ciskei as an independent state.

Late last year the Ciskei's derelict 42-seater Convair was sold to the Department of Transport for a nominal R10 at an auction attended by a handful of people.

The plane has now been bought by the National Party MP for East London city, Mr Billy Nel, who says he plans to tow it to a beachfront resort and use it as a tearoom or pub.

Despite the tendency of plans at Bulembu to go awry, Dixon is confident Southeast will work. He condemned previous efforts as "folly".

"They were divorced from reality," he said. "For example the Ciskei international aircraft would use 55 000 litres of fuel on a flight to Johannesburg. With fuel at more than R1 per litre, it would cost R110 000 for a return flight."

In contrast, the aircraft Southeast was leasing from Regional Air was economical, he said.

Dixon, a former Ciskei government official, said Southeast did not think of itself "as Ciskeian".

"We are a service for the whole region," he said. — **Elnews**

between seven and 10 p.m. — a notion that is not far from that of a mass —

rejection of evidence in the Bisho Supreme Court that Captain Brian Mitchell, He was a caring and respectable man.

W/MAIL 30/4-7/5/92
'Ciskei bodyguard was murdered'

By PHILA NGQUMBA (105)
THE former chief bodyguard of Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was "probably" murdered by Ciskei soldiers, the Bisho Supreme Court was told this week.

Advocate Marumo Moerane said during closing argument in the inquest into the death of Lieutenant Kadefunwa Qamata that suicide should be ruled out as a cause of death. He also said there seemed to have been a conspiracy to cover up the death. He pointed to testimony by a soldier who said he had heard about Qamata's death the day before the body was found on February 13 last year.

Qamata's partly decomposed body was found floating in the Sikobeni river near the base of Ciskei's Battalion 1, a few days after a confrontation between different factions in the Ciskei Defence Force.

Advocate WL Kingsley said when Qamata ran away from the base, he was armed with the pistol that was subsequently discovered in the vicinity of his body. There was no evidence to suggest that he was killed.

Mr Justice Michael Claassens reserved his finding. — Veritas

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w/maif 30/4-7/5/92
**Ciskei bodyguard
'was murdered'**

By PHILA NGQUMBA

(105)

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Mr Justice Michael Claassens reserved his finding. — Veritas

Interim rule - 105 Gqozo sees a dark tunnel

Sowetan 7/5/92

CISKEI's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, believes there would be no security for the homeland under present Codesa plans.

Speaking at a Press conference on Tuesday night, he said the homeland would not be reincorporated into South Africa under an interim government unless it meets specific criteria

Tunnel

"I firmly believe reincorporation or an interim government now is like entering a dark tunnel. You get in and think there is peace and safety. But people mug you and you are not seen again," he said.

Ciskei would need assurances of how the interim government would work before they accepted it and residents were allowed to vote for it.

"We must know whether it is federal or unitary. What the boundaries of Ciskei are and whether they are geographically ac-

ceptable and economically viable."

Gqozo said Ciskei would not enter a unitary State.

Vote

If the military council rejected an interim government in South Africa, residents of Ciskei would not be able to vote.

"We wouldn't involve ourselves in elections in another country," said Gqozo.

He condemned the proposal that a constituent assembly be elected to draw up a new constitution for South Africa

Despite labelling Codesa a "circus", he said it was the appropriate forum for drawing up the constitution, as a constituent assembly would be dominated by a "majoritarian sector" trying to entrench its position.

Ciskei had constitutional power now and could "do what it wants", while in the future it could "lose everything" - *Elnews*

Gqozo lays down bottom line for re-incorporation

South 9/5-14/5/92

By Claire Keeton (10S)

THE military ruler of Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, would be angry if Ciskei held an election and he was not chosen. "If the Ciskei military government disbands and elections were held for a federal government, I would be angry if I ran and I were not chosen," he said.

Speaking at a press conference this week, he said the homeland would not be re-incorporated into South Africa under an interim government unless specific criteria were met.

"I firmly believe re-incorporation or an interim government now is like entering a dark tunnel. You get

in and think there is peace and safety. But people mug you and you are not seen again," he said.

Before the whole product is accepted, Ciskei should know exactly what it looks like before it is accepted and residents were allowed to vote for an interim government. "We must know whether it is federal or unitary, what the boundaries of Ciskei are and whether these are geographically acceptable and economically viable."

Brigadier Gqozo said Ciskei would not enter a unitary state.

If the military council rejected an interim government in South Africa, residents of Ciskei would not be able to vote.

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in elections in another country," he said.

He condemned the proposal that a constituent assembly be elected to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Despite labelling Codesa a "circus", he said it was the appropriate forum for drawing up a constitution, as a constituent assembly would be dominated by a "majoritarian sector" trying to entrench their position.

He said Ciskei had constitutional power now and could "do what it wants", while in the future it could "lose everything".

"We would not give away what there is to become nothing," he said. — Elnews



IRATE: Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei

East London to get casino soon despite uncertainty



Taking a walk on Ciskei's wild side

By THEMBA KHUMALO

OUR motorcade of luxurious cars pulled up outside the smart Mdantsane post office complex was in sharp contrast to the obvious poverty of the rag-tag bunch of Ciskeians who quickly surrounded us.

But this was not the kind of observation I was expected to make. Instead the press entourage was firmly encouraged to look at the "good works" currently in progress.

In fact, to do otherwise was quite difficult - we were the personal guests of Ciskei's military dictator, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

And, in seven major speeches delivered during the two-day tour, he made sure that we got the message.

To give credit where



GOOD WORKS ... Strongman Oupa Gqozo.

due: this spanking new complex has risen out of the rubble. It was raised during the revolt which toppled the then-strongman Lennox Sebe and opened the way for Gqozo's clique to stage a relatively bloodless coup.

However, two years have passed and a lot of wreckage still blots the Ciskei landscape.

Gqozo's popularity - at a high during the revolt - has waned somewhat.

Did this explain why the brigadier seemed to

be at pains to point out where he and his junta were still 'doing good'.

Gqozo, surrounded throughout by senior Cabinet Ministers and an interesting array of white "advisors" told us that:

■ His government had spent R4,5-million on rebuilding post offices, schools and rent offices wrecked in the rampage.

■ Water-pump schemes and telecommunication services in rural areas had been upgraded and more development projects were in the pipeline.

We also visited Middle-drift Prison, a modern institution 65 km west of the capital Bisho, which is being upgraded to hold an extra 150 convicts.

We were shown around the prison with its large communal and single cells and two training centres where prisoners will be taught artisan skills.

CIP 10/5/92

105

SA owes billions

Ciskei

(105)

Sowetan 13/5/92

Sowetan
Correspondent

SOUTH Africa owes Ciskei "billions of rands" and has exploited Ciskei since its inception, says Ciskei military council leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

He said on Monday in an exclusive interview that Ciskei was no longer prepared to be dictated to and demanded a fairer deal in the new South Africa.

Gqozo said the popular idea that Ciskei was indebted to South Africa to the tune of millions of rands was based on a one-sided picture.

South Africa pumped R706 million into Ciskei's budget last year, he said, but this did not make up for the losses that the manipulation of the past had cost the country.



OUPA GQOZO

"This country has been used by South Africa as nothing more than a huge labour pool."

Gqozo said thousands of Ciskeians worked in South Africa, where they spent their money and paid taxes.

"We get nothing out of it, but have to provide those workers with homes, roads, services ... everything."

Gqozo said South Africa had drawn the borders of Ciskei so that no commercial centres were included

in the country.

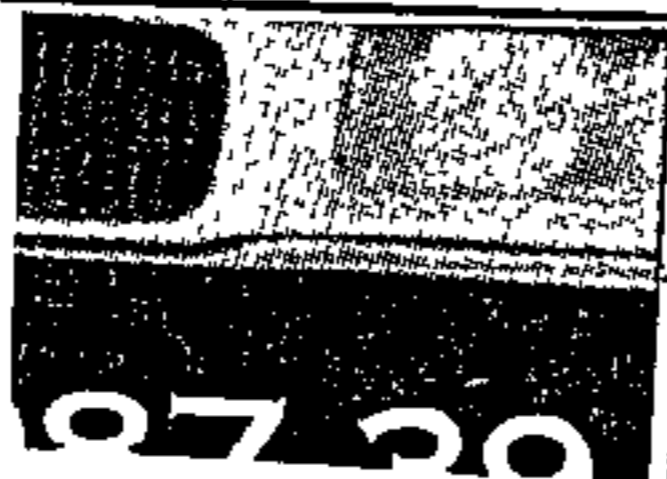
"We remain unwanted tourists in King William's Town and East London, which are both just outside our borders.

"We cash our cheques in 'King' and spend our money in East London - all to the advantage of South Africa."

"Ciskei has no borders to speak of," he said. "People move through the country at will. Road traffic carries all kinds of merchandise on which we charge no taxes or levies. But we have to maintain the roads."

Gqozo said the boundaries given to Ciskei in terms of the new dispensation would be of great importance.

His government is known to favour a greater Ciskei that would include East London, King William's Town and the so-called "white corridor".



Premature Ejaculation
Hair Loss
Orgasmic Failure
Snoring
Masturbation
Genital herpes
Impotence



087-30-874-69
087-30-874-68
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C

Charles Sebe's final hour

105

CIP/12/17/15792

ALLEGED coup plotter Charles Sebe died naked in a hail of gunfire after surrendering to Ciskei soldiers on January 28 last year, the Bisho Supreme Court heard this week.

Ciskeian soldier Sergeant Wandile Mhlomi told the court Sebe was ordered out of the Gubevu village house by a former chief commander of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile.

Defence counsel Marumo Moerane put it to Mhlomi that the former commander of Number One Battalion, a Colonel Mteti, had said in a statement that when he arrived Sebe was naked and was surrendering.

A bodyguard of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Sergeant Major Veliti, had ordered Sebe to lie down, Moerane quoted.

Mhlomi denied this, and also said he was not aware of any alleged radio contact between the officers involved in the incident and Gqozo, who was alleged to have ordered that Sebe be killed.

The court heard Colonel Mteti had said in his statement Sebe was driven towards the house by armed soldiers and Sergeant Veliti shot him in the back of his head and he fell.

Another witness, Lieutenant Mvuleli Ncama, told the court it was discovered Sebe was unarmed when he was killed.

The hearing continues.

- Sapa

Ciskei decree raises legal doubts

105

EAST LONDON — Ciskei has issued a decree amending the Magistrates' Courts Act to prevent its citizens from being imprisoned for civil debt, even if they are in full-time employment and receive a regular income.

The decree, which came into operation on May 1, effectively stifles the last remaining practical method of extracting payment from a recalcitrant debtor.

This has prompted some legal firms to advise their clients not to grant credit facilities to Ciskeian citizens without some form of security or

guarantee.

One lawyer, Steven Clarke, said an alternative method of recovering debt that was commonly used in South Africa and elsewhere in the world — the sale of attached assets — could not be relied on in Ciskei.

Mr Clarke described the difficulties his firm had experienced in executing against debtors' assets in Ciskei. "Invariably no attachment is made by the sheriff, or if an attachment has been made, no sale in execution takes place, notwithstanding that the sale has been properly advertised."

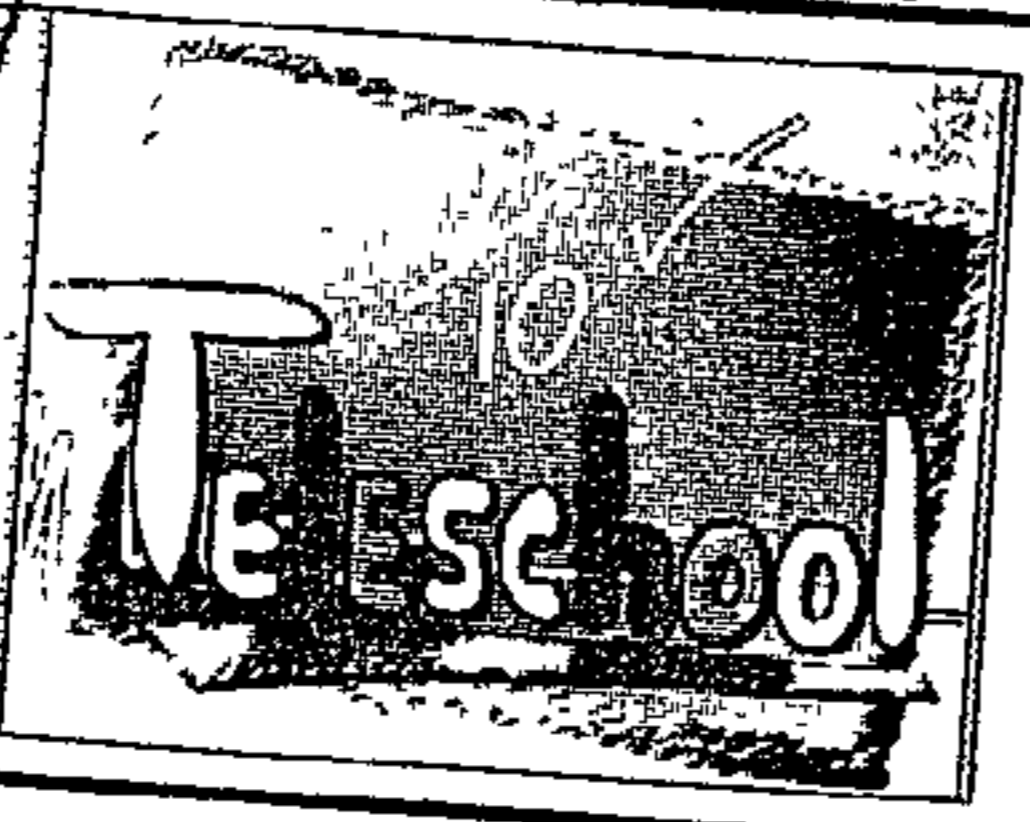
Mr Clarke attributed the breakdown in the debt-recovery system to inefficiency on the part of court officials.

"Now the debtor also knows that if he does not comply with a court order, nothing will happen to him."

A circular to magistrates from the Ciskei Justice Department said the amendment would "put an end to this disguised civil imprisonment". **STAR 27/5792**

"Impecunious persons will no longer languish in prison (at State expense) simply because they are poor." — Sapa.

sent



AID TO VENDA (Continued)

	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92
D Technical and other assistance	R	R	R	R	R	R
Manpower provision	9 307 295	9 254 836	11 551 110	14 549 855	10 964 806	19 081 000
Flour subsidy	1 861 605	2 033 652	1 762 451	1 130 893	921 744	—
Technical assistance	641 579	1 080 985	928 541	545 222	197 296	2 083 820
Salaries of judges	196 801	162 659	191 541	401 041	204 729	398 000
TOTAL	12 007 290	12 532 132	14 433 643	16 627 011	12 288 575	21 562 820
GRAND TOTAL	256 053 964	331 413 872	428 311 714	508 117 017	591 822 288	743 749 774

- 1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

AID TO CISKEI

	1986/87	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91	1991/92
A. Direct financial assistance	R	R	R	R	R	R
Budgetary aid	221 789 034	301 692 499	384 930 928	440 033 134	561 934 117	708 431 700
Incentive scheme for industries	29 871 423	23 516 112	31 310 570	16 098 888	35 324 135	28 371 959
Non-recoverable financial assistance	603 262	—	99 278	—	—	201 308
Relief of distress	—	—	—	—	—	—
Job creation	14 770 105	10 830 000	6 457 660	4 995 317	—	—
TOTAL	267 033 824	336 038 611	422 798 436	461 127 339	597 258 252	737 004 967

B Transfer payments

Tax compensation	24 386 346	24 563 000	33 141 862	40 523 332	53 000 000	64 886 000
Customs union	107 291 000	156 117 000	180 489 000	221 776 000	265 989 000	265 989 000
Common monetary area	2 999 893	3 702 400	4 794 133	6 561 400	7 993 440	9 869 600
TOTAL	134 677 239	184 382 400	218 424 995	268 860 732	326 982 440	340 744 600

C Loans from RSA

(Project aid)	7 638 332	7 585 000	11 544 730	20 359 114	11 649 000	9 323 272
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D Technical and other assistance

Manpower provision	9 697 851	24 758 130	17 570 022	17 122 280	13 786 329	22 998 000
Flour subsidy	611 092	498 723	454 278	322 036	117 755	—
Technical assistance	243 572	305 377	432 276	573 049	473 421	3 715 448
Salaries of judges	214 424	232 754	345 508	726 976	382 505	790 000
TOTAL	10 766 739	25 794 984	18 802 184	18 734 341	14 760 010	27 503 448
GRAND TOTAL	420 116 134	553 800 000	671 570 345	769 081 526	950 649 702	1 114 576 287

- 1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

SA Medical and Dental Council:
disciplinary cases

265. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of National Health:†

- (1) Whether members of the South African Medical and Dental Council are required in considering disciplinary action to adjudicate on colleagues who are or have been involved in suspected irregularities; if so, whether any of these members have the necessary legal knowledge and experience to perform such a task; if so, what are the relevant details.
- (2) whether consideration is being given to having disciplinary cases of this nature heard by magistrates or judges in courts; if not, why not;
- (3) whether she will make a statement on the matter?

B630E

THE MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

- (1) No, it is required of members of the South African Medical and Dental Council, in the consideration of disciplinary action, to pronounce judgement on the professional acceptability of the conduct of colleagues involved in suspected irregularities.
- (2) falls away;
- (3) no, because the South African Medical and Dental Council, as constituted, was established to perform this function. Disciplinary cases of the South African Medical and Dental Council are not criminal or civil cases which are judged in the courts and require the knowledge and experience of the ethical norms of the medical and dental professions, which the members of the Council possess. The Supreme Court has referred to the South African Medical and Dental Council as the body, *par excellence*, to take decisions on disciplinary cases. Every colleague has

the right to take decisions of the Council on revision to the Supreme Court which will ensure that such a person is not wronged by a possible legal error on the part of the Council;

- (4) no

Own Affairs.

Social old-age pensioners: amount of pension

68. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Health Services and Welfare:

- (1) What was the amount of the pension received by a social old-age pensioner (a) during the 1991-92 financial year and (b) as at the latest specified date in the current financial year;
- (2) whether this pension is to be increased in the current financial year; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) by how much;
- (3) whether the amounts paid monthly to pensioners are in step with the rise in the rate of inflation; if not, what is the rate of growth of the amounts paid monthly to pensioners?

B659E

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE:

- (1) (a) 1 April 1991 to 30 September 1991 = R304 pm
1 October 1991 to 31 March 1992 = R314 pm
(b) R345 per month
- (2) Yes.
(a) Pensions have been increased as from 1 April 1992.
(b) R31 per month.
- (3) No.
Pensions have been increased by 10% as from 1 April 1992

Ciskei airline experiences slow start

8/Jan 27/92
THE recently launched Ciskei airline, Southeast, has operated on an average of less than 25% passenger loads in its first month.

Southeast is financed largely by the Ciskei government, which has ploughed R2,1m into the airline. Ciskei cabinet minister N Nogcantsi is the airline's chairman.

One of the airline's directors, Burger Oelofse, said from Bisho last night that it was unrealistic to assess the carrier's performance after only a month, and that it would be fairer to reflect on its business after three months.

He confirmed that its 53-seater Convair CV 580 had been flying with passenger loads of between seven and 14 people.

LINDEN BIRNS

Southeast MD Ian Dixon confirmed earlier this week that several "dry flights" (flown without passengers) had been undertaken. Oelofse said flights were cancelled if there were no passengers booked in Bisho or Johannesburg.

A feasibility study, on which the airline based its decision to launch, found that there was potential for 20 000 flights, or 1,06-million passengers, a year on the Johannesburg-Ciskei route.

Southeast yesterday began its marketing campaign in a bid to stimulate traffic on the route between Johannesburg and Bisho, which is being marketed as an alternative Border region gateway to East London.

105 When it was launched in April the airline published a timetable indicating that it would operate two return flights a day on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, a return flight on Sundays and a one-way flight on Thursdays.

Oelofse said only one return flight was being operated on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and that a planned second return flight on those days "had not come to fruition".

The airline's Sunday flights were patronised by Ciskei's Codesa delegates, he added.

Prospects for the airline were good as Ciskei had begun marketing itself as an eco-tourism destination, promoting its hiking trails, beaches and nature reserves, said Oelofse.

By CHRIS MABUYA: East London
THEY own their own cars, they send their kids to schools and universities, and when they talk about business prospects, they say "the sky's the limit".

Yuppies? Not really. They are a group of hawkers at the Mdantsane Highway Terminus, in Ciskei.

They have spurned mainstream jobs and remained on the streets — one of them for more than 30 years — selling their wares to the public. The results have been worthwhile. As Ladylock Skeyi explained: "Hawking has been seen as a job for uneducated people but I'm sitting here with my matric certificate."

Skeyi, mother of eight children, started hawking in 1960. She never worked at anything else and resisted her husband's attempts to persuade her to look for "better jobs".

Her first selling stand was simply three empty cupboard containers turned upside-down for the fruit and *vetkoek* she sold to school children.

"Those were really trying times," she said. Besides not receiving any moral support from her husband, who felt she could do better with her qualifications, she would often be outside the whole day without selling anything.

"People sometimes just ignored me and I began suspecting others of having bewitched my

There's no business like hawkers' business

business. At other times we had to run away from the police or have our stuff confiscated.

But *wkuzenzela* (the will to wake up and do something for yourself) kept Skeyi on her feet. In 1964 she identified the Mdantsane Highway Terminus, the biggest bus and taxi station in the Ciskei, as a good place for hawking.

She was later nicknamed *Masekeke* — the name she gave to the chicken she sold. And then she was joined by her husband, after persuading him to leave a company where he earned very little.

Even the death of her husband in 1981 did not tempt her to "look for greener pastures" elsewhere.

The decision paid off. Skeyi, now president of the Ciskei Hawkers' Association, owns two vehicles (a car and a van) and was able to send all eight children to school.

As a committee member of an organisation involved with "street kids", Skeyi said she

encourages other hawkers not to take their children away from school.

Another hawker, Hilda Ngayi, joined this "informal business" in 1970. Like Skeyi, her beginnings were also very humble; she initially had to display her wares on empty samp bags.

A former factory worker, Ngayi became dissatisfied with her job and decided to work for herself and the family. So she took to the streets, at first selling cow skins at 60 cents each, and then at a later stage vegetables and live chickens.

An organiser of the Ciskei Hawkers' Association, Ngayi also speaks of a very successful life. She has three children — all of whom she managed to send to school. She also bought herself a van which she now uses for shopping at East London's municipal market. "We are going forward and the sky is the limit," she said.

But hawking does not involve selling only vegetables and chickens. The trade accommodates all who share the idea of *wkuzenzela*:

Priscilla Mamati, who left Cape Town in 1972 to work as a nurse at Mdantsane's Cecilia Makhwane Hospital, resigned in 1986 after discovering she had a talent for sewing.

Like other beginners in the hawking trade, she had no experience in business. At first she tried to sell vegetables, but "I used to cry if I spent one day without gain", said Mamati.

Then she decided to concentrate on sewing from home. This was so successful she could afford school fees for her son, who is now studying part-time for a university degree. Mamati also drives her own car and is involved in the Ciskei Hawkers' Association.

Victims of the high rate of unemployment in the region and unresolved labour disputes have also found their place in this "underground economy".

Fuzile Dunywa, new to the hawking business, had been out of work since 1987. "I am one of the victims of unfair dismissals and retrenchments in our region," he said. But he had already prepared for and budgeted for 10 tuck shops at the terminus.

Dunywa said the shops, despite their small size, would operate like other take-away shops. However, they would be managed by selected unemployed people — a move he hoped would create more jobs for other victims. — Elnews

ANC members detained after Ciskei protest

CLAIRE KEETON
Weekend Argus Correspondent

105
30/5/92

EAST LONDON. — At least 14 African National Congress members were detained in the Ciskei after being arrested during a protest two days ago.

A duty sergeant at a police station in Mdantsane, Ciskei, said 14 people were being held in the cells there and would appear in court on Monday.

However, a spokesman for the Mdantsane Residents' Association, Mr Gilbert Gidana, said 17 people were being held at the station.

The protesters were arrested for picketing against Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Border ANC spokesperson Mr Mcebisi Bata said the demonstrators were picketing at a ceremony opened by Brigadier Gqozo, when he ordered the police "to take away these nasty things".

"Following this order, the police charged at the demonstrators, assaulting some with rifle butts while others were chased into nearby houses."

He alleged police had damaged property and that further assaults had taken place inside Mr Gidana's house.

Mr Bata condemned the behaviour of the police, saying those arrested and assaulted had not committed any crime.

He warned the police to think twice about obeying unlawful orders and said: "Their future is with the communities and not individuals such as Brigadier Gqozo."

Ciskei's (105)

A-G could be charged

4/11/92
CISKEI's State Attorney's office could face a criminal charge over the employment of attorney C Mapoma, who has been interdicted from practising, according to a Cape Law Society spokesman.

The interdict was brought by the Cape Law Society, which also has jurisdiction over Ciskei and Transkei, after irregularities in the administration of certain trust funds in Transkei were discovered, the society's director Ingrid Hoffman said on Thursday.

"A decision to strike him off the role had been taken, but had to be confirmed in court, she said.

She warned that in terms of the Attorneys Act a criminal charge could be laid against the person who had employed Mapoma. — Sapa

Re-entry into SA opposed ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei government has closed off avenues in its constitution which would have allowed the homeland's reincorporation into South Africa through international treaty. CT 16/6/92

In a recent decree, the government also specified Ciskei courts do not have the power to declare unlawful legislation, including its security law, which existed before March 1990, when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo came to power.

ANC eyeing mass protests in Ciskei

(105) APAC 13/7/92

EAST LONDON. — African National Congress executive Mr Steve Tshwete has called on people in the Border to direct their mass action protests against Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the homeland's Minister of Education Mr P P Jacobs.

Mr Tshwete told a rally that teachers had been unfairly treated by the Ciskei government and he appealed to residents to support them.

Mass mobilisation was necessary, but should be organised and disciplined, he said.

He accused President De Klerk of being "intransigent" during negotiations.

"Mr De Klerk strides like a democrat abroad while he is a fascist inside South Africa."

Mr Moses Mayekiso, president of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), told the rally that Sanco would not negotiate a local government system with existing municipalities until an interim government was in place.

Sanco could not negotiate with white municipalities when talks at national level had broken down. — Sapa.

100 held in township swoop

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — More than 100 residents of Phakamisa township in the Ciskei have been held after a pre-dawn raid by Ciskei police following several unrest-related incidents in the township.

A house belonging to a policeman and a high school principal's car were set alight on Tuesday, and last week township youths allegedly petrol-bombed two houses belonging to councillors.

A South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) official said the police were still arresting people.

However, Ciskei Commissioner of Police General Jan Viktor said there had been no arrests in connection with the incidents. Police had "pulled in" people for questioning.

The conflict in the township was reported to have been sparked by a decision to build two-roomed houses for a squatter community. — Eena.

(105) ARG 16/7/92

Mass action looms to restart schools

New Nation (Pupils Forum) 1/17-23/7/92

HUNDREDS of students at three high schools in Whittleson, Ciskei, will be stranded when schools re-open before the end of this month.

And several bodies including the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Young Christian Students (YCS) and the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadu) are threatening the Ciskei education department with mass action if schooling is not allowed to resume.

"We will use every weapon at our disposal to persuade this regime to take serious steps in curbing the crisis it has caused," said Cosas spokesperson M Sirunu.

Disappointed students from three high schools, Khanya, Mlotshana and Sijonge Phambili claim they were told by their headmasters not to return for the third term. Classes would be discontinued because of teachers' objection to panel inspection, headmasters explained to pupils.

"We believe that schools are assets of the community and therefore no one, even the biggest tyranny, can deny the community a right to control schools," Cosas said in a statement.

He said his organisation had been observing moves by the "notorious"

Ciskei Council of State to destabilise normal schooling in the border region.

According to Sirunu, the Ciskei department of education closed schools in the hope that it would remove the need to recognise students' representative councils.

Furthermore, the department allegedly suspended, demoted and transferred teachers for no apparent reason.

Sirunu stated that the Ciskei authorities aimed to reverse the gains made by students bodies since 1980's.

"They seek to regain control of schools. We are calling on those responsible for this crisis to resolve it immediately. This can be done peacefully through negotiations with Sadu and other educational representative structures," Sirunu said.

Recognition

The students are demanding the unconditional recognition of Sadu, Parents Teachers Students Association and the Students' Representative Councils. They are also demanding a single department of education in a unitary South Africa and the establishment of the National Education Negotiating Forum.

Ciskei's education minister Patrick Jacobs was unavailable for comment. Ciskei authorities were said to have

hired all principals that are members of the union, as well as teachers who had been part of a delegation to meet Jacobs.

A commission of inquiry had been set up by inspectors to investigate the activities of union members. Sadu spokesperson Ntobeko Matanda said that 235 teachers had already received letters summoning them to appear before the commission.

In Mdantsane alone, 29 teachers had been suspended recently.

Ciskei had also refused to accommodate a winter school organised by Sadu and Cosas.

The union said its members were not responsible for poor results and blamed these on the lack of facilities.

Sadu's criticism of the Ciskei has been backed by the ANC. The Border ANC's media officer, Mcebisi Bata, said in a statement: "Random transfer and dismissal of teachers demonstrate the insensitivity of the Brig Oupa Gqozo administration towards educational matters.

"We find it odd that teachers are suspended simply for political reasons at a time when there is such a big shortage of teachers," said Bata.

DR. LEONARD

T

**Gqozo saved
by decree** (105)

EAST LONDON. ^{ST 21/7/92} Cis-
kei ruler Brigadier Oupa
Gqozo cannot be called
to give evidence before
any court proceedings in
terms of a new decree.

But Lawyers for Hu-
man Rights yesterday
said the move was a
clear attempt to prevent
Brig Gqozo from having
to give an account before
an inquest of his alleged
role in the deaths last
year of Mr Charles Sebe
and Colonel Onward Gu-
zana — Sapa

Aid on way to starving in Ciskei

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. Help is on the way for an estimated 60 000 people starving in Ciskei's drought and because of massive unemployment.

It will come from the Ciskei

ARG (OS) ARG 25/7/92
National Relief Fund national feeding scheme announced yesterday by Mrs Elise Fish.

A Win-a-House competition launched at Mdantsane will help to raise funds. — ECNA.

Now Oupa faces mass action crisis

EAST LONDON Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has returned from addressing the United Nations to find a worsening crisis in the homeland.

It had been a "proud moment" when the UN gave him a hearing in its special session on South Africa last week, he said.

"I was invited to come back to address them on the realities of South Africa," he said.

But the "realities" in Ciskei were becoming increasingly uncomfortable for the brigadier.

STAV
25/7/92 CHRIS MABUYA (105)

The beginning of the ANC's mass action campaign this week was marked by clashes with Ciskei police in many areas, and residents said Ciskei had declared an unofficial state of emergency.

Violence was worst in Dimbaza, near King William's Town.

In one incident there, a policeman was stoned to death by a mob and his body thrown into a burning bus.

An ANC spokesman in the area said Ciskei security forces had sealed entrances in the township and started arresting and assaulting residents.

In other areas, the houses of policemen, chiefs and others were attacked with petrol bombs and grenades, Ciskei said.

Residents in turn complained of indiscriminate beatings and tear-gas attacks.

The violence was said to be the worst since the 1990 coup which brought Gqozo to power.

Gqozo comes home to Ciskei's realities

105

SOUTH 25/7-29/7/92

CISKEI military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo returned from addressing the United Nations to a worsening crisis in his region after the ANC launched its mass action campaign there.

It had been a "proud moment" when the UN gave him a hearing in its special session on South Africa last week.

"I was invited to come back to address them on the realities of South Africa," he said.

But the "realities" in the Ciskei were becoming increasingly uncomfortable for the brigadier.

The beginning of the ANC's mass action campaign this week has been marked by clashes with police. Residents said an unofficial state of emergency was in operation.

The worst violence occurred in Dimbaza, the resettlement camp turned industrial growth point, near King William's Town.

In one incident there, a policeman was stoned to death by an angry mob and then thrown into a burning bus.

The ANC spokesman in the area said Ciskei security forces had sealed all the entrances to the township and had started to arrest and assault residents.

In other areas, the houses of policemen, chiefs and others were attacked with petrol bombs and



Brigadier Gqozo

handgrenades, police said.

Residents in turn complained of indiscriminate beatings and teargas attacks.

Some 40 people appeared in court in Zwelitsha after they occupied the court building.

Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, the chairperson of the regional peace committee, said it was the worst violence since the 1990 coup which brought Gqozo to power.

Gqozo said in a statement that the "ANC had provoked security forces in Ciskei beyond reason". He said the Ciskei would not tolerate mass action.

"The people of Ciskei have stomachached the ANC insensitivity to their suffering for too long," Gqozo said.

The crisis has also affected the schools, where there has been no teaching since the start of the third term.

There has been a long-running dispute between the education authorities and the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) over recognition of the union.

In Mdantsane alone, 29 teachers have been suspended, according to Sadtu.

Gqozo also faces problems among his own cabinet, which has been rocked by four sudden resignations.

The four are the Minister of Justice, Mr Nkululeko Nogcantsi, the Minister of Police and Prisons, Mr Viwe Notshe, the Minister of State Affairs, Mr Bantubonke Tokota, and the Minister of Transport and Aviation, Mr M Kashe.

No reasons have been given for the resignations which took place in the last two weeks.

However, sources said there had been a row over a proposal by Gqozo that contributions to his African Democratic Movement (ADM) be deducted from civil servants' salaries.

Gqozo was also rumoured to be unhappy with some of these ministers' alleged close relations with the South African government. — Elnews

Oupa Gqozo gets life 'sentence'

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was sentenced to life imprisonment in a mock trial held during a rally outside the East London City Hall. (105)

Amid a large police and army presence, an estimated 15 000 people cheered as the "judge", Mr Otto Tokwe, the Border regional president of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), passed the sentence yesterday.

Mr Tokwe said Brigadier Gqozo's suppression of free political activity in the Ciskei deserved a life sentence. Other charges included Brigadier Gqozo's continued occupation of a government seat without having been elected and his allowing security forces

ANC 27/7/92
"to murder and assault innocent people in the homeland".

The mock trial formed part of the ANC's mass action campaign, which brought the city centre to a standstill.

Speaking at the rally, the ANC's Border vice-president, Mr Andrew Hendricks, challenged white people not to stay at home while their fellow citizens were fighting for their freedom in the streets.

Meanwhile in Port Elizabeth, the city's Market Square was renamed the Vuyisele Mini Square at a rally, which was attended by more than 10 000 people, yesterday.

Mini and others were hanged in the 1960s for the murder of a police informer. — Eena.

the nation in brief

Labour's options

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party has decided to give its regions two options - either to form an alliance with the ANC and the PAC, or to form a centrist party.

This decision was taken at the "coloured" political party's national executive meeting in Maitland, Cape Town, on Saturday. LP media relations officer Mr Peter Hendrickse said the party expected the regions to provide a solution at its annual conference in Port Elizabeth in December.

Sowetan 27/7/92

Gqozo slates mass action

CISKEIAN leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo told UN envoy to South Africa Mr Cyrus Vance at the weekend that the African National Congress' programme of mass action presupposed dispute.

Gqozo blamed the ANC for 25 acts of violence in the past fortnight alone and said by definition the mass action could not be peaceful.

Sowetan 27/7/92

1105

NEWS Mock trial formed part of the ANC's mass action campaign

'Life term' for Gqozo

CISKEI'S military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was "sentenced" to life imprisonment in a mock trial held during a rally outside the East London City Hall yesterday.

Amid a large police and army presence, an estimated 15 000 people cheered as the "judge", Mr Otto Tokwe, the Border regional president of the South African National Civic Organisation, passed the "sentence".

Tokwe said Gqozo's suppression of free political activity in Ciskei deserved a "life sentence".

Other charges included Gqozo's continued occupation of a government seat

WHITES CHALLENGED: Mass action is aimed at democracy for all. *Sowetan 27/7/92*

without having been elected and his allowing security forces "to murder and assault innocent people in the homeland".

The mock trial formed part of the ANC's mass action campaign which brought the city centre to a standstill.

Meanwhile in Port Elizabeth, the city's Market Square was renamed the Vuyisele Mini Square at a rally attended

by more than 10 000 people on Saturday.

Mini and others were executed in the sixties for the murder of a police informer, and the announcement of his name drew loud cheers from the crowd.

In Uitenhage hundreds of ANC supporters held a protest march through the town's centre, which passed without incident. - *Ecrna*.

105

Gqozo ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ will not permit ^{STAR} march ^{2/18/92}

By Esther Waugh
and Sapa

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has informed the ANC Border region that the organisation's planned march on Bisho is unlawful and has warned that if it proceeds, his government would regard it as "confrontational", ANC Border secretary Lucille Meyer said yesterday.

While the organisers of the march insist the protest will go ahead, Ciskeian security forces have set up roadblocks to prevent any mass action spilling over into the territory.

Brigadier Gqozo has also called in the South African Defence Force "to defend the most important economic growth points" in the nominally independent territory.

"They (the ANC-led alliance) will not have the pleasure of destroying anything in my country," he said.

As the likelihood of conflict in the volatile region grew, a United Nations observer was yesterday refused permission to enter Ciskei.

It is understood that Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Renier Schoeman yesterday travelled to the homeland to intervene.

Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa yesterday vowed that the march would go ahead as planned today.

He said an independent monitoring group — including church representatives, lawyers, businessmen, the Black Sash and a representative of the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) — would attend the march.

An NPS official has confirmed that NPS chairman Dr Antoine Gildenhuys will fly to Bisho this morning to find out at first-hand what the situation is.

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Ciskei residents to stake claim to land

By Jo-Anne Collinge

STAR 4/8/92

Residents of the Ciskei town of Thornhill, one of the most infamous of the resettlement areas created by forced removals, will be staking their claim to State-owned land today as the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation sits in the eastern Cape.

According to Mike Kenyon of the Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC), Thornhill residents will be making a bid for 12 000 ha of State-owned land adjoining the Hewu district of Ciskei. This land is at present controlled by the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs.

They will also be challenging the scheduled auction of land owned by the Department of Public Works, which is due to take place next Wednesday.

"The Thornhill community, with which the GRC has worked very closely, intends making representation for some of these farms of which the Minister of Public Works intends to dispose on August 12," said Mr Kenyon.

He said Thornhill was not the only community in the Hewu district with an interest in gaining additional land.

"Over 100 000 people were dumped in Hewu during the 1970s, creating intense pressure on the land. The demand of all those dumped in Hewu and the 25 000 who were living there beforehand is unanimous. They all want more land."

He said 4 165 ha of the State land up for auction adjoined Hewu and, given the land hunger in the area, it was "absurd" to sell it off privately.

Mr Kenyon argued that the auction of the land before the advisory commission's decision on the question of Hewu ran contrary to a statement made by Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Jacob de Villiers in June, when certain SA Development Trust land was handed over to the Department of Public Works.

The minister said Public Works would dispose of this land "taking into consideration the advice of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation".

The advisory commission was established in June last year to consider land claims from dispossessed communities and to recommend to the State President how State land should be utilised in the light of such claims.

Police probe 'Koevoet searches'

STAR 4/8/92

The police have launched a high-level investigation into the ANC's claims of Koevoet police actions in the south-eastern Transvaal, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

The investigation would be headed by Brigadier Floris Mostert.

The probe followed allegations on Sunday at an ANC rally at the south-eastern Transvaal

settlement of Driefontein that members of the reputedly disbanded Koevoet police unit had carried out house-to-house searches in the area on Friday and Saturday, speaking a foreign language.

Nelson Mandela said at the rally he would bring the matter to the attention of the Goldstone Commission for investigation.

"We will establish the

facts of this incident," Captain Kotze said.

He said the disbanding of Koevoet was well under way, but reiterated that Koevoet members could remain in the police force.

Koevoet, a police counter-insurgency unit, operated in the former South West Africa, mainly in Owambo. It became notorious for its treatment of the local population. — Sapa.

Clash looms over C'kei march plan

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27/4/81/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, provoking fears of a clash, has vowed he will not allow a mass action march on the capital, Bisho, to go ahead as planned today.

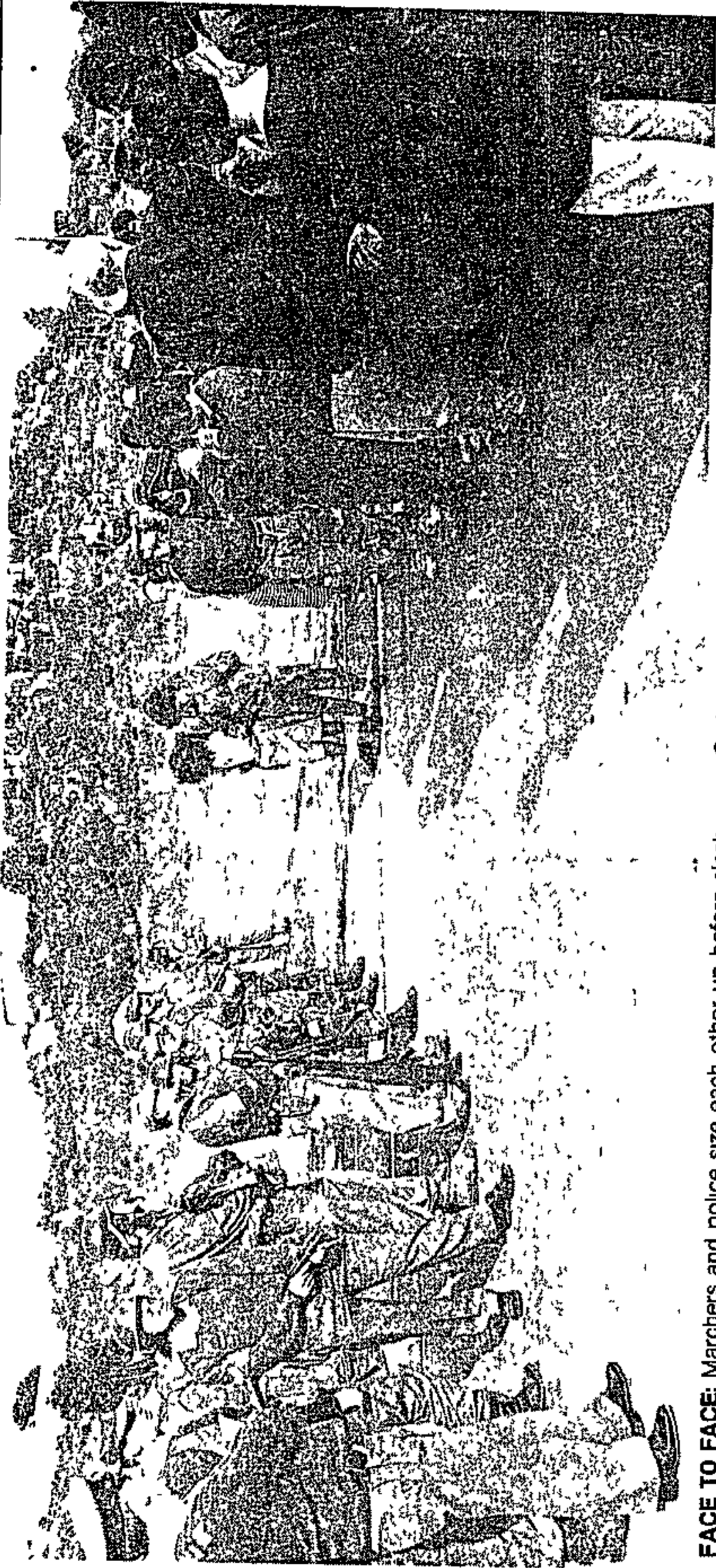
While the organisers of the march insist the protest will go ahead, Ciskeian security forces have set up roadblocks to prevent any mass action spilling over into the territory.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hanj, scheduled to lead the march from King William's Town to Bisho, insists it will go ahead.

Brig Gqozo has also called in the South African Defence Force "to defend the most important economic growth points" in the territory.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antoine Gildenhuys is to fly to Bisho this morning.

MASS ACTION



FACE TO FACE: Marchers and police size each other up before clashing in Grabouw yesterday. A man was killed and several others injured when police used bird-shot to stop the illegal march

Police kill Grabouw man

A MAN was killed and six people, including a 2½-month-old baby, were injured when police opened fire on marchers in Grabouw.

A mother and her baby were treated for teargas inhalation. The protest erupted into violence when police prevented marchers from entering the town centre.

Protesters confronted police and demanded access. A scuffle ensued in which police used teargas, rubber bullets and birdshot. The fleeing crowd was pursued by police and according to a witness, the fatal shooting happened in the squatter camp next to the main road.

"The man, part of the crowd, ran into one of the houses and as he emerged he was confronted by a policeman who fired his shotgun from close range. The man, hit in the face with birdshot, was taken to a doctor, then by ambulance to the Hottentots-Holland Hospital, but was certified dead on arrival."

Hospital medical superintendent Dr Cato van Wyk confirmed that the man brought to the hospital and that three other victims, including the 2½-month-old baby, were being treated. Dr Van Wyk gave no other details. A mother and her baby were treated for teargas inhalation and

Reports by DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, SHARON SOROUR, CLIVE SAWYER and JOSEPH APANES. Picture by BRENTON GEACH.

A schoolteacher and advice office workers got crowds off the road and into a community hall where they held a short meeting. The people decided to confront the police about the killing and marched on a roadblock.

Police allowed a small group to approach and listened to their concerns. While the groups were talking, the police shot teargas canisters into the rest of the crowd waiting about 100 m away. The group dispersed, but regrouped when members of the Black Sash monitoring team arrived. A few minutes later a group, including United Nations monitor Ms Joan Seymour, arrived.

Ms Seymour tried to get information from the officer in charge, Colonel Jurie Lourens, but he referred her to his commanding officer in Stellenbosch.

His superior Colonel JH Basson, arrived and tried to answer her questions. He said "Although I have not received a detailed report, I believe that a policeman shot a man."

"I am not prepared to give any information at this stage. There is going to be an inquiry." By this time the crowd had gathered near the roadblock and in the presence of Ms Seymour's group, the police asked the crowd to disperse.

Women light candles of peace

FLAMES symbolising hope, not destruction, burned in Cape Town at one mass action event.

For the Western Cape branch of the ANC Women's League was not declaring war by burning barricades it was praying for peace by lighting candles. More than 50 women gathered in the Methodist Mission Church for a 72-hour fast. Six candles, lit when the fast

began on Sunday night, rested in plastic mugs as singing was led by Ms Hilda Ndude, a member of the league's national executive committee.

Ms Ndude said "The candle is a symbol of hope and we always light candles when we are praying." "Women give birth to life and we must see to it that it is protected at all costs."

Stayaway disrupts refuse removal

ABSENTEEISM among city council staff totalled 25 percent, disrupting refuse removal and causing the closure of — among other things — nine public toilets.

Refuse removal in the city bowl Atlantic coast and False Bay suburbs was disrupted by the stayaway. A city council spokesman urged residents to keep their refuse inside their properties to prevent

scavenging by dogs and to put it out on their next normal collection day. Rent offices were closed and no electricity or water meters were read. Six libraries in Mitchell's Plain and Wynberg were closed. Clinics at Netreg and Valhalla Park were closed. Areas affected by non-collection of refuse were Tamboers-

Attacks on journalists condemned

JOHANNESBURG — The Southern African Union of Journalists has condemned attacks against members of the Press in Sebokeng and Alexandra on the Reef and at Mdtantsane in Ciskei.

"The attacks are seen as a direct attack on Press freedom, which cannot be tolerated under any circumstances," SAUJ president Peter Malherbe said in a statement.

Weekly Mail reporter Philip van Niekerk and Washington Post correspondent Paul Taylor were shot and wounded in Sebokeng. A Sky-TV news crew in Alexandra and a Daily Dispatch photographer in Mdtantsane also came under fire, but they were uninjured.

"We call on all organisations which recently signed a SAUJ-authored pledge to respect and promote the safe conduct of journalists, to uphold this commitment," Mr Malherbe said. "All organisations, including the security forces, have a duty to protect journalists as freedom of expression and Press freedom are cornerstones of democracy."

The SAUJ called on all South Africans to take a strong stand against threats or attacks on journalists. — Sapa

UN official barred from entering Ciskei

EAST LONDON — A United Nations official was barred from entering Ciskei by homeland police acting on "orders from above."

UN observer Mr Jose Campino was turned away at noon yesterday from one of the many roadblocks erected at the homeland's borders, while trying to enter Mdtantsane township.

"The police said they were under orders not to allow us to proceed," said Mr Campino. He said he contacted a higher official and he confirmed the orders.

Mr Campino, who said the matter was now being handled by his superiors in Johannesburg, arrived in East London yesterday at the invitation of the Border Peace Secretariat.

Today a three-person delegation from the National Peace Secretariat will be visiting the region — Ecna

the nation in brief

Ciskei spurns UN's Campino

CISKEI authorities yesterday refused a member of the United Nations observer mission to South Africa access after he had travelled to the area to observe mass action. (105) (S)

Mr Jose Campino, who is one of the 10 UN observers of the ANC-led mass action, was refused entry at Mdantsane border post by soldiers who were manning a roadblock at the township entrance.

Campino, who returned to his hotel in East London to await further instructions from the head of the UN base in Johannesburg, said the incident occurred shortly after 12.20pm. Sowetan 4/8/92

Some members of the UN team flew over Soweto and Vaal Triangle townships in a helicopter yesterday before being taken on visits to Benoni, Daveyton, Alexandra and Soweto. They were accompanied by representatives of dispute resolution committees.

Leader of the UN delegation, Mr Hishan Amyayad, said their mission should be seen as more than a public relations exercise - Sapa.

THE Ciskei border area near the capital, Bisho, was still tense last night after a six-hour stand-off between mass action supporters and Ciskeian security forces

After sunset, 30 000 demonstrators were eventually persuaded to disperse from the Bisho Stadium where they had gathered after an attempt to march on the Bisho civic centre.

Members of the national peace secretariat were instrumental in defusing the volatile situation, sources said. Earlier, there were fears of a major clash and threats of bloodshed at the border post. Journalists were advised to leave the area.

About 150 armed members of the Ciskeian Defence Force confronted the 30 000 demonstrators as they approached the

Ciskei border tense after protest march

capital after marching from King William's Town with the intention of occupying administration buildings. (105)

During the stand-off that ensued, urgent discussions were held between representatives of both sides as well as peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys, SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and SACP secretary-general Chris Hani. B/DAY 5/8/92

The marchers were finally allowed into the stadium, where Hani addressed them and a memorandum was handed to a police representative.

Marchers move into Ciskei capital after hours of stand-off

STAR 5/8/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

105

BISHO — In fading light, the ANC yesterday finally marched into the Ciskei capital after intervention by the National Peace Secretariat and the South African Government.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had declared the march, which was to deliver a memorandum to the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, unlawful and ordered the homeland's defence force and police not to allow the ANC protesters to cross the border between King William's Town and Bisho.

The ANC was met at the border by Ciskei security forces with cocked guns.

The confrontation seemed set to explode several times, but National Peace Secretariat (NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys finally reached an agreement with the Ciskei government for the ANC to march into Bisho Stadium.

Dr Gildenhuys moved between the two groups throughout the day to avert possible bloodshed.

The march was monitored by UN observer Jose Campino, who was refused entry into Ciskei on Monday, and NPS members Deon Rudman and National Party MP Gert Myburgh.

Soon after the marchers —

estimated at 30 000 to 50 000, — left King William's Town's Victoria Park cricket field at noon, Dr Gildenhuys conveyed three alternatives to marchers from the Ciskei government: the ANC could hand over the memorandum at the border; march 100 m into the homeland and hand over the document; or leave the protesters at the border and send a small delegation to deliver the memorandum at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

The marchers, led by SACP chief Chris Hani, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa and ANC national executive committee members Raymond Suttner, Marion Sparg and Saki Macozoma, rejected all of the options.

At 1.30 pm the marchers were close to the border, and Dr Gildenhuys was still trying to broker a deal.

The ANC was told the South African Government had intervened and wanted to play a "facilitating role".

The SA Government also requested Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa to telephone Mr Hani to persuade the ANC not to go ahead with the march.

Almost four hours later, the marchers were told agreement had been reached for them to move into Bisho Stadium, where they handed over the memorandum to a Ciskei official.

Gildenhuys wins the day

■ Gqozo finally allows protesters to enter Bisho Stadium: 105

Sowetan
A TENSE stand-off between mass action supporters and Ciskeian security forces yesterday ended at sunset when military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo agreed to allow more than 30 000 demonstrators to enter the Bisho Stadium.

The crowd then had the last say when they refused to use the back entrance to the stadium as instructed by the Ciskei security forces.

Gqozo had earlier vowed that the marchers would not enter Ciskei. His opponents, however, insisted they would not be stopped from marching on the Legislative Assembly buildings in Bisho.

The crowd waited in the blazing sun for more than five hours while negotiations were being conducted.

The two sides started the day with

5/8/92
hardline positions which seemed to offer no compromise.

Negotiations to end the impasse brought in Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat and South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

A United Nations' observer, Mr Jose Campino, was present.

Gildenhuys won the praise of most of the participants involved in the negotiations for having made every effort to resolve the issue.

There were more than a dozen times during the day when it seemed the standoff was about to explode.

Members of the Ciskei security forces stood facing the crowd with guns cocked at the ready.

Ciskei confrontati

105

ARG 5/8/92

A crowd of many thousands led by the SACP's Chris Hani was massed on the Ciskei border for several hours yesterday. They wanted to march into Bisho, the capital, but they were confronted by Ciskei security forces. ESTHER WAUGH of The Argus Political Staff reports on frantic efforts to defuse a dangerous situation and avoid bloodshed.

THE ANC finally marched into Bisho, the Ciskei capital, after intervention by the National Peace Secretariat and South African Government, and fading light.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had declared the march, which was to deliver a memorandum to the Ciskei Legislative Assembly yesterday, unlawful and ordered the homeland's defence force and police not to allow the ANC protesters over the border between King William's Town and Bisho.

The ANC was met at the border by Ciskei security forces with cocked guns; some had light machineguns.

The stand-off between the two sides seemed set several times to explode, but National Peace Secretariat (NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys finally reached an agreement with the Ciskei government for the ANC to march into Bisho stadium.

Certain confrontation between the ANC demonstrators and the Ciskei security forces was averted by Dr Gildenhuys's shuttle diplomacy of moving between the two sides to avert possible bloodshed. The march was also watched by United Nations observer Jose Campino, who was refused entry into the Ciskei on Monday, and NPS members Port Elizabeth National Party MP Gert Myburgh and Deon Rudman.

Shortly after the marchers — numbering 30 000 according to journalists but estimated at 50 000 by Ciskei security personnel — left King William's Town's cricket field, Victoria Park, at noon, Dr Gildenhuys conveyed three alternatives to them from the Ciskei government.

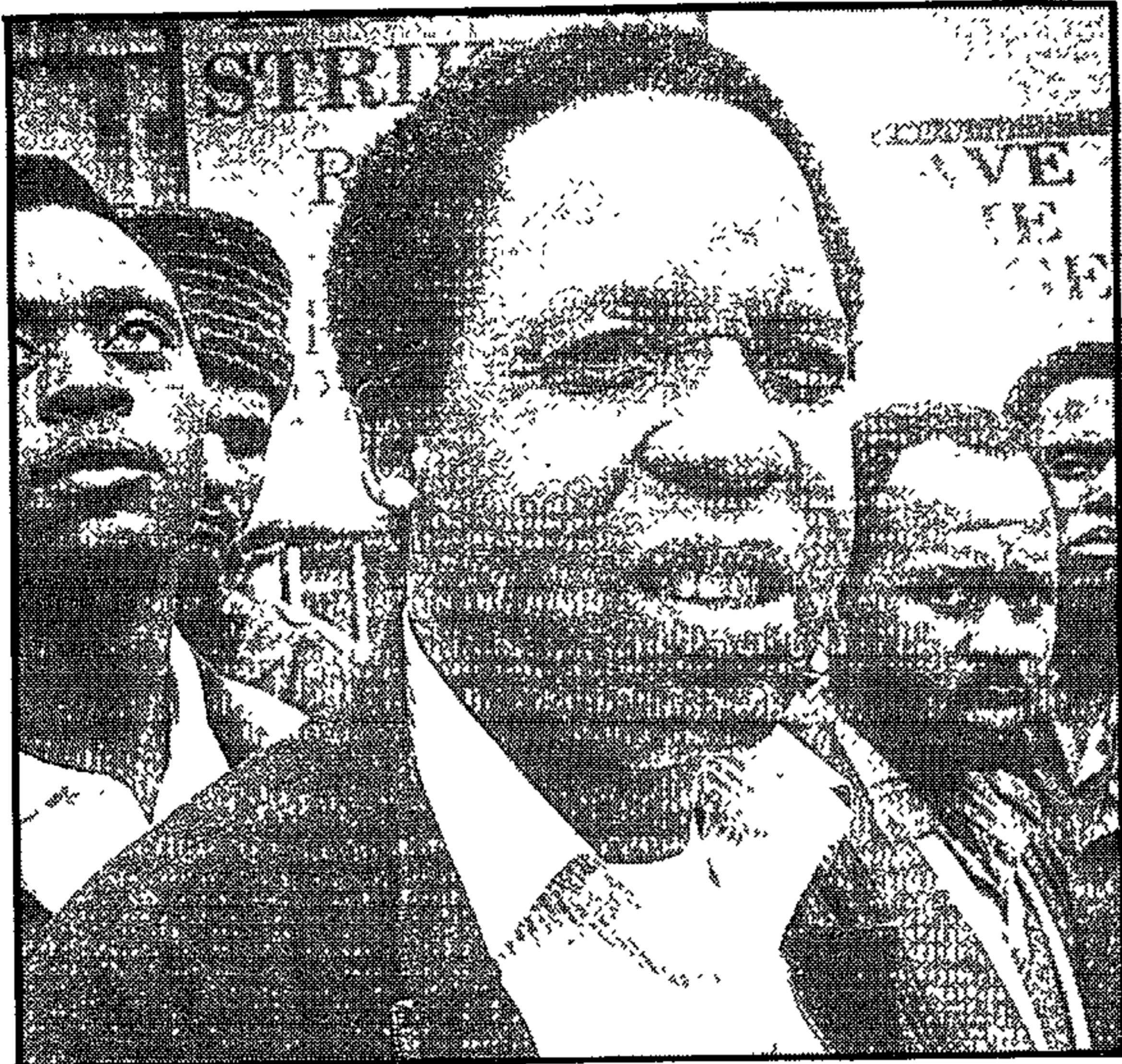
The ANC could hand over the memorandum at the border, or could march 100 metres into the homeland and hand over the document, or leave the protesters at the border and send a small delegation to deliver the memorandum at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

The ANC, led by SACP chief Chris Hani, Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa, and national executive committee members Raymond Suttner, Marion Sparg and Saki Macozoma, said none of the options was acceptable.

At 1.30pm the marchers were close to the border and Dr Gildenhuys was still trying to broker a deal acceptable to both sides.

Dr Gildenhuys said: "We are still negotiating" but Mr Hani said: "We are pushing ahead."

Shortly before 2pm, a defence force officer had a message on the field telephone asking Mr Hani to telephone Pik Botha. The ANC was also told that the South African



Mr Chris Hani ... led thousands on the march to the Ciskei border.



Mr Pik Botha ... sent "phone me" message on the field telephone.



Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo ... refused to let marchers into Ciskei.



The ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa ... spoke to Mr Hani on the phone at the height of the crisis.

government wanted to play a "facilitating role".

A few minutes later Dr Gildenhuys again returned from the Ciskei government buildings to deliver a "final" message that the homeland's Council of State would allow

only a delegation into the territory and not the whole crowd.

Mr Hani told the march "he was going to speak to Botha".

The series of telephone calls began at the Amatola Sun at 2.35pm while the

crowd remained seated on the road at the border

In addition to Mr Botha, Mr Hani is understood to have spoken to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. The South African government also asked Transkei military

ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa to telephone Mr Hani to persuade the ANC not to go ahead with the march.

At 3.20pm Dr Gildenhuys left the hotel with two ANC officials to tell the crowd of progress in the talks. Thirty minutes after returning to the

hotel, Dr Gildenhuys left again to talk to the Ciskei government, but was stopped in the hotel's car park by Ciskei government officials.

At that stage apparently all sides, with the exception of Brigadier Gqozo, had decided that the crowd was to move

into the Ciskei to avoid bloodshed.

But, by 4.25pm Mr Hani left the hotel saying: "It is a stalemate".

By then the ANC demonstrators had been waiting at the border since 2pm and were pushing forward and moving the Ciskei security forces back.

At 4.30pm the deputy chairman of the ANC Border region, Mr Andrew Hendricks, was called to the field telephone and told that Mr Ramaphosa had told the Ciskei Council of State that the march would not proceed. This message turned out to be false.

The protesters had by then smeared petroleum jelly around their eyes and noses to prevent stinging should teargas be fired.

The crowd was still waiting for a response from Mr Botha and Mr Ramaphosa but it was soon confirmed that the foreign minister could not reach Brigadier Gqozo.

At 4.50pm tension was mounting as the crowd continued moving towards the Ciskei security forces.

Dr Gildenhuys was again called to the field telephone and told by the Ciskei Council of State: "Police are concerned about the fading light and if no decision is taken by the marchers, police will take action."

Twenty minutes later the front row of the march was drinking water from a Ciskei defence force vehicle and mingling with the Ciskei soldiers.

Some of the soldiers had by then put on their gasmasks and continued to move backwards.

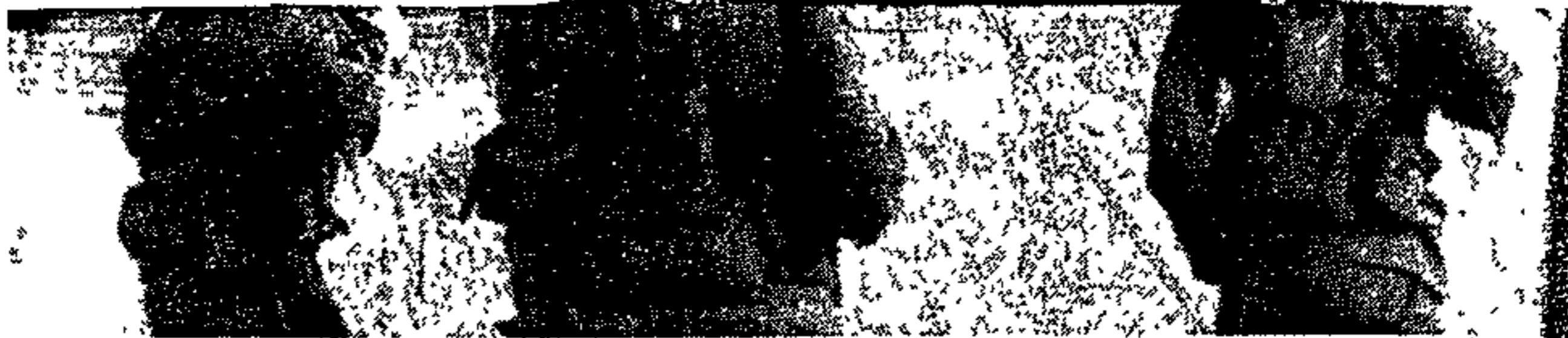
At 5.25pm the Press was ordered behind the Ciskei soldiers while Dr Gildenhuys was briefing the Ciskei Council of State.

Ten minutes later, and almost four hours after arriving at the border, the ANC was told agreement had been reached for them to move into the Bisho stadium. Although security force members said it was impossible to switch on the stadium's lights, the stadium was later lit and the ANC handed over its memorandum to a Ciskei government official.

It demanded: "The immediate installation of an interim administration in Ciskei to supervise a peaceful reintegration of Ciskei into South Africa."

The memorandum called for the granting of full South African citizenship to the people of Ciskei. It reiterated the national call for an interim government.

● A Ciskei policeman was shot dead with an AK-47 rifle yesterday morning, Brigadier Gqozo said in a statement. No details were given. — Eena and Sapa.



TENSE STAND-OFF . . . Members of the Ciskei's Defence Force stand armed at the border yesterday to stop an ANC march on Bisho as part of its two-day march.

Ciskei crisis

Defence Force members set up machine-guns in the path of a possible march.

Last night Mr Botha revealed on TV that four companies of South African troops were on stand-by in King William's Town in case violence broke out.

When Brigadier Gqozo eventually decided to allow

the demonstrators to march to Bisho Stadium, they toyed-toyed down the town's main street to the stadium, where they were addressed by Mr Hani.

Dr Gildenhuys won the praise of most of the participants in the negotiations for his efforts to resolve the conflict peacefully.

"Everything that saves

lives makes me happy," he said, smiling, as thousands of protesters sang and danced past him on their way to the dark stadium.

Dr Gildenhuys spent most of the day driving between the Ciskei Council of State and the march organisers in a white BMW with a huge UN flag flying from a back window. — Sapa

(105) CT 5/8/92

Gqozo goes back on march threat

BISHO. — The military leader of Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who vowed to stop an ANC march on the homeland's capital, yesterday allowed more than 30 000 demonstrators into the town.

The change came after several hours of behind-the-scenes negotiating between South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

Also involved in the negotiations were the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, and the United Nations observer in the area, Mr Jose Campino.

The crowd, led by Mr Hani, had waited five hours at King William's Town, about 4km from the Ciskei border, for the go-ahead to march on Bisho. They had planned to march on the homeland's Legislative Assembly.

Tension mounted when Ciskei police and sol-

To page 2

Carried



Student shot dead in clash

(105) 27718192

PORT ELIZABETH. — Fort Hare University student Mr Selwyn Taunyana was shot dead when protesters clashed with Ciskei police at Alice on Wednesday

Ciskeian police said the security forces opened fire when a mob that had barricaded streets of Alice and set a government vehicle on fire, attacked them with stones and petrol bombs.

Ciskei Police Commissioner General J J Viktor confirmed 39 people had been detained in connection with the unrest over the past few days

Meanwhile, the rate of daily unrest-related incidents countrywide has tripled in the past week and on Wednesday, when an estimated 110 000 people participated in the ANC alliance's mass action campaign, eight people died, 26 were injured and 953 arrested, police said.

In their daily unrest report police said three policemen attacked while on patrol were among the injured.

There were 61 mass actions countrywide attracting about 110 000 participants, and 621 illegal demonstrations during which 953 people were arrested.

A woman and a seven-year-old girl were killed and three women, two men and two children were seriously injured when homes were attacked with petrol bombs and random shots were fired at Halinyaka reserve near KwaMbonambi in Natal. — Sapa

Patience keeps the peace

STAR 8/8/92

105
[Signature]

THE ANC march to Bisho this week was a recipe for conflict — but turned out to be a success story for National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

The battle lines were clearly drawn when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo vowed not to allow an ANC demonstration on Tuesday to spill into Ciskei from King William's Town.

Into the fray ventured Gildenhuys. He patiently shuttled between the marching demonstrators — said to be 30 000 to 50 000-strong — and the Ciskei Legislative Assembly to find a solution.

ANC supporters began to gather in King William's Town's Victoria Park at 9 am. A few kilometres away at Ciskei's border, police guarded a roadblock.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member the Rev Arnold Stofile said roadblocks were also set up around several nearby towns.

Asked if the ANC was not afraid that Ciskei security forces might open fire on the protesters, Stofile said it would be a "welcome surprise" if they did not use live ammunition.

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, who led the march, warned that

FLYING the UN flag, National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys kept conflict in Bisho bay on Tuesday, OTHER WAUGH reports.

the use of violence against the demonstrators would have serious implications for the peace process.

At 11 am the leaders of the march — Hani, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa and NEC members — were introduced to the crowd.

Police used their vehicles to block off side-roads along the 5 km route.

Gildenhuys, with peace secretariat members Deon Rudman and Gert Myburg in a car bearing a United Nations flag, set out on the first of several trips between demonstrators and Gqozo.

Hani was told that Gqozo had given the ANC three options: hand over their memorandum at the border; march 100 m into Ciskei and hand over the document; or leave the crowd at the

border and send a delegation to deliver the memorandum.

Ciskei soldiers carrying light machine-guns and policeman armed with teargas formed a human barrier across the border.

At 1.35 pm Gildenhuys told Hani: "We are still negotiating." Hani replied: "We are pushing ahead."

As the demonstrators reached the border at 2 pm, news came that the South African Government wanted "to play a facilitating role".

Hani was asked to contact Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Gildenhuys accompanied him across the border to make the telephone call.

Almost two hours later, at 4.25 pm, Hani emerged from a hotel saying: "It is a stalemate."

Botha was unable to get hold of Gqozo.

At 4.50 pm Gildenhuys was told on a field telephone that "the police are concerned about the fading light. If no decision is taken by the marchers, police will take action."

It was agreed at 5.35 pm that the demonstrators could march into Bisho stadium, and the crowd toyi-toyed down the road to the stadium with the soldiers running ahead.

Gqozo: 'My forces are ready for ANC'

ANC president Nelson Mandela would be held responsible for whatever happened in the Ciskei this weekend, the homeland's military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo said yesterday. *after 9/8/92*

In an interview with Radio Ciskei, Gqozo said: "We want to tell the ANC that we will not tolerate their nonsense and my security forces are ready for any action.

"We have enough security laws to deal with them. It has come to my notice that Mandela will be addressing gatherings in the Ciskei. We want to warn him that if anything happens during his visit he will be responsible for the evil deeds of the so-called mass action," he said.

Gqozo praised the homeland's security forces for not allowing the ANC to "do as they

pleased" on Tuesday.

He was referring to the march from King William's Town to Bisho, which was halted at the Ciskei border in a tense stand-off between demonstrators and hundreds of heavily-armed soldiers.

After protracted discussions, around 50 000 marchers pushed into the homeland and occupied Bisho stadium where they presented a memorandum.

Gqozo said the government had compromised "enough" by allowing the ANC 500 metres into the Ciskei, and then agreeing to allow three people to present the memorandum.

"The ANC would not agree with us and they were pushing their luck too far," he said.

He said the "war against communism" had just begun. — Elnews

Follow the Ciskei's

contour of eco-tourism

By MARIA JOHNS

CISKEI is setting its sights on eco-tourism as the major industry of the future — an appropriate notion considering the region's unspoiled coastline with its 11 estuaries, forests, mountains, game reserves and floristic bounty including cycads.

The Ciskei government is making a temporary grant of R15-million to Contour, Ciskei's version of Satour. This money is intended to involve the private sector in job creation. A five-year plan has been implemented to double the bed/nights occupancy at resorts along the coast (Fish River and Mpekweni Sun), on the Amatola trail and at Katberg.

Ciskei has a number of game reserves — Tsolwana, Mpofu and Double Drift, the latter being particularly interesting because it borders the Great Fish River and will be amalgamated with two other parks in South Africa, the Sam Knott and Andries Vosloo reserves.

Ciskei reserves specialise in antelope, white rhino and birds, and Double Drift has interesting succulents. Accommodation is either in old Victorian farmhouses or rustic bush camps. Visitors can cater for themselves if they choose but for about R100 a night one can get meals and arrange game drives.

Contour's Burger Oelofse is not holding his breath for an avalanche of overseas tourists. Instead, Ciskei is aiming at the South African market.

With a view to creating affordable holidays, hiking trails are being strongly promoted. The Amatola trail is well-known as one of the toughest and most beautiful in the country, and there are trails in the mountains and in most of the game reserves.

Contour is full of novel ideas for expanding tourism facilities, such as trout lodge timesharing, coastal developments, ethnic Xhosa villages and *pomprollie* safaris (a *pomprollie* is a hand-driven railway car like the one in the David Kramer Volkswagen adverts).

There are, however, areas for concern regarding the ecological viability and sustainability of tourism in Ciskei. Will the coastal development, for example, be handled sensitively or will Ciskei turn its coast and estuaries into a pack-em-in Plett? And will eco-tourism in Ciskei involve local entrepreneurs or outsiders who will abuse the natural resources?

Not everyone in Ciskei can make a living from the land, and repair of erosion and overgrazing will result only when people are given viable alternatives to subsistence farming. Eco-tourism could play a role here.

The two largest developments are Sun International hotels, the Fish River and Mpekweni Sun. The latter is the least Sun-like Sun I have ever seen, actually endeavouring to blend in with the surroundings instead of overpowering them.

An Mpekweni speciality is the booze cruise up the estuary in which you are regaled with champagne and oysters while you look at birds and cycads. Birding and nature trails are also offered.

A less environmentally-friendly facility is the hiring of four wheel-drive motorbikes for tearing up and down the beach, disturbing the birds and destroying plants and other forms of life in the sand.

It is also disturbing that the Ciskei Forestry Department seems convinced that its indigenous forests are invincible. Three yellowwood furniture factories flourish in the area and no plan exists for formal regeneration of yellowwoods.

"They just seed themselves like weeds in the pine plantations," is one of the forestry official's throw-away lines.

Subpoena did not reach Oupa Gqozo

BISHO. — The presiding judge in the Sebe-Guzana inquest reacted with shock yesterday to a disclosure that Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had not received a subpoena, issued in June, to testify at the inquest.

Counsel for the Ciskei Defence Force, Mr John van der Berg, said Brigadier Gqozo's attorneys had received the subpoena and Brigadier Gqozo became aware of its contents on July 7. On the same day the military council issued a decree exempting the head of state from giving evidence before a court of law. (105) CT 15/8/92

Brigadier Gqozo would have to be consulted again before the court could be told if he would testify.

The inquest is investigating the death of Colonel Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana in January last year.

Ciskeian refugees win their first fight

By BILL KRIGE

AN impoverished Ciskeian refugee community struck a blow in its battle to regain land in South Africa this week when it stopped a sale of public land in the Eastern Cape.

The 18 000 members of the Thornhill community, who live in an eroded wasteland, were forcibly moved to Transkei but fled at independence in 1976 in a bid to keep their South African citizenship, which failed when Ciskei was created in 1982.

Since then their queries about the land the government promised them have been mired in a bureaucratic shuffle between Pretoria and Bisho.

Now, 16 years later, they are fighting for the land they believe is theirs. Through lawyer Clive Plaskett, the

group complained to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation about the sale of 4 125 hectares near Queenstown in the Eastern Cape.

The sale was being rushed through by officials of the Department of Public Works — despite a government pledge not to do so.

In Parliament in June, the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Jakob de Villiers, pledged that land would only be sold by the Department of Public Works after the commission's advice had been considered.

Four days after the group's complaint to the commission, Wednesday's auction was stopped at the last

minute by Pretoria after the commission lodged objections to the sale.

The commission has also heard representations from various groups, including Thornhill's Group 4, about a further 12 000 hectares of land in the Queenstown district — including a large block of land adjacent to Thornhill.

The indefinite delay in Wednesday's sale has alarmed white farmers in the Queenstown and Tarkastad districts, who insist that commercial and communal farmers can't co-exist.

But an ANC spokesman slammed the farmers' protests as outdated thinking by those who "live in the Verwoerdian era".

(105)

Five Ciskei policemen ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ are killed ^{ANC 17/8/92}

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —
Five Ciskei police officers died
and four were wounded in two
incidents in Mdantsane.

Township residents reported
that four police officers burnt
to death after their van was set
alight over the weekend.

Two others managed to es-
cape the burning vehicle, but
were seriously hurt.

In a second incident a patrol-
ling police van was shot at by
unknown gunmen from a car,
which was later abandoned.

According to Mdantsane po-
lice, one of the police officers
died, and two others were in-
jured in the incident.

The home of the general sec-
retary of South African Com-
munist Party (SACP) in the
Border region, Skenjana Roji,
was also attacked over the
weekend.

Mr Roji, also an executive
member of the ANC in the re-
gion, was not at home at the
time of the shooting, though his
family were.

Twenty-seven bullet holes
were found after the attack,
but no-one was injured.

Mr Roji's father, Stanley,
said: "We all dived for cover,
and we thank God that we are
all alive."

Mr Roji, a former command-
er of Umkhonto we Sizwe,
when asked to comment said
he did not think the attack was
on him personally.

His parents are also mem-
bers of the ANC in the area. —
Elena.

Unregulated gambling hits Sun Ciskei results

BIDAY 18/8/92

125 105

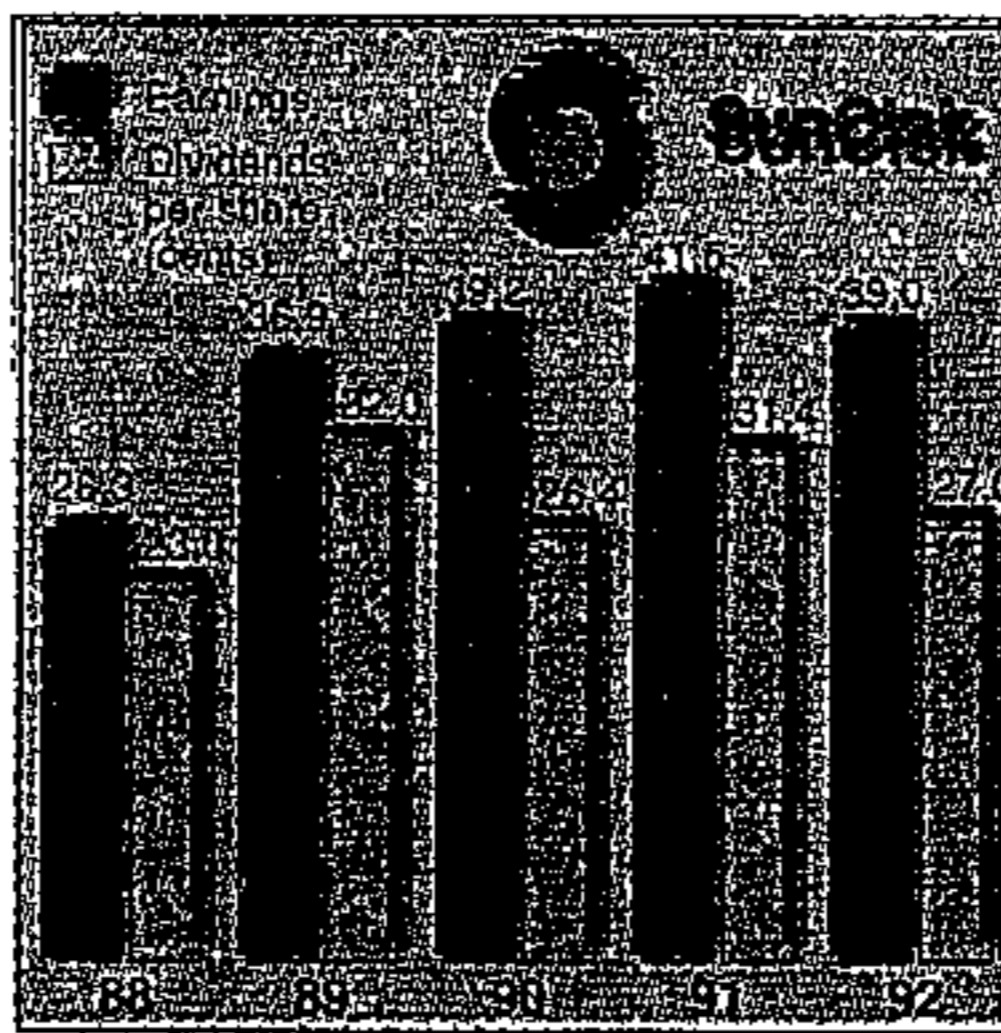
MARCIA KLEIN

PRESSURE on consumer spending, unregulated gaming operations and big wage increases saw attributable earnings of Sun International, Ciskei (Sun Ciskei), rise by a marginal 2% to R29m (R28,5m) in the year to end-June, its first full year of reporting as a listed company.

The group, whose resorts include the Fish River Sun, Mpekweni Sun, Amatola Sun and Mdantsane Hotel and Entertainment Centre, reported a 7% decline in earnings to 39c a share from 42c in the previous year on an increased weighted average number of shares in issue.

Chairman Ken Rosevear said results reflected the difficult trading conditions, pressure on consumer spending and reduced consumer confidence brought about by the socio-political situation.

Revenues were affected also by the unregulated gaming establishments that operated during the year, espe-



Graphic RUBY-GAY MARTIN Source SUNCISK

cially those in the Port Elizabeth and East London areas.

Rosevear said against this background, results for the year were satisfactory. Revenues increased by 14% to R117,3m from R103,1m. But margins and profitability were affected by significant wage increases, and operating profit was 2% down at R32m compared with R32,7m in the previous year.

Profit after tax increased by 7% to

R30,4m (R28,5m), benefiting from a lower interest charge and no taxation. The big decline in interest and a reduction in gearing to 33% from 62% reflected additional financing in the form of preference share capital and cash flow from operations.

After R1,4m was paid in dividends to preference shareholders, attributable earnings were up by 2%.

A final dividend of 12c a share brought the dividend for the full year to 27c (31c).

Rosevear said occupancies were 53% for the year, down slightly from the interim period. Sun Ciskei was working on various aspects of its resorts to draw more booking, and it was marketing for day visitors.

There had been no improvement in trading conditions in the first weeks of the new financial year. This, and the activities of the unregulated gaming operations, made it difficult to forecast earnings for financial 1993, Rosevear said.

The share closed yesterday at 140c, lower than the 150c issue price.

Border shooting: SAP open murder docket ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

THE SOUTH African Police have opened an attempted murder docket after gunmen shot at them before escaping over the Transkei border.

The gunmen are suspected of complicity in at least one of the two ambushes on Ciskei police over the weekend, in which five policemen were killed.

■ Suspected of complicity in Ciskei cops' death:

But police this morning were tightlipped about their investigation. Border police liaison officer Lieutenant Colonel Christo Louw said police were "doing their utmost" to catch the culprits, and were working with the

Ciskei police on the case

He refused to say whether Transkei had been approached for assistance. Transkei's Minister of Police Colonel Aaron Ntshinga said no request for a follow-up had been received from South Africa.

Sowetan
18/8/92

Business boycott planned over Ciskei schools crisis

By CHRIS MABUYA: East London
AN Mdantsane organisation has
called for a boycott of East London
businesses from Monday, to call
attention to the education crisis in
Ciskei. 21/8 - 27/8/92

The chairman of the newly-formed
Mdantsane Education Crisis Ad hoc
Committee, Lulamile Nazo, said the
boycott was an attempt "to draw the
attention of South African authorities
into the interrupted process of learn-
ing in Mdantsane schools".

He said Ciskei was the "brain
child" of the South African govern-
ment and the state should exercise its
influence over the homeland.

The "indefinite" boycott would
focus on East London but was
expected to spread to other areas in
the Border region. The action will be
reviewed depending on the response
from South African authorities, said
Nazo.

Schooling in Mdantsane schools
has been disrupted since May, when
teachers and students began protest-
ing against the indefinite suspension
without pay of 35 teachers. Twenty-
eight of the teachers were suspended
for staging a sit-in at the offices of
Education Minister Petros Jacobs.
The others were suspended on the
outcome of a commission of inquiry
set up earlier this year to investigate
alleged lack of discipline in Ciskei
schools.

The crisis has also affected the Dr
Rubusana College of Education,
which was closed at the end of last
month after students refused to go to
schools for teaching practicals.

A 20-member delegation which
attempted to meet Jacobs to discuss
the situation last week was allegedly
assaulted by Ciskei police.

●The salaries of female teachers in
Ciskei have been raised to equal
those of their male colleagues, with a

W/May 21/8 - 27/8/92
105
nine percent increase for teachers
across the board, reports CLAIRE
KEETON.

"The said increase will include the
closing of the gap between female and
male teachers," the Ciskei Council of
State (CCS) announced in a statement
this week.

CCS media liaison officer Vatiswa
Ntshanga said prior to this increase
female teachers were earning less than
their male counterparts but now they
will earn "the same amount".

The statement said salaries of Ciskei
teachers would increase by between
9,8 percent and 9,9 percent, would
commence at the end of August and
would be backdated from July 1 1992.

— Elnews

Gqozo will not testify. (105)

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo will not testify at the Sebe-Guzana inquest being held in the Bisho Supreme Court, the inquest judge was told yesterday. *Sowetan 25/8/92*

In an affidavit, Gqozo told Mr Justice Michael Claassens he will be unable to 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.

The inquest concerns Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana, who were killed by CDF soldiers in January 1991.

urses linked to strike .

Another march on Bisho planned

Sowetan 25/8/92 (105)
■ The next phase of the ANC rolling mass action starts:

Sowetan Correspondent

SEVERAL actions, including another march on Bisho, are being considered by the ANC as part of the next phase of the organisation's programme of rolling mass action.

The plan was discussed at a tripartite alliance summit on Sunday and will be considered at a national executive committee meeting next week and at the alliance's campaigns forum.

Campaigns organiser Mr Ronnic Kasrils said yesterday several regions had already planned actions for the fourth phase, which was aiming at installing a new government.

The ANC Eastern Transvaal region had already embarked on a consumer

boycott following dismissals during the national general strike earlier this month. This region was planning a march on the electrified fence between Mozambique and South Africa at the end of September.

The occupation of Cape Town's city centre on October 12 to coincide with the opening of the special session of Parliament was being planned by the Western Cape region, he said.

The Border region had decided to march on Bisho on September 9 after a similar protest on August 4 when 500 demonstrators marched to the Bisho stadium.

The last phase would continue to focus on the ANC's 14 demands on violence and transitional arrangements.

Court rebukes Ciskei ruler

105
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BISHO. — A judge rebuked Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday after he declined to testify at an inquest into the deaths of top military officers.

Mr Justice Mike Claasens said it was "reprehensible that someone could place himself beyond the law".

He is probing the deaths of General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana.

The court heard earlier that Brigadier Gqozo had ordered their deaths. — Sapa

arks debate ● No funding to electrify township

Move to stop troops

Sowetan 26/8/92

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■ LAWYERS TALKING Fort Hare wants

Ciskei security forces banned from campus:

THE University of Fort Hare might proceed with an interdict prohibiting Ciskei security forces from entering the campus following the fatal shooting of a student.

Mr Sethlomo Taunyana (24) was shot on campus on August 5 when police opened fire on demonstrators taking part in the ANC's mass action campaign in Alice. He died on arrival at hospital.

On Saturday university officials met with Ciskei authorities to discuss the conduct of the security forces. Lawyers representing the parties were asked to pursue the matter.

"Our lawyers will see now if there is a need to proceed," the head of the university's public relations department, the Reverend Arnold Stofile, said yesterday.

Stofile said the university wrote to the Ciskei military council after the shooting requesting a meeting to discuss a code of conduct for the security forces.

"Initially they did not respond, disdainfully ignoring it. We briefed our lawyers to file papers for an interdict prohibiting their entry to campus.

"Then they requested a meeting, but it did not take us anywhere.

"The people present were calling themselves professionals not politicians," he said.

Stofile said the Ciskei delegation included the chief of the Defence Force, the Commissioner of Police, their legal adviser and the Minister of Police, Prisons and Justice.

The Ciskei delegation reaffirmed Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's 1990 agree-

ment with the university which said they would not invade the campus unless there was a "life-threatening crisis" or threat to state security and that even here they would first consult with the university authorities.

But Stofile said the agreement did not provide sufficient security while "animosity exists between the regime and democratic forces".

Stofile said he did not think "anybody or anything could compensate for loss of life", but if the Ciskei would revert to democratic practices it would "go a long way to easing the existing tension". - *Ecn*.

PAC says no to consumer boycott

Sowetan 26/8/92

(105)

TEACHERS SUSPENDED Bid to get South Africa to

intervene in crisis at Mdantsane schools:

Sowetan 26/8/92

THE Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) has come out against a consumer boycott of white-owned business in East London, saying it believes parents should be given a chance to resolve the Mdantsane education crisis.

The boycott, which started on Monday, was called in an attempt to get the South African Government to intervene in the crisis.

Schooling in Mdantsane schools has been disrupted since May when teachers and students began protesting against the indefinite suspension without pay of 35 teachers.

Twenty-eight of the teachers were suspended for staging a sit-in at the offices of Education Minister Mr Petros Jacobs. The others were suspended on the outcome of a

commission of inquiry set up earlier this year to investigate alleged lack of discipline in Ciskei schools.

The crisis has also affected the local Dr Rubusana College of Education which was closed at the end of last month after students refused to go to schools for teaching practicals.

PAC Border regional publicity secretary Sizwe Mfafa said they walked out of a meeting held to discuss the boycott on Sunday because the Mdantsane Education Crisis Ad-hoc Committee would not listen to their views.

Mfafa said the PAC delegation to the meeting was subjected to ridicule after proposing that parents should be given a chance to meet Jacobs without the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Students and South African Democratic Teachers Union being present.

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Sowetan 26/8/92

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How SADF props up Gqozo

W/Mail 28/8 - 3/9/92

South Africa's Military Intelligence is aiding Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo by creating an Inkatha-type organisation as a bulwark against the African National Congress. By **EDDIE KOCH**

CISKEI strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is building an Inkatha-type movement with the backing of South African Military Intelligence operatives to counter the African National Congress

Colonel Gert Hugo, former chief of intelligence in the Ciskei Defence Force, says Gqozo's regime was deliberately bolstered by Military Intelligence (MI) — and then dressed up in civilian clothes — to create a political bulwark against the ANC

And there are now fears that the African Democratic Movement (ADM), a conservative organisation that operates like Inkatha through tribal structures in the Ciskei, is training and arming a private army to bolster Gqozo's rule over the Ciskei (see separate story)

Considerable evidence has emerged to indicate that Gqozo's homeland government and the ADM — now key members of the National Party's conservative alliance against the ANC — are MI creations

Hugo this week told *The Weekly Mail* that SADF intelligence officers, working for Gqozo under the cover of a front company called International Researchers (IR), masterminded the creation of the ADM in early 1991 as part of a plan to create a pro-Pretoria force in the eastern Cape

ADM acting general secretary Basie Oosthuizen is on the payroll of the SADF. This is according to Ben Conradie, a former army undercover agent who ran various front companies for MI in the eastern Cape

Oosthuizen now describes himself as "a political adviser" to the Ciskei government. He is a former employee of an MI front company called Dynamic Teaching whose main task was to run anti-communist education programmes on behalf of the SADF in black townships of the eastern Cape

The head of IR, Anton Nieuwoudt, played a prominent role in an MI project to train an elite unit of Inkatha paramilitary fighters at a base in the Caprivi Strip. Members of this Inkatha unit have been involved in a series of covert operations against ANC activists

Another senior Ciskei army officer, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile, last week told an inquest court that Gqozo collaborated closely with SADF intelligence officers to undermine "progressive organisations" in the eastern Cape soon after he came to power

Hugo told *The Weekly Mail* he was present at Gqozo's farm, called Blacklands, near King William's Town, during an informal Ciskei Security Council meeting in December 1990 called to discuss the formation of the ADM

"At this meeting Anton Nieuwoudt and Clive Brink — both agents for MI who ran IR — were present even though they were not supposed to sit



Front man ... Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has been aided by the SADF to stay in power, claim senior Ciskei military men

on the Security Council. It was clear that they had caucused the idea of setting up a political movement like Inkatha and were using the meeting to set this in motion"

Ciskei's former intelligence chief says the SADF men were obsessed with the idea of using the Ciskei as a bulwark against the ANC for the following reasons

The eastern Cape was seen by the army at the time as a holed for the ANC and its ally, the South African Communist Party

They were deeply concerned about Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa's support for the ANC and the SACP and indications that his homeland was being used as a power base for the "revolutionary alliance"

MI believes that the ANC's strength relies on an appeal to Xhosa ethnicity and for this reason it is important to maintain and foment divisions between the two Xhosa homelands

"The ADM was created to give Gqozo's anti-ANC regime more credibility by building a civilian movement of support for him and decontaminating the military image that had built up around him," says Hugo

Gqozo also stated at the Blacklands meeting that he would use the ADM to enter into a political alliance with the National Party and other organisations opposed to the ANC

Hugo, who worked for Gqozo as Chief of Staff Intelligence for more than a year, says the Ciskei strongman was first put in power by a military coup in March 1990 led by officers

genuinely opposed to the corrupt rule of Pretoria's old surrogate ruler in the Ciskei, Lennox Sebe

The coup, which came just weeks after Nelson Mandela's release from prison, was staged by a young corps of Ciskei army officers led by Brigadier Andrew Jamangile and Colonel Colonel Zanumisi Zantsi

"He was the most articulate of the officers so they decided to elect him as the head of the military council. I was present at a meeting at the King William's Town home of Chris van Aardt, South Africa's ambassador to the Ciskei, when Jamangile and Zantsi arrived with Gqozo to discuss the coup," says Hugo

Officers from the security police, army intelligence and the National Intelligence Service had gathered in the ambassador's home to assess the post-coup situation in the Ciskei and to decide whether the SADF should intervene to reinstate Sebe

"I remember that Gqozo was still dressed in his pyjamas when they arrived that morning. (Foreign Minister) Pik Botha had been calling all morning to find out if the coup leaders were against the RSA. The meeting persuaded Botha that Gqozo was our man and could be relied on to protect our interests"

For a few months Gqozo appeared on public platforms with ANC and SACP leaders in an apparent effort to bolster his credibility

But within five months, IR was set up and operated out of offices on Gqozo's farm and later from the ministerial offices in the capital of Bisho

Hugo says IR, later renamed Ciskei Intelligence Services (CIS), set about imposing complete control over the policy of the Ciskei government

This is confirmed by Jamangile, former head of the Ciskei Defence Force. Last week he stated in sworn evidence before court, that Gqozo broke all promises to work with "progressive organisations" after the MI operatives in International Researchers had established their control in Bisho

Gqozo's failure to co-operate with the Ciskei army officers who put him in power after the coup prompted them to write a letter in February 1991 demanding his resignation. "We clearly stated in the letter that he was alienating himself from progressive organisations," said Jamangile

The officers, disgruntled at being controlled by South African military agents, wanted to replace Gqozo with the Ciskei's former minister of post and telecommunications

Jamangile was giving evidence in an inquest into the deaths of Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana. The brigadier claims that both men were lured to their deaths in January last year by Pretoria's agents in Bisho

Jamangile and Hugo say IR had encouraged Sebe and Guzana to stage a false counter-coup at the time and then crushed it in order to convince Gqozo that he needed the support of MI to stay in power

IR has also been implicated in the planning and logistical support for an attempted coup against Holomisa's pro-ANC government that took place in the Transkei in November 1990

SA security firm trains

ADM men

Weekly Mail Reporter: East London

A PRIVATE Johannesburg-based security company, operating from a military base in Ciskei and linked to violence in the region, is recruiting and training African Democratic Movement (ADM) members as armed guards.

ADM secretary general Basie Oosthuizen and Ciskei Defence Minister Colonel SS Pita both denied any links with the company. Pita said the company was simply using the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) base at Wesley.

However, it seems clear that there are links with the Ciskei government.

The regional manager for Peace Force, Trevor Thomas Taylor, gave his address to a local company as "c/o Military Base, Bisho" which is the main Ciskei military base. And this week two recruits who fled the base said they had initially been recruited in the grounds of the parliament complex in Bisho, and were told that they were being hired for government jobs.

Earlier this week uniformed Peace Force members shot at pupils at a school in the Ciskei village of Phakamisa, injuring seven

At the Wesley base recruits said they were told by Peace Force Security personnel that African National Congress members were not welcome and that only those belonging to the government-sponsored ADM should stay

"Immediately we were going to get out of the bus, Mr Brown (one of the Peace Force Security trainers) came and stood by the door and said 'I don't want ANC here, ANC must fuck off,'" said Kutulekile Mkanyle, who was recruited from Phakamisa village.

"Mr Brown said he doesn't want members of the ANC there because the ANC is setting houses alight and it is the ANC that we are fighting."

Another recruit, from Dimbaza, who did not want his name used as he was threatened after he fled the base, confirmed this. "These white guys told them they didn't want ANC there, they wanted only ADM. Also Pan Africanist Congress members left. Only ADM members stayed."

ANC sources confirmed that others had been recruited from Keiskammahoek, Zwelitsha and even Grahamstown and Komga across the South African border.

The courses apparently last three weeks and the trainees are then given pistols. They are paid R800 a month

It's not clear just what the training is for but the trainees said they believed it was to support the ADM and the unpopular headman system which the organisation is based on.

One man was recruited by Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's bodyguard. "When I left I met the bodyguard and he wanted to shoot me. He said I am bringing the information to the location

"I think this is to kill people and it is associated with Inkatha."

A few months ago unemployed people in rural areas in northern Ciskei were recruited in groups and taken to Ciskei government offices. They were told they were to work for Department of Manpower as security guards. Again, several recruits fled after finding that the units were to support the ADM against the ANC

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