

HOMELANDS — CISKEI — GENERAL

1993

'Butcher of Bisho' was once a 'bullied kid'

By MONWABISI NOMADLO

105

3/1/93
C/press

DESPITE his position as a dictator of a military junta, Ciskei's feared Brig Oupa "Butcher of Bisho" Gqozo was once an ordinary township lad who was "chased and bullied".

Very little is known about Gqozo's teenage years before he joined the SADF in 1974.

However, KwaThema councillor and ANC member Mabendi Makgabutane claims that he once chased Gqozo in the township streets at the height of gangsterism in the '60s.

"I wanted to beat him up," Makgabutane recalled. During the late '50s and early '60s gangsterism had taken its toll.

Makgabutane claims he remembers Gqozo "very well" when the latter was still employed by the now Prisons and Correctional Services and stayed in the township.

"We used to fight as gangsters at the time. Though Gqozo did not belong to any particular gang, we associated him with the gangs that dominated and operated in his territory," the councillor said.

"There were three dominant gangs at the time," he explained.

One gang were known as the Bustop Rangers because its members operated near a bus terminal. The other two gangs were called 90 Pirates and Mashalashala.

Makgabutane told City Press that Gqozo lived in 90 Pirates' territory and associated with Bustop Rangers members.

"Gqozo did not like the idea of gangsterism and did not belong to any group," he said.

"But he could be forced to fight if he was provoked. We used to form rings by joining hands and encircled the opponents. We enjoyed that.

"Gqozo was a tough fighter and landed the blows accurately," Makgabutane said.

Because of his good defences when challenged, Makgabutane said Gqozo was later nicknamed "save my life".

According to sources, Gqozo lived at 4 Sedibe street in an East Rand township.

Stimmbuzo Moyane, who lives at the same address, said he remembers a "policeman who was a sub-tenant" at his home.

The Brigadier's office said he was not available for comment.

In an interview with a Sunday newspaper last year, Gqozo was quoted as saying: "I developed a resentment for bullies. When you're disadvantaged everyone just



GANGSTER... Brig Oupa Gqozo is remembered as a "tough fighter who could land a punch".

tramps on you so I learnt self-defence. When I was growing up I had no one to protect me.

"I was always very unfortunate. I had no time to play as a child. I never had friends. People avoided me because I was poor. I knew I could only trust myself."

Political comment and remarks by K. Sibya, headlines and sub-editing by B. Kwaena, both of 2 Herb St, New Doverfronton, Johannesburg.

Ciskei rejects proposal, plans own peace group ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei peace process is in jeopardy with the homeland threatening to go it alone in setting up its own peace committee.

In a letter to the National Peace Secretariat (NPS), Ciskei has rejected a compromise proposal designed to bring the homeland of military strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo back into the structures of the national peace accord.

The letter was written by

Ciskei lawyers to Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, who chairs the secretariat, just before Christmas and was leaked this week.

The letter said Ciskei would "as an independent country, no doubt establish its own dispute resolution committee for its own people to achieve what the NPS failed to do."

Ciskei has been demanding a separate committee consisting only of Ciskei citizens and reporting directly to the national secretariat. — Ecna.

Ex-minister:

Theft charges

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾
BISHO. — A former Ciskei Minister of Agriculture has appeared in court charged with theft in the first prosecution arising from a probe of alleged irregularities in the ministry. CT 8/1/93

The military government said yesterday that the former minister, Mr N R Makapela, and a former director-general, Mr N Poni, had been charged with the theft of government property and misuse of government vehicles. — Sapa

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Gqozo promises to tell of Apla actions

EAST LONDON — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had new details of Apla activities in Transkei "which have implications" on negotiations, the ruling Ciskei Council of State said at the weekend.

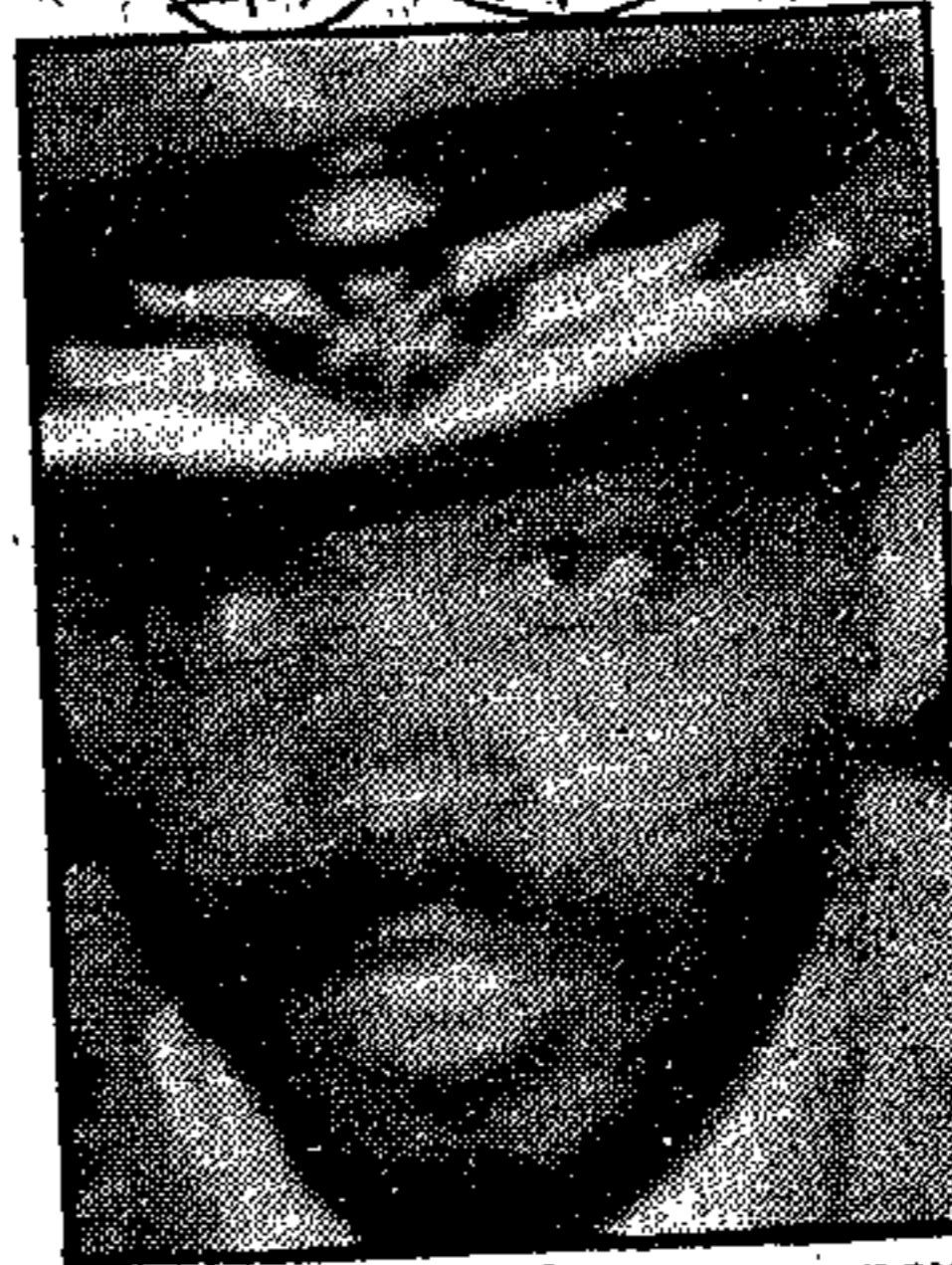
The council said Gqozo would reveal details of Apla work in Transkei at a press conference in Johannesburg today.

"Confirmed intelligence reports have provided evidence of Apla linkage and collusion with other major players in southern Africa. He believes that, owing to the implications which they hold for the negotiation process, they should be announced to all concerned individuals," the statement said.

It is unclear whether Gqozo's impending revelations are related to the arrest of a group of PAC youths who allegedly attempted to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting near Dimbaza on Friday.

The youths were allegedly armed with homemade and automatic weapons.

SAP regional spokesman Captain Gary Maclaren said the weapons — R-1 and R-5 rifles — would be handed over to the SAP to investigate whether they were those used by Apla in its



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo . . . new details of Apla activities in Transkei.

attacks in King William's Town and Queenstown in November.

The seven youths are expected to appear in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court today.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata has disputed the claim that the youths were PAC members, saying he suspected they were members of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement.

Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, was not available for comment yesterday. — Elnews.

Gqozo 'to unveil the facts' on Apla

DIRK HARTFORD

CISKEI military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo says he will disclose today new details of Apla activities in Transkei, involving collusion with "other major players in southern Africa".

Gqozo is flying to Johannesburg to address a news conference at which he will "expose the facts". These have implications for the negotiations process, he says.

Ciskei police seized illegal weapons from eight PAC youth members on Friday and handed them to the SA Police for ballistics testing. The tests would determine if the weapons were used in last year's King William's Town and Queenstown attacks, the Ciskei government said.

Sapa reports that the youths were arrested after police intervened when they allegedly tried to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting near Dimbaza.

The weapons were "Scorpion homemade firearms", an R-5 rifle, an R-1 rifle and R-1, R-5 and 9mm ammunition, Ciskei police said. The youths appear in court today.

In a statement at the weekend, Gqozo said although he acknowledged Judge Richard Goldstone's probe into Apla's activities, he was gravely concerned about information he had and wanted to make it available to all concerned.

Meanwhile, Transkei's military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa's recommendation for a judge to investigate Apla's activities in Transkei will be forwarded to

□ To Page 2

Gqozo

the SA government today.

The move came in the wake of government's refusal to allow Goldstone to head a Transkei-initiated inquiry into Apla activities after Holomisa refused to take part in the Goldstone hearing on Apla in Port Elizabeth last week.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in a statement in Cape Town last week that

since Goldstone had "an ultimate interest and responsibility in regard to his SA assignment", he could not possibly divorce himself from his own commission.

Goldstone said he agreed with government's decision. "At no time" had he agreed to head Holomisa's commission.

The Goldstone committee will continue its Port Elizabeth hearings today.

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Gqozo claims bid to oust him

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter 105

STAR 12/11/95

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo flew from Bisho to the Reef yesterday to make a series of shock claims, including allegations of a plot by Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) to topple his government.

The Ciskei military leader told a media conference at Jan Smuts Airport that both his government and the South African security forces had information about where the Apla unit responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack was hiding.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel denied last night that police knew the whereabouts of the unit.

SAP Public Relations Division head Major-General Leon Mellet said police were following up "certain information" about the golf club killings. Four people were

murdered in the attack. Gqozo, who returned to Bisho directly after making his statement, said he had "confirmed intelligence reports" of a meeting held in Umtata a few days after Christmas between MK, Apla and the TDF.

According to his information, the groups had decided to launch a two-pronged attack on Ciskei and Kwazulu.

Gqozo said MK and Apla recruits in the final stages of their training would be used to carry out the attacks in Apla's name.

He implied that he wanted the SA Defence Force to launch cross-border raids into Transkei against Apla.

Answering questions at the press conference, Gqozo said: "Transkei should come clean on this because it is not only a festering sore for the whole of South Africa... they must come clean whether they want war or negotiations peacefully. "So, I think whatever

action to be taken by all South Africans should be welcomed..."

Asked whether he was referring to military action, he said: "Definitely, because those people are military (people)."

Gqozo said his government "reserved the right to take any action we see fit... anyone entering Ciskei with arms of war will be declaring war on Ciskei".

Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa accused the South African Government of using Gqozo to do its "dirty tricks and, by doing so, shifting blame from themselves".

The ANC, MK and the PAC strongly denied that such a meeting took place.

MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda said there was no working relationship between the ANC's armed wing and Apla.

In a separate statement, the ANC said Gqozo's statement was a "mixture of outright lies and pure invention". The organisation de-

nied there are or were MK bases in Transkei or that it had ever entered a pact with the TDF or any other body to launch a military offensive against Ciskei or Kwazulu.

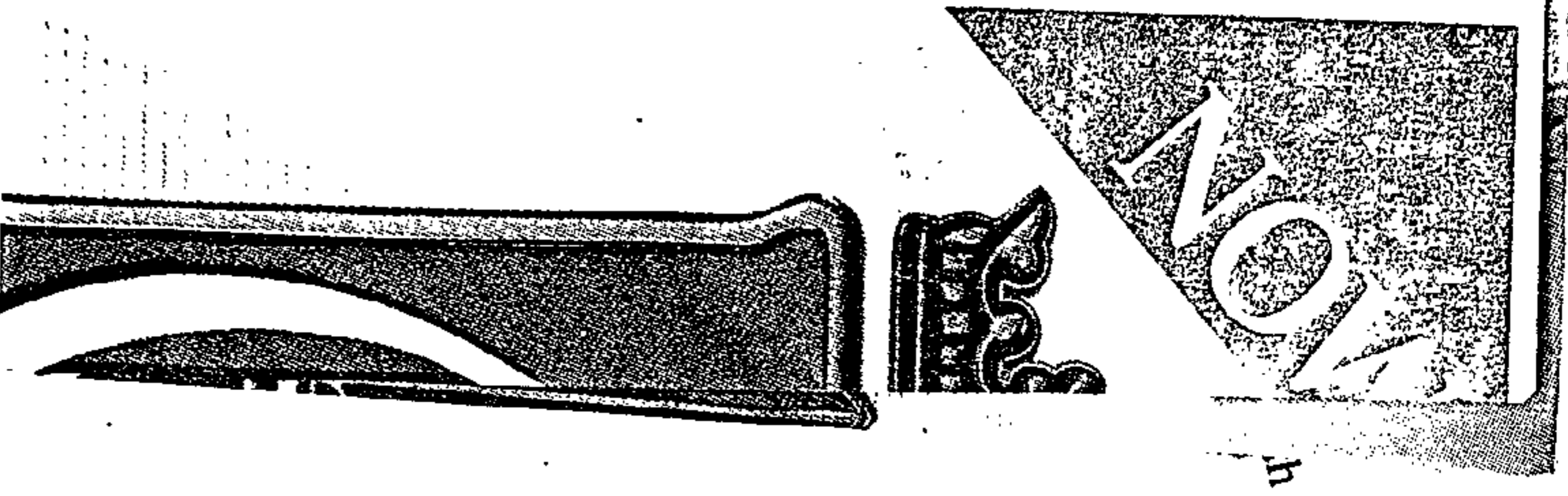
PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said Gqozo "appears to be flying a kite" with his allegations, and that the PAC had no knowledge of any meeting.

Gqozo said SACP leader and former MK chief of staff Chris Hani had told MK members in Ciskei to launch attacks in the homeland, using Apla disguises.

Hani denied the claim, saying Gqozo lived in "some other wonderland". He was no longer MK chief of staff and therefore did not give instructions to its members.

Gqozo would not make any documents backing up his claims available to the press because it could expose his sources.

● Decision on Apla subpoenas delayed - Page 5



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● Decision on Apla subpoenas delayed -
Page 5

Gqozo on ANC and PAC pact

■ He talks of military attack to
topple KwaZulu and Ciskei:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter



THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress were planning a two-pronged military attack to topple the governments of Ciskei and KwaZulu with the help of the Transkei Defence Force, (TDF) Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday.

The Ciskei military ruler flew to the Reef to hold a special Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport.

These "revelations" were based on confirmed intelligence reports in Ciskei's possession concerning a secret meeting held jointly by Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the TDF in Umtata "a few days after Christmas," he said.

The PAC said in response to Gqozo's claims that he was "flying a kite" and that his claims were unfounded.

A full response would follow after the PAC had studied Gqozo's claims, political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said.

The ANC said Gqozo's statement was a "mixture of outright lies and pure invention".

Gqozo told to produce evidence of 'plot'

GOVERNMENT yesterday called on Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo to hand over to the Goldstone commission evidence that Apla, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Transkei Defence Force were secretly planning acts of terror.

Earlier in the day Gqozo claimed he had "confirmed intelligence reports" which proved the three armies were plotting the violent overthrow of the governments of Ciskei and KwaZulu.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said government encouraged Gqozo "to share the information he has with the Goldstone commission".

Government is believed to have been

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RAY HARTLEY
angered by Gqozo's decision to make the allegations at a Johannesburg news conference instead of presenting them to the Goldstone commission's Port Elizabeth hearing on Apla.

Gqozo said he had decided to keep his evidence from the commission because the SA public needed to be made aware of the plot, and Judge Richard Goldstone would be given documents only "on a very selective basis" if he requested them.

He said MK, Apla and the TDF had met in Umtata shortly after Christmas to plan attacks on the governments of Ciskei and

KwaZulu "under the name of Apla".

Gqozo said SA security forces needed to take decisive action — possibly including military force — against the plotters.

The ANC, MK, Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and the PAC yesterday dismissed Gqozo's allegations.

The ANC described Gqozo's statement as "a mixture of outright lies and pure invention. There are not now, nor have there ever been, MK bases in Transkei. The ANC and MK have never entered a pact with the TDF or any other body to launch a military offensive against Ciskei or KwaZulu," it said.

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Gqozo B/D/M 12/1/93 From Page 1

PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke denied the conspiracy claims, Sapa reports. Gqozo was "flying a kite", he said. "It is clear that he has an axe to grind with the Transkei Military Council."

MK chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda denied any meetings, other than "normal contact", had taken place between MK, Apla and the TDF. "This is in breach of the spirit of the national peace accord. Such statements have only helped fuel violence in the past," he said.

Gqozo's allegations that SACP secretary-general Chris Hani had instructed MK commanders in Ciskei to attack the homeland's government using Apla disguises

were untrue as Hani no longer held any command position in MK, Nyanda said.

Holomisa accused Gqozo of conducting a propaganda campaign against Transkei in collaboration with SA security forces, Sapa reports. Gqozo was welcome to bring his evidence directly to Transkei, or to invite Transkei investigators to Bisho, he said.

Gqozo said he had not communicated with Holomisa over the allegations because "he will definitely deny them".

Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said Gqozo needed to present proof of the plot to Goldstone, because this was "one place where the evidence would have value".

● Picture: Page 3

Explosion rips through Ciskei state building

(105)

Aug 13/11/93

EAST LONDON. — A powerful blast caused extensive damage to the Ciskei government's manpower department building in Bisho today.

The bomb, which police believe was a limpet mine, exploded on the fourth floor of the building about 3am.

No-one was injured, but the explosion

ripped open a section of the roof and damaged water pipes.

Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, General Fikile Zibi, said today that detectives suspected the bomb was planted yesterday afternoon near the toilets.

It was not known who had placed the bomb, he said. — Ecna.

ANC challenge (105)

EAST LONDON. — The ANC has gone to the Supreme Court in Bisho to challenge the validity of a Ciskei security law requiring magisterial permission for public meetings. The hearing was adjourned until January 28.

ANC 15/2/93

PAC linked to 'Gqozo's Inkatha'

W/Mail 1511-21/1/93
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By CLAIRE KEETON

EVIDENCE is mounting of links between the Pan Africanist Congress and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's "Inkatha" — the African Democratic Movement (ADM) — in the Border region. This has muddied the waters around last year's attack on the King William's Town golf club, whose sophistication led to doubts about Apla involvement.

The evidence of PAC-ADM ties also raises questions about Gqozo's claims this week that the PAC is plotting with the African National Congress and the Transkei government to topple him.

The PAC has maintained notably more cordial relations with the Ciskei Council of State than the ANC, and many Ciskei villagers are believed to hold both ADM and PAC membership.

ADM general secretary Thamsanqa Linda told a rally in King William's Town last Saturday that loyal ADM members, including some chiefs, had taken on PAC membership "to get protection from ANC radicalism".

He later claimed to have instructed ADM members to drop their PAC membership because of Apla violence, according to the Independent Monitoring Network (IMN).

A PAC information and recruitment drive in Ciskei late last year saw the PAC specifically invite ADM members to attend. As part of the campaign last August, PAC president Clarence Makwethu addressed Ciskei chiefs, many of them ADM members, at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

PAC publicity secretary Waters Toboti said at the time it is the "PAC's programme to win every African to our side".

Given the ANC's conflict with the Ciskei, this convergence of membership may mean the PAC is being drawn into the violence.

The ADM, a Ciskei government organ, has easy access to weapons, and may serve as a conduit for arms to Apla. When former police commissioner General Jan Viktor suddenly left the Ciskei last year, he expressed concern about the way in which firearms were being handed out to headmen, who often have ADM ties.

An incident days before Gqozo made his claims dramatised the murky politics at play. Ciskei Police announced they had arrested seven PAC members last Friday for possession of illegal weapons — R1 and R5 rifles, and Scorpion machine pistols — alleging the seven planned to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting (ANCYL). The ANC immediately claimed

the seven were in fact ADM members masquerading as PAC.

ANCYL Border president Themba Kinana said he was sure the youths got their sophisticated firearms from ADM headmen.

Residents of Bhele, where tensions have been rising for months, told the IMN many local PAC supporters had previously been ADM members. The PAC identified the seven as members, but could not exclude the possibility they had previously belonged to the ADM.

The Ciskei also said it would pass the arms on to the South African Police for ballistic tests to determine any link with the King William's Town attack. The SAP's Captain Nina Barkhuizen said no weapons had yet been received.

Evidence of links between the ADM and the PAC follows other highly expedient alliances between different anti-ANC elements in the Border, an ANC stronghold.

In past years, township councillors in towns like Komga and Cathcart emerged as PAC supporters, despite some PAC embarrassment.

Asked about the links with the ADM, PAC secretary general Bennie Alexander said "the PAC recruits for its own party in any territory" and "talks to anybody at any time at any place". He said he did not know about dual membership, but agreed that while Gqozo was hostile to the PAC when he first took over, he later adopted "a neutral attitude".

Feeding directly into the current paranoia about the PAC and Apla, Gqozo's ANC-PAC-Transkei plot claims may serve to distance him from the PAC, and perhaps to strengthen his conservative reputation in the Concerned South Africans Group. — Eena

ANC links

Ciskei govt

to club

killings

C/Press
17/1/93

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BORDER ANC regional president Smuts Ngonyama has alleged that weapons used in the King William's Town Golf Club attack last year belonged to the Ciskei government.

Speaking at a press conference on Tuesday, Ngonyama linked the attack to weapons confiscated from a group of African Democratic Movement (ADM) members arrested near Dimbaza last Friday.

The youths, armed with homemade and automatic weapons and allegedly wearing PAC T-shirts, were arrested while attempting to disrupt an ANC Youth League meeting in Bhele village.

"An investigation should be immediately launched to establish the link between these armed ADM members and the attacks at the King William's Town Golf Club," Ngonyama said.

He called on police to clean up the Border/Ciskei region.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said that headmen in Ciskei, mostly ADM members, wore PAC clothing to create the impression there is in-fighting between the ANC and the PAC in the region.

Bata said the real fight was with the Ciskei government as people rejected Brig Gqozo's headmen system. - Enews

Ciskei radio pair 'off air'

EAST LONDON. — The ANC says it was reliably informed that two Radio Ciskei announcers, Xoliswa Swarts and Xoliswa Sigabi, were suspended after broadcasting ANC and Transkei reponse to Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's press conference on Monday.

According to claims at the weekend by the ANC Border region, the announcers were suspended after broadcasting ANC and Transkei government reaction to Brigadier Gqozo's "absurd allegations" made at his Jan Smuts airport news conference.

The managing director of Ciskei Radio, Mr Mhleli Matyila, yesterday declined to comment. He said station regulations prevented him from responding. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

CT18/193

Raze your shacks - Gqozo

STARZ 19/11/93

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EAST LONDON - Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given squatters in the homeland seven days to demolish their shacks ... or face his wrath.

The ultimatum broadcast on Radio Ciskei yesterday has sparked furious reaction from local political and civic leaders who vowed to fight forced removals.

Gqozo said all people who erected shacks in defiance of councillors and headmen would be in trouble.

"I want people to obey my

headmen, my councillors, my chiefs ... we are going to take action against squatters.

"We will throw their stuff away. Squatting is causing bad administration," he said.

Gqozo said squatters had to go back to the areas they had come from.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said Gqozo's statements amounted to a declaration of war. "He is trying to provoke confrontation and people will have no alternative but to fight back," Bata said. - Elnews.

Ciskei families resettled

(105) of 22/1/93

PORT ELIZABETH. — Eight Fingo families from Keiskammahoek in Ciskei will once again be settled in the Tsitsikamma region, nearly 16 years after being forcibly removed from the area.

Oupa to squatters: Get out or else

w/maul 22/1-28/1/93

By ERIC NAKI: East London

CISKEI military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given squatters throughout the homeland a week to move — just three years after declaring that people should build houses wherever there was open space.

The statement, made shortly after seizing power in early 1990, brought him great popularity: the first squatter camp sprang up rapidly in Mdantsane, and was named Gqozo village.

But this Monday, he warned over Radio Ciskei that squatters who had erected shacks without permission would be in trouble. He gave them seven days to move. "I want people to obey my headmen, my councillors, my chiefs and my tribal authorities. We are going to take action against squatters. We will throw their stuff away. Squatting is causing bad administration," he said.

Squatters should go back to where they came from, and if they wanted land to build houses, they should seek permission from their headmen and councillors.

Community leaders and organisations in the region believe that Gqozo's threat springs from the fact that Ciskei's burgeoning squatter camps are strongly supportive of the African National Congress.

"He knows that the squatter settlements have been in the forefront of resistance against his government," said ANC Border media officer, Mcebisi Bata. Gqozo was desperate to boost the membership of his unpopular African Democratic Movement (ADM) in time for the coming multiparty election in South Africa, he added.

Bata warned that the ANC and its allies in the region would act to protect communities against action by Gqozo. A spokesman for the Mdantsane branch of the South African Civic Association (Sanco), Mzwandile Buzani, said Sanco would mobilise its members to resist any removal.

Militantly anti-Gqozo squatter settlements are springing up throughout Ciskei. In Mdantsane, for instance, there was not a single shack before Gqozo assumed power in Ciskei, but besides Gqozo village, there are now also Manyano, Linge, Velwano, Hani Park, Slovo, Masibambane and many others.

According to figures released by Ciskei authorities, about 10 000 families lived in squatter camps in the homeland in 1991.

Squatters want nothing to do with the Ciskei government except as a source of affordable housing. Gqozo's headmen and councillors are seen as having been unable to provide houses, using their positions to extract money from residents for the government instead. - Elnews.

Leon woos Houghton domestics

w/maul 22/1-28/1/93

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

THE question is: who will serve the drinks at Democratic Party MP Tony Leon's shindig for domestic workers in Houghton tomorrow?

The aproned domestics, gardeners, their spouses and madams (if they feel up to it) from the northern suburbs have been invited to a festival in Norwood. They will be shown how to vote, told what their new labour rights are likely to be and learn "what peace, freedom and democracy will mean".

They are the latest targets of the enterprising DP's drive to recruit members. "It is an effort to extend our base," says Leon, adding, "domestic workers are a very neglected constituency."

Leon is confident they will succeed. The South African Domestic Workers Union has gained little ground in the northern suburbs where working conditions are better and workers less ripe for trade unionism.

Houghton is a pilot project; if it succeeds, the DP will attempt to woo domestic workers around the country.

And the party has pulled out all the stops for tomorrow's party: free drinks and snacks, a Matla Trust play about voting (*How to Use Your Vote in the New Election*) and transport have all been laid on free of charge.

Leon will spread his gospel through an interpreter and he is hoping to preach to a sizeable congregation: lengthy and detailed advertisements have been placed in community newspapers and DP workers have been busy phoning every single member of the constituency asking them to send their domestic worker to the party.

Fury over Gqozo's call for cash 'gifts'

STW

24/1/93

By WISEMAN KHUZWAYO and BILL KRIGE

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"DONATIONS" of up to R500 each are being solicited from Ciskei's civil servants so that Brigadier Oupa Gqozo can celebrate the third anniversary of his military coup in style.

But the call for money to celebrate the triumph of a highly unpopular military regime has provoked an uproar in an impoverished homeland notorious for squandering resources. All civil servants are being canvassed for "donations" according to four separate sliding scales issued to government departments this

Refugee

The Beechcraft replaced a plane bought secondhand two years ago through the agency of Vito Palazzolo, an Italian financier linked to drug trafficking who is currently a refugee in Ciskei.

This week Ciskei joined Transkei and Bophuthatswana in borrowing R1,37-billion from the capital markets, which was added to Pretoria's interest-bearing debt.

General Gqozo was unavailable for comment this week.

Enemies

Top civil servants are enraged by the government's move and say it presents them with a classic Catch 22 situation.

"Those who give will have their names entered on a list. But what kind of message is this? Put your name on the list and you make enemies, refuse to give and you make an enemy of the state," said one senior official.

To compound the problem, the March 4 celebration, featuring military bands and parachutists, will be held at the so-called Independence Stadium, scene of the Bisho massacre and a symbol of oppression.

The celebrations promise to be the latest in a spate of extravagances in the homeland.

Recently Ciskei took delivery of a brand new Beechcraft Kingair turbo-prop costing about R12-million, which is used for only 10 hours a month. Although it rarely flies, its chief pilot draws a monthly salary of R20 000.

week. Cabinet ministers — who are appointed, not elected — are being asked for R500 and their department heads for R350 in a list which ends by asking R20 from personnel officers.

A major-general in the police, prisons or defence departments will be asked for R200, a colonel R100, a captain R35 and a constable R20.

Teachers are not exempt. A rector will be asked for R150, a school principal for R100, lecturing staff for between R40 and R50, and teachers R30.

The Celebration Committee, which met 10 days ago, has also drawn up a scale for donations by nursing personnel, ranging from R70 for the chief of the nursing service to R20 for humble nursing assistants.

Chief Lennox Sebe, who was overthrown by Brigadier Gqozo in March 1990, also made use of "donations" by public servants to entrench his power, but these were never according to set scales.

Exiles return to a

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN
THE return to the Tsitsikamma region for eight Mfengu families this week was bittersweet.

They came back not to the old stone houses and 8 000 hectares of pasture that 500 families once owned but to a line of seven incomplete tin houses on a small portion of land abutting the lush grasslands granted to them by Queen Victoria in 1837.

The group are the first of 51 families who, unable to survive on barren plots in drought-stricken Ciskei, obtained permission to live on neighbouring church land until they can revoke Prime Minister BJ Vorster's 1977 gunpoint banishment of the community.

Nothing

After a 450km journey with children and furniture crammed into minibuses and an unreliable truck, their cash has run out.

Dispossessed families, who each received an average of R429 as compensation for their homes 15 years ago, do not have the money to finish building new houses.

SI Times 24/1/93
But we are staying,¹⁰⁵

VOW once-prosperous Mfengu tribesmen
SI Times 24/1/93

They received nothing for their land, livestock or crops. They sleep packed together in a tent or out under the stars.

All they could do as they unloaded their baggage on to Moravian church land in Clarkson this week was lean over the fence and remember the days when they farmed the fertile soil that is now in the hands of the state and 19 white farmers.

Their flight from Ciskei this week was not only a bid to survive scorching drought but also to ensure that more of their old folk do not die heartbroken, penniless and frustrated on tiny plots in the drought lands, according to Tsitsikamma Exile Association deputy-president Isaac Tembani, 75.

Behind them they left the graves of more than 135 elderly Mfengu who died in a strange land.

The move is also a message to farmers and the government that the Mfengu are tired of waiting, but will not give up a 15-year-old battle to win back an area so productive that it has been dubbed "Little New Zealand".

"We could not stay in Ciskei one minute more. Our people were dying, there was no money for doctors. We are broke, but just coming back here makes us feel strong. We want to farm and grow vegetables again because that is what we know," said Mr Simon Hopo, 45.

His mother, Esther, 69, agreed:

"I was born here and will not move again. Even if the police come with guns, I would rather die than move."

Mr Tembani said: "We became tired of waiting. I have been writing to the government for years. To Gerrit Viljoen, to Piet Koornhof, who refused to see us because, he said, we were Ciskei citizens. We got so desperate we even wrote to the Broederbond. Now we are involved in negotiations with the government, but it is all taking so long."

While they have been welcomed back by most of the coloured community living at Clarkson, others view with trepidation the arrival of more people in an area where work is scarce.

Signal

For the white farmers who bought farms at subsidised rates with 100 percent government loans, the return of the Mfengu is a signal that the government must quickly settle the matter.

"We do not have the same religious and sentimental ties with the land as the Mfengu. Long ago we resigned ourselves to accepting whatever settlement was made," said a farmer.

"But now we are all sitting waiting. Our 10-year resale prohibition clauses have expired, but we are not allowed to sell up or simply get on with the business of farming."

Another farmer, Mr Daan Landman, said: "We farmers have landed slap-bang in the middle of a fight between the state and the Mfengu. Some might feel threatened, but in principle I have nothing against the Mfengu returning because I think there is enough land for all of us who genuinely want to farm. I just feel the matter should be settled once and for all."

Oupa hands out free cars to chiefs spurning ANC

By WISEMAN KHUZWAYO

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has been dishing out free cars and bakkies in an attempt to coax Ciskei chiefs away from the African National Congress.

Twenty-four vehicles have been handed out in a package which apparently includes an R800-a-month subsidy.

One vehicle was given to former Cabinet Minister J Mkrola, who had fallen on hard times. After a spell as a nightwatchman, he was recently elevated to the position of headman.

Another recipient is Chief Lent Maqoma, who was forced into exile by Ciskei despot Lennox Sebe but has since returned as Minister of Manpower.

Locked in a fierce political battle with the ANC, Brigadier Gqozo is launching, through the medium of tribal authorities, a pitch for the hearts and minds of subjects in his nominally independent state.

Many chiefs, who hold powerful sway in Ciskei, belong to the ANC-aligned

Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa.

Those who can be weaned away to join the pro-government Ciskei Traditional Leaders' Association are rewarded for their changed loyalties with either a Nissan bakkie or an Opel Cub.

The manoeuvre has caused indignation in a homeland where there is immense pressure for contributions from citizens to the coffers of the African Democratic Movement, a pro-Gqozo political party.

The instruction to purchase 24 vehicles to reward loyal chiefs was issued last March to the homeland's Department of Finance.

Mr Mkrola's sudden promotion to headman of an area near Whittlesea, a desperately poor northern district, has so angered residents that he has been unable to stay among them.

He is believed to be staying at a farm near King William's Town which was confiscated from Chief Lennox Sebe when he was overthrown three years ago.

Ciskei detains ANC member

AN ANC member has been detained in Ciskei - apparently for a shooting incident that occurred over four years ago.

Ray Currie was detained by Ciskei security forces in Peddie last week.

The shooting - allegedly involving Currie and another ANC cadre - happened at Currie's home in Alice in 1988. At least two policemen died in the incident.

31/11/93

(105) (311)

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Gqozo was turned by MI, claims Hugo

SA MILITARY Intelligence manipulated Brig Oupa Gqozo into believing his life was in danger, former Ciskei intelligence chief Col Gert Hugo said in a BBC interview this week.

In a television documentary screened on Monday night, Hugo, a former MI officer, said MI had turned Gqozo from an ANC supporter into an arch-enemy.

He said they had convinced the brigadier that his predecessors, supported by the Transkei and Umkhonto weSizwe, were plotting his downfall.

Hugo said he had no doubt the ANC was led by MI into believing that the Ciskei soldiers would hold their fire in the tragic march on Bisho.

He said no killings would have taken place if SADF soldiers had been

involved in Bisho. "Yet their very lack of involvement pointed to MI wanting an incident ..."

Ciskei's African Democratic Movement (ADM) rejected Hugo's claims.

ADM secretary-general Thamsanqa Linda said Hugo's behaviour was no different to that of other "white dissidents".

"While he was in the employ of the Ciskei government he said nothing ... " he said.

SADF spokesman Maj Charl de Klerk described the allegations as "stupid and outrageous". However, he said he would look into Hugo's claims.

The Border ANC denied Hugo's claims that the ANC was manipulated into believing that the Ciskei soldiers would hold their fire during the Bisho march. - Ecna and CP Reporters

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Star 12/19/93

South Africa can learn from precedents in a homeland, reports Patrick Goodenough

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Ciskei Bill of Rights sets pace

COURTS in Ciskei are quietly establishing their authority and defending the first Bill of Rights in force in southern Africa.

In a series of landmark cases, they have struck down decrees and laws which contradict the territory's Bill of Rights.

In doing so, they are not only stripping away Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's autocratic powers one by one, but are also laying the foundation for a future enforceable human rights culture in the region as a whole.

At the heart of the rulings lies Ciskei's Bill of Rights and Responsibilities. Curiously, the repressive homeland has the most progressive — and justifiable — constitution in the country, drafted by civil rights lawyers during the early, enlightened period of the Gqozo administration.

Whether the military ruler likes it or not, it is there to stay. Gqozo has displayed a propensity to manipulate the constitution to suit himself. The courts have been unimpressed.

Keith Matthee, a lawyer who served briefly as Gqozo's Minister of Justice and who co-authored the constitution, is ecstatic: "It's extremely exciting because it's an investment for the future."

That Ciskei was likely to be absorbed back into South Africa soon was irrelevant to this achievement, he said.

"This process is one of building up a Bill of Rights jurisprudence for the new South Africa."

The Ciskei cases are adding to the body of precedent that courts will use, even in the new South Africa.

The process has gained its own momentum.

● The Bisho Supreme Court granted an ANC application to have section 43 of Ciskei's National Security Act declared invalid. Under the law, unsanctioned public meetings have been banned by magistrates or broken up by police. Significantly, the application was not opposed by the Ciskei.

● Late last year, the Appeal Court ruled that section 26 of the same security law — allowing for indefinite detention without trial — was in conflict with basic human rights.

Days later, the court threw out sections of a decree which indemnified Gqozo against all legal actions and damages claims against the government arising out of the Lennox Sebe era.

● And in the weeks ahead, the same court will consider overturning another controversial decree — passed by Gqozo to avoid testifying before the politically explosive inquest into the deaths of Charles Sebe, estranged brother of Lennox, and Colonel Onward Guzama, formerly Gqozo's right-hand man, who were shot dead by Ciskei troops in January 1991.

The overturning of the detention legislation is especially significant. Ciskei now leads Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and the rest of South Africa, where laws equivalent to section 26 remain on the statute books.

Since 1981, tens of thousands of people, mostly political activists opposed to the Sebe and Gqozo governments, have fallen victim

to section 26.

A few months ago, the wife of a Seymour detainee brought a Supreme Court application to have the law declared null and void. It has been found to be inconsistent with section three of the Bill of Rights incorporated in Ciskei's 1991 constitution: "No person shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or denial of bail."

Section 26 was the first piece of pre-1990 coup legislation in Ciskei to be successfully challenged. The decision has prepared the ground for further action against the alleged infringement of rights in homeland legislation inherited from South Africa.

Discrimination against women and corporal punishment are just two likely targets for creative lawyers in the region. The possibilities are endless.

It is not just the baggage from the Sebe era that is being cleared away. Two decrees introduced by Gqozo have also come under scrutiny.

An important clause in the constitution gives the Supreme Court

competence to question the validity of any decree passed since the coup. In South Africa, Parliament remains sovereign and the Supreme Court can challenge laws only in terms of procedures followed.

A noteworthy achievement of the Ciskei constitution is the unsalability of the Bill of Rights. It cannot be amended or repealed without a referendum achieving a majority of two-thirds.

"In the new South Africa we will have a Bill of Rights, which at the very least will incorporate the rights enshrined in the present Ciskei one," said Matthee. "This is why what's happening in Bisho now is so important."

How this will affect the process of incorporation of Ciskei is not yet clear. In effect, the constitution's provisions mean Ciskei can be reincorporated only if a referendum is held, since reincorporation will of necessity involve amendment, or rather abolition, of the Ciskei document.

In practice, however, the importance of a swift return of the

homelands will probably overrule any legalistic nitpicking.

The major challenge ahead is to make the Bill of Rights accessible to ordinary people.

Ignorance must be overcome. The main restraint is financial. Lawyers have argued for the appointment of a Namibian-style Ombudsman, accountable only to the constitution, who can bring actions against infringements on behalf of an entire class or group of people.

Meanwhile, the standards are being set: the right of dignity and equality before the law, of a free trial, of citizenship and privacy, of freedom of thought, expression, political activity, association and assembly, the right of education and employment, the protection of property, no death penalty, no detention without trial.

Ciskei may have a far more positive impact on the national constitutional process than many could have imagined.

Even Brigadier Gqozo should have no complaint about that. — Eastern Cape News Agency □

Gqozo to testify in Sebe inquest

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AR 63/2/93

BISHO. — Ciskei's Appeal Court has overturned two decrees exempting military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo from testifying in any court proceedings in the homeland.

The verdict, handed down by Mr Justice Diemont, Mr Justice Galgut and Mr Justice Rabie yesterday, effectively means Brigadier Gqozo will now have to testify in the Sebe-Guzana inquest which resumes next Monday — an eventuality the decrees were designed to prevent.

Ruling in favour of the applicant, Vivie Guzana, wife of former Colonel Onward Guzana who was killed two years ago by Ciskei security forces together with Charles Sebe, the court found that Brigadier Gqozo's decrees were in conflict with the homeland's Bill of Rights.

Mrs Guzana lodged the application after Brigadier Gqozo promulgated two decrees — in July and September last year — which exempted him from giving evidence in both civil and criminal cases.

The promulgation of the decrees came after he was subpoenaed to give evidence at the long-running inquest which has heard evidence that Brigadier Gqozo allegedly ordered the elimination of Sebe and Guzana.

The Appeal Court found yesterday that in spite of his high office, the brigadier was subject to the laws of Ciskei, and was not above the law.

Decree 10, promulgated in September, gave Brigadier Gqozo, as chairman of the Ciskei Council of State, the right to refuse to testify in a wide range of civil and criminal proceedings.

Decree 5, promulgated in July, exempted him from giving evidence in any judicial or quasi-judicial proceedings conducted in terms of any law before any tribunal or investigation.

The Appeal Court found the decrees elevated Brigadier Gqozo above the law and consequently created, for citizens of Ciskei, inequality of treatment before the law.

The government was ordered to pay costs. — Ecna.

Court scraps Gqozo's decrees

MDANTSANE. — The Ciskei Appellate Division yesterday scrapped two decrees exempting Brigadier Oupa Gqozo from testifying in a court of law.

The widow of Colonel Onward Guzana, Mrs Vivie Guzana, had applied to the Bisho Supreme Court to have the decrees set aside.

An inquest into the deaths of Col Guzana and Mr Charles Sebe, who were shot dead on

January 27, 1991, after plotting a coup in Ciskei, was set up in the Bisho Supreme Court recently and Brig Gqozo was subpoenaed to give evidence.

Brig Gqozo then filed an affidavit declining to testify at the inquest and citing "workload" and "the prevailing political climate" as reasons.

In its judgment yesterday, the Appellate Division said the two decrees were invalid because

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they conflicted with the constitution. "The two decrees, by conferring on the Chairman of the Council of State (Brig Gqozo) greater protection against having to testify than that possessed by other citizens, placed him above his subjects before the law," the court ruled.

The court ordered the Council of State to pay the costs of the application, including the costs of two advocates. — Sapa

W/May 5/2-11/2/93

Historic rape ruling rejected

By PHILA NGQUMBA

A MAN cannot rape his wife, the Ciskei Supreme Court Appellate Division ruled this week. The court decided this after a Peddie businessman, Raymond Ncanywa, found guilty of raping his wife three years ago, appealed against his conviction.

Mr Justice Willem Heath had sentenced Ncanywa to eight years' imprisonment suspended for five years, for forcing his wife to have sexual intercourse with him and her cousin. This was the first time in legal history such a ruling had been made.

After an investigation by the South African Law Commission, the Ciskei Supreme Court found there was no law in South Africa or in Ciskei which states a husband can be found guilty of raping his spouse. The commission said the law states a husband's power over his wife is extensive and he has the right to demand obedience and submission from her.

However, Ncanywa was found guilty of attempted rape because he forced his wife to have intercourse with her cousin. — Veritas

C14855 7/2/93

32 Battalion

(105)

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

OPPOSITION parties this week expressed concern at news that the SADF's controversial 32 Battalion – in the process of being disbanded through absorption into other units – had been patrolling the Transkei and Ciskei borders for the past month.

A convoy of troop carriers and a company of some 100 Portuguese-speaking soldiers left the small town of Komga earlier this week.

Townfolk and farmers said the troops had patrolled farmlands along the Transkei border. A 30-strong platoon from the unit also camped on a Hanover farm on the Ciskei border for four days last week after the farmer received telephonic death threats. In all cases the soldiers called themselves 32 Battalion.

The ANC and the SA Institute for Defence Politics (IDP) expressed concern.

"We don't think this region needs the deployment of such a notorious unit. We are waiting for a situation in which the unit is disbanded," said ANC Border spokesperson Mcebisi Bata.

IDP co-director Paul Bolko Mertz said the news surprised him. "The battalion is officially not existing any more, but companies may still exist. If they want to make a clean-out they must disband it completely.

"Companies can be attached to other units – but as part of those units, not as 32 Battalion."

A spokesman for Eastern Province Command, Col Johan Engelbrecht, confirmed that 32 Battalion had been based in the area "for operational requirements". He would not say how many troops were involved. It was "deployed as a normal infantry unit" in "trouble-spots... where we think it's necessary".

"I can't comment on the possible disbandment of the unit. That is a policy matter."

When the SADF withdrew from Angola in 1976 it brought back Angolan troops who had been linked to the collapsing FNLA. They were formed into 32 Battalion and based at Buffalo, northern Namibia.

Last year a task group was appointed to investigate its future. Judge Richard Goldstone recommended that the unit not be used in urban peacekeeping roles.

SADF and Defence Ministry spokesmen said the absorption process – as approved by the Cabinet – was under way. As individuals were involved, the process obviously took time.

The unit members were SA citizens and had "no ambition to return to their countries of origin".

In the interim, "elements of 32" could be used in "guarding international borders", they said.

Concern over use of notorious unit in hot spots

MUST GO

(105)
Inquest: Gqozo

told to testify

BISHO. — Ciskeian military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has been ordered to testify at the Sebe-Guzana inquest on April 19 in a subpoena issued by the Supreme Court here yesterday.

The order was the second issued to the brigadier.

He previously refused to go to court, citing as reasons workload and the prevailing political climate. — Sapa

Gqozo in the box

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH: East London
BRIGADIER Oupa Gqozo's image stands to take a new blow when he is called to testify in a politically explosive inquest.

Ciskei's Appeal Court this week overturned sections of two decrees exempting him from giving evidence to the investigation into the deaths of two exiled rebels. Charles Sebe, a former top policeman, and Colonel Onward Guzana, once Gqozo's right-hand man, were shot dead by Ciskeian troops in January 1991.

The Appeal Court decision ended a string of increasingly frantic attempts by the military ruler to wriggle out of appearing before the Bisho Supreme Court, one of the few institutions in the homeland administration which is still respected.

Gqozo's most cynical manoeuvre was to promulgate two decrees last year which exempted him from having to give evidence in all court and quasi-judicial proceedings.

This week a full bench of judges ruled that Gqozo was not above the law "but that he has to obey, and that he is subject to, the laws of Ciskei".

Ciskei deputy attorney-general Leon Langeveld said he expected to hear from Gqozo's counsel by Monday — when the inquest hearing resumes — "whether he is prepared to testify".

Three weeks have been set aside for this evidence, beginning April 19. — Ecna

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From dumps to trump cards

W/Map 12/2-18/2/93
The homelands used to be regarded
as apartheid's dumping grounds;
now they're the jackpot in a raging
hearts-and-minds battle.

By **PATRICK GOODENOUGH**
and **ANDREW TRENCH**

A BATTLE is raging between Pretoria and leading Volkstaat protagonist General Tienie Groenewald for the hearts and minds of homeland leaders within the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Groenewald, a former military intelligence chief of staff, has emerged as the top strategist within Cosag. Through his Pretoria-based consultancy company, Multi Media Services (MMS), he is heavily involved in Ciskeian affairs and is busy closing in on Bophuthatswana.

MMS chairman and Groenewald's partner Riaan van Rensburg this week accused the South African government of orchestrating an information leak within MMS in an attempt to drive a wedge between Groenewald and the Cosag parties. The government viewed MMS as a threat because "we are strengthening (Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo in Cosag, contrary to the beliefs of those who want a Codesa type of thing", he said.

In parliament last week, President FW de Klerk appealed to Cosag to drop racist elements. And last month, Pretoria accused Groenewald of souring relations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the government.

Groenewald is said by well-placed Ciskeian sources to have been influential in Gqozo's recent avowal to hang on to the "independence" of the homeland, as well as Gqozo's growing antipathy towards both the South African government and the African National Congress.

The sources also linked Groenewald's involvement in Ciskei's affairs to the recent sackings of ministers and hardline statements emanating from Bisho, the homeland's capital. And, for the first time since Gqozo seized power, Ciskei will this year commemorate "independence day" — as a "celebration of Ciskei's nationhood".

This type of rhetoric, common during the reign of Gqozo's predecessor, Lennox Sebe, indicates a marked reversal of Gqozo's stated



General Tienie Groenewald

policy on Ciskei's reincorporation with South Africa.

MMS helped to produce the document unveiling Gqozo's "Kei region plan" last December, and has an employee in the Bisho government offices. It was involved in Gqozo's claims about a plot between the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Umkhonto weSizwe and the Transkei Defence Force targeting Ciskei and kwaZulu. These claims were widely dismissed as a staged media event aimed at slowing down negotiations.

MMS has also tendered for a contract for "certain services" for the Bophuthatswana government.

Groenewald said this week MMS was "completely separate" from his other projects: the Eenheidskommittee and the Institute for Strategic Analysis, "new right" think-tanks which research issues relating to "the survival of the different nations in Africa".

He said it provided a "public relations and image-building" service to Gqozo, and "plays no role in trying to influence the council (of

state) or the leader in any direction. He uses our knowledge, and my extensive background".

MMS had discussed providing training for political organisations, including Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, but funding remained a problem, he added.

Groenewald said Gqozo had consulted him "over a period, on a number of matters". Their relationship had crystallised through Cosag, and MMS had held three days of extensive talks with the Ciskei government, leading to the presentation of the "Kei plan".

Van Rensburg explained that the Kei concept "fits in with the Volkstaat idea ... What we propagate as far as a Volkstaat is concerned is exactly what we propagate for the Kei region, and for that matter for the Zulus and Tswanas and so on."

Groenewald has also opened the door for the return to Ciskei of a former training officer for the Bureau of State Security, General "Tai" Minnaar. Minnaar recently ran a VIP-protection training course for the Ciskei, set up by Groenewald.

Minnaar worked for Ciskei intelligence in the Sebe era, and in 1983 was detained on suspicion of plotting against the government. He feigned mental illness, was transferred to a South African hospital and managed to avoid returning to face charges.

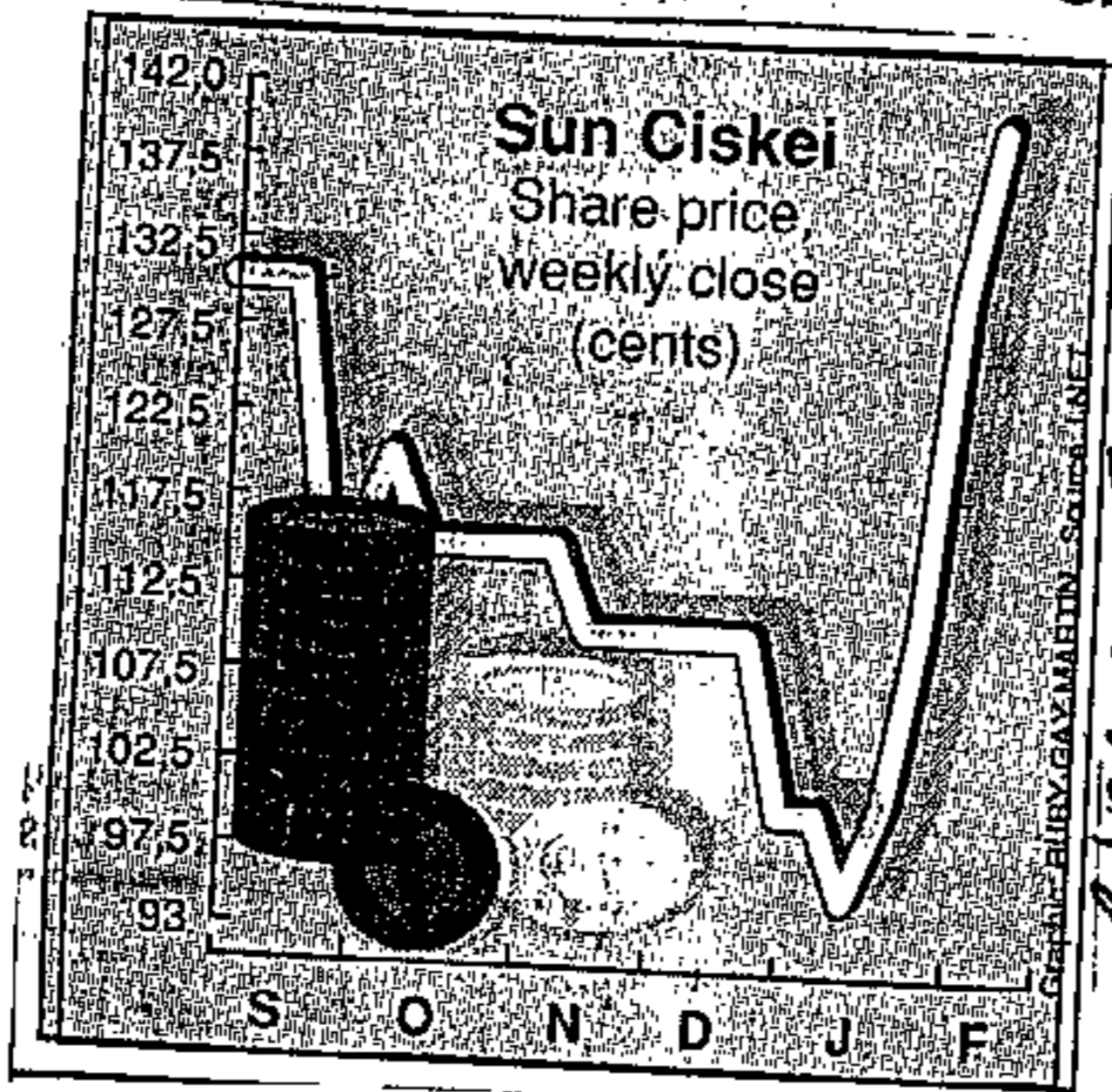
Groenewald said there was no link between MMS and Minnaar's company, Military Technical Services (MTS). He had chosen MTS to organise the course, run at the Wesley military base, because it was "very good in the field", Groenewald said, adding that further courses are envisaged.

Minnaar this week described MTS as a "completely apolitical concern providing training, security surveys and so on, with a small but confidential client base. We're not mercenaries, we're not fighting a war."

John Lambson, of the "anti-communist" University Freedom of Speech Association, has also joined the growing collaboration between the rightwing and conservative homeland leaders. He has recently begun issuing statements on behalf of Gqozo's ADM.

Lambson says Gqozo "respects" his thinking, but denies any part in shaping Ciskeian policy. However, the homeland's government recently duplicated almost to the word a Lambson-drafted ADM statement.

Sun Ciskei drops earnings



MARCIA KLEIN

RECESSIONARY conditions, unregulated casinos and unrest incidents had a severe effect on Sun International Ciskei (Sun Ciskei), which dropped its earnings by 28% to 15c (21c) a share in the six months to end-December.

The group, with resorts including the Fish River Sun, Mpekweni Sun, Amatola Sun and Mdantsane Hotel and Entertainment Centre, reported an 8% drop in turnover to R54,8m from R59,5m. Unrest in Ciskei resulted in the temporary closure of some of the hotels during the period.

Chairman Ken Rosevear said the relatively high fixed cost nature of the industry

□ To Page 2

Sun Ciskei

BIAM 15/2/93
saw operating margins deteriorate and operating profit decline by 25% to R12,9m from R17,2m.

He said Sun Ciskei had taken "immediate and dramatic steps" to look at costs, in recognition of the lower levels of trading. Costs had been rationalised wherever possible, and employee numbers had been reduced by about 350.

He said cash flow was picking up, gearing was reduced to 48% from 59%, and interest cover was healthy.

The interest bill was significantly lower at R232 000 from R1,1m, resulting in a 22% decline in profit before and after taxation to R12,7m (R16,1m).

After preference shareholders, attributable earnings were down by 28% at R11,5m from R15,9m.

A 27% lower interim dividend of 11c

105 □ From Page 1

(15c) was declared, with the cover maintained at 1,4 times.

Rosevear said results were affected by unrest and unregulated gaming operations — particularly in Port Elizabeth and East London. In addition, recessionary conditions were particularly severe in the region.

Although occupancy levels were not a major factor because of the low number of rooms, he said occupancies ran "in the mid-40s" for the period, about 10% below the previous year.

There had been a decrease in day visitors, and not much growth in the amount they had spent.

Although it was difficult to forecast, Rosevear said the action taken to reduce costs should enable Sun Ciskei to match the first half's earnings in the full year.

A thorn in the (105) brigadier's side

KEITH Matthee's office in the Ciskei capital, Bisho, is a stone's throw away from the building housing his former boss, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

From where he sits, it is not difficult to picture the military ruler's anger as his authoritarian powers are steadily stripped away by his own courts. He has Matthee to thank.

Over the past two months, two cornerstones of Ciskei's security legislation have been kicked out.

One was the provision under which restrictions were placed on the Bisho march. Then the Appellate Division threw out sections of a decree which indemnified Gqozo against claims against his government for actions which occurred under his predecessor, Lennox Sebe.

The same court has also overturned two controversial decrees passed by Gqozo in order to avoid testifying before a sensitive inquest.

Keith Matthee is smiling.

It's been a long journey for a lawyer who, as University of Natal SRC president, confessed

As Ciskei's repressive laws come crashing down one by one, the Bisho-based lawyer who helped make it all possible by authoring the first working Bill of Rights in Southern Africa can afford to feel vindicated. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports.

in 1976 to spying for the Bureau of State Security for two years.

He said at the time he broke contact with BOSS after realising students were not "just a bunch of radicals intent on burning down the campus".

Over the years his political views changed considerably — a process he attributes largely to his firm Christian beliefs.

In 1979 Matthee was fired from his post as public prosecutor in Durban, after refusing to prosecute cases under apartheid laws. After indicating his intention to conscientiously object, he was interrogated by the security police and kicked out of the Navy.

When Ciskei Defence Force officers seized power from Sebe in March 1990, Matthee was an advocate in Bisho, a Methodist preacher and chairman of the King William's Town branch of the Democratic Party.

Soldiers arrived at his home and said: "We've taken power. What happens next?" Matthee got stuck in and was later appointed Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development.

In the ensuing months he was instrumental in setting up South Africa's first public defender system, having the death penalty outlawed in Ciskei, and drawing up a new constitution, incorporating the Bill of Rights.

But in the region suspicions against him mounted. In a document on political developments in Ciskei, Matthee was identified as "an NIS agent" and he was

not popular in Bisho either.

His inevitable fallout with Gqozo came, as attested to by letters written to the brigadier.

Matthee expressed concern about executive decisions being made outside of Council of Ministers meetings, about decisions made relating to Ministers' salaries and motor cars, and about Gqozo "favouring the advice of his military/security establishment over and above that of the Minister's Council".

Finally Matthee resigned from his Constitutional Development portfolio because he differed with Gqozo over including the ANC in "consultations concerning the future of the Ciskei".

A week later he was fired from the Justice post. Matthee believes the final straw was his insistence that the Sebe-Guzana inquest go ahead. Ciskeian dissidents Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana were shot dead by Ciskei soldiers in 1991 — allegedly on the brigadier's orders.

Gqozo may have hoped that getting rid of Matthee would free him from the civil rights-oriented atmosphere settling disconcertingly over Bisho. But the damage was done: The Bill of Rights is entrenched in the homeland's constitution and the inquest will soon hear evidence from Gqozo himself.

Gqozo has attempted to reverse the damage done by Matthee and the courts — going as far as trying to have the Bill's entrenching clause itself

overturned and wriggling out of testifying before the inquest.

In these machinations, he has been helped by well-paid advisers and lawyers, including a prominent member of the DP.

While they are likely to be irked by Matthee's achievements, others who have benefited enormously probably wish someone else had been the driving force behind them: Individuals in local activist circles were incensed when Matthee was appointed to the post of regional director of Lawyers for Human Rights after Gqozo sacked him.

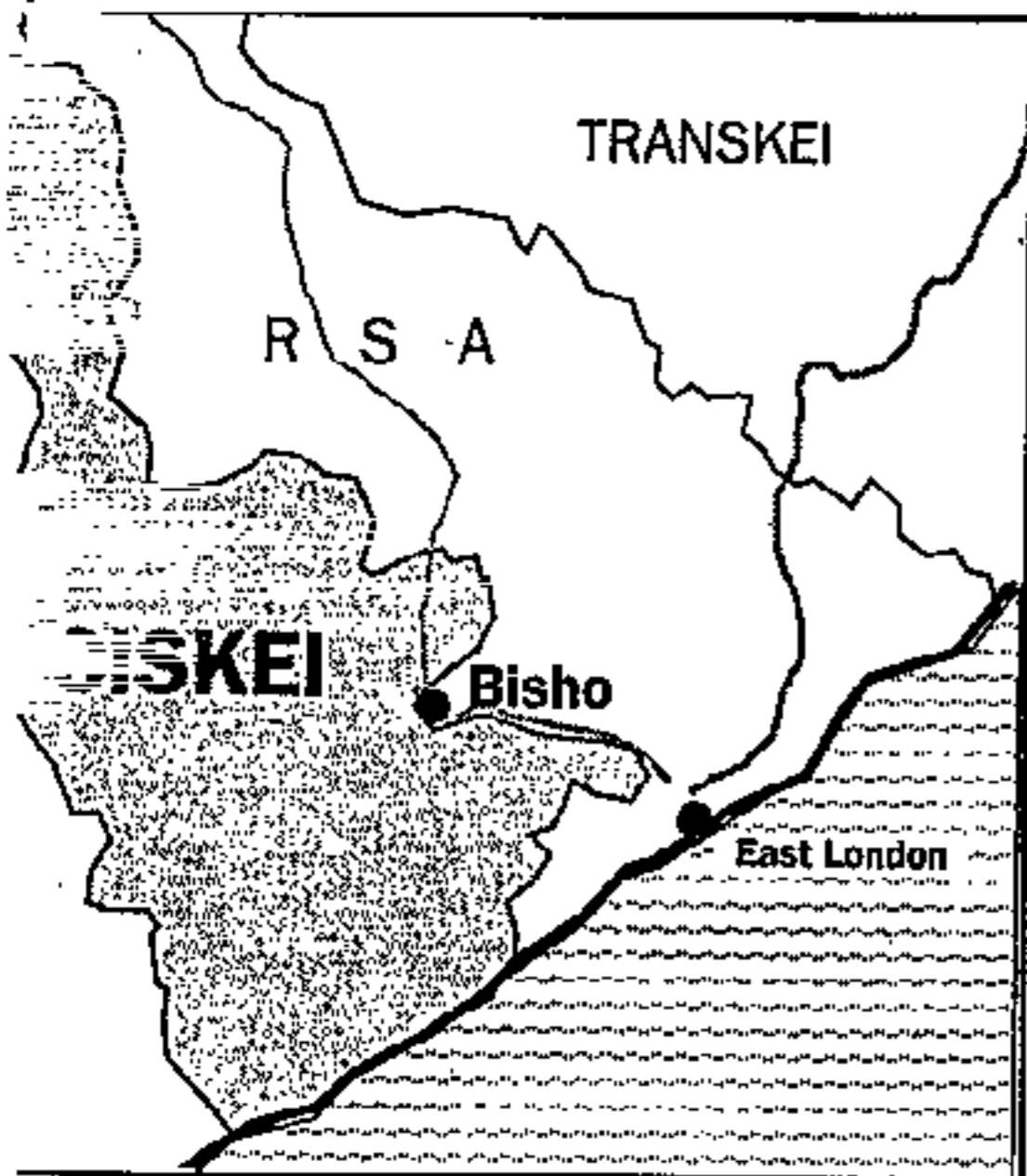
He had dirtied his hands through his association with the brigadier, they argued. Furthermore he was accused of being behind Gqozo's decision to fire striking civil servants in early 1991 (although minutes of Council of State meetings later showed the allegation to be incorrect). Some suspected he was infiltrated into LHR by the State to undermine its work.

The debate raged on behind closed doors, and climaxed in Matthee's being refused permission to participate in a labour law workshop he was scheduled to address. While all this was happening, Matthee was wading through piles of bail applications for people arrested during one of Gqozo's bad spells.

And now, 18 months later, the organisations whose members were unhappy with Matthee are those which have gained the most from his efforts.

Ample reason to be smug. Matthee said he is tempted to be at times. The two biggest headaches for Gqozo, other than the Bisho massacre, are the Bill of Rights and the inquest.

"Any objective person must now laugh at those original allegations against me," he said. — Eastern Cape News Agency. □



Border troubles impact on Sun Ciskei

By Stephen Cranston

Sun Ciskei, which owns four casino hotels in the homeland has reported a 28 percent reduction in earnings per share to 15c in the six months to December. The interim dividend was 27 percent down to 11c.

Sun International MD Ken Rosevear says that the group was affected by the recessionary conditions in the Border area and by

the unrest which climaxed in October's Bisho massacre.

Occupancies were reduced from about 55 percent to about 45 percent and turnover fell by eight percent R54,8 million. Because of the high fixed costs in the industry, operating profit fell by 25 percent to R12,9 million.

Rosevear says that staff numbers have been reduced from 1 300 to 950 in order to reduce the fixed cost base.

There are no capital expenditure project plans and Rosevear says a priority is to reduce borrowings. Gearing has been reduced from 59 percent to 48 percent with total interest bearing debt down R1,7 million to R16,3 million.

Rosevear says that revenues are likely to remain under pressure but because of reductions in fixed costs earnings for the second half should approximate those in the first.

Ciskei gives Apla report to Goldstone

BISHO. — The Ciskei Council of State has decided to hand a report on an alleged joint plan by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) to overthrow the Ciskei government to the Goldstone Commission.

Ciskei said in a statement yesterday its decision followed discussions with Goldstone Commission officials.

Ciskei's "evidence" will be submitted to the Goldstone Commission hearing on Apla activities which is currently being held in Port Elizabeth.

The Ciskei government has asked the commission to ensure the safety of the sources of information contained in its report. — Sapa

Elected govt 'better able to tackle SA's violence'

BIDM 18/2/93
SA's politicians needed to press ahead with multiparty talks leading to elections despite high levels of violence, the Commonwealth Observer Mission to SA said in its report yesterday.

The report said the mission was convinced "a government which enjoys the support of the majority of the population is in a far better position to address the issue of violence than one which is not".

But the report also cautioned that it would be naive to assume that elections would lead to "an immediate cessation of this violence".

Mission chairman Duncan Chappell said revelations by the Goldstone commission of Military Intelligence's continuing covert activities provided more evidence violence was being fuelled by "a so-called third force".

The report called on government to coerce homelands into permitting

RAY HARTLEY
free political activity. The mission spent much of its time in the Natal-KwaZulu area.

Government also needed to "undertake a major reassessment of its security apparatus so as to draw a distinction between external and internal threats," the report said.

"The SAP has lost the confidence of the majority and particularly those who live in township areas," he said.

More than 15 000 homicides had been committed in SA in 1992 - 50 murders per 100 000 South Africans - making it "one of the most violent countries in the world", Chappell said.

He said only nine homicides occurred for every 100 000 US citizens, while only two were committed per 100 000 Canadians or Australians.

"Structural imbalances in the dis-

tribution of wealth" had also fanned the flames of violence in SA, which was "awash with firearms", he said.

Chappell said it had been agreed with the Justice Department that Commonwealth observers would be able to visit prisons following extensive criticism of the justice process.

Visits to police stations and police cells had also been agreed to.

□ Meanwhile, British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker would visit SA next week to gain a first-hand impression of progress being made with negotiations, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday. She would meet key players involved in getting multiparty talks going.

The spokesman said Chalker would arrive in SA on Tuesday and depart on Thursday.

Chalker last visited SA in September last year to attend the British South African Conference in Durban.

R136m export scheme fraud

BIDM 18/2/93
CAPE TOWN - Thirty-six cases of fraud involving a potential R136m, in regard to the General Export Incentive Scheme (GEIS), have been brought to the attention of the Trade and Industry Department.

In reply to a question in Parliament yesterday from Lester Fuchs (Hillbrow, DP), Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys said all cases brought to the department's attention were investigated.

This was done in collaboration with the Reserve Bank and Commissioner of Customs and Excise, as well as the Office for Serious Economic Offences, the Attorney-General and the SAP's commercial branch.

External verification of GEIS claims was undertaken on a continuing basis.

Keys said in cases of fraud under the GEIS, refunds were demanded from claimants who had acted illegally and the cases were ed over to the SAP for further action. Where fraud was proved, exporters were

deregistered.

Commenting on the Minister's reply Fuchs said SA was once again horrified by the plague of corruption sweeping the country.

The DP was particularly disappointed that a scheme introduced to encourage exports should have been so badly abused.

Replying to another question from Fuchs, Posts and Telecommunications Minister Piet Welgemoed said the department had accumulated bad debts of R65m last year.

About 98% of the amount represented telephone debtors, the Minister said.

Dr Welgemoed said part of the R65m could be attributed to the 087 service, but it was not possible to furnish a reliable estimate of the amount involved as the billing service does not provide detailed information in respect of calls made.

Ciskei coup plan alleged

BIDM 18/2/93
ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA - Details of a plan to overthrow the Ciskei government, allegedly drawn up jointly by Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe, have been passed on to the Goldstone commission, a commission spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The Ciskei Council of State said a "comprehensive and detailed report" of the plan had been compiled and forwarded to the commission this week.

The report contains details of an alleged plan concocted by the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC to bring down the government of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo.

A Ciskei council statement issued yesterday said the report had been passed on to the commission only once it had agreed to take appropriate precautions to protect the sources named in the report.

After a series of commission hearings in Pretoria and Port Elizabeth, an interim report on Apla activities was being drawn up, the spokesman said.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz



DELTA

DELTA ELECTRICAL INDUSTRIES LIMITED

Ciskei gets rid of SA spy chief

Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei has lost its intelligence chief in what seems to be an ongoing campaign to clean out South African officers in the homeland's security forces.

Military intelligence chief Mr Ockert Swanepoel is believed to have been fired following disagreements with the military government. His former deputy, Mr Chris Nel, now heads the unit (25)

Mr Swanepoel's departure follows that of several key security officials. AUG 20/21 93

And, last year, the commander of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Marius Oelschig, and the Commissioner of Police, General John Viktor, left after clashes with Ciskei's military government.

In 1991, Mr Swanepoel and Mr Nel were accused of being members of the South African Defence Force's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

Earlier this year, two other senior government officials, Dr Henk Keyser and Chief Lent Maqoma, both regarded as South Africa's men in Ciskei, were fired. — Ecna.

Defence Force keeping an eye on Ciskei rallies

EAST LONDON. — Defence Force patrols in the Border area are being stepped up as the African National Congress prepares for a series of meetings and rallies in Ciskei.

SACP chief Chris Hani is touring the homeland this week, just as the Bisho government prepares to celebrate the coup that brought Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to power.

The ANC said Mr Hani's tour was part of the organisation's campaign of political mobilisation in preparation for the election, and denied there was any intention to disrupt the Ciskei celebrations.

The ANC drive would culminate with a rally in Rayi village outside King William's Town — the first high profile event by the ANC-led tripartite alliance in the homeland since security legislation effectively banning public meetings was scrapped by the Bisho Supreme Court.

A spokesperson for Group 8 military base in East London, Commandant Herman Boshoff, said the SADF had "taken note of the situation".

"Because it (Ciskei) is so close, any instability there could spill over. We will step up patrols on 'this side of the fence' for the protection of our area."

A Ciskei government spokesperson declined to comment on any plans for increasing security in Bisho, saying

only that the Ciskei Defence Force would play a "low-key" role.

"We will be vigilant," he said.

The ANC denied the initiative was timed to coincide with the Ciskei coup celebrations, planned for three days next week. Village meetings are being held in preparation for the festivities.

Ciskei Foreign Minister Thamsanqa Linda said the South African government and political groups, including the ANC and PAC, had been invited to the coup celebrations.

But Border ANC media officer Mcedisi Bata denied the ANC had received an invitation.

"If we had, we would not attend. Gqozo will be celebrating three years of repression."

Mr Bata said that the ANC rallies were "part of our political mobilisation programme in preparation for launching the election campaign".

"The rally will assert our right to free political activity in the homeland," he said.

He denied the ANC planned to disrupt the Ciskei celebration.

"We are too busy to worry about this kind of thing. People are tired of Gqozo, but if anyone does protest, it does not come from the ANC."

Mr Bata conceded there could be problems given Ciskei's hostility to ANC activities in the past. — Ecna.

New chief for Radio Ciskei

EAST LONDON. — Former local SABC news editor Mr Danie Malan was yesterday appointed managing director of the troubled Radio Ciskei it was announced. (105)

Mr Malan succeeds Mr Mhleli Matyila, who was suspended pending a fraud investigation.

On Monday, Mr Matyila was granted R3 000 bail in the Ciskei Magistrate's Court. His case was postponed to March 5. — Sapa (T 24/2/93)

Ciskei cuts links with former MI man

W/Mail 19/2 - 25/2/93

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By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

THE Ciskei government may soon end a lucrative contract with a company run by key far-rightwinger and former military intelligence boss General Tienie Groenewald. It has also warned an associated ex-Bureau of State Security officer to steer clear of the homeland.

The Weekly Mail reported last week that Groenewald's Pretoria-based consultancy, Multi-Media Services, had been accused of manipulating

Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to suit his Volkstaat agenda.

Groenewald also arranged for Major-General "Tai" Minnaar, an intelligence operative for former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe, to run a VIP protection training course for Ciskei soldiers. A R94 000 training course for homeland parabats was on the cards for next month. After the *Weekly Mail* report, the Ciskei government announced that Ciskei

Defence Force members were "not at all happy" about Minnaar's renewed involvement in the homeland because of his background. The course will go ahead, but under trainers not linked to Minnaar.

Gqozo has also ordered a probe into MMS's activities. A spokesman said that if the "allegations and revelations" proved true, the government would not hesitate to "dissociate itself completely from the company concerned".

3 nation

STAR 25/2/93. (105)

Hani flees as shots fired

Two shots were fired while SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani was leaving Fort Hare University after a meeting last night. A student who said she heard the shots said Hani quickly changed cars and was driven away. University security staff later confirmed they had investigated a shot fired on campus, but said they had no idea where it had come from.

Radio man linked to coup

W/Mail 26/2-4/3/93.

THE new acting managing director of Radio Ciskei, appointed this week, is a former SABC journalist, Danie Malan, linked to an attempt to overthrow the Transkei government.

This week also saw renewed evidence led in Umtata of Ciskei involvement in the November 1990 coup attempt.

Earlier evidence before the lengthy trial of 19 co-conspirators was that the plotters held secret meetings with Malan at his East London home in January 1990.

One of the alleged plotters, Prince Nkosekhaya Gobinca, said that two South African Defence Force members had attended the meetings to draw up a constitution for the new government and that Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was part of the plans.

Malan has denied involvement in

the coup attempt.

(105) (105)

A former Transkei security policeman, Vulindlela Christopher Shologu, told the Umtata Supreme Court he had fled Transkei in 1987 when he was implicated in a hit squad attack. After the coup attempt failed, Shologu said he received an offer to monitor political organisations in Transkei from a military intelligence man in Ciskei, a Colonel Swanepoel. This is believed to be Colonel Ockert Swanepoel, who was chief of military intelligence in Ciskei. Swanepoel is believed to have been fired. His position has been taken over by his former deputy, Chris Nel.

Swanepoel and Nel were named by Ciskei dissident Colonel Gert Hugo as being one-time members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau. — Ecna

Warning⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

to Hani

CT 113193
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Security legislation recently declared invalid by Ciskei's courts would be invoked to curb Mr Chris Hani's movements in the homeland if he did not stop causing trouble, a minister warned at the weekend.

The Ciskei Foreign Minister, Mr Thamsanqa Linda, told a rally at Mdantsane's Siza Dukashe stadium on Saturday that Mr Hani, secretary general of the South African Communist Party, was urging people Ciskei National Day celebrations this week.

Snub for Ciskei 105

THE Border Council of Churches says it will not take part in Ciskei's independence celebrations as there is nothing to celebrate under the rule of Oupa Gqozo.

Sowetan 3/3/93

Ggozo warns Ciskeians (105)

SPEAKING at the third anniversary of his coup, Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Ggozo said a combination of the ANC/SACP and National Party would produce one of the most "terrible ideologies in the world". Ggozo warned Ciskeians to guard against replacing one tyranny with another. A limpet mine exploded at a nearby electricity substation shortly before he spoke.

Sowetan 5/3/93

Star 5/3/93

Blackout after Bisho blast

An explosion rocked a substation in Bisho at midday yesterday, causing extensive damage and an electricity blackout in large parts of the Ciskei capital. The blast took place minutes before Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo took the podium in the Bisho stadium 1 km away to deliver his coup commemoration address to a crowd of about 6 000.

(105)

Limpet mine explosion

blacks out Ciskei capital

CT. 5/3/93 (KS) Own Correspondent

BISHO. — A limpet mine blasted a Bisho electricity substation yesterday afternoon, blacking out the Ciskei capital moments before Brigadier Oupa Gqozo delivered his "state of the nation" address.

Experts at the scene said if the mine had been placed properly it would have shut down the power supply to other centres, including Zwelitsha and Dimbaza.

Several thousand people were in Bisho's Independence Stadium awaiting Brigadier Gqozo's address during coup anniversary celebrations when a hollow boom sounded from a few hundred metres away.

THE man appointed to run Radio Ciskei is a former SABC journalist who has been linked to an attempt to overthrow the Transkei military government.

Coincidentally, there has also been more evidence recently of Ciskei involvement in the November 1990 coup attempt.

Coup leader Craig Duli died in the takeover bid.

Former East London television news editor Mr Danie Malan took up the post of Radio Ciskei's managing director last week. He said he was working temporarily under contract to "help out" until the position of managing director had been clarified.

The station's former managing

'Coup plotter' to run Radio Ciskei

SOUTH

6/3-10/3/93.

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director Mr Mhleli Matyila has been suspended pending the outcome of theft charges against him.

Malan and his TV crew were in Umtata when the news of the coup attempt broke. Transkei authorities accused Malan of knowing that the coup was going to take place.

Evidence in the Umtata trial of 19 of Duli's alleged co-conspirators was that they held secret meetings with Malan at his East London home in January 1990.

One of the alleged plotters, Prince Nkosekhaya Gobinca, said that two

SADF members had attended the meetings to draw up a constitution for a new Transkei government and that Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was part of the plans. Gobinca was recently jailed after a separate trial for plotting against the Transkei government.

A former Transkei security policeman, Vuhndlela Christopher Shologu, told the Umtata Supreme Court he had fled Transkei in 1987 after he had been implicated in a hit squad attack. He said he had become involved in the coup

attempt because he hoped that the charges against him would be dropped.

After the coup attempt failed, a military intelligence officer in Ciskei, a Colonel Swanepoel, told Shologu he could monitor political organisations in the Transkei.

This is believed to be Col Ockert Swanepoel, who was chief of Military Intelligence in Ciskei for about 18 months. Swanepoel left Ciskei recently and is believed to have been fired. He was replaced by his former deputy, Chris Nel.

Swanepoel and Nel were named by Ciskei dissident Colonel Gert Hugo as being one-time members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB).

Swanepoel is the latest senior security forces man with South African links to leave Ciskei unexpectedly. It is thought that Ciskei is trying to "clean out" all officers with links to South African Military Intelligence.

Asked to comment, Malan said all he knew about the claims that he played a role in the coup was what he had read in the media.

"I've never been involved in planning a coup," he said. Swanepoel could not be contacted for comment. — Eena

Gqozo speech gets blasted

POLICE are still investigating the explosion that rocked a substation in Bisho yesterday, causing extensive damage and a blackout in the capital.

Ciskei Commissioner of Police Maj-Gen Fikile Zibi said no arrests had been made and police were still investigating. *C/Press 7/13/93*

The mini-limpet mine exploded minutes before the homeland's military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo delivered a "state of the nation" speech at the Bisho Independence stadium.

Ciskei military authorities blamed the ANC's military wing Umkhonto weSizwe and the PAC's Apla. *(S/TA) (105)*

However, the ANC claimed Gqozo wanted to justify poor attendance at the rally, and the PAC said "the homelands will disappear all by themselves".

Goniwe witness

reveals secrets

Sowetan 12/3/93

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Major-General Bantu Holomisa with a document he released to the Press in Port Elizabeth yesterday. The document allegedly includes a secret plan hatched by the SADF.



EXTRAORDINARY EVIDENCE OF AN SADF plot in 1986 to "remove" then Ciskei president Lennox Sebe and form a Xhosa resistance movement against the ANC was unexpectedly handed in to the Goniwe inquest yesterday.

The evidence was submitted to the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court by former Eastern Province Command officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis within hours of Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa unveiling the same material at a press conference.

The Government said last night that the Cabinet and the State Security Council had never approved "illegal actions" or murder.

Lennox Sebe said in Johannesburg last night that he found out about the plan in 1986/87 and reported the matter to the South African authorities. After he had received another report on the matter, he contacted the South African ambassador to the Ciskei.

The ambassador told Sebe that it was a serious matter and he would leave for Cape Town to inform the Government.

The same night - February 19, 1987 - Sebe said his house was attacked.

Sebe said he was not

shocked at the revelations, which included plans for a coup against his government and to "remove" him.

"When things happen which is not part of any culture anywhere in the world, you adopt a philosophical attitude. You leave it to time because time will expose them," he said.

The inquest has now been postponed to March 29 to give Du Plessis an opportunity to apply for indemnity from prosecution before he testifies, and to allow legal counsel to study the dramatic new evidence.

Du Plessis, if granted indemnity, is expected to testify that the signal ordering

Matthew Goniwe's "permanent removal" from society was in fact a death warrant issued by General Joffel van der Westhuizen, formerly of EP Command and currently Military Intelligence chief of staff.

Du Plessis will also testify, with backing from the evidence, that orders to "remove" people were common during the turbulent 1980s and that the term meant their assassination.

The Goniwe inquest will be determining the authenticity of the documents, using a handwriting expert.

'State plot'

AT A PRESS conference yesterday Transkei leader Major General Bantu Holomisa said a secret plan was hatched by the SADF's Military Intelligence which called for Ciskei politicians to be "taken out" or "permanently removed". Called Operation Katzen, the plan was launched to ensure future white supremacy by setting up internecine conflict. It also involved the intentional springing from prison of Ciskei security chief Charles Sebe.

● Background report pages 6&7

The 'dirty tricks' trail leads to the top

W/Mail 12/3 - 18/3/93.

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The head of the Defence Force and cabinet ministers have been implicated in a secret plan to 'take out' Ciskei strongman Lennox Sebe and the creation of an Inkatha-like Xhosa force, reports

PATRICK GOODENOUGH

A LLEGATIONS of government "dirty tricks" against its opponents — including murder — have, for the first time, reached to the top ranks of the government and the military.

The documents released yesterday by Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa implicated the country's most powerful soldier, General AG "Kat" Liebenberg, ministers who were members of the State Security Council (SSC) in the mid-1980s.

Holomisa charges that this includes President FW de Klerk and former president PW Botha. The documents have also been tabled at the Goniwe inquest.

His documents indicate that Liebenberg, chief of the South African Defence Force, was aware of top secret instructions that former Ciskei strongman Lennox Sebe be "taken out" in the mid-1980s through a project known as "Operation Katzen".

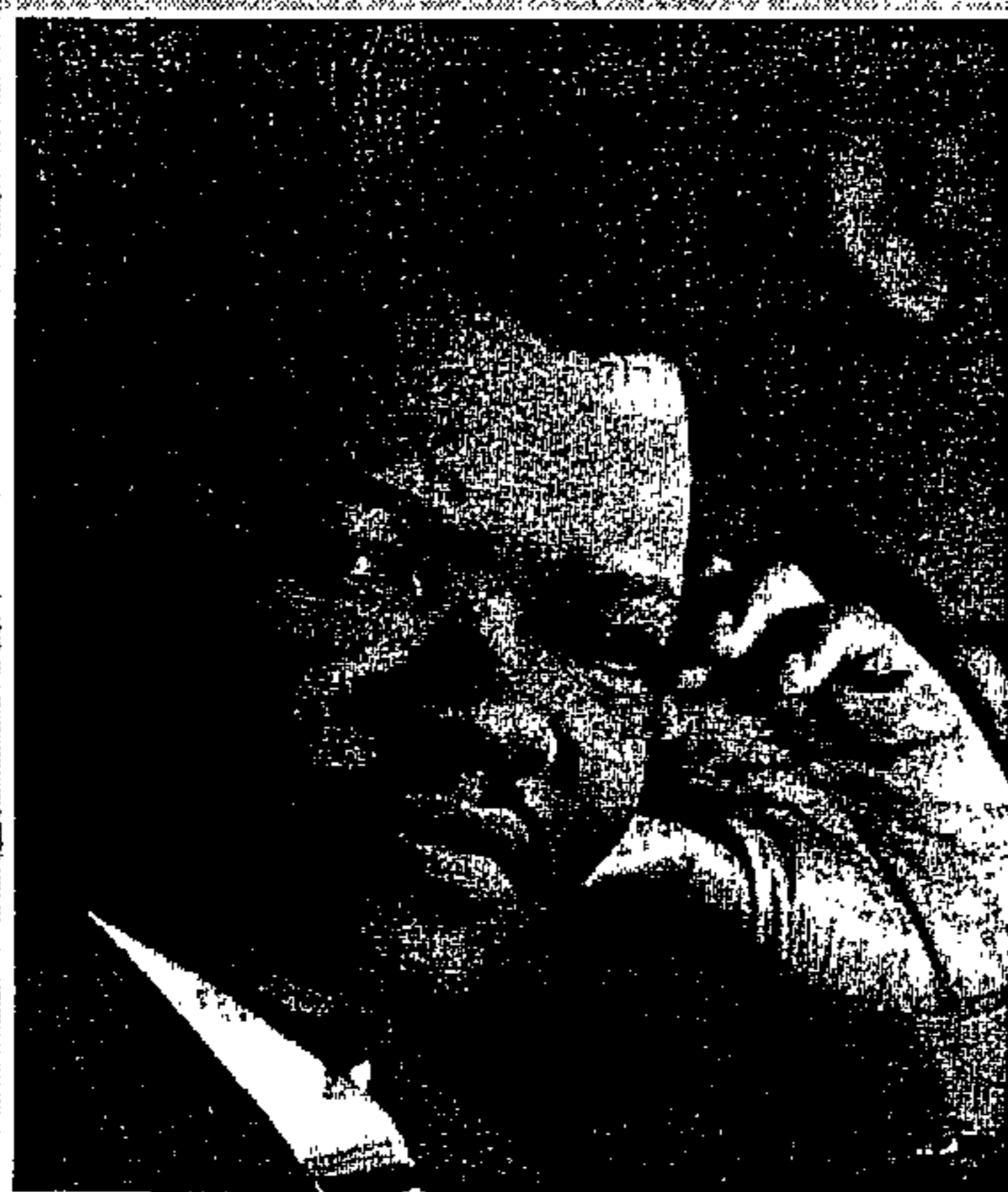
The secret state documents also say the plan was known to Delport, then a legal adviser to the officers who drew up the document, now minister of local government.

They show that General CP "Joffe" van der Westhuizen — the military's flamboyant intelligence chief who is accused of ordering the Goniwe killings — masterminded a wide-ranging plan to create an Inkatha-type movement called the Xhosa Weerstandsbeweging in the eastern Cape.

Also included in the list of figures to be assassinated is a Colonel Zibi. This is believed to be General Fikile Zibi, a colleague of Sebe's and currently Ciskei's police commissioner.

A top secret signal message sent from Eastern Province Command to Army headquarters in Pretoria — under the heading "actions currently planned" — says: "Col Zibi must disappear permanently".

The information has placed Van der Westhuizen's career on the line. Holomisa leaked the details on the



Major General Bantu Holomisa ... Why he dropped the bombshell

same day that another senior SADF officer, Colonel Lourens du Plessis — who is applying for indemnity from prosecution in the Goniwe murders — told a Port Elizabeth inquest judge that the controversial military intelligence (MI) chief had instructed him to issue a secret order that anti-apartheid activist Matthew Goniwe be murdered — his "permanent removal from society". Earlier SADF evidence had been that the wording was Du Plessis' responsibility, and only Goniwe's detention had been intended.

Ramifications of Operation Katzen — regarded as "a model to permanently clamp down on the revolution in the eastern Cape" — were so far-reaching a go-ahead from the SSC would have been imperative. The existence and execution of Operation Katzen form the basis of top-secret documents released by Holomisa, who said he had 12 more "secret files on covert activities by the South African government".

Holomisa argued that the cynical state and security force manipulation of the region was not simply "history", but

provided an insight into similar activities elsewhere and into "black-on-black violence — and could have an impact on current negotiations".

The operation was detailed in reports compiled by Van der Westhuizen for the then chief of the army Liebenberg. It was emphasised that "the actions should not be traced back to the RSA".

While its stated intentions were to stabilise a region long a thorn in the government's flesh, the operation failed and instead led to inter-homeland friction which further exacerbated regional conflict.

The plan was drawn up after Botha gave "an order that the situation countrywide be normalised by the end of December 1986", Van der Westhuizen wrote.

At the time of writing — June 1986 — it had been endorsed by Du Plessis and a Colonel Hall of EP Command, Chief of Defence Staff General IR Gleeson, South Africa's ambassador to Ciskei, General Andries van Deventer, and Delport — then University of Port Elizabeth law professor.

Holomisa's 'timing is of the essence'

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH
"PERMANENT removal" will go down in the history books as the words that haunted the government of President FW de Klerk for at least a year — if General Bantu Holomisa has his way.

Holomisa told *The Weekly Mail* that he timed the release of his secret documents — this time ordering "permanent removal" of Lennox Sebe — to coincide with current semantic bickering in the Goniwe inquest over the exact meaning of the words "permanent removal".

But the Transkei leader also let it be known that he has 12 other files detailing "dirty tricks" operations by the security forces in the eastern Cape — and the unstated message is that he is prepared to use these at critical moments in the process leading up to non-racial elections planned for April next year.

Holomisa denied timing the revelations to embarrass the government. But asked whether he intended to make public other files in his possession, he said: "We'll talk about that later. Timing is of the essence."

Holomisa's decision to release the

documents now may also reflect grassroots dissatisfaction with the ANC leadership's increasingly compromising approach towards the negotiation process.

The ANC has been in possession of the same set of documents for some time but has not made them public, presumably so as not to rock the negotiation process.

Holomisa clearly also wanted to pre-empt the possible tabling of the documents by witnesses at the Goniwe hearings.

Colonel Lourens du Plessis — a key witness in the inquest — yesterday submitted an affidavit to the inquest court which contained a number of appendices.

Louise Flanagan reports that acting attorney general for the eastern Cape, Mike Hodgson, said an initial reading of the affidavit indicated that the documents were very similar to those released by Holomisa.

Du Plessis has made it clear that General CP "Joffe" van der Westhuizen issued an instruction for Goniwe and other Craddock activists to be murdered — and it is this order that contained the words "permanent removal".

"confederation of states according to the kwaNatal concept".

By late 1987 the Border Corridor would be incorporated into "Xhosaland", which would "become an African power" and be presented to the world as a homeland success story.

A positive spin-off would be a brake on the influx of Xhosas into urban centres — particularly Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. At the same time, the planners recognised the likelihood of a "rightwing" reaction to the Border's incorporation.

"A formidable Xhosa ally for the RSA is not to be scorned," Van der Westhuizen wrote to Liebenberg. "Such a Xhosa government can be further asked to keep its people (within or outside their land) in check. Together we can better combat the African National Congress/United Democratic Front onslaught."

Other documents released by Holomisa referred to a November 1986 meeting in Msikaba, Transkei, attended by former Selous Scout and Transkei Defence Force "advisor" Colonel Roh-

Reid-Daly, Charles Sebe, his brother Namba, Van der Westhuizen, a Colonel Van Rooyen, and SAP Major Van der Merwe. The meeting assessed the situation, noting that although Charles Sebe had been freed from jail (by machine-gun-toting white men, two months earlier), other tasks of the "hard military phase" were behind schedule. These included the "permanent removal" of Lennox Sebe.

Another document, apparently in Reid-Daly's handwriting, outlines the financial and armory requirements for the attack on Lennox Sebe (Two months later Sebe's palace in Bisho was attacked in an abortive raid blamed on Transkei — as intended by Van der Westhuizen, who earlier had written that "blame for this must not be laid at the door of the RSA but ascribed to Transkei").

Operation Katzen started to collapse after the failed Bisho attack. A state of virtual war between the two homelands resulted, and Sebe became more determined to cling to power. Meanwhile, Holomisa took power in Transkei, and kicked out Reid-Daly. Because of Charles Sebe's presence as a "refugee" in Transkei, relations with Ciskei continued to sour, requiring personal intervention by Foreign Minister Pik Botha — ironic in the light of the probability that Botha, as an SSC member, was aware of Van der Westhuizen's plan. Sebe eventually fell, in March 1990.

Fiddling as Rome burns

W/Mail 12/3 - 18/3/93.

Weekly Mail Reporter
"But there was no panic whatsoever," said Momborg, adding dryly, "I haven't seen anyone committing suicide yet."

When phoned for comment shortly after lunch yesterday, hours after General Bantu Holomisa had released his damning evidence, a spokesman in the NP's information office was completely unaware of the revelations. "It is the first word I hear of it," was Pieter van Pletzen's reaction.

Efforts to locate General Kat Liebenberg also failed. His secretary was only prepared to say that the general was "uitstedi" (out of town). The call was then transferred to Major Charl de Klerk, one of the SADF's information officers.

A tense President FW de Klerk had the following to say: "If the leader of another independent state makes certain allegations against the SADF, then this department cannot defend itself, because that will involve the leader of that independent country."

"In an instance like this, the leader of this country should respond, not the Defence Force. It is an issue for governments."



Giyani College of Education Gazankulu

Applications are invited for the following posts from suitably qualified and experienced persons, regardless of colour, sex or religion. The posts are to be filled from the 19 April, or as soon thereafter as possible

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WHY would the government have wanted to "rub out" former Ciskei ruler Lennox Sebe?

Did they not successfully manipulate him to promote and sustain apartheid?

According to documents released to the press by Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa this week, Sebe was a "thorn in the side" of the government and they needed to "permanently remove" him.

According to the documents, in 1985 a State Security Council meeting chaired by then State President PW Botha took a resolution to "stabilise and normalise" the unrest situation in the eastern Cape.

A year later senior members of the SA and Transkei defence forces, including Military Intelligence chief Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen (then a brigadier) met to further discuss

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyana

clipped
14/3/93. (105)



Air the past to forget it

head in shame and beg forgiveness. It makes the back-stabbing tactics of the CIA and KGB look like a Sunday-school picnic.

These allegations are similar to those that US civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr was built up by the CIA to neutralise the militant Malcolm X. And when King was too big to handle, they "permanently removed" him from society.

Did this happen to Sebe? Was he to be removed to make way for his brother Charles?

It was interesting to hear the reaction of white listeners who called Radio 702's talk show following Holomisa's revelations. Many accused Holomisa of playing political games. This may be so, but what about the other side of the coin?

It may be hard for the government and those who benefited from the system to be reminded of the past, but for our country's conscience to be clear, we must air the past.

eliminate the man who did so much of its dirty work? Why eliminate Sebe, who said "to hell to the people of SA and the rest of the world" when they opposed his option for Ciskei independence; the dour man who ruled Ciskei with an iron fist, who would not hesitate to imprison his own family - as he did with his brother Charles.

He took no nonsense from those who opposed his rule. He banned, banished and detained scores of people. Could the government have been so ungrateful to a

man who stood against the popular might of the eastern Cape to protect and sustain apartheid? How many remember the infamous Sisa Dukashe stadium incident when his military machine brutally attacked defenceless people? And whenever his autocracy was challenged, Sebe would run to Pretoria for help. Who could imagine his protectors were all the while plotting to "permanently remove" him from society?

If the contents of these documents are true, this government must bow its

"normalising" the situation - and hatched a plot codenamed "Operation Katzen", which aimed to ensure white supremacy by creating internecine conflict. One of its methods was to "permanently remove" people who stood in the way of this plan.

One of those on the list, according to the documents, was Sebe. Inconceivable? Why would the government want to "permanently remove" its own man, whose record as a government stooge stands unequalled?

Why, indeed would the government want to

documents are true, this government must bow its

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government must bow its

Axed before he could warm his seat

THE Ciskei government axed its foreign minister Thamsanqa Linda this

week, ending his controversial career surge as swiftly as it began. *CPress 14/3/93*

The flamboyant, corpulent ticket-inspector-turned-politician first came to prominence in 1983, when he led his Zamukulungisa Party to victory in elections for the Ibhayi town council in Port Elizabeth. He pushed an anti-communist, anti-ANC, anti-sanctions line and fast won notoriety in tense times.

In 1984 Linda, then deputy mayor, moved into a house from which a widow and two children had been evicted. Early the following year the house was attacked and Linda moved into a beachfront hotel with his wife.

He was eventually fired from his position as mayor for refusing to attend council meetings.

In 1987 he was allegedly recruited by military intelligence in Port Elizabeth to participate briefly, and by all accounts not very successfully, in a scheme to sow division in UDF-supporting communities in the region.

After some time out of the limelight, Linda emerged last October when he was appointed general-secretary of the African Democratic Movement of Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo.

The ADM was set up in mid-1991, almost certainly on the advice of SA military intelligence operatives then working for the Ciskei government.

In January he was given the foreign affairs portfolio in a Cis-

kei cabinet reshuffle that saw relative moderates ousted and the introduction of new blood.

In his first public speech in this post, Linda vowed Ciskei would never be incorporated, and launched scathing attacks on Pretoria, the ANC/SACP, the UN observer mission and the homeland's courts which have recently thrown out several repressive laws. (105)

Further bluster from Linda, both in public addresses and in Radio Ciskei broadcasts, led to growing discontent in Bisho.

By last week, it became clear he was on shaky ground. At Gqozo's high-profile coup celebrations he played an uncharacteristically minor role.

The final straw appears to have been his behaviour at last

week-end's multiparty planning conference, where Linda reportedly threatened to stage a sit-in if ADM demands for recognition were not met.

He was fired from his cabinet post this week. Foreign affairs control reverts to Gqozo because of Linda's "inappropriate conduct".

A Ciskei spokesman denied a rumour that Linda was escorted by troops to the homeland's Fish River border, but confirmed he had been instructed to vacate his house in the ministerial compound in Bisho.

A government statement said Linda was "either incapable or unwilling to conform to the behaviour befitting a minister of government". - Ecna

FROM scrawled handwriting in secret army documents released in Port Elizabeth this week emerged the picture of one of South Africa's most ambitious, yet shadowy, soldiers.

General Joffel van der Westhuizen, 51, head of Military Intelligence, made the mistake of committing to paper his plan to create a semi-feudal Xhosa national state in the Eastern Cape.

It was a plan sweeping in its arrogance yet breathtaking in its naivete — drawn from the textbooks of the "total onslaught" theorists so popular in the mid-80s during the imperial reign of President PW Botha.

Gen van der Westhuizen

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN, DE WET POTGIETER and BILL KRIGE

sycophantically named his plan Operation Katzen, a reference to General Kat Liebenberg, then Chief of the Army and the man who would ultimately have to give the go-ahead.

This week, to the enormous embarrassment of the government, his deadly 1986 ramblings became public.

Doubt

A copy of his plan (copy No 2 of only two copies) was released by Transkeian leader General Bantu Holomisa at a press conference in Port Elizabeth on Thursday.

Gen van der Westhuizen was appointed head of Military Intelligence 15 months ago, but now the

fate of one of the army's fast-trackers is in doubt.

Was he the instigator and architect of the plan and was it carried out only with the approval of the army chief? Or was it approved at ministerial level?

Is the general merely a loyal soldier? Or is he, like America's Colonel Ollie North, who was pilloried by his own government for supplying weapons to Iran, merely the pawn in a political power play?

The government has refused to comment on the plan, other than to say that neither the Cabinet nor the State Security Council ever approved any proposal to overthrow Lennox Sebe.

If that is correct, Gen

van der Westhuizen and his superior embarked independently on a campaign of destabilisation, empire-building and a gross violation of territorial integrity.

There is little doubt that the man who commanded with distinction the artillery brigade in Operation Savannah — South Africa's abortive bid to prevent a Marxist takeover in Angola in 1975 — carved himself considerable powers in the Eastern Cape as commander of Eastern Province Command in the 80s.

Under his control were 30 000 trained members of the SADF as well as the voluntary members of the notorious undercover group called the Hammer Unit.

His perception of the situation in the Eastern Cape in 1986 was simple. Revolutionary forces were about to sweep away all control in the townships and even the countryside.

Gen van der Westhuizen turned to the classic anti-insurgency texts for guidance. Above all, he consulted a slim volume compiled by Brigadier CA Fraser, *Lessons Learnt From Past Revolutionary Wars*.

The key point: "That the political power is the undisputed boss is a matter of both principle and practicality. What is at stake is the country's political regime, and to defend it is a political affair, even if this requires military action."

Independent

Gen van der Westhuizen's plan centred on the "political". He envisaged a grand Xhosa homeland comprising Ciskei and Transkei which would act as a bulwark against the inroads of the revolutionaries.

He proposed that this new state be created by overthrowing Ciskeian President Lennox Sebe and replacing him with his brother, General Charles Sebe, who was languishing in prison.

So the plan had three phases: free Charles, overthrow Lennox and establish a united homeland under "moderate" black leaders.

The operation was to be

secret and it had to entail "minimum political risk for the RSA" and be executed in a way that that could not be "traced back to the RSA".

It was imperative that the vacuum left by Lennox Sebe's departure be filled immediately to prevent "counter-organisation", wrote then-Brigadier van der Westhuizen.

The choice of Charles Sebe was strange. Gen van der Westhuizen said he was a "powerful leader still enjoying a great following". To those who knew him he was a runty psychopath who was widely loathed.

The inescapable conclusion is that the plan was implemented. Charles Sebe was freed and set up business as a dissident in Transkei. Lennox Sebe's home was attacked by mercenaries operating out of Transkei, though by then Gen van der Westhuizen had left the Eastern Cape.

Suspicious

Sebe was eventually overthrown, but by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Charles Sebe attempted to overthrow Gqozo but was captured and murdered on the orders of the new Ciskeian strongman.

Gen van der Westhuizen, meanwhile, had moved on to higher things. And the Xhosa people who would flock to the nationalist flag? They are now, almost to a man, ANC.

Brigadier Fraser cautions in his manual: "Giving the soldier authority over the civilian would contradict the major characteristics of this type of war — ie, that it is a political war. It would also be self-defeating, for it would mean that the government had acknowledged a signal defeat — unable to cope with the insurgency through normal government structures, it would have abdicated in favour of the military, who at once become the prime and easy target of the insurgent propaganda."

"It would be a miracle if under these circumstances the insurgent did not succeed in divorcing the soldier from the nation."

That was the one lesson Gen van der Westhuizen never did learn.

THE PLAN THAT WENT WRONG

Naive Joffel, the shadowy supremo

105

SFTimes 14/3/93

Maverick brigadier thwarted Sebe plot

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

THE SADF's covert operation to overthrow President Lennox Sebe in the 1980s, exposed this week, was aborted when State President PW Botha was alerted to it by an intelligence agent sympathetic to the former Ciskeian strongman.

East London-based MI officer Brigadier Martinus Johan Deyzel's exposure of the plan probably saved Sebe's life.

The elimination of President Sebe — regarded as a "big stumbling-block" — was central to then Eastern Province Commander Lieutenant-General Joffel

van der Westhuizen's plan, code-named Katzen, to establish an anti-ANC "Xhosaland".

However, the military strategists did not know that President Sebe expected the February 19 1987 attack on his Bisho palace. The 22-man force, led by former Selous Scouts working as military advisers in Transkei, was repelled by the presidential guard.

A close friend of the former president said this week: "President Sebe was extremely grateful. I often heard him say: 'If it wasn't for Johan (Brigadier Deyzel), I wouldn't be here.'"

Two days after being tipped off by an Israeli "businessman" working in Ciskei at the time that an attack on him was planned, President Sebe — fearing a second attempt on his life — gave Brigadier Deyzel documentary proof of the plot. The MI agent passed the information on to Mr

Tony Botha, a George-based business consultant who he knew had high-level contacts.

Shortly afterwards, Mr Botha confirmed yesterday, he presented the documents to then Deputy Foreign Minister Kobus Meiring at a meeting in Cape Town which was also attended by East London businessmen Chris van Rensburg — managing director of Jalc Holdings, which had extensive interests in Ciskei — and Mr Lawrie Painting, a Jalc director.

"Mr Meiring almost fainted when he saw the documents," Mr van Rensburg said this weekend.

Mr Botha also took the information to President Botha. Mr Meiring was unavailable for comment yesterday.

Brigadier Deyzel, intelligence sources said, was warned by MI to stop inter-

□ To Page 2



How Sebe plot was foiled

□ From Page 1

fering in matters of no concern to him, and on March 19 1987, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok visited Bisho "to do damage control" and reassure President Sebe.

After the two-hour meeting, Mr Pik Botha said at a media conference that he had "explained the South African position very clearly to President Sebe. There is no South African government or defence force involvement (in the attack) at all".

A spokesman for Mr Pik

Botha said this week that there were so many rumours and allegations of this nature going around at that time that he could not recall the specific incident.

Yet it now appears that the operation to overthrow President Sebe was indeed scrapped.

Brigadier Deyzel was placed on early retirement. Later he was accused of bribery and corruption connected with the securing of a R27-million casino-rights deal in Ciskei.

A former colleague said this week that Brigadier Deyzel was outspokenly

critical of his superiors — particularly Admiral Dries Putter, then chief of staff intelligence — some of whom had been "mates with (former Selous Scouts commander Ron) Reid-Daly".

Reid-Daly has been implicated in the Operation Katzen file as central to the planning of the abortive raid on President Sebe's palace.

Admiral Putter told a 1989 Harms commission hearing that he had not given the real reason for pensioning off Brigadier Deyzel, as sensitive issues were dealt with on a "need-to-know basis".

He confirmed that he had addressed a memo, dated 10 days before the attack, to his MI superiors warning: "The Ciskei government allege they have information that several RSA elements are involved in the destabilisation of the Ciskei. If this is correct, it would be advisable to put a stop to it."

Also testifying before the Harms commission, Mr Painting said Brigadier Deyzel had told him of plans to attack President Sebe's palace and overthrow him.

Plotters' code of death is cracked wide open in court

By BILL KRIGE

THAD the plotters who sought to reshape the Eastern Cape been mistaken for a bunch of grey-suited bankers, Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen would have been delighted. Because that's what the current boss of MI and former head of EP Command had in mind when he gave everyone who was in the know code names to disarm suspicion.

Even people targeted for Bank Acceptance — the general's parlance for elimination — were respected staff members of the mythical firm of which he was Managing Director. In a handwritten addendum to the Holomisa Files, Gen van der Westhuizen, whose headquarters were at the Farn (Port Elizabeth) identified the Transkei's Matanzima brothers Kaiser and George (shortly thereafter jailed for corruption) as his Associate Director and Manager respectively.

Their base was the Head Office (Umtata). Colonel's Hall and More were a notch down as Associate Owner and Deputy Manager while Colonel Lourens du Plessis, now seeking to trade his knowledge for indemnity from prosecution, was Assistant Manager.

The Accountant was Charles Sebe, later to achieve Bank Acceptance at the hands of the Pensioners — the Ciskei Defence Force he once headed.

Their allies in the mid-80s were the Workers — SA Special Forces, who took orders from the Factory (Pretoria) — and the Casual Workers, drawn from the Transkei Defence Force Special Forces.

Charles Sebe's half-brother Lennox, then Ciskei's President for Life and Commander in Chief of the Pensioners, but codenamed Shareholder, was cited by Gen van der Westhuizen for Bank Acceptance.



PLANNER . . . General Joffel van der Westhuizen, whose sinister instructions are now public — to the embarrassment of the government

U

Ex-Minister's case settled (105)

AN application brought by dismissed Ciskei minister of foreign affairs Tamsanqa Linda was settled out of court in Bisho yesterday. *Sowetan*

Linda was demanding that his ministerial home and government vehicle — confiscated after his dismissal — be returned to him. *16/3/93*

An attorney representing him said the conditions of the settlement were confidential and declined to comment further on the issue.

Police probe boy's death

■ A-G to decide on prosecution of cops:

TWO Alberton policemen have been suspended following the fatal shooting of a six-year-old boy in an East Rand squatter camp in February this year.

Constables JM Deysel and SM Nkambule were suspended on Tuesday last week, East Rand police spokesman Major Ida van Zweel announced on Monday.

The two officers were allegedly firing off rounds in an open veld near the Tintwa squatter camp, near Tokoza, Alberton, when the child, Johannes Lebakeng, was struck inside a shack by a stray bullet. The incident happened at 10am on February 26, Van Zweel said.

She said initial reports that a man had got out of a blue Ford Meteor car and had opened fire on the shack had been refuted on investigation.

The police probe was continuing and the case would be referred to the Attorney-General for possible prosecution, Van Zweel said. — *Sapa*.

Cops beat 3 - Cosas

■ Mamelodi pupils allegedly assaulted while in police custody:

Sowetan 16/3/93
By Alinah Dube

THREE Mamelodi pupil leaders were allegedly assaulted while in police custody, the Congress of South African Students claimed yesterday.

Branch secretary of Cosas Mr Michael Nkosi, two other members, Mr Harold Milanzi, and Mr Philemon Mokoena sustained injuries after allegedly being assaulted by police while in custody, Cosas charged.

Police spokesman Colonel Royce Merton could neither confirm nor deny the claims yesterday. He promised to investigate.

The three pupils were allegedly arrested last Thursday night. They were each released on R100 bail at the weekend.

Six other Cosas members were allegedly arrested at the Mamelodi Magistrate's Court yesterday during the brief appearance of the three.

Out of court settlement (105)

16/3/93
BISHO. — An application brought by dismissed
Ciskei Foreign Affairs minister Mr Tamsanqa
Linda was settled out of court yesterday.

'The Lawyer' chosen to rule

w/mail 19/3-25/3/93.

105

THE South African government recently tried to replace Ciskeian strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo with the man General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen had chosen to play a key role in "Operation Katzen" — the military's bizarre plan to undermine the African National Congress in the eastern Cape in the 1980s.

Chief Lent Maqoma, code-named "The Lawyer" in Van der Westhuizen's secret documents outlining plans to set up an Inkatha-type Xhosa resistance movement, was regarded as a malleable, pro-South African choice to replace Ciskei's former president Lennox Sebe, who was to be "permanently removed" because he had become an embarrassment to Pretoria.

In the aftermath of the massacre at the Bischoff Stadium in Ciskei, officials from the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria urged Gqozo to

South African authorities are still promoting the men at the centre of

'Operation Katzen', reports

PATRICK GOODENOUGH

"take a holiday" and let Maqoma take over, a well-placed Bisho source said this week.

Gqozo had taken a Ciskeian delegation to Cape Town, where he was reportedly appalled to find Maqoma — then his manpower minister — present. The Ciskeian ruler is said to have stormed out of the meeting. South African officials followed him, and a meeting eventually took place at DF Malan Airport — without Maqoma.

But Dr Allan Sharp, head of the "independent" TVBC states desk in the Department of Foreign Affairs, has denied that either Gqozo or



Oupa Gqozo

Maqoma attended the Cape Town meeting. "I cannot imagine that the Department of Foreign Affairs would make such a suggestion to the leader of another country," Sharp said.

Gqozo was apparently incensed at the suggestion that he retire. Several days later, a mini-limpet mine exploded in Maqoma's manpower

department building in Bisho and shortly thereafter Gqozo removed Maqoma from his cabinet post.

It appears that Pretoria has tried to urge Gqozo to stand down in favour of Maqoma before. Sources say that at a February 1991 meeting in Cape Town, Foreign Minister Pik Botha took the brigadier aside. Gqozo agreed to Botha's request, but after his return to Bisho called to say he had changed his mind. Botha was furious, according to a source who witnessed the events.

Maqoma, who is understood to have a warm relationship with Botha, has displayed a remarkable ability to survive during his long and varied homeland government career.

A senior cabinet minister under Sebe, he fell out of favour with the former president in 1985, probably because Sebe resented Maqoma's "blue blood" status. Maqoma established the opposition Ciskei People's Rights Protection Party and moved to Transkei, where he was joined by Sebe's estranged brother, Charles Sebe.

After a February 1987 bid to topple Lennox Sebe and replace him with Maqoma failed, little more was heard of the chief.

Then in 1991, after Gqozo ousted Lennox Sebe, Maqoma returned to Ciskei. But he had to sign an agreement, brokered by the South African government, promising to stay out of politics.

Gqozo later appointed him Manpower Minister, probably also due to pressure from Pretoria.

Maqoma could not be reached for comment this week. The Department of Foreign Affairs did not respond to faxed inquiries, while the Ciskeian government replied: "Valid ministry comment is not available in this case as the statements quoted do not accord with a factual situation."

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

COVERT political actions designed to depose Ciskei President Lennox Sebe were handled by the National Intelligence Service, not the SA Defence Force, from November 1986.

Secret documents in possession of Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and released to the Sunday Times on Friday also reveal that top-level meetings during phase 1 of Operation Katzen included at least one Cabinet member and the SADF chief at the time.

General Holomisa first released documents from the file 10 days ago when they were filed simultaneously with the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court at the reopened inquest into the murder of Cradock activist Matthew Goniwe.

The documents expose a top secret plan — Operation Katzen — to replace Lennox Sebe with his half-brother Charles — who was pro-Pretoria — and bring political stability to the troubled eastern Cape by forming a single Xhosa statelet consisting of Ciskei, Transkei and the “white corridor”, excluding Queenstown.

Leader

Among the documents given to the Sunday Times this week is a report-back from SADF Colonel Piet Hall (senior staff officer operations at EP Command) to a Colonel Deyzel after a meeting on November 24 1986 — four months after the final draft of Operation Katzen was submitted by then EP Command OC Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen to the Chief of the Army, General Kat Liebenberg.

The memo indicates that phase one of Operation Katzen had already been activated, but says: “All political front actions (Lent Maqoma) will now be handled by NI (National Intelligence). We will continue to co-operate politically/militarily.”

Lent Maqoma was to be promoted as a black resistance leader who would support the new Ciskei leadership.

Colonel Hall's memo also says: “Our people in Pretoria are also worried about SADF involvement. We are going ahead behind the scenes, but low profile.”

The documents also re-



General
BANTU
HOLOMISA

S/Times 21/3/93

(105)

Holomisa hands over more secret documents

veal that one of the last duties performed by the architect of Operation Katzen before he was transferred to Wits Command in December 1986 was arranging a meeting of top security force officials to review Transkei's increasing concern over the plan.

The day before his December 31 transfer, Brigadier van der Westhuizen sent a secret report to General Ian Gleeson, then Deputy Chief of the Army, giving details of a prisoner exchange at Kei Bridge between Ciskei and Transkei — a move which, according to his report, was opposed by both George Matanzima and General Ron Reid-Daly.

Brigadier van der Westhuizen told General Gleeson that General Reid-Daly

he was “accused of assisting his friend Major Sandile of the Ciskei Defence Force of abducting the Sebe family”.

But another top secret document, apparently emanating from EP Command, states that former Selous Scout chief General Reid-Daly was the mastermind behind Charles Sebe's release from a prison at Middledrift and the kidnap of Kwane Sebe, son of Lennox, which was carried out by “3 Recce Commando, three Selous Scouts and one black man”.

A memo from Colonel Hall to Colonel More, headed Operation Katzen Sitrep (situation report), claims that General Reid-Daly had hired a hitman, Piet van der Riet of the TDF special forces, to get rid of Charles Sebe.

The hitman would make contact with General Holomisa's friend, Major Sandile of the Ciskei Defence Force via “our man Howse” from King William's Town.

The danger was, according to Colonel Hall, that the CDF could pick up “Howse” and pressure him into talking and “compromising both the Command and the SADF”.

Witnesses

To avoid this, Howse would tell the Ciskei authorities that Major Sandile had approached him and he had put him in touch with Van der Riet, but knew nothing more. Brigadier van der Westhuizen, who by then had been the Officer Commanding Wits Command for three weeks, had been informed accordingly, said Colonel Hall.

Attorney-General Michael Hodgen said yesterday that neither General van der Westhuizen, now head of Military Intelligence, nor former EP Command staff officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis would testify at the Goniwe inquest when it resumes on March 29.

Mr Hodgen said Colonel du Plessis — the man who sent a signal recommending Mr Goniwe's “permanent removal from society as a matter of urgency” — was still waiting for his application for indemnity to be finalised.

Witnesses who will appear next week are Adamus Stemmet, head of the State Security Council secretariat's strategic communications section, DET official J Vermaak, and Brigadier Kiewiet Geldenhuys, formerly of the SSSC.

wanted an urgent meeting to discuss Operation Katzen, which still had Transkei's support “in broad principle” but on which clarification of methods was needed.

He proposed a meeting in Pretoria on January 2 1987, to be attended by SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys, General Gleeson, a General van der Westhuizen, Vice-Admiral Dries Putter (head of Military Intelligence at the time), Colonel Hall, Colonel LJ More, the relevant SAP and security police generals, General Reid-Daly and Major-General Z Mtirara, chief of the Transkei Defence Force.

Nineteen days later, General Holomisa was detained in the Transkei for three months, during which time

FORMER state president PW Botha appears to have known about and supported Operation Katzen, the South African Defence Force's covert plan to topple the Ciskei government five years ago.

And the commanders of two notorious South African security force hit squads, the SADF's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) and the police Vlakplaas unit, were briefed on the plans.

The information is contained in documents in the Operation Katzen file, now released in full by Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

The file has been handed over to Eastern Cape acting attorney-general

PW knew of SADF plan to topple Sebe

W/M Mail 26/3 - 1/4/93 (105) (SADF)
LOUISE FLANAGAN on the new revelations about the SADF's Operation Katzen

Mike Hodgen and Holomisa said he would release the other 12 files if South Africa set up a commission of inquiry to investigate them.

The 141-page file starts in July 1986 with current Military Intelligence chief

— then officer commanding Eastern Province Command — Brigadier Joffel van der Westhuizen's handwritten plans to raid the Ciskei jails to free rebel Charles Sebe and then topple his brother Lennox Sebe's government.

It ends early in 1987 after the abortive attack on Ciskei when the operation appears to have been finally scrapped.

During the operation, the SADF was approached by Ciskei for assistance in



killing Charles Sebe. At the time, Ciskei was unaware that the SADF was backing Sebe.

"The state president (then PW Botha) is aware of the affair and may possibly use it against president (Lennox) Sebe's pressure and demands on the South African government," states a handwritten "top secret" document drafted by Colonel Piet Hall of the Eastern Province Command.

Another handwritten document, apparently drawn up in July or August 1986, lists eight people whom Van der Westhuizen briefed on Operation Katzen. They included then chief of Special Forces and commander of the CCB, General Joep Joubert, then head of Vlakplaas Brigadier Willem Schoon, Neville Hall of the National Intelligence Services, and chief of the Border region security police, Colonel Jan Griebenauw.

According to the brief minutes of this meeting, Joubert stated that phase one — which included freeing Charles and overthrowing Lennox Sebe — should be planned and implemented.

Current Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was also linked to Katzen. He was a commandant in the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) at the time.

"Gqozo will be appointed as the new chief of the Defence Force once the government has been replaced ... Gqozo was Charles Sebe's plant in the CDF during the years 1982/83. He worked with Charles in the Ciskei Security Force," states a top secret document originating from the Eastern Province Command.

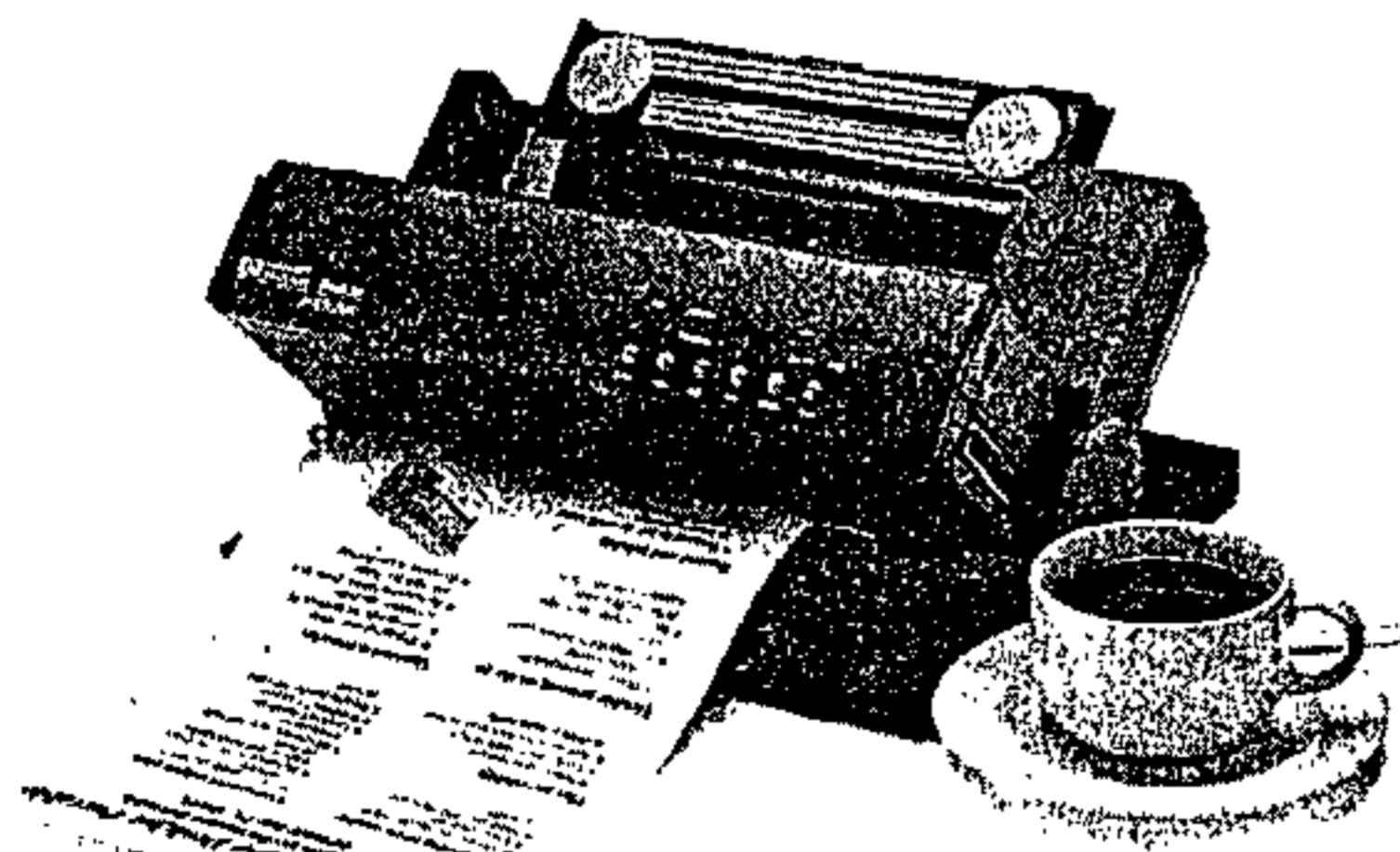
Another document, drafted by Charles Sebe, lists Gqozo among those who have "a positive outlook on a change resulting in a new Ciskei".

In a strange twist, key plotter Van der Westhuizen warned senior Ciskei and Transkei officials that no blood should be spilled in the conflict around the Sebes — less than 10 days before he himself met SADF and TDF officers to plot the coup attempt.

"The chairman (Van der Westhuizen) said that the situation existing between Ciskei and Transkei at present was serious and has to be treated as such by all concerned. No purpose will be served by blaming each other for the situation. The security forces of the countries concerned must endeavour to promote stability in the area. Armed conflict must be avoided at all cost," stated the secret minutes from the meeting with Ciskei and Transkei on November 1 1986.

Also party to the plans was then-second Lieutenant Pamela du Randt, who served at Group 8 in East London. Du Randt, now believed to be based in the Transvaal with Van der Westhuizen, was last year arrested in England while allegedly on a mission to kill police rebel Dirk Coetzee.

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Matter of fact

IN last week's article "Wheels come off the Nat machine", we referred to Hennie Bekker as National Party MP for Hillbrow. He is, of course, the NP member for Jeppe.

Oupa's a beach ... for

PATRICK GOODENOUGH
Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Cheap at the price — that's Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's new beach cottage.

He paid his government R20 700 last year for the prime 250-hectare property, including the cottage, which has stunning views of the sea and river. Farmers in the area say the land is worth at least five times as much.

Brigadier Gqozo is believed to have paid a further R47 000 after re-evaluation — but this is still far below the property's market value.

Ironically, the transaction took place not long before he appointed a committee to clean out corruption in the Department of Agriculture and gave them a specific mandate to act against officials exploiting their position to buy cheap farms.

The Ciskei government was asked to comment on the deal but — despite several attempts to obtain a response — none has been given.

The farm, New Bradford, is on the unspoiled Peddie coast and the only access route is through the Wesley base — a former military post since used to house the controversial Ciskei operation of the security company Peace Force.

1025
AKG-27/3/92
The cottage nestles at the base of a dune topped by the base. Visitors to the cottage are greeted by newly painted signs, which describe the property as a "military training area."

The initial price Brigadier Gqozo paid for the prime grazing land worked out to R50 a hectare — plus another R4 000 for the three-bedroomed cottage. Some farmers in the region reckon the land should never have gone for less than R250 a hectare.

In the motivation, Brigadier Gqozo is described as "a keen, emergent good quality livestock farmer".

The motivation adds: "The quiet and

peaceful environment within which the farm is located is conducive for the applicant to carry out his head-of-state duties and responsibilities."

"The suitability, convenience, accessibility and availability of this farm to the head-of-state will alleviate primarily (sic) the security risk to him and his family."

A document marked "secret", approving the application, was signed by Brigadier Gqozo's deputy, Commandant Silence Pita.

The motivation incorporates a value assessment of R20 764 58.

Mr Makapela has since been charged, along with his former director-general Mr Nigel Poni, with theft of government prop-

erty and misuse of government vehicles.

Last October, Brigadier Gqozo appointed an executive committee, reporting directly to himself, "to restructure and manage the affairs of the agriculture department" after extensive reports of corruption in the department. It completed its task at the end of January.

A committee member, Mr Tony Styliano, said Brigadier Gqozo had been "concerned about the way senior officials were abusing their positions to buy up land ... for weekend braai places. Positive and drastic action was needed".

Brigadier Gqozo had told the committee "not to protect anyone" and that only bona-fide farmers — or "wealthy businessmen"

who employed salaried farm managers — could buy farms.

Mr Styliano said Brigadier Gqozo had asked the committee to investigate his purchase of New Bradford. After a re-evaluation, a further R47 000 had been paid.

When Brigadier Gqozo took power in 1990, he was adamant that former President Lennox Sebe's accumulation of properties should be probed. The possibility of prosecutions was dropped after it emerged Mr Sebe had ensured each property acquisition was ratified by the Cabinet.

Mr Sebe, too, was an enthusiastic farmer. For years the local Press and glossy government publications carried photographs of Mr Sebe proudly examining maize crops or prize bulls.

File connects PW with coup plot

CI Press

28/2/93

105

FORMER state president PW Botha knew of a Ciskei plot to kill rebel Charles Sebe five years ago and planned to use the information to bring the homeland government into line.

This has been revealed in documents outlining "Operation Katzen" - which were released by Gen Bantu Holomisa this week.

The documents describe the SADF operation which sprung Charles Sebe from jail in 1986 - and the attempts to topple his brother Lennox Sebe, then president of Ciskei.

According to the documents, the commanders of two notorious SA security force hit squads - the SADF's CCB and the SAP's police Vlaskoplas unit - were briefed on the Katzen plans.

Eastern Cape acting Attorney-General Mike Hodgson has already had a look at the file and Holomisa promised to release the other 12 files on covert operations he says he has - if SA sets up

a commission of inquiry.

The 141-document file starts in July 1986 with current Military Intelligence chief - then Officer Commanding Eastern Province Command - Brig Joffel van der Westhuizen's handwritten notes to raid a Ciskei jail to free Charles Sebe and then topple his brother Lennox Sebe's government.

It ends early in 1987 after an abortive attack on Ciskei when the operation appears to have been finally scrapped. During the operation, the SADF was approached by Ciskei for assistance in killing Charles Sebe.

At the time, Ciskei was unaware that the SADF was in fact backing Charles Sebe.

"The state president (then PW Botha) is aware of the affair and may possibly use it against Lennox Sebe's pressure and demands on the SA government," states a handwritten document drafted by Col Piet Hall of the Eastern Province Command and

marked "Top Secret".

Another handwritten document, apparently drawn up in July or August 1986, lists eight people whom Van der Westhuizen briefed on Operation Katzen.

They included then chief of Special Forces and commander of the CCB, Gen Joep Joubert, then head of Vlaskoplas Brig Willem Schoon and chief of the Border region security police Col Jan Griebenaauw.

Current Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo was also linked to Katzen. He was a commandant in the CDF at the time.

"Gqozo will be appointed as the new Chief of the Defence Force once the government has been replaced. Gqozo was Charles Sebe's plant in the CDF during the years 1982/83. He worked with Charles in the Ciskei Security force," states a "Top Secret" document originating from Eastern Province Command.

In the documents, key plotter Van der Westhuizen warned senior Ciskei and Transkei officials that no blood should be spilled in the conflict around the Sebes - less than 10 days before he met SADF and TDF officers in Transkei to plot the coup attempt.

"The chairman (Van der Westhuizen) said that the situation existing between Ciskei and Transkei at present was serious and has to be treated as such by all concerned.

"Armed conflict must be avoided at all cost," said the secret minutes from the meeting with Ciskei and Transkei on November 1 1986, held at SADF's Group 8 in East London.

Also mentioned in the file was then second Lt Pamela du Randt who drafted several of the military signals in the file, who is now believed to be based in the Transvaal with Van der Westhuizen and who was last year arrested in the UK while allegedly on a mission to kill police rebel Dirk Coetzee. - Ecna

Ciskei's four-letter word returns

CISKEI has not seen the end of the Sebe family.

Namba, the eldest of the three brothers, whose fortunes have been so intertwined with those of the homeland since "independence", is back. *CIPress*

Brig Oupa Gqozo's military government has appointed him deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs. *28/3/93*

Sebe's willingness to work for a government which was blamed for the cold-blooded 1991 killing of the brother, Charles, is puzzling.

During the first two years of independence, the Sebe family ruled supreme. Lennox was president-for-life, Charles headed the feared Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (CCIS) and Namba was Minister of Transport.

But the brothers fell out. Charles was detained in mid-1983 and later charged with treason, Namba's sons, Colin - also a member of the

CCIS - and Kama were also arrested that year. *(105)*

Namba was dismissed from the Cabinet and arrested in September.

He was charged with fraud, theft and corruption, the charges ranging from "unlawfully and corruptly obtaining submissions to an act of sexual intercourse" to stealing hides and skins after animals were slaughtered at a fund-raising effort for the ruling party.

He was released on R10 000 bail and sought refuge in Umtata.

Two years later, Charles was sprung from Middledrift Maximum Security Prison, where he was serving a 12-year sentence.

Namba and Chief Lent Magoma - another senior minister who had fallen out of favour with President Sebe - joined forces in exile and proclaimed themselves leaders of a dissident movement dedicated to overthrowing Lennox.

Namba went abroad in late 1986 to raise funds for the Ciskei People's Rights Protection Party/Iliso Lomzi movement.

The two dissident Sebe brothers were present when a February 1987 attack on President Sebe's Bisho palace was planned.

The coup bid failed after Lennox was tipped off.

After Gqozo ousted Sebe in 1990, the exiled Sebes made overtures to go home.

On January 27 1991, Charles returned, together with another Ciskeian dissident, Col Mangwane Guzana.

The government claimed they were on a mission to overthrow Gqozo.

Both men were shot dead, and Gqozo confirmed he had given the order.

An inquest into their deaths is underway. - Ecna

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

or written reply:

General Affairs:

Transkei: guarantees/sureties for financial services

255. 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 Transkei in the 1991-92 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? B516E

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) R581 000 000

(b) R495 935 000

(3) No.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

Transkei: guarantees/sureties for financial services

255. 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 Transkei in the 1991-92 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? B597E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) (a) No.
(b) Yes, a guarantee in respect of overdraft facilities to the Government of Transkei.
(c) No.

2 homelands

owe R1 14bn

Political Staff

THE government granted overdraft facilities totalling R1 473 million to the Transkei and Ciskei during the 1991/2 financial year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to a question by Mr Ken Andrew (DP, Gardens), he said R1 142 588 000 was still outstanding. Foreign currencies were not involved.

Transkei's overdraft guarantee had been R892 million and Ciskei's R581 million.

3 nation

Star 1314193

Three die in Ciskei unrest

Two policemen and a young ANC supporter have been killed in Ciskei. Ciskei police said a policeman was shot dead in Dimbaza and another was gunned down outside the Potsdam police station. The ANC supporter was allegedly shot by a headman whose home he had tried to attack (105)



Sebe inquest held up again

BISHO. — The long-awaited appearance of Ciskei's Council of State chairman, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, at the inquest here on the 1991 roadblock shooting of Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana has again been delayed. (105) ARG 17/4/93

The hearing, scheduled for Monday, has been postponed because of the ill-health of the judge, Mr Justice M Claasens.

The inquest will now be held on August 2. — Sapa.

Denel rakes in net revenue of R298m

CAPE TOWN — Denel, established a year ago after the privatisation of sections of Armscor, earned a net revenue before tax and dividends of R289m, Parliament heard yesterday.

Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said Denel had a total revenue of R2,818bn in its first year, from which a R60m dividend would be paid to the state. R54,3m had been provided for income tax payments.

Introducing debate on his vote, he said six enterprises reported directly to him — Eskom, Transnet, Denel, Alexkor, Foskor and the SA Forestry Company.

Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) said it was thought National Sorghum Breweries (NSB) was in serious financial trouble. He urged De Villiers to play "open cards" with Parliament about NSB and organisations under his control.

Roger Hulley (DP Constantia) said the SA economy was one of the most overprotected, rendering an export-led recovery impossible. Eskom, a state-owned monopoly which had been described as a "Stalinist dream", had failed in bringing electricity to disadvantaged communities.

Cehill Pienaar (AVU Heilbron), said in creating bodies such as Abakor, Parliament was creating economic Frankensteins that would do the economy no good.

Services in Transkei and Ciskei 'about to collapse'

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha told Parliament yesterday the reincorporation of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei should take place as soon as possible. Services in Transkei and Ciskei were in "a state of collapse", he said.

His department remained concerned about mismanagement and misappropriation in the TBVC states. The worse this mismanagement became, the more difficult it would be to repair the damage. However, government had established controls and procedures and significant progress had been made in reducing budget deficits.

Botha said Bophuthatswana was different from the other states because it had a broader income base and it recognised the value of effective control over scarce resources.

In debate on the Foreign Affairs vote Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North) said a secret government report had apparently concluded that the four "independent" homelands were not financially viable. He called on Botha to provide more insight about the report.

He said the TBVC states were "a visible, expensive example of NP failure".

If Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope believed there was no question of the homeland giving up its independence, "what is a delegation of his doing at the multiparty talks?" Soal asked.

Political Staff

In Transkei, "a military dictator runs rings around the SA government and muddies the negotiation process by constant revelations which may or may not have any credibility. He tweaks the nose of the SA government with amazing regularity."

Botha warned SA it had to face "new dangers" in the changing world order. "With the shakeout after the Cold War, we are witnessing the world settling into a cold peace, in which the arms race is replaced by an economic race," he said.

If SA continued to consume its creative energies in internal strife and in protracted negotiation, it would fall so far behind that it might never catch up.

"We cannot compete in the new world unless our attention and our talents are directed towards providing our people with the means towards this end:

"A world preoccupied with a competition for economic success, with the important countries of the world engaged in the pursuit of higher technology, will have little time for those who fail to get their belligerent past and animosities behind them."

He said SA was now represented in 79 countries and had signed a record number of international agreements, which enabled South Africans to travel more freely.

Whites losing faith in politicians' poll

CAPE TOWN — Whites are losing faith in politicians' ability to solve their problems, two public opinion surveys have found.

Research Surveys said yesterday between 40% and 50% of black men older than 25 professed more faith in politicians. Only one in four of those between 18 and 24 were as positive; 39% of whites had less faith than they had earlier while only 19% had more faith.

The poll, among 400 white males, 400 black males and 400 white managers, was held in March.

Markinor found metropolitan adults increasingly disillusioned with SA's political leaders.

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ANXIETY OVER Apla build-up in Ciskei area

105

ARC 1/5/93

EAST LONDON. — Security forces in Ciskei are concerned about a growing presence of armed Apla cadres.

Ciskei Defence Force observers and monitors of violence in Ciskei report an increase in attacks, some against government figures, others against ANC members — with more sophisticated weapons being used.

A senior SADF source confirmed an increase in the Pan African Congress cadres in Ciskei and the border region and said that "crash courses" and "refresher training" were going on in some areas. Most of the training involved AK-47s, handguns and grenades.

"We are also aware of reconnaissance missions by Apla on government, police — including the South African Police — and military installations," said an SADF officer who asked not to be identified.

Border SAP spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Christo Louw declined to comment on what he called an "sensitive matter".

But CDF intelligence chief Colonel Chris Nel confirmed that information about six known Apla men had been passed to troops manning road blocks.

Colonel Nel said that Apla men crossing into the region from Transkei were originally from Ciskei where they "enjoy support and assistance from family and friends".

Villages in Ciskei with strong PAC support, such as Zwelitsha and Tshatshu near King William's Town, had been identi-

fied as safe areas for Apla cadres.

In Bhele village clashes between PAC and ANC supporters have claimed at least two lives.

There are indications that townships in South African territory such as Ginsberg and Duncan Village are also being used by cadres when the heat is on in the homeland.

Fears have been voiced that Apla cadres have been using Fort Hare University in Alice as a hideout from which to plan and launch attacks.

Meanwhile, operations to combat weapons smuggling from Transkei are continuing. According to Colonel Nel "the theft and selling of legal arms (within Ciskei) is seen as a real threat".

Security guards employed by the Peace Force company have been attacked and disarmed while guarding remote installations.

Police stations, particularly in remote areas, have been easy targets for guerrillas wanting to steal weapons.

Last week a constable was killed in helping to repel an attack on a police station in Potsdam. Police Commissioner Major-General Fikile Zibi said the fleeing assailants left a live handgrenade and AK-47 cartridges at the scene.

Now security at police stations throughout the homeland had been stepped up, he said. And police had been advised not to store extra arms on the premises at night unless strictly necessary. — Ecna.

The perpetrators of the attack on an East London hotel may have come from Ciskei, a political ally of the Government, rather than from Transkei, reports **PATRICK GOODENOUGH.**

SATURDAY night's Highgate Hotel assault occurred just days after South African and Ciskei security officials confirmed concerns about a stepped-up presence of Apla cadres in Ciskei — some believed to be members of a newly deployed "task force" in the Border region.

The police have stopped short of attributing the attack to Apla; the Border ANC has suggested right-wing or security force participation; the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania's (BMCA) Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) purportedly claimed responsibility; but Apla's involvement remains the most likely.

Strategic analyst and South African correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, Helmoed Römer-Heitman, said the attackers' modus operandi pointed clearly to Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Intelligence sources in the Border area say Azanla has been a non-existent force and attributed its alleged claim to have carried out the Highgate attack to an attempt by Apla to create a smokescreen — or by Azanla to make propaganda mileage.

The waters have since been further muddied by the Harare-based BCMA, which indicated it had no information on Azanla involvement.

Police in the eastern Cape have linked the Highgate attack to previous attacks at the King William's Town golf club in November and at a hotel near Fort Beaufort in March, for which Apla claimed credit.

Apla-linked attacks in the Border area have been characterised by:

- The deployment of small, closely knit teams of four or five masked men operating in civilian dress.
- The use of vehicles stolen shortly before a mission, and then dumped afterwards.
- The use of AK-47 assault

Attack bears

rifles and 9 mm pistols.

- The use of hand grenades and petrol bombs.

- The use of pieces of PVC pipe driven through with long nails, as a simple yet effective means of slowing down pursuers.

- The speedy escape across borders into homelands.

Shortly after the attack, police said they did not believe that the attackers had fled into Transkei. (To drive to the nearest Transkeian border crossing point would take almost an hour — more than enough time for police to warn the sizeable security force contingent deployed there).

Whatever the veracity of evidence pointing to Transkei's giving shelter to Apla cadres, the perpetrators of the King William's Town, Fort Beaufort and East London attacks are far more likely to have come from, and returned to, Ciskei.

Violence monitors and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) have reported a marked increase in the carrying and use of sophisticated weapons in attacks in Ciskei — some against government figures, others against ANC members.

Training

Township and village residents have noted more frequent use of pro-Apla and PAC rhetoric among youth.

A senior SADF source in East London last week confirmed an increased presence of Apla cadres in Ciskei and the Border region, and said "crash courses" and "refresher" training were under way in some areas.

A CDF source said he believed that at least four suspects in the Highgate attack enjoyed support from Ciskeian residents.

It is unlikely, however, that Ciskei will become a safe haven for Apla. The homeland's government does not have friendly relations with either the PAC or ANC, as in the case with Transkei. Ciskeian police and the CDF are co-operating with their South African counterparts in trying to apprehend the Highgate attackers and other Apla members. — Ecna. □

165
Star 15/16/93
Hallmark of Apla

ST Times CCime
115143

Ciskei's on the way up

CISKEI hopes to maintain its 30 percent annual overall growth in the tourism market this year.

According to Blacky Komani, sales manager for Ciskei's National Nature Conservation and Tourism Board, there has been a consistent growth in the number of South Africans visiting the region. (105)

"Ciskei is one of the safest destinations in southern Africa and has lots to offer tourists," he says.

Border-Kei to put its case

FINANCE Minister Derek Keys will meet representatives of the Border-Kei Development Forum in Cape Town today to discuss pleas for aid in the poverty-stricken Border-Kei region.

The meeting was to have taken place late last month but was cancelled because of the Finance budget debate in Parliament.

The forum's 38-page memorandum, sent to Finance Minister Derek Keys early this year, argues for the Border-Kei region to be treated as a special case because of its economic structural weaknesses, poverty and stagnation.

These weaknesses are attributed to factors such as political fragmentation as the region falls under the jurisdiction of three different authorities — SA, Transkei and Ciskei — historical distortions as a result of apartheid planning, and because 80% of its population lives in underdeveloped rural areas. Its gross geographic product is a mere 28% of the national

average, the document says.

The memorandum argues that the effects of historical distortions in the region will be felt particularly with the impending process of regional restructuring.

Two of the most important proposals are funding and SA's recognition of the area as a development region.

Parts of the proposed Border-Kei region currently fall under development region D and E (as recognised by the SA government), while others fall under the homeland administrations of Ciskei and Transkei. The region is inhabited by about 4,5-million people.

In an earlier interview a source in the forum said SA recognition of the proposed region would unlock its economic potential.

The memorandum sets out four areas needing serious intervention, including housing, which covers capital subsidies for land ser-

vice for 25 000 units; a loan guarantee trust fund; welfare grants for 10 500 dwellings for R5 000 each and a capital grant for R25 000 loans made available at 12% instead of 27% interest.

Agriculture and rural development projects — including labour intensive programmes, rural capacity building through training and rural banking to encourage saving supply of capital and setting up of a community fund. These projects will require R97,44m.

The other two areas are human resource development and industrialisation. The forum proposes a general moratorium on the phasing out of incentive schemes over a two-year period and that Ciskei and Transkei be given a rand-for-rand compensation for General Export Incentive Scheme.

Formed last year, the forum represents the SA, Ciskei and Transkei governments; political groups and business, regional and service organisations.

BIDM 10/5/93

JOHN DLUDLU

105

Keys 'impressed'

FINANCE Minister Derek Keys said yesterday he had been impressed with arguments put forward at the meeting with representatives of the Border-Kei Development Forum.

The meeting had discussed channels through which the forum's proposals could be handled further. Regional and Land Affairs Minister André Fourie sat in at Keys's invitation.

B1000/115793

105

Bisho — 70 to be prosecuted

(105) AR 15/5/93
BISHO. — Ciskeian Attorney-General Willem Jurgens is preparing to prosecute 70 people, most of them Ciskeian soldiers, for killing 28 unarmed ANC demonstrators during a march last September, foreign news agencies have reported.

Mr Jurgens is also considering charging former ANC intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils with culpable homicide, said a human-rights lawyer who saw the charge sheet.

Mr Kasrils was widely blamed for provoking the massacre by defying the rules for the march by some 80 000 ANC protesters into a con-

cealed line of Ciskei security forces.

But when asked whether Mr Kasrils was among the 70, Mr Jurgens said it was inappropriate at this stage to identify any of the people to be

charged before he had made a final decision.

He confirmed that most of those to be charged were Ciskeian Defence Force members.

Mr Jurgens said: "I confirm that my investigations into the Bisho massacre have reached the stage where I have compiled a draft indictment against 70 persons." — Sapa.

Gqozo gives Gqozo 'leadership' medal

BISHO. — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Ckei's military ruler, awarded himself a medal yesterday for "leadership of a high order".

Altogether, he received three medals, the Sandile medal, the Ciskeian Defence medal and the Chief of the Ciskei Defence Force Commendation medal. Brig Gqozo awarded himself the Sandile medal "for service and devotion to duty or for having displayed leadership of a high order".

The other two were awarded to him by his Minister of Defence, Colonel S S Pita following a medal parade at One Ciskei Battalion military base here yesterday. (105) CT 15/5/92

70 face prosecution

(105) CT 15/5/73

BISHO. — Seventy people — mainly members of the Ciskei Defence Force — could be prosecuted for the massacre of 28 unarmed ANC demonstrators during a march here in September last year.

Among those who may face culpable homicide charges is former ANC intelligence chief Mr Ronnie Kasrils.

Last night Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens told the Cape Times he had already compiled a draft indictment and submitted copies to the

attorneys of the people concerned.

A human rights lawyer who claims to have seen the charge sheet said the list of names included that of Mr Kasrils.

But when asked by the Cape Times whether Mr Kasrils was among the 70, Mr Jurgens said it was inappropriate at this stage to identify any of the people to be charged before he had made a final decision. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

CISKEI moved a step closer to re-incorporation this week as SA officials seconded to the homeland and development agency staff were warned to expect important changes within the next two months.

Doctors at Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital said on Friday they had been informed that they would no longer work for the Ciskei government "within the next two months".

Re-incorporation will affect them in areas such as subsidies, allowances and taxes.

A senior development organisation staffer, asking not to be named, told a similar story and embassy staff confirmed they had been told to expect re-incorporation soon.

SA ambassador to Ciskei, Pieter Goosen, responded cautiously to queries, while confirming he had called in seconded officials to the embassy.

"They were told to consider making their expertise available to a new regional government," said Goosen. "All departments must be planning for the day they are no longer seconded."

Goosen said he did not know when re-incorporation would take place.

The Ciskei government declined to respond to specific faxed questions, but denied that homeland leader Bng Oupa Gqozo would stand down soon.

Pretoria's proposals on re-incorporation are being discussed at talks between the homeland government and the TBVC ministerial committee.

Gqozo has reportedly asked his Economic Advisory Board to see if Ciskei could survive without SA budgetary aid.

But the committee has pointed to the homeland's shaky revenue position for 1992/3. SA supplied R1.26-billion (or 77 percent) of the Ciskei's total revenue in transfer payments (30 percent) and budgetary aid (47 percent).

If accepted, the government's proposals will affect Ciskei as follows:

■ Prior to legal re-incorporation, an administrator-general (AG) - possibly one of the seconded SA ministers, such as Finance Minister Vice-Admiral Marthinus Bekker - would replace Gqozo;

■ The AG will be assisted by a facilitating committee of experts, to advise him on the possible re-incorporation;

■ Nominations for the committee will be effected

BYE BYE, CISKEI

C Press 16/5/93

105

Is end near for the brigadier's homeland?

Recently, he repeated his vision of a "Kei state" stretching between the Gamtoos, Kei and Orange rivers and incorporating Port Elizabeth, East London and Bisho.

This state would have "total regional autonomy" and participate "in a federation of Southern African states".

Kei should write its own constitution, entrenching the powers and functions of the state. It should also have the sole right to tax its people and be responsible for maintenance of law and order.

Gqozo said that "any hurried, uncompromised and unilateral incorporation" of Ciskei had nothing to do with the interests of the people of Ciskei and would only advance the secret agendas of the NP and ANC.

"Re-incorporation should not take place until a future constitutional-format has been determined" at multiparty negotiations.

The ANC has been arguing for the re-incorporation of the TBVC states for years, but wants the decisions to come out of the multiparty talks.

The position of Transkei is also clouding the issue: many within the ANC support Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa in his determination not to cede autonomy to a SA still ruled by the NP government.

On the other hand, the ANC has called for an immediate interim administration for Ciskei and the resignation of Gqozo. ANC constitutional spokesman Mohammed Valli



NIGHT, BRIGADIER ... Oupa Gqozo is expected to make a dramatic exit.

Moosa has said the organisation and the government were close to agreement on TBVC re-incorporation.

The scheduling of the establishment of the multiparty Transitional Executive Council for the end of May is putting on the squeeze.

Moosa said the TEC had to have jurisdiction over SA "as it was in 1910".

The government agrees that the homelands cannot participate in the TEC while they are still independent. Meanwhile, legislation is being prepared to allow De Klerk to re-incorporate the TBVC states by proclamation once multiparty agreement has been reached.

It will be introduced before the end of the parliamentary session. - Ecna



EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

A TOP South African official sent to Ciskei to curb the spendthrift ways of the homeland government quit in disgust because he could get no co-operation from military ruler Brigadier

Oupa Gqozo.

Dr Arnold Pretorius, a senior official in the Department of Finance, was appointed Ciskei's Finance Minister after a deal struck between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Brigadier Gqozo.

In terms of the deal, Brigadier Gqozo agreed to implement strict financial control and accept the appointment of South African officials to key posts in return for extra funds.

Measures

But Auditor-General Hendri Kluever has told Parliament's joint committee on public accounts that Dr Pretorius quit after a year because of the lack of financial control.

The committee was hearing evidence on mismanagement of funds given to the TBVC states.

After the hearing the committee ordered that measures be reviewed to bring homeland spending under control.

Finance man quit Ciskei, in disgust,

STONES 16/5/79

105

According to evidence given to the committee by Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans, agreements between the government and the homelands allowed for a budgetary task team to draw up proposals, which were submitted to a structural adjustment committee.

The South African Government then approved the budgets. Mr Evans was adamant that the TBVC states did not spend outside the allocated budgetary amounts.

But what is evident is that, despite the joint committees, meetings, budgetary agreements and threats, once the South African government hands over the money there is no control over how it is spent.

To show that this was the case, Mr Kluever compared his office with the audit department in Transkei.

The South African audit department, he said, employed 1 000 people to audit a budget of R130-billion.

Transkei employed 250 people to audit a budget of just R5-billion — and it hadn't published a report for six years.

After he resigned last year, Dr Pretorius sent a 22-page report to then Finance Minister Barend du Plessis outlining the reasons for his decision.

His complaints included: ● Brigadier Gqozo promised chiefs he would provide them with cars, despite there being no provision in the budget for these. He reserved the right to

give cars only to those chiefs who supported him. Later he arranged for his chosen chiefs to get cars without a deposit.

● While visiting a squatter camp, Brigadier Gqozo promised inhabitants houses. A total of R3-million, which should have been used to develop site-and-service schemes in the homeland, was used for this purpose.

● Brigadier Gqozo arbitrarily and against Treasury opposition gave Ciskei directors-general a pay hike.

● The homeland's leader disbanded its commission for administration without informing his ministers. Settling up the commission was one of the conditions South Africa insisted on when agreeing to

give him extra funds.

● Despite complaints from Dr Pretorius that the homeland civil service was too large and that civil servants were lazy, abused drink and were often absent from work, Brigadier Gqozo refused to listen.

● The brigadier established a newspaper, the Border Post, to rival the Daily Dispatch, using the "Sebe Fund" — money expropriated from the former homeland leader, despite studies which showed the project was unviable.

While the ministers council agreed with the studies, Brigadier Gqozo did not.

Salaries

One edition of the newspaper appeared. It flopped and cost the fund R200 000. The Sebe Fund was also used to bankroll an internal air service, which was simply not viable, according to Dr Pretorius.

● Consultants employed by the homeland were paid exorbitant salaries. One, who received R15 000 a month, was supposed to work for 10 days a month, but never did. Dr Pretorius said that when he attempted to renegotiate conditions with contractors, he was prevented from doing so.

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STimes 16/5/93
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Association to ballot SABC staff on strike

LLOYD COUTTS

THE SA Broadcasting Staff Association (Sabsa) is to conduct a strike ballot at the SABC after reaching deadlock on salary increases last week.

The deadlock was reached after a conciliation board meeting last week. *BLOM 17/5/93*

Sabsa vice-president Anton Meyer said in a statement at the weekend SABC staff members were demanding a 10,3% salary increase, while management refused to negotiate more than 7,5%.

Meyer said the public corporation had reported a R64,1m surplus in the last financial year, and all indications pointed to an even larger profit in the first five months of the new financial year, started last October.

Sabsa's membership had accepted an 11% pay hike last year and had demanded just over 10% following an undertaking by SABC CE Wynand Harmse that "all SABC staffers will share in the wealth generated through the restructuring of the corporation".

Meyer said the SABC should be capable of increasing staff salaries by as much as 13% without any harm to the corporation's financial integrity.

Meyer also questioned the proposed enlargement of the SABC board, saying the 10 current non-executive members were paid a total of R367 000 in the 1991/92 financial year, a 17,6% increase over the previous year. This was in addition to the remuneration paid to five executive members.

A panel of jurists is expected to conclude interviews with prospective candidates for the 21 to 25 available board posts today.

The panel, headed by Codesa judges Ismail Mahomed and Piet Schabert, is required to make recommendations to President F W de Klerk before the end of the month, when the term of the current board expires.

Eighty-six candidates were short-listed and interviewed at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.



Soldiers face Bisho charges

BLOM 17/5/93
BISHO — Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens was preparing to prosecute 70 people, most of them Ciskeian soldiers, for the massacre of 28 ANC demonstrators during a march on Bisho in September last year, foreign news agencies reported last week.

Jurgens was also considering charging former ANC intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils with culpable homicide, a lawyer who saw the charge sheet was quoted as saying. *105*

Kasrils was widely blamed for provoking the massacre by leading 80 000 ANC protesters into a line of soldiers. — Sapa.

news in

Sowetan 11/5/93

Soldiers face charges

CISKEI Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens is preparing to prosecute 70 people, most of them Ciskei soldiers, for the massacre of 28 unarmed ANC demonstrators during a march on Bisho in September last year, foreign news agencies reported.

Jurgens was also considering charging former ANC intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils with culpable homicide, a human rights lawyer who saw the charge sheet was quoted by the agencies as saying. (105)

Kasrils was widely blamed for provoking the massacre by defying the rules for the march by leading some 80 000 ANC protesters into a concealed line of Ciskei security forces.

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Bisho charges still to be decided

No final decision has yet been made on the prosecution of 70 people implicated in the Bisho massacre of at least 28 demonstrators, according to Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens. However, Jurgens said it was "inappropriate to identify individuals at this stage".

The preliminary indictment lists 70 people, including ANC and SACP leader Ronnie Kas-

riels, and 69 members of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF).

The first accused is the field commander — a lieutenant-colonel — of all CDF personnel deployed on September 7 1992 who allegedly acted beyond his authority by:

- Not ordering troops to fire only single shots at a break-away group from the stadium.
- Allowing troops not to shoot

at demonstrators other than those in the breakaway group.

- Allowing grenades to be fired.

According to the indictment, the officer requested permission by radio from CDF deputy commander Colonel Dirk van der Bank to fire on a break-away group, led by Kasriels.

Van der Bank relayed the request to CDF commander Brigadier Marius Oelshig, who gave

permission for single shots to be fired at the group.

The indictment said permission to order CDF troops to shoot was "obtained and given on false information". It was preliminary recommended that the lieutenant-colonel be charged with murder, attempted murder and culpable homicide.

According to the draft charge sheet, Kasriels is to be charged with culpable homicide and was "the direct precipitating cause of the shooting".

The indictment said that by leading the group out of the stadium, Kasriels: "... outflanked not only the Ciskeian Police ... neutralising them as the primary law enforcement agency, but also the personnel of the National Peace Secretariat who were in front of the police line, thus bringing the group into direct and sudden confrontation with the CDF".

Abuses in ANC camps possible, inquiry told

By Mokone Molete

The ANC's head of security during its years in exile yesterday admitted that human rights abuses could have taken place in the organisation's camps, but said this was not normal policy.

Mzwandile Piliso told a commission of inquiry led by Dr Sam Motsuenyane that the ANC had a code of conduct which did not encourage the use of torture to obtain information.

Admitting, under questioning, that abuses could have taken place, Piliso explained that the organisation operated under what it perceived to be conditions of war. He said many agents (of the South African Government) presented problems to the ANC.

"Under normal circum-

stances these agents were interviewed, except in 1981 when we heard that there was a plan to overthrow the leadership of the ANC. In that instance there were cases of people being manhandled."

He pointed out that those under his command were expected to adhere to a strict code of conduct which discouraged abuses.

Referring to Angola's infamous ANC Quatro camp, linked to many allegations of torture, he said a tribunal set up by the organisation to review complaints had been slow to act, due to work pressure.

Earlier, former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo told the commission that he never found the Quatro camp to be a bone of contention among inmates.

Negotiations at critical juncture

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Negotiations enter a critical phase today with the start of the first substantive constitutional talks in the resumed negotiations process.

The meeting of the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre will discuss preliminary reports from seven technical committees.

These reports deal with constitutional matters, including self-determination and the form of state, violence, a transitional executive council (TEC), fundamental human rights during the

transition, an interim constitution, independent media, electoral commissions and the repeal of discriminatory laws.

A proposal by the committee on constitutional matters that a regional commission be formed to determine the boundaries of regions is expected to be discussed in the 26-party negotiating council.

The negotiating council will have to decide today how these reports are to be discussed.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has cautioned that no decisions, "with a few exceptions", will be taken.

Participating groups have to

submit their submissions to the technical committees by 5 pm tomorrow and the discussions will be open-ended until all submissions have been received.

Negotiators believe that the value of the submissions is that parties will now be forced to make their positions known publicly.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has indicated that his organisation will table a resolution today on the Joe Slovo assassination plot.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander predicted a heated debate on the reports from the technical committees on the TEC and constitutional matters.



I nursed my hostage. Bantlwin

Prosecution 'negative'

CISKEI'S military Council of State yesterday granted unconditional indemnity against criminal prosecution to all people involved in the Bisho massacre of ANC demonstrators on September 7 last year.

The council said criminal prosecution "would simply impact negatively on the multiparty negotiation process and will be prejudicial to the spirit of reconciliation prevailing at these discussions".

Twenty-eight people were killed when Ciskeian security forces allegedly

opened fire on demonstrators who marched from King William's Town to the Ciskeian border. 19/5/93

The military council's announcement comes days after Ciskei's Attorney-General said he was formulating charges against 70 people, most of them Ciskei soldiers.

ANC and SA Communist Party official Mr Ronnie Kasrils, who with other ANC leaders led the march, was also reportedly among those to be charged.

— Sapa.

Star 19/5/93

Anger over massacre indemnity

Political Correspondent

The ANC today slammed Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's decision to unconditionally indemnify those who took part in the September 7 Bisho massacre last year, and said it still expected those involved in the shootings to be prosecuted.

Commenting on Gqozo's announcement yesterday that those involved in the killings would not be charged, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation found the Ciskei leader's decision "unacceptable".

Twenty-eight people were killed when Ciskei security forces opened fire on mem-

● To Page 3

Star 19/5/93

ANC angry over indemnity

● From Page 1

bers of the ANC-led tripartite alliance who had marched from King William's Town to the homeland's border.

In a statement yesterday, the Ciskei Military Council of State said "a decree granting unconditional indemnity to all persons who took part in the encounter between the Ciskeian security forces and demonstrators at Bisho on September 1 1992" had been issued.

The council said the prosecution of those involved would "simply

impact negatively on the multiparty negotiation process and would be prejudicial to the spirit of reconciliation".

The Military Council's announcement comes days after Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens said he was formulating charges against 70 people — most of them Ciskei soldiers — involved in the massacre.

Niehaus today said all those who were involved in the massacre, including the officers who had given orders to shoot, had to be investigated so that they could be "brought to book".

Gqozo struts his stuff

By LOUISE FLANAGAN:
East London

IN what was probably the last military medals parade in Ciskei last week, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo handed out 61 decorations — and kept another three for himself.

Pressure has been mounting on the homeland to accede to reincorporation into South Africa.

Although Gqozo resigned from the military last year he appeared wearing a ceremonial uniform.

Citations for the medals were written in such a way that civilians also qualified. Recipients included minister of defence and only survivor (besides Gqozo himself) of the original military council, Colonel SS Pita; CDF chief, Brigadier Dirk van der Bank; five officers seconded from the South African Defence Force; three serving SADF members; the entire council of state and Gqozo's personal pilot.

Two officers previously linked to the luring back to Ciskei of rebel Charles Sebe, shot dead by Ciskei forces in 1991, were also decorated.

They are retired military chief Lieutenant-Colonel HJ Poyo and Lieutenant-Colonel MA Kula.

CDF chief of operations Colonel Horst Schobesberger, whose car was blown up shortly after the September Bisho massacre, received three medals, as did the officer believed to be the main accused in the draft charges resulting from the Bisho massacre, Commander of 1 Ciskei Battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel AV Mkhosana.

Ciskei's chief negotiator at the multi-party talks, lawyer Mickey Webb, got a "Chief of the Defence Force Commendation" for "operating in support" of the CDF.

Citizen Force member and lawyer Major Dave Scrooby, who assisted in the internal military inquiry into Ciskei rebel Colonel Gerrie Hugo, also received an award.

About the only man who didn't get a medal was former CDF commander Brigadier M Oelschig, who was fired in November following clashes with Gqozo. — Ecna

●See PAGE 8

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's decision to indemnify 69 security force members implicated in last September's Bisho massacre may be an attempt to avoid a mutiny in his army — the remaining bastion of what little support he commands.

Ciskei Attorney General Willem Jurgens this week finalised a lengthy investigation and drafted a "pre-final" indictment naming 70 accused.

Besides African National Congress national executive member Ronnie Kasrils, accused of leading a breakaway group of protesters through a gap in barbed wire towards the town centre, the others are all Ciskei security force members. Chief accused was a lieutenant-colonel, believed to be the commander of 1 Ciskei Battalion, who was to have been charged with murder, attempted murder and culpable homicide.

The ink had hardly dried on the paperwork when Ciskei's Council of State decided at a special session on Tuesday morning to pass a decree granting all the men — including Kasrils — unconditional indemnity.

Jurgens has declined to comment on the decree other than to say that he would uphold the law. An inquest is expected to take place.

Jittery brigadier

backs off on Bisho

W.M. and 21/5-27/5/93
105
Fearing a mutiny in the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has

decided not to prosecute soldiers involved in the Bisho massacre.

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH and LOUISE FLANAGAN

A trial of a sizeable proportion of the small and embattled Ciskei Defence Force was bound to have repercussions. A senior Ciskei military source said this week the prosecutions could spark off a mutiny.

Gqozo had assured the CDF no soldiers would face charges, and it was with this understanding that troops handed over their weapons for ballistics testing, he said.

The impact of the massacre on CDF morale was profound. Soldiers, whether involved or not,

were vividly aware they would at some time have to return to the very communities represented at the Bisho march.

The shooting triggered an unprecedented cycle of retaliation and counter-retaliation, with homeland officials and security force members the prime targets. Within days the death toll on both sides mounted. Last Friday Gqozo announced that 96 soldiers' homes had been torched and there had been 46 armed attacks on soldiers.

Gqozo will not have forgotten that his predecessor, Lennox Sebe, was ousted by officers fed up at being used to oppress their own communities.

While the CDF may only boast several thousand men, it only took a handful to seize key points in Bisho in March 1990.

Gqozo's latest decree may at best have won a reprieve. Lawyers in the region are certain to challenge the decree in terms of the homeland's Bill of Rights. Earlier this year the Bisho Supreme Court overturned a decree passed by Gqozo exempting him from having to testify in court, finding it incompatible with the Bill's protection of the right to equality before the law.

Jurgens' investigation followed a recommendation by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that the AG of Ciskei "should investigate criminal charges against any person responsible for death or injury of any person shot ..." during the incident.

The Goldstone Commission's inquiry into the massacre found that the conduct of Ciskei troops, irrespective of whatever criticism may be levelled against the African National Congress, was "so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's own version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers".

Neither Gqozo, who is CDF commander in chief, nor the then seconded chief of the CDF, Brigadier Marius Oelshig, were among those to have been prosecuted. Also in the clear was Colonel Horst Schobesberger, CDF chief of staff operations.

Apart from the lieutenant-colonel, three others who did not fire a single shot but would have faced charges are Kasrils and two top homeland police officers — believed to be the operations chief and the South African-seconded head of the stability unit. The three would have been charged with culpable homicide.

The 66 remaining accused are all soldiers. They include five men who fired two light machine guns from the parliament building roof; five off-duty soldiers who fired at the demonstrators; and 10 non-commissioned officers who, "while duty bound not to permit troops under their command to open fire, or to continue firing, without a specific order to that effect having been given by their superior officers, permitted the said troops to open fire and to continue firing at the demonstrators", according to the indictment. — Eena

Indemnity decree slammed by ANC

Star 21/5/93

105

EAST LONDON — The ANC has warned Ciskei soldiers and policemen indemnified this week from possible prosecution over their involvement in the September 7 Bisho massacre they could still face charges.

The ANC rejected a Ciskei decree granting unconditional indemnity, saying it reserved the right to prosecute culprits "when the right time comes".

It regarded the decree, which came shortly after an announcement that charges were likely to be brought against 70 Ciskei soldiers and policemen and former ANC chief of intelligence Ronnie Kasrils, as fraudulent.

The ANC said the Indemnity Law, passed by a special session of the Ciskei Council of State, underscored the need for

the speedy re-incorporation of the homeland states.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa called on the South African Government to distance itself from the indemnity and to bring to court seconded South African officials allegedly involved in the incident.

Said Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo last night: "The right of anyone who wishes to institute civil action for personal suffering of any description has not been contaminated in any way.

"It is significant that some of the most vociferous in their condemnation of the decree are themselves beneficiaries of indemnity legislation enacted by the South African Parliament."

Released former Minister denies committing murder

Star 21/5/93

105

DURBAN — Indemnified former KwaZulu deputy interior Minister Samuel Jamile maintains he did not commit the murder for which he was convicted two years ago.

Speaking from his herbalist shop in the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi, Jamile (63) believed that had his application for leave to appeal been granted, the case would have taken a different course.

Jamile and five other prisoners were released this week after they qualified for political

prisoner status in terms of the Further Indemnity Act.

He said he would stay away from politics and concentrate on healing people.

On violence, Jamile said he had always advocated non-violence even before he was jailed.

"I have always preached peaceful negotiations even before I was arrested.

"The world knows who said freedom would be gained by the use of burning tyres and matches. I have never said that." — Own Correspondent,

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CISKEI FM 28/5/93

Indemnity boils (105)

The decision by Ciskei military dictator Oupa Gqozo to indemnify 70 people who were to have been charged in connection with last year's Bisho massacre has heightened tensions in the homeland. There were reports this week of renewed rebellion against Gqozo and the stepping up of a

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FM 28/5/93 (105)

systematic campaign of attacks on tribal headmen appointed by him.

On the advice of the Goldstone Commission, Ciskei acting Attorney-General Willem Jurgens investigated the Bisho killings and drew up a preliminary list of 70 people to be charged. The list comprised ANC firebrand Ronnie Kasrils, who led the charge of marchers which is believed to have sparked the shootings, and 69 members of the Ciskei security forces.

But a special session of Ciskei's ruling council decided "provisionally" to indemnify the 70 in the interests of negotiation, which it said could be affected by a trial. Gqozo's opponents were outraged by the move and warned that a future government may decide to go ahead with prosecutions.

The level of violence in Ciskei increased dramatically following Chris Hani's murder and there are fears that the indemnity could push it even higher. The number of petrol-bomb attacks on the homes of headmen and their supporters rocketed last month. At a special meeting late last month the headmen called for a meeting with Gqozo and appealed for military protection.

Most headmen appointed by Gqozo when he reintroduced the headman system two years ago (he scrapped it in 1990 soon after taking power) support the dictator's political party, the African Democratic Movement. ■

Nats the mother of all ARG woes ARG 29/5/73 Holomisa

PRETORIA. — The forces fighting for change in South Africa must concentrate their efforts on the National Party, "the mother of all adversity, affliction, woes and tribulation", says Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

Addressing students and workers at Medunsa University campus near Pretoria yesterday, General Holomisa said the negotiation process was vulnerable to the machinations of the system since there was no independent body or forum serving as a deadlock-breaking mechanism in the event of a stalemate.

The question of negotiations and modalities for the formalising and adoption of a new constitution was now the most urgent and pressing issue, he said.

Concerted action among the "oppressed people", with sustained international pressure against the South African government, would remain of crucial importance throughout the negotiation process.

General Holomisa said the NP was delighted with the right wing and its provocative marches and flaunting of lethal weapons in public.

"And when pressure is exerted on the Nats to yield to the majority demands, it cites the white right as a principal reason for its intransigence to concede."

The NP alluded to the white right wing's capacity to unleash violence on a vast scale that could be matched by its rivals in the liberation struggle, he said.

"The right wing does not act only on its own... it is switched on and off like a tap by the government through the department of Military Intelligence.

All resistance movements, whether black or white, collaborated with Military Intelligence to delay the advance to democracy in South Africa.

"The Kwazulu, Bophuthatwana and Ciskei governments are being carefully manipulated and monitored by MI in Pretoria to assist the government and conservative whites in their resistance to the advent of democracy." — Sapa.

Outcry over Gqozo's CPM

W/maul 4/6-10/6/93

(105)

By CHRIS MABUYA: East London
THE new Christian People's Movement in the Ciskei has been strongly attacked by organisations in the Border region.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo launched the Christian People's Movement (CPM), a new government-aligned organisation, at his farm over the weekend, to replace the defunct African Democratic Movement (ADM).

Border African National Congress media officer Mcebisi Bata described the move as Gqozo's final admission of defeat in trying to present the ADM as a genuine political party.

Bata said the formation of the CPM was a trick to present the new movement as one rooted in religion. "The ANC is convinced that Christians as well as people of other religions will see through this ploy and reject Gqozo's scheme," he said.

The ANC warned that "such shadowy parties" would emerge as the country prepares for the election campaign as in Namibia.

Bata said that it was not the time "for shadowy organisations. Now is the time for real movements that have fought for decades to end injustice and oppression in our country" — Enews

Indaba at Bisho

EAST LONDON. — Ciskeian military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront held talks yesterday at Bisho.

(105) ARG 5/6/93
Their meeting followed a wreath-laying ceremony for victims of the Highgate Hotel attack in East London.

General Viljoen also addressed a meeting at the Orient Theatre with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche. — Sapa.

Gqozo nuzzles up to Volksfront

Sunday Times Reporter

THE new political movement set up last week by Ciskei strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has moved swiftly to forge links with the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront.

On Friday — just 48 hours after the Christian People's Movement was formed — Brigadier Gqozo held talks in Bisho with former SA Defence Force chief and Volksfront executive member, General Constand Viljoen. — (105)

General Viljoen flew to the Ciskei capital from East London, where he and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre Blanche shared a platform on Friday night.

He was accompanied by Mr Riaan van Rensburg, who with his brother, Koos — a spokesman for the Volksfront — runs the Pretoria-based consultancy, Multi Media Services, which Brigadier Gqozo has used

in the past. The CPM is set to replace the African Democratic Movement in Ciskei.

But unlike the ADM, which claimed to be a non-racist national organisation of moderates, the CPM is based on the idea of a united Xhosa nation within Brigadier Gqozo's proposed Kei region.

This is in line with the Volksfront's ideology, Mr van Rensburg said.

"We consider ourselves allies in the whole process of negotiations and on the idea of separate states," Mr van Rensburg said of Brigadier Gqozo and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Ciskei ruler's overtures to the Volksfront have stunned senior officials in his administration.

"Even members of the inner circle did not know about it. It is the strangest thing. It appears to have been an overnight decision," said one.

MK cadre 'linked' to Apla gang

W/Mail 1116-17/6/93
By PATRICK GOODENOUGH:
East London

A HIGHLY trained Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadre hiding in Transkei may have links with a "freelance" gang wanted by the police for four major Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla)-linked terror attacks in the Border region.

And Border police official Lieutenant Colonel Christo Louw said the same gang "may be linked" to a bungled attempt last month to abduct an exiled fugitive wanted by the Transkei government, in which Transkei intelligence agents have been implicated.

In January the Ciskei government alleged that Apla, MK and Transkei Defence Force members had met in Umtata to plan joint strategies against Ciskei and kwaZulu. The parties concerned called the claims "propaganda".

But now police investigations are

pointing to possible unofficial collaboration in the Border area between at least one MK guerrilla, Transkei intelligence agents and Apla cadres — and that the motive may be mercenary.

Intelligence sources and political analysts have long propounded the theory that the "Apla campaign" took off in the eastern Cape last November after one or more experienced MK guerrillas joined forces with Apla cadres.

This would explain why the eastern Cape terror attacks — which claimed 11 lives — were more spectacular and different in style to Apla activities elsewhere, which have been mainly assaults on policemen and farmers.

Furthermore, not a single Apla suspect has been arrested in the region for the attacks, despite two major police swoops nationwide — a fact which seems to support the theory of a single, highly profession-

al and possibly "freelance" gang operating outside normal political structures.

Ciskei authorities, who are looking for the gang leader for his alleged involvement in attacks on police stations and the killing of four Ciskei policemen in Mdantsane last August, believe the gang may be offering its services for hire.

Allegations have been made against the gang leader by an alleged MK member, Wonga Tyutu, who was interrogated after being arrested by the South African Police in Cape Town.

The African National Congress' Border spokesman, Mcebisi Bata, confirmed that the man named as the gang leader was an MK member from the region, but said he was "politically mature enough not to engage in such activities". The man "feared for his life" because of the publicised allegations against him, Bata added. — Ecna

I was not involved, MK man tells Ciskei

Express 12/6/92

AN Umkhonto weSizwe cadre wanted by the Ciskei authorities in connection with the killing of five policemen and theft of security force weapons has denied the charges.

Nthaba Ngumbela said in a telephone interview from Transkei this week that he was a loyal and disciplined member of the ANC and MK and at this crucial moment in our struggle, when our people are longing for freedom, it is not possible I would be involved in the killings going on in our country." (2/1)

He said: "I was never involved in any attacks on the Ciskei homeland."

It has also been alleged that Ngumbela was associated with suspected Apla guerrillas who police believe were involved in Border terror attacks.

He denies knowing the individuals named. He said SA and Ciskei were trying to "make up stories, after the Highgate (Hotel) and (King William's Town) golf club attacks, because they had no information" (105)

He said the claim was an attempt by "puppets like (Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa) Gqozo to make links between MK and Apla and Transkei activities".

"I have no contact with any members of Apla. There is no link whatsoever between MK and Apla."

Allegations about Ngumbela's involvement in a gang called "Uhuru" were made in a statement by Wonga Tyutu - an MK member and alleged member of the group - who was arrested in Cape Town late last year.

According to Tyutu's statement, the group had shot a Ciskei policeman in Mdantsane last August, before fleeing by car to the Transkei border. En route they were involved in a firefight with SA Police. Tyutu also alleged the group had bought weapons from a Transkei Defence Force soldier.

Ngumbela dismissed Tyutu's statement as the result of lengthy incarceration and possible torture.

He confirmed that he was "well trained in various fields of operations", saying this was why Gqozo was "worried" about him.

Ngumbela, originally from Alice, said he was now staying in the Transkei. He now fell under the command of the senior MK commander in the homeland, Mike Dalindyebo. - Ecna

STimes
3/6/93

MK cadre claims he's a 'fall-guy'

BY JOHN ANDREW

AN MK cadre claimed this week that he was being set up as a "fall-guy" by the police and military in the Eastern Cape.

Mr. Nthaba Ngumbela, 29, who is in hiding in the Transkei, said the allegations that he was linked to attacks against policemen and civilians were made by officials who were "trying to find someone to blame".

Police and military sources had claimed that Mr Ngumbela knew a suspect linked to both the King William's Town golf club attack and Highgate Hotel massacre, and could assist their investigations.

Mr Ngumbela — said to head a gang suspected of killing four Ciskei policemen last year — insisted he was innocent of all allegations.

(105)

Toll climbs to 33 as Natal violence rages

B/Day 22/6/93

DURBAN — Violence raged through Natal townships at the weekend, with deaths of 13 people in two separate attacks near Port Shepstone on Sunday taking the weekend toll in the province to at least 33.

Seven people died in East Rand violence and two in the eastern Cape.

A Natal-based peace accord spokesman said: "This has been one of our bloodiest weekends."

In the Port Shepstone killings on Sunday night, three homes in the Newtown and Lusaka areas of Murchison were attacked by gunmen.

Police spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said four balaclava-clad men dressed in trenchcoats attacked a home in the Lusaka ward about 7pm, killing six people.

Then, in nearby Newtown, two homes were attacked at 8.40pm and another seven people were killed.

Two people were injured. Police found spent 9mm cartridges at all three places, but could not say whether the attacks were related.

The ANC claimed most of the dead were its supporters or members. ANC southern Natal regional executive member Dr Siyabonga Cwele said: "It looks as though someone is trying to destabilise the area."

In Johannesburg, the ANC's national working committee said yesterday it would send national executive committee members John Nkadimeng and Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim to Natal to investigate.

The attacks were timed to coincide with the negotiating council's announcement this week of an election date, the ANC said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party had no immediate comment. — Sapa.

Ciskei army officers held for 'coup plot'

B/Day 22/6/93

EAST LONDON — Four Ciskei army officers were arrested over the weekend in connection with what sources close to the homeland's military said was a coup plot.

The men were held "as a result of conduct prejudicial to good military discipline," government spokesman Cedric Harrop said yesterday. "They are detained in military barracks and will be dealt with in terms of the

military code of conduct." Sources close to the military said the coup attempt was to have taken place on June 16. One of those involved was a bodyguard of homeland leader Oupa Gqozo, they said.

The sources said the soldiers were unhappy about the September 1992 Bisho massacre in which homeland troops opened fire on an ANC protest march, killing 29. — Reuter.

Arrests made

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Retiring early *Biday*
24/6/93
SEVEN senior Ciskei government officers accepted early retirement packages yesterday, it was announced in Bisho. They included the directors-general of finance, manpower, public works and the Council of State. A spokesman said the move "provided an opportunity for some restructuring and promotion of efficiency in departmental services" (105)

Gqozo's second farm

Sowetan 25/6/93

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo bought the 443ha farm for R41,782 (105) This week the government advertised for tenders to buy state farms in the Peddie district, restricted to Ciskei citizens who are farmers or intending Ciskeian farmers who are presently not possessed of farm land".

Gqozo now owns at least two farms, New Bradford on the Peddie coast, and Blacklands near King William's Town.

According to deeds office records, the Blacklands deal was finalised late last

1980s, a Zwelitsha MP was accused of

running a vigilante gang there. Much of the planning for the operation which resulted in the killing of dissidents Charles Sebe and Mangwane Guzana in January 1991 took place there, according to evidence at the inquest. — *Echa.*

1991

financial institution for low-income earners

Ciskei 'coup plot' soldier in court

Sowetan 28/6/93

105

ONE OF FOUR CISKEI defence force members placed in military detention last week, reportedly on suspicion of plotting a coup, will appear in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court today.

Ciskei's Council of State asked Attorney-General Willem Jurgens to investigate whether or not the four should be prosecuted.

Jurgens confirmed last Friday that Lieutenant Mlamli Archibald Futshane would face a charge provisionally stated as mutiny.

The officer initially believed to have led the dissident group, Colonel Michael Nomtoto, will not be charged. Neither will two unnamed non-commissioned officers.

■ DISSIDENT GROUP One of four placed in military detention:

The four men were arrested last week for what a government official would only call "conduct prejudicial to good military discipline".

Despite government denials, it is reliably understood the four soldiers were suspected of plotting to end the rule of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — by arresting him. They were alleged to have called for an interim administration, pending a negotiated settlement.

The group was reportedly concerned about how far Gqozo had moved from the original position held

by the defence force when former president of the homeland, Chief Lennox Sebe, was overthrown in March 1990.

Nomtoto is an army chaplain and spiritual adviser to Gqozo. Late last year he sought refuge at Mount Coke after his church at Ndevana was burnt down by suspected anti-Ciskei government elements.

Council of State officials last Friday did not respond to faxed queries about prosecutions of the defence force members. — *Eena*.

Monday June 28 1993 SOWETAN

NEWS Judge Goldstone

Top Ciskei govt man on theft charge

Sowetan 28/6/93

THE deputy director of the Ciskei Council of State and a former acting managing director of Radio Ciskei, Mr Mhleli Matyila, and three other men pleaded not guilty to a charge of theft in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court on Friday.

The other accused are Colonel Andrew Nkqubela Bunguza (42), Lieutenant Mfusi Michael Meli (34), both of the Ciskei Police, and a government clerk, Mr Mncedisi Myoyo (26).

Charges against one of the original accused, Lieutenant Dennis Basil Mrasi (42), were withdrawn by the Attorney-General and a new accused, Robert Duyn (52) of Estuary View, Beacon Bay, East London, was added to the list.

All the accused were served with the indictment and the case was transferred to the Bisho Supreme Court for hearing between September 13 and 24.

The State alleges the accused were party to and or associated with a scheme to steal blank cheque forms from the government, to fill out and forge the cheque forms to appear as good and valid cheques and to present such cheques for payment.

The accused had on an unknown date before November 26 last year allegedly unlawfully removed five cheques from the safe where they were kept at the finance division of the Ciskei police.

The State also alleges one of the stolen cheques was presented for R995 784,75 payment at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange branch of the Standard Bank around December 8 last year.

Certain queries regarding this cheque were raised and subsequently it was discovered it had been stolen. The money was not paid out.

Matyila also appeared alone in the same court on another theft charge involving R987 466 of government money. He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to August 2. — Sapa.

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B/Dam 29/1/93
Ciskei wants 3 recalled

PRETORIA was considering a demand by Ciskei for the immediate recall of three senior SA officials seconded to the homeland, Foreign Affairs spokesman Jacques Malan said yesterday (105)

The homeland has asked for the immediate removal of Finance and Development Minister Marthinus Bekker, Treasury Secretary E J van Wyk and Transport director-general J B M van der Berg.

Gqozo 'wants officials from Ciskei'

CISKEI's request for seconded SA officials to the homeland to be recalled was part of a process of rationalisation and restructuring, a Bisho official said yesterday. (105)

But an SA government source said Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo was attempting to replace Finance Minister Marthinus Bekker, Treasury Secretary E J van Wyk and transport director-general J B M van der Berg with Ciskeian officials.

The source said Gqozo believed Ciskei officials had the expertise to run the homeland's finances.

Press liaison officer for Ciskei's

B/Day 30/6/93
LLOYD COUTTS
and ADRIAN HADLAND

Council of State Cedric Harrop said the request was part of the homeland's continual review of its administrative efficiency.

A spokesman for the SA Department of Foreign Affairs said no decision had been made on Ciskei's request that the three be recalled by July 1.

The government source said the incident would probably lead to a meeting between Ciskei and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Commonwealth of
Virginia

PRIVILEGE
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FOR NONE
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2617E RANDOLPH AV
ALEXANDRIA

Star 30/6/93
SA officials asked to leave

Two more seconded South African officials working for the Ciskei government are to leave at the homeland's request. Ciskei has asked for the "desecondment" of secretary to the Treasury Ernest van Wyk and director-general of transport J B van der Berg. — Ecna. (105)

NEWS IN BRIEF

8/Day 2/7/93
Pik's request to Ciskei

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha has asked Ciskei to reconsider its request for the removal of the homeland's seconded Finance Minister Vice-Adm Marthinus Bekker.

An SA official in Ciskei, Maree Wessels, said government considered it in Ciskei's best interests to keep the minister. Botha had also asked Ciskei to reconsider the removal of two other officials.

105

Gqozo drowning in gravy

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH *CIPred 4/7/93*

CISKEI military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo receives a higher salary, before allowances, than State President FW de Klerk, according to senior government sources in Bisho.

While Gqozo is said to be paid R209 000 a year, De Klerk earns R202 734. (105)

Gqozo gets an additional non-taxable allowance of R39 000, while De Klerk receives R63 000.

Asked to confirm the figures on Friday, Ciskei council of state official Cedric Harrop said: "It's no business of anybody. I can't help you."

Meanwhile, Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, is paid R150 000 a year as chief of the Transkei Defence Force and a further R19 200 as head of the ruling military council.

Last year he told a public rally he had not upped his salary since the coup which brought him to power in December 1987.

Dual standards, says Ciskei

EAST LONDON. — A decision to bar Ciskei's African Democratic Movement from the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre has been blasted by the homeland government as "a blatant show of dual standards".

Ciskei government spokesman Cederick Harrop said the ADM had as much right to be part of the process as the ANC.

"The ADM structurally is parallel to the ANC. There is no valid or logical reason why the ADM's application for inclusion should have been rejected," he said.

The ADM was one of 15 parties denied access to the negotiation process by the Negotiating Forum.

Other parties which failed to make the grade include the People's Democratic Christian Party, United Federal Party, Sindawonye Progressive Party, Reform Party of South Africa and the Green Party.

Two parties, the Volks Unity Party and the Christian Democratic Party, withdrew their applications, and the forum is still reviewing an application by the Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (Avstig). — Sapa.

(105) ARG 5/7/8

Cops blamed for cell death

105

27/7/93

Own Correspondent

ZWELITSHA. — Four Ciskei policemen were to blame for the death of a Mount Coke man, Mr Thandile Mtya, who was found hanged in a cell at Punzana police station, an inquest found yesterday.

Mr Mtya was detained on September 11 for the alleged theft of a radio/cassette player and a pistol from Sergeant Qiqile David Nikelo's car.

He was found hanged in his cell on September 13.

The magistrate, Mr Q J Qetuka, said there was no evidence that Mr Mtya had hanged himself.

However, circumstantial evidence led the court to find that Mr Mtya's death was caused by acts amounting to an offence on the part of Sergeant Buyile Notoko, Sergeant Siseko Dyasi, Sergeant Tamsanqa Kelejane and Constable Lindelo Sihomo.

Mr Qetuka said there was evidence that Sergeants Kelejane, Dyasi and Notoko were the only people who had great interest in Mr Mtya's case.

Mr Qetuka said there was substantial evidence that Constable Sihomo had allowed access to Mr Mtya.

The evidence of the district surgeon, Dr Basil Wingreen, was that Mr Mtya had sustained multiple injuries to his shoulders, legs, ankles and feet which would not have allowed him to reach the bars. Dr Wingreen therefore ruled out the possibility Mr Mtya could have hanged himself, Mr Qetuka said.

Ciskei govt 'on the verge of collapse'

105

CF 6/7/93

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's government is on the verge of collapse after the axing of about 10 top civil servants in the past two weeks, according to high-level Bisho insiders.

The latest dismissal occurred yesterday when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's chief spokesman for the past six months, Mrs Zona Richards, was sacked.

"This is at best evidence of an extremely incompetent administration," she said yesterday. She is the fourth person to have occupied this position in nearly two years.

The sources said morale in the public service was low and productivity poor. People were concerned about their jobs but still wanted re-incorporation, believing most would be retained under regional government.

They also warned of a backlash among public servants after the government withdrew from a recognition agreement with the Civil Servants' Association, which represents thousands of government workers.

Replying, Ciskei government spokesman Mr C Harrop, said: "It is not the policy of the government to become involved in contrived rumour or obvious propaganda."

Far-right ex-officer is paid over R800 000 ... but what services did he deliver?



Far right leader
General
Tienie
Groenewald

Gqozo hires ex-general to spy on SA

W/ mail 9/7-15/7/93

(105)

CISKEI has paid over R800 000 to a consultancy run by rightist ex-General Tienie Groenewald — most of it for “intelligence gathering” in South Africa.

But exactly what the homeland got for its money is unclear. One possibility, according to government sources, is that a weapons deal may have been involved. Witnesses claim to have seen dozens of AK-47 rifles delivered to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo’s own office.

See PAGE 3

Transkei plan would swallow up Ciskei

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

105

THE independent Xhosa republic of Ciskei would disappear in terms of a delimitation proposal to the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum by its neighbour, Transkei.

Transkei - often at logger-

heads with Ciskei, also proposes that its capital, Umtata, be the region's administrative capital with East London its economic capital.

Transkei said its present boundaries were a political statement of the apartheid balkanisation era.

"In order to determine

meaningful and viable boundaries for the Border-Kei area it is imperative that we revert to the historical pre-balkanisation boundaries of Transkei which evolved through a socio-economic and historical process."

The original Transkei encompassed the land from Drakensberg in the north

west to the Indian Ocean in the south-east, the Umzimkulu River in the north-east to the Kei River in the south-east.

Transkei proposes that the region be amalgamated with the Border region and Ciskei as far as the Great Fish River in the south-west and the Orange River in the north-west.

CISKEI has paid over R800 000 to a consultancy run by ultra-rightist and Committee of Generals member General Tienie Groenewald — most of it for "intelligence gathering" in South Africa.

Pretoria-based Multi-Media Services (MMS), run by Groenewald and fellow rightwinger Riaan van Rensburg, was centrally involved in the initiative that led to the establishment of the Afrikaner Volksfront, and shares offices with it.

Invoices for Ciskei's payments refer to "intelligence gathering (RSA) and situation reports" and to "travelling and accommodation for MMS directors, staff and operators".

But there may be a more sinister explanation for the payments. A Ciskei government source, who is co-operating with the South African authorities, believes weapons may be involved.

Exactly what the homeland got for its money is unclear. Officials recall that Van Rensburg used to cash cheques immediately at a Bisho bank, and take a bagful of bank notes back to Pretoria.

Ciskei's seconded finance minister, Vice-Admiral Marthinus Bekker, and director general for the council of state, Beattie Mraji, queried the MMS invoices. Mraji expressed concern in memos to Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo about the amounts and the lack of detail on the invoices.

Groenewald said early this year that the company provided a "public relations and image-building" service to Gqozo. But this does not explain the "intelligence gathering (RSA)".

Van Rensburg said this week: "The work I did has nothing to do with anyone else. If I did intelligence gathering and evaluation and recommendations and actions, I wouldn't be worth my salt if I divulged what I was doing."

He did not regard such activity as "breaking any law ... Even if I did it in South Africa, it's my right as a taxpayer."

But Ciskei has an efficient intelligence agency of its own. Besides, another homeland government has turned down MMS on the grounds that the service it could offer was both routine and "ridiculously" overpriced.

Government sources believe MMS was either taking the homeland for a huge ride, or providing Gqozo with something that couldn't be specified on invoices. Fuelling the speculation are several pieces of

Arms, Ciskei and the right connection.

W/M Mail 9/7-15/7/93 (105)

What were two members of the

Afrikaner Volksfront doing supplying

intelligence to a homeland? And what

else did Ciskei get in return for

almost R1-million?

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

evidence:

● On November 5 last year, dozens of brand-new AK47 assault rifles lay stacked three-deep along one wall of Gqozo's 20m-long office in Bisho, reported a source who saw the guns.

In the room were Gqozo, Groenewald, Van Rensburg, Gqozo's private assistant, Sam Dondashe, and plainclothes bodyguards.

Where the guns came from, or where they were destined, is unclear. On the same day, MMS invoiced Ciskei's council of state for R243 365.

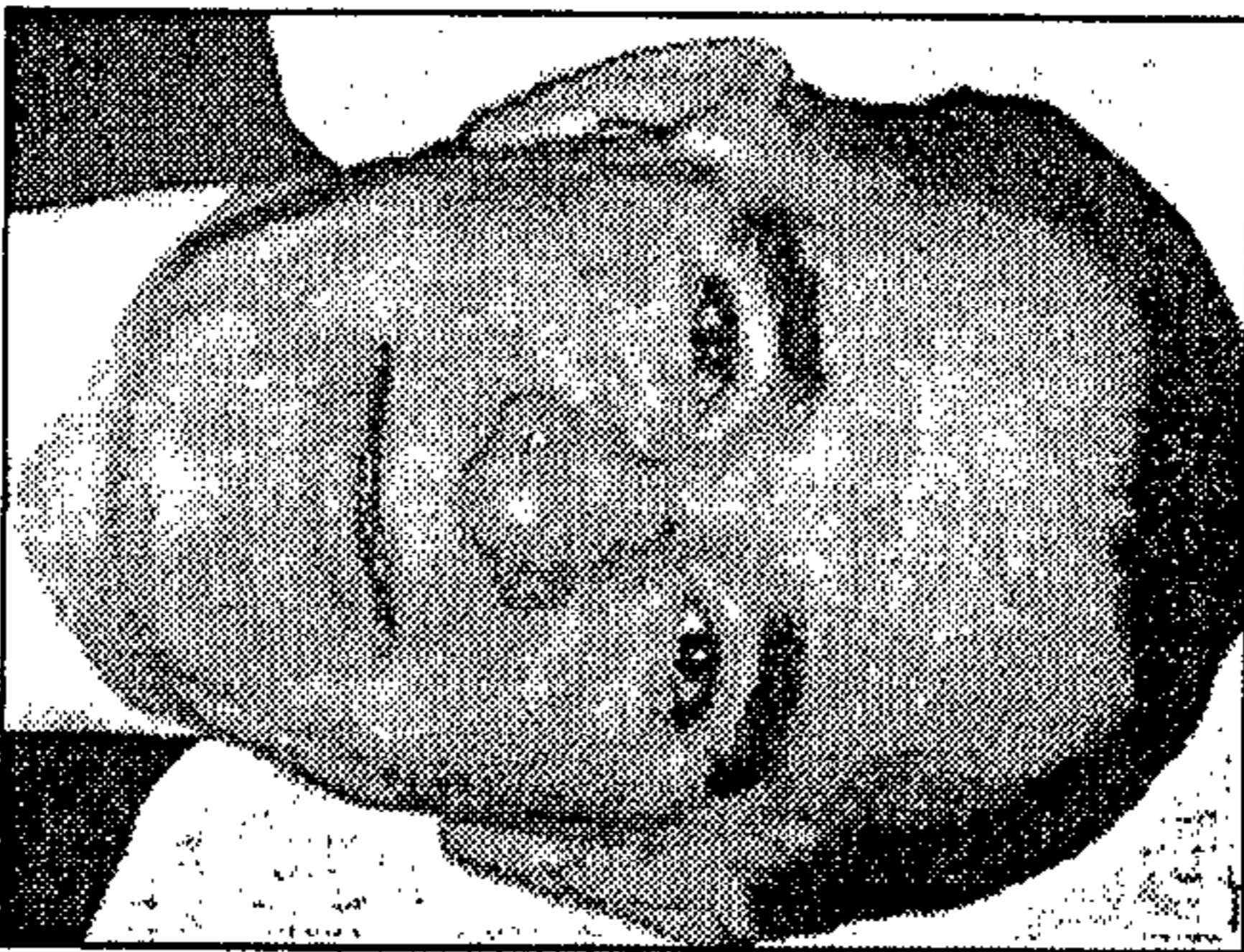
Van Rensburg this week denied any knowledge of the guns: "I'm not an arms dealer. I did not supply weapons."

● On January 4, a dozen large boxes marked "computer equipment" were unloaded from Southeast Airlines flight UZ201 at Bulembu Airport, under Van Rensburg's supervision. They were taken by military pick-up to Bisho.

The boxes were unlikely to have contained computers: MMS had provided the Ciskei council of state with computer equipment, but three months earlier. That invoice, dated October 19, claimed R162 000 for a couple of 286 PCs, a printer, two modems and an optical scanner. Mraji again queried the amount claimed, after discovering MMS had overcharged by at least R132 000. A sum of R48 550 was later recovered.

Sources said these were the only computers supplied by MMS.

Gqozo originally established contact with MMS in the aftermath of the Bisho massacre last



General Tienie Groenewald

September. The complementary political agendas of the anti-African National Congress homeland leader and *volksfronters* were obviously central to the relationship.

Moreover, the beleaguered brigadier needed strong friends, and the rightwing needed the money. Whether Gqozo also needed AK47s — and why — is less clear.

Two hypotheses have been mooted by regional South African Defence Force sources. After the Bisho massacre, the South African Police had detailed ballistics records of every single Ciskei Defence Force issue rifle fired at Bisho. During later incidents of violence, bullets fired were routinely checked against these records. Official guns could therefore no longer be used for "extra-mural activity". Ciskei could also be stockpiling

weapons for future, unspecified use. Late last year, the SADF was concerned about the growing appearance of Russian-origin weapons and hand grenades in Ciskei.

Members of Gqozo's bodyguard have been seen carrying AK47s. MMS arranged a "VIP protection" course for them, run by a former training officer for the Bureau of State Security, Major-General Tai Minnaar.

MMS, the Afrikaner Volksfront, Groenewald's Institute for Strategic Analysis and a company called Northern Office Supplies share the same telephone numbers, PO box number and address — in Val Grace Forum, Pretoria.

Groenewald's Volksfront colleague, General Constand Viljoen, has since become a partner in MMS. And Van Rensburg and his brother Kooos are spokesmen for, and assistants to, both generals. Earlier this year Gqozo suspended his government's ties with MMS after media disclosures that it had negatively influenced political developments in the homeland, widening the chasm between Ciskei and both the ANC and Pretoria.

The chill soon thawed. Late in May, Gqozo sought out Van Rensburg in Pretoria. Ten days later, Viljoen and Van Rensburg visited Bisho en route to a rightwing rally in East London, and met Gqozo alone for several hours.

In a newspaper interview around this time, Gqozo expressed his support for the concept of a white *volksstaat*, and suggested Ciskei troops would provide military support to the rightwing if required.

Several weeks after the resumption of relations, Gqozo asked Pretoria to "de-second" the South African-appointed Bekker and discharged Mraji and Richards without notice. Both officials had clashed with the brigadier over the MMS invoices. Speculation is that Gqozo has ousted the officials as a prelude for renewing ties with MMS representatives. However, Van Rensburg said this week the company would have nothing more to do with Ciskei "while I and General Groenewald are here".

The Ciskei government did not respond to faxed queries this week.

South Africa's ambassador to Ciskei, Piet Goosen, said the embassy had not been intimately aware of MMS activity in Ciskei. "We cannot prescribe to Ciskei who they can and cannot appoint," he said. — Ecna

The brigadier's in a corner

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH:
East London

WHILE the corpulent Mickey Webb presents the urbane face of Ciskei at the World Trade Centre, back in Bisho, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has become like a man possessed — throwing tantrums, and dismissing senior officials.

A whole stratum of director-general level officials has been axed, and Gqozo has demanded that Pretoria take back three top seconded men, including the finance minister.

His spokesmen claim the "retirements" of the senior officials in the council of state and departments of finance, public works, central personnel administration and manpower are aimed at "restructuring" and the "promotion of efficiency".

But government insiders tell a different story:

● The ousted officials refused to join Gqozo's political party — the tiny and unpopular African Democratic Movement (ADM) — or force staffers in their departments to do so;

● Nepotism and corruption have allegedly made a reappearance. Those whose positions related to finances had clashed with Gqozo over the alleged misuse of public funds.

Determined to hang on to political power, Gqozo has launched a two-pronged strategy: breathe new life into his declining support base, and seek new allies.

He first tried to create a constituency by setting up the ADM in mid-1991. Its links with military intelligence (MI) (the first

two general secretaries both had past confirmed links to alleged MI front companies) and dubious organising methods (intimidation, promises of handouts and threats to cut services to non-supporters) made it a non-starter. Attempts to win support for the ADM outside the region also failed dismally.

Gqozo then dabbled with religion, mooted a Christian People's Movement, but fierce opposition from churches appears to have put paid to that.

He has now returned to the ADM, which has applied for full status at the multiparty talks on the grounds that it "speaks directly on behalf of the people" as opposed to the military government, which "some people say is not democratic".

The second prong of Gqozo's strategy involves buying new friends. Its major thrust has entailed strengthening ties with the rightwing — not only through Cosag, but also directly with Volkstaat protagonists Generals Tienie Groenewald and Constand Viljoen.

At home, he is increasingly isolated. His support base is getting ever smaller. In the police force and army, dissatisfaction is growing; civil servants are growing tired of being forced to join the ADM; political and business figures in the broader region shun him.

Like a spurned child in the playground, he needs strong friends, friends who he hopes may help him fulfil what he still sees as his "responsibility to govern the region for ourselves, for our own regional benefit". — Ecna

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R102 000 for Gqozo's photo?

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo earlier this year commissioned a new official portrait from a local photographer, showing him as a civilian-style leader, at a reported cost of R102 000.

The photographer was Mr Rob Pollock who has confirmed doing the job, but says for profes-

sional reasons he cannot divulge details of the deal without his client's permission.

Mr Pollock also declined to comment on the report that he had been paid R102 000 for the work.

The R102 000 is said to have been paid out of the homeland's treasury in January this year. The amount was not included in official budgets.

Ciskei's ruler is portrayed in the new portrait in a well-cut suit sitting behind his office desk. He is smiling and is wearing metal-rimmed spectacles. The new portrait replaces an earlier one in which he wore military dress.

The photograph can be seen on the walls of most government departments. (105)

CT10/7/93

Were generals paid for guns or spying?

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

WHAT did Ciskei get for almost R900 000 from rightwing consultancy company Multi-Media Services (MMS)? Was it guns or intelligence?

It was disclosed this week that Ciskei paid R883 683 to MMS - run by prominent rightwingers Gen Tienie Groenewald and Riaan van Rensburg.

According to invoices the money was for "intelligence gathering (RSA) and situation reports", and "travelling and accommodation for MMS directors, staff and operators".

But a highly placed Ciskei government source claims the money was for AK-47 assault rifles, sparking fears Ciskei and the white right may be preparing to destabilise a future SA government. (105) (S.A.)

The source said on November 5 last year dozens of brand-new AK-47s lay stacked three-deep along one wall of Gqozo's 20-metre long Bisho office.

In the room were Gqozo, Groenewald, Van Rensburg, Gqozo's private assistant, Sam Dondashe, and plain-clothed bodyguards. 11/7/93

On the same day, MMS invoiced Ciskei's council of state for R243 365. Ciskei's seconded Finance Minister, Vice-Admiral Marthinus Bekker, and director-general for the council of state, Beattie Mraji, queried the invoices.

Mraji has since been discharged, while Ciskei is now insisting that Pretoria take back Bekker.

Van Rensburg this week denied the company dealt in weapons. "If I did intelligence gathering and evaluation and recommendations and actions, I wouldn't be worth my salt if I divulged what I was doing."

Groenewald's Afrikaner Volksfront colleague, Gen Constand Viljoen, became a partner in MMS in May. MMS chairman Van Rensburg and his broth-

■ To Page 2

Money for guns?

C. Ifred

■ From Page 1

er Koos are assistants to both generals. Riaan was at Viljoen's side during the siege of the World Trade Centre.

Earlier this year Groenewald said MMS provided a "public relations and image building" service to Gqozo. This hardly explains the "intelligence gathering (RSA)" (S.A.)

Government sources believe MMS was either taking the homeland for a massive ride - or providing Gqozo with something "unspecified" (105)

The Ciskei government has dismissed the weapons claims as "sheer fantasy", and insists it only bought "computer and associated equipment" from MMS. MMS did sell Gqozo some computer equipment - a couple of 286 PCs, a printer, two modems and an optical scanner - last October.

An invoice for R162 000 (separate from the R883 683) raised eyebrows, and Mraji insisted MMS repay R132 000. Only R48 550 was recovered.

CLASSIC AMERICAN TASTE

EKA

The picture on the right
cost the taxpayers

R102 000

That's the price of turning Oupa
the brigadier into 'Kindly Joshua'

By JOHN ANDREW

NOTHING, it seems, is too costly for Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in his quest to be seen as a popular civilian-style leader — he spent R102 000 of public money on a new official portrait.

The money went to East London photographer Rob Pollock in January, and was paid out of Ciskei treasury coffers as the expense had not been budgeted.

It is not known how many framed photographs Brigadier Gqozo got for the taxpayers' money, but a top Ciskei government source says "many".

Mr Pollock has confirmed that he did the job, but says that, for professional reasons, he cannot divulge specifics of the

deal without his client's permission.

Brigadier Gqozo's office has declined to comment.

With the picture of the "new" brigadier, his image permeates almost the entire homeland.

Most government departments are now decorated with the sensitive and caring image of the Ciskei ruler. Gone is the old picture of Brigadier Gqozo circa 1990, which showed the military man drowning in his olive green uniform, with over-sized peak cap balanced precariously on his head.

Now civil servants can sip their tea and look at the new-look, 1993-style brigadier. In the latest image, he is seated behind his luxurious desk, smiling benignly, his stern uniform replaced by a well-cut suit.

With his face framed in a

pair of metal-rimmed spectacles, he would look more at home in a boardroom than in the hot seat of homeland power.

The brigadier's aides now urge the media to call him "Mr Joshua Gqozo, a kind Christian leader", as one of his former ministers called him shortly before he was fired.



Ambrossini in bid for Ciskei citizenship

Billy Paddock 13/7/93

BILLY PADDOCK

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INKATHA Freedom Party adviser Mario Ambrossini, ejected from the negotiating forum 10 days ago because he is a foreigner, has attempted to get honorary Ciskeian citizenship to allow him to take part directly in talks.

A senior Ciskei government source said yesterday he had stopped short of formally applying for homeland or SA citizenship because he risked "losing his US citizenship, and this he does not wish to do".

Ambrossini — who has regularly been asked to leave the floor as he is not entitled to negotiate or advise — now stands little

chance of being allowed into the negotiating chamber. He has been seen to "borrow" delegate accreditation badges and sneak into the council backbenches. But Manpower Minister Leon Wessels is known to keep an eye open for these escapades and bring them to the notice of the chairman.

The Ciskei government yesterday confirmed that Ambrossini had made overtures. A spokesman for the Office of the Council of State said: "This department is able to confirm that Ciskei citizenship has

not been made available to Dr Ambrossini. The required criteria for citizenship could not be met in this case."

The government source said citizenship was not granted as no formal application was made. The forms completed by Ambrossini in effect said that "if you offer me citizenship, I will gladly accept it" (105)

It is understood that Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi have communicated over the matter, with the latter apparently conveying his appreciation for attempts to accommodate Ambrossini. (105)

Ciskei and Bop deny AWB claim

Sowetan 13/7/93

CISKEI and Bophuthatswana have denied claims by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche that the homelands had a military agreement with his organisation.

Terre'Blanche said in a newspaper interview at the weekend that the Inkatha Freedom Party, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana would form a fighting front with the AWB against the ANC and its allies.

He said the AWB had entered into a military agreement with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo last week. ~~(SAP)~~

Ciskei government spokesman Mr Cedric Harrop said the media department was "unable to trace any military treaty with the AWB and therefore cannot confirm the existence of any such document". (105) ~~(105)~~

A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana government yesterday denied Terre'Blanche's claim and said: "Bophuthatswana is committed to negotiating a better dispensation in Southern Africa, not making war."

He said it was correct that the Bophuthatswana government had had talks with the AWB. But then it also had talks with the PAC, IFP, National Party and many other political groupings across the spectrum. "But to allege that we have agreed to form a political fighting front with the AWB is totally incorrect," he said. — *Eena and Sapa.*

THE rightwing consultancy engaged by Ciskei to gather intelligence in South Africa played a major role in forming the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).
 Pretoria-based Multi-Media Services (MMS) was also the chief organiser of the rightwing occupation of the World Trade Centre recently, according to information gathered by an intelligence agency.

MMS is run by prominent rightwingers, including General Tienie Groenewald and Riaan and Koos van Rensburg. *The Weekly Mail* last week reported that Ciskei paid over R800 000 to MMS for "intelligence gathering". Speculation, rejected by Ciskei, has been that the money might have bought the homeland new AK47 rifles.

Now an intelligence report by a well-placed rightwing source for the first time outlines in detail the process leading up to the establishment of the AVF.

According to the report, in the newspaper's possession, the two Van Rensburgs were present at a meeting in Pretoria on November 25, 1991 between Afrikaner luminaries Dr Wally Grant, Professor Adriaan Pont, Professor Willie Lubbe and Professor Victor D'Assonville.

Three months later, on February 22 1992, this

Masterminds of the Afrikaner Volksfront

W. Mail 16/7-22/7/93.

Rightwingers reported last week to have supplied 'intelligence' and possibly arms to Ciskei have been identified as the prime movers behind the recent occupation of the World Trade Centre. PATRICK GOODENOUGH reports

group, called the "Committee of Four", formed the 25-strong body called Eenhheidskomitee 25 (EK25).

Although the Van Rensburgs' names apparently did not appear on the minutes of those meetings, their company, MMS, was responsible for convening them, according to the document.

Riaan van Rensburg then recruited Groenewald, an old acquaintance, who in turn brought on board generals Koos Bischoff, Cobus Visser and Lothar Neethling.

At a meeting in Pretoria on June 13 1992, EK25 expanded to EK35, and was renamed the Volkseenhheidskomitee (Vekom).

Almost a year later, a meeting was convened, once again through MMS, with invitations to General Constand Viljoen and 65 rightwing groups. The generals were asked to unite the rightwing *volk* and the Afrikaner Volksfront was formed on May 19.

In May, Riaan van Rensburg confirmed that Viljoen had become a partner in MMS.

The report names the Van Rensburgs as key manipulators in the entire process, including the decision to bring in Viljoen.

During the World Trade Centre incident, Riaan van Rensburg was visible at Viljoen's side; he is a short, bespectacled and suited man with long blonde hair.

Meanwhile, further details have emerged about the dealings MMS had with Ciskei. According to several sources, the contract signed with military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo promised a huge range of services, did not specify their cost and was "irrevocable".

The contract — signed by Gqozo and MMS chairman Riaan van Rensburg — specified that the company would provide a broad range of services, from public relations and computer networking to intelligence assessment and propaganda, over a three-year period.

Several sources recalled that Gqozo had signed the document before his legal advisor, Mickey Webb, or council of state officials had seen it. Webb could not be reached for comment.

Gqozo had also been warned by a senior South African Defence Force officer in the region to steer clear of MMS, they said.

When finance officials began querying the large invoices submitted by MMS, Gqozo at one stage tried to secure R500 000 from the homeland's defence budget to help cover the bills. Senior Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) officers refused.

MMS also wanted to install a computer in the CDF military intelligence office, to give the company access to all information available. Gqozo's then-head of military intelligence, Ockert Swanepoel, reportedly refused permission.

Swanepoel also clashed with MMS over a contract to bring in former Boss training officer General Tai Minnaar to run a "VIP protection course" for Gqozo's bodyguard.

The MI chief was fired, and Van Rensburg later boasted to council of state staff that he was responsible.

Sources said that bank officials in Bisho had queried Van Rensburg's demands that the bank immediately cash government cheques for large sums. The MMS man was apparently not prepared to have the money transferred electronically.

When Gqozo terminated the contract with MMS in February, the company billed the government for a final sum of R235 300. Council of state representatives insisted on a R30 000 refund for alleged over-payment for video work, and on a further R100 000 refund for "under supplies". MMS walked away with R105 300. — Ecna

Ciskein arms cache affirmed

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — One of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's closest associates and erstwhile general secretary of his political movement has challenged the Ciskei ruler's denial that the homeland had a cache of AK-47 rifles.

Ciskei's former Minister of Foreign Affairs and top African Democratic Movement official, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, is the first of the inner circle to publicly refute Brig Gqozo's denials.

Yesterday a spokesman for Brig Gqozo repeated his "categorical" denial that he had ever possessed or used AK-47 rifles which were alleged in recent reports to have been piled in "dozens" in his office last November.

A government spokesman confirmed that Mr Linda had "exposed himself to legal action" for apparently contravening an "oath of loyalty and secrecy".

(105)

GT6/7/93

Nongwe 'met officials in Ciskei' — claim

CT 28/1/93

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SQUATTER leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, accompanied by two Western Cape United Squatter Association (Wecusa) officials, held urgent talks with the Ciskeian military council in Ciskei at the weekend, having flown there at their own expense, the Goldstone Commission was told yesterday.

This was evidence put to the commission yesterday by Wecusa's housing director Mr Conrad Sandile, who said the meeting concerned squatter issues and the granting of dual citizenship to Ciskeians who had acquired sites in Crossroads.

Mr Sandile, dubbed the commission's "mystery man" because of his refusal to divulge the smallest personal detail, said he was approached last Wednesday by the Ciskeian consulate in Cape Town requesting "urgent talks" with the Wecusa leadership.

He said Wecusa was viewed as a "formidable presence" in the Western Cape and the meeting had been attended by several Ciskeian ministers.

He denied Wecusa had received anything in exchange for agreeing to provide the military council with the names of Ciskeians Wecusa had helped obtain dual citizenship.

Wecusa was about to develop a national structure and had hoped the meeting "would bring us some way towards adding Eastern Cape squatters to our numbers".

However, no such sanction had been obtained because the council seemed to believe "Wecusa is the personification of the ANC", he said.

Mr Sandile denied suggestions that the council had offered any military assistance to Wecusa in the Crossroads violence.

South 311-7 - 4/8/93

Gqozo's careless tongue in court

By Patrick Goodenough

WHEN Brigadier Oupa Gqozo steps into the witness stand on August 2, his lawyers will be holding their breath. The Ciskei military ruler's testimony will have been carefully prepared, but Gqozo is not known for his discretion.

It was a careless tongue that landed him in the dock in the first place.

In the early hours of January 27 1991, Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana drove into Ciskei expecting, by all accounts, to be hailed as heroes by officers who had ousted Gqozo. But the men who had approached them in Umtata a month before with this pleasing proposition were following another

agenda. Gqozo's covert intelligence unit, led by former SADF officers, lured the two home in a plot as cunning as those Sebe himself had woven as Ciskei's top policeman in the early eighties.

Instead of acclaim, the rebels were met at a roadblock by a hail of bullets. Guzana died, and ever-wily Sebe slipped away into the night.

Some time later Tese Dwashu, former chief of a nearby village, notified the Ciskei Defence Force that the wounded fugitive was hiding in a shop behind his house. (He was paid R5 000 for his trouble). Soldiers led by CDF chief



Oupa Gqozo (105)

Brigadier Andrew Jamangile arrived and called on Sebe to surrender. According to evidence from soldiers at the scene, he emerged unarmed. Jamangile told Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, a Gqozo bodyguard, to radio for instructions. The order came back, the inquest has heard, and Veliti opened fire. "He was poison," Gqozo crowed

later. "We blew him."

The inquest into the deaths began in the second half of 1989. Ballistic and medical experts were consulted, and a score of soldiers testified.

The homeland's former police commissioner, former head of military intelligence, former CDF chief, former head of staff operations and former commander of 1 Ciskei Battalion all gave evidence pointing to a carefully conceived plan.

Weight was lent to the allegation by Gqozo himself in an interview six days afterwards: "People loyal to me fooled Charles into believing he had their support. They wanted to

trap him because he had caused the country a lot of misery."

Those investigating the deaths, and those called to testify, were faced with a number of difficulties:

● A young soldier died, reportedly in a motor accident, shortly after giving evidence. A friend said Rifleman Mzwelkaya Xoyeni had been assaulted after testifying.

● The sister of a witness was assaulted by men demanding to know his whereabouts. Her brother, a lieutenant-colonel, had earlier testified that Gqozo had given direct instructions that Sebe and Guzana be killed. Her assailants said they wanted him "six feet under the ground" because of his evidence.

● A photograph of the head of the now-disbanded covert unit, Colonel Anton Nieuwoudt, was taken outside court and published in the local newspaper. His counsel protested, and the court banned the practice.

● Former police commissioner General Zebulon Makuzeni said Gqozo had initially refused to allow investigating officers to question "certain people" among them Veliti.

● A video-recording taken at the roadblock was found to have been destroyed, and the court had to make do with an edited version.

● Gqozo tried repeatedly to dodge appearing. He submitted three affidavits, variously saying he was too busy to give evidence, denying ordering the deaths, and arguing that his order to troops to "search and destroy" did not necessarily mean Sebe should be killed.

Finally he issued two decrees exempting him from having to give evidence in all court and quasi-judicial proceedings. Early this year Ciskei's Appeal Court threw them out.

The outspoken brigadier-turned-civilian is being haunted by his choice of phrase "search and destroy".

In one subsequent affidavit he argued it was an accepted military term devoid of "all the emotional connotations which members of the press and others who are opposed to my government have sought to attach to it".

In one recorded press interview, the transcript of which has been accepted undisputed by the court, he said: "I said search and destroy when you find him. So they did exactly that. It was an operation to take him (Sebe) out. So I don't see why we should regret it." Assisted by a justice-able Bill of Rights, Ciskei's courts have since late last year been flexing their muscles. Temporarily stripped of the self-imposed trap-pings of state, Gqozo faces a battle. A Ciskei Government official, Mr Cedric Harrop, declined to comment. — *Gene*

By Patrick Goodenough

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South 317 - 4/8/93

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Soldiers led by CDF chief

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Oupa Gqozo (105)

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Elusive Gqozo to testify at slain rebels' inquest

By JOHN ANDREW

CISKEI's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, takes the stand in the Bisho inquest court tomorrow in an investigation into the deaths of two Ciskei rebels.

On January 27 and 28 1991, General Charles Sebe — brother of deposed Ciskei president Lennox — and Colonel Onward Guzana were killed in a Ciskei Defence Force operation.

The brigadier has admitted issuing a seek and destroy order and, in interviews after the events, he boasted of "taking out" General Sebe. Since then, however, he has expended enormous energy to stay out of court.

First he supplied the court with affidavits claiming he was too busy to

appear, but denying he had ordered the deaths of the rebels. Then he issued two decrees designed to prevent him being called before any court. But the homeland's Appeal Court set these aside, compelling him to give evidence in the inquest.

Brigadier Gqozo was due to take the stand in April, but the presiding judge fell ill.

The brigadier's court appearance tomorrow comes at a troubled time in his administration.

There are rumblings of discontent in his civil service and security forces, he retains few political allies and Pretoria is more than a

little concerned at reports of widespread corruption and maladministration in Ciskei.

Evidence presented in the past two years has implicated a covert intelligence unit, International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Services, in an alleged conspiracy to lure General Sebe and Colonel Guzana back to Ciskei.

Witnesses have testified that the two rebels, believing they were returning to the homeland to take power following a successful coup, walked into a trap.

Colonel Guzana was killed at a CDF roadblock on January 27. General Sebe, who escaped from the roadblock, was gunned down after surrendering in the village of Gubevu.

ISKEI GAVES

COPROPS' AK-47S

C-Press 1/8/93

CISKEI government representatives handed out AK-47 rifles to Port Elizabeth security policemen with instructions to target anti-Bisho elements, a former homeland minister has claimed.

Former Ciskei Foreign Minister, Thamsanqa Linda - now a bitter enemy of military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo - said six AK-47 rifles and ammunition were handed over in his presence at his official house in Constance Road, Broadwood.

The claims come hard on the heels of allegations that Gqozo bought quantities of AK-47 rifles from a rightwing consultancy, Multi-Media Services.

Linda said the arms were handed to two security policemen, whom he named, as well as six township youths in August.

Approached for comment, one of the policemen named denied knowledge of the guns, but confirmed he knew Linda.

The policeman is notorious in the area and was involved in several court cases in the '80s arising out of a number of incidents of violence against activists, leading to at least one conviction.

Eastern Cape police spokesman Capt Lisbe Vermculen said the police "strongly reject the allegations", which it "viewed in a very serious light". The police appealed to anyone with information regarding the claims to supply them with a statement.

Ciskei government spokesman Cedric Harrop has not responded to queries faxed to him in Bisho, but shortly after the fax was sent off, Gqozo, in a Radio Ciskei monologue, warned listeners that Linda would soon be making public allegations about "certain incidents which he has been very vocal about and which he knew about during his term of office".

"This man swore allegiance to the Ciskei people... that he would keep all the secrets of the state to himself, and that he would never - even if he left the government service - speak about anything that was revealed to him in confidence."

■ Meanwhile reports that Gqozo was seen with representatives of rightwing Pretoria-based "consultancy" Multi-Media Services (MMS) and dozens of new AK47s last November, have caused a stir.

The ANC, DP and NP have issued strongly-worded statements in response to the reports, with the DP calling for the Goldstone Commission to investigate the claims.

Where the guns came from, or where they were destined is unclear. On the same day that they were seen, MMS invoiced Ciskei's council of state for R243 365.

The homeland said claims that it bought weapons from MMS were "sheer fantasy". MMS has denied any involvement in weapons sales. - Ecna

(105)

P.T.O. 7

On Monday Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo will be called to account before an inquest into the death of two of his political enemies. It may be the biggest crisis of his erratic 40-month rule. PATRICK GOODENOUGH of Ecn reports.

Sebe reaches out from grave to haunt Gqozo

CIPress 118193

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INQUEST ... Brig Oupa Gqozo to appear.

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Instead of acclaim, the rebels were met at a road-block by a hail of bullets. Guzana died at the scene, and the ever wily Sebe slipped away into the night. Some time later Tese Dwashu, a former chief of a nearby village, notified the Ciskei Defence Force that the wounded fugitive was hiding in a shop behind his house. (He was paid R5 000 for his trouble).

Soldiers, led by CDF chief Brig Andrew Jamangile, arrived on the scene and called on Sebe to surrender. According

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The order came back, the inquest has heard, and Veliti opened fire.

"He was poison," Gqozo crowed later. "We blew him."

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believing he had their support. They wanted to trap him because he had caused the country a lot of misery."

Investigators have faced difficulties.

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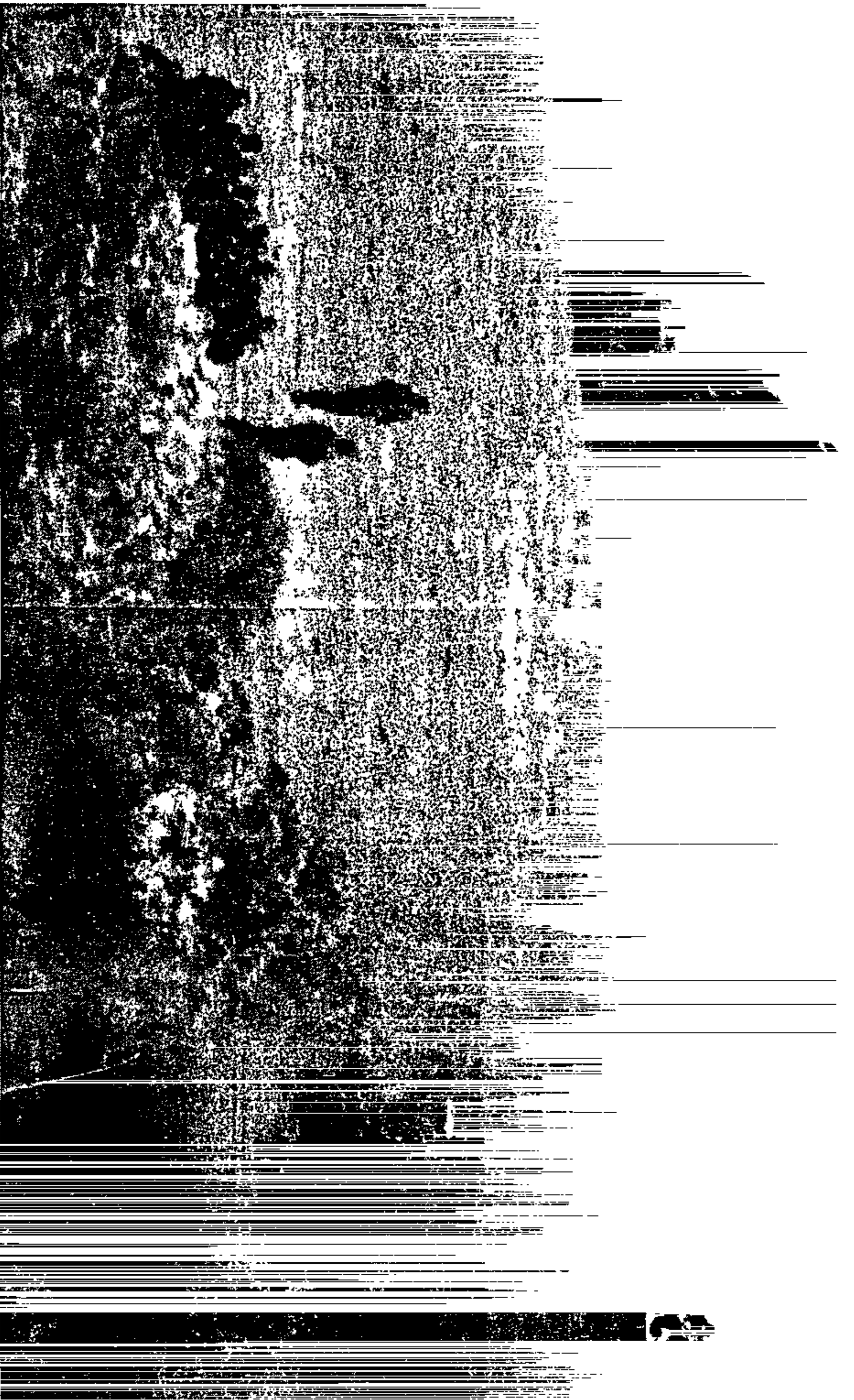
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EVIDENCE . . . Members of Brig Oupa Gqozo's secret militia are trained at the secluded Wesley military base after calls by Cosag to establish their own private army.

Gqozo loyalists trained as militia

C/Press 1/8/92

CISKEI has trained and armed at least 100 young men to form the nucleus of a secret militia to support the government of embattled ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo.

The move coincides with calls from his allies in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) for the establishment of their own private armies.

Peace monitors and other observers have expressed fears the move may lead to an upsurge of violence in the area.

The militiamen were recruited by rural chiefs and headmen who comprise the unpopular local government arm of the Ciskei government, and who are closely associated with Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM).

Violence

This month at least three batches of recruits have reported to an office in Bisho manned by ADM officials. They were taken in government vehicles to the secluded Wesley military base on the Peddie coast.

Gqozo owns a coastal farm and cottage.

adjoining the base.

Training was conducted by Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) officers, for periods ranging from one to three weeks. The emphasis was on firearm use, although a brief physical training component was included.

The trainers are believed to be CDF members Maj Mzumanda, Lt Mfeki, Sgt Dyosi, Sgt Bonile and Sgt Mankeya. It is understood the scheme was devised by Ciskei's military intelligence chief, Chris Nel.

After the course, some recruits were issued with Portuguese-made G3 automatic rifles and ammunition. They returned to their various areas.

It is not clear for what purpose the militia has been trained, but the ANC and others have expressed fears that they could cause violence.

The militia is unlikely to form an official part of the CDF, as the SA government is known to have refused to bankroll further TBVC army intakes.

In a recent letter to Gqozo from prominent ADM figure and government official Namba Sebe, reference is made to a private militia

solely answerable to Gqozo.

Headmen are prime targets of opponents of the homeland administration. Of 198 appointed last year, six were killed, 36 lost homes in arson attacks, and 39 resigned fearing for their safety, according to government figures.

Previously, headmen were guarded by CDF troops and by members of the controversial security company Peace Force, which is also based at Wesley.

But Peace Force manager Trevor Taylor said he knew nothing about a militia being trained there.

He confirmed that the CDF used the shooting range, and said night shooting exercises had also been held over recent weeks.

ANC Border media official Mcebisi Bata confirmed having received reports that "a number of unemployed youths and criminals are being recruited and trained by the Bisho administration to carry out attacks against ANC activists throughout the region".

Thamsanqa Linda, a former ally of Gqozo's, now bitterly opposed to him, warned in a radio interview this week that "secret training" was

taking place, and that attacks could be expected soon.

Border-Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee director, the Rev Eddie Leuw, confirmed he too had received reports about the training, and expressed deep concern.

Sue

Inkatha leaders recently threatened to form a private army on the grounds that Umkhonto weSizwe still exists. Afrikaner Volksfront head Gen Constand Viljoen also called for his supporters to arm themselves.

The Border ANC has called for the Goldstone Commission to investigate the alleged involvement of the Ciskei government in violence.

Inquiries to the CDF were referred to the council of state.

In response to faxed queries, Ciskei council of state spokesman Cedric Harrop would only say: "If anything is written that is not 100 percent in accordance with the truth, we will sue." — Eena

NEWS FEATURE *Indiscreet Brigadier Oupa Gqozo may have painted himself into a corner*

Latest crisis for Ciskei's Sowetan 3/8/93 vulnerable leader

■ **LOOSE TONGUE** 'He (Charles Sebe) was poison. We blew him'.

105

W

HEN BRIGADIER Oupa Gqozo stepped into the witness stand yesterday, his lawyers held their breath.

The Ciskei military ruler is not known for his discretion.

It was a careless tongue that landed him in the dock in the first place.

In the early hours of January 27 1991, Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana drove into Ciskei expecting, by all accounts, to be hailed as heroes by officers who had just ousted Gqozo.

But the men who had approached them in Umtata a month before with this pleasing proposition were following another agenda. Gqozo's covert intelligence unit, led by former SADF officers, lured the two back home in a plot as cunning as those Sebe himself had woven when he was Ciskei's top policeman in the early 1980s.

Instead of acclaim, the rebels were met at a roadblock by a hail of bullets. Guzana died at the scene, and the ever-wily Sebe slipped away into the night. Some time later Tese Dwasbu, a former chief of a nearby village, notified the Ciskei Defence Force that the wounded fugitive was hiding in a shop behind his house. (He was paid R5 000 for his trouble).

Soldiers led by CDF chief Brigadier Andrew Jamangile arrived on the scene and called on Sebe to surrender. According to evidence from soldiers on the scene, he emerged unarmed, and Jamangile told Sergeant-Major

Thezamile Veliti, a member of Gqozo's bodyguard, to radio for instructions.

The order came back: the inquest has heard, and Veliti opened fire.

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Allegation

Weight was lent to the allegation by Gqozo himself in an interview published six days after the incident: "People loyal to me fooled Charles into believing he had their support. They wanted to trap him because he had caused the country a lot of misery."

Those investigating the deaths, and those called to testify, were faced with a number of difficulties:

- A young soldier died, reportedly in a motor accident, shortly after giving evidence. A friend alleged Rifleman Mzwekhaya Xotyeni had been threatened and assaulted after testifying;
- The sister of a witness was assaulted by men demanding to know his whereabouts;
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Gqozo — not known for his discretion.

direct instructions that Sebe and Guzana be killed. Her assailants said they wanted him "six feet under the ground" because of his evidence.

● A photograph of the head of the now-disbanded covert unit, Colonel Anton Nieuwoudt, was taken outside court and published in the local newspaper. His counsel protested, and the court banned the practice;

● Former police commissioner General Zebulun Makuzeni claimed Gqozo had initially refused to allow investigating officers to question "certain people" among them Veliti.

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Decrees

Finally he issued two decrees exempting him from having to give evidence in all court and quasi-judicial proceedings. Early this year Ciskei's Appeal Court threw them out.

The outspoken brigadier-turned-civilian is being haunted by his choice of phrase "search and destroy", quoted in various interviews at the time.

In one subsequent affidavit he argued that it was an accepted military term devoid of "all the emotional connec-

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Interview

In one recorded press interview, the transcript of which has been accepted undisputed by the court, Gqozo said: "I said search and destroy when you find him. So they did exactly that.

"It was an operation to take him (Sebe) out. So I don't see why we should back down and even regret it."

Assisted by a justiciable Bill of Rights, Ciskei's courts have since late last year been flexing their muscles. Temporarily stripped of the self-imposed trappings of state, Gqozo climbed into the Bisho witness stand with no one to help him.

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Sowetan
5/8/93

Gqozo not available at Ciskei inquest

(105)

THE inquest in the Bisho Supreme Court into the deaths of Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana was yesterday postponed to today because Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was not available.

Gqozo is testifying at the inquest which is a sequel to the deaths of Sebe and Guzana in January 1991.

They were shot at a roadblock after being suspected of plotting to overthrow the Ciskei government. Guzana died at the scene but Sebe escaped and was shot the next day at Izeli. — Sapa.

Gqozo misses inquest

BISHO. — The inquest into the deaths of former Ciskei security chief General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana in the Supreme Court here was yesterday postponed until today because Ciskei's current military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had to "attend a cabinet meeting".

The inquest is a sequel to the deaths of Gen Sebe and Col Guzana in January, 1991.

The two men were shot at a roadblock after being suspected of plotting the overthrow of the Ciskei government.

Col Guzana died at the scene, but Gen Sebe escaped and was shot dead the next day in Gubevu village in Izeli.

On Tuesday Brig Gqozo confirmed at the inquest he had told a reporter he was happy the men were dead. — Sapa

(105) CTS/8/93

WM 6-12/8/93 (105)

Gqozo's day of reckoning

Bisho ground to a standstill when Ciskei's ruler finally faced the judiciary this week, reports Patrick Goodenough

HOMELAND capitals are not exactly the stuff of Greek tragedies, but this week Bisho became the backdrop for a saga of epic proportions as the diminutive Ciskeian leader, Oupa Joshua Gqozo, faced his personal Nemesis.

The capital ground to a standstill when Gqozo finally appeared in the witness stand of the Bisho Supreme Court, answering accusations that he was responsible for the deaths of two of his political enemies, Charles Sebe and Mangwane Guzana, in 1991. Observers, supporters of his African Democratic Movement (ADM) and senior homeland officials crammed into the courtroom.

Rumours of coups and threats of mass action saw scores of heavily armed police roaming the town. Razor wire surrounded the court building and two helicopters were placed on standby while a spotter plane circled above.

Suave and confident, Gqozo sat with arms folded, answering questions in Xhosa. In animated moments, he broke into English, a language with which he is clearly far more comfortable. He often softly corrected the interpreter's translations.

Gqozo insists that Sebe and Guzana were on a mission to topple him when they exchanged fire with Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) soldiers manning a roadblock near Bisho in January 1991. Guzana died at the roadblock while Sebe escaped badly wounded, only to be tracked down in a nearby village 24 hours later, and shot dead.

The two exiled dissidents had driven into Ciskei expecting, by all accounts, to be hailed as heroes. Their lawyers allege they were lured back in a scheme hatched by Gqozo's intelligence agency, International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service.

But from the witness stand, Gqozo painted a picture of Sebe as a determined and dangerous man intent on seizing power. He had teamed up with Guzana to plot a coup and the IR-CIS operation was a legitimate counter-measure against a serious threat to the state, Gqozo said.



'Inquest phobia' ... Oupa Gqozo

Gqozo denied giving orders that the two be killed, but did not deny making statements to journalists at the time in which he appeared at face value to accept responsibility for ordering Sebe's death.

Instead, he argued about the interpretation of his comments. His order to "seek and destroy" Sebe, for example, did not mean he was to be killed.

Pressed to explain exactly what it did mean, he replied: "When we talk of tracking down an armed enemy, 'search and destroy' in this case means if you find such a person in a dangerous situation to you, you're supposed to take him down, to throw a stone at him, apprehend him, intimidate him, and if the need arises, then you can shoot him."

Referring to a Radio Ciskei interview broadcast the day after Sebe's death, he conceded that he had used "harsh and brash terms" in warnings to "enemies of the state" and that they were "more than a little unfortunate". He attributed this to a combination of "anger, tension and subsequent relief".

Gqozo accused the media of quoting him "out of context and then publishing defamatory material ... It appears clear that not only is the media interested in sensationalism but, more particularly, also in bringing about my government's downfall".

Gqozo has tried repeatedly to avoid appearing in the marathon inquest hearing. First, he submitted three affidavits, in turn saying that he was "too busy" to give evidence, then denying having ordered the deaths, and finally arguing that his "search and destroy" order had been misinterpreted by the press.

Later, he issued two decrees exempting him from having to give evidence in all court and quasi-judicial proceedings. These decrees were subsequently quashed by the Appellate Division.

A senior Ciskeian official summed up Gqozo's behaviour in two words: "inquest phobia". But in court this week, Gqozo asserted that he had "the highest regard for the application of the law in our courts" and would never try to undermine their authority.

As he took the witness stand, temporarily stripped of his trappings of state, and despite the presence of bodyguards, police and hused-in supporters, he appeared utterly, painfully alone. — Ecna

Gqozo 'not informed' that witness died

C/Press 8/8/93

CISKEI ruler Oupa Gqozo denied he had been informed about the death of a Ciskei soldier whose account of the shooting of two rebels at a roadblock differed from those of his colleagues.

Brig Gqozo was testifying in the Bisho Supreme Court for the fourth day on Friday at the inquest into the January 1991 deaths of dissidents Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana. ~~(S)~~ (105)

The inquest has heard allegations that they were lured out of exile in Transkei into a roadblock trap in Ciskei as part of a Ciskei intelligence plot. Col Guzana died at the roadblock after being shot by Ciskei troops. Sebe escaped but was tracked down and shot the next day.

Gqozo has denied ordering their deaths. In court on Friday he also denied having been informed about the November 1991 death – reportedly in a road accident – of a young Ciskei Defence Force soldier, Rifleman Mzwekhaya Xotyeni.

Shortly before his death Xotyeni, who was present at the roadblock during the shooting, had told the inquest Sebe and Guzana were led to the roadblock by a Ciskei Defence Force vehicle with a blue light and that at the roadblock one of Gqozo's bodyguards had opened fire on their vehicle.

Ciskei alleged that the two fired first.

Counsel for the Sebe family, Advocate Marumo Mperane, told Judge Mike Claassens that it was reported Xotyeni had been driving an army vehicle at the time of the accident. – Veritas

Gqozo comment 'unfortunate for head of state'

BISHO — Saying anyone planning a coup in Ciskei would be killed and not arrested had been an "unfortunate choice of words," Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo, conceded in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

He was responding to a question by M T K Moerane appearing for the Sebe family at the inquest into the deaths of Charles Sebe and Col Onward Guzana in Ciskei in January 1991. Guzana was killed at a roadblock between King William's Town and Stutterheim on January 27 and Sebe was shot at Gubevu the following day.

Moerane asked Gqozo if it was fitting for a head of state to say in a radio interview following the shootings that anyone with plans for staging a coup in Ciskei would be shot.

Own Correspondent

Gqozo said on joking back, and because of his experience since then it had been an unfortunate choice of words for a head of state.

Moerane put it to Gqozo that he had tried not to testify at the inquest. Gqozo replied that he was not afraid, but there had been a state of unrest and he had been bogged down with work.

Moerane said there were contradictions in Gqozo's affidavit particularly where he denied attending a briefing on January 23 1991 about the planned "coup" by Sebe and Guzana.

Gqozo said he had challenged the date, but confirmed he had attended a briefing.

"If you had been honest at the outset, you

would have stated you were not certain of the date, but that you did attend," Moerane said.

Gqozo replied that he had not known that it would be interpreted as though he had denied attending the briefing.

Moerane said Gqozo had said in his affidavit that the media had not accurately reported information supplied by him and had twisted facts in order to portray him and his government in a negative light. He suggested that Gqozo had not rectified reports because the "Press were reporting exactly what you said and there were no distortions". Gqozo denied issuing instructions for Sebe to be killed.

The inquest continues today.

Gqozo comment 'unfortunate for head of state'

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Taiwanese boost for Ciskei

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A R6,8m injection moulding company, Evergreen Plastics, has been established in Ciskei, the second manufacturer to relocate from Taiwan this year.

CT 10/8/93
The Ciskei Peoples Development Bank (CPDB) said the company produced a variety of plastic products and components as well as computer connector components.

MD of the CPDB, Tami Sondiyazi, pointed out that "the economic development of Ciskei is closely linked to the Far East, particularly Taiwan, as more than a third of foreign companies operating in Ciskei emanate from Taiwan".

He added that the Border-Kei region, which registered the highest unemployment rate in southern Africa, desperately needed foreign investment to spur economic growth and broaden the employment base.

'Extraordinary' Gqozo only told on day of coup

JOHANNESBURG. — It was extraordinary that Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, should hear detailed plans of the Sebe-Guzana coup only on the day it was scheduled to take place, January 26, 1991. (105) CT 11/8/93

This was suggested in the Supreme Court here yesterday by counsel for Colonel Onward Guzana's family, Mr Deva Pillay, at the inquest into the death of General Charles Sebe and Col Guzana in January 1991. Brig Gqozo said he was not bothered with "low-level" plans by his intelligence service.

Counsel in Sebe inquest rebuked

Own Correspondent

(105)

BISHO. — Counsel for the Sebe and Guzana families will present argument when the inquest into the deaths of Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana in January 1991 resumes here on Monday.

Yesterday Mr Justice Mike Claassens ruled that the submission of a radio communication affidavit by the officer commanding Ciskei Signals Unit, Major S Weatherfall, was impermissible. He rebuked counsel for the

CT14/8/93
Ciskei Defence Force, Mr W L Kingsley, who proposed leading evidence on the affidavit, saying it should have been placed on record 14 months ago.

The affidavit arose from allegations during previous evidence that Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, gave the order to shoot Mr Sebe at Gubevu on January 28, 1991, over a radio. Col Guzana was killed at a roadblock between King William's Town and Stutterheim on January 27, 1991, and Mr Sebe was shot the next day.

Former Minister was a spy — Gqozo

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH

CISKEI ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo's seven days in the Bisho Supreme Court witness stand ended this week with the startling claim that his former Minister of Police had been a South African spy.

Gqozo told the inquest into the deaths of Ciskei dissidents Charles Sebe and Mangwane Guzana that top cop Gen Zebulon Makuzeni may have tried to implicate him in the deaths on Pretoria's prompting.

He told the court Makuzeni may also have tried to incriminate him as "revenge" after he fired him for being "useless".

Makuzeni was promoted from police commissioner to minister

of police shortly after the deaths of Sebe and Guzana. He retired — or was fired, according to Gqozo's version — in early 1992.

Testifying last November, Makuzeni said Gqozo had told him Sebe and Guzana had been lured back to Ciskei by Gqozo's covert intelligence unit in January 1991. Gqozo has denied this.

Makuzeni told City Press on Friday that Gqozo's allegation that he spied for SA's National Intelligence Service (NIS) while a member of the homeland cabinet was a "complete fabrication". *CIPress 15/8/93*

Makuzeni conceded he and Sebe had worked for the forerunner of NIS, the Bureau of State Security, in the 1970s. While in

charge of security in the homeland, he had liaised officially with NIS.

But since he left security in September 1986, he had "had nothing to do with NIS, until today". (106)

Makuzeni said his East London home was put under surveillance after he testified in the inquest.

He denied he was fired, saying he resigned in frustration.

Sebe fled the scene, but was tracked down to a nearby village and shot dead — allegedly after surrendering.

After a year of dodging summonses to explain his role in the deaths of two men he was "so happy" were dead, Gqozo finally

appeared.

Last year he submitted three affidavits — one claiming he was "too busy" to testify — and then issued decrees exempting himself from giving evidence.

The courts overturned them.

Much of Gqozo's testimony focused on his statements to the media after the shootings, which — it has been argued — suggested he personally ordered their deaths.

He told Radio Ciskei: "I said search and destroy when you find him. So they did exactly that."

He is now arguing over interpretation, saying the order meant using any means necessary to render the fugitive incapable of causing harm. — Ecna

Inquest unearths police video

PORT ELIZABETH — Another police video that may prove useful to the Goniwe inquest in Port Elizabeth was unearthed yesterday morning. *Biday*

Senior counsel for the police, Dup de Bruyn, had failed to bring the video to the attention of the inquest. *18/8/93*

But one of De Bruyn's clients, former security policeman Maj Deon Nieuwoudt who is testifying, mentioned it during cross-examination by Attorney-General Michael Hodggen.

Hodggen immediately instructed inquest investigators to obtain a copy.

The video has footage on a police reconstruction of the car in which four policemen were killed in a car bomb blast in December 1989. *(S)* *(S)*

Asked why he had failed to bring the video to the attention of the inquest investigators, De Bruyn said: "It has always been available at the police station. You musn't

blame us if they do a bum job."

Senior counsel for the SADF Anton Mostert has alleged the police were responsible for the June 1985 murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists, as well as the December 1989 murder of the four policemen.

He claims there is a link between the two incidents and that at least two of the four policemen were threatening to make public their knowledge of police involvement in the Goniwe murders shortly before they themselves were killed.

A video filmed at the scene of the blast has already featured extensively in cross-examination of Nieuwoudt, an explosives expert.

Hodggen said the video had been also "coincidentally" discovered by investigators even though Nieuwoudt had seen the footage during consultations with his counsel.

— Sapa.

Inquest told Gqozo linked to Sebe death

BISHO — Ciskeian military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo should be held accountable for the deaths of Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana in January 1991, legal counsel representing the men's families said yesterday.

Marumo Moerane, representing the Sebe family, ar-

Biday *18/8/93*
gued before the Sebe-Guzana inquest that all evidence given by police and soldiers showed the instruction given by Gqozo that Sebe was not needed in the Ciskei, dead or alive, had been carried out. *(105)*

Moerane said this evidence was corroborated in

all press interviews Gqozo gave after the shooting.

Deva Pillay, representing the Guzana family, said evidence given by Gqozo was a fabrication and should be rejected by the inquest court.

The hearing is scheduled to continue. — Sapa.

'Conspiracy' against Gqozo

EAST LONDON — It was unlikely soldiers who shot Charles Sebe and Col Onward Guzana in January 1991 had acted on the instructions of Ciskei's head of state Brig Oupa Gqozo. **B/Day**

This was argued yesterday by counsel for Gqozo and the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF), John van der Berg, at the inquest on the deaths of the two men. **20/8/93**

Van der Berg said that three former senior CDF officers, Col Z P Zantsi, Col Nelson Naka and Brig Monwabisi Jamangile, had conspired against Gqozo and testified that on January 26 and 28 he had given orders for the murder of Guzana and Sebe. **(105)**

Van der Berg submitted that their evidence was contradictory, destructive and biased, and was additional evidence of their coup attempt on February 9 1991. Van der Berg said no order had been given to any officer commanding

Own Correspondent

a roadblock to kill Guzana.

Naka and Zantsi had both testified they had not conveyed the order to kill Sebe and Guzana to any of the soldiers at the roadblock. The probability was that there had been shooting from the car in which Guzana and Sebe were driving and that soldiers fired back.

Van der Berg said he believed Jamangile's evidence that his intention had been to arrest Sebe at Gubevu and to take him to the State House. This also supported Gqozo's evidence to that effect.

Van der Berg submitted that Sebe had been killed either on the orders of Jamangile or by soldiers who acted spontaneously.

Their action was the result, probably, of fear of a presumably dangerous man.

The inquest continues today.

Gqozo a pathetic witness - lawyer

THE politically explosive Sebe-Guzana inquest was told on Friday that Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo was the "most pathetic senior soldier one has had the misfortune to cross-examine" (105)

Advocate M Moerane, for the Sebe family, made the comment in response to argument by advocate J Van den Berg, for Gqozo, that his client was an exemplary witness.

Van den Berg said: "Brig Gqozo, as a witness, showed calm and objec-

tivity.

"Why should Gqozo not be believed when he said 'take them out' meant to neutralise them?"

Moerane said: "At no stage in his evidence did he distance himself from orders to kill."

Advocate I Smuts for the Ciskei Intelligence Service said there was ample evidence that they were planning a coup because they were armed and wore bulletproof vests. - Ecna

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Sebe strike: 'Reid-Daly flew plane'

Own Correspondent

(105)
CT 25/8/93
PORT ELIZABETH. — Former Rhodesian Selous Scout chief General Ron Reid-Daly was in an aircraft commanding an operation that failed in an attack on ex-President Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei, the Supreme Court here heard yesterday.

Air-to-ground communications broke down and "the whole operation went wrong", the Goniwe inquest heard.

Gen Reid-Daly moved to South Africa near the end of the "Rhodesian" war and later established connections with the Transkei Defence Force.

Details of the Ciskei attack emerged in evidence given by retired SA Defence Force Colonel Lourens du Plessis.

Col Du Plessis said the purpose of Operation Katzen was to create "economic unity" in the Eastern Cape-Ciskei-Transkei area.

"The first phase was to get Charles Sebe out of jail. The second phase was to remove ex-President Lennox Sebe," he said.

"Phase one was carried out. An attempt was made to carry our phase two — attacking the Sebe house in Bisho."

Asked in what form the attack would be, Col Du Plessis said infantry would carry it out "with control from Ron Reid-Daly in an aircraft".

"The operation went wrong. Various members were shot dead."

Operation Katzen was then stopped, he said.

Intelligence shenanigans led to dissidents' deaths

Patrick Goodenough

A BITTER struggle for turf between South African intelligence agencies may lie behind the deaths of two Ciskeian dissidents which are under examination in the Bisho Supreme court.

Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, winding up seven days of testimony in the inquest into the deaths of Charles Sebe and Mangwane Guzana in 1991, hinted at National Intelligence Service (NIS) interest in the case.

Gqozo charged that a previous witness, former police commissioner General Zebulun Makuzeni, may have sought to implicate him in the two deaths on NIS instructions, and that Makuzeni had been spying for South Africa while working for the

homeland government.

Makuzeni, who worked with Sebe in NIS's predecessor, the Bureau for State Security, in the 1970s, has denied the claim.

Sebe and Guzana were shot dead by Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) troops while allegedly on a mission to overthrow Gqozo. The inquest has heard claims that they were lured back from exile by Gqozo's private intelligence unit, International Research Ciskei Intelligence Service (IR-CIS).

In 1989, the NIS was involved in an attempt by Sebe to oust his brother, then-president Lennox Sebe, according to allegations made during a subsequent fraud trial in Johannesburg.

A well-placed intelligence source this week confirmed that Charles Sebe, together with an associate

Chief Lent Magoma, were to be the NIS's route to enhanced influence in the region.

NIS and South African Military Intelligence (MI) had been vying for control of the homeland when the CDF pre-emptively seized power and installed Gqozo in March 1990.

Charles Sebe had not abandoned his quest for power, despite the change in government.

Meanwhile, NIS was on the ascent and a downgraded MI was shedding agents. One of them, Anton Niewoudt, seized the opportunity to establish IR-CIS, modelled on the Bophuthatswana Intelligence Service.

While IR-CIS was not a direct MI front organisation, the source claimed, Niewoudt look with him the bitter NIS-MI conflict.

WPM 20-26/8/93 (105)

He pointed to evidence in the inquest indicating that IR-CIS had plotted to trap Sebe and his associate Guzana, and so end the continued NIS threat posed to Gqozo.

Several months after the Sebe-Guzana incident, IR-CIS was closed down on the insistence of the South African government. Niewoudt was taken on as an off-the-books agent for the SADF Directorate of Covert Collection, and was dismissed late last year.

The source said the unit's shutdown may have been NIS's revenge.

This could also explain the thinking behind Gqozo's assertion now that Makuzeni was doing the NIS's bidding by trying to discredit him in an inquest which the homeland ruler has described as a "political weapon". — Ecna

I'll form my own army, says Gqozo

CIPress 29/8/93

IF Umkhonto weSizwe was not dismantled, Ciskei would establish a "private army" for the African Democratic Movement (ADM), Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said on Friday.

Opening the homeland's National Show in Bisho, Gqozo warned that unless MK's activities in Ciskei stopped "we will have to start building up a similar force to back up the ADM".

"No-one will have the legal or moral justification to stop me from forming the ADM's private army for as long as the ANC retains Umkhonto weSizwe. It's called levelling the playing fields."

Gqozo alleged the ANC was to blame for 99 percent of the violence in Ciskei. He had statistics to back up this claim and would make them available to anyone, he said.

He also accused the ANC of being the "common denominator" of the violence throughout SA.

In a speech punctuated with Bible verses, Gqozo spelled out Ciskei's position on multi-party negotiations.

While "legitimate credible parties like the ADM" had not been allowed to participate in the talks, other parties

"with only three people plus a leader" – such as the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress – were taking part. (105)

Ciskei insisted that the constitution negotiated at the World Trade Centre should be a "final document".

"We insist on a single phase process – no interim government, no constituent assembly – just a straight multi-party process culminating in general elections."

Gqozo said the multi-party negotiating council had outlived its purpose.

"Real negotiations should be conducted through bilaterals, trilaterals or even multilateral summits, for example ... Christian Federalists versus Communist Revolutionary Unitarists."

He urged the SA government not to proceed with the special session of parliament scheduled for September 13.

If crucial issues such as "constitutional principles, boundaries, powers, functions and competency of federal states, violence and intimidation" continued to be shelved, Ciskei would certainly pull out of this futile process, Gqozo warned. – Ecna

brief

Sowetan 3/18/93

between orders given by Gqozo to his troops and the death of Charles Sebe at the hands of soldiers in 1991.

Sebe and an associate, Mangwane Guzana, encountered a Ciskei Defence Force roadblock on entering Ciskei in January 1991.

Claassens found that the two had been on a mission to overthrow Gqozo, but that the mission had been hijacked and infiltrated by members of Gqozo's personal intelligence unit.

"They made the biggest mistake of their lives. They were deadly serious about their mission, but like lambs to the slaughter they were lured into a trap."

Although the court found that the intelligence unit members had told the inquest "a pack of lies", there was insufficient evidence to make a finding relating to their culpability in the killings.

Claasens was unable to make a finding relating to responsibility for Guzana's death.

Gqozo in hot water

A Ciskei inquest has found homeland ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo responsible for the death of Charles Sebe.

Mr Justice Michael Claassens yesterday found a direct link existed

Ciskei's Gqozo to blame for 'cold-blooded' killing of Sebe -

318

BISHOP — Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and his security staff were to blame for the death of the homelands former defence force commander Maj-Gen Charles Sebe, the two-year inquest into Sebe's death found yesterday.

Judge M Clasens found that Sebe had been shot and killed in cold blood in circumstances amounting to murder. It was obvious that when Sebe was found he was wounded, in pain, unarmed and in the process of surrendering.

The order to kill had been given by Gqozo and an unbroken chain had been established between that order and the killing, which was carried out by Ciskei Defence Force soldiers.

Own Correspondent
Clasens said Gqozo had issued "search and destroy" and "shoot on sight" orders after Sebe's escape. These orders were clear "and in my view cannot mean other than the fugitive must be sought out, and when found killed on sight".

The then Police Commissioner, Maj-Gen Zebulon Makuzeni, had testified that Gqozo had told him Sebe and Guzana were coming to Ciskei in a bid to topple the government. Gqozo had said the operation was controlled by his intelligence unit. This confirmed that the alleged plot was not genuine and the operation had been contrived by the intelligence unit's head, Arton Niewoudt, to lead the exiles into a trap.

Regarding Niewoudt and Clive Brink, the court had no doubt that the two members of the covert intelligence unit, International Researchers, had "told a pack of lies". Niewoudt had been instrumental in plotting to rid Gqozo of Sebe and Guzana.

The inquest's findings would be forwarded to the attorney-general.

Sapa reports that the Ciskei council of state reacted with "shock and dismay" to the findings. It said it had been "clearly established that Sebe was engaged upon an unlawful mission to take over the reins of power and it follows that government was entitled to take appropriate military countermeasures in self-defence."

However the court could not make a finding on who was responsible for the death of Col Onward Guzana, who was shot at a roadblock on January 27, 1991. Sebe was wounded, but escaped, and was found and shot dead the next day.

Lawyers for Human Rights and the ANC's Border region called for Gqozo's arrest and prosecution. LHR said Gqozo had been found criminally responsible for Sebe's death and should be barred from taking part in negotiations. It called on the SA government to establish an interim administration to govern Ciskei.

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inquest

Gqozo gives evidence

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — It had not been part of the Ciskei plan to shoot Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana, the Ciskei ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said at the inquest on the two men here yesterday.

Yesterday was Brigadier Gqozo's first day of testimony. Earlier he had issued two decrees exempting him from testifying, but they were overturned by the

Ciskei Appeal Court in February.

Asked yesterday to explain his order to the soldiers that they should "seek and destroy" when they searched for Mr Sebe, Brig Gqozo said the order was a military term which meant that when one found the enemy one should neutralise him and render him harmless.

He denied that the operation was intended to kill Mr Sebe. Mr Sebe had been considered a dan-

gerous man and it was thought he was armed.

Explaining a statement he allegedly made earlier that Mr Sebe was to be "shot on sight", Brig Gqozo said Mr Sebe would have been shot if he had shot at the soldiers.

It was not part of the Ciskei plan to shoot Mr Sebe and Mr Guzana. The two were to be led to the roadblock where they would be arrested, he replied to a question. (105) CT 3/8/73

Gqozo linked to Sebe killing

105
01/31/8/93

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — The Ciskei Council of State has reacted with "shock and dismay" at the inquest finding that Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo was involved in the killing of Major-General Charles Sebe.

Mr Justice Michael Claassens said in his summation of the two-year inquest yesterday that Brig Gqozo gave a search-and-destroy order to his troops on the night of January 27/28, 1991 after General Sebe had been wounded in a gunfight with Ciskeian troops.

The council said "on the evidence... no reasonable tribunal could have found the existence of such a link".

"The tribunal clearly established that (Gen) Sebe was engaged upon an unlawful mission to take over the reins of power and it follows the government

Calls for Ciskei head to resign

was entitled to take appropriate military counter-measures."

The inquest findings will be forwarded to the attorney-general.

The court's finding was welcomed as a triumph for human rights and the rule of law.

Lawyers for Human Rights called for Brig Gqozo's immediate resignation.

"In a country which is torn apart by violence, a person who has been personally involved in directing violence against others

cannot be allowed to participate in negotiations," it said.

The finding was also welcomed by the Border region of the ANC. Spokesman Mr Silumko Sokupa said it confirmed "that Brig Gqozo is not fit to occupy a seat as head of the administration".

"The ANC demands his immediate resignation and that the attorney-general charge him as speedily as possible."

The Border Council of Churches joined in the call for Brig Gqozo's resignation.

BCC president the Rev Bongani Finca said the South African government should make Brig Gqozo's resignation a condition for the future funding of Ciskei.

The Border region of the National Association for Democratic Lawyers said the findings vindicated claims that Brig Gqozo abused his power to further his own political agenda.

Gqozo ordered killing - judge

Star 31/8/93

King William's Town — A range of groups called yesterday for the resignation of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo after the homeland's Supreme Court found him criminally responsible for the killing of Charles Sebe.

However, the Ciskei Council of State reacted with "shock and dismay" to the Bisho Supreme Court finding on the shooting of Sebe and Onward Guzana.

Sebe was the brother of Lennox Sebe, ousted as president by Gqozo. Guzana was previously Gqozo's second-in-command.

The court ruled yesterday that

the two had been on a mission to overthrow the military ruler when they were shot. It found that their plans had been uncovered by Ciskei intelligence agents.

(105)
They had been lured to their deaths "like lambs to the slaughter", the judge said. The shooting of Sebe had been ordered by Gqozo. No finding was made on Guzana's death.

The council reiterated the official position that the 1991 killing was "justifiable".

Lawyers for Human Rights called for Gqozo to resign and for his immediate arrest and

prosecution.

The ANC also called on Gqozo to resign.

The homeland's Attorney-General should "take a decision that will ensure that Gqozo is brought to trial and charged with murder", it said.

The Rev Bongani Finca of the Border Council of Churches also called for Gqozo to step down.

The Council of State said the court "found it clearly established" that Sebe was on an unlawful mission to take power. The council felt the government was entitled to take military counter-measures. — Ecna.

Inquest: Oupa Gqozo calls crisis meeting

APG 31/8/93
105

□ Future in hands of Ciskei's A-G

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

BELEAGUERED Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, whose future is in the hands of the homeland state's attorney-general, called a crisis meeting of his council of state today in the wake of yesterday's damning inquest finding.

He was not available to react to the finding by Mr Justice Michael Claasens that he was involved in the January 1991 killing of General Charles Sebe.

Mr Justice Claasens said in his summation that Brigadier Gqozo had given a search-and-destroy order to his troops on the night of January 27/28 1991.

As the clamour for Brigadier Gqozo's resignation intensified, Ciskei attorney-general W F Juargens began an assessment of the record and judgment of the two-year inquest, running into several thousand pages.

"I will study this and then make a decision as to whether to institute a prosecution," he said today.

He could not say how long it would take, but hoped it would

be "a matter of weeks"

He said: "The law will take its course."

A legal source pointed out that the duty of the judge was to find the facts as they appeared to him on a balance of probability.

Mr Juargens will have to decide whether there is admissible and available evidence to prove the alleged facts beyond reasonable doubt.

A South African Department of Justice spokesman declined to comment at this stage.

"We would have to study the court record first," he said.

ANC, DP: Remove Gqozo from office

11/9/93

Political Staff

CISKEI ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo should be removed from office after an inquest court found he was responsible for the killing of political foe, Major-General Charles Sebe, the ANC and the DP said.

The finding vindicated the ANC's view that imposing puppet leaders on people was dangerous, Transkei spokesman Mr Nat Serache said yesterday.

DP justice spokesman Mr Tony Leon called on Brigadier Gqozo to resign immediately from office.

iversity R17m ● Swazis to honour queen mother

Fort Hare battling

Sowetan 3/9/93

THE UNIVERSITY OF FORT Hare is battling to get the Ciskei government to pay over millions of rands in subsidies it owes the cash-strapped institution.

Until early this year "not a cent" of subsidies Ciskei agreed to pay in 1986 had been received by Fort Hare.

R22 million

And, the debt amounted to R22 million, according to Professor Sibusiso

Bhengu, the university's rector and vice-chancellor.

"The only money Fort Hare has received from the Ciskei government since 1986 is R5 million.

Negotiations

This was paid in March this year after painful negotiations," said Bhengu.

In terms of the 1986 agreement, Ciskei agreed to pay 20 percent of Fort Hare's total subsidy.

The rest of the money was to come from the South African Government, according to Bhengu.

Asked to comment, South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs said in terms of the agreement, all subsidies from South Africa -- covering the rest of the budget -- were to be paid to the Ciskei Council of State.

Ciskei's Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Petros Jacobs, would not comment. - *Ecna*.



(105)

Gqozo's a Survivor

Star 6/19/92

IT has been a year since the guns of Ciskei soldiers in Bisho fell silent, leaving 29 pro-ANC protesters dead. But, as Andrew Trench reports, no one has yet paid a price for the killings. And Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is still very much in power

(105)

Bushy Vantyu is a survivor and a fighter.

He survived the Bisho massacre with a bullet through his back, intestines and side, falling near SA Communist Party national executive member Ronnie Kasrils outside the Bisho stadium fence.

Vantyu, one of the hundreds wounded on September 7 last year when tens of thousands of people confronted armed Ciskei security forces on a march for free political activity in the homeland, recalls: "I resisted dying. I was lying there and did not believe I had been shot... Justice must be done."

Now he is fighting for justice, challenging in the Ciskei Supreme Court a government decree indemnifying all those involved in the September 7 shootings.

Vantyu's challenge to Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's indemnity decree will be heard only later this year. Unless that succeeds the draft charges against 69 Ciskei soldiers and Kasrils cannot be taken further.

In the aftermath of the killings, few believed Gqozo's politi-

tion of the homeland.

One of those who was at Bisho on September 7, ANC Border vice-president Andrew Hendricks, says: "My own view is that people have not paid. But where, at the end of the day, are we going to draw the line to visit punishment on the perpetrators?"

"There needs to be a balance (between retribution and forgiveness). But how that can be achieved I cannot profess to know."

Gqozo said recently: "The worst thing... that I not only wish didn't happen but... I am praying to God that it never happens again is a situation where I am forced to defend a country against my own people like in the September 7 shootings."

"No matter how you look at it, no one should have died. So no one should actually have started it in the first place."

It has become fashionable in some circles to refer to the September 7 shootings as "the incident", but for the 29 people who died that day and the thousands who were there, the Bisho massacre is one of South Africa's darkest days. — Eena.

cal career would last beyond Christmas. But, a year later, the ruler is still in power.

Since the killings the ANC-led alliance has shied from direct confrontation with Ciskei, abandoning the vigorous campaign it undertook in the months leading up to the massacre.

Anti-Gqozo forces in the region have planned to commemorate the massacre with a stay-away tomorrow.

But it took last week's inquest court finding that Gqozo was responsible for the death of rebel Charles Sebe to galvanise the ANC into announcing a campaign to exert "maximum pressure" for his resignation.

Although avoiding open conflict with the Ciskei authorities, the ANC has won conces-

sions through the courts for its objectives of free political activity in the homeland.

It successfully challenged security legislation which allowed for the banning of gatherings and marches, but it has done little to use its advantage.

As much as his opponents may be loath to admit it, Gqozo is a survivor. He has survived the political fallout from the massacre; allegations of collusion with the Right in the procurement of arms; and reports of widespread corruption within his government.

If anything, he has entrenched his position since Bisho. Far from being considered a pariah, he walks tall in the Concerned Southern Africans Group and openly opposes the reincorpora-



Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo . . . "no one should have died."

Flowers, prayers in Bisho

105

APR 19 1993
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. In a sombre ceremony on a hot, dusty road, African National Congress officials and mourners laid flowers and said a prayer today to honour 29 people killed a year ago by homeland security forces.

Police and soldiers from the independent Ciskei homeland watched from hills as about 150 friends and relatives of the victims and some survivors of the shooting held a brief memorial service.

Wreaths of yellow and white flowers, some decorated with ANC flags, were placed on the dirt road along the SA-Ciskei border where marchers were fired on as they walked into Ciskei's capital, Bisho.

Ciskei's military leader Oupa Gqozo had warned the ANC not to enter Bisho on September 7 last year.

South African troops and Ciskei soldiers on the other side of the border, which is marked only by a small sign, stood guard and searched vehicles along the road.

In King William's Town, a few kilometres from Bisho, streets were deserted as most blacks observed an ANC-called strike. — Sapa-AP.

ANC (105)
ET 8/19/73
petitions
empty
consulate

Staff Reporter

ANC plans to present a petition to the Ciskei consulate in the city on the anniversary of the Bisho massacre, but the delegation arrived at 4pm and found no one there.

Yesterday marked the anniversary of the Bisho massacre, where 29 people died.

Fourteen ANC members occupied the foyer of the building.

The petition demands the release of 35 political prisoners still being held in Ciskei.

ANC spokesman Mr Cameron Dugmore said unless political prisoners were released they "would continue to be a stumbling block to our progress toward a TEC".

● Members of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and family members of the people who died in the shooting yesterday marched to the spot where they were killed to lay wreaths.

Addressing the crowd at the commemorative rally, ANC spokesman Mr Rocky Metsing said IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was pointing the country towards a civil war.

Ciskei listing to create bank

Own Correspondent
2/14/1993

BISHOP Ciskei's leading financial institution, the Ciskei Building Society, is to be restructured into a bank with a listing on the JSE.

The bank, to be known as The Citizen Bank, will be a public company with a listing as from October 18 this year.

Announcing the "historic" move at a Ciskei hotel yesterday CBS chairman Stuart Boucher said the venture had definitely been prompted by the regional boundaries debate.

Mr Boucher said the bank wanted to secure a position to serve all the people of the region.

"The move has a lot to do with the regional debate.

Govt won't 'pull plug' on Ciskei

CT 16/9/93

(103)

Political Staff

THE government will not pull the financial plug on Ciskei or any other independent homeland, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Replying to a question from Indirectly Elected DP MP Mr Andre De Wet, Mr De Klerk said the government's goal was the re-incorporation of the TBVC homelands.

However, it believed this should be done through negotiation either on a bi-lateral basis or at multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre (WTC) of which Ciskei was a part.

Re-incorporation was on the agenda of multi-party talks, he stated, but no solution had as yet been found to the problem, adding that re-incorporation was the "best way" within a strong system of regional government.

However, he said, "we will not trample little states just because they are small".

The State President's statement

contradicts a secret document handed to the Eastern Province Herald in March, in which the Ciskei was told bluntly that if it did not accept re-incorporation, then the "financial plug" would be pulled.

The existence of the document was not disputed by the government.

The current Ciskei negotiating position — shared by Bophutatswana — is that neither will participate in the Transitional Executive Council until they have seen the final draft of the constitution being negotiated at the WTC.

Replying to another question from Red Hill MP Baldeo Dookie, Mr De Klerk said he believed that "well before" the target date for the election that a climate would have been created in which "we will be able to hold free and fair elections".

He said that if the government had not taken the steps it had "we would have fallen prey" to what was happening in Eastern and Central Europe.

However, he warned that a peaceful climate would not "come suddenly".

Gqozo to be charged - claim

Star 17/9/93

East London — It is now almost certain that Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo will be charged in connection with the death in 1991 of homeland rebel Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe.

Ciskei attorney-general Willem Jurgens said yesterday that he had made his decision on the matter, but had received instructions from the homeland's justice ministry

not to make it public until a review application had been studied. (105)

However, a well-placed source indicated yesterday that the brigadier would be charged.

The inquest into the deaths of Sebe and fellow rebel Colonel Onward Guzana found on August 30 that Gqozo and his chief bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, were criminally re-

sponsible for Sebe's death.

After the inquest finding, Jurgens was quoted as saying that the law would take its course.

Ciskei's ruling Council of State applied for the finding to be reviewed.

Sebe was killed by Ciskei forces near Bisho after fleeing from a roadblock at which Guzana was gunned down. — Eena.

...ive,
...ntegrated,
...powerful



NEWS Ciskei ruler may face charge in connection with death of Charles Sebe

Gqozo in trouble

Sowetan 17/9/93

IT IS now almost certain that Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo will be charged in connection with the 1991 death of homeland rebel Mr Charles Sebe.

Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens confirmed yesterday that he had made his decision on whether or not to prosecute Gqozo but had received instructions from the homeland's justice ministry not to make it public until a review application had been studied. However, a well-placed source indicated that Gqozo would be charged.

On August 30 the inquest into the deaths of Sebe and fellow rebel Colonel Onward Guzana found that Gqozo and his chief bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Vefiti, were criminally responsible for Sebe's death. After the inquest finding, Jurgens was quoted as saying the law would take

its course. Ciskei's ruling Council of State applied for the finding to be reviewed.

Jurgens confirmed yesterday he had made a decision.

He said: "I've been instructed not to announce it until I've seen and studied the papers initiating the review proceedings against the (Sebe-Guzana) inquest findings."

Delivering his inquest finding, Mr Justice Michael Claassens said there was a direct connection between orders given by Gqozo and Sebe's cold-blooded killing. "The order to kill was given by Gqozo and an unbroken chain has been established between that order and the killing," he said.

Sebe was killed by Ciskei forces near Bisho after fleeing from a roadblock at which Guzana was gunned down. *Ecna.*



A Johannesburg clothing chain store this week celebrated its 25th anniversary in style. Among the guests were Miss Angeline Kahari, Miss Nicky Ngenenge, popular singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka, holding her three-month-old son Mandla, and journalist Gugu Sibya. PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

Gqozo: Decision taken

BISHO. — A decision on whether to prosecute Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in connection with the 1991 death of homeland rebel Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe has been taken, Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens confirmed yesterday. Mr Jurgens said he had been instructed by Ciskei Justice Minister Mr Don Brunette to wait until review pa-

pers had been received and studied before announcing the decision.

He said he hoped the review papers would be served and studied by next week.

(105) ~~114~~ CT 18/9/93
General Sebe was killed near Bisho while fleeing from a roadblock at which fellow rebel Colonel Onward Guzana was gunned down. — Sapa

Gqozo to be charged

CIPRODS 19/9/93

A DECISION to prosecute Ciskei leader Brig. Oupa Gqozo in connection with the 1991 death of homeland rebel Lt-Gen Charles Sebe had been taken, Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens confirmed on Friday.

Jurgens said he had been instructed by Ciskei Justice Minister Don Brunette to wait until review papers had been received and studied before announcing, or acting on, the decision.

105

Lennox

Sowetan 24/9/93

Sebe may join ANC

FORMER Ciskei life-president Lennox Sebe does not rule out the possibility of joining the ANC — but says he has no immediate plans to do so.

(105)
Sebe, who ruled Ciskei with an iron fist until he was toppled by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in 1990, was responding to claims — denied by the ANC — that he and two East London city councillors had applied to join the organisation.

Asked in a telephone interview yesterday whether he was planning to throw in his lot with his erstwhile enemies, Sebe replied "not yet". On possible future approaches to the ANC he said: "I don't know".

Mr Sebe dismissed the possibility of forming his own political party.

"I have had my innings. I have a lot of things that need doing. I'm writing my memoirs and I'm interested in farming," he said, speaking from his luxurious King William's Town home.

Border ANC media officer Mr Mcebisi Bata earlier denied that Sebe or the two East London councillors — one of them is a former security policeman, Donald Card — had applied to join the ANC.

Gqozo's officers rebel

(105) WIM 24-30/9/93

Andrew Trench: East London

A GROUP of senior officers in the Ciskei Defence Force this week launched a scathing public attack on embattled homeland leader Oupa Gqozo, threatening rebellion.

The attack is contained in a document outlining serious grievances which was handed to the Eastern Cape News Agency by senior officers who claimed to speak on behalf of all Ciskei troops.

This comes at a critical moment for the brigadier. It comes from the heart of his dwindling support base in the homeland military, which helped him to power in his March 1990 coup.

Among the grievances raised is the issue of white officers in the homeland military. The officers warn their white colleagues: "We wish to clarify this: Leave Ciskei now or floods of blood will come."

The officers talk of soldiers becoming "enemies" of their families, saying they are rejected by their kin while Gqozo is protected.

They question Gqozo's need for bodyguards — said to number over 30.

They claim soldiers have been asked to join Gqozo's political party, the African Democratic Movement.

Did Gqozo ever think of "those who are unemployed because of you?" the officers ask. By contrast, they say, the homeland ruler has free accommodation, "eats free, and is given a new car free".

Contradicting Gqozo's declaration that Ciskei won't participate in elections on April 27, the document says: "People of Ciskei we are going

to the elections, we are with you."

The officers say a meeting of all Ciskei troops will be held next Wednesday at Bisho's Industrial Hall. It is there that they plan to throw down the gauntlet to Gqozo.

"And if you (Gqozo) give problems you will lie on your stomach on the ground then go to jail."

"Do you see where a blessless leader ends?" they ask, adding: "You are lucky because others ended up in a grave, but you will end up in jail."

The rebels urge Ciskei cabinet ministers and commanders to join the opposition to Gqozo.

The homeland ruler was recently found criminally liable for the cold-blooded shooting of dissident Charles Sebe, and is almost certain to face charges in his own courts as a result.

The document also coincides with signs that Gqozo intends resisting Ciskei's reincorporation, and with it the almost certain end of his political career. Gqozo has vowed not to allow elections in Ciskei, his representatives have opposed the creation of the Transitional Executive Council, and he recently decreed new draconian security legislation.

In June, four homeland officers were arrested. They had reportedly planned to oust Gqozo on Soweto Day. Ciskei denied a coup attempt was planned and said the officers had been detained in terms of the military discipline code.

However, the four — who included an army chaplain close to Gqozo — reportedly listed grievances which echoed those outlined by the rebel officers this week.

Gqozo keeps his distance

Star 27/9/93

CISKEI'S Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is not planning to descend quietly from his throne in Bisho. Rather, indications from the Ciskeian capital are that Gqozo is preparing for the political fight of his life.

He has issued a decree to replace the homeland's National Security Act, reintroducing detention without trial and allowing the authorities to ban meetings.

The decree also contains an unusual clause which allows the government to ban meetings which could be attended by a significant number of "aliens",

CISKEI has passed harsh new security laws. As Andrew Trench reports, this is being seen as part of a bid to fend off the new South Africa

meaning non-Ciskei residents.

This clause is being widely interpreted as the first brick in a wall being thrown around the homeland by Gqozo prior to April's elections — aimed at pre-

venting political leaders from outside the homeland from electioneering there.

The ANC has threatened to challenge the decree in court.

Gqozo himself has threatened not to allow elections to take place in Ciskei. (105)

At the Kempton Park negotiations, Ciskei is among those opposing the creation of a Transitional Executive Council.

In part, the new decree aims to give security forces their teeth back, following a series of court rulings over the years which have whittled away at security laws, largely inherited from

South Africa.

For instance, the homeland's military government is challenging an Appellate Division ruling that courts could strike down legislation passed before the coup which brought Gqozo to power in March 1990.

Gqozo knows the region is an ANC stronghold and that his only chances of political survival lie in frustrating the ANC's ability to organise.

Despite his stated position, sources believe he may be planning to contest the April poll, and is covering all his bases.

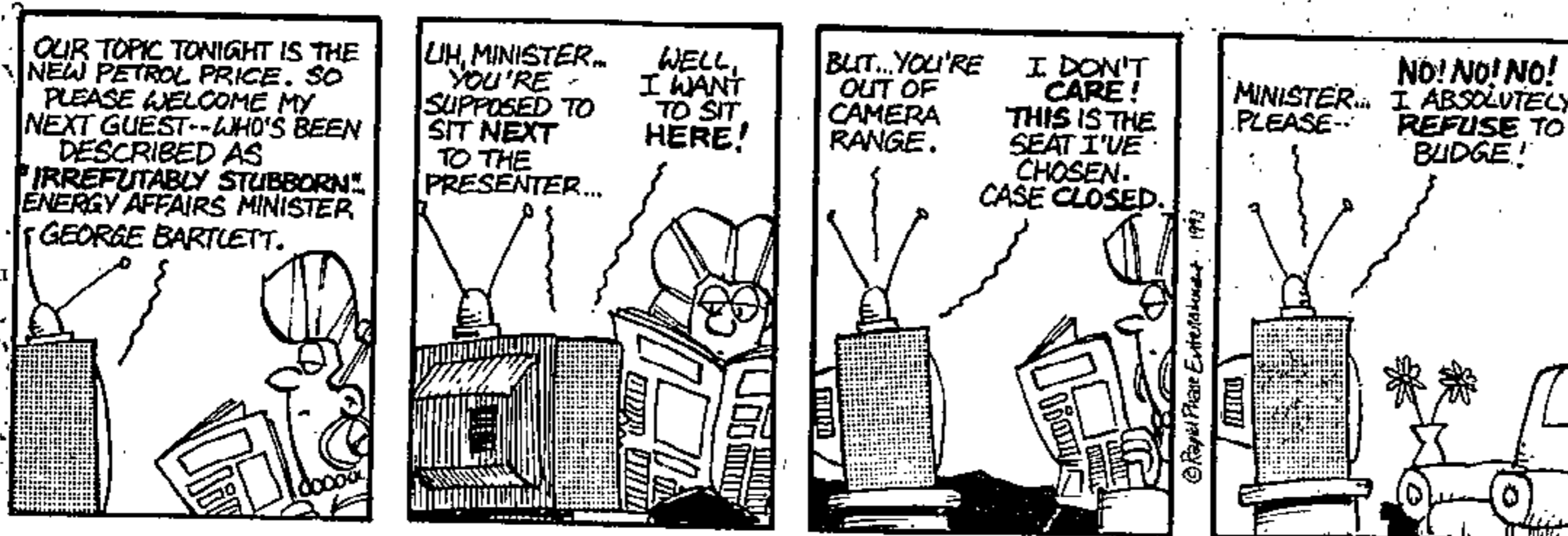
Gqozo's position has been significantly weakened by the recent inquest court ruling that found him personally to blame for the killing of former Ciskeian strongman Charles Sebe, which has raised the possibility of his facing trial in a Ciskeian court.

However, an SA foreign affairs source has suggested that the formation of the TEC could provide an opportunity for Ciskei's reincorporation and that Pretoria would not oppose a TEC motivation to bring the homeland back into the fold.

But such a decision is unlikely to spirit away magically Gqozo's resistance to change. — Ecna.

MADAM & EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico



Ciskei taxpayers' money used to fund Gqozo's party — claim

Sowetan 30/9/93

THE Ciskei government has used tens of thousands of rands of public money to fund the African Democratic Movement, a political party headed by homeland ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The *East Cape News Agencies* has obtained a copy of a government invoice showing a "donation" of R25 000 to the ADM, paid from the homeland's suspense miscellaneous account on August 17 this year.

The invoice is the first hard evidence to emerge that confirms persistent allegations that the ADM is funded by taxpayers' money. It reads: "Council of State, being payment for a donation for the ADM which was received under water products and deposited per receipt number 1202..."

ADM chairman Mr Titus Mcoiyana did not deny the donation when asked to comment on Tuesday. He said he would have to "go through the treasury books before commenting".

The Ciskei government has so far not responded to faxed inquiries about the matter.

The suspense miscellaneous account is used by the homeland government to hold funds for incomplete transactions which do not have their own expense accounts.

A senior homeland government official involved in monitoring finances said on Tuesday the donation sounded "abnormal, not a normal expenditure".

The R25 000 donation is a substantial amount for an organisation which claims between 17 000 and 20 000 members. Opponents of the Ciskei government claim the ADM in reality has less than one third of its claimed membership.

Elections

(105)

The ADM recently announced its plans to contest the April 27 elections next year and has begun its campaign with prominent adverts in the regional Press.

Meanwhile, other ADM documents reveal that the former general secretary of the ADM, Mr SM Faku, wrote to Ciskei's education department asking for money to send over 30 ADM delegates to the Inkatha Freedom Party's youth congress in Ulundi at the end of August.

He requested funds just days before the donation was made but informed sources say the R25 000 was not paid to cover those costs.

However, sources allege the Ciskei government did pay towards the ADM delegation's trip to Ulundi. — *Ecna*.



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

NEWS Homeland boss and bodyguard face crunch ● ▲

Gqozo to face murder charge

Sowetan 1/10/93

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is to be charged with the murder of homeland rebel Mr Charles Sebe.

Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens announced yesterday: "I have decided to proceed with my original intention to prosecute Brigadier Gqozo and Thozamile Veliti (a bodyguard) on a charge of murder arising from the death of Mr Sebe and a further count of incitement to murder."

He said: "I have been in touch with the legal representatives of Brigadier Gqozo and hope to be able to set a trial date."

Asked if he would issue a warrant for

■ **TRIAL DATE** Arrest may not be necessary, says attorney-general: (105)

the arrest of the homeland ruler, Jurgens replied: "I hope it will not be necessary. We should be able to work out an alternative."

Two weeks ago the *Eastern Cape News Agency* reported Jurgens had made a decision and it was clear Gqozo would be charged with the death of Sebe.

But at the time Jurgens was instructed by the Minister of Justice not to make his decision public until he had studied

papers lodged by Gqozo's lawyers to review the findings of the Sebe-Guzana inquest.

The inquest found Gqozo and Veliti criminally responsible for Sebe's death since a direct connection existed between orders given by Gqozo and Sebe's killing. Sebe was shot by Ciskei security forces near Bisho after fleeing from a roadblock at which his ally, Colonel Onward Guzana, was gunned down. — *Ecna*.

Murder charge for Gqozo

Star 1/10/93

East London — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is to be charged with the murder of homeland rebel Charles Sebe.

Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens announced yesterday: "I have decided to proceed with my original intention to prosecute Brigadier Gqozo and Thozamile Veliti (a bodyguard) on the charge of murder arising from the death of Sebe and a further count of incitement to murder."

"I have been in touch with the legal representatives of Brigadier Gqozo and hope to be able to set a trial date." (105)

Asked if he would issue a warrant for the homeland ruler's arrest, Jurgens replied: "I hope it will not be necessary."

Two weeks ago Ecn reported that Jurgens had made a decision and it was clear Gqozo would be charged for the death of Sebe.

But at the time Jurgens was instructed by the Minister of Justice not to make his decision public until he had studied papers lodged by Gqozo's lawyers to review the findings of the Sebe-Guzana inquest.

The inquest found Gqozo and Veliti criminally responsible for Sebe's death since a direct connection existed between orders given by Gqozo and Sebe's killing.

Sebe was shot by Ciskei security forces near Bisho after fleeing from a roadblock at which his ally, Colonel Onward Guzana, was gunned down.

"I have decided not to institute any prosecution as a result of Guzana's death," Jurgens said.

Border ANC media officer Mcebisi Bata said "justice has triumphed" and he called on Gqozo to resign. — Ecn.

Ciskei attorney-general to charge Gqozo with murdering Sebe

CISKEI military ruler Oupa Gqozo is to be charged with the murder of Charles Sebe, Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens said yesterday.

He said he took the decision following the August 30 inquest finding that Gqozo was responsible for the killing of Sebe, who was gunned down after escaping from security forces at a roadblock on January 27 1991. The charges are also in respect of Col Onward Guzana, who was killed with Sebe. Ciskei's former defence force commander. "I am going to prosecute Brig Gqozo on a charge of murder and incitement to mur-

der," Jurgens said. The name of Gqozo's former bodyguard, Maj Thozamile Velihi, would be added to Gqozo's and he would face the same charges.

He said he hoped it would not be necessary to arrest Gqozo and the case would probably come to court in November.

Gqozo gave notice yesterday of his intention to bring a motion to the Bishopo Supreme Court to have the inquest findings set aside.

However, Jurgens said he had studied Gqozo's application and was satisfied that no new evidence had come to light.

PATRICK BULGER

Gqozo submitted that the inquest judgment was "riddled with misdirections and could not survive an appeal". Judge M Claasens had acted with "such gross unreasonableness that one can only infer that he failed to apply his mind and/or had been actuated by mala fide and/or ulterior motive".

Technically, the Supreme Court could find in its review that the inquest findings were unreasonable. But this is considered unlikely given that the inquest court sat for two years before making its findings. Claasens' findings were emphatic that Sebe had been killed in cold blood and that there had been an unbroken chain between Gqozo's order to kill and the actual deed. Gqozo gave evidence at the inquest where he denied issuing orders to kill Sebe. He conceded, however, that the intention had been to neutralise him. He said this was a military term.

Our East London correspondent reports that Gqozo said in Bishopo he welcomed the Jurgens decision as it would give him the opportunity to prove his innocence.

He said Sebe and Guzana had been "dis-sident military officers and fugitives from justice, who entered Ciskei armed to the teeth" and bent on overthrowing the government.

"Any action taken by the head of state was in the interest and safety of the Ciskei government and the security of the state." The Border ANC praised Jurgens' "brave decision" and called for Gqozo's immediate resignation and the installation of an interim administration pending re-incorporation. "He cannot continue to act as head of state while he is on trial."

Sebe murder: Gqozo for trial

CT1/10/93

(105)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is to be charged with the murder of General Charles Sebe, Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens said yesterday.

Mr Jurgens said he had taken the decision following an inquest finding on August 30 that Brig Gqozo was responsible for the killing of Gen Sebe, who was gunned down at a roadblock on January 27, 1991.

The charges also relate to former defence force commander Colonel Onward Guzana, who was killed with Gen Sebe.

"I am going to prosecute Brig Gqozo on a charge of murder and incitement to murder," Mr Jurgens said.

He said he hoped it would not

Bodyguard will also be charged

be necessary to arrest Brig Gqozo and that the case would probably come to court in November.

Brig Gqozo's former bodyguard, Major Thozamile Veliti, would face the same charges.

Brig Gqozo yesterday gave notice of his intention to bring a motion to the Bisho Supreme Court to have the inquest findings set aside.

Mr Jurgens said, however, he had studied Brig Gqozo's applica-

tion and was satisfied no new evidence had come to light.

Technically, the Supreme Court could find in its review that the inquest findings were unreasonable, but this is now considered unlikely as the inquest court sat for two years before making its findings.

In his application for a review, Gqozo named as one of the respondents the inquest judge, Mr Justice M Claasens.

Judge Claasens' findings were emphatic that Gen Sebe had been killed in cold blood and that there had been an unbroken chain between Brig Gqozo's order to kill and the actual deed.

He found that Brig Gqozo had issued "search and destroy" and "shoot on sight" orders.

Brig Gqozo told the inquest he denied issuing orders to kill Sebe. He conceded, however, that the intention was to neutralise him.

Oupa Gqozo charged with Sebe murder

(105)
BISHO. — Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo has been charged with the murder of Charles Sebe, brother of former president Lennox Sebe, who was overthrown in 1990.

Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens said he would proceed with his intention to charge Brigadier Gqozo.

General Sebe and Colonel Q Guzana were killed in 1991, allegedly for attempting to lead a coup.

In a statement yesterday, Brigadier Gqozo said he had taken notice of the attorney-general's decision.

"The Ciskei courts have in the past proved their independence and this is yet another example of the supremacy of the law in Ciskei."

The decision would afford him the opportunity to prove his innocence. ARG 1/10/93

"Both Charles Sebe and Colonel Guzana were dissident military officers and fugitives from justice, who entered Ciskei armed ... and bent on the overthrow of the government.

"Any action taken by the head of state was in the interest and safety of the Ciskei government and the security of the state." — Sapa.

By Andrew Trench

Gqozo's last stand?

(105)

NOBODY should think Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is planning to pack his bags quietly and

move out of Bisho. Instead, indications from the Ciskei capital are that Gqozo is preparing for the political fight of his life.

He recently issued a new decree to replace the homeland's National Security Act, reintroducing detention without trial and allowing authorities to ban meetings.

It also contained a particularly unusual clause that allows the government to ban meetings which could be attended by a significant number of "aliens" — non-Ciskeians.

This clause is being widely interpreted as the start of a wall being built around the homeland before next April's elections.

The ANC and human rights lawyers in the region believe the "aliens" clause will be used to prevent leaders from outside the homeland from campaigning there. The ANC said it will definitely

mount a court challenge to the decree.

"Ciskei will be able to use a single piece of legislation to prohibit free political activity," said local human rights lawyer Mr Mike Smith.

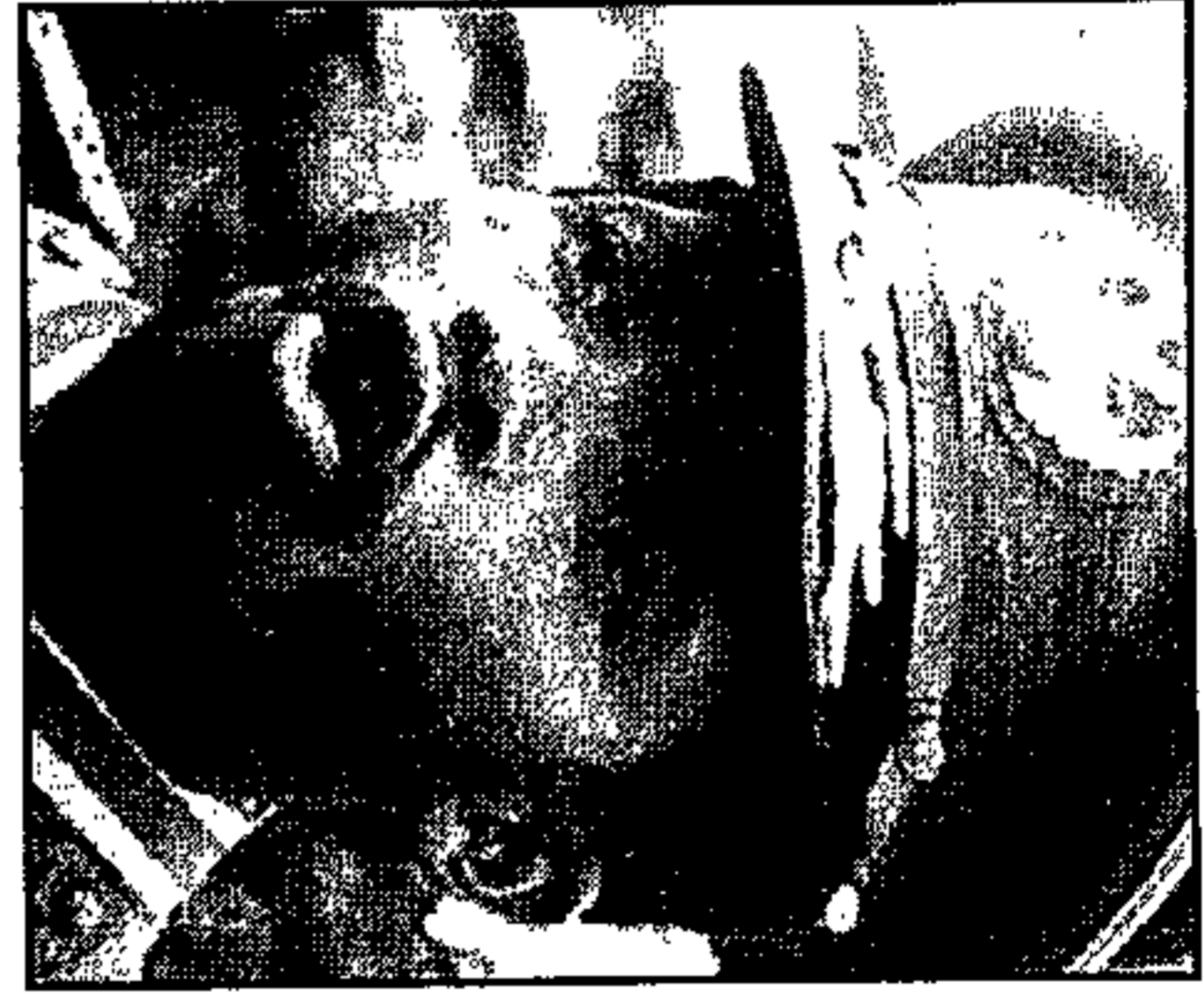
The decree gives substance to threats by Gqozo not to allow elections to take place in Ciskei.

At the Kempton Park negotiations, Ciskei is among those digging in their heels. It has opposed the creation of the Transitional Executive Council and has warned the multi-party talks they would "refuse" deciding to pass the bill.

The decree is part of a major initiative by the military council to give its security forces their teeth back.

A series of court rulings in the homeland over the years has whittled away at security laws, largely inherited from South Africa.

But now the homeland's military government is also challenging an Appellate Division ruling that



OUPA GOOZO

courts could strike down legislation passed before the coup which brought him to power in March 1990 — clearly an attempt to roll back the human rights advances made.

These developments come against the background of an increasingly isolationist policy in

Ciskei, bent on resisting reincorporation.

Gqozo knows the region is an ANC stronghold. His only chances of political survival lie in frustrating the ANC's ability to organise as much as possible.

There is a more sinister dimension to these moves. There have been reports that a private militia is being armed and trained in Ciskei, and allegations of arms procurement with the assistance of the right wing.

At the same time, it has been announced that Gqozo's ADM plans to contest next April's elections — directly contradicting his stated position on the poll. This suggests the Ciskei ruler is covering all his bases.

The signals are of an increasingly desperate man, throwing everything into an attempt to roll back what most others regard as inevitable: the demise of his homeland. His position has been significantly

weakened by the recent ineffectual court ruling that found him personally to blame for the killing of dissident Charles Sebe. As a result, it is virtually assured that he will be tried for the incident in his own courts.

This week a well-placed Foreign Affairs official suggested Pretoria was appalled by the ineffectual court finding, but has decided to keep its opinions to itself.

However, the official said, the transitional executive council could provide an opportunity for Ciskei's reincorporation and, the source adds, Pretoria will not oppose a TEC motivation to bring the homeland back into the fold.

But such a decision is unlikely to magically spirit away Gqozo's resistance to change.

"We see this as a beginning of a period in which repression and violence is going to be intensified by the Ciskei regime," predicts Border Council of Churches president Bongani Finca. **TECNA**

Ciskei cops to be charged

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens has decided to prosecute four Ciskei policemen blamed by an inquest court for the death of a Mount Coke man found hanged in a police cell at Mount Coke in 1991.

Sergeants Buyile Notoke, Siseko Dyasi and Tamsanqa Kelejane and Constable Lindelo Sihomo will be charged with two counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Mr Jurgens said he would decide on whether to institute a charge of murder after the assault prosecution was completed. (105) CT 2/10/93

He said the four policemen would appear in the regional court for trial early next year.

ANC: Strip
Gqozo of
his power

CT 2/10/13
(105)

JOHANNESBURG. — The decision of Ciskei's attorney-general to prosecute Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for his involvement in the murder of General Charles Sebe opens the way for the military ruler to be relieved of all positions of authority in the territory, the ANC stated yesterday.

The ANC charged that Brig Gqozo's administration introduced security measures to undermine the role of the TEC.

The organisation also condemned the South African government's "shameless refusal" to relieve Brig Gqozo of his authority.

The South African government said yesterday it was not in a position to "remove the leader of a neighbouring state" — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Gqozo must resist, says regional ANC

Weekend Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH.— Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo will probably take leave while he answers murder charges in the homeland's Supreme Court because of the difficulty of running the homeland's affairs from the dock.

In an unprecedented development, Ciskei attorney-general Willem Jurgens, announced this week that charges would be brought against Brigadier Gqozo for the murder of former security supremo Charles Sebe.

It is unlikely, however, that the head of Ciskei's ruling military council will be suspended until the judicial process has run its course.

Homeland negotiators said the indictment also would have no bearing on Ciskei's position at the multi-party talks.

Ciskei chief negotiator Mickey

Webb said there might be attempts to use the charges against Brigadier Gqozo to undercut the homeland's negotiating strength.

However, Ciskei's refusal to participate in the Transitional Executive Council was a corporate decision taken by the homeland's "civilian cabinet" and it would remain Ciskei's position at the talks.

A Ciskei Council of State spokesman said Brigadier Gqozo had taken note of the decision and welcomed it as an opportunity to stand trial and prove he was not legally responsible for Mr Sebe's death.

The ANC's Border region has called for Brigadier Gqozo's immediate resignation and the installation of an interim administration pending reincorporation.

"He cannot continue to act as head of State while he is on trial," Border ANC spokesman Mcebisi Bata said.

But the homeland spokesman dismissed the ANC call as "typical impertinence from these communists".

Clinging legal principles that an accused is innocent until proven guilty, the spokesman said Brigadier Gqozo's indictment on murder charges would have no bearing on his position within the military council.

It is understood from a very reliable source that Brigadier Gqozo is likely to take leave from official duties for the duration of the trial, given the difficulty of "attending to affairs of State" while he is in the dock.

The homeland's spokesman agreed that it was "unprecedented" for a head of State to be charged with murder.

Attorney-general Mr Jurgens said an indictment formally charging Brigadier Gqozo with murder and incitement to murder would be served on him "within the next week or so".

It is believed the charge of incitement relates to Brigadier Gqozo's "shoot on sight" and "search and destroy" orders broadcast over the radio.

Joining the homeland leader in the

APR 22 10 49

105

accused box will be his former chief bodyguard, Thozamile Veliti, who will also be charged with murder in connection with Mr Sebe's death.

Mr Jurgens' decision follows the inquest into the deaths in January 1991 of Mr Sebe, a former head of Ciskei State security, and Colonel Oswald Guzana, a former executive member of Ciskei's military council.

The inquest judge, Mr Justice Michael Claassens, found Brigadier Gqozo and Sergeant Major Veliti were responsible for the death of Mr Sebe at Gubevu village on January 28.

The judge said the order to kill had been given by Brigadier Gqozo and that an unbroken chain had been established between the order and Mr Sebe's death at the hands of Ciskei Defence Force troops.

Mr Jurgens said he hoped it would not be necessary to arrest Brigadier Gqozo. The case would come to trial in the Bisho Supreme Court sometime in November.

Gqozo charged with Sebe's death

THE Ciskei Attorney-General's decision to prosecute Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for his involvement in the murder of Charles Sebe opens the way for the military ruler to be relieved of all positions of authority in the territory, the ANC charged on Friday. *C/Press 3/10/93*

A-G Willem Jurgens announced on Thursday that Gqozo will be charged with the 1991 murder of Charles Sebe. *(105)*

I won't resign, says embattled Gqozo

S. Times (Buss)
10/10/93

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

BELEAGUERED Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo says he won't stand down, despite being charged with the 1991 murder of rival Charles Sebe.

This week, in an exclusive Sunday Times interview, Brigadier Gqozo accused the National Party of using Ciskei courts in a bid to oust him because, he says, he won't recognise the Transitional Executive Council — even if this means taking up arms.

In his first public response to the decision by Ciskei Attorney General Willem Jurgens to press charges of murder and incitement to murder, the military ruler said he would ignore calls that he stand down pending the outcome of his trial, which starts next month.

If convicted, he faces an effective jail term of 10 to 15 years.

But Ciskei offers a legal mechanism whereby the brigadier is able to grant himself a "royal pardon" on all charges. He has already pardoned Ciskei

soldiers involved in last year's Bisho massacre. (105)

Speaking from his Bisho home this week, he said: "These charges are nothing but an NP-inspired coup to overthrow me using the judiciary. They (the NP) couldn't remove me militarily so now they are trying this kind of coup aimed at pleasing the ANC."

"But I won't be stepping down; they are wasting their time. The law is a two-edged sword and I will prove my innocence in court."

He remained firmly opposed to the TEC because, once in place it would mean "goodbye to all negotiations because the communists will be in power".

Said Brigadier Gqozo: "We want assurance of a federal state with firm boundaries that do not include us in the Transkei. If they try and force us into a regional state, we will regard it as a declaration of war — and there will be bloodshed."

The decision to prosecute comes at a time when relations between South Africa and Cis-

kei are at an all-time low, with political contact confined to interaction at Kempton Park.

Brigadier Gqozo and his group of white advisers are facing their greatest crisis in a four-year battle to maintain power.

Recent analysis by the Network of Independent Monitors of violence in Ciskei shows increasing political conflict, with the Ciskei authorities as perpetrators and victims.

In an increasingly heated battle with the Ciskei courts, Brigadier Gqozo twice tried to avoid giving evidence at the Sebe inquest by issuing decrees, both declared invalid by the courts.

● On August 30, an inquest court found Brigadier Gqozo responsible for the deaths of his two rivals who were en route from the Transkei to the Ciskei to mount a coup.

● The case rests on orders Brigadier Gqozo allegedly issued for soldiers to "seek and destroy" his opponents and "shoot on sight".

Is Gqozo changing the guard?

CIPress 10/10/93

(105)

A CISKEI militia – protecting homeland ruler Oupa Gqozo's supporters – is to be absorbed into the ranks of a private security company, according to a well-placed intelligence source.

If carried out, the move would spell the end of what Ciskei has termed its "auxiliary services", formed to protect chiefs and headmen, but widely regarded as Brig Gqozo's private army.

However, the company which the source maintains is to absorb the militia – Peaceforce – has denied the move.

In a recent interview Peaceforce regional manager Trevor Taylor denied the recruits were to be taken in by the company, but conceded it was possible some recruits may have "infiltrated" its ranks.

Peaceforce is contracted to the Ciskei government to provide protection for government buildings in the homeland. It is no stranger to controversy.

Its guards have been accused of attacks on ANC supporters and of being sympathetic to the Ciskei government.

But Peaceforce – a national company – has repeatedly denied any sinister agenda, insisting it is an above-board security company working in the Ciskei.

According to the source about 80 "auxiliary servicemen" are to

'Security firm making an army deal'

undergo selection as guards for Peaceforce following an agreement between the Ciskei Defence Force and the company.

It is understood that the scheduled "privatisation" of the group is a result of the inability of the CDF to pay the recruits.

The company and the government, it is alleged, plan to enter into a "deal" whereby the government will pay about R600 for each recruit taken in.

The scheduled amalgamation of the recruits with Peaceforce would also reduce their firepower – replacing their assault rifles with shotguns.

Ciskei confirmed the existence of the "auxiliary services" for the first time last week.

The recruits were trained by the CDF at Wesley on the Peddie coast, and were deployed throughout the homeland "to protect chiefs and headmen against hundreds of attacks", according to the Bisho government. — Ecna



CISKEI'S BOSS ... Gqozo is reportedly planning to draft his private guards into "Peaceforce" – a Ciskei-based security firm.

Star 18/10/93

Gqozo's deputy to rule Ciskei

East London — Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has handed over rule to his deputy, Colonel Silence Pita, South Africa's ambassador to the homeland said this morning.

Ambassador Piet Goosen, said: "I have been informed that Colonel Pita is the head of state." (105)

Goosen said he understood Gqozo still retained a ceremonial position, but the day-to-day running of Ciskei had been legally handed to Pita.

"There has been a legal transfer of authority regarding matters of state," Goosen said.

But he added: "Brigadier Gqozo has not been deposed. He is still very much head of state."

Sources close to the government said last week Gqozo had taken a long holiday due to pressures from within his administration for him to stand aside before his murder trial set to start next month. -- ECNA.

Gqozo 'still in charge of Ciskei'

Star 19/10/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is still very much in charge in the homeland, says his new Foreign Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mickey Webb. (105)

Gqozo recently took what is believed will be a long holiday, giving rise to suggestions that he had abdicated.

Webb, former Ciskei government World Trade Centre negotiator, was sworn in as a minister yesterday.

He told The Star that Gqozo had taken a holiday until his pending murder trial was over.

But, asked whether Gqozo would be back in office after his holiday had ended, Webb said: "Heavens yes. It is just a temporary thing."

Webb added that Gqozo still had a hand on the tiller and "is available 24 hours of the day" in spite of handing over to Colonel Silence Pita while he was away on holiday.

COMPANIES

Citizen Bank makes its debut

CITIZEN Bank Holdings made its debut in the bank sector yesterday at 240c, in line with net asset value of 239c.

The price eased to close at 230c with 77 000 shares worth R184 300 changing hands in five deals.

The niche group was recently restructured after beginning operations as a building society in Bisho, Ciskei, in 1984. The mortgage bond portfolio is R245m with more than 80% of the 6 544 loans to civil servants.

Rapid balance sheet growth slowed in 1993 after a jump in debt provision converted an increase in operating profit to a 22% fall in pre- and after-tax profit.

Most of the provision represented a 100% write down of properties in possession which is probably non-recurrent. There was also a non-recurring credit from accumulated retentions of two dormant subsidiary companies.

The company is forecasting earnings of 82,5c a share for the financial year to June

MERVYN HARRIS

1994 with a three-times covered dividend of 27,5c a share. *Biday*

An investment reservation is the zero Ciskeian tax rate, but management believes that an imposition of the SA tax regime would be phased in over a number of years. *19/10/93*

Analysts said the group appeared to be conservatively managed and to have sound longer term growth prospects, particularly in conjunction with a more substantial partner down the line.

In the short term, the nil tax rate, the group's specialised nature and domicile in a territory whose political stability is perceived to be somewhat suspect, would probably rule out any premium investment rating. *(105)*

Nevertheless, accumulation of the shares in the region of 239c net asset value should prove rewarding.

New guards at SA embassy

UMTATA. — Temporary security personnel to guard the South African embassy were flown in here yesterday to replace those who have been ordered to leave by the Transkei government.

Six black soldiers — from the Orange Free State command — were seen arriving at the embassy grounds.

A spokesman for the embassy, Dr Dawie Bezuidenhout, confirmed that security personnel had been rotated.

Diplomat

causes row in Ciskei

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A diplomatic row erupted yesterday between South Africa and Ciskei after comments by the South African ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Piet Goosen, that the homeland's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had handed over the reins of the government to his deputy, Colonel Silence Pita.

Mr Goosen said yesterday that he had been informed that Brig Gqozo was legally still head of state, but had appointed Colonel Pita to take care of the day-to-day administration.

Reacting to the ambassador, the Ciskei government said in a statement: "It is particularly disturbing that the RSA ambassador to the Ciskei, has seen fit to abandon diplomatic tradition by making unfounded comments concerning the leader of his host country."

In its response the South African Department of Foreign Affairs said it had taken note of the Ciskei statement.

Ciskei raids Fort Hare

CISKEI security forces raided Fort Hare University at the weekend and allegedly found evidence that students were preparing petrol bombs to continue last week's hostilities between rival groups on the campus. *Sowetan 1/11/93*

The Ciskei government said yesterday the 30-minute raid was an attempt to defuse the tension after rumours of attacks and counter-attacks by rival African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress students had reached the government.

It said no one was injured in the operation, saying the security forces had received "full co-operation of the university authorities". *(105) (95)*

"The shootout on campus (last week) between ANC and PAC students has created enormous tension at a critical time for examinations," Ciskei authorities said. — *Sapa*.

'King' Gqozo claims he's immune from prosecution

WM 12-18/11/93 105

Ciskei strongman Oupa Gqozo says he shouldn't be prosecuted for the murder of a rival as he is the head of state. But that probably won't be for long, reports **Louise Flanagan**

CISKEI'S military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo can't afford to resign this week — his defence in his murder trial depends on him holding on to his position.

But when the trial is over, it may well be a toss-up for the brigadier whether he loses his position because of reincorporation or because he is sent to jail.

Gqozo is facing charges of murder and incitement to murder relating to the January 1991 killing of political rival Charles Sebe. In August a two-year-long inquest found that a badly injured Sebe had been gunned down in cold blood after he had surrendered to Ciskei troops.

Gqozo's bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, is also facing murder charges. The state alleges Gqozo gave the "search and destroy" order and Veliti carried it out.

The trial got off to a slow start this week with argument over whether or not the brigadier could actually be charged. Until this is resolved, it appears that charges will not be put to Gqozo and he will not be asked to plead.

Gqozo's advocate, Dup de Bruyn, who represents the South African Police at the continuing inquest into the 1985 murder of activist Matthew Goniwe, compared Gqozo to the queen of England and told the court Gqozo had immunity from prosecution as he was head of state.

"As a matter of substantive (common) law the head of state does not incur criminal liability for actions performed in his capacity as head of state and accordingly no prosecution is competent," argued De Bruyn. He said a 1985 law passed by the man Gqozo deposed, Lennox Sebe, gave Gqozo indemnity.



Oupa Gqozo ... Won't hang even if he is convicted of murder

"Immunity from prosecution does not place him above the law but is accorded to him in terms of the law," argued De Bruyn.

The Ciskei government reiterated this week that Gqozo remains head of state. This follows rumours he has at least temporarily stepped aside and repeated calls for his resignation from the African National Congress.

Attorney-General Willem Jurgens, the man who initially decided Gqozo should be charged and who is now prosecuting him, argued that the English system was very different from that in Ciskei.

"The English sovereign is a hereditary sovereign who claims her prerogative (of immunity) from time immemorial. The English sovereign is a figurehead and not head of government as in Ciskei," he said.

Jurgens said that, because there is no Ciskei procedure to impeach Gqozo, the courts should have jurisdiction over him. He said Gqozo had "grossly abused" his position.

Two of Gqozo's own decrees have been used to question his claim of immunity.

His Bill of Rights specifically states: "All persons shall be equal before the law." Gqozo's counsel argued the brigadier has common law immunity. He also passed his own Immunity Decree shortly after his March 1990 coup, which indemnified him and colleagues from prosecution around the overthrow.

The court has heard argument that this decree, which provides limited indemnity for the actual coup only, is more recent than Sebe's Indemnity Act and thus more relevant.

One of the ironies of Gqozo's case is that it has been journalists who provided key evidence which led to him being charged in the first place. Although none gave evidence at the inquest, the *Sunday Tribune*, Radio Ciskei and SABC all provided transcripts of interviews with Gqozo shortly after the killings in which he boasted about ordering Sebe's death.

Five journalists — from the *Sunday Tribune*, *Sunday Times*, Sapa and Radio Ciskei — are now on the state's list of witnesses to be called. Most of the other planned witnesses are serving or former members of the Ciskei security forces.

If Gqozo is acquitted, his political future does not seem bright. He's a key member of the Freedom Alliance but does not have enough of a following to assure himself of a position under a new government. His vision of ruling an independent region next year is unlikely to materialise and reincorporation, with the end of his political career, is only months away.

Indeed, Gqozo will be lucky to get his trial over with before reincorporation happens. His advocate is instructed by the Ciskei state attorney, which indicates that Gqozo's legal bills are being picked up by the state.

After reincorporation he may have to foot the bill himself on an ordinary soldier's salary.

If convicted of murder, there is no mandatory sentence laid down by the Ciskei courts. However Gqozo will definitely not get the death sentence, as he himself abolished it by decree some months after taking power. — Ecna

Sowetan 3/11/93

Fort Hare raid condemned

THE University of Fort Hare has condemned the weekend campus raid by Ciskei police, labelling it a bid to sow panic among students.

Members of the homeland's police searched dormitories for weapons on Sunday night. Police said two petrol bombs were confiscated but that no one had been arrested.

The raid followed a grenade attack on campus last week which injured five members of the Pan Africanist Stu-

dents' Organisation, the student wing of the Pan Africanist Congress. It followed a clash between African National Congress and PAC supporters over the use of a hall at a nearby village (105)

The university's rector, Professor Sibusiso Bengu, in a statement yesterday, expressed concern at "what seems to be a concerted effort to cause panic among our students".

Bengu claimed that the police had breached an agreement that they would

not enter the campus without first advising the university's management.

The SA Students' Congress also condemned the raid as a "cowardly act" aimed at destabilising the university and the region.

Meanwhile, a meeting on Monday over the grenade attack between the PAC, ANC, university authorities and student organisations did not take place because of PAC objections to the presence of ANC members. — *Ecna*.

Face the

MUSIC!

Ciskei's Gqozo, ex-bodyguard on murder rap

THE curtain will rise on an unprecedented legal drama in Ciskei's Supreme Court on Tuesday.

Homeland ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo will face charges of murder and incitement to murder, and with him former chief bodyguard Maj Thomazile Veliti will face charges of murder.

The two are to be tried for the murder of former homeland security chief Gen Charles Sebe in January 1991. *CIPred 7/11/93*

Sebe was allegedly killed by Ciskei soldiers at a village near King William's Town after fellow dissident Col Onward Guzana died in a shooting at a Ciskei Defence Force roadblock.

Gqozo allegedly gave orders that Sebe and Guzana be killed.

Ciskei has no mandatory sentence for murder and has also abolished the death sentence.

Gqozo will be defended by advocate Dup de Bruyn, who appeared for the SA Police in the Goniwe inquest.

The trial of the two follows a protracted inquest on the deaths of the two homeland rebels. Gqozo, despite attempts to use decrees to prevent being called, was eventually compelled to give evidence.

On August 30, inquest judge Michael Claassens found the two responsible for the death of Sebe.

Claassens said the order to kill had been given by Gqozo and that an "unbroken chain" had been established between the order and Sebe's death. (105)

Coinciding with Gqozo's trial are renewed calls for his removal from power.

The ANC's Border region has planned to march to the South African Embassy in King William's Town tomorrow to demand his resignation. The organisation avers that a person charged with murder cannot be head of State.

While Gqozo has doggedly survived controversies in the past, for the first time his position is in doubt.

Meanwhile SA's ambassador to Ciskei, Piet Goosen, claimed recently he was told that Gqozo had handed the daily administration of the homeland to his deputy, Col Silence Pita. However, Pita was abroad at the time and the Ciskei government vehemently denied the claim. — Eena

Ciskei Leader on murder charges

AKG 9/11/13
(105)

Counsel applies for case against Brigadier Gqozo to be dropped

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

BISHO. — Counsel for Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Joshua Gqozo, charged with the murder of former security force chief Major General Charles Sebe, applied to the Supreme Court here today for the charges to be dropped.

Brigadier Gqozo is charged with his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Eric Veliti, of killing Major-General Sebe in the village of Gubevu in January 1991.

Brigadier Gqozo faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

When the trial began at 11.35am, Dup De Bruyn, for Brigadier Gqozo, said he had three objections to the charges.

A head of state could not be held criminally liable for actions carried out in his name, he enjoyed immunity under procedural law and he could also not be charged in terms of the Homelands Indemnity Act.

"Obviously one would have preferred to get to grips with the merits of this case as soon as possible. But proceedings should not even have commenced."

Mr de Bruyn said the summons should be struck out and proceedings against Brigadier Gqozo stopped.

He said it was important to bear in mind that South African constitutional law should be regarded as the origin of Ciskei's constitution.

South African common law was also based on English constitutional law, he said.

Mr De Bruyn said his objection was that Brigadier Gqozo was being charged personally.

He was under the impression, when looking at the charge sheet, that he was being charged in his personal capacity. However, it was unclear whether he was acting as head of state at the time.

Mr Justice Heath replied that it appeared from the preamble to the charge sheet that Brigadier Gqozo was allegedly acting as chairman of the Ciskei Military Council when he gave the order.

"If that is so he is being held liable as head of state," the judge said.

Mr De Bruyn replied that it would probably be better if Ciskei Attorney-General W F Jurgens, SC, appearing for the State, told the court what his position was.

Mr Jurgens said "The position is I charge Oupa Gqozo as an individual who happens to have a certain rank and position."



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus

MURDER ACCUSED: Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo arrives at Bisho Supreme Court today to face charges of murdering former security force chief Major General Charles Sebe. He is seen here with security officials.

Ratepayers told to pay 10,5% **more**

CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

RATEPAYERS must pay last year's rates plus 10,5 percent in terms of a new R2,5 billion budget.

The city council yesterday passed by 18 votes to six an "emergency" budget to replace the one overturned by the Supreme Court in the controversy about the 1990 valuation roll.

Cash flow to the council has been squeezed by confusion about what rates to pay — or whether to pay at all — after the roll was scrapped. About 32 000 ratepayers

□ Council passes 'emergency' budget 18 to 6

whose rates will go up more than they would have in terms of the now-defunct budget will get rebates from a special R5 million fund drawn from council reserves.

A new valuation ordinance is to be tabled in parliament this month.

But executive committee chairman Clive Keegan warned that the ordinance was unlikely to bring relief to thousands of people hit by property valuations which have soared since the 1970s.

Key points of the new budget are:

● A 26 percent rebate for residential properties.

● The rebate for people "disadvantaged" by the overturning of the 1990 roll will be equal to the difference between rates in terms of the 1979 and 1990 rolls.

● R5 million will be set aside for bad debts for electricity.

● R6 million will be used to pay for having the 1990 roll set aside. Mr Keegan said ways would

be found to reduce staff "to rid the council of its top-heavy bureaucratic image".

A decision on severing services to areas which had not paid for them had been put on hold "for days only".

Money was owing in these areas, previously administered by black local authorities, because of the bankruptcy of the provincial administration and the intransigence of the State. Mr Keegan said:

He said if the provincial authorities did not pay water ac-

counts it had underwritten, the council would refuse in turn to pay its Department of Water Affairs accounts.

Mr Keegan said the budget had not been debated by the Democratic Party caucus and was not an attempt to buy votes. It had been devised after all alternatives had been considered.

Councillors who opposed the budget warned that the 10,5 percent increase would not allow the council to keep services up to standard, and would lay the foundation for a huge rates increase next year. "A 100 little details was given in the new budget," they said.

(24) ARCT 9/11/93

Like king who can do no wrong, trial told

Gqozo 'above law', Bisho court hears

Star 10/11/93

Bisho — Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was like a "king who can do no wrong" and charges against him should be dismissed, his lawyers told the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

Gqozo appeared in the court on the first day of his trial on charges of murder and incitement to murder Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe in 1991.

A former chief bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, was also in court charged with murder. He is alleged to have killed Sebe on instructions from Gqozo.

Gqozo's legal representative, advocate Dup de Bruyn, gave notice of objection to the prosecution of the Ciskei ruler.

He argued that Ciskei law was based on South African law, which in turn was based on Brit-

DEFENCE puts it to Bisho Supreme Court that a head of state cannot be held responsible in a personal capacity

ish common law. (105)
He said British common law held that a monarch, or head of state, could not be held personally responsible for acts done in an official capacity.

De Bruyn argued that the State sought to prosecute Gqozo in his personal capacity when the alleged offence — issuing orders to kill — had taken place when Gqozo was acting in his capacity as head of state.

Ciskei Attorney-General Wil-

lem Jurgens replied: "I try Oupa Gqozo as an individual who happens to hold a certain rank and position ... I try him as a person."

Stuart Redpath, appearing for Veliti also gave notice of objection, arguing that his client was indemnified from prosecution in terms of Ciskei's Indemnity Act.

He held that a soldier who was acting on orders from the head of state had a right to rely on indemnity. However, he stressed this should not be seen as an admission of guilt on the part of Veliti.

The State plans to call 29 witnesses, five of whom are journalists.

Gqozo and Veliti were not asked to plead. The case was postponed until this morning. — Eena.

'Untouchable'



KING

Sowetan 10/11/93

■ **NO CHARGE** Lawyer asks that Gqozo goes

free because Ciskei leader 'can do no wrong':

BISHO — CISKEI'S BRIGADIER Oupa Gqozo was like a "king who can do no wrong" and charges against him should be dismissed, his lawyers told the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday. (105)

Gqozo appeared in the Bisho Supreme Court on the first day of his trial on charges of murder and incitement to murder Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe in 1991.

A former chief bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, was also in court charged with murder. He is alleged to have killed Sebe on instructions from Gqozo.

Gqozo's legal representative, Mr "Dup" de Bruyn, gave notice of objection to the prosecution of the Ciskei ruler.

He argued Ciskei law was based on South African law, which in turn was based on British common law. He said British common law held a monarch, or head of state, could not be held personally responsible for acts done in an official capacity.

"There is no instance in English law where the head of state is found liable in a personal capacity," he said.

De Bruyn argued the State sought to prosecute Gqozo in his personal capacity when the alleged offence — issuing orders to kill — had taken place when Gqozo was acting in his capacity as head of state.

He said the head of state was the "ultimate authority" of the state and therefore could not be held liable in a personal capacity.

Ciskei's attorney-general, Mr Willem Jurgens,

replied saying: "I try Oupa Gqozo as an individual who happens to hold a certain rank and position ... I try him as a person."

The presiding judge, Mr Justice Willem Heath, asked De Bruyn to explain why Ciskei's constitutional principle that all people are equal before the law should not apply to the head of state.

De Bruyn said if that right was not read with the common law — which protected the head of state from prosecution — it would lead to "absurdities".

He maintained if it was not read in such a light, children as young as five and judges would be personally liable for legal action.

Mr Stuart Redpath, appearing for Veliti, also gave notice of objection, arguing that his client was indemnified from prosecution in terms of Ciskei's Indemnity Act.

He held that a soldier who was acting on orders from the head of state had a right to rely on indemnity. However, he stressed this should not be seen as an admission of guilt on the part of Veliti.

Gqozo sat with Veliti in the dock, both dressed in sober suits. Gqozo gave his legal team a thumbs-up signal when he arrived and sat in the early session with his arms folded, staring at the floor.

When he left for the lunch break in a black limousine, about 40 of his supporters lined the road outside the court cheering as his cavalcade roared by, led by a police escort.

The State plans to call 29 witnesses, five of whom are journalists.

Gqozo and Veliti were not asked to plead. The case was postponed to today. — *Ecna*.

See picture page 2

Gqozo 'can't be prosecuted'

CT 10/11/93 (105)

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens, SC, will respond today to the latest attempts by homeland leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to avoid appearing in court in connection with the death of Mr Charles Sebe.

Mr Jurgens will reply to argument presented by Brig Gqozo's lawyers that, as head of state, the military ruler cannot face criminal prosecution.

Brig Gqozo's trial, to answer charges of murder and incitement to murder arising from the death of the former homeland security boss, was scheduled to start in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

Inquest proceedings completed earlier this year found that Brig Gqozo and a former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti — also now facing charges — were to blame for the death of Mr Sebe, who had been hunted down and shot by Ciskei soldiers after



'IMMUNE' ... Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who claims immunity.

being wounded at a roadblock on January 27, 1991.

The inquest found an unbroken chain of command had been established between the soldiers' actions and a "search and destroy" order issued by Brig Gqozo.

His lawyers relied yesterday on

three arguments to keep Brig Gqozo out of the dock:

- The common law principle that a head of state cannot be prosecuted for actions performed in his capacity as head of state.

- Procedural immunity from prosecution in ordinary courts.

- Immunity from prosecution in terms of the Indemnity Act of 1985.

Responding to a question from Mr Justice W Heath, Mr Dup de Bruyn, SC, for Brig Gqozo, said that even if the Ciskei bill of rights guaranteed Ciskeians equality before the law, the bill came into effect after the alleged murder was committed.

At the time of the alleged offences, Brig Gqozo was head of government and commander-in-chief of Ciskei's armed forces.

The exercise of these powers had taken place in terms of common law and could not give rise to criminal liability for the head of state.

Mr S Redpath, for Mr Veliti, said his client also objected to the prosecution because of the provisions of the Indemnity Act.

Ciskei AG (105) says Gqozo is liable for charges

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Staff Reporter

BISHO. — Ciskei ruler Oupa Gqozo was not immune from prosecution if he committed a crime because he had taken an oath to obey his country's laws and to uphold human rights and freedom, the Supreme Court here was told today.

Ciskei Attorney-General W Jurgens was replying to a submission by Brigadier Gqozo's counsel Dup de Bruyn that the Ciskei head of state was like a British monarch and therefore immune from prosecution.

Brigadier Gqozo and his bodyguard, Thozamile Veliti, are charged with murdering former Ciskei Defence Force and police chief Charles Sebe.

It is alleged that Brigadier Gqozo gave the order to kill Major-General Sebe, who was gunned down on January 28, 1991.

Brigadier Gqozo faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

Mr Jurgens said he had found no authority for Mr De Bruyn's submission that the king could be impeached by parliament.

Similarly no provision had been made in the Ciskei constitution for the impeachment of the chairman of the military council.

This, he said, counted in the Brigadier's favour.

"What do we do with a naughty head of state in Ciskei? Nothing? I submit because there are no impeachment procedures it is for your Lordship's jurisdiction to extend to the person who is head of state."

He added that the head of state should not be supreme or immune and therefore not told that what he did was wrong.

The only way Brigadier Gqozo could stop the prosecution was to tell his Minister of Justice to instruct the Attorney-General not to continue.

But this did not rule out a private prosecution.

"This right does not make him immune from prosecution."

When he had taken office as chairman of the council of state Brigadier Gqozo had taken an oath to uphold, defend and respect the Supreme Court.

He had also sworn to obey the laws of the country, human rights and freedom faithfully.

"Does this oath give him royal immunity to commit a crime? It's not possible."

He said if the argument that the king was immune from his own courts had to be followed, President De Klerk could not be prosecuted if he ordered that Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Pan Africanist Congress leader Benny Alexander stood in the way of proper government and had them killed.

● See page 6

Gqozo had not ruled Ciskei 'according to law' — judge

□ Defence argues military leader 'not liable' for murder charges



COURT APPEARANCE: Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, second from left, leaves the Supreme Court at Bisho yesterday with his bodyguards.

Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

Leader makes 'regal' appearance

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

BISHO. — His counsel likened his position to that of a king who could not be charged.

And, here yesterday, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Joshua Gqozo gave every impression that he was the homeland's monarch.

He arrived at the Ciskei Supreme Court in an armoured black limousine to face a murder charge with his bodyguard, Sergeant Major Thozamile Eric Veliti, in the homeland's most sensational trial yet.

The Ciskei head of state also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

Their appearance is a sequel to the death two years ago of former Ciskei Defence Force head Major-General Charles Sebe.

Brigadier Gqozo's supporters appeared to be outnumbered by a strong police presence.

But, this did not prevent them from forming a 50-strong human chain in the street outside the Supreme Court during the lunch break.

They were waving and shouting as the black limousine, sandwiched between two police vehicles, sped off.

As the small convoy passed the group, one of the windows of the limousine went down and a waving hand appeared.

Later, shortly before 2pm, photographers waiting to catch his return to court on film were surprised to hear that he had slipped past them.

This time, he used a green Daimler.

Apart from those two vehicles, Brigadier Gqozo is said to use a third vehicle, a armoured Landrover, built for former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

It is understood that the Brigadier paid R500 000 for the vehicle.

Among those at the trial were Ciskei Commissioner of Police General Fikile Zibi.

During proceedings some of Brigadier Gqozo's bodyguards were strategically positioned inside the courtroom. No one was allowed to approach.

Smart in a grey suit, he sat next to Sergeant-Major Veliti in the wooden dock.

His arms were folded across his chest, and occasionally his jacket sleeve rucked up to show a gold watch with a matching gold strap.

He listened intently to an almost two-hour argument by his counsel, Dup de Bruyn, on why charges should be dismissed.

Shortly after the trial was adjourned yesterday afternoon, Brigadier Gqozo's entourage left the Supreme Court but not before the head of the Ciskei military council had once again waved at his small group of supporters.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

BISHO. — There would have been no problem in Ciskei if the homeland's military ruler had governed according to the law, said Mr Justice W Heath.

He made this point as Dup de Bruyn, appearing for homeland leader Brigadier Oupa Joshua Gqozo, was arguing why his client should not be charged with murder, or an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

In a trial not far from the homelands seat of government yesterday, the brigadier and his bodyguard Thozamile Eric Veliti were mere onlookers as legal arguments dominated proceedings.

The two men have been charged with murdering Major-General Charles Sebe as he tried to enter the homeland from neighbouring Transkei on January 28, 1991.

Major-General Sebe, former head of the Defence Force, was allegedly gunned down in Gubevu Village by a group of soldiers allegedly commanded by Sergeant-Major Veliti.

Mr De Bruyn compared his client to a British monarch and said that the principle that a monarch could do no wrong also applied in Ciskei.

The principle of all people being equal before the law had to be interpreted to mean "all people must be equal before the law as the law stands".

A head of state's position would become untenable if that principle was applied to him.

"We are saying that as head of state he is not liable."

Judge Heath replied that the court was not dealing with lawful acts.

"We are dealing with unlawful acts. If he had governed the country according to the law there's no problem."

Mr De Bruyn concluded his two-hour argument by saying the State was "not competent" to continue with the case against Brigadier Gqozo.

Stewart Redpath, for Sergeant-Major Veliti, also argued for the dismissal of charges against his client.

He said Sergeant-Major Veliti had allegedly acted under orders given to him by Brigadier Gqozo.

W Jurgens, for the State, will argue today why the case should continue.

Gqozo orders 'were gross abuse of power'

BISHO — The order allegedly issued by Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo that former homeland security boss Charles Sebe should be sought and destroyed was a gross abuse of power, the Bisho Supreme Court heard yesterday. 11/11/93

Attorney-General Willem Jurgens, SC, said Gqozo could not rely on the homeland's Indemnity Act to avoid prosecution for Sebe's death as the Ciskei leader had not acted in good faith when he gave the order.

Jurgens also argued that it was "totally immaterial and a futile exercise" to draw comparisons between Gqozo's position as head of state and that of the English monarch or SA's president.

The Ciskei leader was not above the law but, like all other citizens of the homeland, had to obey and subject himself to the laws of Ciskei.

Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Thozamile Veliti, face charges of murder for the January 27 1991 death of Sebe. Gqozo also faces an alternative count of incitement to murder.

Own Correspondent

Sebe and Col Onward Guzana were allegedly the leaders of a coup plotted against the homeland government, but were thwarted when they were confronted at an army roadblock near Stutterheim. (105)

Guzana was fatally wounded and an inquest found that no one could be held criminally liable for his death.

Sebe escaped despite being seriously wounded at the roadblock and a large manhunt was launched. He was traced to Gubevu village the following day, where he was shot.

The State alleges that Gqozo issued an order that the search for Sebe should be a "seek and destroy operation" and that the former major-general in Ciskei's armed forces should be shot on sight.

The State also alleges that the seriously wounded Sebe was killed by soldiers — including Veliti — as he emerged to surrender to them.

Legal argument will continue today.

Mandela acts on St Lucia

DIRK VAN EEDEN

PRETORIA — The Campaign for St Lucia yesterday handed 200 000 postcards from around SA to the President's Office, calling on him to prevent mining the eastern shores of Lake St Lucia on Natal's north coast. 10/11/93

Among the signatures were those of ANC president Nelson Mandela, veteran politician Helen Suzman, sport stars Jonty Rhodes and Bruce Fordyce, actors, singers, academics and local and international environmentalists. 10/11/93

Transvaal Campaign for St Lucia chairman Nora Kreher said the postcards handed over were only those which had been audited and numbered. Thousands more were still being processed and thousands more signatures were streaming in every day.

Campaign spokesman Susan Pyne-James said the immediate objective was to prevent Richard's Bay Minerals' prospecting permit from being converted to a mining permit. The Campaign for St Lucia wanted the greater St Lucia area proclaimed a protected environment. 10/11/93

Gqozo's 'king can do no wrong' attacked

105 CT 11/11/93
BISHO. — Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens yesterday opened the second day of homeland ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's murder trial by attacking the military leader's defence that "the king can do no wrong".

Brig Gqozo, along with his former chief bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thomazile Veliti, is charged with murder and incitement to murder in the January 1991 killing of the homeland's former security chief, General Charles Sebe.

Brig Gqozo's defence team on Tuesday objected to the homeland prosecuting its ruler, citing a precedent of British common law that the head of state cannot be prosecuted.

In the Bisho Supreme Court, Mr Jurgens said in terms of the country's constitution, everyone, including the head of state, was considered equal before the law.

He dismissed the submission that the English legal dictum of "the king can do no wrong" applied in the Ciskei. He said there was a vast difference between Westminster in England and Bisho in Ciskei.

Mr Jurgens argued further that Brig Gqozo's co-accused, Sergeant-Major Velithi, was not assured of immunity against prosecution in terms of Ciskei's Indemnity Act.

The trial-before-a-trial continues. — Sapa

Ciskei leader still in court

Sowetan 11/11/93

CISKEI ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had taken an oath of office binding him to defend the Supreme Court and he did not have "royal immunity to commit a crime".

(105)
This was the submission of Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens on the second day of proceedings in the trial of Gqozo on charges of murder and incitement.

Jurgens is prosecuting the case in which Gqozo and a former bodyguard, Major Thozamile Veliti, are accused of the 1991 murder of homeland rebel General Charles Sebe.

The trial follows a protracted inquest, which ended with the two men being found responsible for the death of Sebe. Veliti is alleged to have shot Sebe on orders from Gqozo.

Yesterday Jurgens replied to a notice of objection from Gqozo's defence team that the prosecution of the homeland

ruler should not proceed.

Gqozo's lawyers argued Ciskei law was ultimately based on British common law which holds that a head of state cannot be prosecuted. This also applies to South Africa, said the defence.

Countering this, Mr Jurgens said the argument could be taken to an extreme: "The South African President can say it is my prerogative to rule the country (and then) if Ferdi Hartzenburg or Benny Alexander stand in the way of proper government he could have them killed."

In his argument on Tuesday, Gqozo's council, Advocate Dup de Bruyn, cited examples from law which showed that a head of state cannot be prosecuted.

But, stressed Mr Jurgens, this would not rule out a private prosecution. —
Ecna.

HOMELAND JUSTICE



DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Staff Reporter

□ Has Brigadier Gqozo got the right to royal immunity?

On the brink

AR 12/11/93

(105)

BISHO. — In the foyer of the Ciskei Supreme Court hangs a framed extract from a speech made when the building was opened officially in 1984, three years after the homeland gained its independence from South Africa.

But the words, by Ciskei's Chief Justice, Mr Justice Pickard, are seldom read by those who use the modern building.

It might not have seemed so then, but Mr Justice Pickard's pearls of wisdom certainly carried a prophetic message.

He said the Supreme Court in all its facets and functions should at least be as good as the best in the world, if not better.

"We will not settle for anything that may be referred to, even by our worst adversaries, as being anything less than sound, objective and unbiased justice."

He went on to say the Supreme Court was there to serve the people and dispense justice to all.

It drew no distinction between rich and poor, old and young, male and female and citizen and foreigner.

"It fearlessly dispenses the same justice to every individual whether he be beggar or king."

It is the reference to king which came to mind this week when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Joshua Gqozo



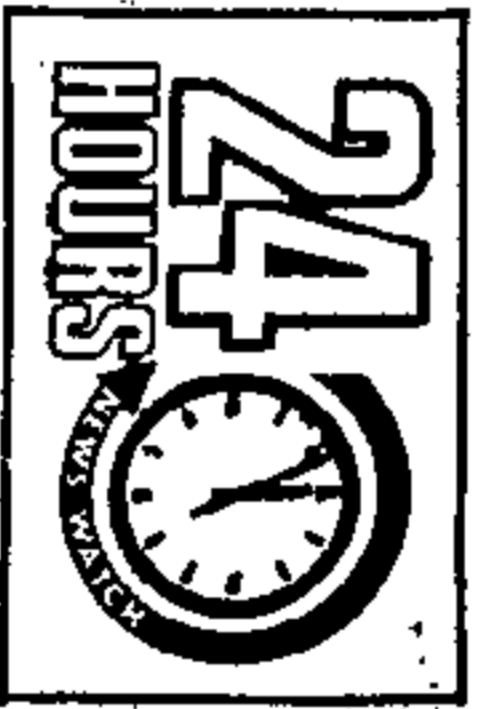
FAN CLUB: Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's supporters cheer him on his way to court.

appeared in the Supreme Court with his bodyguard Sergeant-Major Thozamile Eric Velti on a charge of murder.

Brigadier Gqozo, the country's head of state, chairman of the military council, Minister of Police and Defence, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

Their appearance is a sequel to the killing of former Ciskei security force head Major-General Charles Sebe who was gunned down in Gubevu Village on January 28, 1991, a day after he was wounded at a military roadblock while trying to enter the country.

Though Sergeant-Major Velti and not Brigadier Gqozo was present in Gubevu Village the day of the fatal shooting, the media and public interest



was firmly focused on the elegantly dressed man who sat in the dock as accused number one in court number two this week.

This was because Brigadier Gqozo is the first Southern African head of state to appear before his own Supreme Court on murder charges.

His court appearance follows a two-year inquest which found he and Sergeant-Major Velti were responsible for Major General Sebe's death.

Brigadier Gqozo tried to es-

cape involvement in the inquest and issued two decrees exempting him from testifying. But both were overturned by the Ciskei Appeal Court.

When the trial began on Tuesday his counsel, Dup de Bruyn, applied for charges against him to be dismissed because he was like a "King who can do wrong".

This weekend Mr Justice Heath, the presiding judge, will ponder this submission.

He adjourned the hearing yesterday and will deliver his judgment at 10am on Monday. Whatever his finding — to continue with the trial or uphold the application — it will certainly make legal history.

This week Mr de Bruyn said Ciskei law was based on South African law, in turn based on English common law, under which a monarch, or head of

state, could not be held personally responsible for acts done in an official capacity.

"There is not instance in English law where the head of state is found liable in a personal capacity."

Mr de Bruyn objected to Brigadier Gqozo being charged personally because he was acting in his capacity as head of state when the alleged offence occurred.

But Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens said: "The position is that I charge Oupa Gqozo as an individual who happens to have a certain rank and position.

"I do not charge him in his personal or official capacity. I charge him as a person. Whether he abused his powers and functions, is a matter for evidence."

Mr Jurgens said there was no comparison between England and Ciskei, which he called a true republic and not a monarchy masquerading as a republic.

It would be futile to search legal history for examples of royal immunity.

English sovereigns claimed to be hereditary from time immemorial. The English monarch also served as a figurehead and not the head of state. This function was carried out by the British prime minister.

He added that Brigadier Gqozo had taken an oath when he took office to uphold, defend and to faithfully obey its human rights and freedoms. This did not give him royal immunity.

The man who would be king

(105) ARCT3/11/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

HIS country is impoverished and largely funded by South Africa, yet he is said to earn a bigger salary than President De Klerk and is reportedly the owner of two farms.

Not bad for a homeland leader. But then Brigadier Oupa Joshua Gqozo — so he claims — is no ordinary Bantustan leader.

The man known as "The Brig" to his advisers also has three official vehicles — a black limousine, a shimmering green Daimler and a Land Rover, said to have been rejected by Mrs Margaret Thatcher and apparently imported for R500 000.

But Brigadier Gqozo, if his senior counsel Dup de Bruyn is to be believed, is like a king and can do no wrong.

Therefore, argued Mr De Bruyn in the Ciskei Supreme Court this week, the court could not try him on a charge of murder and an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

His argument on the opening day of the trial — the first in which a South African head of state has been charged with murder — was a last ditch attempt to keep Brigadier from the legal proceedings resulting in the death of former Ciskei defence force head Major-General Charles Sebe.

Brigadier Gqozo did not pull the trigger of the gun which killed General Sebe in Gubevu village on January 28 1991. But his bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Eric Veliti, who has been charged with murder in

the same trial, was carrying out his order to "seek and destroy" Major-General Sebe.

While legal argument raged in the Supreme Court on whether "The Brig" should be tried for murder, the star of the proceedings showed how well he has done since coming to power following a military coup which ousted Lennox Sebe, brother of General Sebe.

He wore a different suit every day, displayed an expensive gold watch and gold cufflinks.

Over-zealous bodyguards watched him in the court room, and intervened if reporters got too close.

During breaks they led him into a room designated for witnesses, despite the fact that he was the first accused, closed the door and stood outside.

On Tuesday, he arrived at court in his limousine. After lunch, he returned in the Daimler.

Ciskei Commissioner of Police General Fikile Zibi was among friends who attended proceedings. He did not miss a day.

Not far from the court, waiting in a safe to be presented as exhibits, were the clothes General Sebe wore when he ran into a military ambush the day before he was killed.

The clothes did not leave the safe as the arguments continued on the competence of the court to try "The Brig".

Yesterday, Mr Justice Heath adjourned the matter until 10 am on Monday when he will deliver judgment on whether or not to acquit Brigadier Gqozo can be tried.

Between now and then Brigadier Gqozo is facing probably the loneliest and most nerve-wracking wait of his life.



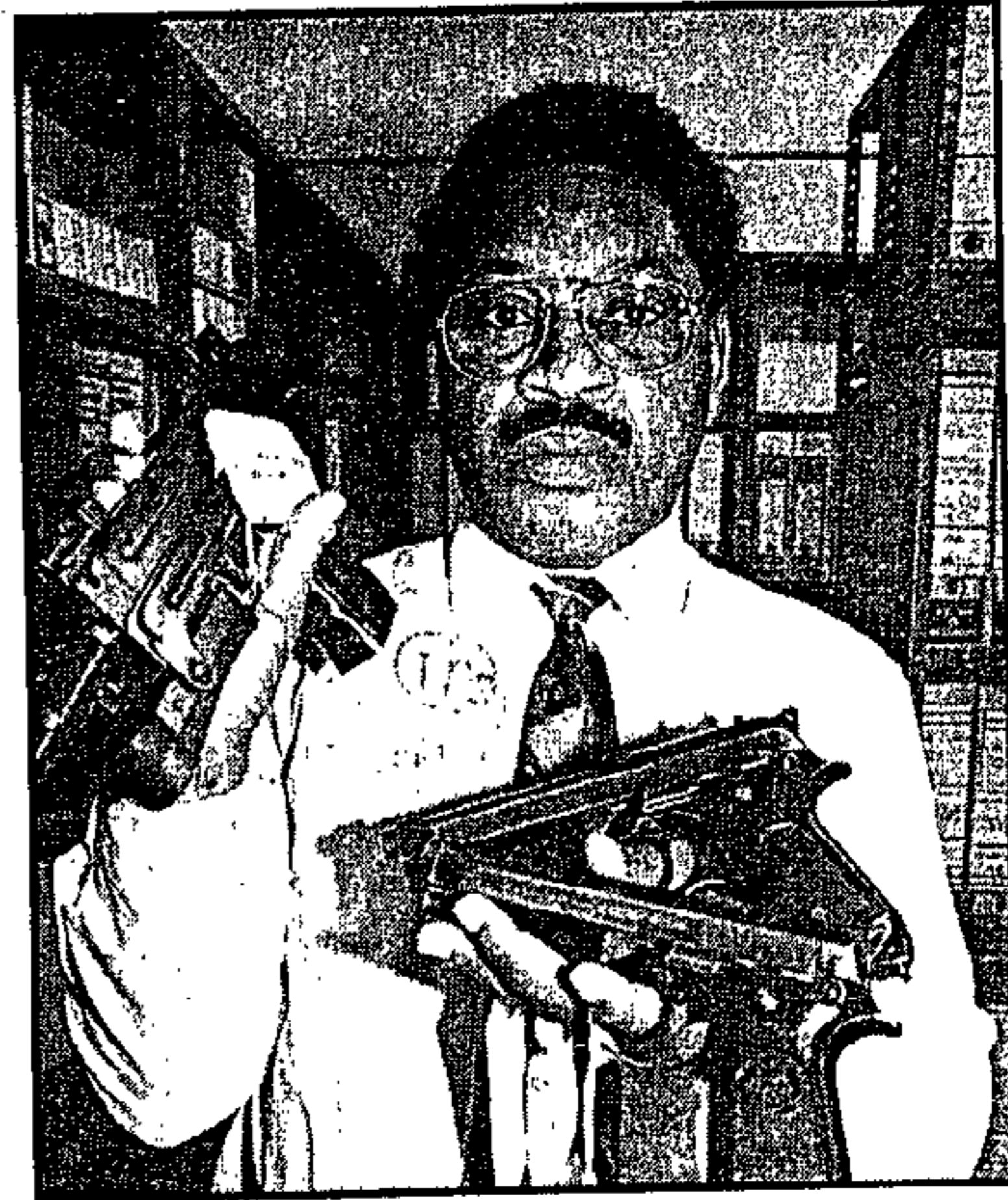
□ LUXURY LIVING: Brigadier Gqozo and guards arrive at court in a limousine and Daimler.



Brigadier Gqozo



Sergeant-Major Veliti



Picture: LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus

□ EXHIBITS: Monwabisi Benjamin Nqeno, registrar of the Ciskei Supreme Court, with the weapons allegedly found on the scene after Major-General Charles Sebe was gunned down.

Gqozo is not same as queen, says judge

The Argus Bureau

BISHO — The legal status of Ciskei's military ruler Oupa Gqozo is not the same as that of the queen of England.

Mr Justice Willem Heath said Brigadier Gqozo could not rely on English legal principles that the king or queen could do no wrong.

The judge started a lengthy judgment on an application by Brigadier Gqozo's legal team that he could not be prosecuted for his role in the death of the Ciskei's former defence minister Charles Sebe in 1991.

Brigadier Gqozo claimed that as head of state his position was the same as that of a king or queen of England and so was immune from prosecution.

He also claimed the court did not have procedural authority to prosecute him.

And he claimed Ciskei's Indemnity Act of 1985 indemnified officials in pursuit of their duties.

But Mr Justice Heath, rejecting Brigadier Gqozo's argument that he had the legal status of a king, said the Ciskei head of state did not enjoy the privileges and rights enjoyed by the queen of England.

He is not the head of the church, and was not solely accountable to God and no one else.

Mr Justice Heath was to continue his judgment later.

2
BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, November 16 1993

Gqozo loses bid to halt prosecution

B/Day 16/11/93

Own Correspondent

BISHO — The Supreme Court murder trial of Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and his co-accused will proceed after objections to their prosecution were dismissed by a judge yesterday.

Judge W F Heath also ruled their reliance on a 1990 indemnity decree would form part of the trial once the accused had pleaded to the charges.

The indemnity decree was cited to avoid criminal proceedings being brought against Ciskei's head of state or a member of the defence force.

Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sgt-Maj Thozamile Vellti, are accused of the 1991 murder of Ciskei's former chief commander of the combined security forces, Gen Charles Sebe.

Sebe was shot a day after being wounded at a military roadblock.

Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

Heath said the defence's reliance on the indemnity decree should be raised as a "special defence, not an objection to the charge sheet".

Gqozo's counsel Dup de Bruyn objected at the start of proceedings, saying that, as head of state, Gqozo should not face criminal charges.

De Bruyn based his argument on a Brit-

ish common law principle that "the king can do no wrong", which he maintained had been adopted in Ciskeian legislation through SA's constitution. (105)

The second leg of his argument was that Gqozo enjoyed "procedural immunity" from prosecution in criminal courts.

Heath dismissed these arguments, saying colonial governors-general, acting on the king's behalf, did not enjoy the same prerogatives as the king of England and, by implication, neither did Ciskei's head of state.

In SA's common law, there was no evidence that the British common law principle "the king can do no wrong" was ever introduced.

"If the President of SA cannot be equated to a king, how can a military ruler who did not come into power through a constitutional process be equated to a king?"

Addressing the point of "procedural immunity", Heath said Gqozo could not rely on such an immunity as it clashed with Ciskei's fundamental rights which provided that "all persons are equal before the law".

In all circumstances, Gqozo was subject to the laws of Ciskei, he said.

THE IPM HUMAN RESOURCES DIRECTORY



Gqozo to go on trial

Sowetan 16/11/93

CISKEI'S BRIGADIER Oupa Gqozo is not "a king who can do no wrong" and his prosecution on murder charges will continue.

This was the judgment handed down yesterday by Mr Justice Willem Heath on a notice of objection by Gqozo's lawyers to charges of murder and incitement to murder against the Ciskei leader.

The judge dismissed the notice of objection which also included Gqozo's co-accused Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti's defence.

Both have been charged in connection with the 1991 killing of Ciskei rebel Major-General Charles Sebe.

One part of the Gqozo defence team's objection was that the Ciskei ruler, like the British monarch, could not be prosecuted.

The judge addressed this argument in most of an almost four-hour judgment in which he traced the influence of British common law on South African and, subsequently, Ciskeian law.

He said there was no evidence that the British common law prerogative that the "king can do no wrong" applied to South African or Ciskeian heads of state.

The position of the monarchy in England was "rich in tradition", said the judge, which had led to the "perfection" of the monarch — that the

king could do no wrong.

"If the (South African) State President cannot be equated with a king, then how can a military ruler who came to power in a military *coup d'etat* be equated with the king of England?" he asked.

Mr Justice Heath added there were no examples of a head of state who was not a king who enjoyed the prerogative that the "king can do no wrong".

He also highlighted Ciskei's Bill of Rights principle that everyone was equal before the law.

"No man in this country is so high that he is above the law," the judge said, quoting from an American judgment involving disgraced former president Richard Nixon.

He added it was important to note that even in England there were constitutional checks against the activities of the king, while no such mechanism existed in Ciskei.

"Even the Council of State does not have the power to check Gqozo," he said.

The judge also referred to another leg of the defence team's argument that Gqozo could not be prosecuted in terms of Ciskei's Indemnity Act. He said the accused could raise the Indemnity Act as a "special plea" during a trial.

He said it did not stand as an objection to the charges.

Gqozo and Veliti are expected to plead to the charges today. — *Ecna*.



Oupa Gqozo

105

Murder: Gqozo

can be tried

(105)
CT 16/11/93

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo can be prosecuted for murder, a judge ruled yesterday, dismissing the Ciskeian leader's contention that he was not subject to the law.

"No man in this country is so high that he is above the law," Mr Justice Willem Heath said in his four-hour judgment.

The judge also ruled that reliance on a 1990 indemnity decree would form part of the trial once the accused have pleaded on the indictment.

The indemnity decree was cited to avoid criminal proceedings being brought against Ciskei's head of state or a member of the defence force.

Mr Dup de Bruyn, senior counsel for Brig Gqozo, based his argument on a British common law principle that "the king can do no wrong", which he maintained had been adopted in Ciskeian legislation via South Africa's constitution.

The second leg of his argument

'No man is above the law'

was that Brig Gqozo enjoyed "procedural immunity" from prosecution in criminal courts.

Justice Heath dismissed these arguments, saying colonial governors-general, acting on behalf of the king, did not enjoy the same prerogatives as the king of England and, by implication, neither did Ciskei's head of state.

In South Africa's unwritten common law, there was no evidence that the British common law principle "the king can do no wrong" was ever introduced.

Justice Heath said the king of England enjoyed the "royal prerogative" because of his heritage and royal blood.

However, even the English

courts had jurisdiction to inquire into the extent of any alleged prerogative.

"If the State President of South Africa cannot be equated to a king, how can a military ruler who did not come into power through a constitutional process?" the judge said.

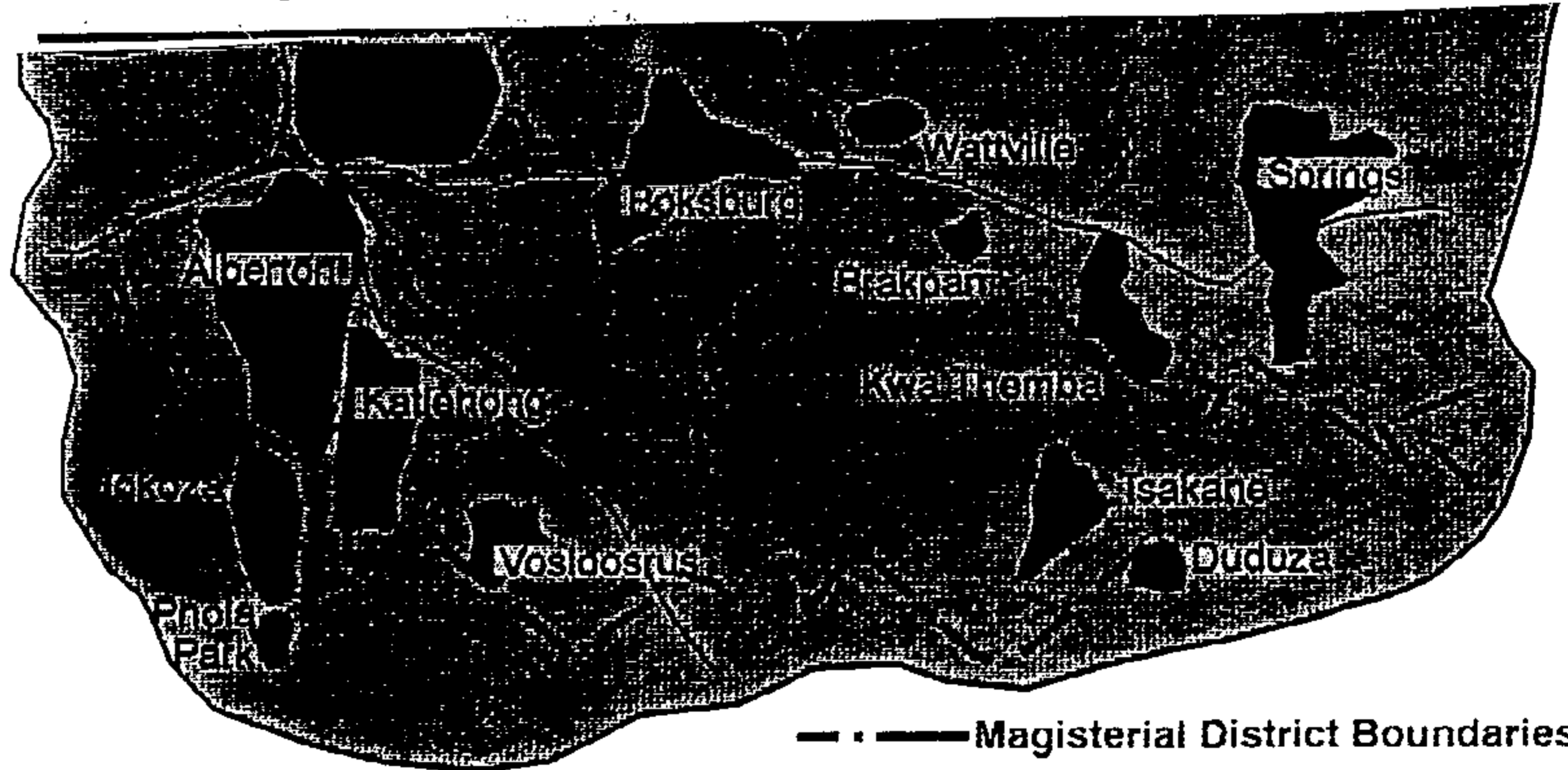
On the point of "procedural immunity", he ruled that this clashed with Ciskei's fundamental rights which provided that "all persons are equal before the law".

Brig Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, are accused of the 1991 murder of Ciskei's former chief commander of the combined security forces, General Charles Sebe, in Gubevu village.

General Sebe was shot a day after being wounded at a military roadblock on the King William's Town-Stutterheim road.

Brig Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

Mr Willem Jurgens appeared as senior counsel for the state.



Gqozo to face murder trial

Star 16/11/93

Bisho — The murder trial of Ciskei's leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo will proceed after objections to his prosecution were dismissed in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, are accused of the 1991 murder of Ciskei's former chief commander of the combined security forces General Charles Sebe in Gubevu village.

Sebe was accused of staging an attempted coup and was shot dead a day after being wounded at a military roadblock on the King William's Town/Stutterheim road. Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

Yesterday, Mr Justice WF Heath said the defence's reliance on the indemnity de-

creed should be raised as a "special defence not an objection to the charge sheet".

Gqozo's counsel, Dup de Bruyn, lodged an objection at the beginning of proceedings last Tuesday saying that as head of state, Gqozo should not face criminal charges.

He based his argument on a British common law principle that "the king can do no wrong", which he maintained had been adopted in Ciskeian legislation via South Africa's constitution. (105)

Passing judgment, Mr Justice Heath dismissed the argument.

Mr Justice Heath said the king of England enjoyed the "royal prerogative" because of his heritage. However, even the English courts had jurisdiction to inquire into the extent of any claimed preroga-

tive.

"The crown is bound to observe the law both by statute and in terms of the coronation oath," he said. "If South Africa's State President cannot be equated to a king, how can a military ruler who did not come into power through a constitutional process be equated to a king?"

Addressing the point of "procedural immunity," he said Gqozo could not rely on such an immunity as it clashed with Ciskei's fundamental rights which provided that "all persons are equal before the law".

Regarding indemnity, Mr Justice Heath said both accused were entitled to rely on the provisions of the Indemnity Act of 1985 and the Indemnity Decree of 1990. — Sapa

Gqozo bodyguard plead not guilty

(105) ARG 17/11/93

BISHO. — Ciskei's military ruler Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard Thozamile Veliti pleaded not guilty in the Bisho Supreme Court to murder.

Brigadier Gqozo also pleaded not guilty to an alternative count of incitement to murder.

The two are accused of murdering the former commander-in-chief of the Ciskei security forces, General Charles Sebe, in Gubevu village on January 28 1991.

Brigadier Gqozo is alternatively accused of issuing an order to members of the Ciskei Defence Force to kill General Sebe.

The general was shot dead a day after being wounded at a military roadblock. He had been accused of leading a coup attempt.

After entering the plea, Brigadier Gqozo's senior counsel, Dup de Bruyn, told the court he reserved the right to rely on the Indemnity Act of 1985 and the 1990 Indemnity Decree.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Star 17/11/93

Bloody clothes shown

Bisho — Bloodstained clothes allegedly belonging to homeland rebel Charles Sebe, as well as weapons, one with alleged Transkei police markings, were displayed in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

The clothes and weapons were exhibits in the trial of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who yesterday pleaded not guilty to murdering Sebe in 1991.

Gqozo also pleaded not

guilty to an alternative charge of incitement to murder. (105)

His co-accused and former bodyguard, Thozamile Veliti, also pleaded not guilty to a charge of murder.

However, defence counsel for the two stressed that both would rely on Ciskei's Indemnity Act and Indemnity Decree during the trial.

This means that both can maintain that any acts they are alleged to have committed

were done in good faith in defence of the State.

The State launched its case which, said Attorney-General Willem Jurgens, would say that Gqozo had issued instructions "tantamount to an execution order".

The State would also argue that Veliti and others shot Sebe, Jurgens said.

Veliti's defence will argue today against the admissibility of the evidence. — Ecna.

Gqozo pleads not guilty to murder

Sowetan 17/11/93

CISKEI'S Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his co-accused, Thozamile Veliti, pleaded not guilty to murder charges in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

Gqozo also pleaded not guilty to the alternative charge of incitement to murder. Both are accused of killing Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe who was killed by homeland security forces near Bisho in January 1991.

(105)
Counsel for the two accused told Mr Justice Willem Heath that both Gqozo and Veliti would be relying on provisions of Ciskei's indemnity act and indemnity decrees during the trial.

Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens said the State would argue that Gqozo gave what was "tantamount to an execution order" for Sebe to be killed and that Veliti and others had shot Sebe.

The State has now called Detective-Sergeant Siphiso Hewana, of the Ciskei police fingerprints section, to give evidence. He was on the scene of Sebe's killing which he photographed and sketched.

Hewana said he had found Sebe's body with bullet wounds to the back and head lying naked in a pool of blood in Gubeva village. — *Ecna*.

'Rights were violated'

Gqozo trial testimony inadmissible

Star 18 Mar 93

Bisho — Presiding Judge Willem Heath ruled yesterday as inadmissible evidence led by Thozamile Veliti before an earlier inquest court probing Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe's death in 1991.

"I also shot Charles Sebe" and other comments made by Veliti, a co-accused in the murder trial of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, will not be admitted to the court proceedings. (105)

Gqozo and Veliti are on trial for Sebe's murder. Veliti, a former Gqozo bodyguard, is alleged to have shot Sebe on instructions from Gqozo.

Fair

Ciskei's Attorney-General Willem Jurgens, who is prosecuting the case, earlier sought to have the evidence admitted.

Veliti's legal counsel, led by advocate Johan Froneman, opposed the move on the grounds that Veliti's constitutional rights had been violated during the inquest.

These included his rights to silence, to a fair trial, not to be compelled to testify against himself, and to be presumed inno-

cent until proved guilty.

Froneman argued that Veliti had not been informed by the inquest judge that he had a right to remain silent, and not only to refuse to answer questions which might be self-incriminatory.

He added that Veliti had also not been informed of his right to legal representation before giving evidence.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Heath said while the court had informed Veliti of his protection in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act, it had not taken into account the Bill of Rights.

Judge Heath said the inquest court judge had failed to inform Veliti of his right to remain silent — a right which the judge said was "jealously protected in the international world".

To admit Veliti's evidence would "obviously prejudice" his right to remain silent, to be presumed innocent, and not to testify against himself.

The case continues today with an *in loco* inspection at the scene of Sebe's killing at Gubevu village near King William's Town. — Ecna.

Veliti evidence 'inadmissible'

SOWETO 18/11/93
PRESIDING Judge Willem Heath yesterday ruled as inadmissible evidence led by Thozamile Veliti before an earlier inquest court probing Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe's death in 1991.

"I also shot Charles Sebe," and other comments made by Veliti, a co-accused

in the murder trial of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, will not be admitted to the court proceedings. Gqozo and Veliti are on trial for Sebe's murder. Veliti, a former Gqozo bodyguard, is alleged to have shot Sebe on instructions from Gqozo. Ciskei's Attorney-General Mr

Willem Jurgens, who is prosecuting, sought to have the evidence admitted to court. Veliti's legal council, led by Mr Johan Froneman, opposed the move on the grounds that Veliti's constitutional rights had been violated during the inquest. — *Ecna.*

105

Aug 18/11/93

Bodyguard's evidence at Sebe inquest inadmissible

(105)

BISHO. — The Bisho Supreme Court has ruled that evidence given in an earlier inquest by Thozamile Veliti, the former bodyguard of Ciskei's military ruler Oupa Gqozo, is inadmissible in his present murder trial.

Sergeant-Major Veliti is appearing with Brigadier Gqozo on murder charges resulting from the death of former commander-in-chief of the combined Ciskei security forces Charles Sebe at Gubevu village in January 1991.

Brigadier Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

In his judgment yesterday, Mr Justice W F Heath said Sergeant-Major Veliti's fundamental rights were not protected when he testified in the inquest for General Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana.

As he was aware of a statement which could implicate Sergeant-Major Veliti, the inquest's presiding officer should have warned him before he gave evidence of his right to remain silent and that he had a right not to be compelled to testify against himself.

The presiding officer's failure to do so was a "fatal irregularity", he added. Mr Justice Heath said the inquest's presiding officer should also have warned Sergeant-Major Veliti of his right to legal representation and of the consequences if he failed to do so.

A State witness, Tise Dwashu, said General Sebe arrived at his Gubevu village house on the night of January 27. He had been wounded and asked him for transport to Amabele.

General Sebe told him he was scared and requested he be allowed to sleep there for the night.

Chief Dwashu had notified the authorities that General Sebe was at his house. Soldiers arrived and told Chief Dwashu to leave as they wanted to kill General Sebe. Chief Dwashu returned to his house after General Sebe had been shot dead.

The trial continues on today with an in loco inspection. — Sapa.

Inquest evidence 'tainted'

CT 18/11/93 (105)
Own Correspondent

4.5 "WHITE" T

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BISHO. — Evidence given by Sgt-Maj Thozamile Veliti, former bodyguard to Ciskei's ruler, in an inquest court was inadmissible in the trial in which he is charged with murder.

Sgt-Maj Veliti is appearing with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo on murder charges resulting from the death of former commander-in-chief of the combined Ciskei security forces General Charles Sebe, in 1991.

In his judgment yesterday, Mr Justice W F Heath said Sgt-Maj Veliti's fundamental rights were not protect-

ed when he testified in the inquest.

As he was aware of a statement which could implicate Sgt-Maj Veliti, the inquest's presiding officer should have warned him before he gave evidence of his right to remain silent and that he could not be compelled to give evidence that could harm him.

As it was obvious the state wanted to use the inquest evidence against Sgt-Maj Veliti, to admit this evidence would prejudice Veliti's rights to remain silent and to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

The trial continues today.

H.15

These were ts 65% of n Pretoria population

Overall more than 99% of the people in these towns are reported to have house connections and a figure of 100% is assumed for the purposes of this report.

4.6 BOPHUTHATSWANA

The national water plan for Bophuthatswana includes a survey of levels of service, settlement by settlement. The classification into levels of service is as follows:

- House connections and yard taps
- Water within 500 metres
- Water at a distance of further than 500 metres

Results for the Bafokeng district were not available in time for this report. The results for the other districts are given below:

DISTRICT	POPULATION*	LEVEL OF SERVICE		
		House Yard	Within 500 m	Further than 500m
Moretele 2	85 000	0	48 000	37 000
Moretele 1	335 000	37 000	131 000	167 000
Odi 1	602 000	271 000	90 000	241 000
Odi 2	34 000	0	23 000	11 000
Bafokeng	178 000			

WITHOUT BAFOKENG:

Total	1 056 000	308 000	291 000	457 000
		29%	28%	43%

ADJUST FOR BAFOKENG

Total	1 234 000	358 000	345 000	531 000
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It is only the proclaimed towns which have on-site water supply. All the five towns in the Odi and Moretele districts have full reticulation to every stand, with the exception of Klippan where only 10% of stands are connected.

As mentioned in the introduction to this report, the decision as to what is adequate in this part of the region must be different to what it is in the more central parts of the region. The principle used by the Bophuthatswana Government is that water within 500 metres is adequate for the settlements other than proclaimed towns. This may well be a reasonable approach and it is not questioned here. However, in order to use the information within a classification which is consistent for the country as a whole, a broad assumption is made, dividing the population who have water within 500 metres is as follows:

Standpipes (> 1 per 25 households)	25%
Standpipes (< 1 per 25 households)	75%

Ciskei to discuss future with ANC

BISHO — The Ciskei government is to discuss the future of the eastern Cape/Kei region with senior ANC and PAC officials.

The Ciskei government said yesterday it had arranged the meetings after the announcement that the homelands, including the TBVC states, would be re-incorporated into SA once the negotiating council's recommendations were enacted by Parliament during a special sitting beginning on Monday.

The Ciskei government criticised the outcome of

negotiations at the World Trade Centre, claiming its predictions and fears had come true. (105)

"At an early stage the members of what is now the Freedom Alliance had concluded that a number of important items on the agenda were not negotiable. The federal structure, boundaries, protection of the constitution and the integrity of the constitutional court were some of the vital items," it said.

The Ciskei government warned it would not be easy to rescind the status of in-

dependent homelands, in spite of democracy negotiators agreeing to the move earlier this week.

"To dismantle such sovereign states is no longer a matter for unilateral decision. Full bilateral negotiations will be necessary.

"Should agreement be reached as a result of these negotiations, the process of implementation will require prolonged and detailed examination," it said.

There was still time to close remaining gaps and install the guarantees that were required. — Sapa.

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Ciskei 'no' ¹⁰⁵
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Own Correspondent

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EAST LONDON. The Ciskei government said yesterday the homeland could be dismantled only through bilateral negotiations with South Africa and not by the negotiating council.

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Although the SA government created the independent homelands by unilateral legislation, the effect was to establish sovereign states," Ciskei said.

Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said he had no objection to re-incorporation.

A NOTORIOUS Eastern Cape man linked to the 1991 murder of Charles Sebe and the attempted Transkei coup of 1990 has been unmasked as an operative of the South African Defence Force.

And details have also emerged of how he was protected from General Pieter Steyn's investigation into the activities of Military Intelligence. Both he and the SADF have repeatedly denied claims of a link between them.

Anton Nieuwoudt was the head of a Ciskei covert unit linked by an inquest judge to the 1991 murder of Sebe. The unit's operation resulted in the current murder trial of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Nieuwoudt is also wanted for questioning in Transkei in connection with the failed 1990 coup bid of Colonel Craig Dull.

Documents before the Pretoria Supreme Court reveal that Nieuwoudt worked continuously for the SADF between the mid-Seventies and February this year.

Nieuwoudt is suing the SADF for R1,27-million which he says is owed to him after the force retrained him in February. In responding affidavits, the SADF denies he was an SADF member while in Ciskei, but concedes he was one of its "agents".

During the Sebe inquest, it was common cause that Nieuwoudt's unit, the Ciskei Intelligence Services (CIS), ran the operation in which Sebe and Onward Guzana were killed during their abortive bid to take power in Ciskei. Evidence was that the unit lured the two men back to the homeland on the promise that a coup was due to take place.

The presiding judge, Mr Justice Michael

Gqozo's man exposed as covert SADF agent

An intelligence agent, linked to the murder of Charles Sebe in Ciskei and a failed coup in Transkei, was working for the SADF all the time, reports **Louise Flanagan**

WMP 19-25/11/93

Classens, said in his inquest finding: "Nieuwoudt and company knew there was no inside component (to the coup attempt) and knew there was no danger to any interested party in Ciskei. The trap was set for one purpose only: to rid the regime in Ciskei under Brigadier Gqozo of any further threat from Sebe and Guzana."

"I have thought very seriously of the possibility of Nieuwoudt, in particular, being party to a conspiracy to murder."

The Transkei police also have an interest in Nieuwoudt. They want to question him in relation to the failed November 1990 coup attempt which led to the conviction of 17 people on varying charges in Umtata this week.

The documents before the Pretoria Supreme Court also show:

● Nieuwoudt was working for Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collection late last year when the DCC was raided by Judge Richard Goldstone. The directorate was subsequently investigated by Steyn on the express orders of President F.W. de Klerk.

The SADF told Nieuwoudt to "cease his covert

collection activities" during the Steyn inquiry, and assured him of a job when the probe was over. In its court papers, the SADF refers to this as a "silent agreement" between MI chief Joffel van der Westhuizen and Nieuwoudt.

● That Nieuwoudt was a double agent in Ciskei, acting on behalf of the SADF while working for Gqozo. CIS was purportedly a Ciskei-controlled unit.

In its papers, the SADF confirms his double role: "While he was chief of their (Ciskei's) Intelligence Service he supplied the SADF with information from November 1 1990 until February 1 1991," it says.

The Goldstone Commission has consistently refused to investigate the activities of CIS on the grounds that it had nothing to do with the SADF and operated in an "independent" bantustan.

● That Nieuwoudt joined a previously unknown SADF front organisation called Pan Afrik Industrial Investment Consultants CC (PAIIC) while serving the Ciskei government. This was only disbanded in February this year when Steyn's inquiry was under way.

"(PAIIC) at all relevant times was a front of the Department of Military Intelligence and/or the Directorate of Covert Collection," Nieuwoudt states.

"In terms of the brief which (I) received, (I) had to give the impression (I) worked for the above-mentioned close corporation to enable the plausible carrying out of the covert work of the Defence Force."

PAIIC is a close corporation with a Pretoria address. This week officials at the Registrar of Companies refused the *Mail & Guardian* access to the public file on the corporation, saying it was "sensitive" and access was denied in terms of the Defence and the Protection of Information Acts.

Nieuwoudt's unit, originally known as International Researchers, was unmasked by *The Weekly Mail* in February 1991 and disbanded six months later. At the time, the SADF publicly denied any knowledge of the unit or its commander. It also accused former South African and Ciskei military officer Colonel Gert Hugo of lying when he tried to expose the connection.

During the Sebe inquest, Nieuwoudt declared under oath that he was not linked to the South African military.

In his court papers, Nieuwoudt unequivocally states: "At all relevant times to date, since January 1 1974, (I) was a member of the Permanent Force and an officer involved with various units of the SADF."

Opposing Nieuwoudt's retrenchment claim, the SADF says he was offered a Permanent Force posting from September this year, but repudiated his contract by failing to report for duty. The case will be heard in May next year.

The SADF said as the judicial process had already started, it could not comment.

Witness

warned

Sowetan

A FORMER Ciskei military chief was yesterday warned when he took the stand in the murder trial of military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo that he was a possible accomplice. 19/11/93

Counsel for Gqozo, Mr Dup de Bruyn, warned he would question Brigadier Andrew Jamangile about his own role in the January 1991 killing of rebel Charles Sebe.

"There are at least three witnesses who gave evidence at the inquest (into Sebe's death) that this witness fired the shot," said De Bruyn. 105

"There's a possibility you may be called on to give evidence that may incriminate you," Mr Justice Willem Heath told Jamangile.

Jamangile was fired by Gqozo only weeks after Sebe's death, when Gqozo accused him of plotting against him. — *Ecn*.

Ciskei in talks on future of Eastern Cape

BISHO. — The Ciskei government is to meet senior Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress officials to discuss the future structure of the Eastern Cape/Kei region.

The government said it had

arranged the meetings after the announcement that the homelands, including the TBVC states, would be reincorporated into South Africa once the negotiating council's recommendations were enacted by Par-

liament. ~~215~~ 105
It gave warning that it would be hard to rescind the status of independent homelands, in spite of democracy negotiators agreeing to the move this week. — Sapa.

ACU 19/11/93

105 ARG 20/11/93

Court hears how Sebe died

EAST LONDON. — A key witness in the murder trial of Oupa Gqozo has testified that the Ciskei military ruler repeatedly gave orders for rebel Charles Sebe to be killed.

Brigadier Gqozo and a former bodyguard, Thozamile Velliti, are on trial in the Bishop Supreme Court for the murder of the former Ciskei security chief.

The chief of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) at the time of General Sebe's killing, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile, described in graphic detail yesterday the events leading to General Sebe's death.

He was shot at a village near King William's Town on January 27, 1991, after returning to Ciskei, believing that he was to take over power. Fellow-dissident Colonel Onward Guzana, who travelled to Ciskei with General Sebe, was killed at a roadblock the previous night.

Brigadier Jamangile said Brigadier Gqozo told top security staff at a briefing about an alleged coup plot on January 26, 1991, that General Sebe and Colonel Guzana should be killed.

He testified he then left to search for General Sebe by helicopter.

Brigadier Jamangile reported this to Brigadier Gqozo. "He was very upset and emphasised that should he be found he must be killed," Brigadier Jamangile told the court.

Brigadier Jamangile said he ignored him because he was organising a car to take the captive away. He said General Sebe was no longer a danger. "I heard shots. When I turned around I shouted 'Cease fire'. From the group I saw Accused 2 (Velliti) emerging carrying a small gun. When I moved further forward I saw Sebe and also blood on the ground."

Brigadier Jamangile was later informed by telephone that General Sebe had been found. He went to Gubevu village outside King William's Town and found soldiers and bodyguards at the scene.

Brigadier Jamangile said he returned to State House and found Sergeant Velliti with Brigadier Gqozo.

Brigadier Jamangile said he ordered General Sebe to come out of his hiding place in a shop.

He ordered General Sebe to remove the blanket in which he was huddled, a garment around his waist and all the clothing on his lower body. Then he told him to lie down.

"At that stage I had taken a decision he be apprehended... Sergeant-Major Velliti appeared. He said: 'Brigadier Gqozo says Sebe should be killed.'"

Asked if he regarded the order to kill General Sebe as a lawful or unlawful order, Brigadier Jamangile replied: "Unlawful."

Brigadier Jamangile did not dispute the defence's final contention that "at all times (Gqozo) feared for the safety of his troops."

He will continue to testify when the trial continues on Monday — Eena.

Agony of Sebe's last hours

CIPRO 21/11/91

IT'S the dead of night in a remote Ciskei village and a man lies writhing in pain, crying out: "Oh Lord, Oh Lord, why have you forsaken me!"

The injured man is Charles Sebe, a Ciskei dissident opposed to the rule of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Just hours later he is dead, lying naked on the steps of the house in which he had sought refuge. Shortly before his body is found a volley of shots from Ciskei soldiers reverberates through the village.

This description of Sebe's final hours was painted for the Ciskei Supreme Court this week by Chief Tese Dwashu, in the murder trial of Gqozo and his co-accused, former bodyguard Thozamile Veliti.

Both are charged with, and have pleaded not guilty to, the murder of Sebe.

The 79-year-old chief sat sternly in the witness box this week recounting under examination by the defence and prosecution Sebe's last evening in January 1991.

inside. "I returned after the shooting of Charles had finished. There in the yard I found Charles... Charles was lying in front of the door and he was dead," Dwashu said.

The State alleges that Sebe was shot by Veliti on orders from Gqozo.

After the two accused pleaded not guilty this week, Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens, said the state would argue that Gqozo gave what was "tantamount to an execution order".

Gqozo was asked to plead after Judge Willem Heath ruled the homeland ruler was not like a king who could "do no wrong" and that the prosecution against him could proceed.

But in another judgment, Heath ruled that evidence by Veliti before an earlier inquest court was inadmissible in the murder trial.

This means a comment by Veliti that "I also shot Charles Sebe" cannot be used in the trial.

The case continues. — Eena

'Oh Lord, why have you forsaken me...?'

IT'S the dead of night in a remote Ciskei village and a man lies writhing in pain, crying out: "Oh Lord, Oh Lord, why have you forsaken me!"

Child saw mob hack her granny to pieces

By ELIAS MALULEKE

A GIRL aged 14 stood and watched as a mob of youths and elderly people beat her grandmother to death before chopping her body to pieces and setting it alight.

The gruesome murder which occurred last Thursday has sent shockwaves through Bluebank, a tiny rural area to the south of Ladysmith, Natal.

The 65-year-old pensioner and mother of two, Jessie "Mankosi" Zikalala, died on Thursday night shortly after some villagers accused her of being a "witch".

Earlier that day, the villagers had consulted a sangoma in another village to "sniff out witches" believed to have caused the death of three elderly people in Bluebank last month.

It is alleged that the sangoma "sniffed" out Zikalala and nine other



"She was then chopped with pangas. A tyre was put on her and set alight. I ran away to a nearby house where I spent the night," she said.

According to her father, Patrick Zikalala, an unemployed father of two, his mother was innocent and knew nothing about witchcraft. He said she was a staunch member of the Methodist Church, "and a true Christian".

"This was the work of jealousy. Although my mother was a widow and a pensioner, she dressed well and took good care of her five grand children," he said.

According to Zikalala, his mother had contributed R50 towards the fund which had been set up by villagers to meet the cost of the sangoma.

A meeting had been called over the weekend following the death of two

Sebe 'shot in Sowetou 22/1/93 cold blood'

THE former head of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Monwabisi Jamangile, told the Ciskei Supreme Court on Friday that the Ciskei head of state, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had ordered that General Charles Sebe be killed.

Jamangile was testifying in the trial of Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, who are charged with the murder of Sebe, former commander-in-chief of the combined Ciskei security forces.

Sebe was killed on January 28, 1991, in Gubevu village, a day after being wounded at a military roadblock on the King William's Town-Stutterheim road.

The trial continues today. — Sapa.

105

'Gqozo ordered killing'

(105) C723/11/73

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo ordered that Mr Charles Sebe "should be killed", the former head of the Ciskei Defence Force told the supreme court here yesterday.

Brig Monwabisi Jamangile said during cross-examination by senior counsel for Brig Gqozo, Mr Dup de Bruyn, that he had been told at a

briefing at State House that Mr Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana were being "lured" into Ciskei.

Brig Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti are accused of murdering Mr Charles Sebe on January 28, 1991, and Brig Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

The trial continues today.

General was serious threat, court told

Gqozo 'ordered killing of Sebe'

Star 23/11/93

Bisho — Ciskei dissident General Charles Sebe was a serious threat to the homeland, the Bisho Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, are charged with Sebe's murder. He was shot dead in a village near Bisho in January 1991.

Gqozo defence counsel advocate Dup de Bruyn said Sebe was an armed, dangerous man with military back-up and possible support in the security forces.

De Bruyn was cross-examining the chief of the Ciskei Defence Force

and military intelligence at the time, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile.

Jamangile, a key witness, disagreed that Sebe was a threat at the time of his death, saying he was unarmed, naked and had surrendered when he was killed. (105)

Jamangile said Gqozo had issued the order for the escaped rebel to be found and killed after his co-conspirator, Colonel Onward Guzana, had been shot at a roadblock.

Asked by De Bruyn if his statement "Gqozo said the day Sebe sets foot in Ciskei he must be killed" was unqualified, Jamangile replied: "Yes, he said he does not want

Charles in his cells."

De Bruyn challenged the witness on why he had never mentioned orders to kill Sebe in earlier statements or in his evidence at the inquest.

He said that at the inquest Jamangile had stated that the operation was aimed at apprehending Sebe. However, in court on Friday, he had claimed the aim was to kill Sebe.

Frowning, Jamangile reiterated he was disobeying Gqozo's order to kill the deceased. He had intended merely to arrest him, and did not think shooting him was appropriate in the circumstances. — Eena.

Former Ciskei defence head grilled about 'turning away'

105

APR 23/11/93

5:16

6:37

10:48

BISHO. — Former Ciskei Defence Force head Monwabisi Jamangile has been questioned in the Bisho Supreme Court about his motives for turning away from the scene where Charles Sebe was shot.

Brigadier Jamangile was being cross-examined by senior counsel Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Oupa Gqozo, during the trial of Ciskei's military ruler and his former bodyguard Thozamile Veliti.

Brigadier Gqozo and Sergeant-Major Veliti are accused of murdering Mr Sebe on January 28, 1991.

Mr Sebe was shot a day after being wounded at a military roadblock on the King William's Town-Stutterheim road, where a former member of the Ciskei government's executive council,

Onward Guzana, was shot.

Mr De Bruyn asked Brigadier Jamangile about the circumstances at Gubevu village and about his decision not to use a car that was available to transport Mr Sebe to State House.

Mr De Bruyn put it to Brigadier Jamangile that he "used the motor vehicle scene to create a shooting incident where you played no part in it".

Brigadier Jamangile said he could not have done so because the shooting happened some distance away from where he had left Mr Sebe.

He testified that he had turned away from the scene and moved up the road to look for a bigger, more suitable car when the shooting occurred.

Questioning him further, Mr De Bruyn said: "According to your

version, you and your soldiers had public enemy No 1 (Mr Sebe) on the ground, with soldiers pointing firearms at him and you removed yourself to look for a motor vehicle."

Brigadier Jamangile responded that there had been nothing to attract his attention to Mr Sebe and he had not thought anything would happen.

Mr De Bruyn said: "You have told the court your troops were well disciplined. Here they were pointing rifles at a naked man lying on the ground on his stomach. You walk away for a little while and, next thing, this man is shot some 35m away from where you left him — right in front of the shop. How could this have happened?"

Brigadier Jamangile replied: "To this day I am still surprised." The trial continues. — Sapa.

Gqozo defence: Others plotted

BISHO. — Ciskeian dissident former Major-General Charles Sebe could well have been shot dead while attempting to escape from custody when cornered by homeland security forces in January 1991, the Supreme Court heard yesterday (105)

In cross-examination, counsel for Ciskein head of state Brigadier Oupa Gqozo put it to former Ciskei Defence Chief Brigadier Andrew Jamangile that he had a motive for having Gen Sebe killed: "You, together with other senior officers, were planning a coup of your own."

Brig Jamangile denied the allegation. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

CT 24/11/93

'Gqozo wanted Sebe to be killed'

Sowetan 25/11/93

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo rebuked the head of his defence force for intending to arrest Ciskei rebel General Charles Sebe, the Bisho Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Former head of the Ciskei Defence Force Brigadier Andrew Jamangile was being cross-examined in the murder trial of Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Major Thozamile Veliti. (105)

Jamangile described his arrival at State House to inform Gqozo of Sebe's death. When he arrived, Veliti was already there. Jamangile said he tried to tell Gqozo he had planned to arrest Sebe. But before he could finish, Gqozo rebuked him, saying that would have contradicted his orders.

Mr Dup de Bruyn, for Gqozo, put it to him that the reason he arrived after Veliti at the State House was that he first phoned a Mr Bosman of the National Intelligence Service to inform him of

the incident.

Jamangile denied this.

He was also extensively cross-examined on his evidence that Veliti emerged from a group of soldiers surrounding Sebe after shots rang out, holding his firearm up as if it had just been fired.

Jamangile demonstrated in court how this had occurred. But Mr Stewart Redpath, appearing for Veliti, put it to Jamangile that his client had not emerged from that direction at all. De Bruyn said Jamangile was falsely implicating Gqozo.

But Jamangile responded that Gqozo said Sebe should be killed at all costs. "Brigadier Gqozo was emphasising that the deceased should be killed," he said.

Asked how he felt about the fact that Mr Anton Nieuwoudt, head of a covert Ciskei intelligence unit, was in charge of the operation, he said he felt it undermined his authority. — *Ecn*.

Gqozo rebuked defence chief, court hears

Sebe arrest 'was against orders'

Star 25/11/93

(105)

Bisho — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo rebuked the head of his defence force for intending to arrest Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe, the Bisho Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Former head of the Ciskei Defence Force Brigadier Andrew Monwabisi Jamangile was cross-examined in the murder trial of Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti.

Gqozo and Veliti have pleaded not guilty.

Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

The two are accused of the murder of Sebe in a village near Bisho on

CISKEI leader stressed that rebel must be killed, brigadier testifies

January 28 1991.

Jamangile described his arrival at State House to inform Gqozo of Sebe's death. When he arrived, Veliti was already there.

Jamangile said he had tried to tell Gqozo that he had planned to arrest Sebe. But before he could finish, Gqozo had rebuked him, saying that would have contradicted his orders.

Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, put it to

Jamangile that the reason he had arrived after Veliti at State House was that he had first phoned a Mr Bosman of the National Intelligence Service to inform him of the incident.

Jamangile denied this.

He was also extensively cross-examined on his evidence that Veliti had emerged from a group of soldiers surrounding Sebe after shots had rung out, holding his firearm up as if it had just been fired. Jamangile demonstrated in court how this had occurred.

But Stewart Redpath, appearing for Veliti, put it to Jamangile that his client had not emerged from that direction at all.

De Bruyn said Jamangile was falsely implicating Gqozo. That had been the intention ever since the incident, he said.

Jamangile responded that Gqozo had said that Sebe should be killed at all cost.

"Brigadier Gqozo was emphasising that the deceased should be killed," he said.

Asked how he had interpreted this order, he said he had regarded it as unlawful.

Asked how he felt about the fact that Anton Nieuwoudt, head of a covert Ciskei intelligence unit, had been in charge of the operation, he said he felt it had undermined his authority. — Eena.

ANC Ciskei plot denied

ET 25/11/93

BISHO. — Former Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Andrew Jamangile has denied involvement with the African National Congress in an alleged plan to overthrow the Ciskei government in 1991. ~~FS~~ (105)

It was reported yesterday that in the continuing murder case against Brig Oupa Gqozo and Sergeant-Major Tozamile Veliti, who are appearing in the Bisho Supreme Court in connection with the death of dissident leader Lieutenant-General Charles Sebe, Brig Jamangile admitted having had contact with the ANC, but denied that his meetings with SA Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani had been connected to a planned coup against Brig Gqozo's government.

He confirmed having contact with the South African Defence Force.

He told presiding judge Mr Justice W H Heath that when the soldiers fired shots that killed General Sebe they were acting unlawfully as he had not given an order to shoot and General Sebe was naked and posed no threat.

Pay-day blank for college staff

Education Reporter

ALL Saints College, a Leadership Education and Advancement Foundation (Leaf) school in Bisho, Ciskei, is bankrupt and staff have been told they will not be paid this month.

The 15 full-time and five part-time teachers heard on Wednesday, a day before pay-day, that they would not get their salaries.

The Cape Town national office of Leaf said it could not pay the college's 15 service workers either. They were to have been paid today.

Leaf, which operates without state funding, provides education for promising pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds at All Saints St Luke's College in Kyalami and its College of Commerce and Engineering in Rondebosch.

In a letter to All Saints, Leaf said the college had a deficit of R801 000 for the

first 10 months of this year, on top of a deficit of R950 000 for last year.

Through attorneys, All Saints staff have told Leaf they find the situation "totally unacceptable".

Not only was Leaf civilly liable to pay staff, it was a criminal offence to withhold salaries.

If the salaries are not paid by Tuesday attorneys will institute legal proceedings.

All Saints teacher Andrew Stevens said staff were given three months' notice at the end of September.

Leaf appeared to be attempting to solve its funding problems by ridding itself of All Saints, he said.

The college had secured "a promise" from the Ciskei government to pay salaries next year — but this offered the staff no security. *ARC 26/11/93*

"We don't even know if the Ciskei government will be there next year."

Gqozo 'said coup was a lure'

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — Former Commissioner of Ciskei Police Lieutenant-General Zebulon Makuzeni testified in the Supreme Court here yesterday about the 1991 shooting of Mr Charles Sebe.

He was giving evidence in the trial of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, who have been charged with Mr Sebe's murder.

Gen Makuzeni said he was called to State House on January 26 and Brig Gqozo told him Mr Sebe and Col Onward Guzana would stage a coup but this was being controlled by Mr Anton Niewoudt's group, International Researchers, and was a plan to lure the men into Ciskei.

They were to be led into a trap at one of three roadblocks.

Gen Makuzeni said that when a message came over the radio that Col Guzana had been shot dead at a roadblock and

that Mr Sebe had escaped, Brig Gqozo called for a helicopter to search for him.

The next morning he found Brig Gqozo in an angry mood. (105)

He said Brig Gqozo told him Brig Monwabisi Jamangile had done something he did not expect by trying to save Mr Sebe. However, the situation had been "saved" by bodyguards who had shot him. He added that Sgt-Maj Veliti had shot Mr Sebe.

The trial continues today.

CT 26/11/93

Gqozo on 'firm deal with right'

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

CISKEIAN military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo says there's a definite arrangement between his government and Afrikaner rightwingers and farmers across the country to rally within a minute to defend the integrity and independence of the homeland.

In an interview yesterday, Gqozo said he had an agreement with the leader of the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, that if the South African Government "dared touch" his government "hell would break loose".

Gqozo said it was not his intention to use violence against his own people but if Pretoria forced him into a confrontation he would not hesitate to face it.

He was talking against the background

of statements this week by Freedom Alliance leaders, especially Conservative Party head Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg's address to Parliament on Monday. (105)

Hartzenberg said if the SA Government "touches Bophuthatswana then it will be touching us". He was talking on behalf of the CP, which is also a member of the FA.

Speculation grew yesterday of the imminent split in the thinking of FA members regarding their demand to the Government and the African National Congress with regard to reaching a political settlement.

Gqozo's statement has lent weight to the belief that the black parties in this alliance were opting for confederalism as opposed to federalism.

A confederation is tantamount to secession while a federation refers to a link with the central Government but with autonomous powers to regions or federations.

sidents threaten serious boycotts

Coup was covert ploy to lure Sebe

Sowetan 26/11/93

■ **COUP PLOT** Gqozo briefed me at

meeting — ex-police commissioner:

A FORMER Ciskei Commissioner of Police and key witness in the murder trial of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo told the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday that a coup was "engineered" to lure rebel former General Charles Sebe back to the homeland.

Gqozo and his former bodyguard Major Thozamile Veliti are charged with the murder of Sebe, who was shot and killed in Gubevu village near Bisho in January 1991 while allegedly trying to overthrow Gqozo.

Testifying yesterday, General Zebulon Makuzeni said that on January 26 1991, Gqozo called him to a meeting and told him of a coup being "engineered" from Ciskei to lure Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana back to the homeland.

He said at first Gqozo had told him that on that evening (January 26) there would be a coup in Ciskei to be staged by both Sebe and Guzana. But when he expressed shock at the news Gqozo told him not to worry because the coup was being "engineered and con-

trolled within Ciskei".

Makuzeni testified that Gqozo then explained that former head of Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, Mr Anton Niewoudt, had organised the coup to lure Sebe and Guzana.

Makuzeni said Gqozo also told him that as part of the plans Ciskei Defence Force soldiers were sent to Transkei to tell the two that some soldiers in Ciskei were "sick and tired" of what was happening there and were planning a coup.

Plans were that on January 26 Sebe and Guzana would be fetched from near Stutterheim.

Roadblocks would be set up at all three entrances to Ciskei to ensure that the two would not "deviate" from the plan and escape, Makuzeni told the court.

Earlier, a former CDF member who was at the scene of Sebe's shooting, Lieutenant Christopher Tywabi, told the court that Gqozo had regarded Sebe as a threat to Ciskei. — *Eena*.

(105)

17
13



Oupa Gqozo . . . charged with murder.

Star 26/1/1993

Plan for 'coup' to fool Sebe described

Bisho — A former Ciskei commissioner of police and key witness in the murder trial of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo took the stand yesterday.

Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, have been charged with the murder of rebel Charles Sebe.

Sebe was shot and killed in Gubevu village near Bisho in January 1991 while allegedly trying to overthrow Gqozo.

Giving evidence before the Bisho Supreme Court, General Zebulon Makuzeni said Gqozo had told him that the covert Ciskei Intelligence Unit had planned a "coup" to lure Sebe to the homeland.

Makuzeni testified that on January 26 1991 Gqozo had called him to a meeting where he told him of the plan to lure Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana back to the homeland.

He said that at first Gqozo had told him that

on that evening (January 26) there was going to be a coup in Ciskei to be staged by Sebe and Guzana.

But when he expressed shock at the news, Gqozo told him not to worry because the coup was being engineered and controlled within Ciskei.

Soldiers (105)

Makuzeni testified that Gqozo then went on to explain that the former head of Ciskei's covert Intelligence Unit, Anton Niewoudt, had organised the coup to lure Sebe and Guzana.

Makuzeni told the court that Gqozo also told him that, as part of the plan, Ciskei Defence Force soldiers were sent to Transkei to tell Sebe and Guzana that several soldiers in Ciskei were "sick and tired" of what was happening there and were planning a coup.

The trial continues. — Ecna.

'Kei cops were SA's puppets'

CIP read 28/11/93

Agent's phone number in Sebe's diary?

105

FANTASTIC allegations of how the SADF and the SAP's secret services struggled for control over Ciskei — to the point of manipulating coups and counter coups — emerged in the murder trial this week of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Many of the allegations came from Gqozo's lawyer during cross-examination.

This week the SAP's National Intelligence Service (NIS) was linked to the 1991 killing of Ciskei dissident Charles Sebe. Gqozo is being tried in the Bisho Supreme Court

for Sebe's murder.

The court heard that: ■ A NIS agent had hired the car used by Sebe and his co-conspirator Colonel Onward Guzana in an abortive coup plot during which they died, and

■ The telephone number of the agent was found in Sebe's personal diary.

These claims were put to General Zebulun Makuzeni, who has served as both Commissioner and Minister of Police in the homeland. He said he was not aware of NIS involvement.

Makuzeni and Brigadier Monwabisi Jangile, a former chief of the Ciskei Defence Force, were both linked to the NIS.

Counsel for Gqozo, Dup de Bruyn, suggested that Makuzeni was at the time — and was still — a source of information for the NIS. Makuzeni denied this, and said he was officially involved in exchanging notes with the NIS. Jangile was also said to have dealt with the NIS. The court heard the NIS bought him a

BMW car after he was dismissed by the Gqozo regime. Jangile said he had bought the car himself.

The court heard that Jangile was not trusted by the homeland security establishment, and was particularly distrusted by SADF officers who headed up a covert intelligence unit in Ciskei.

The unit gathered information about a coup plot planned by Sebe and Guzana, who was also shot. The unit infiltrated the plan and lured the two back to the Ciskei.

Police were not trusted to the extent that they were not briefed in detail about the "coup plot". Makuzeni and two of his senior officers were briefed by the covert unit, but were kept at the state house for the whole day before the coup.

"It was said we should remain there in order to prevent any leakage of information. Soldiers were allowed to come and go at the state house to such an extent that I suspected there were other separate briefings," Makuzeni recalled. — Eena

SA'S NIS BACKED SEBE, COURT IS TOLD

By LOUISE FLANAGAN

REBEL Ciskei military leader General Charles Sebe had the backing of South Africa's National Intelligence Service, the Bisho Supreme Court heard this week.

The independent homeland's head of state, Brigadier Oupa Gqoza, and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Velliti, are facing charges of murder following the death of General Sebe at the hands of Ciskei troops in January 1991.

Giving evidence this week, the former Ciskei Police Commissioner, Lt-General Zabelon Makuzeni, said he had "gathered from reports" that "the persons who were supporting Charles Sebe from South Africa were from the NIS".

General Sebe was planning to overthrow Brigadier Gqoza in a coup at the time of his death.

Another key witness in the trial, former Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Andrew Jannangile, testified that

Brigadier Gqoza had ordered him to shoot and kill General Sebe rather than capture him.

Brigadier Gqoza's defence counsel, Mr Dup de Bruyn, SC, put it to Brigadier Jannangile that he, too, had been in the employ of the NIS at the time.

On Friday Mr de Bruyn submitted classified documents to the court prepared by the International Research Unit, headed by former Ciskei military intelligence chief Commandant Anton

Nieuwoudt, outlining the threat posed by General Sebe.

The information, gleaned from informants inside the Sebe camp, included General Sebe's fears that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would thwart his plans.

"Charles went on to report that he would contact (MK leader) Chris Ham and get surety that MK is not going to interfere during the strike."

The hearing continues tomorrow.

NIS told me of Sebe's death, says witness

Tape played in Gqozo trial

Star 30/11/93

Bisho — Ciskei Broadcasting Corporation managing director Danie Malan yesterday told the Bisho Supreme Court that he was contacted by his National Intelligence Service (NIS) source about Charles Sebe's death.

Malan, a former SABC news editor, was giving evidence for the State against Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Gqozo and his former bodyguard Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti are charged with murdering Sebe in January 1991.

Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder. The two have pleaded not guilty.

CISKEI military ruler called Charles Sebe public enemy number one in an interview recorded after his rival's death

105

Malan said that after he was phoned by his NIS source about Sebe's death, he went to Bisho to interview Gqozo.

Malan said of his source: "He was a senior member of the NIS head office in East London at the time."

A witness told the court that the taped interview was an

edited version.

Gqozo's senior counsel Dup de Bruyn told the court he had noted this, but did not object to the tape being played.

When the tape was played in court, Gqozo said in the interview that his security forces in Ciskei had mounted a roadblock and engaged the enemy which was coming to topple him.

"Sebe and (his companion Colonel Onward) Guzana started shooting. Guzana was killed by my men and Sebe was wounded and managed to escape in the dark," Gqozo said.

Gqozo referred to Sebe in the interview as Ciskei's public enemy number one.

"If he is found dead or alive we will apprehend him."

"When he escaped we don't know how armed he was and he would be shot on sight. We have no desire to involve ourselves with the likes of Sebe," Gqozo said in the interview.

Malan said Gqozo regarded Sebe as a dangerous man who would put up a fight when confronted.

He explained that it was common knowledge that Sebe wanted to come back to Ciskei and take power.

Three other journalists are to be called to give evidence on exclusive interviews they conducted with Gqozo.

The trial continues. — Ecna.

Coup reports evidence

TWO police reports on a coup allegedly planned by Ciskei rebel, former General Charles Sebe, were handed in to the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, are facing murder charges as a result of the shooting of Sebe in January 1991.

The reports were handed in by Mr Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, during the cross-examination of General Zebulon Makuzeni, who has served as commissioner and minister of police in the homeland.

One police report said Sebe had met

Sowetan
with Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa in a house in Umtata.

The other security police report said it was evident that Sebe and his political movement, Iiso Lomzi, wanted to attack Ciskei.

It recorded a meeting in Durban in which ways of toppling Gqozo were discussed. Former Transkei ruler Kaiser Matanzima, Sebe and "white men from South Africa" were involved in the meeting.

Makuzeni said he regarded the reports as serious, and that police accepted there was "trouble" coming from Sebe.

30/11/93
On the night of January 26, when Sebe and co-conspirator Colonel Onward Guzana were stopped at a Ciskei road block, these two were expected to be travelling alone from the Transkei, Makuzeni said.

Guzana was shot dead at the roadblock but Sebe escaped and was killed the next day.

De Bruyn asked Makuzeni whether the fact that Sebe had escaped, and might be contacting unknown conspirators in the Ciskei, created a security risk. The witness agreed.

The case continues. — *Ecna.*

Agent 'told SABC about Sebe death'

CT30/11/93 (105)

BISHO. — A senior official in the SA National Intelligence office in East London had telephoned the SABC's East London office to tell them of the death of Mr Charles Sebe, the Supreme Court heard here yesterday.

A former SATV news editor, Mr Danie Malan, now managing director of Radio Ciskei, said the agent was a senior member at the unit's East London office, but declined to name him.

Mr Malan was being cross-questioned by senior counsel for the Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who is appearing with his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, on a charge of murdering Mr Sebe.

Earlier yesterday, an edited video tape of an interview Mr Malan had with Brigadier Gqozo on Sunday after-

noon January 27, 1991, was screened.

In the interview, Brigadier Gqozo said that early that day at a roadblock his security forces had "engaged the enemy coming to Bisho with the intention of usurping power from me".

He said "these people" (referring to Mr Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana), had started shooting and the security forces returned fire, "annihilating" the vehicle. Col Guzana was shot dead on the spot. "His accomplice, public enemy number one, was wounded and escaped to the bushes," Brig Gqozo said.

He added: "We are doing all we can to recapture him ... Because we are not sure if he is armed, he will be shot on sight."

The trial continues today. — Own Correspondent

Court hears Gqozo tape

Sowetan

1/12/93

■ REPORTER'S EVIDENCE

Interview after Charles Sebe's death:

THE murder trial of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday listened to a taped interview conducted by a *Sunday Tribune* reporter with the Ciskei military ruler.

Mr Yogin Devan, a senior reporter on the newspaper, took the stand yesterday morning to testify about an interview he conducted with Gqozo days after the death of rebel former General Charles Sebe.

Gqozo has pleaded not guilty to charges of murdering Sebe and also to alternative charges of incitement to murder. He is appearing in the Bisho Supreme Court together with his former bodyguard, Major Thozamile Veliti, also charged with murder.

Devan said the interview was conducted at State House on February 1 and 2. Mr Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, said the defence accepted the correctness of the transcript.

Most of yesterday's hearing was taken up by the court listening to a tape of the interview.

In the interview, Gqozo said Sebe had been the first to phone him after the

coup which brought him to power. But Sebe and co-conspirator Mr Onward Guzana had begun to plot against him "when they realised I was in control".

Gqozo said he had briefed the security council three times about coup plots but realised "there were leakages".

"This time we decided not to tell anybody until it was very late. We knew Sebe and Guzana were coming. We had tapes and we knew what car they were using.

"We knew why they wouldn't use MK people. They were sure that there was a platoon inside to help them, and after that they would go to the radio and announce they are taking over.

"They underestimated the integrity of my security forces," he said.

Sebe and Guzana were stopped by Ciskei forces at a roadblock in late January 1991. Guzana was shot at the roadblock but Sebe escaped and was shot later after being tracked to a nearby village. The case continues.

Mr Justice Willem Heath is presiding. Mr Willem Jurgens, the Ciskei Attorney-General, is prosecuting. Mr Stewart Redpath appears for Veliti. — *Eena*.

105

Gqozo told troops to shoot Sebe, editor says

Star 11/21/93

Blshe — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo appeared to be pleased that Charles Sebe was shot and killed after an "attempted coup" in Ciskei two years ago.

This was the evidence of the editor of SA Mining magazine, Willem "Bill" Krige, yesterday. Krige was testifying for the State against Gqozo who appeared on a charge of murdering Sebe on January 28 1991.

Appearing with Gqozo was his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti. The two have pleaded not guilty to the charges. Gqozo faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

Krige, then head of the Sun-

day Times office in Port Elizabeth, said that when he met Gqozo, "I asked him about his orders that Sebe be shot".

Krige said Gqozo told him: "Soldiers were acting under my instruction to kill Sebe."

Earlier Sunday Tribune senior journalist Yogin Devan told Mr Justice Willem Heath that Gqozo had granted him an exclusive interview about the "attempted coup".

Devan said a recording made at the time had Gqozo saying: "When the soldiers got Sebe they didn't want to ask questions whether he was armed or not — they shot him. We feel we have rid the world of a scum in Sebe.

"No one has tears for Sebe,

even his family. People where he was shot were rejoicing. Sebe has destabilised this country. I don't regret it. We think we have saved Ciskei of all agonies." (105)

Gqozo added: "It was our operation to take him out and we did exactly that, we took him out openly. Sebe is a skunk. I am so happy that these guys are dead."

Under cross-examination by Gqozo's senior counsel, Dup de Bruyn, Devan said he taped their conversation in order to back up notes he took during the interview. De Bruyn said he would argue that Devan created the wrong impression of what Gqozo said to him.

The trial continues. — Eena.

Electricity to townships cut

CT 2/12/93



Municipal Reporter

ELECTRICITY supplies to Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga and New Crossroads were cut selectively yesterday by the Cape Town City Council to pressure the CPA into paying the debts of black local authorities.

Cape Town is the bulk supplier of electricity to all those areas. Their collapsed local authority, the IKapa Town Council, owes millions to Cape Town for the supply of electricity. Some IKapa officials are involved in a corrup-

tion probe.

Supplies to domestic homes have not been affected by Cape Town's carefully targeted electricity switch-off. But street lights are off, and community centres, sports facilities and administrative offices have no electricity. The electricity supply to essential facilities like sewerage pumping stations has not been cut.

Irritation

Mr. Fanle Naude, the administrator of IKapa, said the power cut would disrupt the payment of social pensions, scheduled to

take place over the next six days.

The council has also decided to reduce the water supply to IKapa suburbs by instituting the "trickle system", again because of payment arrears.

It is understood the cut-off would affect households.

An IKapa spokesman expressed great irritation yesterday against the Cape Town City Council, saying a series of meetings was already being held in an attempt to sort out the issue.

Exco chairman Mr Clive Keegan said at a council meeting on Tuesday that Cape Town could not wait for an outcome of these meetings.

Palestinian attack kills peace effort

EL BIREH, West Bank — Palestinians shot dead an Israeli woman and wounded two other Israelis in the occupied West Bank yesterday.

The shooting incensed Jewish settlers and shattered hopes of restoring peace after Israel called off a manhunt for PLO militants on Tuesday in an attempt to calm the Gaza Strip. The attack followed the worst day of clashes in Gaza since the Israel-PLO peace deal was

Gqozo 'ordered Sebe to be shot on sight'

CT 2/12/93



Own Correspondent

BISHO. — The state closed its case yesterday against Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Sergeant-Major Thozamile Velili, for the murders of Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana.

Their counsel asked the Supreme Court for a postponement till Monday when they would apply for their clients' discharge. Earlier yesterday transcripts of two

radio interviews with Brig Gqozo were handed in as evidence.

In the first Brig Gqozo confirmed his soldiers had been instructed to shoot Mr Sebe on sight. In the second he said anyone who wanted to stage a coup in Ciskei would suffer the same fate as Mr Sebe and Col Guzana.

Asked to comment on complaints that Mr Sebe was unarmed, Brig Gqozo said his officers were told to shoot Mr Sebe when they found him because he was dangerous.

Joint body to boost US/S.A. ventures

CT 2/12/93



Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A joint committee on commerce and trade will be set up to boost joint ventures and US investment in South Africa, US Commerce Secretary Mr Ron Brown said yesterday.

The committee, at an official level, would eventually assist US firms to move into the South African market.

"It is vital that South Africa tackles the gulf between those who have succeeded economically and those who have not had a chance to participate. This will be achieved only by foreign and local investment."

Announcement

"The Overseas Private Investment Corporation Agreement signed on Tuesday is an important move for American investor confidence. We believe the commercial relationship between South Africa and the US will now far surpass that which existed before sanctions," he said.

Speaking at the end of a four-day trade mission to South Africa, Mr Brown said he would brief President Bill Clinton on his return, and hinted that there would be a significant announcement on trade between the two countries within weeks.

Sebe had no principles, says witness

Sowetan 2/12/93

CISKEI rebel Charles Sebe was an "unprincipled and remorseless man", the Bisho Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Mr Bill Krige, a former *Sunday Times* reporter and now editor of the magazine *SA Mining*, was being cross-examined in the ongoing murder trial of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. (105)

Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, have both pleaded not guilty to charges of murdering Sebe. Gqozo has pleaded not guilty to an additional charge of incitement to murder.

Under cross-examination by Mr Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, Krige said he knew Sebe quite well.

He had written about him in the past as an "unprincipled and remorseless man".

He confirmed the accuracy of a quote attributed to Gqozo in his report. The quote was: "The soldiers were acting on my orders to shoot to kill."

Under re-examination by Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens, prosecuting, Krige said Gqozo's order to shoot to kill was an unqualified order.

Sebe and co-conspirator Colonel Onward Guzana were stopped by Ciskei forces at a roadblock in late January 1991. Guzana was shot at the roadblock but Sebe escaped and was shot later after being tracked to a nearby village. The case continues. — *Eena*.

Gqozo murder trial: State closes case

BISHO — The State yesterday closed its case in the Supreme Court murder trial of Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and former bodyguard Sgt-Maj Thozamile Veliti.

Gqozo's senior counsel Dup de Bruyn and Veliti's counsel Stuart Redpath said they would apply for

Own Correspondent

their clients' discharge. De Bruyn asked for a postponement until Monday.

Ciskei attorney-general Willem Jurgens indicated he would oppose the discharge applications.

The court heard Radio Ciskei interviews in which the announcer asked Gqozo

if the soldiers had followed his instruction that Charles Sebe be shot where he was found. (105)

Gqozo replied: "My soldiers in Ciskei do take an instruction exactly. When they immediately came across him, they shot him."

The trial continues on Monday.

Violence expected to rise as election nears

BISOM 21/2/93

VIOLENCE would intensify in the run-up to next year's election as right- and left-wing groups opposed to the process of democracy began mobilising, Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Kotze issued the warning after three bomb blasts in two days, which have claimed one life and left 11 people injured. Two of the blasts occurred in Natal — one in a Durban bus and another in the Port Edward Hotel — and the third destroyed a power substation near Krugersdorp in the Transvaal.

"Our view is that the closer we get to democracy, violence is likely to intensify as radical groups opposed to the process start mobilising," Kotze said.

"However, in our planning we are taking that into account. But because the problem is fundamentally political, we need a political solution in the form of a summit (of political leaders)," he said.

Meanwhile, two men suspected of involvement in the bus blast near Durban's city hall have been placed under police guard in hospital. Kotze said parts of a limpet mine had been found on one of the suspects.

One person died and six people were injured in the explosion, caused by an MPM158 mini limpet mine. Police have not yet determined whether the dead man was carrying the bomb.

LLOYD COUTTS

Our Durban correspondent reports police have established that three separate high-explosive devices were used in Tuesday night's bomb attack which almost destroyed the Port Edward Hotel on the South Coast, injuring five people.

The bombs were placed next to each other under a counter in the ladies' bar and exploded simultaneously, Capt Bala Naidoo said.

Police said as many as 20 guests were staying at the hotel, but only five were slightly injured.

However, police said they had not determined whether the explosion was aimed at a right-wing conference to have been held at the hotel yesterday, or at an adjacent police holiday camp.

Meanwhile, police yesterday appealed to the public to be vigilant and report any suspicious-looking packages or people to the SAP.

They said bombs could be concealed in any article, including suitcases, boxes, shopping bags and purses, among others.

Anyone who notices what he or she believes to be a bomb should:

- Not touch or try to remove it;
- Warn other people in the vicinity;
- Open all doors and windows and evacuate the area; and
- Inform police immediately.

Biehl suspect's interrogation

CAPE TOWN — An alleged killer of American scholar Amy Biehl was told by police he would meet in court the informants who linked him to her death, the Supreme Court was told yesterday.

This was said at a trial within a trial to test the admissibility of a statement Mongesi Manqina made to police the day after Biehl's death.

Manqina claims police forced him to make the statement.

Manqina, 22, Mzikhona Nofemela, 21, and Vusumzi Ntamo, 21, have pleaded not guilty to murdering Biehl. They also pleaded not guilty to robbery with aggravating circumstances and public violence.

Biehl was beaten and stabbed to death in Guguletu in August.

Sgt Stefanus Jooste of the political violence unit told the court he interrogated Manqina in the back of a Casspir armoured vehicle parked at Manenberg police station.

He admitted it was "not normal procedure" to question suspects in Casspirs, but said the offices in the police station were locked.

"I told the interpreter to tell him we had information from people who saw him at the crime scene. I told the interpreter to say he could argue and deny it if he wanted to, but he'd see the informers in court." Manqina then spoke to the interpreter. On the basis of his answers, Jooste decided Manqina should be taken to his commander, Maj Perry. — Sapa.

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Gqozo murder trial: State closes case

BISOM 21/2/93

BISHO — The State yesterday closed its case in the Supreme Court murder trial of Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and former bodyguard Sgt-Maj Thozamile Veliti.

Gqozo's senior counsel Dup de Bruyn and Veliti's counsel Stuart Redpath said they would apply for

Own Correspondent

their clients' discharge. De Bruyn asked for a postponement until Monday.

Ciskei attorney-general Willem Jurgens indicated he would oppose the discharge applications.

The court heard Radio Ciskei interviews in which the announcer asked Gqozo

if the soldiers had followed his instruction that Charles Sebe be shot where he was found. (105)

Gqozo replied: "My soldiers in Ciskei do take an instruction exactly. When they immediately came across him, they shot him."

The trial continues on Monday.

State closes its case in Gqozo murder trial

Star 2/12/93

Bisho — The State closed its case against Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday.

Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens, SC, closed his case by presenting as evidence exclusive interviews Gqozo gave to the media. Four journalists were called this week to give evidence.

Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, have both pleaded not guilty to charges of murdering Ciskeian rebel Charles Sebe. Gqozo has pleaded not guilty to an additional charge of incitement to murder.

After the State closed its case, Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, asked for a postponement until Monday. He said the defence would prepare an application of discharge for Gqozo.

Stuart Redpath, appearing

for Veliti, told Mr Justice Willem Heath that he intended making an application for discharge of his client as well.

Mr Justice Heath granted the application for postponement until Monday.

Earlier yesterday, a Ciskeian soldier, Sergeant Patrick Ndungane, who was present when Sebe was killed, gave evidence.

Ndungane told the court that former Ciskei Defence Force chief Brigadier Monwabisi Jamangile had shouted "cease fire". He said Jamangile had done this after soldiers opened fire on Sebe.

The witness said he did not hear any orders other than the one from Jamangile.

"The next thing I heard was gunfire from an automatic rifle and I took cover," Ndungane recalled.

The case continues.
Ecná.

Call to free Gqozo in Ciskei murder trial

BISHO. — After a week which saw several journalists give evidence in the Gqozo murder trial, the defence announced it would apply for the discharge of the Ciskei ruler at the close of the state case.

Mr Dup de Bruyn, for Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said he would apply for a discharge when Mr Willem Jurgens, Ciskei Attorney General, closed his case. Mr De Bruyn was granted an adjournment until Monday to prepare a "comprehensive application".

Mr Stuart Redpath, for Brigadier Gqozo's former bodyguard and co-accused, Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, indicated he would also seek his client's discharge.

The two men are charged with the murder of Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe in 1991. Brigadier Gqozo faces an additional charge of incitement to murder.

The state's evidence this week was dominated by testimony by journalists about interviews with Brigadier Gqozo after Mr Sebe's death, in which he allegedly boasted about ordering the shooting.

This follows a pattern by Brigadier Gqozo's counsel last week in which two key witnesses were linked to the National Intelligence Services.

Radio Ciskei's managing director, Danie Malan, was the first to be called.

Mr Malan was a senior journalist for SABC television when he interviewed the brigadier. He said Brigadier

Gqozo was under the impression that Mr Sebe was armed.

Mr Malan said it was Mr Sebe's intention to take over power in Ciskei. He added that the homeland head of state regarded Mr Sebe as dangerous.

Mr Malan told the court that he was informed by his NIS source that Mr Sebe was shot dead on the morning of January 28.

A tape of an interview conducted by Yogin Devan, a senior Sunday Tribune journalist, was played in court. In the interview, Brigadier Gqozo allegedly said: "When my soldiers got Sebe they didn't ask questions whether he was armed or not, they shot him. We feel we have rid the world of a scum in Sebe.

"No one has tears for Sebe in Ciskei, even his family. People where he was shot were rejoicing. Sebe has destabilised this country. I don't regret it. We think we have saved Ciskei from all agonies.

"It was an operation to take them out and we did exactly that; we took him out openly. Sebe is a skunk. I am so happy that these guys are dead," Brigadier Gqozo allegedly said on the tape.

Mr De Bruyn said the defence would argue that Mr Devan created a wrong impression of what Brigadier Gqozo had said.

Also handed in was a tape of an interview conducted by Radio Ciskei, in which Gqozo allegedly confirmed his order. — Ecna

Scribes give evidence in Gqozo trial

CIP/1000 5/12/93

AFTER a week which saw several journalists take the stand in the murder trial of Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the defence announced it would apply for a discharge at the close of the state's case.

Dup de Bruyn, for Gqozo, announced he would apply for a discharge when Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens closed his case on Wednesday. De Bruyn was granted an adjournment until tomorrow to prepare a "comprehensive application". (105)

Stuart Redpath, for Gqozo's former bodyguard and co-accused Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, indicated he would also seek his client's discharge.

The two men are charged with the 1991 murder of Ciskei rebel Charles Sebe. Gqozo faces an additional charge of incitement to murder.

The state's evidence this week was dominated by testimony by journalists about interviews with Gqozo after Sebe's death, in which he boasted about ordering the shooting.

This follows a pattern by Gqozo's counsel last week in which two key witnesses were linked to the National Intelligence Services.

Radio Ciskei managing director Danie Malan was the first one to be called.

Malan was a senior journalist for SABC television when he conducted an interview with the brigadier.

He said Gqozo was under the impression that Sebe was armed and that it was Sebe's intention to take over power in Ciskei. He added that the homeland head of state regarded Sebe as dangerous.

A tape of an interview conducted by Yogin Devan, a senior *Sunday Tribune* journalist, was played in court. In the interview, Sebe said: "When my soldiers got Sebe they didn't ask questions whether he was armed or not, they shot him. We feel we have rid the world of a scum in Sebe.

"No one has tears for Sebe in Ciskei, even his family. People where he was shot were rejoicing. Sebe has destabilised this country. I don't regret it. We think we have saved Ciskei of all agonies.

"It was an operation to take them out and we did exactly that: we took him out openly. Sebe is a skunk. I am so happy that these guys are dead," Gqozo said on the tape.

The next journalist to testify was Bill Krige, former *Sunday Times* bureau chief in Port Elizabeth. Krige said Gqozo told him that the "soldiers were acting under my instructions to kill Sebe".

Also handed in was a tape of an interview conducted by Radio Ciskei, in which Gqozo confirmed his order.

- Ecna

Acquit Gqozo says defence

Sowetan 7/12/93

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo should be acquitted because there was no evidence against him, the Bisho Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Mr Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, was applying for his client's discharge at the close of the State's case.

Gqozo has pleaded not guilty to charges of murder and incitement to murder arising out of the 1991 shooting of rebel General Charles Sebe.

Not guilty

His former bodyguard, Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, has pleaded not guilty to murder charges.

The prosecution, led by Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens, closed its case last week.

Beginning his argument yesterday morning, De Bruyn set out the legal parameters of the application.

He said the court should grant a discharge if there was no evidence against

the accused. Where evidence was circumstantial, and more than one reasonable inference could be drawn from it, the one most favourable to the accused had to be drawn.

He argued that the evidence presented was contradictory.

Consulting witnesses

He also charged that the defence had been precluded from consulting with witnesses and from preparing adequate cross-examination.

The prosecution had not informed the defence in time of some witnesses to be called, which hampered their ability to adequately defend Gqozo.

This action interfered with and diminished Gqozo's rights and entitlement to the due process of law.

His right to a fair trial could have been undermined, De Bruyn said.

Mr Stuart Redpath, appearing for Veliti, has indicated he intends making a similar application. — *Ecna*.

105

Acquit Gqozo, court urged

Star 7/12/93

Bisho — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo should be acquitted because there was no evidence against him, the Bisho Supreme Court heard yesterday morning.

Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, was applying for his client's discharge at the close of the State case.

Gqozo has pleaded not guilty to charges of murder and incitement to murder arising out of the 1991 shooting of rebel General Charles Sebe.

His former bodyguard, Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, has pleaded not guilty to mur-

der charges.

The prosecution, led by Ciskei Attorney General Willem Jurgens, closed its case last week.

(105)
Beginning his argument yesterday morning, De Bruyn said the court should grant a discharge if there was no evidence against the accused.

He argued that the evidence presented was contradictory.

He also charged that the defence had been precluded from consulting with witnesses and from preparing adequate cross-examination.

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formed the defence in time of some witnesses to be called, which hampered their ability to adequately defend Gqozo.

This action interfered with and diminished Gqozo's rights and entitlement to the due process of law.

Sebe and co-conspirator Colonel Onward Guzana were stopped by Ciskei forces at a roadblock in late January 1991. Guzana was shot at the roadblock, but Sebe escaped and was shot later after being tracked to a nearby village.

Mr Justice Willem Heath is hearing the case. — Eena.

Free Gqozo, court asked

CT 7/12/93 (105)
Own Correspondent

BISHO. — The Supreme Court has been asked to find Brigadier Oupa Gqozo not guilty of murder charges as there is not enough evidence against him.

Mr Dup de Bruyn, for Brigadier Gqozo, and Mr Stuart Redpath, for Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, applied yesterday for the Supreme Court to discharge the two.

The state closed its case last Wednesday.

Mr De Bruyn said his intention was to persuade the court there should be a distinction between the South African interpretation of section 174 of the Criminal Procedure Act and what he submitted should be the interpretation in Ciskei.

He submitted that the prosecution evidence was so contradictory that the proper course would be to discharge Brigadier Gqozo.

Dealing with the alternative charge against Brigadier Gqozo of incitement to murder, Mr Charles Sebe, former head of the Ciskei defence force, Mr De Bruyn said: "There was never an order to murder, but to kill."

The hearing continues today.

Lack of evidence argument rejected

Gqozo bid to get discharge fails

Star 8/12/93

105

Bisho — An application for the discharge of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who is standing trial for murder, was refused by the Ciskei Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Justice Willem Heath refused to grant an application that Gqozo should be discharged because of a lack of evidence against him.

Gqozo's defence counsel, advocate Dup de Bruyn, made the application after the State had closed its case.

Judge Heath said the interests of the accused were important, but so were the interests of society.

"Administration of justice should be applied," he said.

The judge also refused an application by Gqozo chief bodyguard Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, that he be discharged for similar reasons.

The two are charged with murdering Charles Sebe almost two years ago. They have pleaded not guilty. Gqozo also faces an alternative charge of incitement to murder.

The judge remarked: "This is an extremely complicated case whereupon the interest of the accused persons and that of the society are important. Justice should be done to the accused and to the community."

Ciskei Attorney-General

Willem Jurgens said that if the court could prove that Sebe was killed as a result of Gqozo's order, the main charge of murder would stand.

He said Gqozo was not covered by the Ciskei Indemnity Act, as he had regarded himself to be above the law at the time. In reply De Bruyn said Gqozo was interviewed by the media as a political leader who had just survived a coup.

"He must come out strong. The accused's statement in the media must not be seen in isolation. He was warning people who were possibly involved in the coup," De Bruyn explained. — Eena.

Sebe killing: Gqozo 'must stand trial'

105 CJ 8/12/93

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — An application for the discharge of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti, was dismissed in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

The two men are charged with murdering the former commander-in-chief of the Ciskei security forces, Mr Charles Sebe.

Mr Justice W Heath said applications for the discharge of the accused had been made on the basis that no case against them had been presented by the prosecution.

Reliance had been placed on the provision of Section 174 of the Criminal Procedures Act, which states that if, at the close of the state case, the court decides that no evidence of a crime has been brought against the accused, it may return a verdict of not guilty.

"Having listened to counsel for almost two days, it is clear a very wise decision is required," Mr Justice Heath said.

"The applications are extremely complicated, and I do not find it easy to decide on the matter."

The judge added that he would not disclose the considerations which had led to his decision, as that "might detrimentally affect the position of the accused and the prosecution".

The trial continues today.

Gqozo's application dismissed

BISHO — An application for the discharge of Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard Sgt-Maj Thozamile Velliti was dismissed in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

The two men are charged with murdering former Ciskei Defence Force commander-in-chief Charles Sebe.

Judge W H Heath said he would not disclose the specific considerations leading to his decision as this "might detrimentally affect the position of the accused and the prosecution".

Applications for the discharge of the accused had been made on the basis that there was no case against them, the judge said.

Reliance had been placed on a Criminal Procedure Act provision which stated that if, at the close of the State's case, the court decided there was no evidence against the accused, it could return a verdict of not guilty.

The judge said he believed that, in analysing the provisions of section 174, he had to examine the extent to which it expressed the wishes and needs of society.

Among others, the following points should be considered:

An innocent person should never be convicted of a crime unjustly; § 112193

The right to remain silent should be satisfied; and The right of the accused to give evidence was important, as was the right of the community to see justice done. (105)

If a contribution was not required from the accused, it would be contrary to the constitution and the protection of the community's interests, he said.

"Having listened to counsel for almost two days, it is clear that a very wise decision is required. The applications are extremely complicated and I do not find it easy to decide on the matter."

The court had also been referred to the tests applied in SA and Ciskei prior to the promulgation of Ciskei's constitution. But while the SA and Ciskeian tests were guidelines, "in the end, the court must exercise its discretion". The trial continues today. — Sapa.

Bill's wording upsets city local authorities

GAVIN DU VENAGE

ANC and government legal representatives were trying to reword parts of the Local Government Transition Bill because local authorities had complained that it robbed them of authority and transferred it to metropolitan authorities, sources said yesterday.

The major cities are said to be particularly unhappy with wording that describes local authorities in a metropolitan area as "metropolitan sub-structures". The implication was, critics said, that local authorities would have their powers eroded by a metropolitan council and were in fact subservient to it. § 112193

Metropolitan councils are to replace regional services councils and facilitate the redistribution of wealth from the rates base in white areas to black areas.

Local Government Minister Tertius Delpoort has also asked that the wording be changed, as the implication that local authorities are subservient to a metropolitan authority was not intended.

Measure to equalize funds

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Gqozo not covered by decree'

Sowetan 8/12/93

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo could not claim the protection of the homeland's indemnity decree, the Bisho Supreme Court was told yesterday.

Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens was arguing against a defence application for murder charges against Brig Gqozo and his former bodyguard Sergeant-Major Thozamile Veliti to be dismissed at the close of the State's case.

Jurgens said the decree was formulated to deal with situations of internal disorder, but at the time that rebel General Charles Sebe was killed, there was no evidence of internal disorder.

There had been no threat from inside Ciskei.

He conceded that the coup attempt by Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana, who was also killed, was unlawful and said charges of treason could have been brought against them.

But they should have been arrested, and the order to kill them could not be described, in good faith, as required by the indemnity decree.

If the decree was held to cover this sort of action, it meant Gqozo could with impunity order the execution of any person whom he considered a threat.

The presiding judge, Mr Justice Willem Heath, interposed to ask why Jurgens didn't bring an application to have the decree declared invalid if he felt so strongly about it.

Jurgens said he was part of the executive, and as such could not bring such an action.

The judge responded that he represents the people, not the executive.

Jurgens said: "It is not necessary for me to bring an application, because Gqozo does not fall within the ambit of the decree in this case."

Jurgens said the openness with which Gqozo declared to the world that he had given the order to kill should also be considered.

He said the brigadier had thought he would not be investigated. He realised he was committing an offence but thought he would get away with it.

To order the killing of another man was unlawful, Jurgens argued.

Sebe and Guzana were stopped by Ciskei forces at a roadblock in late January 1991. Guzana was shot at the roadblock, but Sebe escaped and was shot later after being tracked.

Judgment reserved in Gqozo trial

Star 9/12/93

Bisho — Judgment in the trial of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has been reserved until Monday.

Gqozo and a former bodyguard, Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, are charged with the murder of Charles Sebe in January 1991.

Refusal

105

Ciskei leader Gqozo faces a further charge of inciting murder.

Dup de Bruyn, for Gqozo, handed in to the Bisho Supreme Court a diplomatic note from Ciskei to South Africa, asking that senior diplomatic personnel be made available to give evidence.

He also handed in South Africa's refusal.

Ciskei's Attorney-General Willem Jurgens said the State had relied on

admissions made by Gqozo during interviews after Sebe's death.

Jurgens asked the court to find Gqozo guilty of murder because the order to kill Sebe had been issued by him.

Jurgens conceded that the State had failed to show a complete picture of what happened when Sebe was shot.

Reasonable

The State also maintained that Veliti was present at Sebe's shooting.

De Bruyn replied that no order to kill had been proved beyond reasonable doubt by the State. If there was an order to "shoot and destroy", that did not mean to murder and therefore was not unlawful. — Ecna.

South Africa snubs Brigadier Gqozo

Sowetan 9/12/93

■ FINAL ARGUMENT Defence

IN A SURPRISE MOVE yesterday morning, the defence in the murder trial of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo closed its case without calling any witnesses.

The move comes a day after their application for a discharge at the close of the State's case failed.

Mr Dup de Bruyn, appearing for Gqozo, yesterday morning handed in a diplomatic note from Ciskei to South Africa, requesting that senior diplomatic personnel be made available to give evidence.

He also handed in the response from the South African Government, turning down the request.

Those whom Ciskei wanted to call to give evidence in Gqozo's defence are Mr Pieter Goosen, the current South African ambassador to the Ciskei, Mr Dries Venter, now ambassador to Kenya, and Mr Isaac Heath, a former counsellor in the South African embassy to Ciskei who is now the country's ambassador to Swaziland.

The Ciskei note said: "This request is made in the pursuance of justice.

"The Ciskei government regards the evidence of the three abovementioned officials to be of critical importance to shed light on the truth and the facts of the matter.

closes case without calling witnesses:

(105)

"We request that these officials be made available, and look forward to your confirmation thereon.

"Should it be necessary to issue a subpoena, please advise us accordingly."

The note is dated November 2 and the response came on November 5.

In a terse note, the South African embassy said it "wishes to advise that after careful consideration, the SA authorities can unfortunately not accede to the request by the Ciskei government".

Stunned the court

Having presented the two notes, De Bruyn stunned the court by announcing he was closing his case.

Mr Stuart Redpath, appearing for Gqozo's co-accused, former bodyguard Sergeant Major Thozamile Veliti, also closed his case.

They are charged with the murder of rebel Charles Sebe in January 1991.

The court earlier heard that Sebe had

communications with Venter while plotting a coup against Gqozo.

There has also been evidence that Goosen was present during a briefing of senior Ciskei officers on the coup plot.

Sebe and co-conspirator Colonel Onward Guzana arrived in Ciskei a few days later.

Guzana was shot at a roadblock, while Sebe escaped, only to be found and shot in a nearby village the next day.

Today's developments follow a ruling yesterday in which the court turned down a defence application for the accused to be discharged at the close of the state case.

De Bruyn had argued that there was no evidence against his client, and that he was in any event covered by the indemnity case. The judge did not give full reasons for his ruling.

The court will hear final argument later today.

Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens is prosecuting, while Mr Justice Willem Heath is presiding. — *Ecna*.

Gqozo closes case without testifying in murder trial

BISHO — The defence closed its case in the Bisho Supreme Court murder trial of Ciskei military ruler Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard Thozamile Veliti, without calling them to testify. (105)

The two men are charged with murdering former Ciskei Defence Force commander-in-chief Charles Sebe.

Ciskei Attorney-General and senior State counsel Willem Jurgens argued for the conviction of Brigadier Gqozo and Sergeant-Major Veliti.

Mr Jurgens conceded that Monwabisi Jamangile was not a good witness, but asked the court to rely on his evidence which was corroborated by various other witnesses.

He said Brigadier Gqozo's case was that after the shooting, Sergeant-Major Veliti arrived at State House before Brigadier Jamangile, who said: "My boys blew him away."

He added that fitted in with what Brigadier Gqozo had said in a television interview the day before the shooting — that Mr Sebe be shot on sight.

The senior counsel for Brigadier Gqozo, Dup de Bruyn, said



Oupa Gqozo

ARCT 9/12/93
Brigadier Gqozo's association with Brigadier Jamangile's comment at State House could not be construed as a confession to murder.

Mr Jurgens said the State's main evidence against Brigadier Gqozo was his admissions.

He submitted there was a continuous thread flowing through all Brigadier Gqozo's statements to the press and that they set in motion an unbroken chain of events which led to the murder of Mr Sebe.

Regarding the so-called admissions, Mr De Bruyn maintained Brigadier Gqozo was

speaking as a politician having just survived an attempted coup, who had to show his strength.

He said the State had put forward three contradictory versions of what happened at Gubevu and these could not be reconciled.

Therefore the State had not proved beyond reasonable doubt what had happened at Gubevu and therefore an "unlawful killing" had not been proved.

Mr De Bruyn submitted Brigadier Gqozo was entitled to a discharge on the main and alternative counts. He also repeated the defence's reliance on the Indemnity Act and Indemnity Decree.

In his argument, the senior counsel for Sergeant-Major Veliti, Stuart Redpath, associated himself with what had been said by Mr De Bruyn.

He said that on the admissible facts, the unlawfulness of Mr Sebe's death had not been proved and there was no definite evidence Sergeant-Major Veliti had taken part.

Judgment was reserved until Monday. — Sapa.

Star 11/12/93

Ciskei's Gqozo agrees to fight election

PRETORIA — Cracks started appearing in the Freedom Alliance yesterday when Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, declared he would take part in the transitional process and the election.

Gqozo's announcement came while the other four leaders of the alliance were locked in a five-hour meeting in Pretoria to decide whether to resume negotiations with the government and ANC.

In a short statement issued after the

POLITICAL STAFF

(105)

meeting, the alliance said it had prepared a draft document, to be finalised in further meetings during the weekend, which it would present to the government and the ANC next week.

However, no decision on the resumption of negotiations or participation in the tran-

sitional process and election was taken.

The Ciskei ruler was the only alliance leader not to attend the meeting. He was in Bisho awaiting judgment on charges of murdering former Ciskei Defence Force chief Charles Sebe.

His statement came soon after the first overt defiance of the Transitional Executive Council by another member of the FA, the kwaZulu government of Mangosuthu

Buthelezi, which refused to provide it with reports of hit-squad activity in the kwaZulu Police.

Speaking in Bisho yesterday, Gqozo said: "We will fight the elections, left, right and centre. Not to do so would be a failure to provide South Africa with an alternative to the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance."

Gqozo said he would also participate in the transitional process. Even if Ciskei did not support the TEC, it was entitled to take part in discussions affecting it.

Alliance strained: Gqozo to fight ^{ARLT} 11/12/93 elections

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Cracks started to appear in the Freedom Alliance yesterday, with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo declaring he would take part in the transitional process and the election, while his alliance partners dithered.

Brigadier Gqozo's announcement came while the other four leaders of the alliance were locked in an inconclusive five-hour meeting to decide whether to resume negotiations with the government and African National Congress.

In a short statement issued after the meeting, the alliance said it had prepared a draft document, to be finalised in further meetings during the weekend, which it would present to the government and the ANC next week.

However, no decision on the resumption of negotiations or participation in the transitional process and election was taken.

Brigadier Gqozo was the only alliance leader not to attend. He was in Bisho, awaiting judgment on charges of murdering former Ciskei Defence Force chief Charles Sebe.

Brigadier Gqozo was emphatic his homeland also would take part in the transitional process. "Conditions of participation of ourselves and other members of the alliance will have to be found."

Yesterday's alliance meeting was attended by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party, President Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Conservative Party, General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront and a Ciskei delegation.

The leaders discussed a letter from Constitutional Development Minister and government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer to alliance chairman Rowan Cronje which kept the door open for a resumption of talks and a constitutional deal which included the alliance.

Earlier yesterday, the KwaZulu government defied the TEC by directing its police commissioner, Lieutenant-General Roy Doring, to ignore urgent requests from the new body to provide it with full reports on the KwaZulu police alleged hit squad exposed by the Goldstone Commission.

■ See page 3

(105)
Ciskei will
take part
in election

BISHO. — Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo says his homeland, a member of the Freedom Alliance, will fight the election and take part in the transitional process.

Speaking at a police passing-out parade here yesterday, Brig. Gqozo said: "We will fight the elections, left, right and centre, because not doing so will be a failure to provide the electorate with an alternative to the ANC/SACP alliance.

"I am certain there are still decent and self-respecting South Africans out there who would rather die or leave the country than be saddled and yoked with a socialist, Marxist unitary government." — Sapa

'State failed to conclusively prove guilt'

Gqozo acquitted of murder

Star 13/12/93

Bisho — Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard, Sergeant-Major Thomazile Veliti, were found not guilty yesterday of murdering alleged coup plotter Charles Sebe.

Their acquittal came after a five-week murder trial in the Bisho Supreme Court.

In a seven-hour judgment, Mr Justice W H Heath said: "This court has found that all people are equal before the law, includ-

THE judge stresses his independence, but the ANC questions the administration of justice in Ciskei

ing Gqozo specifically, and equally he must get the benefit of the doubt if the State has failed to discharge the onus to prove his guilt beyond reason-

able doubt."

Mr Justice Heath said it was necessary to consider whether Sebe's killing was as a result of an instruction given by Gqozo. He said he was satisfied there was at least a reasonable doubt whether Sebe was killed in the execution of such an instruction.

Dealing with the charge against Veliti, the judge said he was not satisfied the State had proved beyond reasonable doubt that he had fired shots at Sebe,

that he had associated himself with the shooting by other soldiers or that he had executed an instruction from Gqozo.

Before delivering judgment, the judge stressed his own independence from any party or interest group. **(105)**

■ The ANC said the acquittals reflected "serious doubts regarding the administration of justice and the independence of the judiciary" in Ciskei. — Sapa.

ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — Indications that Freedom Alliance members intended fighting next year's election emerged at the weekend.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee said yesterday it would recommend to the party's special general conference that it contest the election if "well-defined minimum conditions of Inkatha are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election".

Sources say government, the ANC and the alliance are close to agreement on these minimum conditions for greater regional powers. Alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje has said only "half an issue" remains outstanding. (105)

BIDAY 13/12/93
Freedom Alliance gives positive hint

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo confirmed at the weekend that he, and possibly other alliance members, would be taking part in the transitional process.

"We will fight the elections, left, right and centre because not doing so will be a failure to provide the electorate with an alternative to the ANC-SACP alliance," said Gqozo. "Conditions of participation of ourselves and other members of the alliance will have to be found."

Senior Inkatha central committee mem-

□ To Page 2

Freedom Alliance

BIDAY 13/12/93
bers, convinced that the party's bottom line has already been met by government and the ANC, have mounted a concerted attempt to persuade Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in the elections. "We are eager to establish a new democratic dispensation through elections at the first possible opportunity," the committee said on Saturday. (105)

With the tabling in Parliament of the

interim constitution delayed by almost a week because of CP objections, the door is still open for the alliance's demands to be met and for its members to commit themselves to the poll.

If the alliance's demands are met by government and the ANC, a special meeting of the negotiating council is likely to be called this week to redraft parts of the constitution.

□ From Page 1

Gqozo acquitted of Sebe murder

□ Cheers as he and bodyguard freed

PAT CANDIDO
Staff Reporter

ARC 14/12/93

(105)
surrendered.

BISHO. — Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his former bodyguard Sergeant Major Thozamili Veliti have been found not guilty of murdering Major General Charles Sebe in 1991.

There were cheers from the public gallery when Mr Justice Heath told Brigadier Gqozo and Major Veliti they were free to go.

Army vehicles were seen in the grounds of the Supreme Court and in the streets of Bisho after the judge said the state had not provided sufficient evidence for a conviction on the murder charge or the alternate of incitement to murder.

General Sebe was killed a day after being wounded at a roadblock on the King William's Town-Stutterheim road where a former member of the Ciskei government executive council, Colonel Onward Guzana, was killed.

Mr Justice Heath said the court had found that all people were equal before the law, including Brigadier Gqozo specifically.

He therefore had to get the benefit of the doubt because the State had failed to discharge the onus to prove his guilt beyond reasonable doubt.

He said the court had to take into consideration whether Brigadier Gqozo could foresee the possibility that General Sebe would be killed as a result of his instruction that every effort should be made to "search and destroy" the general who was considered public enemy number one in Ciskei.

He dreaded and loathed General Sebe who, on three occasions, had tried to organise a coup and take over power in Ciskei.

He said the court had to ask whether the inference could be drawn beyond reasonable doubt that Brigadier Gqozo would have instructed or approved of a killing where General Sebe was naked and unarmed and had

It was true Brigadier Gqozo had emphasised time and again that General Sebe was to be shot. But, this could be qualified by his being of the view that General Sebe was armed.

There was also the factor that his soldiers' lives could be in danger and that they were probably going to act in self-defence.

Therefore, it was possible his purpose or aim with the order was a lawful one, or that he thought it was lawful, which would indicate the absence of an unlawful intention.

The judge said it was possible Brigadier Gqozo knew at the time that it was unlawful to give such an instruction, but against the background of a threatening coup, the particular personality of General Sebe and the fact that he was such a dangerous person, he would not exclude the possibility that the brigadier believed he was justified in giving the instruction.

It was possible General Sebe was armed, that he constituted a danger and that he could rely on support of people inside Ciskei.

The same considerations affected the question of incitement to commit murder or a charge of culpable homicide.

He said he rejected the evidence of Brigadier Andrew Jamangile of what had happened on the day of General Sebe's death.

His evidence was totally unsatisfactory and the judge could not believe the brigadier's version of the role he played that day.

Earlier, the judge warned there was a tendency in South Africa to politicise court cases.

He said the case had been dealt with solely on the evidence presented and according to relevant legal principles.

He said he hoped people would respect the court and treat the judgment and the end result with respect and dignity.

BISHO — Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo was yesterday acquitted of murdering the homeland's former chief of security forces, Maj-Gen Charles Sebe.

The Bisho Supreme Court also acquitted Gqozo's co-accused, his bodyguard Sgt-Maj Tozamile Veliti, after a five-week trial.

Sebe was shot dead by Ciskeian soldiers in 1991 after allegedly plotting to overthrow Ciskei's military government.

In a seven-hour judgment, Judge W Heath said the State had not been able to prove the guilt of the accused beyond all doubt. It had not been proved that Gqozo had ordered Sebe's murder.

Gqozo was also found not guilty on the additional charge of incitement to murder.

The judge said the State had not proved beyond reasonable doubt that Veliti had

Gqozo acquitted of Sebe's murder

BISHO 14/2/93
fired shots at Sebe, or that he had executed an instruction given by Gqozo.

The State had relied on testimony from journalists who interviewed Gqozo after Sebe's death and reported that he said he had ordered Sebe killed. (105)

The court case was a sequel to a judicial inquest that found Gqozo responsible for Sebe's death.

Gqozo refused to step down as head of government during the trial and tried to have the case thrown out of court by arguing that a court could not try the president.

— Sapa-AFP.

Oupa Gqozo found not guilty of Sebe murder

Sowetan 14/12/93

(105)

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was yesterday found not guilty in the Bisho Supreme Court of murder.

The judge said the state had not proved that Gqozo had ordered the 1991 murder of General Charles Sebe, who was allegedly planning a coup against Gqozo's government.

Gqozo was also found not guilty on the additional charge of incitement to murder, and his bodyguard was also found not guilty of murder.

The State relied on testimony from journalists who interviewed Gqozo after Sebe's death. They reported that he had said he had ordered Sebe killed.

The case was a sequel to a judicial inquest which had found that Gqozo was responsible for Sebe's death.

Gqozo refused to step down as head of government during the trial and attempted to have the case thrown out of court by stating that a court could not try the president. — *Sapa-AFP*.

My big mouth got me in trouble, says Gqozo

ARC 14/12/93 (105)

□ Acquitted Ciskei leader elated but cautious

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

CISKEI's military leader says his "big mouth" landed him in trouble.

An elated but cautious Oupa Gqozo was commenting on the murder charges of which he was acquitted yesterday.

He was speaking from his Bisho home last night, just hours after he and co-accused Sergeant-Major Tozamide Veliti were acquitted in the Bisho Supreme Court of murdering the homeland's former chief of security forces, Charles Sebe.

General Sebe was shot dead by Ciskeian soldiers in 1991 after he allegedly plotted to overthrow Ciskei's military government.

Brigadier Gqozo said last night: "I'm very pleased, I'm elated".

But he added that his legal advisers had urged him to be more careful about what he said from now on.

In a reference to the press inter-

views cited by the State in the murder trial, the brigadier said: "I'm not giving interviews for a while.

"I landed in this because of my big mouth in interviews."

A buoyant and relieved Brigadier Gqozo declined to be drawn on his plans for the future, but described the trial as "very difficult, and very unpredictable".

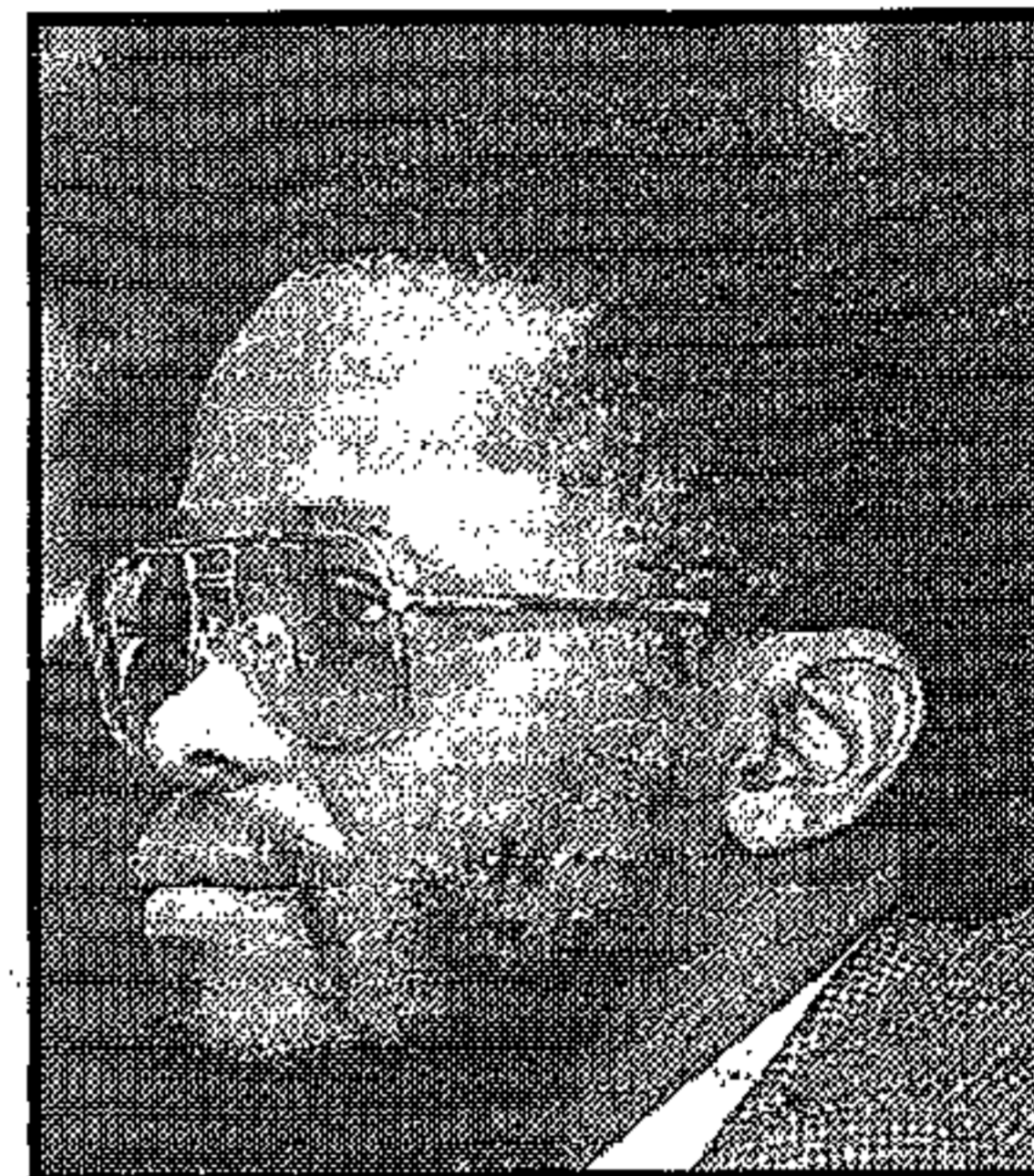
He is to make a fuller statement at a press conference today.

"I'd rather wait until the press conference and clear the whole thing with my advisers," he said.

The brigadier's acquittal came after a marathon five-week murder trial.

Passing judgment, Mr Justice William Heath said the State had been unable to prove the guilt of the accused beyond all doubt.

In a seven-hour judgment, Mr Justice Heath said: "This court has found that all people are equal be-



Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

fore the law, including Brigadier Gqozo specifically, and equally he must then get the benefit of the doubt if the State has failed to discharge the onus to prove his guilt beyond reasonable doubt."

16 sentenced for T'kei coup attempt

UMTATA. — Sixteen men were sentenced in the Transkei Supreme Court yesterday for their role in the attempted coup on November 22, 1990.

Vulindela Mbotoli received an effective 20 years in jail for providing the operation's arms and finances. Sabelo Wana, who was in charge of operations on the day of the failed coup, also received 20 years.

The 14 other accused received sentences ranging from five to 12 years' imprisonment.

Seven Transkeian soldiers were killed and 33 others injured during the attempted coup which also claimed the lives of 11 rebels. — Sapa

(105) CT 15/12/93

'Contempt' warning after Gqozo ruling

BISHO. — The Ciskei attorney-general has instructed police to open a contempt of court docket after adverse public reaction to the acquittal on a murder charge of the homeland's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Brig Gqozo and his bodyguard Sergeant-Major Tozame Veliti were acquitted of murdering Ciskei's former chief of security forces, Major-General Charles Sebe.

Expressing dismay at some of the public reaction to the judgment delivered by Mr Justice W Heath on Monday, Mr W F Jurgens said: "Comment and criticism may never be allowed to impugn the authority of our courts."

"Some of the comments seem calculated to bring the court into contempt," Mr Jurgens said yesterday.

He had instructed the Ciskeian police to open a contempt of court docket, and to establish the exact comments of various people and organisations, to enable him to decide if prosecutions should follow, he said.

Mr Jurgens said he did not wish to intimidate anyone or to suppress reasonable public debate.

It should rather be seen as a warning (and a plea) that such debate must not degenerate into attacks on the authority of our courts," he said.

● Brigadier Gqozo yesterday welcomed the outcome of his trial for murder and dismissed "political" criticism

of the court's finding.

The judicial system was the foundation of the democratic system it was hoped could be established in South Africa, said Brig Gqozo, who added he had noted criticism of the judgment "from certain political quarters" — apparently referring to the ANC. — Sapa

15/12/92

Kasrils promises democratic retrial

People will judge Gqozo, says ANC

Star 17/12/93

(105)

East London — Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would be retried for murder before a "court of the people", ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday.

Kasrils, a former Umkhonto we Sizwe intelligence chief, also said Gqozo would be put on trial for the September 1992 Bisho massacre, when Ciskei troops opened fire on ANC protesters, killing 28 people.

Kasrils was addressing a 32nd anniversary rally of the ANC's armed wing in Mdantsane.

On Monday, Gqozo was acquitted in the Bisho Supreme Court of murdering Ciskei dissident Charles Sebe in January 1991. Earlier, ANC statements criticising the acquittal and cast-

NEW government will also put acquitted Ciskei leader in the dock for the September 1992 Bisho massacre, rally told

ing doubts on the court's integrity led to dockets of contempt of court being opened.

"When we have a democratic government you are going to be put to trial for the murder of Charles Sebe and the murder of 28 comrades at Bisho," Kasrils warned Gqozo.

Gqozo, he said, was going to "face the court of the people".

Kasrils also said hundreds of

MK cadres had been sent out of the country for training as officers in the new SADF.

"General Bantu Holomisa and (MK commander) Joe Modise are going to be generals in the new South African army," he added.

Agreement had also been reached on full pension benefits for MK fighters, exiles and prisoners as well as for the families of MK fighters who died fighting the South African Government.

A crowd of about 5 000 gathered at the Sisa Dukashe stadium to celebrate the final anniversary of MK before its absorption into a single national defence force. The crowd cheered enthusiastically the military displays and firing of pistols by about 80 MK cadres. — Eena.

'Retrial for Gqozo' — Kasrils

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC would re-open the case against Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for the murder of Mr Charles Sebe, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, MK's representative on the Transitional Executive Council's military structure, said yesterday.

Brig Gqozo would also be tried for the massacre of 28 people in Bisho last year and other murders, he told a rally here marking

the 32nd and last anniversary of MK before its dissolution after the April 27 elections.

Speaking to thousands of supporters in Mdantsane, Mr Kasrils also said hundreds of uMkhonto weSizwe cadres are receiving training abroad in preparation for integration into the new national army to be formed after the first democratic elections.

He said Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holo-

misa, and the MK commander, Mr Joe Modise, would be senior commanders in the new defence force.

Mr Kasrils told the gathering the TEC had agreed that MK cadres be entitled to a full pension. Compensation would also be given to families of MK cadres who had died in battle, including some of those who had been executed by the South African government.

CT 17/12/93
(105)

CT 18/12/93 (105)

ANC to review cases

EAST LONDON. — The ANC would investigate Ciskei cases in which people had been killed and would consider, within legal parameters, whether such cases could be reopened, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Mr Niehaus was asked to comment on a statement made by an ANC national executive member Mr Ronnie Kasrils at an uMkhonto weSizwe rally in Mdantsane on Thursday.

Mr Kasrils questioned the acquittal by the Bisho Supreme Court of the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, on a charge of murder.

He said the ANC would reopen the case and try Brigadier Gqozo for the death of Mr Charles Sebe and for the Bisho massacre of 28 people last year.

Mr Niehaus said the ANC did not think Brig Gqozo's case had been fully dealt with.

The Ciskei government declined to comment on Mr Kasrils's statement.

Oupa Gqozo will pay for his crimes

CISKEI ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would be retried for murder before a court of the people, ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils said this week.

Kasrils, a former Umkhonto weSizwe intelligence chief, also said Gqozo would be put on trial for the September 1992 Bisho massacre, when Ciskei troops opened fire on ANC protesters, killing 28 people.

Kasrils was addressing a crowd of 5 000 at a 32nd anniversary rally in the ANC's armed wing in Mdantsane. **CIPROZ**

"Because he can see democracy coming in South Africa, Gqozo did not want to be put on trial for the murder of Charles Sebe when SA is free," he claimed. **19112193**

"So the Supreme Court in Bisho had to pretend they were serious about his trial but in the end they find him not guilty." **(100)**

On Monday, Gqozo was acquitted in the Bisho Supreme Court of murdering Ciskei dissident Charles Sebe in January 1991. Earlier ANC statements criticising the acquittal and casting doubts on the court's integrity have led to dockets of contempt of court being opened.

"When we have a democratic government you are going to be put on trial for the murder of Charles Sebe and the murder of 28 comrades at Bisho," Kasrils warned Gqozo.

"Oupa Gqozo is going to pay for his crimes," he said.

Kasrils also said that hundreds of MK cadres had been sent out of the country for training as officers.

"General Bantu Holomisa and (MK commander) Joe Modise are going to be generals in the new South African army," he added.

Agreement had also been reached on full pension benefits for MK fighters, exiles and prisoners as well as for the families of MK fighters who died fighting the SA government, he said. **Ecia**

HOMELANDS - Ciskei - GENERAL

1994

APRIL - JUNE

Free transfers ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ for C'kei homes ^{CT 3/1/94}

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government has introduced a scheme under which government houses occupied by tenants for 15 years or longer will be transferred to the ownership of occupants free of charge.

However, the Border South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) dismissed the gesture as "just another ploy" to lure Ciskeians into the African Democratic Movement (ADM).

The government said the scheme had been introduced because "there were still some inhibiting factors which impeded rapid progress regarding the sale of houses".

A Ciskei government spokesman said the decision had been taken on economic grounds. People who rented houses did not look after them well, thus compelling the government to effect repairs every time the houses were damaged.

He denied that the move was politically motivated and aimed at electioneering.

In his reaction the Border president of Sanco, Mr Otto Tokwe, said the Ciskei government, having failed to attract people into the ADM, was now using the housing issue to lure them by promises of free house transfers.

Ciskei 'poised to join TEC'

CT 10/1/94 ~~3577A~~ (105)
Down Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei appears poised to take up its seat on the Transitional Executive Council, with more evidence of a growing split in the increasingly fragile Freedom Alliance.

However, the homeland is still unwilling to commit itself publicly to participation in the council.

Ciskei's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Mickey Webb, would only say yesterday that his government was contemplating taking part in the TEC.

"Certain constitutional issues still have to be negotiated and the constitution improved," Mr Webb said.

However, it was learnt yesterday that the homeland government has signed a declaration of intent to take part in the TEC and has agreed to send 250 troops to join the National Peacekeeping Force before the end of the month.

According to Dr Jakkie Cilliers of the Institute for Defence Policy, this strongly suggests that Ciskei plans to take up its seat on the TEC.

Under the TEC Act, only political organisations which were part of the TEC could join the peacekeeping force, Dr Cilliers explained.

Ciskei to join TEC, Star 11/11/94 says Gqozo

East London — Ciskei will join the Transitional Executive Council, homeland ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday.

The announcement flies in the face of the position adopted by his allies in the Freedom Alliance who have refused to take part in the TEC.

This comes after Gqozo had broken ranks with his allies over the election issue.

But the Ciskei ruler, addressing chiefs, headmen and members of his African Democratic Movement, stressed that the ADM would still have to take a position on the TEC. (105)

He said negotiators from his defence force had been warned in negotiations over the integration of South Africa's armed forces that if Ciskei did not take part in the TEC, it would be regarded as an "unauthorised army" after the election.

This had spurred the decision, taken recently at an urgent Ciskei Cabinet meeting.

Despite this, he gave no indication yesterday that he would break with the Freedom Alliance.

His announcement coincides with Ciskei's confirmation that it would send 250 soldiers to the National Peacekeeping Force.

■ The Afrikaner Volksfront has suspended negotiations with the ANC following a televised statement by ANC leader Nelson Mandela that Afrikaners should not expect self-determination in a "volkstaat" before the April 27 election.

The establishment of a Afrikaner homeland was inevitable and the Afrikaner nation would now use other methods to gain its freedom within its own state, AVF chairman and Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in a statement yesterday. — Ecna and Sapa.

Ciskei defies alliance and joins TEC

EAST LONDON — Ciskei, a member of the conservative Freedom Alliance, said yesterday it would join the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). (105) (SAP)

Military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo told a meeting of chiefs and headmen in the capital of Bisho that: "We ... for the sake of the people have decided we must participate in the TEC."

This will widen the gap between Ciskei and its alliance partners. Last month the homeland said it would take part in the

April 27 elections.

Ciskei authorities said 250 of the homeland's soldiers would serve alongside government soldiers and former ANC guerrillas in the national peacekeeping force that will keep order during the elections.

Gqozo did not say whether he would leave the Freedom Alliance. He said his decision had been prompted by fears the Ciskei Defence Force would be considered an "unauthorised army" if he did not join the transition process. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Ciskei 'forced' into joining transitional council, says Gqozo

ARG 11/1/94 (105)

□ Decision taken 'to protect citizens'

BISHO. — Ciskei announced here it would take its seat on the Transitional Executive Council — then promptly attacked the body, saying it was "dominated by the African National Congress".

Making the announcement, the homeland's military ruler, Oupa Gqozo, was at pains to emphasise that Ciskei had been forced into joining the council.

Brigadier Gqozo told a specially convened meeting of chiefs and headmen that he had taken the decision to protect the interests of Ciskei's citizens.

The TEC sub-committees, which were dominated by the ANC and its allies, had taken over the government and were making decisions that directly affected Ciskei, he said.

His decision was prompted by fears that the Ciskei Defence Force would be considered an "unauthorised army" if he did not join the transition process.

A spokesman for Ciskei's Council of State, Cedric Harrop, said the homeland had been "blackmailed" into joining

the TEC.

Ciskei was told that members of its defence force — which numbers about 2 000 — would find themselves without jobs after the April 27 election if they refused to join the TEC's National Peacekeeping Force.

"Brigadier Gqozo is very concerned about the future of his civil servants," Mr Harrop said.

The homeland disclosed at the weekend that 250 of its troops would join Defence Force and Umkhonto we Sizwe members in the peace force before the end of the month.

Brigadier Gqozo's announcement on the TEC appears to signal yet another break between Ciskei and its partners in the Freedom Alliance.

While other alliance members, such as the Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana, have yet to decide on participation in the election, the NPF and the TEC, Ciskei has agreed to all three.

But Mr Harrop scotched speculation that Ciskei might pull out of the alliance, saying Brigadier Gqozo was examining the possibility of forming

an electoral pact with alliance members.

Ciskei's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mickey Webb, held talks with alliance representatives in Ulundi yesterday.

Asked whether it was possible for Ciskei to be part of the alliance and a member of the TEC at the same time, Mr Harrop said Ciskei still supported its alliance partners on several important issues.

"The FA is a diverse federation of different interests. Ciskei still believes that the (new) constitution is faulty and needs amendment. We are also adamant that there should be two ballot papers," he said.

Welcoming the move, a South African government spokesman said Ciskei participation would make the political process more inclusive.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said in a terse statement his organisation was "happy" to welcome Ciskei into the TEC with the hope that "the rest of the FA will follow soon".

Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa said he had no doubt that the action by the Ciskei government would improve stability in the region.

"The move by Ciskei should also make things easy for the finalisation of the regional government and other related issues as far as the Eastern Cape — which includes Port Elizabeth, Ciskei, Border and Transkei — is concerned," Major-General Holomisa said.

Transkei hoped that relations among political organisations in the region would improve as a result of Ciskei's move.

"I hope that the government employees in Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu will seriously consider pressurising their political heads that their future depends on their future paymaster, which would be a government of national unity. Therefore, they must demand to be catered for in the deal."

The National Party has also welcomed the Ciskei decision. — Sapa.

Ciskei to join TEC, Gqozo tells headmen

Own Correspondent

BISHO — Ciskei announced yesterday it would take up its seat on the TEC.

Making the announcement in Bisho, the homeland's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo stressed that Ciskei had been forced into joining the council.

He told a specially convened meeting of chiefs and headmen that he had taken the decision to protect the interests of Ciskei citizens.

The TEC sub-committees, which were dominated by the ANC and its allies, had taken over the government and were making decisions which directly affected Ciskei, he claimed.

Fears

He said his decision was prompted by fears the Ciskei Defence Force would be considered an "unauthorised army" if he did not join the transition process.

The homeland disclosed at the weekend that 250 troops would join SADF and uMkhonto weSizwe members in the peace force before the end of the month.

Brig Gqozo's announcement on the TEC appears to signal yet another break between Ciskei and its partners in the Freedom Alliance.

Ciskei keeps its ties to alliance

~~CT 12/11/94~~
BISHOP — Ciskei had no intention of cutting ties with the Freedom Alliance in spite of the territory's decision to cooperate with the TEC, Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday. (105)

Brig Gqozo said that while his position would undoubtedly affect the strength and the unity of the alliance, Ciskei would not abandon its allies. — Sapa

Gqozo's days are numbered

(105) WM 14-20/1/94

Andrew Trench

CISKEI'S surprise announcement this week that it would join the Transitional Executive Council was largely due to pressure from its soldiers, who were worried about their jobs.

And military analyst Jakkie Cilliers believes Bophuthatswana may not be long in following Ciskei's example.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's words on Monday were almost an aside: "As an administration we have decided we must join the TEC." As part of the Freedom Alliance, Ciskei had previously aggressively resisted having anything to do with the TEC.

It is the second time Gqozo has taken a different position from his allies. He had earlier confirmed he would be participating in the April 27 election. Although he insisted he remains a part of the alliance, the rift is there for all to see.

The announcement was a surprise for many, but not for the top Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) officers seated among the chiefs and headmen when the announcement was made.

Among the top brass present were CDF chief Brigadier Dirk van der Bank, chief of operations Colonel Horst Schubesburger and intelligence head Colonel Chris Nel — all of whom have been working hard to secure the future of the homeland's soldiers.

Cilliers, director of the Institute for Defence Policy, believes the military played a major role in the move. "Gqozo has lost popular support. He is dependent on the bureaucracy and security forces, who have begun looking to their own future."

The CDF knew the homeland could not remain outside the TEC and still hope to survive and, more importantly, it could not guarantee jobs for its troops without being part of the TEC.

In his speech, Gqozo described how his officers had been warned that unless Ciskei was aboard the TEC by April 27 the CDF would be regarded as "unauthorised".

He acknowledged this was the major factor persuading Ciskei to join the TEC. There were signs the defence force had already decided on this course even before the announcement.

The day before, Schubesburger confirmed the homeland would send 250 troops to form part of the National Peacekeeping Force, controlled by the TEC. He pointed out this would ensure jobs for Ciskei soldiers in a new defence force.

In agreeing to join the political mainstream, Gqozo has effectively relinquished his authority to what he still refers to as "this monstrous" TEC.

"At the end of the day the TEC is the supreme authority. Power has been transferred from the government to a new body," comments Cilliers.

"If the military said we are going to look after our future and Gqozo responded to that, I do not see a very long (political) life left for him," he adds. — Ecna

Indemnity for Bisho killings 'null and void'

(105) ARG 14/11/94
BISHO. — A special decree passed in 1993 to indemnify soldiers and police involved in the Bisho killings has been declared invalid in the Bisho Supreme Court.

This followed an application brought by the wife of a victim, Buzelwa Matikinea, and Petrus Vantyu, who was wounded when Ciskei security forces opened fire on African National Congress supporters on September 7, 1992, during a demonstration in the homeland.

Respondents in the case were the Ciskei Council of State and the chairman of the Council of State.

Mr Justice WH Heath, with Mr Justice MH Claassens concurring, said in judgment yesterday that the decree interfered with fundamental rights and that the applicants had proved it was unconstitutional.

Those protected by the decree had been unconditionally indemnified from criminal prosecution.

He declared Special Indem-

nity Decree No 7 of 1993 null and void and of no force and effect, and ordered the respondents to pay the costs of the applicants.

Mr Justice Heath said the description of the word "act" in the decree covered a wide range of possible criminal offences arising out of a combatant or military act, or an act causing damage by any member of the Ciskei security forces.

Quoting from an affidavit by Ciskei's Minister of Justice, D P Brunette, regarding the reason for the promulgation of the decree, Mr Justice Heath said members of the Council of State had been concerned about possible effects of prosecutions on the negotiating process between Ciskei and other political parties.

However, "the court is not bound by the opinion expressed by the government and to tender only an opinion is not sufficient to justify an interference with fundamental rights".

— Sapa.

Bisho shooting: 'No indemnity'

CT14/1/94 (105)

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The decree indemnifying soldiers and police involved in shootings during the 1992 "Bisho Massacre" was declared null and void in the Bisho Supreme Court yesterday.

The application was brought by Mrs Buzelwa Matikinca, the wife of a massacre victim, and Mr Petrus Vantyu, who was wounded in the shooting.

Respondents were the Ciskei Council of State and its chairman.

Mr Justice WH Heath — with Mr Justice MH Claassens concurring, — said in his judgment that the decree interfered with fundamental rights and that the applicants had proved it was unconstitutional.

He said the decree provided that those protected by the decree were unconditionally in-

Court overturns decree

demnified from criminal prosecution for acts performed on September 7, 1992.

Justice Heath said: "Insofar as there could have been proved in court that any particular act done on that date was an unlawful act which could lead to a conviction, the decree disentitles a person from setting the law in motion."

Justice Heath said he failed to see how the indemnity against prosecution was aimed at the pro-

tection of "national security, territorial integrity or public safety or at the prevention of disorder or crime".

The senior counsel for the respondents, Mr Henry Viljoen, had submitted that the indemnity was of general application.

However, it was clearly aimed only at the incidents on September 7, 1992 and only the rights of persons detrimentally affected by an act of the security services or demonstrators on that day.

The respondents had not proved that the decree was of general application and therefore prescribed by law.

The applicants were entitled to the relief and he therefore ordered that the Special Indemnity Decree No 7 of 1993 be declared null and void.

The respondents were ordered to pay the costs of the applicants, including the costs of two counsel.

Ciskei pulls out of Alliance

105
CT 15/1/94

THE Freedom Alliance suffered a blow yesterday when the Ciskei government withdrew from it, but it announced that talks between it, the government and the ANC would resume next Wednesday.

The Ciskei's military government told the Freedom Alliance at a meeting in Pretoria that it was pulling out of the Alliance to join the Transitional Executive Council.

The participants in next week's talks — "at which the quest for political solutions will continue" — remain hopeful that deadlock between them can still be broken in time for the agreed January 24 deadline, paving the way for the Alliance parties to participate in the April 27 elections.

"The leaders of the Freedom Alliance recommitted themselves to the negotiation process, with the aim of finding an all-inclusive political settlement for Southern Africa," they said in a statement after yesterday's meeting.

The government, the ANC and the Alliance held secret talks late on Thursday, chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said in a radio interview: "They were exploratory discussions to see whether there could be any basis of commonality."

While no agreement had been reached, he said, "certain positions" would now be taken back

Tri-party talks keep hope alive

to the various parties' principals for approval.

The government and ANC have been trying for months to reach a political settlement with the Alliance, which has rejected the interim constitution that will come into effect after all-race elections on April 27.

The Alliance, comprising the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana homelands, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and Conservative Party, has demanded a stronger federal system than provided by the constitution.

Alliance chief negotiator Mr Rowan Cronje said in a separate interview yesterday that the meeting had been "constructive" and that the parties had reached a "basis of understanding" which would be taken for approval of leaders.

A surprise participant in the talks was the IFP's Dr Ben Ngunjane, who turned up despite a

statement by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Wednesday that he saw no reason for his party to pursue constitutional talks.

Chief Buthelezi warned that he would withdraw into "opposition politics" unless the government and ANC met his bottom-line constitutional demands for stronger federal guarantees than provided by the interim constitution.

Chief Buthelezi's statement followed similar remarks on Tuesday by AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, who said the end of the road had been reached in the negotiations.

General Viljoen accused the government and the ANC of not being serious in their efforts to reach a compromise.

Neither the AVF nor the CP were represented at Thursday's meeting Mr Cronje dismissed speculation that this represented a looming split in the Alliance.

Ciskei's decision to withdraw its membership from the Alliance was announced at the end of the five-hour meeting at Bophuthatswana's embassy in Pretoria.

The remaining Alliance leaders were at pains to stress Ciskei's withdrawal in no way affected Bisho's "commitment to the position of the Freedom Alliance and its demands for an improved constitution".

The leaders expressed "deep understanding" of Ciskei's position, but regretted they felt obliged to accept the withdrawal. — Political Staff, Sapa-AFP

Ciskei leaves Alliance as talks resume

105

PRETORIA. — Talks between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance have been scheduled to resume next Wednesday, Alliance leaders have announced.

However, Ciskei told the meeting it was withdrawing from the five-member negotiating forum to join the Transitional Executive Council.

Participants in the talks hope to break the political impasse with the Freedom Alliance.

The three sides, after two rounds of trilateral talks at the end of last year, gave themselves until January 24 to broker an inclusive political deal.

The leaders of the Freedom Alliance recommitted themselves to the negotiation process, with the aim of finding an all-inclusive political settlement for southern Africa," they said in a statement yesterday.

A new round of talks has been provisionally set for next Wednesday.

The decision by Ciskei to withdraw its membership was announced at the end of the five-hour meeting at the Bophuthatswana embassy.

The remaining Alliance leaders were at pains to stress Ciskei's withdrawal in no way affected Bisho's "commitment to the position of the Freedom Alliance and its demands for an improved constitution".

"Ciskei will continue to uphold these positions in its future political activities," the leaders expressed "deep understanding" of Ciskei's position, but regretted they felt obliged to accept the withdrawal.

"Since the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), Ciskei has been subjected to destabilisation action by the ANC, and the vulnerability of Ciskei to further destabilisation and pressure from the Transitional Executive Council is very unfortunate."

Present at yesterday's meeting were, among others, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, Afrikaner Conservative Party president Luukatha Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, Bophuthatswana chief negotiator and Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje, deputy chairman of Ciskei's Council of State Colonel Simons Pita and Ciskei chief negotiator Mickey Webb. — Sapa.

Bisho indemnity overruled

By **CLAIRE KEETON**

CISKEI soldiers and ANC leader Ronnie Kasrils once again face the possibility of being charged for the Bisho massacre. *CIPRESS 16/11/94*

The Bisho Supreme Court this week overturned the homeland's indemnity decree on the grounds it conflicted with fundamental rights and was unconstitutional. *(105)*

Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens confirmed he would now consider whether to proceed with charges against Kasrils and 69 soldiers.

"I am in the process of considering this and will make a decision on whether to proceed where I left off when I made a provisional decision last year."

In May last year he announced his intention to charge 69 members of the Ciskei Defence Force and Kasrils with murder, attempted murder and culpable homicide. The indemnity decree was issued four days later.

The Bisho Supreme Court this week declared the 1993 Special Indemnity Decree invalid.

The applicants challenging the decree were the wife of a massacre victim Buzelwa Matikinca and one of the wounded, Petrus Vantyu.

The Ciskei Council of State and its chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo were the respondents.

The judgment said the applicants had proved the decree was unconstitutional and interfered with fundamental human rights.

ANC national spokeswoman Gill Marcus said the ANC welcomed the court decision.

The Bisho massacre on September 7 1992 hit world headlines when Ciskei soldiers opened fire on ANC protesters, killing 29 people and injuring about 200. —
Eena

HE sudden volte face by Ciskei's strongman, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has left many political observers wondering what pressures forced him to abandon the Freedom Alliance with such indecent haste.

Gqozo claims that his soldiers were concerned that if Ciskei did not take part in the Transitional Executive Council, they would be left out of the new National Peace Keeping Force and would therefore be regarded as an "unauthorised army" after elections.

The other reason, not so explicitly stated, was the fear that these soldiers lose their jobs.

Concern for the welfare of his soldiers - the very people who have kept him in power since he toppled Lennox Sebe four years ago - could well be part of the reason why he left the Alliance.

But it is doubtful that this was the only reason. It is also possible that the soldiers - determined to protect their interests - might have threatened to topple him if he did not join the TEC. Gqozo was always the weakest and the most vulnerable among the members of the Alliance. It was always speculated that forcing him to return to the talks would not pose any serious problem.

Such was his weakness that government negotiator Dawie de Villiers, referring to Gqozo's intransigence and threats that he would not be forced into South Africa or the TEC, dismissed him in parliament as someone "about whom the less is said, the better".

Given his position, it was not surprising when Gqozo abandoned his friends in the Alliance this week and immediately announced that his government would take part in the TEC and that he would also be sending 250 soldiers to the National Peace Keeping Force.

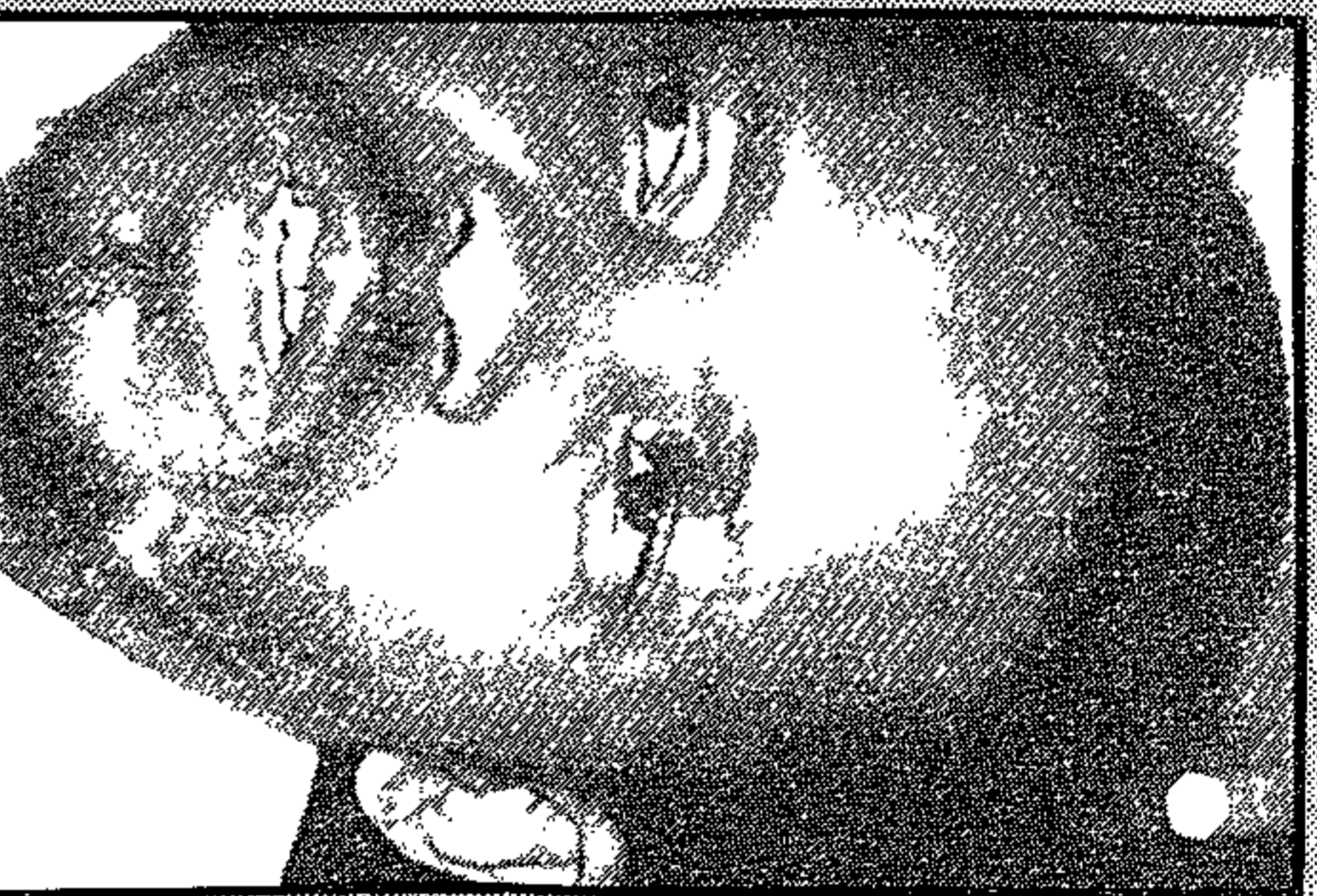
While his about turn was always expected, it is the speed with which he did this that is



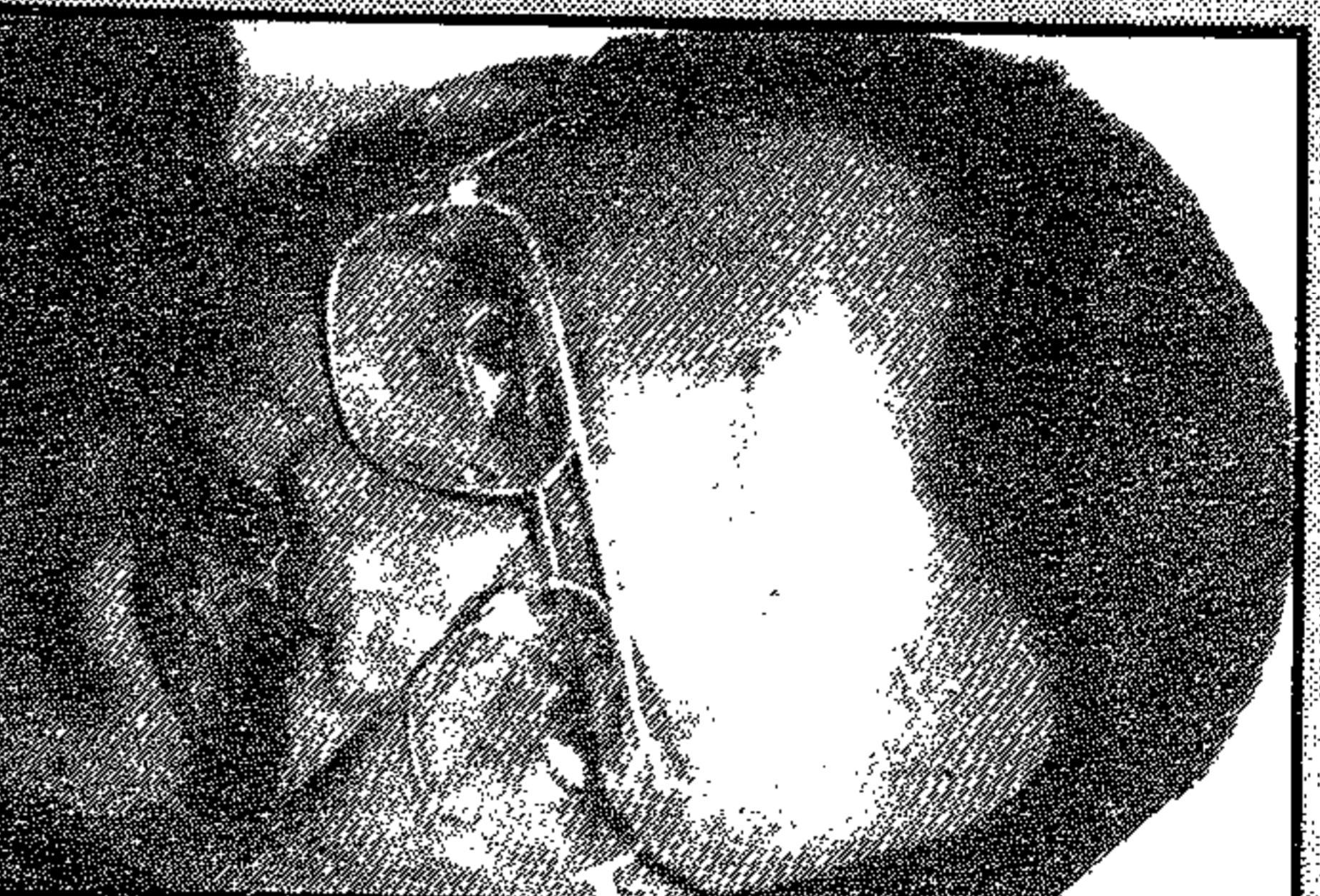
LUCAS MANGOPE



LENNOX SEBE



OUPA GGOZO



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Gqozo may let FA dominoes topple

Civil war threat posed by Freedom Alliance much reduced

Gqozo went a step further and broke ranks with his Alliance partners by agreeing to take part in the forthcoming elections.

Even more baffling is the fact that at this stage there does not appear to have been any covert pressure exerted by Pretoria to bring him to heel. The Ciskei, which has few re-

sources of its own, depends completely on SA for survival. Last year the homeland was bankrolled to the tune of nearly R1-billion.

Gqozo himself lacks any political constituency in the region. Unlike Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope, who have political parties with some following (relatively large in

Buthelezi's case), Gqozo's so-called African Democratic Movement is a phantom political party.

Now that the Ciskei has been weaned from the Alliance, this raises a very interesting question. Are we about to witness the domino-like collapse of the Alliance, with Bophuthatswana

The TEC has already put the economic squeeze on Bophuthatswana by refusing the homeland a R250-million loan from the Development Bank of SA.

This week the ANC representative on the TEC's finance sub-council said the homeland could have its financial tap turned off if it failed to promote and facilitate a climate of free political

activity. Bophuthatswana, although less vulnerable than Ciskei, is also in no position to withstand pressure from SA. It too is heavily dependent on SA for survival.

Mangope's hold is equally tenuous. He has had to resort to repression to hold on to power and the loyalty of his army is suspect.

It is worth recalling that six years ago Mangope was almost ousted by the army and was only saved from the coup by the intervention of the South African Defence Force. It is unlikely that he has purged all the elements that wanted to oust him.

With elections only four months away and aware that he could be sent to the political wil-

derness, Mangope is resorting to more and more repression - clear signs of someone fighting a last ditch battle.

It is Mangope's repression and denial of free political activity in his region, particularly against ANC members, that could see the TEC using its clout against his regime. Once he has been brought to heel, the focus will be on KwaZulu.

This could prove more intractable. But, given the dependency of all homelands on Pretoria's largesse, even a recalcitrant KwaZulu could be forced to toe the line. However, in KwaZulu's case, Pretoria and the TEC could find it in their own interests to use the carrot more than the stick to coax Buthelezi to join the talks. Coercion should be the last resort.

Buthelezi's administration could also find itself under strain from the KwaZulu Police if there is any hint that their financial interests could be affected. Without the support of the KZP, Buthelezi's political rivals aver that Inkatha would be weakened.

The KZP have been accused of playing an active political role in KwaZulu in support of Inkatha. Some KZP members were recently accused by the Goldstone Commission of being responsible for killing ANC members.

While KwaZulu is just as vulnerable to pressure from both government and the TEC, there is the fear that its capitulation could be preceded by strong resistance and a heavy loss of life. With only 100 days left before the elections, Pretoria and the TEC would be reluctant to take coercive measures that could lead to bloodshed in a volatile area like Natal.

The consequences for the elections would be serious. Any increase in tension in Natal would mean that there would not be free political activity in a large and populous part of the country.

While the TEC will tread warily with Buthelezi, Gqozo's breaking ranks with the Alliance could well mean that the threat of civil war posed by this ungrouping has been substantially weakened.

Ciskei set to rejoin Border peace group

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei has agreed to rejoin the Border Peace Committee after a 22-month absence.

The announcement yesterday followed talks between homeland Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Mickey Webb and the committee's secretariat.

Committee spokesman Mr André Sauermaier welcomed the decision.

A homeland spokesman said the decision was taken because matters were now dealt with in bilateral meetings rather than in a full committee.

— Sapa

(105) CT 21/1/94

**Ciskei to take
(105)
place on TEC**

CT 25/1/94
Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Ciskei would take its full place at the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) next week, Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday.

He said nominations for the TEC's seven sub-councils, and its management committee, had already been forwarded to the TEC.

Prosecution over Bisho carnage postponed

Steer 28/11/94

105

East London — Ciskei soldiers and the ANC's Ronnie Kasrils will not be prosecuted for their al-

leged role in the September 1992 Bisho massacre. Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens an-

nounced yesterday that he had decided to postpone any decision on whether to go ahead with a prose-

cution until Ciskei was brought back into South Africa after the April election. — Ecna.

Bisho massacre: ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ CT 28/1/94 Prosecution delay

BISHO. — Ciskei soldiers involved in the September 1992 Bisho massacre will not be prosecuted for the time being, Ciskei attorney-general Mr Willem Jurgens announced yesterday.

He said he had decided to postpone the prosecutions until Ciskei was re-incorporated into South Africa after the April election.

The announcement follows the Bisho Supreme Court's recent decision to overturn the ruling Military Council's decree indemnifying all the soldiers involved in the shooting of ANC protest marchers. — Sapa

Prosecution by AG is postponed

Sowetan 3/11/94

THE Ciskei government at the weekend welcomed the decision by Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens not to prosecute Ciskei soldiers involved in the September 1992 Bisho massacre for the time being.

(105)
Mr Justice Jurgens said he had decided to postpone any decision on whether to prosecute until Ciskei was reincorporated into South Africa after the April general election.

Soldiers involved

His statement follows the Bisho Supreme Court's recent decision to overturn the ruling Military Council's decree indemnifying all the soldiers involved in the shooting of African National Congress protest marchers.

A statement issued by the Ciskei Government said the decision "will enable prosecutions to take place without the technical limits of court boundaries".

Most encouraging

The statement said "the Ciskei government has noted with appreciation that on a national level a most encouraging spirit of goodwill and co-operation exists between political role players".

It expressed the hope that "the Border branch of the ANC will soon share the goodwill of the various multilateral forums".

"In the current climate of reconciliation initiated by the Ciskei government any talk of retribution will be detrimental to all parties," the statement said. — *Sapa*.

Ciskei bypasses court to join TEC

Star 3/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Ciskei military government has decided to bypass the homeland's Supreme Court and enact legislation allowing it to join the Transitional Executive Council, the homeland's military council announced yesterday.

The announcement, expected to pave the way for Ciskei to take its seat on the TEC and enable its soldiers to remain part of the National Peacekeeping Force, came a day after the TEC announced that a deadline for the homeland to join the TEC had lapsed last Friday.

Ciskei yesterday said the delay had been occasioned by the fact that draft legislation enabling it to join the TEC — as is

the case with all other draft legislations — had to be tested by the homeland's Charter of Human Rights before it was enacted.

The Ciskei government would now enact the legislation to speed up the process.

"The imposition of an arbitrary deadline is difficult to understand in view of their aim of obtaining maximum participation and the readiness with which the TEC juggles dates to suit its purpose. (105)

"In order to demonstrate the extent of Ciskei's goodwill, the Cabinet has resolved to dispense with the Supreme Court action," Ciskei said in a statement, adding that Ciskei was confident it would be able to take part in the various sub-councils.

Ciskei reacts to TEC warning, gets set to join

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei reacted swiftly yesterday to the Transitional Executive Council's stern warning to take up its seat on the council soon or withdraw its troops from the National Peacekeeping Force (NPF).

Ciskei's legislative body hastily passed the necessary enabling legislation, paving the way for its participation in the TEC.

The TEC meanwhile rejected newspaper reports that Ciskei had been excluded from the multi-party body for failing to submit its application for membership in time.

The source of the confusion was a resolution passed by the council this week which noted that while Ciskeian troops were involved in the NPF the homeland had yet to take up its seat on the TEC.

JBO
Sun
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BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, February 3 1994

ANC expects peace plan to be extended to Natal

Business Day 3/2/94

THE ANC expects adapted versions of the East Rand peace plan to be implemented in strife-torn areas of Natal before the April elections.

The ANC's representative on the TEC law and order subcouncil, Sydney Mufamadi, said yesterday the primary aim would be to ensure the election was free and fair in so-called "stable crisis" or flashpoint areas.

Because Natal conditions were different from those on the East Rand, the plan would have to be adapted. "However, the philosophy which underpins the plans will be the same."

Mufamadi expected peace plans to be implemented in areas of northern and southern Natal which the TEC had identified as flashpoints.

Implementation of the East Rand peace plan began yesterday with the withdrawal of the controversial police internal stability unit from Katielohong, Thokoza and Vosloorus. SADF troops, which had moved into the area over the past few months, took charge.

SADF spokesman Maj Christo Visser said yesterday that as far as the SADF was concerned there were

DAVID GREYBE

enough troops in the area. Extra troops would be deployed only on the instruction of the task group which, in consultation with the TEC, would oversee the peace plan.

Mufamadi said he expected the East Rand community to reject the deployment of any "mercenary SADF units" such as 32 Battalion. He did not rule out future deployment of members of the recently established national peacekeeping force.

Government would "obviously be obliged" to implement the East Rand peace plan, but he expected the TEC to monitor the project.

Once normal policing conditions had been restored in the area Mufamadi expected controversial ANC-aligned self-defence units and Inkatha self-protection units to cease operating. "If you have proper policing then that takes away the need for defence units and Inkatha self-protection units to exist."

Mufamadi expected the SADF to help with the socioeconomic reconstruction of the area, possibly in cooperation with members of the de-

fence units and hostel-based self-protection units.

Sapa reports hundreds of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters took to the streets in Thokoza to protest against the withdrawal of the internal stability unit and deployment of SADF troops in the area.

Inkatha Transvaal chairman Themba Khoza said the SADF was biased in favour of the ANC and claimed the SADF had attacked Inkatha-supporting residents in Thokoza over the past few years.

Roads in Thokoza were sealed off by SADF patrols and inside the township Inkatha supporters terrorised about 100 pensioners collecting money from administration offices. As the elderly people huddled inside the building, men armed with knobkerries, axes and steel poles stripped cars and looted shops.

Meanwhile, the Afrikaner Volksfront claimed the East Rand peace plan could lead to the ANC implementing ethnic cleansing in the townships. It supported Inkatha's rejection of the withdrawal of the stability unit from East Rand townships.

NUM blames right-wing union for office bombing

Business Day 3/2/94

ERICA JANKOWITZ

The NUM said the two-storey building in which its offices were situated had been extensively damaged and virtually all technical equipment destroyed.

Motlatsi said he was not absolutely sure commercial explosives had been used in the explosion, which occurred between 1am and 2am yesterday.

Sapa reports that 12 other buildings were damaged in the explosion.

A second, almost simultaneous explosion rocked the offices of the National Union of Metal Workers of SA in a building opposite in Klerksdorp's Commercial Street.

The SA Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union yesterday claimed its Harrismith offices had been the real target of recent bombings, not the nearby ANC offices.

The union said it would not be intimidated into leaving the area.

NUM president James Motlatsi yesterday accused the right-wing-aligned Mine Workers' Union of being responsible for a bomb blast which caused damage of R250 000 to the NUM's Klerksdorp office.

He said the MWU's president said at a conference last year that miners had access to commercial explosives which they would use to disrupt their perceived enemies.

"It is abundantly clear that the recent threats of violence by the president of the racist and right-wing Mine Workers' Union are being carried out."

The union would discuss at a congress next week its reaction and plans to guard its property and members. Security had been added to the congress agenda as "an emergency item", but Motlatsi could not elaborate on what steps might be taken.

"The NUM is not going to be a sitting duck of the right-wing miners and their cohorts," he said.

Ciskei applies to join the TEC

Business Day 3/2/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Ciskei submitted a formal application to join the TEC yesterday, Ciskei chief negotiator Mickey Webb said.

The application followed a TEC resolution earlier this week which said that unless Ciskei joined the council it would have to withdraw immediately from TEC structures such as the national peacekeeping force and the defence subcouncil.

Webb said Ciskei had intended its Supreme Court to give an opinion on whether joining the TEC was in conflict with the territory's Bill of Rights.

The TEC resolution had, however, forced Ciskei to cancel the court's consideration of the matter, Webb said.

Ciskei's application would be considered by the full TEC at its meeting next week. If approval is granted, President FW de Klerk would be required by the TEC Act to appoint Ciskei to the council.

MI links to gun-running

Military Intelligence may be using Ciskei to arm hit squads in the homeland and in the Western Cape, reports **Louise Flanagan**

FIVE men appeared in a Ciskei court this week in a case which points to an arms smuggling network stretching from Ciskei to the Western Cape, backed by Military Intelligence operatives and Ciskei.

The network appears to be using Ciskei as a base and a supplier of weapons to conservative squatter groups in the Western Cape. At least one of the men is known to have links with South African MI.

On trial in Ciskei are Mongezi Solani (28), a bodyguard of Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo; Titise Mcoyiya (53), the chairman of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement; former Umkhonto weSizwe member Jeffrey Moshumi (30); and two other Ciskei government employees, Dingaan Somsora (41) and Vuyisile Madikane (25).

They face 37 charges, including the murder of two ANC members, the attempted murder of 22 other people, conspiracy to murder four people and possession of three AK-47s and explosives. Additional weapons found, but not mentioned in the charge sheet (two G3 rifles, a pistol) may have been legally issued by the Ciskei government.

Mcoyiya told the court the pistol had been given to him by the Ciskei Defence Force, and a police witness said some of the weapons found on

the men belonged to either the Ciskei police or defence force.

Bail was refused and the case was postponed until March.

Speculation is Ciskei is being used by South African MI agents to arm Ciskei-based hit squads and elements in the Western Cape.

The ANC has confirmed that Moshumi is a former MK member, adding that he became involved with controversial Western Cape squatter leader Jeffrey Nongwe last year. The ANC said Moshumi had been suspended for this reason.

Nongwe heads the Western Cape United Squatter Association (Wecusa), which has been involved in conflict around development resources there. In October, Wecusa set up the Western Cape Community Organisation (Wecco) in opposition to the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation. Inkatha's Themba Khoza spoke at the Wecco launch.

Also linked to Nongwe are Nkosekhaya Prince Gobingca and Conrad Sandile. This week the Goldstone Commission summoned Gobingca. Ciskei Attorney-General Willem Jurgens said police want to question Gobingca in connection with the court case there.

Gobingca is an MI operative jailed in Transkei for plotting to kidnap Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa. He was also involved in the abortive Transkei coup attempt in November 1990. He was freed on appeal in September last year.

Gobingca told the Transkei authorities that he had worked with the *witdoeke* vigilantes in the Western Cape and had been backed by MI

during the 1980s.

He told his Transkei interrogators that he had worked with an SADF member in the Cape Town squatter camps and with a white man introduced to him as an SADF member based in Port Elizabeth. They are believed to be Commandant Faan du Toit, then intelligence officer in the Western Cape, and Commandant Jacques Seaward of Eastern Province Command. Gobingca said they had planned a coup in Transkei for April 25 1991.

Gobingca also spoke of his contact with Gqozo's clandestine security unit, International Researchers - Ciskei Intelligence Service. Last year *WM&G* exposed the head of IR-CIS, Anton Nieuwoudt, as an SADF operative. After leaving Ciskei Nieuwoudt moved to Cape Town.

According to the interrogation report, Gobingca said: "Ted (IR-CIS member Ted Brassell) gave out that they will carry on with their operation in Transkei irrespective of what Pretoria is thinking, as the operation will be launched from Ciskei and as long as the South African government was not directly involved."

Former SADF intelligence officer Colonel Gert Hugo said this week that Seaward and Du Toit had approached him in April 1991, asking to be reimbursed for money they had spent on Gobingca.

The links between Moshumi, Nongwe, Gobingca and MI hint at an arms smuggling network from Ciskei to the Western Cape.

In January this year, Gobingca was rumoured to be moving in and out of Ciskei and Transkei on an arms procurement mission.

NP finds unlikely ally in Gqozo

An election pact is on the cards following meetings between the NP's Tertius Delpont and Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. **Andrew Trench reports**

On February 11, Minister of Local Government Delpont and NP Border chairman Mante Schoeman met Gqozo in Bisho. Days later the NP opened its first Ciskei office in the homeland's capital.

And an organiser in the NP's Bisho office says they are "co-operating with the ADM" in the homeland campaign.

THE National Party's controversial Eastern Cape leader, Dr Tertius Delpont, has paved the way for an unlikely "union of moderates" with Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo in a move to counter the ANC.

The NP has denied it has closed a secret election pact with Gqozo's floundering African Democratic Movement, but confirms sending the ruler a "loud and clear" message asking for an agreement.

In the last month there has been a remarkable warming in relations between Gqozo and the NP. Until recently, the Ciskei ruler lumped the NP with the ANC's "communist alliance".

A homeland source claims the NP has offered the ADM financial and organisational aid in return for ADM votes in the election. Should the NP win a sufficient majority in the region, the ADM would probably be given some parliamentary seats, the source alleges.

Schoeman, who is also the MP for Queenstown, confirms the meeting with Gqozo took place, but emphatically denies any secret election pact was forged.

He says he and Delpont raised concerns over whether the NP would be able to operate freely in Ciskei and whether Radio Ciskei would carry NP political advertising. "The message from our side was

loud and clear that the force of moderates should stand together to counter the extremists of the ANC-SACP. On that approach we are quite happy to be allies but without any formal link," Schoeman told the *Mail & Guardian*.

He said since Gqozo was no longer being towed along by "rightists" in the Freedom Alliance, he was "easy to talk to".

Schoeman added that an alliance or pact with Gqozo had not been "wiped off the table". *Wm 4-10/3/94* **(DS)**

Delpont, in a message conveyed from his office, would only confirm he had met Gqozo as well as other leaders ranging from the ANC to the Conservative Party.

"I believe this is essential since the NP will play a decisive role in the elections," he said.

Ciskei Foreign Minister Mickey Webb, who also attended the February 11 meeting, confirmed discussions had revolved around the fact that both parties "were on the same side with a common opposition". He

denied any election deal had been struck.

An ADM executive member, Vuyisile Maki, also dismissed rumours of a pact with the NP. He said if Gqozo had had such discussions, the ADM executive would have been informed.

Ciskei sources say Gqozo and Delpont are close. Former ADM secretary general and former Ciskei foreign minister Thamsanqa Linda says Gqozo describes Delpont as his "great friend".

Linda claims that as early as the beginning of 1993, Gqozo held an unusual meeting with Delpont in Alexandria, near Port Elizabeth. He said Gqozo feared a South African-backed bid to unseat him and went to Delpont, rather than Foreign Affairs, for reassurance.

Ciskei sources claim Delpont styled himself as Gqozo's ally in the cabinet and painted a picture of Foreign Minister Pk Botha as Gqozo's arch-foe.

A source told the *Mail & Guardian* this was the approach used by Delpont in the February 11 meeting.

SAFOPH TSEBVA
COUNCIL OF CHIEFS

Gqozo quits as Ciskei police minister

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Contradictory statements followed yesterday's announcement that Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had relinquished his post as Minister of Police and Prisons.

The official reason given for the move was the increased work load that Brig Gqozo will face in the run-up to the elections.

"He is jumping headlong into the election process and will have to move around a bit. He is already very busy holding campaign meetings," a government spokesman said.

But Ciskei's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Don Brunette, who will take over the portfolio, revealed a more pressing reason for Brig Gqozo's decision.

Mr Brunette said the current court case involving the chairman of the African Democratic Movement (ADM), Mr Titus Mcoyiyana, made it impossible for Brig Gqozo to stay on as Minister of Police

while also president of the ADM.

Mr Mcoyiyana, and four others, face 37 charges.

These include 22 counts of attempted murder and the possession of weapons and explosives.

"The head of state can't be in charge of an organisation that is being investigated by the police. There could be a lot of criticism if he did," Mr Brunette said.

The council of state said in a statement that Mr Brunette's "extensive background experience and present involvement with the administration of justice" made him the perfect candidate for the job.

Ciskei jumps as the TEC cracks whip

CIP news 6/2/94
(105)

WHEN the Ciskei wanted to participate in its sub-committees without having formally applied to be a member of the body, the TEC had a problem. So it gave the Ciskei an ultimatum. According to ANDREW TRENCH this was the TEC's chance to prove its teeth.

THIS week the TEC showed it has teeth when it presented Ciskei with an ultimatum: join the body properly or face being kicked out.

The TEC's problem with Ciskei centred on the homeland's participation in the activities of the TEC's sub-committees, such as the National Peacekeeping Force, but without having formally applied to be a member of the body.

The warning worked. Just hours after Ciskei officially received the TEC communiqué its cabinet was meeting, deciding how to react.

Ciskei spokesman Cedric Harrop says that withdrawing from the TEC in response to the warning was never on the cards.

Instead by mid-afternoon the cabinet had drafted and promulgated legislation to fulfil the requirements for it to join the TEC.

The urgent decree incorporated into Ciskei law various acts mandated by the TEC which commit Ciskei to the rules of the April elections, prevents state interference in the homeland's media, and generally brings Ciskei further under the TEC's wing.

Ciskei had to pass

the enabling decree to qualify for membership to the TEC but had been dilly-dallying about it, saying it wanted the legislation first tested by its Supreme Court.

This was interpreted as little more than a delaying measure which enabled the homeland to sit on the fence regarding the TEC - being involved in its work but without binding itself to its authority.

The TEC's ultimatum forced Ciskei's hand and the homeland was quick to cry foul. Harrop says the TEC was saying, "We are the big boys now, you must dance to our tune."

The TEC denied it had bullied Ciskei - but concedes it placed the homeland under pressure.

However, it was "very happy" with the homeland's reaction - and had reason to be. For the TEC the Ciskei ultimatum was an opportunity to prove it can bite.

The Ciskei reaction was a small point in its favour, to be notched against the tumbling over Radio Pretoria's rebel broadcasts and KwaZulu's nose-thumbing over allegations of police hit-squads there.

Top Ciskei cop's job under threat

By ANDREW TRENCH

CISKEI police commissioner General Fikile Zibi's position could be in jeopardy following the recent arrest of prominent Ciskei government supporters.

Last week police arrested the chairman of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement Titus Mcoyiya, a bodyguard to Brig Gqozo and several others on murder and attempted murder charges.

Well-placed Ciskei sources say Zibi has drawn fire from the government for arresting loyalists.

Amid talk of Zibi being replaced, the sources claim he has taken sick leave - which is confirmed by the police - and has left the homeland until the "heat dies down".

But Ciskei spokesman Cedric Harrop said he has not heard of any possible replacement for Zibi. However, he confirmed that questions had been raised about the police's "zealous" pursuit of ADM officials.

"People are questioning this tremendous pressure by the police in this particular event while others have been allowed to slide," said Harrop.

Zibi could not be reached at his Bisho home for comment.

Ciskei tries ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾
again for TEC

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. —
The Ciskei Government
has applied for member-
ship of the Transitional
Executive Council for
the second time in a
week. *CT 8/2/94*

The application is to
be considered by the
TEC today.

The first application
apparently was rejected
because Ciskei had not
passed the Electoral Act
and other bills affecting
elections and the media
in the territory.

Ciskei takes its seat on the TEC

PRETORIA — The Ciskei government had fulfilled all the preconditions for membership of the TEC and its delegate would be present at the sitting next week, chairman Dawie de Villiers said yesterday. *By Day 9/2/94*

Sapa reports De Villiers noted that Ciskei had complied with all the relevant sections of the TEC Act and would be welcome at the next sitting. Ciskei is the first political entity to join the TEC after its formation last year and becomes the 20th member.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Affairs Department confirmed yesterday that SA would no longer recognise the sovereignty of Bophuthatswana after April 27. LLOYD COUTTS reports this followed claims by the territory that it had received no official notification that Pretoria was to close its embassy in the homeland.

Bophuthatswana Foreign Minister Tom Setiloane yesterday questioned reports that the embassy in Mmabatho would be closing in two months, saying his government had not been officially notified of the move by Pretoria.

The SA Foreign Affairs Department said

that in terms of the new constitution, the borders of SA would include the TBVC states and it would be obliged to operate within the parameters of the governing Act. (105)

Transkei, Venda and Ciskei were participating in transitional structures and were, therefore, part of arrangements being made for the reincorporation of their territories. (105)

"Bophuthatswana is still involved in the negotiation process and consideration will be given to a formal communication on the matter only after the conclusion of these negotiations.

"Arrangements for the closure of the SA embassies in the TBVC states will be made at the appropriate time," the department said.

It was also reported yesterday that free political activity in Bophuthatswana was a matter being negotiated in talks involving government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance.

The TEC, which has been asked to intervene to secure free political activity in the homeland, decided at its meeting yesterday to hold over discussions on the issue pending progress at the talks.

Sowetan, 10/2/94

Judge blast Gqozo's admin

CISKEI'S chief justice yesterday launched a stinging attack on the homeland government in an astonishing public row over an alleged hit list targeting top ANC members in the region.

This came after Mr Justice Benjamin Pickard wrote to senior ANC leaders and others warning them that their names appeared on a hit list allegedly drawn up by Ciskei government loyalists.

The Ciskei government responded by accusing Pickard of contravening his mandate.

Yesterday, Pickard described the government's claim as "nonsense".

"If I in my capacity as a golfer hear from a caddie, the most unreliable caddie in the club, that your name is on a hit list, I would consider it my moral duty to inform you," he said.

A Ciskei government spokesman had earlier claimed that the judge had contravened the law which established the commission. (105)

The spokesman said regulations insist that any information to be released from the commission must first be tabled before military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Pickard said he had informed Ciskei Foreign Minister Mr Mick Webb, who had later told him he had informed Gqozo.

The government spokesman insisted that the hit list was a "flight of fancy".

Those on the hit list include ANC Border president Mr Smuts Ngonyama, ANC Border executive member Mr Sam Kwelita and human rights lawyer Mr Dumisani Tabata.

The hit list was allegedly found in a car driven by government supporters, and allegedly used to attack ANC supporters.

Among those in the car and now under arrest were Mr Titus Mcoyiyana, the chairman of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, and one of Gqozo's bodyguards. —*Ecna*.

Strikes cripple 13 hospitals

LEBOWAKGOMO,
Lebowa. — The health
service at thirteen hos-
pitals in Lebowa came to
a halt yesterday morning
when more than 10 000
nurses and labourers be-
longing to the "central
action committee" went
on strike. (112)

The workers demand
promotions, overtime
and night duty allow-
ances and the release of
a new dispensation for
general assistants.

A spokesman said that
all the avenues to avert
the strike had been ex-
hausted. — Sapa

Hostage drama at Ciskei prison

AP (S) 4/15/81 10

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, at least nine other commissioned officers and 500 prisoners were held hostage at the Ciskei Central Prison in Middledrift yesterday by striking junior warders.

The Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Brigadier Yona Jimlongo, and his assistant, Lieutenant-Colonel D Daniels, were held captive inside the prison, after they arrived yesterday morning to get clarity on the strikers' demands.

Prisoners were not fed breakfast or lunch, and police who

turned up to collect awaiting trial prisoners for their respective court cases were turned away at the gate.

At lunchtime a confrontation between the warders and Ciskei army personnel who arrived in three armoured vehicles and headed for the prison appeared imminent but did not materialise.

About 300 warders went on strike at 6am yesterday, alleging unfair treatment of non-commissioned officers. The strikers took control of the master keys to the prison.

They demanded the right to address their grievances to the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier

Onpe Gqozo, or his deputy, and refused to speak to Brig Jimlongo or Col Daniels, who were then denied the right to leave by heavily armed warders.

"We don't recognise any commanding officer or head of prison," the warders said.

Later yesterday Commissioner of Prisons General D D Silandela said Brig Gqozo had spoken to the strikers on the phone and had agreed to listen to their grievances on Monday.

The warders were satisfied with this and were in the process of releasing the commissioned officers, he said.

US to drop some export tariffs for SA

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — The Clinton administration is planning to remove tariffs on certain SA exports as part of a package of measures to boost the SA economy after elections.

The US Trade Representative's office yesterday issued a notice in the Federal Register announcing that it was moving to designate SA a "beneficiary developing country" under the US Generalised System of Preferences (GSP).

GSP permits the president to waive duties on imports from selected countries on the theory the trade is a more cost-effective way of promoting development than outright aid.

1 SURVEY



Ciskei prison strike talks

(105)
OT 15/2/94
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has agreed to set up a commission of inquiry to investigate grievances of junior prison warders who went on strike at Ciskei Central Prison in Middledrift on Friday.

The warders took the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons, Brigadier Yona Jimlongo, several other commissioned officers and all the prisoners as hostages and demanded to speak to Brig Gqozo.

After the warders held discussions with Brig Gqozo and officials, a government spokesman said the grievances were being addressed and the prison had returned to normal.

Gqozo party 'is popular'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) said yesterday it had wide support among Indians, whites and coloureds.

This follows the ADM's surprise registration for regional and national elections. (105)

ADM regional organiser Mr V W. Mati said the ADM had branches in Khayelitsha, Durban, KwaZulu, Gazankulu and Port Elizabeth.

"Our wonderful leader is well known across South Africa," said Mr Mati.

CT 15/2/94
Asked what issues the ADM would campaign on, he said: "I have no information on the issues."

Sowetan 17/12/94

Ciskei in arms row

FRESH allegations of gun-running involving the Ciskei government have been made by a former cabinet minister.

Mr Tamsanqa Linda, former Ciskei Minister of Foreign Affairs and once a South African Military Intelligence operative, alleged yesterday that AK-47s were sent from Bisho to Port Elizabeth around September or October 1992.

Ciskei yesterday said military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo "emphatically denies the allegations".

Linda says he understood the weapons were to be used against ANC officials in Port Elizabeth. Linda, then employed at the Ciskei consulate in Port Elizabeth, alleges that the weapons were brought to his official residence in the city by the then consul-general, Mr V

Mafani. Linda was also a former chairman of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement. (105)

Mafani later became Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and of Planning and Rural Affairs. He held these posts until a few weeks ago but is no longer with the government. Linda says the weapons and ammunition were packaged, but did not appear to be new. He claims Mafani alleged he received the weapons from Gqozo and that they had been brought to the homeland in the region's diplomatic car. They were removed by Mafani. These claims follow reports this week that Ciskei was involved in a gun-running operation. Linda says he has since received threats. He believes the anonymous callers sus-

pect he is the source of the reports, a charge he denies.

Ciskei alleged that Linda could have made the claims anticipating "personal reward". Police spokesman Captain Lisbe Vermeulen said police were not investigating the matter. She asked anyone with information to approach the Port Elizabeth police. Last month, ADM chairman Mr Titus Mcoyiyana and one of Gqozo's bodyguards were arrested for allegedly murdering ANC members in the region, illegal possession of two AK-47s plus 70 rounds of ammunition and the misuse of a Ciskei diplomatic car. Last year, well-placed Ciskei sources alleged that the right-wing was involved in procuring AK-47s for the Ciskei ruler at the end of 1992. —Eena.

Ciskei fires top health official (105)

Claire Keeton

A TOP community health specialist was dismissed as the head of department at Cecelia Makiwane Hospital (CMH) by the Ciskei government this week.

Doctors at the hospital condemned the decision to dismiss Dr Trudy Thomas — well-recognised for her contribution to developing an effective primary health care system in the region — as a political move.

Thomas is active in progressive health organisations and has been nominated for the ANC's regional election list. She is on the South African National Civic Organisation national executive.

She is qualified specialist in community health and was appointed head of the department at CMH in July last year.

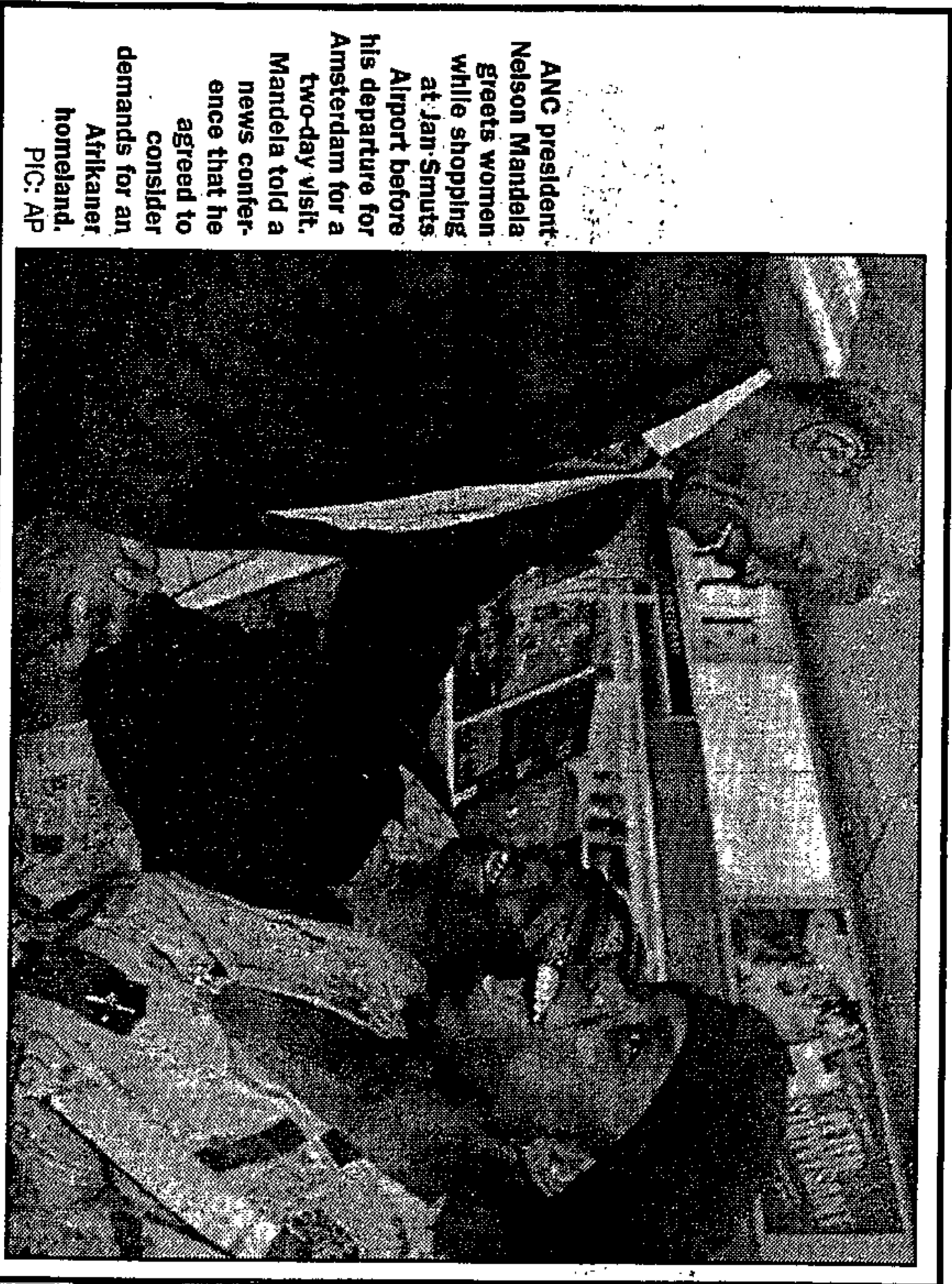
WM18-24/2/94
She said she received a letter this week informing her she was no longer employed in the health service, signed by the director general, Dr Guido Weissinger. Weissinger was not available for comment.

According to the letter, administrative authorities in Bisho have not approved her appointment.

Thomas said she took the post in response to an invitation and her appointment was approved by the minister of health. The letter instructs her to "stop work at the hospital immediately".

The superintendent's office requested Bisho health authorities that she not be forced to drop her work and leave now. When asked how long she would need, Thomas replied at least till the end of February. — Eona

NEWS Ciskei action arises from trial ● Soweto car hijackers claim



ANC president Nelson Mandela greets women while shopping at Jan Smuts Airport before his departure for a two-day visit. Mandela told a news conference that he agreed to consider demands for an Afrikaner homeland. PIC: AP

Forum to end boycott

By Joshua Raboroko

The Randfontein Negotiating Forum has appointed a sub-committee to explore ways to resolve the year-old rent boycott in Mohlakeng.

Mohlakeng town clerk Mr Deon Cordier said yesterday that arrears which had accumulated as a result of the boycott totalled R11 million.

He said the RNF elected a sub-committee at its meeting this week to work out plans to end the boycott. He was

He said the council had been unable to pay its employees monthly salaries because of the nonpayment of tariffs. This action had caused workers to go on strike demanding pay last November.

A member of the local branch of the ANC, Mr Zephania Mhlongo, who also serves on the RNF, said the boycott was triggered by "astronomical electricity bills" charged to residents.

Residents said electricity bills had ranged from R100 to R120 a month, although their meters were not functioning properly. Added to that was the fact that residents were

A-G sues for defamation

■ SUMMONS SERVED Oupa Gqozo intends to defend the court action:

Ciskei Attorney-General Mr Willem Jurgens is suing his boss — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — for R75 000.

Summons has been served on the Ciskei military ruler in the case of alleged defamation arising from remarks reportedly made by him to the *Sunday Times* newspaper.

Gqozo was quoted as criticising his prosecution for the murder of Ciskei rebel General Charles Sebe, instituted by the Attorney-General.

Gqozo's quote

The homeland ruler was reported as saying that the prosecution was "nothing but a National Party-inspired coup to overthrow me using the judiciary. They (the NP) couldn't remove me militarily, so now they are trying this kind of coup aimed at pleasing the ANC".

In the summons Jurgens says that this is "wrongful, false and defamatory".

He says this was intended, and was understood, to mean that the Attorney-General was "a party to the abuse of the courts and of the legal process".

“The murder trial was nothing but a National Party-inspired coup to overthrow me using the judiciary”

Further, the summons contends that the comment suggested Jurgens had failed to apply a "proper and appropriate discretion in deciding to charge" Gqozo with the murder.

Jurgens also claims the comments allege he had allowed himself to be "influenced by, or dictated to" by a political party in his decision to charge Gqozo.

The comments had been intended to suggest the Attorney-General had exercised his powers improperly and with the intention of ousting Gqozo.

Jurgens claims that as a consequence he had suffered damage to his good name and reputation.

Gqozo intends to defend the action. No court date has yet been set down. — *Ecn*.

OUPA'S 6-PACK?

105

By ANDREW TRENCH and CLAIRE KEELTON

Gqozo sent AK-47s to PE - ex-minister

STARTLING new developments in ongoing allegations of gun-running involving the Ciskei government are painting a trail to the very top of the Bisho administration.

A finger has now been pointed at Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

This week Tamsanga Linda - who is a former Ciskei foreign minister, a past chairman of Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, and an ex-military intelligence operative - implicated his former boss in alleged gun-running to Port Elizabeth.

Linda's astounding allegations - dismissed out of hand by Gqozo - are made more credible by the fact that he implicated himself too.

He claims that around September or October 1992 Gqozo sent six AK-47s to Port Elizabeth to be used against ANC supporters and his opponents in the wake of the Bisho massacre. Last year well-placed

Ciskei sources claimed the rightwing was involved in procuring AK-47s for the Ciskei ruler at the end of 1992. They claimed they had seen dozens of AK-47s lining the walls of Gqozo's office.

Linda alleges the six weapons were transported to Port Elizabeth in a diplomatic car by V Mafani, then Ciskei consul general in the city. Linda, attached to the consulate at the time, claims the weapons were stored for a time at Linda's official house. They were later removed by Mafani, who was to become a cabinet minister but has now mysteriously left.

Gqozo this week dismissed the allegations and implied that Linda was acting on behalf of another organisation for personal gain. Port Elizabeth police

said they would like more information so the matter could be investigated.

■ In another development General Mthuzeli Hlela of the Ciskei murder and robbery unit this week confirmed that new ADM western Cape organiser Nkosekhaya "Prince" Gobingca was wanted for questioning in a murder probe centering on top ADM officials, including chairman Titus Mcooyyana.

Mcooyyana and one of Gqozo's most loyal bodyguards are among several other government officials charged with the murder of two ANC members and the attempted murder of 20 others.

AK-47s were allegedly found in their possession. Gobingca this week confirmed that he was in Ciskei when the murders took place, but said he

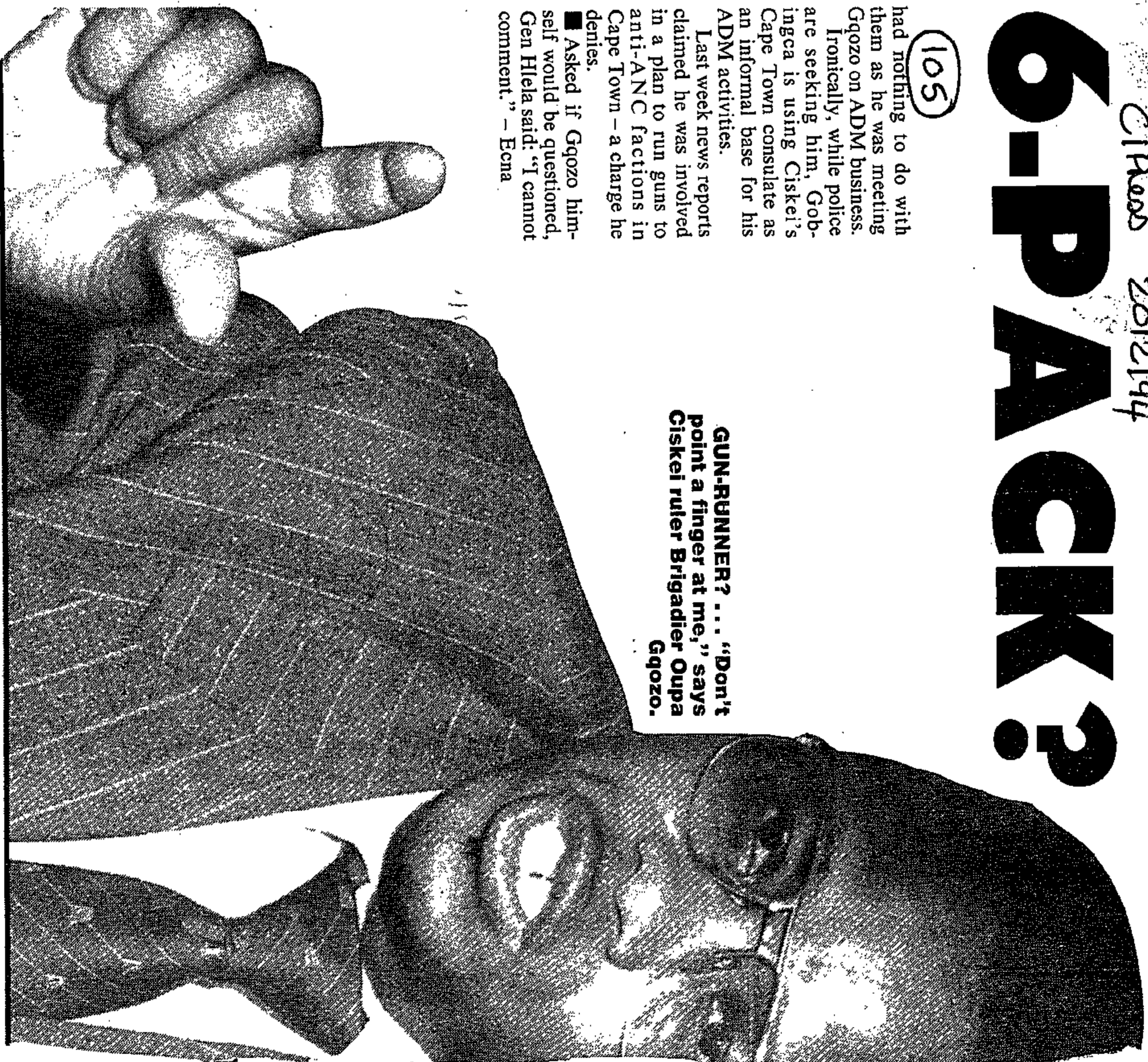
had nothing to do with them as he was meeting Gqozo on ADM business.

Ironically, while police are seeking him, Gobingca is using Ciskei's Cape Town consulate as an informal base for his ADM activities.

Last week news reports claimed he was involved in a plan to run guns to anti-ANC factions in Cape Town - a charge he denies.

■ Asked if Gqozo himself would be questioned, Gen Hlela said: "I cannot comment." - Eena

GUN-RUNNER? ... "Don't point a finger at me," says Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.



Striking warders to work

JOHANNESBURG. — Striking warders at three Ciskei prisons agreed yesterday to obey a Tuesday court interdict ordering them to return to work.

(105) CT 24/2/94

Ciskei attacks: ANC blamed

¹⁰⁵
ET 26/2/94
BISHO. ANC supporters aiked, stoned and stabbed members of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement in a week of violence at Upper Mngqesha near Bisho, the ADM claimed yesterday.

ADM chairman Mr Michael Methuse told journalists that in one case the attackers were urged on by "a white man with a beard".

The Ciskei Defence Force moved into the area yesterday to restore order, he said.

The movement's deputy publicity secretary, Ms Nolwandle Ngxizele, said the attackers would be reported to the Independent Electoral Commission.

● Damage estimated at R20 000 was caused to the house of a Daveyton policeman on Thursday when it was attacked with petrol bombs, East Rand police said yesterday.

A neighbour was wounded by one of the attackers.

● Schoolchildren and staff at Atwell Madala Junior Secondary School in Umtata, Transkei, were shocked yesterday morning to find the body of a man who had been hacked to death in a school office.

A school guard said he had been aware of homeless people using classrooms and offices at night, but he had not heard any commotion during the night.

● At least five people have been killed and four injured in Natal since Wednesday, the South African Police reported yesterday.

This raises the toll in the province since last weekend to at least 77.

● Another East London taxi driver was shot yesterday in what appeared to be an attack without a motive.

Children see three die in church massacre

AVZG 14/3/94
(105)
ZF

PAT CANDIDO and HENRI DU PLESSIS
Staff Reporters

FAMILY and friends of three Iranian men shot to death at their church in Mdantsane, Ciskei, are shocked at their execution-style murders — but have vowed not to move.

Children were among a congregation that looked on helplessly as three members of the church were executed in front of them, apparently because they were white.

Friends and family of the three Iranian men today expressed shock over the killings.

Yesterday's murders were at the Baha' Faith church which believes that the future of mankind depends on its unity.

Riaz Razavi, of King William's Town, and Hooshmand Anvari, of Beacon Bay, both in their 40s, died instantly. Dentist Shamam Bakhshandegi, 29, of East London, died in Cecilia Makiwane Hospital.

"Six men came in just before noon as the congregation was praying before the service," said a witness.

"They separated the whites from the blacks and demanded the whites' car keys.

"The men rifled through their (victims) pockets. They found credit cards and money but they did not take them. They shot them as they stood against a wall."

Mr Razavi, a financial director at Fort Hare university, and Dr Bakhshandegi had been invited to the church group to consult on a development programme for the International Year of the Family.

Mr Anvari, a computer salesman and part-time teacher, was carrying out renovations on the building.

The mayor of East London, Carl Berger, today condemned the attack and called on people to take adequate precautions against similar actions in the future.

"There can never ever be justification for cold-blooded murder, especially when innocent worshippers are the victims.

"This kind of deed has no place in a civilised society and I sincerely trust that the perpetrators will soon be brought to book," he said.

The Democratic Party has condemned the murder.

In a statement today, MP for Albany E K Moorcroft said: "This horrible crime, racist in nature and committed in a place of worship, was the work of depraved minds.

"It must not go unpunished. It is part of a crime wave which is currently endangering the lives of every citizen in the Border area.

"It is symptomatic of a breakdown in law and order which particularly the Ciskeian and Transkeian governments seem powerless to address.

"It is perhaps time that consideration was given to enlisting the services of external agencies such as the SADF to protect the lives and properties of innocent civilians in this region."

Last week gunmen fired at white teachers in Mdantsane, seriously injuring three in what appeared to be a racially motivated attack. A minibus with six white teachers was ambushed by three men with automatic rifles.

C'kei threat to do a 'Bop'

CT 16/3/94 (105)

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei civil servants have warned they might turn to "Bophuthatswana-style" civil disobedience if they are not paid pension fund contributions and leave gratuities before re-incorporation into South Africa.

The decision was taken at a meeting of hundreds of civil servants in Bisho yesterday where it was decided that there would be "mass action" unless Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo

gave an assurance tomorrow that their demands would be met before the April elections.

There have also been reports of civil service discontent in Lebowa.

Meanwhile in Pretoria, the TEC yesterday established a civil service task force to allay the fears of civil servants "during the transition".

Yesterday the TEC agreed the force's first responsibility would

be to convene a meeting of department heads in all administrations and public servants' groups to discuss "grievances, fears and aspirations".

● The TEC move came as the KwaZulu government agreed that its 84 000 civil servants would be absorbed into the new regional administration, whether or not the ruling IFP participates in next month's election — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Ciskei agrees to pay out pensions

EAST LONDON — Ciskei's government agreed yesterday to pay pension benefits to public servants who this week threatened "Bophuthatswana-style action" if their demands were not met, Sapa reports.

But it rejected their demand for an interim administrator for the territory as "a deliberate provocation which can only bring about instability and violence", and warned against strikes. *B. D. van*

The homeland government aligned itself with the TEC resolution on public servants.

It had addressed "at length and with full consultation" public servants' demands for pension and leave gratuity payouts. *(105)*

"The government has prevailed upon the independent trustees (of the pension fund) to accommodate the request by making available the liquid portion of the fund for payment of the benefits." *1713194*

Fund members would receive certificates indicating the interest which would be payable upon realisation of the fund's fixed assets.

No clarity could be obtained yesterday on whether the fund, which according to a senior official is private, would be completely wound up, or whether only a portion of the fund's assets would be converted to cash for payouts.

The Ciskei government rejected the demand for an interim administrator, saying it would hand over the reins to a legitimate elected premier only after the elections, which were "weeks away".

In another development DAVID GREYBE reports that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi reiterated yesterday there was no truth in ANC-alliance "propaganda" of misuse of KwaZulu pension funds. The allegations were so far removed from the truth "as to be actionable in a court of law", he warned.

Report by B MacLennan, Sapa, 26 Caxton St, East London, and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Ciskei agrees to pay pensions

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government yesterday agreed to pay out pension benefits to civil servants who this week threatened Bophuthatswana-style action if their demands were not met.

But it strongly rejected their demand for an interim administrator for the territory. (105)

Hundreds of Ciskei nurses have demanded their pensions and gratuity benefits be paid to them before the end of the month. CT 17/3/94

● Unconfirmed reports said nurses and police clashed at a Mdantsane hospital and people were injured. — Sapa

Gqozo threat grows

Sowetan 18/12/94

MILITANT Ciskei civil servants are sticking to their demand that homeland ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo step down, despite government concessions on pension payouts. (105)

Ciskei Civil Servants Association spokesman Mr Mthimkulu Mashiya said yesterday the latest government concessions are not enough, and the demand for Gqozo to step down will not be dropped.

The government on Wednesday said it was not opposed to paying out the liquid portion of the pensions fund —

believed to be about 12 percent of the fund. But the government rejected calls for Gqozo to be replaced as "little short of ridiculous".

Civil servants warned earlier this week they would embark on a "Bophuthatswana-style" action if their demands were not met.

Mashiya says he doubts civil servants will accept a 12 percent cash payout.

Mashiya said representatives from Cisa and other public service unions were due to seek a meeting with Gqozo yesterday. — *Eena*

Gqozo pleads over pensions

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo pleaded on Saturday for the territory's civil servants not to throw their "toys out of the cot" over the pensions issue. (105)

Speaking at a nurses' graduation here, he said government workers' pension demands made it very difficult in a volatile political climate.

CT 2/13/94
"I would say let us all be patient because now there are other structures that should be consulted on this."

The Ciskei government had recognised the TEC and the body would have to be drawn in to the pensions debate. — Sapa

SADF moves in to quell riots

TEC takes over Ciskei as Gqozo quits

Biday 23/3/94

ADRIAN HADLAND,
TIM COHEN and DAVID GREYBE

CISKEI's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo resigned last night as the SADF and SAP were deployed in the homeland to quell a revolt by members of Ciskei's police force.

The Transitional Executive Council decided to appoint two administrators to govern the homeland until the election, after Gqozo contacted Foreign Minister Pik Botha and offered to step down and asked SA to intervene to restore control. Botha immediately informed the TEC.

Botha said Gqozo had been under increasing strain during the past two weeks and despite assurances that public servants' pensions were secure, demands for pension payouts were becoming more insistent.

Sapa reports that about 3 000 striking policemen seized and held hostage 15 officers and some of their wives and children at the Bisho Police College. The heavily armed policemen were still holed up in the college last night. They vowed to defend their position against SA forces. The Police Commissioner had reportedly sought refuge at Gqozo's home.

Ciskei's TEC representative Mickey Webb said striking public servants and security force members had occupied government buildings, broken windows and damaged files and records during rioting

which broke out yesterday.

In a telephone interview from his Bisho home, Gqozo said he had offered to step down "to prevent the loss of lives and to secure the buildings". (105)

"I saw what happened in Bophuthatswana and was not prepared to have a repeat here. I am the kind of person who wants to depart from a situation on my own two feet, instead of being carried out head first."

The TEC will send a task group to Ciskei, including Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans, Administration Minister Sam de Beer and Nehawu negotiator Philip Dexter, to look into public service grievances and fears.

Gqozo said he had met a delegation of policemen at his home last night and informed them he would meet the strikers today. He called on the strikers to return to their posts "so we can avoid anarchy".

He blamed striking members of the National Health and Education Workers' Union (Nehawu), who he said had targeted Ciskei this week with stepped-up demands to be paid out their pensions and leave.

He had tried to explain that their pensions were safely tied up in a R2,7bn pen-

□ To Page 2

Ciskei

Biday 23/3/94 From Page 1

sion fund, which he described as "one of the best" in southern Africa. (105)

"I decided that with only a month to go before Ciskei was reincorporated into SA that I had nothing to gain by trying to cling onto power."

However, a defiant Gqozo said he would still lead his party — the African Democratic Movement — in the April elections.

Gqozo said he had no regrets after his four years in power: "I am proud how I persevered in the face of a lot of hostility and obstacles. I believe in God and I asked

Him to give me strength."

Also yesterday, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike appealed to the TEC to take over financial control of his homeland, charging that matters had worsened since the SA government had assumed control. "The takeover and the subsequent reversal of promotions of the civil servants by Regional and Land Affairs Minister André Fourie have led to a series of strikes and sit-ins that have disrupted services."

Report by T Cohen, D Greybe and A Hadland, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Job and S MacLennan, Sapa, 151 Commissioner St, Job.

'Things are cool, everything is quiet' after TEC takeover

Star 23/3/94

I have no regrets, says Gqozo

(105)

Speaking from his official residence in Bisho in a telephone interview with The Star, Brigadier Gqozo said he had asked the SA Government to intervene to avoid the situation from deteriorating further.

"In terms of the Interim Constitution my administration no longer had authority once I agreed to enter the TEC. We have already been reincorporated back into South Africa."

The former strongman of the nominally independent republic said: "Things are cool, everything is quiet."

Gqozo said it was a "very, unacceptable state of affairs" for

MONTSHIWA MOROKO of The Star interviewed Brigadier Oupa Gqozo last night, just hours after the homeland's military leader had handed control back to SA

members of his police force to go on strike and abdicate their duties when they had been called upon to protect the country's citizens.

Gqozo said he had heard that civil servants were being chased

out of their offices. "When the police were called to the Health, Education and Justice ministries, we were told they were on strike."

"The police sent a delegation to request me to address them at the Police College. I told them I did not accept what they were doing. I will talk to them if they go back to work."

"I was told that the police even said they did not care a damn about the TEC. All they want is their pensions and gratuities. It is a difficult situation."

"This is getting too far. I decided to call for the TEC's intervention because I was fearing

the situation would develop into something that would create all sorts of problems for everyone."

Gqozo said the election campaign by his African Democratic Movement was on track, but said his work with the campaign was affected by his official duties.

Sapa reports that Gqozo chatted easily to reporters in the lounge of his palatial official residence last night and joked about retiring to a farm.

As reporters were admitted to the room the brigadier, dressed in a dark brown suit, sipped a ginger beer.

"I am relieved in a sense. Yes, though I did not want this to

happen, I have no option (but to step down)."

"I would not like to end up in a situation where the whole place is up in smoke."

He said he had no immediate plans for the future.

When a reporter joked that he would never be a head of state again, he replied: "I may be, I'm still young. I got in through the back door. I may still come in through the front door."

He had no regrets about quitting.

"It was going to happen already next month. I'm just doing it a week earlier."

BY BRENDAN TEMPLETON

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo hit the public spotlight when he seized power in a bloodless coup from Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe on April 4 1990.

Initially welcomed by the ANC as a potential ally, Gqozo soon alienated himself from the movement. He re-emerged as a National Party negotiating partner a year later.

He survived two coup attempts in 1991 — one led by former Ciskei security chief Charles Sebe ended with Sebe being shot dead as he lay wounded in a clinic.

His determination to hang on to power, as well as the lack of control over state spending soon had him at loggerheads with the NP and the Government.

Increasing anger over his brutal suppression of political activity led to a march by the ANC on Bisho and the massacre of 28 people in September 1992.

His growing political isolation saw him joining the Freedom Alliance negotiating body last year. It was short-lived. He effectively resigned from the body with his December announcement that he intended to participate in the election.

At the same time he was facing murder charges arising from Sebe's death. He was found not guilty because the state failed to prove its case.

The men who made up his power-base also turned on him and ended the "himpot dictator's" rule 1 479 days after he had assumed power.

1 497-day dictator

Policemen tell of ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾
20-hour ordeal in
hands of strikers

BISHO. — Two police officers today relived their 20-hour ordeal as hostages of striking Ciskei policemen at Bisho police college.

Colonels Hendrik Oosthuizen and Raymond Simms and 30 other senior officers who were taken captive at noon yesterday were freed today.

However, they were instructed to accompany the strikers to Bisho stadium where police, soldiers and prisons staff were due to meet Brigadier Oupa Gqozo this morning.

Colonel Oosthuizen said he did not fear for his safety while being held captive.

"Most of the guys were guys that we worked with, and I don't think they would ever have endangered our lives," he said.

"This is the first time that I've ever experienced such treatment by policemen in my 25 years in the force."

The detention had been "just inconvenient sitting there the whole night".

He said the hostages were not fed until they were given breakfast today. They were allowed access to water and toilets, however.

The colonels said Ciskei's police commissioner, Major General Manyano Nqayi, who was also a hostage, had been taken to police headquarters where he was trying to establish how much of the Police Widow and Orphans Fund and other money could be paid out to the strikers immediately.

Colonel Simms added: "I think I qualify for overtime."

"Definitely," said Colonel Oosthuizen. — Sapa.

Thousands of his countrymen today by resisting calls from the Ciskei Defence Force to address a packed Independence Stadium on why he quit.

The stand-off continued for much of the day while South African troops were rushed to nearby King William's Town to enforce a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) decision to secure the former homeland, which has now been reincorporated into South Africa.

Toy-toting crowds flocked to the stadium from early today after all-night appeals by the CDF to hear for themselves the reasons for the resignation and whether their pensions would be secure.

This morning, nearly 1 000 rebellious Ciskei policemen were still holding senior officers hostage and refusing to release them until Brigadier Gqozo had addressed grievances to their satisfaction.

One of the hostages is the homeland's Commissioner of Police, Manyano Nogayi.

And today homeland Attorney-General Willem Jurgens announced that charges of theft and fraud were to be brought against Major-General Nogayi and other senior officers.

Protests broke out at at least two Ciskei prisons where prisoners were burning their cells and demanding that they be released.

According to prison warders who deserted their posts to go to Bisho's Independence Stadium to hear Brigadier Gqozo's address, prisoners at Mdantsane prison had set fire to their cells today.

The warders said things were brought under control before they left for the stadium.

The dramatic collapse of the Ciskei administration came about in a matter of hours yesterday, with demands by government employees that they be paid out their pensions ahead of the April election.

Faced with a mutiny from his police force, and with reports that his defence force was

Gqozo snubbed Ciskei nation

Political Staff and Sapa
BISHO. — Oupa Gqozo, who has resigned as president of Ciskei, defied



NO PROBLEM: Ciskei Defence Force troops watch marchers on their way to the Bisho stadium today to hear former head of state Brigadier Oupa Gqozo confirm his resignation. Thousands of people packed the stadium.

also refusing to take orders, Brigadier Gqozo asked the TEC to step in and appoint an interim administration.

The TEC said today it was sending management committee member Zam Titus to Ciskei to begin discussions with all parties.

He will be accompanied by trade unionist Philip Dexter and Administration Minister Sam de Beer, who comprise the two-man council force on the public service.

"The delegation will make the necessary preparations for the two joint administrators to assume responsibility for the effective administration of Ciskei," the TEC said.

Meanwhile, three kilometres away at Bisho, thousands of people crowded into the stadium

to await Brigadier Gqozo's explanation. The CDF said during the night they would force him to address the crowd even if he didn't want to do so.

Last night Brigadier Gqozo told reporters he did not want "to see the whole place go up in smoke."

By midday there was no sign of him nor of police officers held as hostages by mutinying policemen. Among them are two white South Africans, Lieutenant-Colonel De Wet Oosthuizen and Lieutenant-Colonel Raymond Simms.

Today, Ciskei's chief negotiator at the constitutional talks and representative on the TEC Mickey Webb flew to Bisho to assess the

Picture: KEN OOSTERBROEK, Argus Group Picture Service

situation for himself. With him were unnamed officials of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs. Aboard the plane were many international media representatives and media crews.

Toy-toting crowds gathered outside some government buildings on the outskirts of Bisho today while in the town centre businesses remained open although there was a heavy police presence. This, people said, was to prevent looting if the situation should get out of hand here later today.

Many South African officials were not at work today and had been told by the rampaging mobs to stay away until they were called back.

All **convicts**
CT 23/3/94

to get
to cast
a vote

PRETORIA. — All prisoners will be allowed to vote in the April election, the Transitional Executive Council decided yesterday.

The decision was taken in the light of widespread prisoner dissatisfaction at the TEC's original decision last week that prisoners would not be allowed to vote, and subsequent riots at prisons countrywide.

Forty-two prisoners at Helderstrom prison near Caledon set their communal cell alight at about 7.40 last night, before hearing about the TEC's decision. No one was hurt in the incident. The prisoners were evacuated and the fire extinguished before anyone was injured.

Earlier in the day, about 50 members of the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights protested outside the TEC building.

Members of the SA Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights presented a memorandum to the TEC earlier yesterday calling for the establishment of a multi-party commission of inquiry into the death of 21 prisoners in Queenstown at the weekend.

The Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture has asked the International Committee of the Red Cross to investigate reports by relatives that prisoners injured in last week's riot at Pollsmoor Prison have not received adequate treatment. — Sapa

GQOZO GOES

(p25) CT 23/3/94

TEC takes over as

Ciskei police revolt

PRETORIA. — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo relinquished his position as Ciskei head of state last night as 3 000 striking policemen commandeered the Bisho police college and the possibility of "large-scale bloodshed" loomed in the homeland.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) announced it would immediately appoint two administrators to replace Brig Gqozo.

The TEC also cracked down on Kwazulu, mandating the TEC management committee to take whatever steps it felt were necessary to ensure free and fair elections in the territory.

And Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike yesterday appealed to the TEC to take over financial control of the homeland, charging that matters had worsened since the Department of Regional and Land Affairs had assumed control of the territory.

Striking Ciskei policemen claimed last night that soldiers who had joined them in refusing to obey Ciskei government orders had placed Gen Gqozo under house arrest.

Strikers said they, soldiers and members of the prisons service, planned to meet at Bisho's Independence Stadium this morning and that the soldiers would bring Brig Gqozo to address them.

By late last night the strikers had taken 42 people hostage at the Ciskei police college in Bisho which they commandeered earlier in the day. Among the hostages were five women, believed to be wives of officers the strikers had

KWAZULU POLICE ROLE IN HIT SQUADS

— Page 2

been unable to find, and two South African policemen, a Colonel Oosthuizen and a Major Simms.

Earlier in the evening two hostages — the wife and daughter of Ciskei police commissioner Major-General M Nodayi — were released after soldiers handed the commissioner over to striking policemen.

Gen Nodayi was still being subjected to a grilling by the police early this morning. The strikers allege that all the officers being held at the police college are guilty of corruption and have pledged to hold them until the Ciskei attorney-general decides on prosecuting them.

SA Defence Force troops have been placed on full alert along Ciskei's border and South Africa and Defence Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday they could be deployed at short notice inside the homeland to "calm the situation" if necessary.

The TEC announced that the administrators to replace Brig Gqozo would be assisted by Nehawu general secretary Mr Philip Dexter, Foreign Affairs director general Mr Rusty Evans and Administration Minister Mr Sam de Beer. The names of the administrators had not been made known late last night.

Ciskei representative at the TEC Mr Mickey Webb said the TEC move was not a hostile takeover. He said Brig Gqozo agreed with it.

Mr Webb said Brig Gqozo's proposal that he step down was tabled with the TEC at lunchtime.

In a telephone interview minutes after the TEC announced it was taking over, Brig Gqozo said he had offered to step down "to prevent loss of lives, and to secure the buildings".

"I saw what happened in Bophuthatswana and was not prepared to have a repeat here. The ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that the SAP's Internal Stability Division had been deployed in Ciskei. He suggested it

FOR PAGE 2



MISSING TROPHY . . . Designer Mr Klaus Lantz with the "wandering" trophy he crafted for the winners of the present cricket Test series.

P.T.O.

From page 1

be withdrawn as there were indications it would clash with Ciskei troops. (105)

Spokesman for the strikers Sergeant S G Hewana said the strikers were aware that the SAP's Internal Stability Division was moving in. "We have our internal stability unit and our task force. We are all armed here. We are holding this police college. If they come with force, with the intention to make war, they will get what they want. We are trained policemen."

Many of the policemen in the police college were seen carrying automatic weapons.

A strike spokesman said the college perimeter had been booby-trapped with landmines.

Sgt Hewana said the military had joined the police. Brig Gqozo had ordered troops to cordon off the police college where the strikers were grouped, but they had refused, he said.

Some of the strikers had apparently been sent to King William's Town to monitor the arrival of the SAP and planned to race back to give their colleagues advance warning.

Earlier Sgt Hewana said they would "talk" to the South Africans.

He said the strikers had no grievance against Brig Gqozo himself but "we want our grievances to be solved".

Although the strikers were informed Brig Gqozo had stepped down as head of government last night they refused to relinquish hostages.

The drama began yesterday morning when police began a sit-in strike at the police college, demanding immediate pension payouts.

Earlier yesterday hundreds of members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union stormed Ciskei government buildings and ordered employees out. — Sapa

ST 23/3/94

Gqozo resigns

Sowetan

23/3/94

CISKEI military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo resigned last night as 3 000 striking policemen commandeered the Bisho Police College and the possibility of "large-scale bloodshed" loomed in the homeland.

(105)
South African Defence Force troops have been placed at full alert along Ciskei's border with South Africa and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee said later last night they could be deployed at short notice inside the homeland to "calm the situation" if necessary.

Having been briefed by Ciskei chief negotiator Mr Micky Webb on Gqozo's belief that he should step down, the Transitional Executive Council resolved to immediately dispatch two interim administrators appointed by the TEC and the South African Government to take command of the territory.

The news did not change the standoff at the Bisho Police College, however. A spokesman for the striking policemen said angrily the situation would remain the same and the 15 senior officers they were holding hostage would not be freed until Gqozo addressed them.

When South African ambassador in Ciskei Mr Piet Goosen called on them to release two SA policemen they were holding, he was met

with jeers and boos.

Earlier yesterday, hundreds of members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union stormed Ciskei government buildings and ordered employees out.

The TEC decided the appointed administrators to replace Gqozo would be assisted by Nehawu general secretary Mr Philip Dexter, Foreign Affairs Director-General Mr Rusty Evans and Administration Minister Sam de Beer.

ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed during the TEC session that the SAP's Internal Stability Division had been deployed in Ciskei and suggested that it be withdrawn to avoid confrontation with the homeland's security forces.

In a separate statement, Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed he had received a telephone call from Gqozo saying the situation in Ciskei was "getting out of hand" and that there was a possibility of large-scale bloodshed.

"He indicated he had come to the conclusion he ought to relinquish power in an attempt to reduce the growing tension.

"The situation is not comparable to the one in Bophuthatswana. This is a request by an administration which is a member of the TEC for its control to be assumed by another administration," said

Botha. — SA Associated Press

SADF armour surrounds Ciskei as Gqozo packs his bags

Star 24/3/94

Chaos in homelands

THE big question has been which way an apparently divided Ciskei army will jump in the next hours

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Bisho — Wildcat strikes by public servants spread through Ciskei today.

Ambulance drivers took to the streets this morning in a bid to obtain salary parity with their South African colleagues.

More than 100 policemen and prison officers joined them in a show of solidarity outside the Ambulance Department offices before the police moved on to the business centre.

The big question here today is which way the Ciskei Defence Force will go — the CDF boycotted talks in King William's Town yesterday called by the South African Government and the TEC to smooth the way for the peaceful re-incorporation of the homeland into South Africa following the resignation of Oupa Gqozo as president.

Gqozo packed his bags and left the presidential palace early today although confirmation of this was steadfastly refused by soldiers at the palace gates. Reporters were, however, told by public servants who work in the presidential offices that he had in fact left for an undisclosed destination.

The CDF was out in large numbers yesterday but early this morning there was little sight of them or the SADF, in camp just over the border.

The SADF was ordered by the TEC earlier this week to enter Ciskei to maintain law and order and this is being awaited with some trepidation by local people particularly in

view of the CDF refusal to attend yesterday's meeting.

All of Gqozo's ministers have been fired, it was announced last night.

The announcement that the Ciskei Cabinet members were now "ordinary citizens" was made by the SA ambassador and new joint administrator of the homeland, Pieter van Rensburg, at a media briefing.

ANC marshals have taken up guard duties at Mdantsane

and Zwelitsha shopping centres in the absence of an organised police presence in those areas. Both townships are known to be very volatile.

Soldiers loyal to Gqozo yesterday refused to let him address 20 000 stomping and singing civil servants because they feared for his life.

At the same time, South African security forces threw a cordon around Ciskei.

Earlier reports from news

agencies that Gqozo had been taken to the stadium were without foundation.

The no-show decision confirmed reports in Bisho yesterday that a split had developed within the local security forces over action taken by police in grabbing 16 hostages and in siding with rioting civil servants on Tuesday.

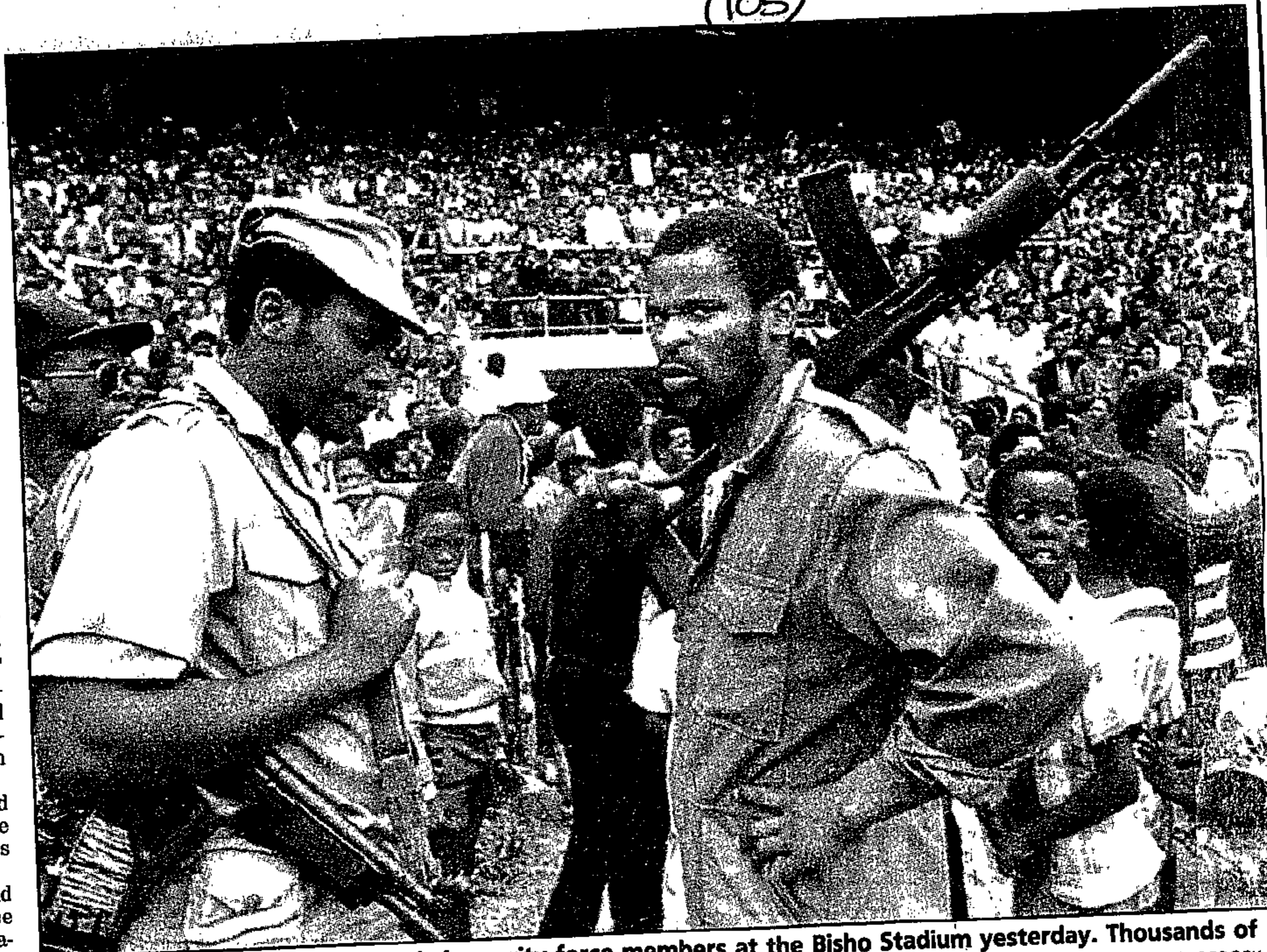
It also strengthened a belief that South African police and

army units on the border would enter Ciskei to secure key points and property as instructed by the TEC.

Gqozo resigned as Ciskei's ruler on Tuesday night, a step that President de Klerk was quick to commend and describe as "wise".

Gqozo said he had not wanted to "see the place burn" and had thus decided to step down.

► To Page 3



In the eye of the storm . . . Ciskei security force members at the Bisho Stadium yesterday. Thousands of people packed the stands, waiting for Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, but he did not appear. PICTURE: KEN OOSTERBROEK

P.T.O

Star 24/3/94

SADF surrounds Ciskei

◀ From Page 1

In his place are two administrators appointed by the SA Government and the TEC. They are Van Rensburg and the Rev Bongani Blessing Finca of the TEC.

Yesterday TEC official Zam Titus, union negotiator Phillip Dexter and ANC Border president Smuts Ngonyama arrived to address the stadium crowd shortly after 2 pm, but the public address system failed and the angry crowd decided to leave.

In Bisho's business area, troops took up positions to prevent looting, and shops which had been opened yesterday morning closed their doors at midday in preparation for the

thousands streaming home from the stadium.

And SA security forces mounted roadblocks on all roads leading out of the homeland.

Speaking in King William's Town yesterday, De Klerk assured Ciskei civil servants that their pensions were secure and that they had nothing to fear from the new government of national unity. (105)

■ Sapa reports that high-level discussions were under way in Cape Town last night over the Ciskei Defence Force — which did not send a delegate to a vital afternoon meeting between a TEC team and representatives of the territory's civil servants.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Ciskei turmoil stops FW visit; violence flares in KwaZulu

ARG 24/3/94

105

AS violence flared in KwaZulu and Natal, the turmoil in Ciskei kept President De Klerk from visiting the homeland during an election sweep through the Border area.

His tour was partially successful, drawing 4 500 supporters in East London, King William's Town and Queenstown.

But at Queenstown about 6 000 ANC supporters overwhelmed the NP crowd which numbered only a few hundred.

President De Klerk said it would have been irresponsible of him to have toured Ciskei, even though he was barely 3km from Bisho.

● The ANC and the Natal Indian Congress's Pravin Gordhan have vehemently denied any knowledge of a plan to destabilise KwaZulu and make it ungovernable so that South Africa would intervene militarily.

Reacting to the IFP's request this week that the Goldstone Commission investigate an alleged ANC-SACP plan to render KwaZulu ungovernable, Mr Gordhan and the ANC said this was an attempt by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party to deflect attention from reports of alleged hit-squad activities in KwaZulu.

Mr Gordhan said he had not "had sight of the document" as alleged by IFP central committee member Suzanne Vos, and said the attempt to connect him with the "concocted document with suspect origins (was) a regrettable but transparent" effort to smear him personally.

● Thirty-one prisoners remained on hunger strike at Fort Glamorgan prison in East London despite a decision by the Transitional Executive Council to grant all prisoners the vote in the election.

A spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services, Colonel Barry Eksteen, said 40 prisoners who had embarked on a hunger strike in Cradock had also not suspended their strike.

More than 900 prisoners at Fort Glamorgan went on hunger strike on Tuesday, after responding to a call by the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights for mass action supporting their demand to vote.

Colonel Eksteen was unable to say why the remaining prisoners were still refusing food.



● An IFP organiser in Natal's Ixopo region, Dumisani Khuzwayo, has appeared briefly in the Ixopo Magistrate's Court.

Mr Khuzwayo's appearance was in connection with the massacre of 14 people at Mahehle in the Creighton area in southern Natal last month.

The victims were said to be election canvassers, mainly young people preparing for an ANC voter education programme.

● A Krugersdorp man described in the Rand Supreme Court how he was assaulted by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members at a bogus roadblock near Randfontein last year.

Abel Sebohodi was testifying at the trial of seven men who face four charges of murder, six counts of attempted murder, two charges of malicious damage to property, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm and illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Four people, including an 11-year-old boy, died in the shooting incident on the Krugersdorp-Ventersdorp road on December 12.

● Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa has criticised the call-up of part-time South African Defence Force members for the election and called for the mobilisation of all forces, including those of the TBVC homelands, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

● The NP would be even smaller proportionately in the new parliament than the Democratic Party was after the 1989 general election, DP national chairman Ken Andrew said last night.

(Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

ANC activists keep watch to avert looting

ARG 24/3/94
BISHO. — There was an uneasy calm in Ciskei as the Transitional Executive Council took decisive steps to reincorporate the homeland into South Africa.

(105)
In Mdantsane, scores of khaki-clad African National Congress activists — some carrying sjamboks — guarded the Highway shopping centre, which was severely looted four years ago when Oupa Gqozo overthrew unpopular Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe.

The leader of the group, Mzwandile Jongolo, said the situation would have been worse had his colleagues not acted immediately.

"We started to deploy our marshals after we noticed that some elements in the townships were not finding peace and wanted to take advantage of the situation and loot the businesses," he said.

"We arrested two culprits who were trying to break into a clothing store and we handed them over to the police."

Mr Jongolo said his group would guard the properties until everything returned to normal.

In downtown Bisho yesterday all businesses remained closed. No shops were looted or damaged.

The central business district was virtually deserted for most of the day



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus.

STOP AND SEARCH: A member of the Internal Stability Unit frisks a passenger after a taxi was stopped at a roadblock on the Ciskei-South Africa border.

except for toyi-toying former public servants who were dismissed three years ago by Oupa Gqozo after agitating for higher salaries.

About 4pm, at the South African and Ciskei border, members of the Internal Stability Unit set up a "routine" roadblock and searched vehicles leaving the homeland.

Meanwhile, scores of SADF vehicles were seen moving in and out of the quiet but tense territory.

TEC assures Ciskei public servants over jobs, pensions

BISHO. — Ciskei's public servants will not lose their accrued pension benefits and will retain their jobs after April 27, says the Transitional Executive Council.

It has also assured public servants they will continue to receive their salaries and their scales might not be reduced after the elections.

Yesterday more than 10 000 public servants waited in vain at Bisho Independence Stadium for former Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo to address them about their pensions.

In a statement issued by the TEC task force, trade unionist Phillip Dexter and minister Sam de Beer, the public servants were also assured they would be protected by the new constitution.

They were asked to resume their duties and not deny public services to the people of the Ciskei.

"Every public servant will have the

right to be treated fairly and become a member of a trade union of his choice which can assist him," the statement said.

Referring to pension funds, the workers were told the real value of their accrued pension benefits would be retained should there be any changes to the law.

The statement said: "This means pension benefits that a civil servant has built up will be honoured.

"A constitutional principle has been adopted that every public servant must receive a fair pension. The retirement age of a public servant can also not be changed without his agreeing thereto."

The TEC would hold a follow-up meeting with the representatives of the Ciskei public service soon.

It is not clear when the public servants will return to work but they are expected to report the TEC assurances to their members.

TEC takes over as Gqozo packs his bags

Government dissolved and inquiries launched

APG 24/3/94

(125)



■ Reports by Argus Staff Reporter VUYO BAVUMA in Bisho.

BISHO. — The Transitional Executive Council has effectively assumed control of Ciskei by dissolving the homeland's embattled government and ordering its employees to return state property.

It also announced commissions of inquiry to investigate all state departments to ensure proper administration and sort out public service grievances.

These were some of the far-reaching steps announced by TEC management committee member Zam Titus at a news conference at the offices of South African ambassador Piet Goosen.

Earlier, the TEC appointed two administrators — Mr Goosen and community leader Bongani Finca — to help run Ciskei after Oupa Gqozo resigned and asked the South African government to step in.

Mr Titus said a senior Defence Force officer from Pretoria was monitoring the joint

control of Ciskei and South African security forces, who were ensuring stability.

The TEC's primary functions were to ensure free and fair elections in Ciskei. Referring to Brigadier Gqozo's cabinet members, Mr Titus said they were no longer in power because "their No 1 leader has fallen."

He added: "They are no longer in control but we need to ensure that nothing happens to them. They are out — but you don't have to go overboard."

As far as the TEC was concerned, Brigadier Gqozo was preparing to leave his official residence. "Steps will be taken to retrieve the property of the state

from all employees not authorised to possess them. We are also appealing to those who illegally possess this property to return it.

"But no one will be deprived of his own private property. The Public Servants' Commission will be asked to give a factual report about who has what."

Dealing with legislation unique to Ciskei, Mr Titus said the situation needed to be reviewed because the former homeland had some allegedly unjust statutes.

"We also heard some disturbing news that some criminals are running around with illegal weapons and this obviously threatens the maintenance of law and order."

But the Defence Force was working with its Ciskei counterpart to ensure stability.

The new rulers of the country would accept the liabilities and obligations of the Gqozo government only if they were legal, Mr Titus said.

Others were heard joking that the soldiers should train them with their toys so that they could defend themselves against township skollies.

At 1.30pm the crowd became vocal again when TEC members Zam Titus and Phillip Dexter appeared.

The TEC members brought the news that Brigadier Gqozo would not come to the stadium because his safety could not be ensured. But the message could not be communicated because

the public address system had broken down.

At that stage the people became restless and demanded to know when the brigadier would address them on pensions.

At 2.15pm, policemen were sent in vain to borrow a public address system from Radio Ciskei. As the TEC message was conveyed from mouth to mouth, police and soldiers asked everyone to leave.

Minutes later the crowd began to disperse.

Bisho crowd waits in vain for Gqozo

BISHO. — It was like a wedding without the groom when former Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo jilted more than 10 000 civil servants who wanted clarity about their pension fund.

On a hot, humid day, the civil servants — including heavily-armed soldiers — waited for hours in vain at the Bisho Independent Stadium yesterday.

Most arrived around 8am, hours after Brigadier Gqozo resigned and asked Pretoria government to take over the reins and help prevent anarchy and bloodshed in the territory.

The previous night, Ciskei

soldiers promised to force the former head of state to address the civil servants about their pensions.

Yesterday at the stadium excited civil servants sang pro-ANC freedom songs and toyed as soldiers and policemen sat on the lawn.

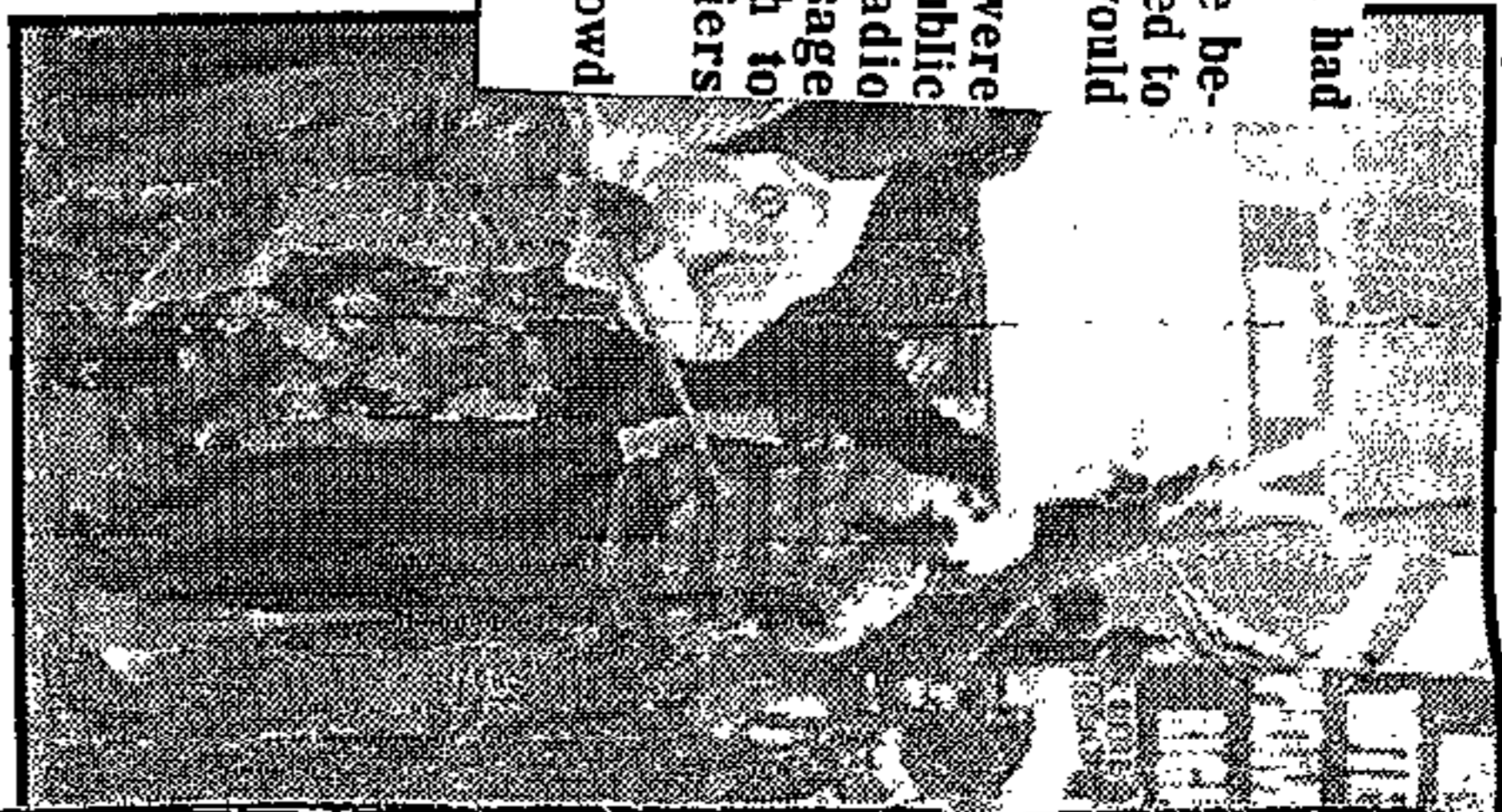
Later the energetic crowd put up ANC election posters featuring a picture of Nelson Mandela and continued to sing in praise of the party.

Although the height of election campaigning, no other political party's posters graced the scene.

Gradually the stadium was filled, and some schoolchildren from the neighbouring townships were clearly delighted about Brigadier Gqozo's resignation.

Outside the stadium enterprising vendors, selling everything from bread to fruit, did brisk trade.

Although Oupa Gqozo was nowhere to be seen the jovial mood continued, with people exchanging casual greetings with soldiers and policemen, their former bitter enemies.

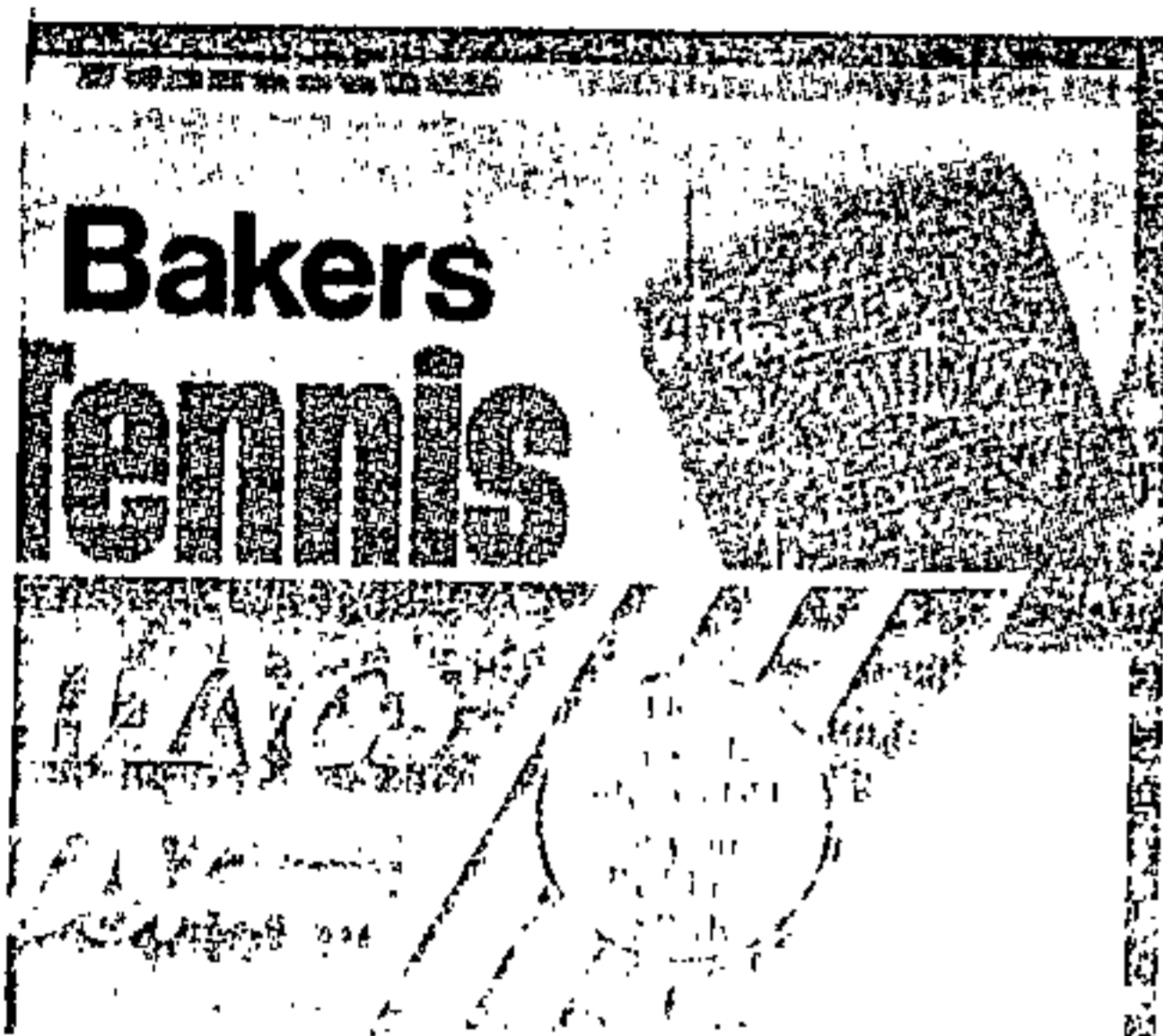


ON THE MARCH: Ciskei civil



Ciskei Defence Force troops ignore marchers en route to Bisho Stadium yesterday as they pass by the main road. Tens of thousands packed the stadium to hear Brigadier Oupa Gqozo confirm his resignation, but he did not turn up. See page 2.

PIC: KEN OOSTERBROEK



Stocks last. We reserve the right to limit quantities.

SPAR
SPAR wherever you are.



Gqozo on his way out

Sowetan 24/3/94

SA Press Association

FORMER Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was last night packing his belongings to leave his official residence. The leader of a Transitional Executive Council task force in Ciskei, Mr Zam Titus, said this at a media briefing in Bisho and also disclosed that Gqozo's Ministers will be given the sack.

"We will be talking to them (Gqozo and his Ministers) tomorrow about how they move out. They are out and that is the situation and that is quite clear."

Earlier, Gqozo, fearful for his safety, failed to turn up at a rally called by striking civil servants after the TEC had taken control of the homeland yesterday.

Confusion reigned at Bisho Stadium as 5 000 members of Ciskei's security force, prison service and other civil servants waited in vain all day for Gqozo to arrive.

Yesterday morning a jubilant crowd toy-toyed, waving aloft African National Congress posters and singing "Gqozo's leaving this place". The crowd began drifting away from the stadium late yesterday afternoon when it became obvious that Gqozo, who was due to address them at 7.30am, would not be arriving.

About 20 South African Defence Force armoured vehicles were parked on the outskirts of

the Bisho stadium as State President F W de Klerk told the crowd the potential for violence in the Ciskei could not be ruled out.

The appointment of joint administrators to take over the territory was announced by the Government and the TEC yesterday afternoon. South African Ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Pieter van Rensburg Gonsen and the Rev Bongani Blessing Finca were appointed co-administrators following a request by Gqozo on Tuesday for an interim administration.

Hostage

Ciskei policemen and security force members, striking to demand their pensions and pay, took about 32 senior Ciskei security force members hostage at the police college in Bisho on Tuesday night, but released them early yesterday.

Among the hostages was Police Commissioner General Manyano Noqayi. Ciskei attorney-general Willem Jurgens said Noqayi is to be charged with a major, three captains and a lieutenant for theft and fraud involving R134 000.

Meanwhile, long term prisoners at Ciskei's Middledrift Prison went on the rampage yesterday and insisted they be allowed to vote at home, not in jail.

A prison official said prisoners had grabbed a master key and opened all the prison's cells.

After gathering in a courtyard, they sang, toy-toyed and then torched their cells, the spokesman said.

SADF occupies Lebowa and Ciskei

DAVID GREYBE

THE SADF yesterday occupied key points in Lebowa and Ciskei as tensions grew.

Thousands of Lebowa public servants, including policemen, continued their strike, toying outside government offices in Lebowakgomo. 25 13 194

A government spokesman said SADF units already stationed in Lebowa had taken control of certain key points to maintain law and order. However, the strike was making the SADF's task difficult. (105)

Sapa reports that Far North Command Maj-Gen Faan Grobbelaar said the SADF action followed reports that "certain people" were planning to damage key points. Sites being guarded included the Lebowa Police magazine where arms and ammunition were stored, government buildings and a petrol depot.

A contingency plan for Lebowa had been drawn up, Grobbelaar said.

Lebowa was also targeted by the Transitional Executive Council's (TEC) task group that is attempting to resolve the public service crisis in SA's homelands.

In Ciskei, TEC representative Zam Titus met the homeland's new administrators to draft a decree formalising the takeover.

Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee said the decision to deploy the SADF in Ciskei was aimed "at protecting SA citizens and interests and to calm and stabilise the situation". The SADF would take "whatever steps were required to ensure that any riotous or unlawful activity by any party is brought to an end as urgently and as

□ To Page 2

SADF

early as possible".

A senior SADF officer said the Ciskei army was out of control and the SADF had secured key points, including the military intelligence headquarters. The SADF was also trying to recover "hundreds" of weapons that Ciskei soldiers had seized from Ciskei Defence Force armouries.

However, striking policemen had begun returning to work. (105)

Unrest continued in Ciskei's two prisons with inmates demanding to be released now that Brig Oupa Gqozo and his government had been removed.

In Mdantsane jail about 100 prisoners, some in warders' uniforms, escaped after breaking into the administration block and climbing through the roof. They briefly

held some building workers hostage. But they surrendered after the SAP's internal stability unit intervened.

One prisoner was shot and wounded.

The prison had been left short-staffed after most of the staff went to Bisho to attend a court hearing on a strike in which they participated in February.

WILSON ZWANE reports that Bophuthatswana's administrators yesterday suspended some of the homeland's laws, saying the move would allow free political activity, the holding of elections and the implementation of the interim constitution. Brig ML Sekame was appointed acting police commissioner.

Report by D Greybe and W Zwane. TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and B MacLennan, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

□ From Page 1



Capitulation . . . Ciskei defence force soldiers vacate their posts at the Ciskei ministerial compound under the watchful eye of SADF soldiers in armoured vehicles. They then returned to their bases.

PICTURE: KEN OOSTERBROEK

Five-hour takeover without a single shot fired

SA troops subdue Ciskei

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Bisho — South Africa's military might was demonstrated yesterday when it took less than five hours to subdue most of the Ciskeian army and police without a shot being fired.

An awesome display of firepower — brought about by an SADF column having to withdraw temporarily from a demonstration by ambulance workers — brought about the capitulation.

At least 1 000 troops, two helicopters and two Impala jet fight-

ers backed up TEC demands that Ciskei be reincorporated into SA without further delay.

The homeland's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo precipitated the crisis by resigning on Tuesday night. (105)

The Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) and police, however, decided on Wednesday that they wanted him to retract his resignation, but Gqozo left yesterday for an undisclosed destination.

He also failed to appear at a meeting at which he was sup-

posed to have explained to his people why he had resigned.

The SADF sent in its troops after CDF men had jeered and insulted the first column to enter the former homeland just after 9.30 am yesterday. Most of the homeland's security force capitulated by mid-afternoon.

A large number of off-duty soldiers and policemen broke open weapons stores at military bases and distributed weapons among themselves in order to face down the SADF, although no confrontation was reported.

Earlier the SADF, in a classic

operation, captured the military command headquarters, the parliament building and Radio Ciskei, and secured the two main industrial areas at Dimbaza and Fort Jackson.

■ Ecna reports that General J J Viktor, a former commander of Vlakplaas, the base of alleged police hit squads, is being considered as Ciskei's new commissioner of police. Reliable sources said the TEC was gathering information about Viktor's background and that a decision on appointing him would be made soon.

Star

25/3/94

Ciskei's army 'out of control'

CT25/3/94 (105)

Own Correspondent

BISHO. — The Ciskei Defence Force was "out of control" and the SA Defence Force had secured key points in the territory, including the military intelligence headquarters, a senior SADF officer said yesterday.

The SADF also took control of key points in Lebowa to prevent damage and looting as thousands of civil servants continued their strike.

Far North Command Major-General Faan Grobbelaar said a contingency plan had been drawn up for Lebowa.

In Ciskei, tensions eased a little last night when CDF representatives pledged total support for the Transitional Executive Council.

The TEC-appointed administrators, Mr Piet Goosen and Rev Bongani Finca, said the former council of state had quit.

They called on civil servants to restore stability in the administration.

The TEC's representative, Mr Zam Titus, met Mr Goosen and Mr Finca to draft a decree formalising the takeover of the homeland.

Colonel Johann Engelbrecht of the

SADF said the CDF was "out of control" and that its command structure had "gone for a total loop".

He said the SADF was trying to recover "hundreds" of weapons Ciskei soldiers had seized from armouries.

Soldiers who took officers hostage briefly at the 1 Ciskei Battalion base near Bisho on Wednesday refused to attend a meeting with Mr Titus.

Striking policemen began returning to work, signalling the end of protests.

Unrest continued at the territory's two prisons. Inmates, demanding to be released now that Brig Oupa Gqozo and his government had been removed, lit fires at one prison.

Later, rioting prisoners in Mdantsane jail surrendered their weapons after being confronted by police from the Internal Stability Unit.

About 100 prisoners, some in warders' uniforms, escaped after breaking into the administration block and making holes in the asbestos roof. They briefly held building workers hostage inside the prison.

The ISU colonel in charge confirmed there had been "some escapes" but would not elaborate.

Now Gqozo will have to join pension queue

105

Andrew Trench WM 25-30/3/94

FORMER Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his ousted band of cabinet ministers may have to join the queue of civil servants clamouring for cash payouts of their pensions.

The ruler's resignation on Tuesday was not only a fall from power, but also ended a luxurious lifestyle.

TEC spokesman Basetsana Thokoane said it was highly unlikely Gqozo, or his ministers, would have their pensions paid out. "The people of Ciskei are owed so much money it would just cause more controversy," she said. "Maybe he will just get last month's salary," she added. Gqozo earned some R209 000 a year with a further R39 000 a year in allowances — more than State President FW de Klerk.

As for the ministers: "They will just have to retire and wait for the whole process to be solved," Thokoane said. She stressed however that it was unlikely they would be paid out their pensions.

But the former ruler who has now been kicked out of the opulent Presidential Palace in Bisho also owns the 400ha Blacklands farm and a property on the Wesley coast. Thokoma said administrators appointed by the TEC this week — South African ambassador to the Ciskei Pieter Goosen and the Reverend Bongani Finca — would probably decide whether he would retain those properties. "Gqozo will just have to be an ordinary person," she said.

Ciskei's R2,7-billion pension fund was at the centre of this week's dramatic 24 hours in Bisho which led to Gqozo's hasty resignation. After building for weeks, the pressure reached a head in the last fortnight. Ciskei civil servants last week demanded Gqozo pay out their pensions and that he be replaced by an interim administrator. But even the civil servants were stunned by Gqozo's decision to stand down on Tuesday night.

His decision was precipitated by a flash mutiny of Ciskei policemen at Bisho's Police Training College. The policemen held senior officers hostage for 24 hours, demanding their pensions be paid out immediately. Almost half-heartedly, they demanded Gqozo stand down.

When South African ambassador to Ciskei Piet Goosen told the striking policemen that Gqozo had thrown in the towel, they did not believe him.

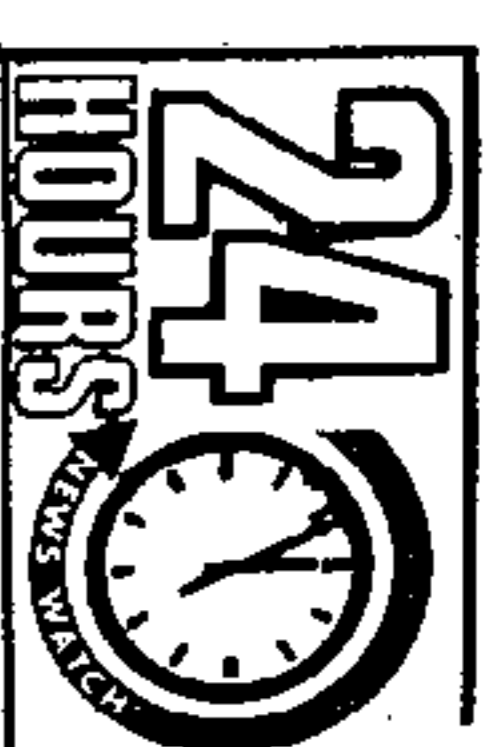
Besides the problem of appeasing civil servants, policemen and soldiers over their pensions, the interim administrators will have to move quickly to heal a growing rift between police and soldiers. Ciskei soldiers, it has emerged, are torn between allegiance to the movement that led to Gqozo's resignation and a perverted loyalty to their former commander-in-chief.

The root of their consternation appears to lie in a promise made to them by Gqozo two weeks ago that they would be paid their pensions in cash by Thursday this week. "If he has resigned we will not get our pensions. He is the only one who can pay us our pensions. He cannot stand down," said a worried rifleman.

By late Wednesday the split between the soldiers and police was clear. Troops from One Ciskei Battalion placed a guard around Gqozo's state house and refused to allow policemen to take him to address a crowd of thousands at Bisho's Independence Stadium across the road. It is not unlikely that this last act of loyalty saved Gqozo from a horrible end at the hands of the crowd. — Ecna

CISKEI

Oupa Gqozo's gone



From BEN MACLENNAN

BISHO. — Gqozo is gone. Last night I wandered freely through his presidential mansion: through the lounges, the bedrooms, the kitchens — and there was not a soul in sight.

The last time I went there, late on Tuesday night after he stepped down as head of state, I was aggressively challenged by a soldier wearing belts of bullets across his chest and carrying a light machine gun.

Yesterday, at 5pm, I drove up to the gate, and waited for a guard to emerge.

No-one came. I got out of my car, pushed at the massive painted Ciskei coat of arms bolted on to the steel bars, and the gate swung slowly open.

I drove past the sweeping lawns to the double storey "palace", as the residence is known to locals. There was no-one in sight.

I walked up to the mirror-glass front door. A pane of glass had been removed from one, then replaced crookedly, probably by someone who had forced an entry earlier in the day.

But now the door opened easily when I pushed.

Inside, everything was dark and still. All the curtains were drawn.

I wandered from room to silent room, all with their furnishings intact, but stripped of mementoes, books or personal objects.

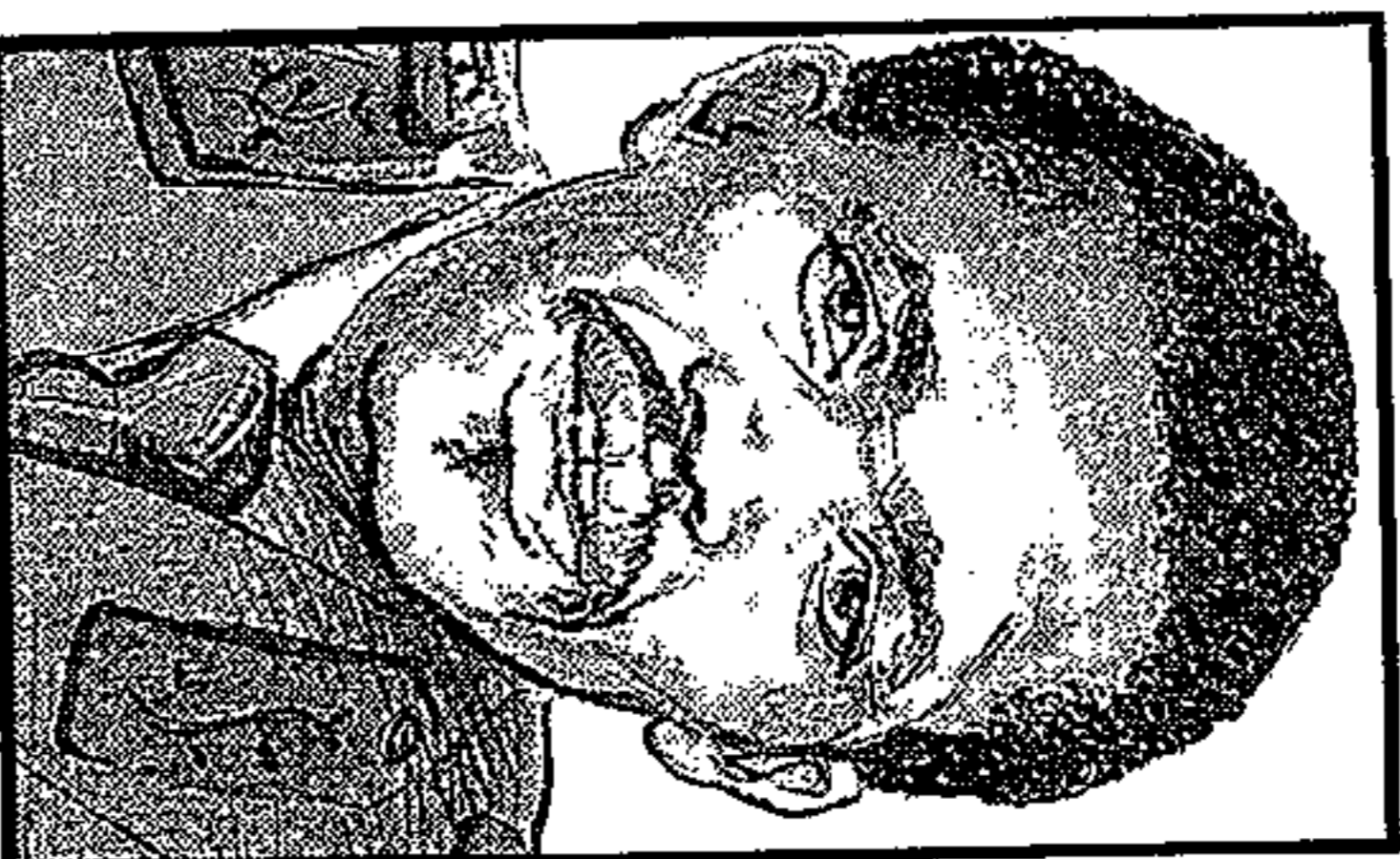
It was like walking through an endless hotel suite.

Ciskei back in South Africa

From VUYO BAVUMA

BISHO. — The new joint administrators of Ciskei have officially incorporated the homeland into South Africa after promulgating a special decree suspending the constitution of Oupa Gqozo's government.

The decree empowered the new rulers to implement the South African interim constitution of 1993.



Brigadier Gqozo

In the upstairs lounge where the brigadier had joked with me on Tuesday about retreating to his farm, the colour photographs of himself and his wife that stood on shelves and on a low table, had gone.

In the TV room, the videos I had seen stacked under the TV set: "Gqozo: Portrait of a Leader" and "Don't let the Sun go Down on Ciskei" had also been removed.

Beds were made, bedroom cupboards were empty.

In the kitchens, a few pumpkins, bags of gem squashes and a cabbage lay forlorn on a shelf. Near them were rows of salt and pepper shakers carrying the Ciskei crest.

A door led out to an enclosed courtyard, where the brigadier's official vehicle, a massive black Cadillac, stood

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The decree was announced at a press conference by joint administrators, the Rev Bongani Finca and former ambassador to Ciskei Piet Goosen.

Mr Finca, a community leader from Alice, said the decree had been drawn up by the management committee of the Transitional Executive Council and had received the blessing of President F W de

with two Presidential penants lying on the boot.

In the entrance hall I found the visitors' book. The last entry was dated March 23 — an EM Msutu, of Peddie.

On an earlier page, on January 19, Brigadier Gqozo had been visited by a certain K D Matanzima of Qamata. "Happy and impressive visit," the former Transkei head of state had scrawled in the "comments" column.

At that point there was a cautious "Hello" at the door, and two policemen — a sergeant and a captain — came in.

"We don't know when he left — we are just coming to see what is happening here," said Captain Ngapongo.

I took them on a guided tour of the ground floor. "We have never been here before," said the awed sergeant as he gazed into a massive banquetting hall.

We left the palace grounds together, but Captain Ngapongo stopped at a convoy of SADF Ratsels parked nearby to inform them that the complex was unguarded.

When I passed by half an hour later, a Ratel was stationed just inside the gate, and its crew looked every bit as businesslike as their Ciskei Defence Force predecessor.

Speaking at a Press conference in King William's Town on Thursday night, TEC task force member Zam Thus said Brigadier Gqozo had gone to "his farm".

"He is a free man," he added. "He can do whatever he likes to do." — Sapa.

Klerk hours before it was issued last night.

In terms of the eight-page decree, the administrators are given powers to re-establish and maintain good government in Ciskei including the restoration of social services and the maintenance of law, peace and order in the territory by any means they deem necessary.

(News by V Bavuma, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)



CAVALRY'S HERE: The SADF moves in to restore order at Mdantsane prison after prisoners rioted and several escaped.

Amazing scenes at prison riot

From VUYO BAVUMA, Political Staff

APR 25 1994

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BISHO. — Had the Mdantsane prison "dash for freedom" succeeded, budding filmmakers wouldn't have had to look any further for action-packed drama.

But the participants in yesterday's escape bid did not bargain for the ever-alert Internal Stability Unit (ISU) which ended their ambitions. It is believed fewer than five prisoners escaped.

In dramatic scenes more usually seen on the movies, scores of ISU members surrounded the prison which is on the outskirts of Mdantsane, one of the biggest black townships in the country.

Drama at the prison started after the prisoners realised only five warders were on duty because others had gone to Bisho 20km away.

Armed with home-made weapons including iron bars and pliers, the prisoners rioted, smashing windows, burning their blankets and taking hostage some 20 workers who were doing repairs in the prison cells.

Besides the obvious desire to escape the prisoners were under the impression that they would be released. Sources claimed the promise was made by a prison official

who wanted the inmates to have a taste of the new South Africa.

But when the manna from heaven did not fall the enraged prisoners decided to take it themselves.

However, a phone call by one of the five embattled prison warders, to what an ISU member called "channels of Pit Botha's office," attracted the attention of the South African Police.

At about 9.30am the ISU members moved into the prison and surprised the rebels. They also freed all the hostages unharmed, but in the

process a prisoner was shot in the leg.

At noon scores of Ciskei prison warders returned from Bisho to find the ISU running the show.

Some ISU members were casually chatting among themselves as the astonished tired-looking warders rushed into their office to find out what "the boers" were doing in their area.

Many were relieved that the visitors had merely come to maintain order.

At that stage the subdued prisoners had barricaded themselves into the cells.



Picture: The Associated Press

South African soldiers barge through the gates of the Ciskei Military Operations Centre in Bisho yesterday, breaching the building. The SADF has taken over security in Ciskei since Brigadier Oupa Gqozo quit two days ago.

Ciskei military, civil servants support new rulers

VUYO BAVUMA, Political Staff
BISHO. — A delegation of Ciskei soldiers has pledged loyalty to the territory's new administrators, scotching rumours that the Ciskei Defence Force planned to reinstate former homeland leader Oupa Gqozo. (105) ARG 25/3/94

In another "vote of confidence" in the new rulers, Ciskei's civil servants also promised to work for stability and to render services immediately.

These assurances were announced by the co-administrators, former ambassador to Ciskei Piet Goosen and The Reverend Bongani Finca after they met the representatives of Ciskei civil servants.

Yesterday Mr Goosen and Mr Finca officially started their joint administration two days after Brigadier Gqozo stepped down.

Mr Finca said the new administration met directors of the former Gqozo government to acquaint itself with its responsibilities and problems. He emphasised the need for an effective government.

The new rulers would try to solve all the problems in the territory — but some problems caused by years of gross mismanagement would have to be referred to the new South African government for attention.

Mr Finca said: "We call on all the civil servants to act immediately to restore stability in the administration."

"We must impress on all civil servants, members of the armed forces and all citizens that this is a crucial time in the history of our country on the path towards a democratic new South Africa."

Today the joint administrators are expected to address a delegation of the Ciskei and South African defence forces operating in the territory.

Addressing the future of Brigadier Gqozo, a member of the TEC's management committee Zam Titus said the former Ciskei leader was a "free man and can do whatever he likes".

● More reports, pictures, page 23.

ANARCHY IN TOWNELANDS

Sowetan

25/3

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

A MASS ESCAPE OF PRISONERS has added to the chaos in Ciskei. Three prisons — one a maximum security complex — became the centres of jailbreaks as prisoners dashed to freedom taking advantage of the spreading chaos.

Brigadier Chris de Beer of the SAP said about 200 inmates escaped from Mdantsane Central Prison. He said the prisoners "simply walked out".

Senior South African Defence Force officers said from Bisho yesterday that the Ciskei army was out of control and the SADF had secured key points in the territory, including military intelligence headquarters. The SADF was also trying to recover "hundreds" of weapons Ciskei soldiers had seized from Ciskei Defence Force armories.

Speaking outside military headquarters, SADF Colonel Johann Engelbrecht said a group of Ciskei soldiers had blockaded the entrance to the homeland's parliament and ministerial offices.

"They are out of control. Command in the CDF went for a total loop when they mutinied."

Protesting ambulance workers were also blocking the entrance with their vehicles.

In KwaZulu, about 1 000 civil servants supporting the administration burned the South African flag in Ulundi yesterday, vowing that if African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and the Government wanted bloodshed in the country, they would get it. This came as Public Enterprises Minister Mr Dawie de Villiers warned that the Inkatha Freedom Party was tending for trouble if it wanted to actively destabilise the April election. "It will be bad," he said. This came as a further 11 people died in

violence in Natal yesterday — bringing the total to 90 in the province in the past six days.

In Lebowa, the SADF took control of several key points in an attempt to foil the "revolt" by striking policemen in the homeland, officer commanding Far North Command Major-General Faan Grobbelaar said yesterday. He said the move followed reports that certain people were planning to damage key points. Sites being guarded included the Lebowa Police magazine to prevent the theft of arms and ammunition.

Government buildings and a petrol depot were also being guarded and units had been deployed at strategic places to ensure the maintenance of law and order, according to the SADF.

Civil services in the homeland came to a standstill yesterday. Hospitals shut down and discharged patients. Teachers also joined the 30 000 civil servants on strike.

IN CISKEI's presidential palace a framed colour photograph captures a proud and smiling Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his wife. It is a picture of the glory days, of an era cut short in hours.

On Tuesday night the Ciskei ruler threw in the towel as his police force rebelled and amid signs of a civil service uprising.

On a coffee table in the palace lies a book, *Understanding the Times* by David A Noebel. It does not appear to have been read recently, but by Tuesday night it was clear that Gqozo had grasped the nub of the times.

Rebellion

His resignation that night was precipitated by a day that was dramatic in isolation but quite ordinary by Ciskei standards. His standing down left a question: why now and why so suddenly?

Gqozo says he resigned because of the police rebellion and a riot by other civil servants that day.

But even the policemen at the Bisho police training college were disbelieving. SA ambassador Piet Goosen — now an interim administrator — brought the message to them.

"We don't believe it. Gqozo must come here himself and tell us," said one officer.

Manoeuvred

It is unclear why Gqozo decided so suddenly to stand down. Perhaps Tuesday's events were just the straw that broke his back.

In the past month, Gqozo has manoeuvred frantically to smother the fires of discontent.

First, soldiers at 1 Ciskei Battalion launched a mini-revolt demanding that their pensions be paid out. Gqozo quickly promised this would be done within two weeks.

Then civil servants, apparently sensing Gqozo's panic, struck, also demanding their pensions, and that Gqozo stand down. Again fast negotiations followed. They were

CISKEI's military leader went out as he came in — through the back door. But why now and why so suddenly?
ANDREW TRENCH reports.

promised that the TEC task force on the civil service would be approached to address their demands.

The crisis faded, but the pressure was building. In fact, on Tuesday night Gqozo seemed almost relieved by the burden that he had unshouldered.

"I have no regrets. This was going to happen next month. I was resigned to that fact. I am just doing it earlier," he said.

"I decided the best thing to do is to hand over the government now instead of next month when independence is revoked officially. By then there would be so much chaos that I decided to get the TEC to help share the responsibility of these issues."

He added: "I think I am relieved. I have taken a lot on my shoulders in the past four years. I would not like to see the whole place go up in smoke."

After all, it was clear from shortly after Gqozo had taken power on March 4 1990 that there was little doubt over how he would leave. It was just a question of when.

By yesterday he had left Bisho the way he came — in his words, "through the back door".

But he was almost forced to stay. The pressing concern in Ciskei now is where the loyalty of the Ciskei troops lies.

Earlier this week serious divisions emerged between the military and the

police. Soldiers said that if Gqozo left he could not pay out their pensions, but there was also a sense of loyalty.

Troops from 1 Ciskei Battalion placed a guard around Gqozo at the palace and refused to allow police to take him to address civil servants at the Independence Stadium.

"We do not want him to resign so we can get our money. We are here to protect him.

Delicate

"We do not want to see him get hurt," a worried soldier said.

By yesterday the soldiers had committed themselves to the change.

The delicate act of balancing the powers in Ciskei is now in the hands of interim administrators Goosen and the Rev Bongai Finca. It will be no easy task, but in Ciskei it never was — ask Gqozo. — Ecna



GQOZO: Tried to smother fires of discontent.

Weight off Oupa's

(105)
shoulders

Oupa sets sights on presidency

EAST LONDON. — Former Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has his sights on the presidency of the new South Africa, and is looking forward to the international recognition that this will finally bring him. (905)

He also believes that Mr Nelson Mandela's popularity would make him a good Minister of Foreign Affairs in the new government. CT 26/3/94

"I can easily be elected to be leader of

South Africa," he said yesterday.

"No one dares think it's a special position for De Klerk or Mandela. People are going to have a big surprise about this, I'm telling you. I don't underestimate myself to be pitted against them. What they can do, I can do."

Speaking at his rural home near King William's Town, Brig Gqozo, who tops the African Democratic Party's national and Eastern Cape provincial lists, said he believed he would be taken more seriously

as leader of a political party than he was as leader of a homeland.

"If I am elected all the countries of the world will have to recognise me," he said.

He expected large numbers of people would make their cross for the ADM "because they know what I stand for".

"They know I am a strong leader, that I don't buckle under pressure, and I have proved that I am firm, considerate, loving and understanding." — Sapa

Gqozo surprises them all



Argus 26/3/94

■ A week after the Bophuthatswana government bit the dust, Ciskei, another former member of the Freedom Alliance, was this week officially reincorporated into South Africa after its leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, handed over power voluntarily. **VUYO BAVUMA**, of the Weekend Argus Political Staff, visited Brigadier Gqozo at his house outside King Williams Town.

WHEN it comes to reading the writing on the wall, former Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who relinquished power this week, has no peers in South African politics.

The former military strongman of the homeland, known for his hardlined, dogmatic stance, surprised not only his jubilant opponents, but even his own cabinet ministers when he broke the fateful news in what was the last sitting of the Ciskei government last Tuesday.

The 42-year-old leader also struck dumb South Africa's normally chirpy foreign affairs minister Pik Botha when he told him of his dramatic decision to step down so that administrators could run the homeland.

Brigadier Gqozo's reasoning was that he wanted to prevent unnecessary violence, the destruction of the embattled homeland's properties and the loss of lives.

This concern was voiced in the light of the mushrooming protest of the public servants who wanted clarity on their pensions.

Brigadier Gqozo believed that by stepping down the country would be spared from destruction.

Late last year he displayed a similar attitude when he pulled his country out of the Freedom Alliance.

He opted for the Transitional Executive Council, though his hatred for the body was an open secret. And this week Brigadier Gqozo, who assumed power in Ciskei after overthrowing a despotic Chief Lennox Sebe four years ago, was bitterly disappointed that the Communist Party and the African National Council voices within the TEC did not accept his package in

Interviewed at his private residence — he vacated the state house last Wednesday — Brigadier Gqozo revealed a deep-seated hatred of the ANC, which he said wanted "to rule everything in the country from sports to culture."

He said the ANC was the root cause of his problems and that it had infiltrated his normally loyal civil service.

The first shots of this campaign were fired three weeks ago, when prison warders went on strike in Middledrift on the grounds that they were being ill-treated by their superior.

They also demanded an investigation into maladministration, financial mismanagement and nepotism.

In response, the Ciskei government established a commission of inquiry, comprising experienced prison warders and a retired judge, to look into the grievances.

"Part of the delegation of the prison warders told other officers that I had given them powers to fire white officials seconded by the South African government, and also to denote senior officers."

"The officers were really going overboard. They began raising fists, toy-toying and singing freedom songs. I then realised that their actions were motivated by political considerations."

Later, the Ciskei government applied for a court interdict to restrain the warders, and the protest ended.

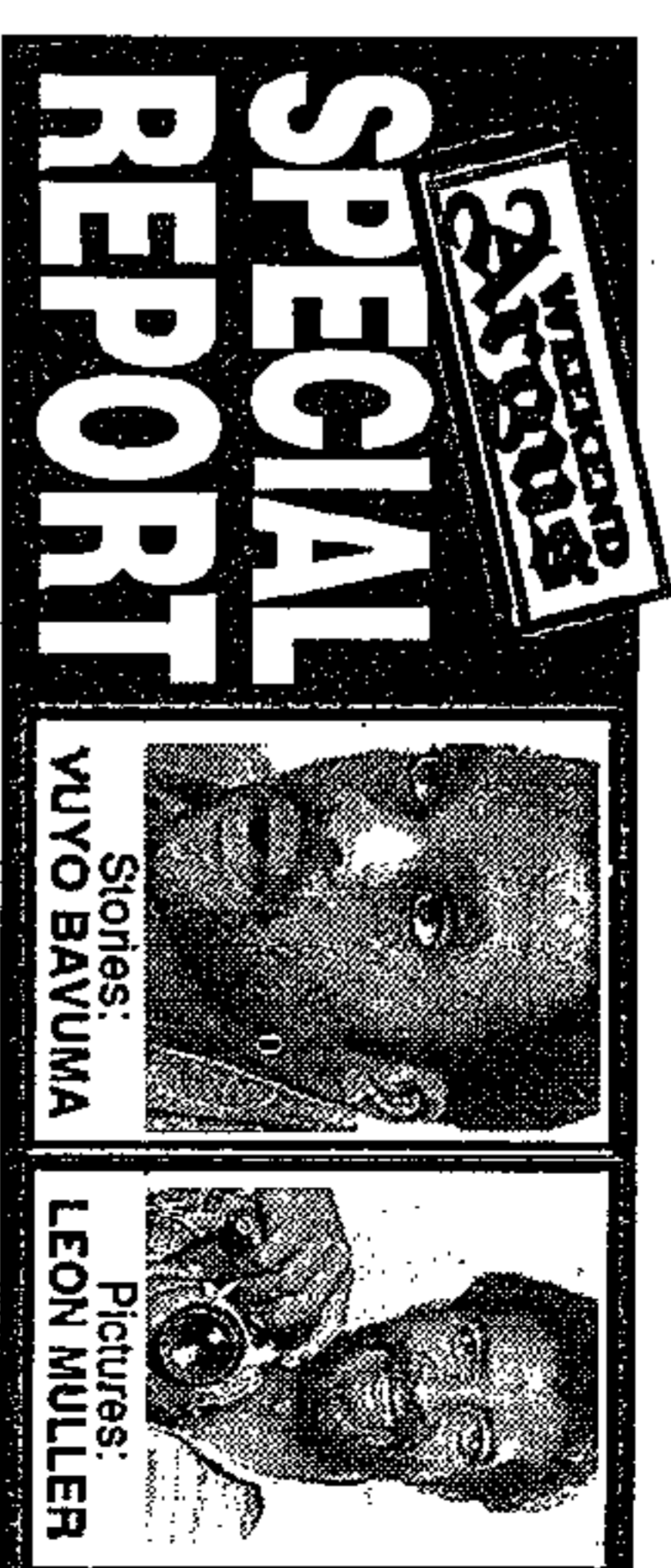
But this protest gave a leeway to other public civil servants. Most post office workers went on a "violent campaign". They blocked offices and intimidated workers.

To make matters worse, nurses at the Cecilia Makhiwane Hospital in East London joined the protest after a local ANC official told them that their pensions wouldn't be safe under the new government.

Brigadier Gqozo said this was "totally devoid of any truth" because the pension assets of all civil servants were in the safe hands of a private financial institution.

But, in spite of the assurances, the protest within the civil service spread like wildfire to include soldiers and policemen.

"Initially, the soldiers called me to complain about the defence minister, who they said was insensitive to their de-



"I solved that by taking over the defence ministry portfolio.

"And on the issue of pensions, I approached the South African government to release some funds to satisfy some of the civil servants.

"The South African government referred the matter to the TEC, which promptly rejected it.

"Gradually the soldiers and the policemen became more dissatisfied. They insisted that they wanted their money because they did not trust the new rulers.

"To worsen matters, even the civil servants who were dismissed three years ago wanted a share of the fund."

To the displeasure of the Ciskei government, the TEC legitimised the demands of the members of this sect by giving them hearings.

Brigadier Gqozo said Nehawu became the latest organisation to join in the destabilisation of Ciskei.

"The Nehawu members began questioning this and that about our hospital administrative procedures and political appointments."

"I don't know why because in any government you get political appointments, but all of this seemed to receive the backing of the TEC.

"We realised that we were being overwhelmed and overshadowed by the ANC and its cohorts."

Asked what he thought of the role of other political parties within the TEC, Brigadier Gqozo said: "The TEC is full of communists and ANC people who come from governments like those in the Transkei and Lebowa. Only the Democratic Party is neutral, but is so wishy-washy, you can never know where it stands."

Last Monday's events, according to Brigadier Gqozo, broke the camels back in Ciskei.

"At that stage, I was convinced that the stage was set for a showdown. It became clear that the issue of pensions and grievances was merely a smoke-screen. I was the target."

Brigadier Gqozo said the policemen wanted to be addressed by him, but he refused to because he did not want to be involved in a political circus.

"I told the ministers the situation was becoming bad and that there were 100,000



□ ON THE WAY OUT: Brigadier Cupa Gqozo and his sons Mandla, left, Phindile and Andile.

A quiet retreat for a rustic brigadier

■ Leaving the headaches of leadership behind, former Ciskei ruler Cupa Gqozo can't wait to get back to the quiet rural life, reports **VUYO BAVUMA** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

UPA Gqozo is itching for a return to civilian life and has resumed one of his favourite pastimes — farming.

Smiling and wearing an open-neck shirt, the slim-built former Ciskei leader appeared at ease as he spoke to the Weekend Argus team at his house yesterday.

It is quite a change of pace for a man who was a leader of millions of Ciskeians only three days ago.

Speaking about resuming farming, the proud owner of 150 cattle, 60 sheep and 70 goats said "time is going to be my enemy".

This was because he still wanted to resume politics through the African Democratic Movement.

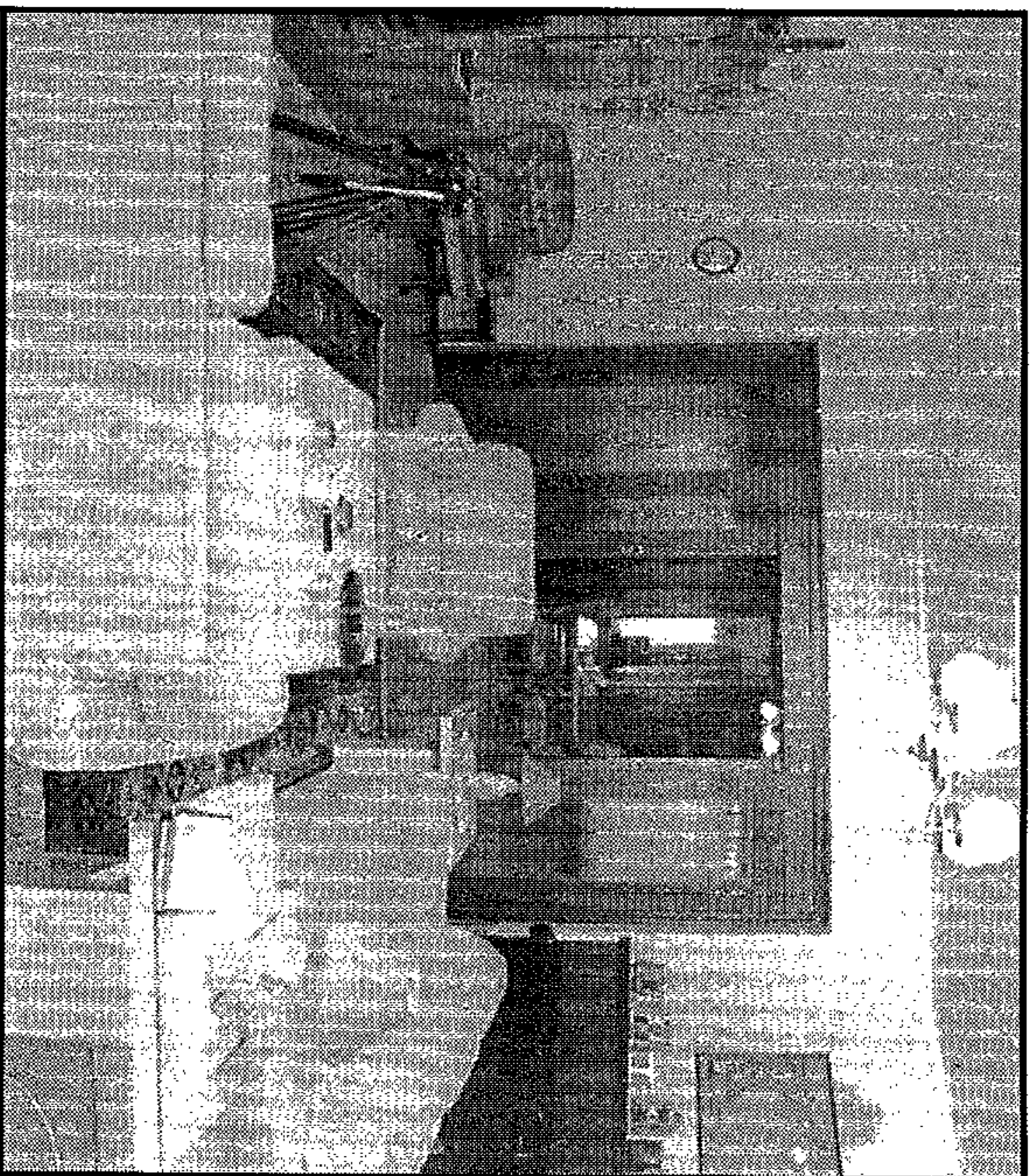
Earlier, before the interview, Brigadier Gqozo casually asked whether he was dressed all right for the occasion.

When told that it was up to him, a smiling Gqozo got up and disappeared "to put on something to look formal".

While he was away for 10 minutes, we looked around the dining room, which was furnished with a brown sofa and a matching wooden cabinet with television and books in rows.

There were several colourful pictures, including a young Gqozo and his three sons, on the walls. Near the glass sliding doors leading through the lounge, there was a neat black piano.

Surprisingly, Brigadier Gqozo did not object to requests to briefly look around the house, but asked me to bear with him because he had just moved in.



□ **INSIDE THE PALACE:** One of the rooms in the former Ciskei leader's residence.

His study room, with pictures on the wall and a poster saying "Give Peace A Chance", confirmed that the "Brig" as he is affectionately known, had just moved in. Several books were strewn on the floor.

On the lounge walls there was a series of pictures of a young Gqozo, while he worked in the Orange Free State in the Prison Department.

Plaques from the military attacks of South Africa showed the multi-pronged career he has had.

Behind his house — which is situated on a 400 hectare farm bought from the Department of Home Affairs for

R80 000 two years ago — there were four plain-clothed bodyguards and two dogs.

His other properties include a 160 hectare farm in Buffalo — where his father stays — and a 200 hectare farm at the coast, which he uses as a holiday home. Near the garage there were three private cars, including a Mercedes Benz.

The bodyguards, though armed with pistols, appeared to be relaxed.

The house, which is about 1 km off the main road, serves the perfect escape from the hurley-burley noise of township life.

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Heads roll in Ciskei shake-up

By Day 5/4/94

LLOYD COUTTS

FORMER Ciskei foreign minister and negotiator Mickey Webb has fallen victim to changes made by the homeland's new administrators, losing the chairmanship of three parastatal companies.

Joint administrators Bongani Finca and Pieter Goosen last week announced changes to the boards of the Ciskei People's Development Bank, the Ciskei Broadcasting Corporation, Contour, the Ciskei Agricultural Corporation and the Ciskei Small Business Development Corporation.

Webb lost the chairmanship of the development bank and the broadcasting and tourism corporations.

Kagiso Trust regional director Glen Thomas has replaced Webb at the bank, while advocate Deva Pillay has taken over the chairmanship of the broadcasting corporation.

Fort Hare University public relations official Nondumiso Gwayi has replaced former internal affairs minister R Ngcofe as deputy chairman of the broadcasting corporation.

Counsel for Ciskei's departments of justice, police and prisons WF Jurgens takes over as Contour chairman.

Other changes include the dismissal of CN Gqoza, wife of ousted military leader Brig Oupa Gqoza, from the board of the Ciskei Small Business Development Corporation. She has been replaced by Border Council of Churches development officer Xoliswa Tom.

Fort Hare agriculture professor Thoana Mzamane has been appointed chairman of the agricultural corporation.

The administrators also disbanded the Ciskei Economic Advisory Board established in 1990. All changes became effective on April 1.

Goosen said while Webb had not officially resigned from his position as foreign affairs minister, the entire council had tacitly resigned when Gqozo stepped down as head of state last month.

Webb could not be reached for comment yesterday.

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Ciskei hit squads probed

King William's Town — Ciskei's joint administrators have disbanded the homeland's Military Intelligence Unit and are investigating alleged hit squads.

And joint administrator, the Rev Bongani Finca, said yesterday the authorities would call on the Ciskei community for help in rooting out hit squad members thought to be living in villages.

"We have disbanded the Ciskei Military Intelligence and are aiming at uncovering any covert operations, and that includes the existence of an auxiliary force in Ciskei that is said to be trained to kill people," Finca told the Transkei's

Star 814194
General Bantu Holomisa and the Ciskei Council of State. Holomisa visited Ciskei yesterday.

Finca said hit squad members were said to be deployed in villages. "We will enlist the support of the community in order to arrest these trained people," he added.

Addressing the council, Holomisa praised the SADF for bringing stability to Ciskei, saying he hoped lines of communication between the SADF, Ciskei Defence Force and Transkei Defence Force would be opened to stabilise the whole eastern Cape.

Holomisa has also suggested the establishment of a security council in the region to decide on

the protection of voting stations. (105)

"Tell people of this area that it was important to get interim administrators and bring in the SADF to stabilise the area. Open the airwaves and let the people discuss issues that affect their lives," he said.

Holomisa warned Ciskei administrators that there would be pockets of resistance.

Welcoming Holomisa's delegation, Finca said the people of Ciskei were touched by the gesture of love and friendship shown by the Transkei administration, adding that the people of Transkei and Ciskei were one family. — Ecna

ive' land deals • KwaThema to discuss pupils

Ciskei probes hit squads

Sowetan 8/4/94

CISKEI'S RULING INTERIM COUNCIL is investigating claims that hit squads and heavily armed auxiliary forces are operating in the territory, joint administrator the Reverend Bongani Finca said yesterday.

Finca also said his administration had put on immediate hold all sales of State land in Ciskei and was investigating "massive" land deals of the past few months.

The investigation would not exclude land sold to former head of state Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

■ LAND DEALS

Inquiry into sales:

"There are strong allegations from our communities that a regiment of young men was taken from villages and given training for two weeks on how to shoot and kill and murder." — Sapa.

(Report by Ben MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament).

News in brief

Sammy Klaas funeral

WELL-KNOWN guitarist and one of Brenda Fassie's backing artists Sammy Klaas, who died last week, will be buried in Bekkersdal tomorrow.

The service will be held at the Bekkersdal Hall at 10am before the cortege proceeds to the local cemetery.

Klaas, a founder-member of the famous Big Dudes, had been ill for over a year.

"Sammy's death has



Mandela 'pardons' Sebe for mistakes

Biday 19/4/94

EAST LONDON — Former Ciskei head of state Lennox Sebe was on Monday "pardoned" for past mistakes by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Sebe sat on the VIP podium as Mandela addressed about 2 000 chiefs and commoners at the Rharhabe Great Place at Mngqesha.

Mandela turned to Sebe and urged him to stand up so he could be seen. He said Sebe was being pardoned for everything he had ever done.

"We are starting afresh to build the new Rharhabe nation," he said. "So it is important we unite, even with those people who were on the opposite side."

It was necessary to pardon the chiefs who had made mistakes, but the chiefs themselves would have to apologise to the people. Those who refused would have to "watch out".

All Ciskei civil servants sacked en masse by Brig Oupa Gqozo would be reinstated by a post-April 27 government, Mandela said. The issue of their pensions

would also be considered.

Several thousand workers were dismissed by the Gqozo government when they went on strike over pay parity with their SA counterparts. (105)

Recently, National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union-organised protests involving the dismissed workers played a role in unseating Gqozo.

Sebe led Ciskei to independence and was toppled from power by a 1990 military coup in which Gqozo was installed as head of state.

He is chief of the Amakambashe tribe, but academics have questioned the validity of his claim to the title.

After the meeting Sebe told reporters he did not intend re-entering politics.

Asked if he intended campaigning for the ANC, he said people would vote for the organisation anyway. "It doesn't need any campaigning."

He declined to say who he would vote for. — Sapa.

Report by B MacLennan, Sapa, Press Gallery, Parliament.



MICK WEBB ... track record

□ 'Not one brick was thrown or a person injured' Former minister tells of Ciskei's peaceful change

BISHO. — One Sunday morning attorney Mick Webb was sitting in his Bisho office in shorts and tacks, catching up on the week's work, when there was a knock on the door.

His unexpected visitors were four Ciskei army officers, one of them Oupa Gqozo. They told him they had just toppled President Lennox Sebe and wanted Mr Webb's help in setting up a new government.

Four years on, Mr Webb is again in his office but looks back with satisfaction on the foray into politics that saw him become Ciskei's Minister of Foreign Affairs and representative on the Transitional Executive Council.

"If people are judging me for being involved with Brigadier Gqozo and his cabinet, they must look at what was achieved in that time," he says.

Mr Webb was initially employed as legal adviser to the new government.

In October 1993 he accepted the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

He accepted the cabinet post because, after prayer, he had come to the conclusion that it was right to become involved "from inside". Mr Webb is a devout Christian.

"I also felt I could introduce an era of reconciliation and consultation," he says.

As adviser, Mr Webb was paid through his law firm, which received a retainer from the Ciskei government of R30 000 a month.

When he joined the cabinet the retainer ceased and he received a salary of about R16 000 a month "plus the odd allowance" — which, he says, did not leave him better off than when he was active as a senior partner in his law firm.

His last salary payment was made at the end of March after he and the rest of the cabinet were effectively sacked by the joint administrators.

He and his colleagues have made proposals to the administrators for a severance package including at least three months' salary in lieu of notice and repayment of provident fund contributions. There is no pension scheme for ministers, he says.

Mr Webb had a hand in drafting the post-coup constitution and bill of rights. It was also Mr Webb who, on March 22, penned a blueprint for the administrators' takeover.

The two-page document was drawn up in consultation with Brigadier

APR 20/4/94

Gqozo after health union protesters trashed government offices in Bisho and rebellious security forces refused to act against them.

Brigadier Gqozo, says Mr Webb, realised he no longer had a support base and decided to stand down.

Among the proposals were that the cabinet remain in office under the new administrators — and that it give its prior approval to the whole process.

Mr Webb says he hoped to negotiate in the full TEC on the proposals. Instead, the matter was dealt with at a TEC management committee meeting, from which he was excluded.

For all his dissatisfaction at the way the issue was handled by the TEC, he is gratified that the change was accomplished without violence.

"There was a transition without one brick being thrown or toppled, without one person being injured. Tell me that's not a bloody achievement."

Mr Webb says he does not belong to any political party, and has turned down requests from three parties to stand for them in the election.

But he would accept a nomination for the senate to work for the interests of the greater Eastern Cape region. — Sapa.

Ciskei flag lowered

BISHO. — The white and blue flag of independent Ciskei was officially lowered yesterday as co-administrator the Rev Bongani Finca asked forgiveness for the "horrendous acts of terror" that had been carried out in its name.

"We stand here today under the banner of this flag to confess with shame that horrendous atrocities have been committed ... to defend a lie that this part of our land is not part of our land."

He was speaking at a military parade attended by several hundred dignitaries at the Ciskei National Assembly Building. — Sapa

105 23/4/94

Probe into huge sales of state-owned land

S Times 10/4/94

By ANDREW TRENCH

PLANS to sell off vast tracts of state-owned land before the election have been exposed in Transkei and Ciskei.

Ciskei officials announced this week that they would be investigating "massive sales" of state-owned land in the last few months of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's rule.

Earlier, the Border Rural Committee claimed the Transkei Government planned to sell off 100 000 hectares of state-owned farm land to "wealthy and powerful" individuals.

The organisation has appealed to the TEC to block the sale of the land — which it argues should be retained for redistribution under a future government's land policy.

Ciskei's new Councillor for Justice and former homeland Attorney-General, Mr Willem Jurgens, said there should be clarity on the investigation within the next few days.

"We have barely started, but I do know we are going somewhere," he said.

Ciskei's interim administrators have already placed a moratorium on the further sale of state land.

The Border Rural Committee, which exposed plans to sell off land in Transkei, said it did not have information on the Ciskei deals.

However, interim administrator Reverend Bongani Finca confirmed that the purchases of farms by Brigadier Gqozo will be included in the probe for "irregularities".

Brigadier Gqozo is known to own two farms in Ciskei — New Bradford at Wesley on the Peddie coast and the other, Blacklands, near King William's Town.

Last year Brigadier Gqozo appointed an executive committee to investigate

the sale of state land because of worries "about the way senior officials were abusing their positions to buy up land ... (for) weekend braai places".

The Border Rural Committee said "powerful and wealthy individuals are hurriedly trying to transfer various state resources, including land, into their own hands before the April elections and a new government is in place".

But the committee's protest to the TEC over the proposed land sale appears to have put the deal on ice.

Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said he would abide by the TEC's decision and that no sales have yet occurred.

The committee said two of the farms were registered in the names of former Transkei rulers George and Kaizer Matanzima (103) (105)

The disputed farms have been leased to people in Transkei, allegedly to other members of the Matanzima clan and former Transkei cabinet ministers who are now attempting to buy the land.

The 6 500-member Transkei Consolidated Farmers' Union is in favour of sales to proficient black farmers.

"The farmers feel this land should be sold. You cannot improve something that does not belong to you," says TCFU general secretary Gilbert Nomlala.

"Our view is that the farms should be leased back to the farmers for five years. If they are successful, the farms should be sold to them. If they fail, they should be chucked out.

"We do not want farms to be given as gifts — they should be bought," he said, stressing the sales should go ahead before the elections and the inauguration of a new government indisposed to selling the land.

Ciskei MI chief 'helped oust Gqozo'

A former CCB man is heading for a top position in South Africa's intelligence services, report **Chandre Gould** and **Louise Flanagan**

FORMER Ciskei Military Intelligence chief and ex-Civil Co-operation Bureau member Colonel Hendrik Christoffel "Chris" Nel, tipped for a key position in the new intelligence services, claims he worked for South Africa while he was in Ciskei and even helped topple Ciskei's military ruler.

Nel, who is known to have worked for the South African Defence Force's clandestine Directorate of Covert Collection, has now admitted he reported directly to then-chief of Military Intelligence (MI) General Joffiel van der Westhuizen while he worked in Ciskei. Nel was Ciskei's representative on the Transitional Executive Council's sub-committee on defence, is still involved in top-level discussions around the new National Defence Force, and is confident of a key position in it.

Nel has an interesting background. He was an intelligence officer with SADF Special Forces in Namibia, where he interrogated captured Swapo guerrillas while using the pseudonym "Charlie November".

He later joined the military's now disbanded CCB as an intelligence officer, ran a picture-framing business on the Reef as a front and operated in

some of the frontline states.

Nel used the pseudonym "Derrick Louw" during his CCB days and gave evidence at the inquest into David Webster's 1989 murder under this name. "Louw" was never identified.

Webster inquest judge Justice Michael Stegman described "Louw", CCB boss Joe Verster and regional co-ordinator Lafras Luthing as the CCB's "inner circle". Judge Stegman said the three were skilled not only in lying but also in the corroboration of their falsehoods. Judge Stegman found there was evidence pointing to conspiracy to commit murder by the three.

Nel moved to Ciskei in 1991 and took over as chief of Ciskei's MI.

"When I came to Ciskei I had been fired (from the CCB). I saw that International Researchers/Ciskei Intelligence Service (IR-CIS), a Military Intelligence front, was also involved in shift," he told the M&G.

According to Nel, the former head of IR-CIS Jan Anton Nieuwoudt, who recruited him to Ciskei, "wanted a CCB". Nel says he approached Pretoria with his concerns about this.

He alleged he was "given the green light by Pretoria to secretly undermine Gqozo's activities". "The idea was to play cat and mouse with (former ruler Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo."

Meanwhile his new employer Gqozo gave him a brief to do his "dirty work" but he claims to have ensured that Gqozo did not step out of line.

"In the past I had to leak some of his (Gqozo's) dirty work out to prevent him from continuing with it," he said.

■ TO PAGE 4

MI man 'helped oust Gqozo'

From PAGE 3

Nel said that at a meeting of the Freedom Front in Umtata in November 1993, he prepared a document "spelling out the dangers of staying out of the Transitional Executive Council" and told Gqozo he could not rely on his defence force if he remained on the outside.

Nel also said he spoke to the FR's General Constand Viljoen about Gqozo's plan for war and asked Viljoen to convince Gqozo at a meeting in Umtata not to resort to such measures.

"On the way back from Umtata Gqozo told me that he wanted to resign because his hopes for war were dashed," said Nel.

"At that point I wanted to give him more bad news to keep him low. I reminded him of the civil servants' strikes."

Gqozo's resignation in March this year was precipitated by an uprising by soldiers which Nel said he had helped engineer.

Nel also attempted to prevent Gqozo working with people who would not be fulfilling Pretoria's agenda, such as Patrick Hlongwe.

Wanted, leader of the Returned Exiles Co-ordinating Committee, "who met Gqozo in secret and offered MK members to do Gqozo's dirty work".

Nel convinced Gqozo that Hlongwe was a plant.

"The way I could convince Gqozo not to work with certain people was to tell him that these people were working for the National Intelligence Service or the ANC and Gqozo would immediately get rid of them," he said.

Nel also claimed to have prevented Gqozo from deploying a gang of drunken Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members who arrived in Ciskei, heavily armed, the night before the Bisho massacre to offer assistance.

"Gqozo then accused us of being (then president FW) De Klerk's lackeys," said Nel.

Nel's truck almost ran out after Gqozo left when the interim administrators threatened to close down the Ciskei MI outfit.

However, a well-connected friend helped him manoeuvre back into place.



Firemen this week fight the scaring
PHOTOGRAPH: GUY ADAMS