HOMELANDS — CISKEI

1991

JANUARY — AUGUST.
Radio Ciskei man fired

The acting managing director of Radio Ciskei, Mhlei Mhintla, has been dismissed under mysterious circumstances. His dismissal a week before Christmas is the latest in a long line of officials fired without explanation by the military government since it took power in a coup last year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sapa
Ciskei pension payout failures are denied

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

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

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

Pensions inspectors had discovered more than 3 000 instances in which the recipients of pensions had not been entitled to them. (Page 6/11)

Dr Kayser said investigations were continuing.

Sapa
Give us a home, they say

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

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

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

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

The 13,000 strong Thornhill community moved from the Herschel and Glen Grey districts in 1976 to escape homeland-style independence in Transkei.

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

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

In July last year hundreds of men, women and children left the Thornhill dustbowl and crossed Ciskei’s border into South Africa where they occupied domestic quarters on a farm called Merino Walk, which is owned by the South African Development Trust.

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

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

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

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

SEPTEMBER DATE

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

It had also been decided that residents would not be forcibly removed from the farm, and that a meeting to finalise the handover of land would be held on September 3 last year.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CP Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ngwenu was unable to provide information on how much owners had been fined.

"People are generally very poor in these areas. They will have to give notice because of the severity of the penalties," said Ntsikilelo Satani, an organiser of Lawyers for Human Rights in the region.

"The people have been warned. I have made a number of announcements on the radio to counter-act the situation. In agriculture to date, there have been meetings with various residents and associations," said Gqozo.

However, officials from the Malatise Residents' Association, UDF, ANC, KwaZulu-Natal Ciskei Civics Congress and Contralesa were unaware of the decree.

"When you talk about live stock, you talk about rural areas and the Chiefs are involved. The traditional leaders should have been consulted before the decree was issued," a Contralesa official said.
Ciskeians told to return home

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Chris Mabuya and Beverley Garson

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

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

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

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

He said the government should realise it had to "address past wrongs".

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

Resolved

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

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

Shortly after the Thornhill community left Ciskei, about 300 Sada residents were turned back by the South African police when they tried to leave the homeland. However, by the end of last weekend, more than 700 had already moved onto two Trust farms, Deeside and Canoona.

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

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

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

Black Trekkers Claim

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DESERTED...
Villagers may be paid out

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

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

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

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

The topping of Sebe in a coup last March enabled them to return home three months later.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"This is presently being considered by the South African government at the highest level and the residents expect a decision to be communicated to them in the near future," the statement said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The two were wearing bullet proof vests and had an Uzzi sub-machinegun and two Beretta 9mm pistols with spare ammunition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Reward of R5 000 offered**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A former member of the Cis-
kei Military Council, Colonel
Mangwane Guzana, was shot
dead during the earlier encoun-
ter with Ciskei troops.

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

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

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

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

Colonel Guzana was the ap-
parent leader of the plot.

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

Colonel Guzana helped the
brigader overthrow the govern-
ment of General Sebe's brother,
Lennox Sebe, on March 4 last
year.

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

Ciskei government media
spokesman Ian Dixon told The
Star: "There has been an at-
tempted coup. The bid was frus-
trated."

Brigadier Gqozaza said that
only two people had been in-
volved in the coup attempt.

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

Sapa and Pretoria Bureau.
Ciskei ‘coup attempt’ foiled

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

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

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

The car in which the two men were travelling was intercepted at a road-block about 3km outside King William’s Town on the Stiltebron road. An Uzi machine gun and two 9mm pistols were recovered, Gqozo said.

A large number of documents were recovered and these were being examined by Ciskei authorities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Military Council chairman Brig Gen Sebe was wounded on Sunday morning in a gunfight with Ciskei security forces at a roadblock near the capital Bulho following the failed coup attempt.

His companion, Col Mangwane Gxaza, was killed but Sebe escaped with a Rs 900 price on his head. [He was later killed in an ambush.]

Gqozo said last night he had instructed security forces to “seek and destroy” Sebe.

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

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

After the old man had emerged, Sebe was warned that if he did not come out, the hut would be blown up. “When he appeared in the doorway, they blew him,” Gqozo said.

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

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

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

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

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

However, he said if Transkei had been involved in the coup attempt, it would have been better executed.
Rebel Sebe
‘shot dead in cold blood’

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

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

Brigadier Gqozo said Mr Sebe had sought refuge at the hut in Gubevu in the early hours of yesterday morning.

Mr Sebe had asked the owner of the hut, an old man, for money for a train fare back to the Transkei, Brigadier Gqozo said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The whereabouts of Mrs Nomafani-kathi Sebe, Mr Charles Sebe’s wife, remains a mystery. A spokesman for the Transkei government said they did not know where Mrs Sebe was.
Sebe was 'shot while unarmed'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lieutenant-General Sebe’s life ran the gamut, from high drama to tragic parody.

In many ways he epitomized the greed, corruption and intertwining of power that seemed to have become endemic in the independent homelands over the past decade.

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

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

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

In 1972 he was drafted by the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), and given intelligence training before which he had been allowed to keep tabs on Steve Biko and the increasingly influential Black Consciousness Movement.

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

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

At the same time (as expected) he gave him a deep abiding antipathy to communism which, he repeatedly vowed, would not end and destroy him.

“I know the communists are after my blood, but I cannot be killed by beating them,” he once said.

However, it was not until his eldest brother, Lennox, became Chief Minister of the Ciskei in the late 1970s that Charles Sebe was able to put his political and military experience to good effect, quickly putting together a secret service that became involved in thwarting all “subversive” groups deemed hostile to the Sebe’s plans.

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

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

This was the pinnacle of Charles Sebe’s career and he applied himself vigorously to his new tasks.

Brimming with confidence and energy, he went to regular interviews with stories of his physical prowess, describing how he once leapt from a speeding car to shoot down two ANC commandos.

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

He was so keen to prevent any dissemination of subversive ideas that any poetry or drama published in the Ciskei had to be read and cleared by him first to ensure that no hidden messages made their way to the general populace.

“We can’t let them brainwash our people. If you don’t monitor them, you find them contaminating,” he used to assert.

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

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

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

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

Charles Sebe was convicted of terrorism and sentenced to 12 years’ jail.

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

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

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

Once safely ensconced in the Transkei, the authoritarian former general underwent a miraculous conversion to democratic values and began to speak out about his deep reservations at “the brutality, dictatorship and corruption” of his brother’s rule.

However, Charles Sebe’s immediate plans were foiled. In the midst of his planning with Transkei government for Lennox’s overthrow and the creation of a united “kwaKhotso” homeland, Major-General Rastu Holomisa and 16 others were gunned down in a coup in January 1986.

Faced by this unexpected occurrence, Charles Sebe moved to Durban and tried to set up another coup attempt on his own in 1989, which was apparently called off because he was unsure of army loyalty.

However, he was put under house arrest, and when Lennox Sebe was finally ousted by Brigadier Gqozo in March last year, he was widely rumoured that Charles Sebe had a hand in his brother’s fall from power.

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

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

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

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

It seems, however, that God saw fit to end Charles Sebe’s life with his great task unfinished.
Sebe shot in cold blood

— witnesses

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It is not known whether he was shot on the premises or was taken outside by the soldiers.

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

Confirmation of Sebe's death came from Brigadier Oupa Gqozo; leader of the Ciskei's ruling Council of State, who said he had heard about the shooting at 6.30am yesterday.

Overthrow

Guzana had helped Gqozo overthrow the government of Sebe's brother, Lemnox Sebe on March 4 last year.

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

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

Gqozo said in Bisho on Sunday that Guzana and Sebe were in a car

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Sun sets for Charles Sebe

IN the end Charles Sebe's gold idol fell. The body of the man who was once the most powerful political prisoner in Southern Africa was found last night in a car abandoned yesterday after he had been shot and wounded at a roadblock in Ciskei, where apparently leading a two-man escape attempt. The body was found near a check-point by a Ciskeian, and it is thought Sebe had been trying to reach the African treatment. Details of his death and the escape attempt by yesterday's dawn.

The former second-in-command of the Transvaal national council, Colonel Howard Mbaye, was gunned down at the roadblock.

Power

Charles Sebe was a man of many things, and he was sometimes wrong about God. In the bloody days when he was in charge of police in Ciskei, controlled by the powerful power group under the National Security Act, the Transvaalwere said to be kept in the fight against communism.

"I know the communists are after my blood," he boasted. "But I have faith in the power of God and the blood of South Africa," he said.

His faith in power was not enough, even as his fall.

He joined the South African Police in 1957. He had served in both the police and security forces. He was transferred to the Eastern Cape CID to the Bureau for State Security, where his priority function was to watch and report on the activities of Steven Biko, the Black Consciousness leader who was arrested in December 1972.

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

He and his older brother, Lieutenant Colonel Koko Sebe, were extremely close, and the two men had a regular evening telephone calls to discuss affairs of state.

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

Despite his widespread influence, Charles and his brother always felt isolated, and they were often accused of using their power for the benefit of those they knew best. The two men were said to have a close relationship, and they often discussed affairs of state.

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Sebe shot in cold blood – witnesses

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

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

Intercepted

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr Sebe’s family hoped to bury him in Transkei, rather than Ciskei as “we don’t want to give Brigadier Gqozo the satisfaction of harassment and helicopters flying overhead (at the burial)”. The family hoped to exhume the body at a later stage and have it reburied with their forefathers in Thatsazhi, near Zwezitha. — Sapa.

Piet ‘Skiet’ to be tried

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

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

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

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

Scrub was stripped naked before hoops.
SHe was Poison. We blew him.
Are they proud of this brutality?

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

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

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

Stripped naked

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

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

Of course, no one has much sympathy for people who attempt to overthrow governments by staging coups and thereby making a mockery of democracy. Nevertheless, the rulers of Transkei and Ciskei, who themselves grabbed power by staging coups, could do better than take the law into their own hands in such circumstances.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sebe's relentless pursuit for power came to an abrupt end when he was killed in cold blood by soldiers on Monday outside a store in Ciskei after he and co-plotters Coll Musawane and Guszana were intercepted at a roadblock on Sunday morning.

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

Sebe served in the SAP and was one of the highest-ranking black officers. He was also an agent for South Africa's Bureau of State Security in King William's Town and was known in Black Consciousness circles for harassing activists, especially during the time of Steve Biko.

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

In 1983, President Lennox Sebe appointed Charles commander-in-chief of the armed forces, where he had risen in rank at least once every six months.

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

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

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

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

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

While Charles was in power, hundreds of Mdantsane commuters died at the hands of Ciskei soldiers and police during the peak of the Mdantsane bus boycott.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The topping of the Lennox Sebe empire by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo did not deter Charles from planning to take control of the homeland. He continued mobilising until he was brutally killed this week at the hands of Gqozo's soldiers.
The workers are planning on striking on Monday and Tuesday over the closing of the Mayland Metals plant. The plant, which makes metal parts for the automotive industry, has been in operation for over 50 years. The workers say they were given only a few days notice before the plant was closed, and they are now seeking compensation for their lost wages and benefits. The company claims that it is closing the plant due to economic difficulties, but the workers believe that the real reason is the company's desire to move production to a lower-cost location. The union has filed a complaint with the National Labor Relations Board, and a hearing is scheduled for next month. In the meantime, the workers are planning a series of demonstrations and vigils to draw attention to their cause. They are also seeking support from other unions and community groups. The workers say they are determined to fight for their rights and are not afraid of retaliation from the company.
Oupa tells Hani: 'You'll be shot'

Johannesburg — Relations between the Ciskei government and the ANC have hit rock bottom, with the homeland's military supremo, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, accusing the organisation of complicity in last weekend's abortive coup attempt.

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

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

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

Sapa
Gqozo alleges Hani subversion

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brigadier Gqozo dismissed the suggestion that a confrontation was looming between his government and the ANC, despite the fact that the movement had "terribly misused" his hospitality.
ANC deputy president, Mr. Nelson Mandela has become involved in a war of words with Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Quinta Gqozo.

The homeland initially elected to roll back Ciskei military leader, Mr. Charles Sisulu, when he announced he would call the regional ANC leaders and their staff, Mr. Chris Hani, asking him to quit this week. In an interview on Radio Ciskei, Mandela confirmed him.

Gqozo appeared to be healthy, adding, "He is still alive and kicking, but he is not yet a conservative." However, Gqozo continued to make it clear that if Hani is president he is responsible for the state's failure to deal with him.

Defiantly, Hani called Gqozo’s choice to oppose him. "We are not going to keep away from the government," Hani said. "I have to go on with the work of the ANC, and if he wants to go to the government, he can do so."
JOHANNESBURG.—Three senior Ciskei military officers were said to be behind today’s coup attempt in the homeland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Group 8 has yet to comment on the report.

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

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

The information is on 7th September 1961.

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs,

The Prime Minister's Office,

The Ministry of Defence,

The Ministry of Education and

The Ministry of Agriculture and

TUESDAY 19 FEBRUARY 1961

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Ciskei leader survives 2nd coup attempt

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He warned that stringent military action would be taken against intimidators. — Sapa.
PRETORIA. — The South African Government is going to help restructure the Ciskei government to increase civilian participation, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night.

Ciskei soldiers foiled a second coup attempt at the weekend and captured the chief plotter Brigadier Andrew Jamangile along with 32 of his followers — wounding at least three of them.

Brigadier Jamangile was the chief of the Ciskei Defence Force.

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

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

He also said that his government supported constitutional order in Ciskei and, at the request of Brigadier Gqozo, urgent attention was being given to assisting him in the restructuring of the Ciskei government in such a way that there will be greater civilian participation.

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

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

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

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

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

By Helen Grange

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

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

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

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

However, he said that the dissident soldiers arrested, including the head of the Ciskei Defence Force, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile, would not be spared the “serious charges of treason” against them.

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

The coup attempt, on Saturday afternoon, was foiled when top military leaders failed to get the Ciskeian soldiers on their side. A shootout followed and a number of officers escaped.

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

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

In a statement to Sapa yesterday, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said the Ciskei Defence Force had managed to bring the situation under control without the participation of the 80 SA Defence Force personnel deployed to meet the Ciskei’s call for assistance.

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

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

17 m held for influx control

Crime Staff

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

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

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

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

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

US televangelists are heretics, claims WCC

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

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

“I do not agree with it. I think it is heretical.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Piet ‘Skiet’ on hunger strike

Staff Reporter

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

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

“He is not allowed physical contact with them.”

Mr Rudolph was also protesting against “the Government’s refusal to discuss his position”. Mr Vermaak said.

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

Mr Rudolph faces ten charges of terrorism, including an attack on the British Embassy in Pretoria last year.
One killed in Grout's fighting in Bekkersdal

VERA VON LIESERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Audit details massive misuse of state funds

CAPE TOWN -- The Auditor-General's report for the 1989-90 financial year tells taxpayers a fascinating tale of corruption in government departments: bungled attempts at graft and chaotic financial  
management.

According to the report tabled in Parliament on Friday, investigations by Auditor-General Peter Wronley's office and police uncovered multimillion-rand frauds and irregularities in the mining industry, the SA Defence Force and the Department of Education and Training during the period under review.

Substantial losses relating to theft, administrative errors and unauthorised expenditure were reported in various other government departments.

Police investigations into multimillion-rand irregularities in the payment of subsidies to the film industry exposed material deficiencies in a contract between the SAPF and a film company, Wronley reported.

Financial losses written off during the 1989-90 financial year included an amount of R57 865 stolen by a former official of the Department of National Education who

Audit details massive misuse of state funds

LESLIE LAMBERT

had since been sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

The Department of Foreign Affairs wrote off R25 838 - R1 776 of which was attributed to overpayment of a former official's housing subsidy. The amount was not recoverable.

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

Salaries

An SAPF official incurred unauthorised expenses of R52m on fictitious quotations and orders placed against fictitious tenders. Of this amount, the official assigned payments of R13,3m to himself. He was suspended and the R13,3m was recovered.

The Previous Department spent an unauthorised amount of R1,4m, part of which was attributed to the adjustment of salaries of non-whites arising from an incorrect interpretation of the measures for the elimination of salary disparities. The adjustment had not been budgeted for.

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

Possible cases of bribery and corruption by officials in the Department of National Health and Population Development were under investigation, as were alleged irregularities in the SA Development Trust.

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

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

Ciskei leader thanks SA for 'prompt help'

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

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

"Three of the dissidents were seriously wounded and are presently under guard in hospital," he said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The roads past Parliament, the presidential palace and Radio Ciskei were blocked off, and armed soldiers were guarding the buildings. -- Sapa.
Ciskei leader thanks SA for 'prompt help'  

UMTATA — Ciskei military ruler Brig Onpa Gqozo, who survived a second coup attempt on Saturday, said junior and non-commissioned army officers suppressed the bid. He thanked SA for prompt support. Rebel soldiers led by Col Andrew Jamangile launched their attempt at 7am, trying to enlist the support of soldiers at an army base, he said, in a statement. "In the ensuing shooting, three of the dissidents were seriously wounded and are presently under guard (in) hospital," he said.

"The ringleader, Col A M Jamangile, tried to escape, but as a result of a follow-up operation by the security forces (he) was arrested at a house in the Tyutyu village near Bisho." From Johannesburg it is reported that military authorities confirmed the SA Defence Force had offered "limited" assistance in stabilising the situation in Bisho shortly after the incident.

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Oupa Gqozo’s hold on Ciskei looks increasingly tenuous

From FRANZ KRUGER in Grahamstown

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

In recent weeks, he has become increasingly isolated, alienating several important constituencies in the Ciskei. He has clashed with the African National Congress and have shown signs of a coup attempt, and with his own civil servants who launched a protest strike last week.

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

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

Duplicated

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

Despite claims that the men were carrying documents proving that they were attempting a coup, Gqozo has not produced any of the evidence.

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

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

Rift

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

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

Brigadier Gqozo’s increasingly imperialistic style has come under fire. He is not receptive to criticism; he issued an order threatening stiff jail sentences to anybody showing him disrespect. The order was later withdrawn, after an outcry.

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

Reshuffle

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

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

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

Although he was careful not to mention any organisation by name, his comments were clearly aimed at the ANC and his reference to individual “rascals” seemed aimed at Han.

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

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

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

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

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

Early this week, however, his hold on power was looking increasingly tenuous. While it is unlikely that the ANC itself is behind the latest events, his increased isolation may have encouraged some group in the military or elsewhere to seize the opportunity to unseat him.
The amount of R79,950 million was spent country-wide

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of classrooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Fields</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highveld</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesberg</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

### School Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School</th>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Project</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zingta Primary</td>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thlabane Secondary</td>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshureleco Secondary</td>
<td>Kimberley</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valspan Primary</td>
<td>Jan Kempdorp</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijatelo Primary</td>
<td>Orkney</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tshubule Secondary</td>
<td>Sannesongef</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umso Secondary</td>
<td>Colesberg</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highveld Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langass Primary</td>
<td>Germiston</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashishing Secondary</td>
<td>Lydenburg</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireling Primary</td>
<td>Witbank</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phumzamele Primary</td>
<td>Kempton Park</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mphakalane Primary</td>
<td>Alberton</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonela Primary</td>
<td>Heidelberg</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakgalang Primary</td>
<td>Nigel</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johannesberg Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ithuto Primary</td>
<td>Alexandra</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thaba Jabula Secondary</td>
<td>Kappruit</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phahame Primary</td>
<td>Jamestown</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indwe Secondary</td>
<td>Mossel Bay</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omsha Welanga Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal Region</td>
<td>Macler</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A J Mwalese Secondary</td>
<td>Durban</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Transvaal Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhlabasowa Primary</td>
<td>Carletonville</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makunguza Secondary</td>
<td>Naboospruit</td>
<td>New school</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tswang Secondary</td>
<td>Carletonville</td>
<td>New school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phateng Secondary</td>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaumぺndu Secondary</td>
<td>Pretoria</td>
<td>Extension</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some parts are underlined for emphasis. The text discusses the amount of money spent on education and the number of classrooms to be built in various regions.

### SAP: new guidelines

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

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

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

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and (b)

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

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

In respect of police presence and action at protest marches and other mass actions, the following guidelines apply:

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

(1) Whether he received any information on an unannounced coup attempt in Ciskei prior to 27 January 1991, if so, (a) on what day and (b) at what time, (c) from what source and (d) what steps did he take as a result.
(2) whether he communicated with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo regarding this information, if so what the response was? B52E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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

(2) No.

Crude oil: landed cost

19 Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises about the landing cost of crude oil in South Africa (a) during 1991, and (b) in 1990. The Minister replied that those figures were not available. B53E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES.

(1) What average pump price for 93-octane petrol is estimated will be applied when the average price of light crude oil available to South Africa is (a) 20 and (b) 25 United States dollars per barrel? B54E

The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC ENTERPRISES.

(1) (a) and (b). Fuel prices in the RSA are based on the weighted average of the international market prices of refined products of four refineries with export capacities of which three are in Singapore and one in Bahrain. In addition to crude oil prices, international demand and supply considerations in respect of refined products also play a role in the determination of the level of the prices of these international prices. Pump prices in South Africa are therefore not only determined by crude oil prices and especially not only by the type of crude oil. After a price adjustment has been made on the landed cost of refined products, it is possible to calculate a defined average price for crude oil on which, however, should only be regarded as a guide-line price. Presently, crude oil prices are being influenced much more than refined product prices by other factors.

(2) Fuel prices were reduced on 21 December 1990 and currently there is no change in the price structure that justifies further adjustments.

INTERPELLATION

The singer is translated. The sign † used subsequently in the same interpelation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs

Schools: status quo model

Mr A GERBER to ask the Minister of Education and Culture whether arrangements have been made by his Department to ensure that, at schools where a vote is taken on a choice between education models, parents can make a clear choice in favour of the status quo model? B55E

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

*An HON MEMBER: Misled by the CP

*The ACTING SPEAKER Order!

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

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

The school committee at their recent meeting felt that of the three models available please note, I am emphasising “of the three models available” —

model B should be the one to be seriously considered.

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

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

have already applied to admit pupils of colour.

In reaction to an interjection he admitted that he preferred the open State school model.
ANC, Cosatu want Gqozo’s resignation

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

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

Pik knew of Ciskei coup

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

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

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

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

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

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

Outlining what it called its manifesto, it said it was committed to the maintenance of law and order, the protection of all law-abiding citizens and to its responsibility for the protection of human rights including freedom of expression.
Ciskei to have more civilians in govt — Pik

Own Correspondent

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

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

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

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

In the centre of the storm was an alleged payment of R5.5 million by Brig Gqozo to the KwaZulu government for damage caused during last year's violence at coal mines in Natal. The violence involved Ciskei migrant workers in Natal and KwaZulu mine labourers.

However, the Military Council denied that the Ciskei government had paid any money to KwaZulu.
SA gives Oupa a helping hand

There is method in South Africa rushing to the assistance of the beleaguered Ciskei military. Ciskei's government — the second in two weeks. Denials are still unclear. However, all that Rhoda believed was that Pretoria would help to restructure Ciskei's government to increase its political participation.

Restructuring

A spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, Mr. Rhoda stated that the restructuring has been ongoing for several weeks and that Ciskei has been consulted extensively.

"We welcome this support and the positive steps being taken," he added. "However, there are still some concerns about the future of Ciskei's political stability." To date, South Africa's government has not made any official statement regarding the restructuring.

From South Africa's point of view, there are powerful reasons for restructuring. On the one hand, Ciskei has been looking more and more unstable in recent months. Ciskei's political and social situation has significantly deteriorated since the homeland's independence.

Last week, Ciskei was embroiled in a border war with the ANC, which prompted the government to set to work investigating the situation. The new ANC government has been less stable, with frequent changes in leadership.

At the same time, civil unrest has worsened, leading to a major uprising of armed resistance against a defense force. Several senior officials from joining organizations.

The new ANC government has faced major challenges in stabilizing the country. Ciskei has been victimized by log-
Sebe lured to his death

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Investigation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ciskei confirmed Gqozo had not, in fact, made any such accusation, and Holomisa has demanded an apology from SABC. — ELNEWS
The boyish soldier who tried to bite his master

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

MONWABISI ANDREW JAMANGILE, top dog in the Ciskei Defence Force, is a man who might still aspire to be very much the model of a modern major general. For the moment he is believed to be safely behind bars in the detention cells of his erstwhile leader, awaiting trial for treason. But the rise and fall of the homeland brass is such a giddy affair that today's prisoner can be tomorrow's leader, and vice versa.

Such was the fate of Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa, who rose from his detention cell to seize power from a ruling clique, some of whose members ended up on trial. So too went Major General Charles Sebe, once Pretoria's favourite homeland policeman, who was gunned down last week on the instructions of the present Ciskei generalissimo, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. (15) [L-21][L99]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jamangile, who was accompanied by former Austrian-rhodesian Colonel Horst Schubesburger, who was serving as the CDF's training officer, read out two lengthy statements of support on behalf of Gqozo, one of which favourably quoted both Hani and ANC military chief Joe Modise.

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

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

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

Instead a gun battle ensued, Jamangile fled with his girlfriend Corporal Private Baleka, but was arrested together with six other men.
Ciskei succumbs gratefully to the silent SA coup

With the entrenchment of South African troops in the homeland, Ciskei now appears to be firmly — and willingly — under the control of Pretoria.

South African officials would not confirm that Boosa's announcement marks the beginning of reincorporation. But there are powerful reasons for South Africa to reincorporate pre-emptively and by stealth.

Ciskei has become more and more unstable in past months. Gqozo's increasingly authoritarian style has alienated significant constituencies in the homeland. And, while it seems highly unlikely that Gqozo will be toppled now that he has South Africa's backing, trouble continued this week with Ciskei police arresting scores of striking civil servants.

The civil servants have been on strike since last Thursday. They are demanding the recognition of their National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union, as well as pay parity.

They are also demanding the return of an alleged R8.2-million payment which Gqozo is alleged to have made to Inkatha in compensation for damage caused at Durnco colliery after fighting between Xhosas and Zulus there. While Ciskei has denied the payment, striking civil servants insist they have evidence it was made.

Tensions over the strike rose appreciably on Wednesday when Ciskei police arrested large numbers of demonstrating officials.

Conflict with the African National Congress is also evident. Distress of Gqozo is growing rapidly, and the Border Civics Congress and ANC Youth League have called for him to stop down.

A delegation of senior ANC members, including secretary general Alfred Nzo, was reported to be meeting Gqozo yesterday.

Gqozo has shifted significantly away from the close relationship with the ANC that characterised the first days of his rule last year.

With constitutional talks coming up, both the government and the ANC are hard at work trying to draw as many groups as possible onto their side of the negotiating table. — chews
Peelton villagers celebrate victory

The Nkqkonkweni community's battle against incorporation into Ciskei dragged on for three years but the villagers have now won the right to live in South Africa - and R500,000 compensation.

By CLAIRE KEETON and PHILA NGQUMBA

The Nkqkonkweni community in east Peelton has bounced back after a year and a half of violence under the Ciskei government, to secure an unprecedented R500,000 compensation from the South African government and an agreement that they be taken back by South Africa, the land of their birth.

The compensation is for homes which were bulldozed by the Sebe's Ciskei government in 1990.

The elated mood of the residents reflects not only the victories they have won from the two governments, but also that they have secured these agreements largely by themselves.

They negotiated directly with the South African ambassador to Ciskei, Pieter Goosen, and his deputy, Izak Heath, calling on them to assist them only when they were "tough".

The previous ambassador, Chris van Aardt, consistently refused to help the community and at one point even admitted he knew in advance that Ciskei planned to demolish homes at Peelton.

In 1985, the South African government under Brigadier Gqozho requested Pretoria to take back Nkqkonkweni, after consultation with the residents.

Gqozho also agreed to compensate the villagers for movable property, including livestock lost when they fled.

The residents are extremely encouraged by recent developments and determined to ensure the process of re-construction.

Before the bulldozers... the Sebe regime destroyed most of these homes in east Peelton villages

The move by the South African government came after more than a year of resistance to Sebe's rule by the community following their forced incorporation into the "independent homeland" in August 1988.

Now the Ciskei military government under Brigadier Gqozho has formally requested Pretoria to take back Nkqkonkweni, after consultation with the residents.

Gqozho also agreed to compensate the villagers for movable property, including livestock lost when they fled.

The residents are extremely encouraged by recent developments and determined to ensure the process of re-construction.

The meeting place arranged with committee members of the NRA last week illustrated the transformation taking place. Children were playing in the building that was once used as a police station and which has since been appropriated by the residents for their projects, including a creche.

 Residents have organised several projects to create job opportunities and promote education in the community. These include a pre-school, literacy and adult education classes, a piggery, chicken runs and sewing sessions.

Two men and two women from the eight-member committee of the NRA, representing approximately 2,000 residents, with elected street committees, spoke about the gains they have won since they returned to South Africa.

The clearest cause for celebration is the half-a-million-rand compensation.

South Africa agreed to pay a reasonable amount of the figure submitted although it was not the full amount requested.

The claims included inventories of the costs of materials and labour to rebuild their houses. South Africa agreed to pay the amount of thefigure submitted although it was not the full amount requested.

Another achievement is the payment of pensions to Nkqkonkweni residents by South Africa every month since October last year.

Simandla described how "South Africa asked the residents' association for permission for the Ciskei police to enter the village to protect the money".

This is in sharp contrast to the period under Sebe's regime when the police would routinely enter the village and beat up the residents.

Now there are no police from South Africa or Ciskei in Nkqkonkweni.

When census officials from the Ciskei entered the village without permission, they were escorted by youths to members of the residents' association who told them they had "no right to be there if they were coming from the Ciskei".

The census officials returned about two months later and were sent back to Gqozho.

The community has now agreed to allow South African census officials to come in March and count the residents.

South Africa has already taken over the administration of the area but there are still some problems, such as registering newborns' births in South Africa.

"Gqozho told us not to worry as the homelands will be abolished soon, possibly in about five years," said Simandla.

The history of the struggles of Nkqkonkweni residents is grim.

They spent over a year under Ciskei rule facing the wrath of their president for the death of Sebe. Over 100 residents were detained and others were charged but refused bail.

During this time at least 70 houses in the Nkqkonkweni and Tambo villages were demolished. Sebe ordered that the houses be bulldozed and villagers be dispersed among areas known to be pro-Ciskei at the time.

More than 800 refugees fled to the border of South Africa, at the 500-mile border, where they took refuge in church halls.

Now that the residents of east Peelton are settled again, they are able to start developing their community and can plan ahead. - chews
Transkei, Ciskei make up after an apology by Gqozo

AN ATMOSPHERE of mistrust has been cleared between Transkei and Ciskei following an apology by the Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

After receiving the apology, the Transkei military ruler accused SABC-TV of "engineering the state of distrust".

The atmosphere arose as a result of allegations supposedly made by Gqozo that Transkei had a hand in the recent troubled state of affairs in Ciskei.

Holomisa said in a statement on Wednesday that the Transkei government had unconditionally accepted Gqozo's apology.

"It is patently clear that the persons who were engineering the state of distrust were the SABC-TV and its sponsors," he said.

He said SABC-TV was proving its complicity in the matter by persistently refusing to broadcast Gqozo's public apology to Transkei.

Part of Gqozo's apology reads: "There is no evidence that the coup in which Sebe and Guzana were killed was inspired by the Transkei Government. Any inference of such is regretted.

Security

"Any embarrassment which may have arisen from the wording of my comments on the part of Major-General Holomisa is regretted."

Holomisa said, however, that the claims by a member of the Guzana family, who is a member of the Ciskei security forces and who has also fled to Transkei, needed to be investigated.

Approach

The Guzana family claimed that three senior Ciskei Defence Force members approached General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Mangwane Guzana to be ready to assume leadership once a coup against Gqozo had been staged.

Trap

"It is the view of the Transkei government that thorough investigations against the said Ciskei officers be made after which they will have to be brought to book.

"If there are no steps taken against them, it cannot be claimed that General Sebe and Colonel Guzana had indeed gone to Ciskei to stage a coup except being lured into a trap," he said.
Kei army refuses to rebel

Brigadier Gqozo, whose forces ambushed and killed would-be homeland leaders Charles Sebe and Lieutenent-Colonel Mangwane Guzana last week, was in Pretoria at the time of yesterday's coup attempt.

He has since returned to Ciskei and is understood to be in his palatial official residence, which yesterday was under heavy guard.

In an interview last week it became clear that Ciskei's military government, in power for less than a year, has made enemies across a broad spectrum.

Following the coup which ousted President-for-life Lonnox Sebe last March, a number of dissident factions have appeared among those who were ousted from power.

The area has always been a solid base for the ANC, but the liberation movement has been increasingly alienated by the military government in recent months.

Brig Gqozo said last night the loyalty of his troops was "beyond any doubt".

"I'm fully in control of the situation and will keep the nation informed of further developments," said the brigadier.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Brigadier Gqozo had flown to Pretoria on Thursday night for talks with the department.

He confirmed Brigadier Gqozo had drawn up a document before leaving the Ciskei stating that in the event of his death, Ciskei's chief justice was to take over the homeland's government.
Sebe bid to recover property dismissed

A SUPREME Court application by Ciskei’s deposed president Lennox Sebe for the restoration of his family’s property to their ownership and the dissolution of the State Trust Board (STB), was dismissed with costs on Thursday.

The Sebe’s property is vested in the STB which was established by Ciskei’s military government after Sebe was overthrown in a coup in March last year.

Sebe, with his wife Virginia and son Kwane, had applied for a Supreme Court order declaring a council of state decree which placed their properties under the STB to be declared invalid, and for the STB itself to be declared null and void.

They also applied for the STB to be divested of the estates of the three Sebe’s.

The family also claimed costs and alternative relief.

The respondents were cited as Ciskei’s military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo, his councillors and the STB.

In his judgment Justice MH Claassens said the new government had been in power for 11 months and was firmly established.

There was no evidence of any danger that the new government would be ousted from power.

He was satisfied that the people of Ciskei were behaving in conformity with the new government’s mandates.

He said the respondents had succeeded in establishing that the revolution had been successfully completed.

As a result the applicants were not entitled to any relief sought by them and the application was refused with costs. – Sapa
ANC and Ciskei talk of peace

Sunday Times Reporter

Ciskei head of state Brigadier Cupa Gqeze met senior ANC members this week.

In a statement issued after the seven-hour talks in Bloem, the ANC's Alfred Nzo said the meeting was designed to review the deteriorating situation in the independent homeland.

Both parties had reaffirmed their commitment to the maintenance of good relations and peace between the ANC and the Ciskei government, said Mr Nzo.

Inspired

Earlier in the week, Brigadier Gqeze apologised to General Bantu Holomisa for comments published in the Sunday Times on February 3, in which the Transkei head of state was accused of "plotting like a criminal" for harbouring Colonel Mangwane Guzana.

In a letter to General Holomisa, Brigadier Gqee said: "There is no evidence that the coup in which Bebe and Guzana were killed was inspired by the Transkei government and any inference of such is regrettable."
Ciskei to axe chiefs

Own Correspondent

RISHO. — All appointed chiefs in Ciskei would be dismissed at the end of the month. Ciskei’s military government announced yesterday.

However, the government would continue to accord hereditary chiefs the respect and status which they deserved.

The government statement was issued following the findings of the Bulube Commission on chieftainship, under the chairmanship of Mr Monde Bulube, a Ciskei magistrate.

It said the commission had made certain findings concerning who were hereditary chiefs and who had been appointed chiefs by the deposed president, Mr Lennox Sebe.

The appointed chiefs had been given to the end of February to make any further representation to the government to show they had valid claims to hereditary chieftainship.

"The government is of the opinion that this system of appointed chiefs undermined the status and unifying role of chiefs in the community."
RUTHLESS former Ciskei security police chief Charles Sebe paid dearly for his political ambitions this week when the homeland's soldiers carried out an order to kill him on sight.

Stunned villagers at Gu-bevu village milled around the blanket-covered body of the once-powerful man, who was killed in cold blood outside a shop on Monday.

Security forces found Sebe sleeping in a hut about 100m from a clinic after a 12-hour search involving helicopters and sniffer dogs. A tip-off, security forces — who had probably been trained by Sebe himself — ordered the former commander out of the hut.

Villagers told journalists Sebe was ordered to undress ... the soldiers then opened fire.

Ciskei leader brigadier Oupa Gqozo was reported to have instructed his men to "seek and destroy Sebe", who had attempted to gain control of the homeland three times.

Journalists were told that after the shooting, Sebe's body lay in front of the hut for several hours before police took it away. The ground was covered with blood and a bullet hole through a window bore testimony to execution.

The owner of the house where he was found, Tise Dwashu, was instructed by police not to grant journalists interviews until the matter had been cleared by the military.
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Security forces found Sebe sleeping in a hut about 100m from a clinic after a 12-hour search involving helicopters and sniffer dogs.

After surviving a skirmish with the security forces at a roadblock where Colonel Mangwane Guzana was killed on Sunday, Sebe crawled to the hut looking for help.

After a tip-off, security forces - who had probably been trained by Sebe himself - ordered the former commander out of the hut.

Villagers told journalists Sebe was ordered to undress... the soldiers then opened fire.

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The owner of the house where he was found, Tise Dwashu, was instructed by police not to grant journalists interviews until the matter had been cleared by the military. - Veritas News Agency
Ciskei closes college

Ciskei has closed Matibula College of Education near Queenstown after students "admitted" 400 students more than the college could accommodate.

They also invaded the college's administration block and staged a sit-in, Ciskei's military government said this week.

Students at the college had taken into their own hands the duty of enrolling other students, the government said.

"The college is designed to accommodate only 600 students. The students who usurped the functions of the rector enrolled an extra 400 students who have no accommodation."

They also demanded that the number of first-year students be increased to 600 and that prefabricated classrooms be built to accommodate them.

Resources

"The department of education sees this as educationally unsound. The department also does not have the financial resources to meet these demands.

"The department therefore had no choice but to close the college when the students invaded the administration block and staged a sit-in," the government said. - Sapa."
CISKEI officer tells of Cagazo's CCB-style squad

The CISKEI officer who was present at the time of the attack on 4th October 1982 has told of the organization's brutal tactics. He said that the Unit's objective was to eliminate any perceived threats to the regime. The officer claimed that the CCB squads were known for their ruthlessness and were responsible for the deaths of many innocent people. He also spoke of the widespread fear that gripped the community, with people living in constant fear of being targeted by the regime. The officer ended his testimony by calling for justice to be served and for those responsible to be brought to account.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

Mr Charles Sebe: report of death

26 Mr A E DE WET asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether he or any member of his Department requested a briefing or report from the Ciskei Government on the death of Mr Charles Sebe following an abortive coup on 27 January 1991, if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) with what result;

(2) whether he or his Department registered any protest with the Ciskei Government following the death of Mr Sebe; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the nature of the protest and (c) with what success;

(3) whether he or his Department has been in contact with any foreign governments or their representatives with regard to the abortive coup in Ciskei, if so, (a) with which governments, (b) when, (c) what specified issues related to the coup attempt were covered and (d) what was the outcome in each case?

E2E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(1) No. In cases of this nature the South African Ambassador reports fully to me and the Department about the facts and circumstances. Naturally, reports of this nature are confidential.

(2) No. The incident occurred on Ciskei territory and the late Mr Charles Sebe was a citizen of Ciskei. In so far as South Africa's interests are affected by an event of this nature, the South African Government's point of view is of course conveyed. Such conversations are likewise of a confidential nature.

(3) No. Except in general to provide background on enquiry during meetings with representatives of other countries I issued a statement in which I called upon leaders to commit themselves to a peaceful solution of disputes.

Public Service: recruitment of other race groups

72 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Economic Co-ordination:

(1) Whether the Commission for Administration has considered or is considering a specific policy for the recruitment of qualified personnel of any South African race group other than White to the senior ranks of the Public Service; if not, why not, if so, what is this policy;

(2) whether Public Service bursaries and/or loans are made available in general proportion to the racial composition of the South African population; if not, why not; if so, what was the distribution of such bursaries and/or loans amongst the four race groups at the latest specified date for which figures are available.

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

E200E

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMIC CO-ORDINATION

(1) No. The existing policy for the recruitment of qualified personnel is applicable to all South African population groups. The policy for the filling of vacant senior positions is embodied in Section 10 of the Public Service Act, 1954. It stipulates, inter alia, that in the filling of a post—

— no person who qualifies for a post shall be favoured or prejudiced; and

— only the qualifications, level of training, relative merit, efficiency and suitability of the persons who qualify for the appointment, transfer or promotion concerned shall be taken into account.

Factors such as candidates' linguistic proficiency, liaison capability, experience as well as background are inevitably taken...
Ex-SA spy now Minister in Ciskei

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A confessed Bureau for State Security spy, who operated on the Durban campus of the University of Natal for two years, is the new Minister of Justice in Ciskei.

Keith Mathee (35) hit the headlines 16 years ago when, as president of the university's SRC, he revealed he had spied for BOSS.

Last week, the advocate who helped draft the homeland's new constitution and bill of rights said he had repented of his spying activities.

Besides his justice portfolio, Mr Mathee is also a member of the five-man Ciskei Council of State.

Mr Mathee stressed he had agreed to be a Boss spy only because, "as a youngster of about 18 who had been brought up rather conservatively in the Free State; I had never been exposed to the realities of South Africa".
Sunciskei seeks JSE listing

SUN International Ciskei (SunCiskei) is seeking a listing of its shares on the JSE. This will be achieved by way of an offer of shares to Ciskei residents.

SunCiskei's operations include the coastal resorts of the Fish River Sun and Mpokweni Sun, located between Port Elizabeth and East London, the Amatola Sun in Bisho and the Mdantsane Hotel.

The listing, which was mooted in February 1990, was postponed because of unsettled trading conditions in the Ciskei and a fire at the Mdantsane Hotel in March 1990. The hotel was reopened in October 1990.

An announcement by directors yesterday said the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank would offer about 5 million of the shares it holds in SunCiskei to citizens and permanent residents of Ciskei.

The listing would commence in April, subject to approval by the JSE and completion of the offer. A prospectus would be issued in mid-March.

Directors said the purpose of the listing was "to afford citizens and permanent residents of Ciskei the opportunity to participate directly in the equity of the company". No additional funds would be raised through the listing.

A SunCiskei spokesman said yesterday that SunCiskei's turnover was about R22m in the financial year.

He said the listing would result in Sun International retaining its one-third interest in the company, the Ciskei People's Development Bank (which holds 40% of SunCiskei) holding a third, and the remaining third being in the hands of the Ciskei people and other shareholders.
SA coy over deal

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — South Africa and Ciskei signed a major financial and economic agreement yesterday, but details are being kept under wraps.

The deal is expected to improve relations between the two countries and help ease tension in the Ciskei.

Both Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Onpa Gqozo, delivered rather cryptic statements.

Mr. Botha said: “We have just signed an agreement about economic and financial assistance. There are implications which members of the two delegations will immediately pursue. Details will be released later.

“Generally we had a very useful and necessary meeting. We have agreed on procedures to make further financial relations more mutually acceptable.”

Mr. Botha appealed to all leaders to “give Ciskei a chance”.

“It is in the interest of both countries that the turbulence be allowed to subside to avoid disruption of services, education and commerce. We believe that this could be accomplished.”

Brigadier Gqozo said the agreement was “of great value” to Ciskei and “gives much hope for stability in the area in the next few days”.

Ciskei to return to SA fold

Political Staff

Ciskei has taken the first step towards reincorporation into South Africa, a move that spells the end of Verwoerdian grand apartheid.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night that an agreement hammered out between South Africa and Ciskei meant that the republic would now appoint the independent homeland's ministers in four portfolios. They are: Economic affairs, finance and state administration; justice; transport and public works, and agriculture.

Mr Botha also said South Africa had undertaken 'to support Ciskei with, inter alia, budgetary aid, guaranteed overdraft facilities, technical and personnel assistance and the maintenance of law and order'.

The Ciskei statement went further. Brigadier Gups Gqozo, the chairman of Ciskei's Council of State, said the treaty signed by the two countries was "the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial, democratic South Africa".

The brigadier said that at the commencement of his rule "we committed ourselves to stabilising the government and to the reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa".

"I believe that the treaty just concluded serves both these goals."

The treaty comes after an amendment to the Ciskei constitution this month in terms of which "public international law and treaties" are an integral part of the homeland's law and shall take precedence over its own legislation. This effectively empowered the military authorities to legislate themselves out of existence.

Sound government

The Ciskei aim is understood to be to rule itself out of existence. Part of the reason is thought to be that Ciskei was anxious not to allow itself to become part of Umkhonto we Sizwe chief-of-staff Mr Chris Hani's freedom.

Mr Botha's statement last night said the agreement, signed on Tuesday, was designed to promote "sound government, stability and economic development in Ciskei".

He added that: "Ciskei agreed to adhere to guidelines and measures considered to be essential by both countries for ensuring sound financial planning, control and management."
Banana republics...SA style

UP to now South Africa has maintained a strict appearance of dealing with the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) only in terms of international diplomatic conventions, however, farcical these may have seemed.

Communications between officials concerning agricultural projects or road building have been tediously routed through the Department of Foreign Affairs and ambassadorial fax machines.

Where governments have embarked on obviously foolish projects, like Matanzima’s attempt to start a navy, Sebe’s unused airport and Venda’s peculiar little university, Pretoria has had to smile tolerantly and pay.

Network

A labyrinthine network of “multilateral technical committees” coordinated by the so-called Secretariat for the Economic Community of Southern Africa (SECOMSAP) with its headquarters alongside the Development Bank of Southern Africa offices at Halfway House (near Johannesburg), ensures that everything from postage stamps to cattle dipping programmes get discussed at length by an infinite number of bored civil servants.

Because nothing is decided without being referred back to respective ministries and cabinets for approval, everything is discussed more than can possibly be necessary.

However, the system has done very little to prevent foolish and wasteful projects from being undertaken. And we can be fairly sure that “reincorporation” has not been on the agenda.

The TBVC states are all in financial difficulties. During the mid-1980s, South Africa insisted on the establishment of “joint financial adjustment committees” (JFCAs) for each state, with the Development Bank acting as a facilitator.

For Pretoria, the purpose was to impose financial discipline, while for the TBVC states the committees became a channel for articulating increased demands for development-related funding.

The total amounts allocated to the “independent homelands” from South Africa increased during the 1980s with inflation and population growth, and came to about R5bn in 1990. For both Ciskei and Transkei, transfers from Pretoria represent something like 80 percent of the total revenue. Even this does not set the limits to homeland spending.

During the 1989/90 fiscal year the Ciskei government budgeted to spend R1.3 billion, while revenue for the year including budgetary assistance from the South African government was estimated at just under R900m.

The shortfall of nearly R500m was to come from loans from the South African government and the Development Bank of SA and from so-called “financial adjustments” (government-guaranteed bank overdraft facilities).

The frightening truth is that the TBVC states can borrow as if they were sovereign governments without having to pay the price of excess spending – a devalued currency.

The economic agreement signed this week by South Africa and the Ciskei adds another twist to the complex and sometimes farcical relationship between this country and the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei). South Africa’s main hold on the “independent” TBVC countries has been its financial leverage but at the cost of billions of rand to keep them afloat. But what are the economic and financial implications of reincorporation into South Africa?

Andrew Donaldson examines the issue:

The JFCA’s may have made undisciplined overdraft borrowing a little more difficult, but the homelands still face what Polish economist Jan Komai called “soft budget constraints”.

“Soft” budget constraints arise because officials are not themselves responsible for the problems of overspending.

When Transkei announced generous civil servants pay increases last year, Pretoria sent an admonishing diplomatic note, but nobody’s salary cheque bounced.

Total government expenditure in 1980/81 at the time Lennox Sebe took independence, was R137m. Spending has increased dramatically and to date Ciskei’s total debt is probably between R4- and R5bn.

The only thing that can be said with any certainty about the future repayment of this debt is that it will not come from the surplus generated from the Ciskei enterprises.

Evaluate

How should one evaluate the increase in spending of the TBVC regimes, and their increased indebtedness? On the one hand, relentless growth of the bureaucratic apparatus, conspicuous indulgence in infrastructural excesses, and fraud, incompetence and corruption, represent a shameful waste of taxpayers’ money.

On the other hand, there has been substantial improvement in distribution and availability of schooling and health facilities and industrial growth. Agricultural development account for some share of increased spending, as do pensions and other social welfare transfers.

Reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa, along with other independent homelands, would presumably lead to the standardisation of social services at norms essentially determined by central government, along with adjustment of the anomalous features of industrial policy and taxation in the Ciskei.

Removal of discrimination in South Africa, will, of course, dictate substantial improvement in the standards of social services in (currently) black rural areas.

Unless a massive exodus of people from Ciskei locations occurs accordingly, spending on education, health and welfare must be expected to continue to rise.

The only real prospect for reduced spending in homelands is on bureaucratic functions and on activities which do not require local or regional programmes.

Dismantling the redundant bureaucracy involved paying off civil servants, many of whom are earning far more than they could in the labour market. They have become accustomed to privilege and influence, and will not go away quietly.

Perhaps more difficult than closing down superfluous offices will be the reintegration of various state functions into a unified South African government.

Restoration of administrative efficiency and discipline, attention to quality and promptness of services and standardisation of policies and procedures will bring numerous tensions and problems. Unfortunately the short-term financial saving from dismantling homeland governments will be very slight — perhaps R150m in Ciskei’s case.

But this is not the issue. At stake is the quality and coherence of regional government in the country. The benefits of restructured government in the Eastern Cape cannot be simply stated in rands saved. The Ciskei regime is in trouble not because it spends so much, but because it governs so badly.
CAPE TOWN — Ciskei has taken the first step towards reincorporation into SA, a move that spells a reversal of Verwoerdian grand apartheid.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night that an agreement hammered out between SA and Ciskei meant SA would now appoint the independent homeland's ministers in four portfolios. They are: economic affairs, finance and state administration; justice, transport and public works; and agriculture.

Botha said SA had undertaken "to support Ciskei with, inter alia, budgetary aid, guaranteed overdraft facilities, technical and personnel assistance and maintenance and enforcement of law and order".

Council of State chairman Brig Oppa Gopza said the treaty signed by the two countries was, "from our perspective, the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial, democratic SA".

He said that at the commencement of his rule "we committed ourselves to stabilising government and to the reincorporation of Ciskei into SA. I believe that the treaty will conclude serves both these goals".

The treaty comes after an amendment to the Ciskei constitution this month in terms of which "public international law and treaties", are an integral part of the homeland's law and shall take precedence over its own legislation. This effectively empowered the military authorities to legislate themselves out of existence.

Botha's statement last night said Tuesday's agreement was designed to promote "sound government, stability and economic development in Ciskei".

"Ciskei agreed to adhere to guidelines and measures considered to be essential by both countries for ensuring sound financial planning, control and management."
Ciskei first to start move back into SA

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Ciskei last night became the first homeland to move towards reincorporation into South Africa after striking a historic agreement with the South African Government.

South Africa is to designate four people to key Ministerial Ciskei posts and will provide financial aid and assistance to help maintain law and order.

Ciskei's part of the deal is to adhere to guidelines and measures considered essential by both countries for ensuring "sound financial planning, control and management".

The far-reaching deal was debated at length at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

The chairman of Ciskei's Council of State, Brigadier Gupa Gqozo, hailed the agreement last night as "the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial South Africa".

"It is my hope for the coming year that greater stability will return to this region which I believe would further facilitate the process of reincorporation into South Africa," he said.

South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha released a statement saying South Africa would "designate suitably qualified people who are acceptable to Ciskei" to be appointed as Ministers in Ciskei for the following portfolios: Economic Affairs, Finance and State Administration, Justice, Transport and Public Works and Agriculture.

"South Africa has undertaken to support Ciskei with budgetary aid, guaranteed overdraft facilities, technical and personnel assistance and the maintenance of law and order," Mr Botha said.

Brigadier Gqozo said that while separation might be the prevailing trend in eastern Europe, "I believe the contrary is true about South Africa".
Crossing the Kei to end chaos - and halt Hani

By ARTHUR MAINANE: Cape Town
THE treaty, or agreement, signed this week by the nominally independent Ciskei and South Africa has made the re-incorporation of the homeland a reality in fact if not in law. It was reached at talks here on Tuesday between the military ruler, Brigadier Cypa Gqozo, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

In a statement from Bisho the brigadier said the Cape Town deal, which allows South Africa to appoint ministers to four key portfolios, “is the first step on the road to incorporation into a new, non-racial democratic South Africa”. The ministries that will be controlled by South Africa are Economic Affairs, Finance and State Administration: Justice; Transport and Public Works as well as Agriculture.

Sources in parliament believe that if the treaty had not been signed at Tuesday’s meeting, Gqozo would have declared a unilateral dissolution of Ciskei and its incorporation. That would have caused political and judicial embarrassments.

Gqozo says he’s always been for incorporation because the viability of Ciskei independence was already a myth when he staged a coup almost a year ago on March 4. Parliamentary sources say his hand was forced, ahead of negotiations for a new South African constitution, by a chaotic situation - two attempted coups in February alone - which the four new ministers, backed by an infusion of more South African money, are meant to resolve.

Botha’s statement issued here says Ciskei has “agreed to guidelines and measures” to bring order to the administrative chaos. But sources in Cape Town believe that while Gqozo wished to be rescued from that mire, the South African government was prepared to help at short notice for more than the stated reasons.

The reason is political - to prevent African National Congress leader Chris Hani from spreading what’s called his “freedom” in Transkei to Ciskei. The Umkhonto weSizwe chief’s position in the neighbouring homeland, that’s run by another soldier, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is said to have caused concern within certain ANC circles - and more than that in Pretoria and Cape Town.
Troubled Ciskei returns to Daddy

By SKEKELA SELLO

"INDEPENDENT" homeland Transkei and Venda could soon follow the example of the Ciskei which was effectively reincorporated into South Africa this week - but Bophuthatswana is expected to put up a fight for its "sovereignty".

The Ciskei move this week drew little enthusiasm from extra-parliamentary opposition but others saw it as signalling the end of Verwoerdian apartheid.

With Ciskei having paved the way, the three remaining homelands of Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana could also stumble.

The factors which forced Ciskei to agree to incorporation - poverty, political instability and economic dependence on South Africa - could produce the same results in those homelands.

While both Transkei and Venda minority leaders have stated they are not opposed to incorporation, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana is the most preoccupied about the homeland's "sovereignty".

The decision to reincorporate Ciskei into South Africa follows two alleged coup plots in the last two months and a crippling strike by civil servants in the past three weeks that brought the homeland close to financial ruin.

PAC spokesman Patricio de Lille says Ciskei's reincorporation into South Africa is "reassuring" because the organization has "never recognized Ciskei's independence".

She said the PAC welcomed all the so-called independent homelands to do likewise, but has not yet reached a concrete conclusion that the other two will follow the Ciskei example.

"The motives for Ciskei's reincorporation are not known. What brought about the decision to reincorporate Ciskei into the Republic may not necessarily apply to the other three homelands." said Mangope deputy secretary general Don Ndabeni.

"As PAC we welcome the move to an integrated South Africa," said South African Prime Minister John Vorster.

The decision to reincorporate Ciskei was announced simultaneously this week by Foreign Affairs Minister Phelekezela Mphoko in Ciskei, Transkei and Venda.

The PAC was not consulted on the move. PAC members say that Mangope made the decision without consulting them.

The PAC has had to accept the decision and will not be opposed to it. The PAC has not been consulted on the move. PAC members say that Mangope made the decision without consulting them.
Objection to Ciskei move

UMTATA — In a major contradiction of resistance policy, the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) has come out in opposition to Ciskei's "move towards reincorporation" into SA, saying, Ciskeians should have a chance to decide the matter for themselves.

In a statement on Friday, Contralesa said it could not support the takeover of certain Ciskei portfolios by SA as it was a violation of an entrenched principle of international law — "once freedom is granted, it cannot be revoked."[3][4]

Contralesa's chairman in Transkei, Chief M. Nonkonyana, said the people of Ciskei should be given an opportunity to decide for themselves. — Sapa.
Man behind Ciskei’s return to the fold

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The man behind Ciskei’s move towards a return to South Africa is Mr Keith Mathee, the homeland’s new Minister of Justice. A treaty on the Ciskei’s re-incorporation has been hammered out with South Africa and signed by the two countries.

The treaty resulted from an amendment to the newly drafted Ciskeian constitution which, according to Mr Mathee, effectively empowers the military government under Council of State chairman Brigadier Cupa Gqozo to legislate themselves out of existence.

PASSION FOR RULE OF LAW

Mr Mathee said: “This constitution could serve as a guideline for new South Africa. If South Africa’s new constitution doesn’t at least contain what we have in ours, I don’t want to be part of the country.”

Asked whether the Ciskei constitution was similar to Namibia’s, he said Unisa’s constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiescher had guided the drafting of both.

“I have a passion for the rule of law and this constitution has a Bill of rights which is fully justifiable by the Supreme Court.”

Brigadier Gqozo was fully committed to a Bill of rights and only a public referendum could alter these rights with a two-thirds vote.

OUTLAWED DEATH PENALTY

Mr Mathee said that in terms of the Bill of rights Ciskei had outlawed the death penalty and this meant 16 people had been removed from Death Row.

At 37 the Natal University-trained advocate is possibly the youngest Minister of Justice in southern Africa.

Besides his justice portfolio, Mr Mathee is also a member of the five-man Council of State.

Asked how he had come to be appointed, Mr Mathee said that as an advocate he had been practising in Grahamstown and had done legal work for Ciskei.

“After March 4 — the day of the Ciskeian coup — the brigadier approached a local attorney and I was then instructed by the attorney to give legal assistance.

“The new constitution was officially promulgated in Bisho on February 6.”

ROLES IN PFP AND DP

Although he comes from a conservative background in the Free State, Mr Mathee has in the past played various roles in the former Progressive Federal Party and the Democratic Party.

He made headlines in 1976 when, as president of Durban University’s students’ representative council, he publically confessed to spying activities.

“Throughout my life I have consistently tried to achieve a more democratic future, driven by a desire to serve God and my neighbour.”
been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, if so, (a) which section of the Defence Force, (b) to which of those organisations and (c) to what extent, Mr MAMUKELA.

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter.

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) and (2) As far as the SA Defence Force is concerned, I refer you to the answer given by the State President regarding the National Intelligence Services, which suffices.

Organisational support to self-governing territories

"22 Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Development Aid whether, over the past 10 years, any section of his Department or of the governments of the self-governing territories has directly or indirectly given financial or organisational support to any of the cultural or political organisations of the said territories, if so, (a) what sections of his Department or the departments of the self-governing territories, (b) to which such organisations and (c) to what extent, Mr MAMUKELA.

The MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING:

(1) No. The provision of additional classroom space, teachers and equipment enjoys priority over the electrification of those schools where electricity has not been applied. Where electricity is available, new schools and schools where extensions are being added to the buildings, are provided with electricity.

(2) The information is not available.

Avoidance of military service: indemnity

"24 Mr R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence whether any persons who left the Republic for the purpose of avoiding military service and who have subsequently been granted indemnity by the Government will be subject to conscription by the South African Defense Force upon their return.

(2) whether any other persons returning to the Republic from voluntary exile are to be made subject to conscription,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter.

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Such an indemnity covers an instance where an individual has committed the offence of contravening section 126A(1)(g) of the Defence Act (Act No 44 of 1957) and is in reason to reason that he can no longer be prosecuted for that offence. The indemnity does not, however, preclude him from being called up again for military service in terms of the Act.

(2) No A statement is not defined necessary.

Electrification of schools

"25 Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Training whether, the honourable member will be furnished with a written reply on these questions:

(2) No A statement is not defined necessary.

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Whether any investigation has been conducted into the electrification of schools falling under his control, if not, why not, if so, (a) when and (b) what was the outcome.

(2) what will be the additional (a) capital and (b) annual operating cost of providing electricity to all schools other than farm schools?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Whether the municipality of Queenstown has cut off the water supply to Ezebeleni Township, if so, why,

(2) whether these residents have embarked on a consumer boycott in Queenstown, if so, what were the reasons advanced for this boycott.

(3) whether the cutting off of the water supply had any other effects on the residents of this township, if so, what effects,

(4) whether he has investigated the grievances of these residents and the underlying reasons which led to dispute, if not, why not, if so, what were his findings?

The MINISTER OF PLANNING, PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes, Ezebeleni is situated in the Transkei. The water supply was cut off by Queenstown Municipality because Ezebeleni did not pay its account to Queenstown The water was connected again on 22 February 1991 after negotiations.

(2) Yes, the reasons advanced for the boycott are:

- Arrears amounts for what must be written off.
- Two prisoners must be released.
- The Town Clerk and Mayor of Queenstown must resign.

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Whether he recently made the statement that the Department of Education and Culture of the House of Delegates had a surplus of 1 000 teachers, if so, how was this figure arrived at.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
LISTING PLANS

Sun International has been looking to list its Ciskei operations for at least two years but has previously postponed such moves because it thought the timing was inappropriate.

Management must now be wondering whether it stalled for too long. No sooner had the group announced that the listing was to go ahead than the government of Ciskei completed the first major step towards re-incorporating the State back into SA.

Sun International, with local partner the Ciskei People’s Development Bank, still intends proceeding with the listing of SunCiskei in April. However, the mooted re-incorporation of Ciskei raises questions about the vulnerability of the group, especially separately listed subsidiaries SunBop and TransSun, to changes in legislation affecting its gaming licences and tax. It is questionable whether Sun International’s operations in Bophuthatswana, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda would enjoy the same gaming rights and low rates of tax were those States to be absorbed back into SA.

Buddy Hawton, executive chairman at Sun International’s Kersaf parent, acknowledges the effects of the possible re-incorporation of the TBVC States are unclear.

“We take the view that in the event of re-incorporation, it would be unlikely that a central authority would grant gaming licences willy-nilly,” he says. “We have put a great deal back into these communities in terms of employment, foreign exchange and taxation and the governments of these States are our shareholding partners in the local operations.”

He says there are a lot of imponderables but the group is, nonetheless, substantially expanding its resorts in these States. Some analysts put forward one of the reasons for this sudden spurt of high capital expenditure could be to increase its influence in these States ahead of any review of gaming licences.

The listing of SunCiskei, which includes the Amatola Sun, Fish River Sun and Mpeacei Sun and is estimated to have turned over R80m last year, is intended to enable Ciskei residents and citizens to take a stake in the operation. No additional funds will be raised.

The Ciskei People’s Development Bank holds a 50% stake (together with Sun International) in a holding company which owns about 67% of SunCiskei. It also holds a further 7% directly in SunCiskei. It is this parcel of 3m shares that the bank intends to release.
SEBE TRIED TO GET CISKEI BACK INTO SA

BY S'BU MNGADI

THE reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa last week was nothing new – it had already been advocated by former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe before he was ousted from power last year.

In January last year he tried to negotiate with Pretoria for reincorporation rather than be reincorporated by a hostile ANC government.

He sent a 12-page confidential document entitled Ciskei and a Future Democratic South Africa to State President FW de Klerk.

The decision to reincorporate Ciskei was announced simultaneously last week by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Cape Town and Ciskei's Justice Minister Keith Matthee in Beho.

Sebe's document argued for the rapid establishment of a federation of the four TVBC homelands and South Africa, with entrenched clauses to prevent the first post-apartheid government scraping the homelands in favour of a unitary state.

The document was apparently drafted by senior Ciskei civil servants – many of them white Pretoria bureaucrats seconded to the homeland.

The document examined options open to the homelands when South Africa reached a negotiated settlement leading to full voting rights for all.

It cited five options for Ciskei's future but the one option which Sebe found most satisfactory was a five-member federation.

This would give the TVBC states a position roughly equivalent to the states in the United States of America.

Sebe's document recognised the need to defend the homeland against mobilisation of the ANC and the MDM which advocate straight reincorporation.

It argued that the option chosen should give homelands "participation in the affairs of post-apartheid South Africa".

A federal structure, it argued, would go some way towards providing this.

"It will strategically be simpler for the TVBC-South Africa negotiations to proceed before the 'final' negotiations," Sebe's document said.

Agreement to a federal system before actual negotiations would exclude the ANC and its allies, the document said.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER OF CONSTRUCTION AND AMENITY,

Monday, 13 March 1961

Mr. Speaker, I have to present the report of the Minister of Construction and Amenity, entitled "The Development of the Town of X." The report covers various aspects of the town's development, including housing, transportation, and infrastructure improvement. The report is based on extensive research and consultation with relevant stakeholders.

The report includes recommendations for the improvement of the town's infrastructure, such as the expansion of the road network and the construction of new public transportation systems. It also highlights the need for better housing conditions and the provision of social services.

I would like to thank all those who contributed to the preparation of this report, including the construction department, the housing authority, and the town council. Their efforts have resulted in a comprehensive and detailed document that I believe will be of great benefit to the town and its residents.

I look forward to discussing the report in further detail during the debate on this issue, which will take place next week. Thank you.
Houses of Assembly

Prisons and Police

Several Prisons and Police in the Province of England are in a very squalid Situation, and the bad situation of the Prisons is a great cause of concern to the Government. We have been informed that the Prisons are overcrowded, and that the conditions of detention are extremely harsh. We have therefore decided to inspect the Prisons, and to take appropriate measures to improve the situation.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Foreign Minister is reported to have met with representatives of the foreign press in London, where he discussed the current situation in the Province of England. He assured the press that the Government is taking all necessary steps to address the problems facing the Prisons and Police.

The Ministry of Defence

The Ministry of Defence has been informed of the situation at the Prisons and Police, and has decided to provide additional resources to improve the conditions of detention.

The Ministry of Education

The Ministry of Education has been informed of the overcrowding situation in the Prisons and Police, and has decided to take measures to address the issue.

We support the Government's efforts to improve the situation at the Prisons and Police.

Ciskei hasn’t asked to be part of SA again, says Pik

The Government had received no formal request from Ciskei that the territory be reincorporated into South Africa, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Replying to an interrogation from Collie Eglin (DP Sea Point) on whether the Government was considering steps to have the homeland reincorporated, he said one state could not unilaterally decide to join another.

While Ciskei, Transkei and Venda had expressed the wish, in general terms, to be reincorporated, no formal proposals had been received by SA.

Even if and when formal requests and proposals were received, the SA Government could not take a decision until the matter had been thoroughly canvassed and discussed.

"The policy is that they are independent and that we will not force them to return to the RSA," Mr Eglin said.

The Government had sent in troops and appointed senior officials in Ciskei in a serious effort to help the territory promote sounder administration and ensure stability.

Andre de Wet (DP nominated) said Ciskei should be governed as part of an economic unit that included the Border corridor.

It had been reported that Ciskei had not only asked for, but demanded, reincorporation and had threatened to legislate itself out of existence if Pretoria did not co-operate. — Sapa.
SunCiskei reports details of listing

Finance Staff

Sun International Ciskei (SunCiskei) today announced details of its public offer of 3.1 million shares to Ciskei citizens.

The listing of the shares, which have been priced at 160c each, on the JSE's Beverages, Hotels and Leisure sector is scheduled for April 17.

The group, which includes the casino resorts at the Fish River and at Mpekweni and the Armatola Sun and Mdantsane Sun hotels, reported total assets of around R100 million and earnings of R20 million in June 1990.

In the current year SunCiskei expects earnings of about R27.7 million, or 40c a share, on which a pro-forma dividend of 28c is forecast. This translates to a dividend yield of 10 percent.
FALLING IDOL: Oupa Gqozo seized power a year ago. Today it is slipping out of his hands, report Louise Flanagan and Langa Zita

A strongman loses his grip

AST year Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was a people's hero in the Ciskei. Now his only support comes from the South African Defence Force.

Gqozo took over last March on a wave of popular relief at the demise of President Lomax Sebe, in a move hailed by the United Democratic Front as "a victory for the people". Now he has lost respect for the SADF, and he's swept aside any opposition from the ANC, who have been reduced to a ceremonial role dependent on South Africa. He has been caught in a conspiracy to surround himself with white South Africans, inciting war and setting up secret Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) type organisations to preserve his position.

It's a change of character from a year ago. Back then he seemed to be good-hearted and sincere, if a little ingenuous. On the day of his rise, Gqozo gave speeches under ANC flags and tried to sing along with the national anthem, "Mvula Stokelita Mapula" — although he clearly didn't know the words.

He started off with the support of organisations representing the majority of Ciskei residents. He also had strong support from the Ciskei leadership, although some were still lukewarm. Sebe's police were antagonistic, but Gqozo spent hours trying to re-educate them through public speeches and reshuffling the police structure.

He did some good:

• He abolished the death penalty.
• He opened the jails, releasing political prisoners and detainees.
• He wrote new labour laws, drafted together with Coms.
• Although deterrents continued, he ended the mass arrests and terrorising of entire communities as typical of the Sebe era.
• He asked South Africa to take back Pilton, an issue which is still unresolved.
• He drew up a trend-setting Bill of Rights and constitution.

However, that soon changed. ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela referred to him as a hero of the moment, but his moment now seems to have passed.

Over the year he has angered organisations by encouraging local leadership and even telling the Mdumane Residents' Association to go back and get re-elected.

He is remembered as the man who ordered ANC leaders Alfred Nzo, Raymond Mbatha and Goven Mbudu to be body-searched before he met with them, and for his cheerful admission that he ordered Charles Sebe to be shot dead rather than captured.

Where did Gqozo go wrong?

Gqozo tried to please everyone, and ended up pleasing nobody.

His problems seemed to come with his inability to understand organisations or how to deal with them. With a strong SADF background and training in army methods of simply issuing orders, he clearly lost patience with endless requests for time for consultations. He also became increasingly sensitive to criticism, to the point of paranoia.

He attacked the Mdumane Residents' Association, calling them "rabble-rousers motivated purely by self-interest" with "an insatiable catalogue of demands". He has continually attacked the Broeder Ciskei Congress. He asked for comments on his new local government proposals last year, but reacted furiously when the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa offered criticisms.

With this change in direction, the tribal support to which many leaders fell for Gqozo, has now gone. Gqozo tried to shoot Unathiwelewele's chief of staff Chris Hani on sight. By the beginning of this year relations between Gqozo and the ANC were at an all-time low and are still delicate.

He became increasingly susceptible of his own will. The controlling council of state dropped from the original four soldiers to only two, as the others fled Ciskei after allegations of coup plots.

Charles Sebe and former military council member Col. Osmond Gwaza returned to die in mysterious circumstances, in a killing which was loudly condemned throughout Ciskei.

The Commission of Inquiry made sure that Gqozo had no more supporters among the middle classes, and the inquiry was suspended in January without explanation.

Gqozo felt himself looked at as a power struggle with the ANC, and made a fool of by the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union during the civil servants' strike that brought Ciskei to a standstill.

Threatened on all sides, he turned to South Africa.

He has been accused of setting up a shadowy military unit, described as "a CCB-type organisation", late last year and taking directions from it. His change in attitude towards organisations seems to stem from that time.

With the alleged coup attempt last month, the legend of the cream of the Ciskei Defence Force, the SADF moved in and still has no explanation.

It's in South Africa's interests to support Gqozo because this way they ensure a co-operative presence at the negotiating table. They also avoid a Transkei-type situation, where military ruler Mayor-General Barna Mqoma rules shoulders with Hani.

South Africa is Gqozo's only hope. If he can survive in Ciskei for much longer, his options seem to be going to be limited to a ceremonial role held at South Africa's whim.
SADF assistance in Ciskei

127. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether Ciskei called for assistance from the South African Defence Force in connection with the coup in that country on or about 8 February 1991; if so, when.

(2) Whether the Defence Force assisted in stabilising the situation in Ciskei; if so, (a) what actions did they take and (b) how.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

FRIDAY, 15 H

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No, but the South African Government was requested on 9 February 1991.

(2) Yes.

(a) The protection of state buildings and the conduct of follow-up operations in the Republic of South Africa.

(b) 90
Bogus cops assaulted
an army officer’s wife

THE wife of an army officer who recently claimed knowledge of a CCB-type military unit operating in the Ciskei, Lt Ntansio Kleinbooi, has alleged she was assaulted by men posing as police officers.

In a statement to Lawyers for Human Rights, Mrs Nokhanyo Kleinbooi, of Alice, said five armed men, two in military uniform, raided her home close to midnight on March 6, searching for Lt Kleinbooi.

They identified themselves as police, but did not give their names.

A Ciskei police spokesman, Brig Avery Ngaki, said on Monday he could not comment as there was “nothing on our police records about this allegation”. He said such complaints should be reported to the nearest police station as soon as possible.

Mrs Kleinbooi said in her statement she had told the men who raided her house she had not seen her husband since he left on February 9, and had no idea where he was. She claimed she was then repeatedly assaulted.

Lt Kleinbooi fled the Ciskei after a shooting incident early last month, described by the Council of State as an abortive coup.

The incident resulted in the arrest of eight Ciskei Defence Force officers, including CDF chief, Brig Monwabisi Jamangile. They were later released and charges against them dropped.

Weapons

Speaking last month on condition his whereabouts not be disclosed, Lt Kleinbooi told certain news media about a covert military unit, known as International Research, which he alleged had been stockpiling weapons in a house in Bisho’s ministerial complex.

The Council of State has confirmed that a covert military operation existed in the homeland, adding it would cease operating with effect from this week.

SAPA
Sun Ciskei may face
dearth of subscribers

BRENT VON MELVILLE

THE only stumbling block to the April 17 listing of Sun Ciskei is the possibility there might not be enough subscribers for shares.

The main condition of the Sun Ciskei offer of 51-million shares at R1.50 a share is that it is only open to Ciskei citizens.

In terms of JSE regulations, a company needs a minimum of 300 shareholders to be considered a public company and industry sources have suggested that Sun Ciskei may not recruit enough interest to obtain the minimum.

It is understood UAL Merchant Bank (which has structured the deal) has been feverishly trying to recruit buyers since the offer opened on March 15.

UAL GM Mike Farrell discounted the suggestion the offer would not be fully subscribed and said, based on the response to the prospectus so far, the offer was expected to be very well received. A simple explanation of the offer has been included in the prospectus.

Sun Ciskei has 75-million ordinary shares in issue, two thirds of which are held by Sun Ciskei holdings, which is composed equally of Sun Hotels International (SHIL) and the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank (CPDB).

The CPDB has allotted a further shareholding of 6.77%, or 5.1-million shares to the Ciskei public and the remainder (28.6%) is controlled by "other shareholders" under the auspices of the Port Ciskei International Development Corporation.

According to the prospectus, the unaudited pro-forma results for the six months to end-December 1990 reflect net income after tax of R13.4m. The directors have forecast earnings by year-end of R27.7m. Forecast earnings, calculated on a weighted average number of shares in issue of 68.75m, has thus been set at 40.3c a share.
In terms of Ciskei legislation, Sun Ciskei elected in 1985 not to pay company tax. However, withholding taxes at a maximum rate of 15% are deductible from dividends, interest, management fees and royalties paid to non-residents.

If management forecasts are correct, successful applicants can expect to receive a dividend of 6.7c a share for the year to June. The group intends paying annual dividends of 70% of attributable earnings, though the first payment will be considerably reduced by special dividend payments exceeding R20m, arising from a capital restructure in March.

The pro-forma balance sheet for June 30 1991 shows gearing at about 30% — though there are several low interest loans — with net current liabilities of R25.2m. Creditors and provisions including management fees, casino levies and refurbishment costs account for R26.4m out of current liabilities of R33m.

Management warns that the rapid rate of political and economic change makes it difficult to anticipate the group’s performance but adds that the casino resort industry has shown “remarkable resilience.”

A question over these resort groups is the possibility of changes in tax and gambling legislation (Fox March 8). Sun Ciskei has exclusive gambling rights in Ciskei until 1999 and first option on any rights the government may grant in the next 10 years. However, the prospectus warns that the legal enforceability of these rights should be regarded as uncertain.

Sun Ciskei raises no cash from the share offer. Ciskei Peoples Development Bank is undertaking the offer to enable Ciskei citizens and residents to participate in the equity and to facilitate a listing, on April 17.

As a result of the share offer, Sun Hotels International and the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank will, through joint venture company Sun Ciskei Holdings, hold 66.7% of Sun Ciskei. Consortium Lenton members will retain 26.5%, with only 6.8% held by the public.

Though the terms look favourable, for those who can apply, the tight control of the share will obviously limit tradeability.

Simon Cashmere

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**SUN CISKEI**

**UNCERTAIN RIGHTS**

The proposed sale by the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank of its direct shareholding in Sun Ciskei appears to favour investors.

The bank is offering Ciskei citizens and permanent residents 5,075m Sun Ciskei ordinary shares — 6.8% of the leisure group’s total equity — at 150c a share. The method of allocation will be determined once the bank has gauged the response to the share offer.

According to the Sun Ciskei prospectus, EPS for the year to June 1991 will be 40.3c. At an issue price of 150c, this puts the share on a forward p/e of 3.7 and pro-forma dividend yield of 18.8%, which compares well with the rating of Sun International’s other listed subsidiaries. The flagship, Sun Bop, is trading on a p/e of 15.2 and 4.1% yield, while TranSun has a 7.6 times earnings multiple and 8.3% yield.

The prospectus states that in the five years to June 30 1990, turnover grew at a compound rate of 42% a year to R82.1m, while earnings climbed 20.2% a year compound to R19.6m. NAV at that time was valued at the equivalent of 66.6c a share and is expected to climb to 68.6c by year-end.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The Minister of Finance and

Order in Council 29/1979

Be it enacted by the

House of Assembly, and it is hereby enacted that all duties, fees, and charges relating to the registration of motor vehicles shall be paid by the owner thereof at the time of registration in the manner prescribed by the Minister of Finance and the Registrar of Motor Vehicles.

The said duties, fees, and charges shall be paid in the manner prescribed by the Registrar of Motor Vehicles, and the owner of any motor vehicle shall, upon application to the Registrar of Motor Vehicles, be given a certificate of registration in the name of the owner thereof.

The Minister of Finance shall, for the purposes of this enactment, fix the rates of duties, fees, and charges, and shall cause a list of such rates to be published in the Gazette of the Federation of Malaya.

Passed and enacted in the House of Assembly of the Federation of Malaya this 27th day of January, 1979.

J. B. W. E. W. L. W. M. S. A.

Speaker of the House of Assembly.
No let-up on Gqozo

THE Transkei branch of the ANC has reaffirmed its call for the overthrow of Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo, saying it was “not aware” of an agreement by the organisation’s NEC not to attack Gqozo in public.

Last week, a joint statement from the ANC, Cosatu and SACP called on its supporters to “intensify the campaign to rid Ciskei of the Gqozo-Maqoma-Mattehe axis”.

Chief Len Maqoma and Keith Matthee were recently appointed Minister of Manpower and Minister of Justice respectively.

Last week’s statement also rejected Ciskei’s move towards reincorporation as being on the “orders of Pretoria over the needs of the people”.

It “noted with great concern the intensification of co-option strategies of the Pretoria regime”.

Identified as part of this co-option were the “manipulation of Gqozo by advisers foisted on him by Pretoria in the persons of Keith Matthee and other known operatives of the SADF”; the involvement of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in the drafting of the new constitution; the co-opting of chiefs; and the “stated intention to extend this constitutional manipulation to the Transkei”.

The statement also charged that South Africa was trying to build up “notorious elements” such as the former police anti-insurgent unit Koevoet, and called on its followers to rid the region of “South African Defence Force Askaras”.

The tone of the statement was in marked contrast to that of a declaration issued last month after talks between the Ciskei and a top-level ANC delegation led by secretary general Alfred Nzo.

The eight-hour talks came at the height of the war of words between the ANC and the Ciskei, and the declaration said both sides would stop publicly attacking each other.

However, Transkei ANC publicity secretary Ezra Sigxwela has now defended last week’s attack on the Ciskei, claiming the Transkei branch of the organisation had “not been aware” of the NEC’s agreement with Gqozo.
Ciskei 'has a right to exist' 105

**By Themba Molefe**

Ciskei was no "mutant offspring of the Verwoer-dian apartheid plan" but a territory which had a legitimate claim to the broader South Africa, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said yesterday.

Opening the Ciskei pavilion at the Rand Show at Nasrec, the chairman of the homeland's military council said:

"Described by some political entities as the mutant offspring of the Verwoerdian process and unworthy of an individual identity historically, we do, in fact, have a legitimate claim for our own place in the sun.

"Before elevation to national status (independence) in 1981, Ciskei was a unitary district in the Eastern Cape.

"Earlier still, it was known as British Kaffraria and, even before that, it was ruled over by traditional chiefs such as Sandile and Maqoma," Gqozo said.

"Defending the free enterprise system as opposed to socialism and communism, Gqozo scorned at charges that the South African Government maintained a firm grip on Ciskei through the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Yesterday's event also saw relations between Ciskei and KwaZulu strengthened.

Ciskeian foreign minister Mr SM Manzi praised KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, describing him as "a man of peace".
Firms of attorneys: SADF interests

*10. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether the South African Defence Force commissioned any firms of attorneys, in addition to or in place of the State Attorney, to represent its interests and members for the duration of the Harris Commission of Inquiry in 1989; if so, what (a) are the names of the attorneys concerned and (b) total amount had been charged in fees by these attorneys as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE.

Yes.

(a) The firm Havenga and Kruger (Incorporated), Attorneys, Notaries and Conveyancers

(b) As at 30 December 1989 the amount was R22 500 and a closing fee of R1 250.

The firm's instructions were, however, extended prior to the completion of the Harris Commission and were executed against the negotiated closing fee. Both amounts are, however, subject to confirmation by the Law Society and taxation.

Adv C J DE JAGER: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is he aware of the fact that the said Mr Havenga is a son of one of the officers who dealt with the question of the CCB? Secondly, that the said Mr Kruger, to whom the hon the Deputy Minister referred is the same Mr Kruger as the one who was commissioned in the other case [Interruptions.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not aware of that, but I find it a great pity that the hon member has raised such reflections here where he enjoys the privilege of Parliament, and not outside [Interruptions.]

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C(3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament

Electoral Act: amendments

*11 Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Whether he is contemplating amending those sections of the Electoral Act, No 45 of 1979, which disqualify from being registered as voters or becoming members of Parliament persons who have been found guilty of offences such as treason or of offences under the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, involving sentences of imprisonment without the option of a fine; if not, why not; if so, (a) what amendments are envisaged and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS.

No, because it is not expedient at this stage of constitutional development in the country, to introduce adjustments to the existing Electoral Act.

(a) and (b) fall away.

Mr Lennox Sebe: resident in SA

*12. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 24 on 17 April 1990, Mr Lennox Sebe is still residing in South Africa; if so, (a) whether the conditions have been met to do so, and (b) whether the anticipated cost of his stay was envisaged and the cost of his South African Department, as announced by that Department in January 1989, has been completed, if not, (a) whether the conditions have been met to do so, and (b) when the anticipated cost was envisaged and the cost of his stay was envisaged.

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Yes.

(a) Under circumstances where he left his country as Head of State and where a coup d'état was carried out in his country during his absence. He was not unwilling to return to Ciskei After consultation with the South African Embassy in Ciskei and the Council of State of Ciskei, he was advised not to return to Ciskei for the time being in the interest of the promotion of peace and quiet in Ciskei, which is at the same time in the interest of South Africa. Further, Mr Sebe is receiving medical treatment in South Africa.

(b) Mr Sebe is keen to return to Ciskei as soon as possible. Sensitive discussions between legal representatives of Mr Sebe and legal representatives of Ciskei regarding his return are well advanced. Further details regarding the outcome of these discussions could only be announced upon completion thereof.

(2) No request for political asylum has been received.

1989 Matriculation results: investigation

*13. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Education and Training.

Whether, with reference to information furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, the investigation into the 1989 matriculation results in schools falling under his Department, as announced by his Department in January 1989, has been completed, if not, (a) whether the conditions have been met to do so and (b) when they are envisaged and the cost of his stay was envisaged.

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

Yes.

(i) February 1990

(ii) The major causes of the low percentage pass were briefly as follows:

— The bad results were inter alia caused by poor attendance, 'lesson dodging' and an indifferent attitude to their responsibility on the part of many teachers, effective teaching for a maximum of only five periods per day; the fact that schooling only started during February 1989 and was discontinued in September 1989, and the influence of many disruptions.

— Poor attendance, late arrival and early departure from school on the part of pupils.

— Ineffective supervision, and in some instances, a total lack of guidance and control by principals and management teams.

— An absence of positive parental influence on educational activities at schools.

— The intimidation and manipulation of children and teachers for political ends.

— A system of promotion which includes the haphazard conning of marks and results which too easily allowed pupils to progress from Sub-Standard A to Std 9.

Sundays films

*14 Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Justice.

Whether the Government is giving consideration to amending the Prohibition of the Exhibition of Films on Sundays and Public Holidays Act, No 16 of 1977, with a view to allowing generally the screening of motion pictures on Sundays; if so, (a) what steps does the Government intend taking in this regard and (b) when, if not, why not?

(2) Whether he will make a statement on the position of cinemas as against the SABC, M-Net and video distributors in regard to the screening of motion pictures on Sundays?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

(1) Whether the Government is giving consideration to amending the Prohibition of the Exhibition of Films on Sundays and Public Holidays Act, No 16 of 1977, with a view to allowing generally the screening of motion pictures on Sundays; if so, (a) what steps does the Government intend taking in this regard and (b) when, if not, why not?

(2) A statement is not necessary.

1991-92: new taxpayers

*15. Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Finance.

(a) How many individuals is it estimated will cross the tax threshold and become taxpayers...
Opinion

THE Mfengu is the name given to a group of tribes driven westwards after the early 1800s by their warlike Zulu cousins.

They settled uneasily among the Xhosa-speaking peoples of the Eastern Cape and by the 1830s had joined with the British to fight against the Xhosa.

For this help, the British colonial authorities awarded to the Mfengu and their descendants virgin forests. This is the Mfengu district to be held in trust "in perpetuity." There the tribe flourished until late 1977, when repeated threats from Pretoria to remove them forcibly were realised. The 4,000 or so Mfengu people were taken from their 7,000 hectares at gunpoint and dumped 600km to the east in what later was to become independent Ciskei.

Their new "home," ironically named Elukhanyeni (meaning place of light or place of enlightgement), was in the remote Keiskamskamma district. Many had left behind self-built brick homes to be smashed by bulldozers. They were given instead tents or wood-slat houses. A few found themselves in two-roomed cement brick constructions. They had brought with them only what could be carried; their crops remained behind to rot in the ground.

Starvation

The poor soil, thin vegetation and low rainfall soon claimed most of their livestock. The rest had to be sold off for the uprooted to merely try to survive. Then the people began to die. First the old, sick and the very young. Some of heartbreak, starvation and disease. The new Mfengu cemetery at Elukhanyeni soon became well populated.

The conisation in land promised the Mfengu — the equivalent in production potential to the land they lost, plus 33% — did not materialise. In all the Mfengu received just R250,000 as compensation.

Against all the talk of the removal, the government sold off the Mfengu land to 19 white farmers in 1973 for an average of 20,000ha of arable land each, at about R20,000 a lot.

With the assistance of "soft" government loans, the local cooperative, the new owners cleared the land, which, though watered, was heavily fertilised, acid and leached of most useful nutrients. Tens of thousands of rands had to be spent on fertiliser programmes.

The construction of homes, milking sheds and purchase of high-tech computer and milking equipment took its toll in money and human suffering. Many farmers nearly went under, the strain began to break up families and there were divorces. To resist this he turned to the co-operative, the most pulled through.

Shadow

Today this area, described by the Department of Agriculture as having the potential of becoming "South Africa's little New Zealand," is living up to its promise and is the country's best milk-producing area.

Although most of the farms are now making healthy profits, the shadow of apartheid still looms large over their fields: the Mfengu are clinging to the traditional land and leaving the farmers uncertain of their future.

The government's recently proposed land reforms have spurred the Mfengu's determination to win back the land they lost, a determination long fuelled by the Mfengu's impoverished circumstances.

Despite being told they were going to an agricultural paradise, about 2,000 Mfengu still live in Elukhanyeni in what amounts to a township in the bush. Around their wood-slat and cement-brick homes there are a few meagre plots of land and, in a single irrigated field, in all no more than 1,000ha.

The rocky soil and low rainfall ensure that their crops are meagre and sparse.

Many have abandoned the area for life in the urban towns, with most moving scattered between Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Mr Wilson D Bunu, 60, is a diminutive member of the Tsitsikamma Exiles Association executive committee, set up by the Mfengu to fight their case. He has no vindictiveness against the men who came in the night with guns and arrest ed him, while his family was taken away and his six-roomed brick home smashed. But he wants to go home.

"We do not want the white farmers who have our land to suffer as we did — there has been enough suffering. But we want to go where we know how to farm; where we can have our cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens, and we can grow our beans, pumpkins, potatoes and water melons. There we will be happy."

Mr George Xayimpi too is old to seek work in the urban townships. He longs for the old days when he too had outside the dozen and scores of other domestic livestock.

"I lost everything — my three houses, all my crops and, soon after, all my animals. About four years ago one of my animals. About four years after we got here, my wife became sick and died soon after. I am sure she died of sadness. She was never the same after we came here. They call this place the place of light, but really it is the place of sadness," he says.

'Hopeless'

Both sides realise it is a matter of time before the ANC is a major player in a new government and that if the Mfengu issue (with numerous similar disputes) is not settled by then, there is little doubt who eventually will own the land.

Says Mr Hlana van Schoor, 47, a leader among the white farmers involved in the dispute and a Conservative Party supporter: "Frankly, I am depressed and just about hopeless about all this. All we want is a resolution so we know where we stand."

Mr Peter Kortz, 42, another of the farmers on former Mfengu land, says he bought his farm unaware of its back ground. "A political liberal, he abhors apartheid and admits that the Mfengu may have a point — but asks what will happen to the white farmers who now occupy the land."

Despite the apparent deadlock, there may be a way out for the demoralised farmers and the Mfengu — who are to launch a Supreme Court action based on an Appeal Court ruling against the state in a similar dispossession case.

Although neither the Department of Agriculture nor that of Land Affairs and Development Aid would discuss the matter on the record, officials sounded hopeful that a resolution was suggested to them that the Mfengu would negotiate.

Compromise

For their part, the Mfengu might accept a compromise involving the return of 2,700ha of land, taken over by the Morawin Church in the late 1950s in obscure circumstances, and a further 2,000ha of their land used by the state for forestry — but only as long as another 4,000ha are found in the vicinity.

Agriculture officials admit some white Tsitsikamma farmers are financially troubled and might sell. Tsitsikamma Exiles Association executive members agree that such a deal could work. Although the state would have to be taken before they could speak for their people, individually they are all for the idea.

The white farmers are open to working out a deal, perhaps involving selling back to the government some of the undeveloped land on their farms.
EAST LONDON. — Four Whittlesea pupils were reported to have been wounded on Wednesday when Ciskei police fired on them.

Residents said police used live ammunition and sjamboks to disperse pupils who marched to the Sada police station to protest against the detention of four colleagues.

A Ciskei police spokesman said yesterday that the detained pupils had been charged and would appear in court in Whittlesea today.

He did not elaborate on the charges laid, but said the situation in Whittlesea was now under control.
No news is good news to Ciskei

The Ciskei Council of State has cancelled a government department subscription to a local newspaper — because it doesn’t like what the newspaper says about it.

In a statement the Council of State said it had cancelled subscriptions to the Daily Dispatch because the newspaper was “not serving its purpose within the government services.”

The statement said: “Since the newspaper had displayed a biased attitude to the ruling military government, the government will look at other channels of communication to convey its message.”

It added that the military government also felt it was under no obligation to use the paper as a vehicle of communication in the near future.

Daily Dispatch editor Glyn Williams said the newspaper was not biased against Ciskei and that it would always try to get the other side of the story where there were allegations or contentious issues concerning the homeland.

“We send them faxes, we ask them questions. Sometimes we get a response, sometimes we don’t,” he said.

Williams said he had sympathy for the chairman of the Council of State, Brig Oupa Gqozo, who “has a tough job”.

He said the newspaper would continue trying to get responses to questions from the Council of State and he hoped their decision would not make this more difficult.

The statement said government employees “may buy the paper for their personal use.” — Eca
Mr Peter Soal

'Help control spending of SA aid'?

Political Staff Report 15-11-91

FOREIGN Minister Mr Pik Botha has been advised to
reach transitional agreements
with Venda and Transkei to
control their spending of South
African aid.

Mr Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) told Parliament an
arrangement made by the
South African government with
Ciskei recently had been "highly
significant."

Ciskei had been on the verge
of total collapse when it was
agreed that South Africa
should appoint the Ciskei's
Ministers of Finance, Economic
Affairs, State Administration,
Justice, Transport, Public
Works and Agriculture.

Mr Soal said South Africa
should make similar transition-
al appointments in Venda and
Transkei, pending re-incorpora-
tion, to ensure aid was proper-
ly controlled.

He said President De Klerk
had indicated last week that
the situation was different in
Bophuthatswana which was
"doing well" financially.
Mokaba too old for youth league?

JOHANNESBURG.—ANC Youth League president Mr. Peter Mokaba and half his provisional leadership could find themselves without jobs if the ANC’s proposed new constitution is adopted in July—because they are not youthful enough.

The constitution—to be proposed for ratification at the ANC’s consultative conference in Durban—states that membership of the league should be open to people between the ages of 14 and 30.

The league’s assistant secretary-general, Mr. Billy Masethla, said the question of the maximum age was a matter of “strenuous” debate among league and ANC members.

About half the 23-member provisional leadership group was over 30, he said.

Mr. Mokaba, whose taste for designer shirts and militant style have made him a high-profile and popular figure among the youth, is 33.

The Youth League’s current maximum age is 35, and this age limit would be adhered to until a final decision was taken, Mr. Masethla said.

Khans and can’ts of petty apartheid

By BRONYN DAVIDS

APARTHEID is still peeking fit and taking flight in a bird park, a Ravensmead man found while holidaying in the Transvaal.

On Sunday—two weeks into his “very expensive” Transvaal sojourn—Mr. Abdulla Khan and his companions visited Hartebeespoort Dam where he was handed a handbill advertising the Makapani Bird Park and Picnic Resort.

Excited by the thought of picnicking to the twitter of 1 000 exotic birds, Mr. Khan drove to the spot and was told it was “for whites only”.

Mr. Khan was told by the manager that the resort was in a “CP and AWB area and the people would not like it if Indians, coloureds and blacks were allowed in”.

But an apologetic manager did allow Mr. Khan to see the birds—which “I thanked them for”.

Mr. Khan said he was so disillusioned by the incident that he and his wife packed their bags and cut short their holiday.

The manager could not be reached for comment last night.

Ciskei children dying of hunger

EAST LONDON.—Almost 24,000 people in Ciskei’s Hewu district are being fed daily by Operation Hunger, yet children there are still dying from malnutrition.

The organisation is feeding 25,000 in the homeland daily and another 60,000 had applied for help, according to the Border regional director of Operation Hunger, Mrs. Glynis Baer.

Organisations involved in the region blame South African and Ciskei government incompetence and insensitivity as the cause of the deaths.

“There is no doubt we have a problem,” said Dr. Vincent Shaw of the pediatric ward at Hewu Hospital, who said 17 children died of kwashiorkor, resulting from long-term malnutrition, in March.

While no accurate figures of the infant mortality rate in the area were available, a survey in Oxton, a village in the district, revealed that 60% of respondents had lost one child or more, while 30% had lost three children or more.

Mrs. Baer said the malnutrition problem was exacerbated by a shortage of food and water and by the area’s geographic isolation.

*Africa famine warning

— Page 5
'Kei court orders halt to threats

Byown Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Bisho Supreme Court here yesterday granted an interim order restraining Ciskei's Intelligence Unit from threatening and harassing a former Ciskei Defence Force member, Warrant-Officer Vuyo Melane.

WO Melane had brought the application asking that the "servants" of the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, members of the International Research Foundation, be interdicted from threatening him.

He also asked that they be restrained from having any contact with him.

In an affidavit, WO Melane claimed his life had been threatened by Mr. Anton Niewoudt, who he said was a member of International Research.

WO Melane said he had been recruited to the unit late last year.
The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, I am not aware that the Stone Commission’s report has been made public. I am aware of certain information pertaining to that report that has been made available to the public, the veracity of which I cannot vouch for. The fact is that I did not release that information officially or unofficially and I do not intend to do so.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister’s reply, is he aware that somebody from somewhere leaked that report to the Press? My second question is this. Is the hon the Minister carrying out an investigation as to the source from which the leak took place?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am aware that certain aspects of the report have been published in the newspapers. Instructions have been given to the intelligence service of the State to conduct an investigation into how the Stone Committee’s report was leaked.

*2 Leader of the Opposition—Housing [Question standing over]

Chief executive director’s post: short-list

3 Mr K PANDAY asked the Minister of Education and Culture. (105)

(1) Whether a short-list of candidates for appointment to the post of chief executive director has been finalised, if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it expected to be finalised?

(2) Whether he will disclose the names of the persons on the short-list, if not, why not; if so, who are they?

(3) (a) by whom and (b) when will the final selection be made?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, the answer to the first question is no. This is not done in terms of the ratings pertaining to the Indian Education Act. Secondly, if two people have similar ratings, it is the job of the Directors-General in the House of Delegates to give us that recommendation, and thereafter to implement it. We do not have that particular right and we do not interfere.

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister’s reply, is it not correct, when two people have equal ratings, that the Director-General or the hon the Minister has no alternative but to recommend the more senior person of the two be appointed?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if that situation should arise, we will look at it pertinently at that particular time. Since the matter has not arisen, we cannot state what we would do. At that juncture there could—as was the case when the Acting Chief Executive Director was put in the post—he a situation in which a personal promotion is given to the lesser candidate, or the candidate who is less senior in this particular regard. I do not say that this is the case, but many other interpretations could be made regarding appointment to this particular post.

Mr M RAJAB: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister’s reply, would the hon the Minister tell this House who will make up the panel of experts he referred to?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the Director-General in the House of Delegates, together with the education chiefs in the other Houses, will make up that panel of experts.

Educators: promotions/new appointments

*4 Mr K PANDAY asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether any educators who were promoted with effect from 1 January 1991 failed to take up their appointments at the schools to which they had been promoted; if so, (a) how many and (b) for what reasons;

(2) What is the policy of his Department in such cases?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE: Mr Chairman, this situation was obtained for the last 15 years. I know that, because my Department conducted a survey. Practically, everybody has a chance to apply for promotion, if he so desires. If he does not, obviously the opportunity escapes him. Further than that, I cannot answer my learned friend.

For written reply

Own Affairs

Certain Departments: cost of administration

21 Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services

(a) What was the cost of administering the Department of (i) the Budget and Auxiliary Services, (ii) Housing, (iii) Education and Culture, (iv) Health Services and Welfare and (v) Agriculture and Local Government in the 1990-91 financial year and (b) how many personnel, including Ministers, were involved in the administration of each such Department?
Ciskei services reportedly near collapse

EAST LONDON — Sections of the Ciskei public service are reportedly near collapse following the dismissal of more than 3,000 civil servants who were on strike last month.

Ciskei's military government has remained silent on the developments in its strike-affected departments. Yesterday spokesmen again did not respond to faxed inquiries.

In Mdantsane, monthly bills for electricity, water and rent have not been posted to residents since the beginning of the year. (105)

About 1,500 workers had been fired from the Health Department and in the Mdantsane courts, interpreting staff left during the strike. They have reportedly been replaced.

A series of civil servants' strikes in the homeland began last November, fuelled by a demand by public servants for salary parity with their South African counterparts. — Sapa.
BISHO'S BACKDOOR

Bisho's international airport, built in 1986 at enormous cost to taxpayers by Ciskei's extravagant former president, Lennox Sebe, may yet come into its own.

Never having had an international aircraft touch down on its tarmac on a scheduled flight, it is about to become the home of a new charter service to London.

Charter Leisure Services, a private company registered in Ciskei, has acquired permission to charter 16 flights between the UK and Ciskei during the peak Christmas season. The flights, beginning early in December, will fly between Bisho's previously unused international airport and Luton 70 km north of London.

The service is intended to offer eastern Cape residents a more direct air route to the UK. Currently, residents have to travel as far as 500 km to the nearest international airport for overseas connections.

Charter Leisure Services chairman Nigel Erskine says the service is long overdue. He expects a heavy demand for tickets, the price of which has been guaranteed at R3 600 for six months for return fares, with reductions for children.

Company director Angela Malia says: "If all goes well, we hope to expand the service on a more permanent basis. There's the whole of Europe. The possibilities are endless."

The new service has been able to squeeze in through the backdoor because Ciskei is outside of South African Airways' jurisdiction. Previous attempts to establish similar charter services have failed because of SAA's monopoly of international routes and stringent government regulations.

In terms of the Air Services Act, a charter flight on an existing route is permitted only where SAA and its pool partners cannot offer a "satisfactory service." This seldom arises as SAA and its pool partners are generally perceived to be offering a satisfactory service relative to existing demand. The situation is further complicated by another regulation that prevents charter services from picking up SA passengers.

In this instance, the Department of Civil Aviation merely had to approve overflying rights in SA airspace. This did not stop SAA from contesting Charter Leisure Services' application though. Informed sources say SAA was concerned about the origin of passengers (mostly South Africans from Port Elizabeth and East London) but was told to refer the matter to the Department of Foreign Affairs. Foreign Affairs was adamant — Ciskei is an independent country.

The Ciskei government hopes the new venture will attract foreign capital. Brigadier Oupa Gqozo must be relieved that Bisho international airport may finally be put to good use. To date, the only planes to have used it are those belonging to the Ciskei Defence Force and a few private businessmen.

- Funds for the venture are being put up by Erskine, a former director and shareholder of John Swain, a private British printing firm taken over by the Wace Group in 1989. And while neither Erskine nor any of his directors appear to have had any previous experience in the travel industry, Erskine promises that the public's money will be well looked after.

"A trust account has been opened with the Standard Bank and will be jointly administered by Hutton & Cook, a firm of attorneys, and KPMG Aiken & Peat, which, in turn, will audit the account and make all payments," he says.

Tickets will be available from Charter Leisure Services and travel agents. CONTINUED...
Ciskei party on the cards?

CISKEI: military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, is apparently attempting to establish a political party.

A source who declined to be named said workers at a government printing firm in the homeland had witnessed the "massive production" of membership cards for the Ciskei Freedom Party (CFP). The cards were printed in black, green and gold.

In Ilitha, near Berlin, a government official is alleged to have disbanded the local civic organisation and urged residents to join the CFP.

Gqozo has clashed with chiefs and headmen in the past over the authenticity of their positions.

It is also believed that pensions are to be increased as a bribe. A Mandela san pensioner confirmed she had been promised an increase of R130.

Border Civic Congress publicity secretary Richard Gantle said: "Ciskei has been working hand in hand with KwaZulu and they are planning to use this new party as a tool to secure a seat at the new South Africa negotiating table."

Enews.
Ciskei blamed for attacks on ANC

THE Border region of the ANC has called an urgent meeting to discuss threats against the organisation's members and the attack on its vice-chairman's house.

The house of Mr Smuts Ngonyama in Dimbaza was attacked early yesterday by a gunman apparently using an R5 rifle.

Ngonyama said there were growing threats of violence against the ANC, posed by special military units operating both in Ciskei and South Africa.

"There have been threats against Border's ANC chairman, the Rev Arnold Stofile. So, in the light of that, I rather expected this attack on me."

Windows

The attack shattered windows and damaged furniture but nobody was injured.

Ngonyama blamed Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo for setting the tone for such incidents by launching verbal attacks on both the ANC and church groups.

"I am also the organising secretary of the Border Council of Churches," he said.

Ngonyama said attempts were being made to introduce violence to the Border region in an effort to "neutralise" the role the ANC was playing in the area.

"There are forces working against the climate of peace and justice we are trying to create in this area," he said.
AK47s used in Ciskei

The Argus Correspondent
BISHO. — AK 47s, like the ones used in the shooting of alleged Ciskei rebels Mr Charles Sebe and Mr Osward Guzana, were generally used only by special forces like Koewoel, the inquest on the two men has heard.

This was said by a South African ballistics expert, Warrant Officer Burger Kloppers, under cross-examination yesterday by counsel for the families of the two men.

Warrant Officer Kloppers said he had found a spent AK-47 cartridge inside a car. The red car the two were travelling in had 17 bullet holes on the driver's side and 14 holes on the passenger side. The front of the car was not damaged.

He disputed reports that Mr Sebe was shot while naked. His long-sleeved shirt had two bullet holes and his T-shirt had four bullet holes that corresponded with wounds in his body, he said.

There had been accounts from villagers who said Mr Sebe had been told to strip and lie on the ground, and then shot. These reports were published in the Press at the time, but Warrant Officer Kloppers said there was no evidence that Mr Sebe was shot while lying down.

Mr Guzana, formerly a member of Ciskei's ruling military council, and Mr Sebe, the territory's chief of state security under President Lennox Sebe, died in late January.

They were stopped at a road-block, where Mr Guzana died. Mr Sebe reportedly escaped, but was later found and shot near Stutterheim.

The Ciskei government afterwards said they had been on a mission to overthrow it, but this was disputed by their families. Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was quoted as saying he had given instructions to "seek and destroy" Mr. Sebe on "sight."

There were later claims that the deaths had been engineered by a secret Ciskei unit which lured the two men to their deaths.
EAST LONDON.—Ciskei's fired Minister of Justice, Mr. Keith Matthee, had resigned from his Constitutional Development portfolio almost two weeks before his dismissal on Wednesday, it emerged yesterday.

Sources in Ciskei disclosed that Mr Matthee had resigned after a speech made by the military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, in Bloemfontein, in which the brigadier had slated the ANC and the churches.

Mr Matthee was appointed Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development earlier this year. He and the former Minister of Works, Mr Il Salie, were appointed jointly by Ciskei and South Africa to their ministerial posts.

Ciskei fired both men on Wednesday.

The National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) said the dismissals signalled the end for the Ciskei government.

The government was 'in tatters', with council of state members at loggerheads and divided on many issues, Nehawu said.
Ciskei confrontation looms

Tension is rising in the Ciskei as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's government and the ANC move closer to direct confrontation.

Key demands in the consumer boycott launched by the ANC in the Border region this week are the resignation of Gqozo and the dismantling of the Ciskei.

While the boycott appears to be generally effective, Gqozo is showing no inclination to step down. On the contrary, there have been persistent rumours he is setting up his own party, the Ciskei Freedom Party (CFP), to establish a support base to pit himself against the ANC.

In a related move, Gqozo has begun reinstating chiefs he deposed when he first came to power early last year.

This is seen as a move against local residents' associations, mostly ANC-aligned, which took over local government functions when the chiefs and headmen were deposed.

It seems Gqozo's attempt to build an organisational base is directed primarily at the rural areas, where the ANC alliance is weaker than in the cities.

There are fears the CFP might cause violence to be imported into the region. 

Fears of hit squad activities directed at the regional ANC increased when the house of the ANC's Border vice-chairman, Snuts Ngonyama, was attacked last weekend.

The consumer boycott was announced last week and began in centres throughout the region on Monday. It is the first time the entire region has embarked on a co-ordinated consumer boycott.

Several demands centre on regional issues. They include the lifting of the curfew in Whittlesea and the reinstatement of all dismissed Ciskei civil servants.

The ANC also demanded that Gqozo resign and that Ciskei be reincorporated into South Africa. "through a proper process of consultation with mass-based organisations and with the popular mandate of the Ciskei people".

The Ciskei imposed a curfew in the Whittlesea area after clashes between students and security forces.

The ANC Youth League in the area has been defying the curfew regulations.

So far, 11 people have been arrested as a result.

There have been reports of attempts, primarily in rural areas, to recruit members for the party and reports of party cards in black, green and gold being printed in Dimbaza.

The colours are, of course, those of the ANC and Inkatha, and there have been accusations that the CFP shares more than a similar name with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Inkatha has denied any connection with the CFP, but Gqozo is known to have great sympathies for Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. - Ecna
New ministers for Ciskei

EAST LONDON.—The South-African and Ciskei governments could be expected jointly to appoint new ministers to the homeland's recently vacated portfolios, SA ambassador to Ciskei Mr Pieter Goosen said yesterday.

This comes after last week's sacking by the Ciskei government of its minister of justice, Mr Keith Matthee, and minister of works, Mr H Salie. — Sapa
AKs used in Sebe shooting

From Phila Ngqumba
Bisho

AK47s like those used in the shooting of alleged Ciskei rebels Charles Sebe and Onurad Guzana in January were generally used only by special forces like Koevoet, the inquest into the deaths of the two men heard here on Tuesday.

A South African ballistics expert, Warrant Officer, Burger Kloppers, said under cross-examination by counsel for the families of the two men, Mr Deva Pillay, he had found a spent AK47 cartridge inside the car in which the two were travelling.

The car had seven bullet holes on the driver's side and 14 on the passenger side.

Kloppers disputed reports that Sebe was shot while naked. His long-sleeved shirt had two bullet holes and his T-shirt had four bullet holes that corresponded with wounds in his body, he said.

There had been accounts from villagers who said Sebe had been told to strip and lie on the ground, and then shot.

Guzana, formerly a member of Ciskei's ruling military council, and Sebe, the territory's chief of state security under President Lennox Sebe, died in late January.

They were stopped at a roadblock where Guzana died. Sebe reportedly escaped, but was later found and shot near Stutterheim.

The Ciskei government afterwards said they had been on a mission to overthrow it, but this was disputed by their families. — VERITAS
Tension was rising in the Ciskei this week as the government of Brigadier Osapa Gqozo and the ANC moved closer to direct confrontation.

Key demands in a consumer boycott launched by the ANC in the Border region on Monday are Gqozo's resignation and the dismantling of the Ciskei.

While the boycott appeared to be generally effective, Gqozo showed no inclination to step down. Rumours persist that he is setting up his own party, the Ciskei Freedom Party, and he has begun reinstalling regional chiefs he deposed when he came to power early last year. This is seen as a move against local residents' associations, mostly ANC-aligned, who took over regional government functions when the chiefs were deposed.

The ANC's demands include the lifting of the curfew in Witlesga — Bena
Sebe inquest seeks Gqozo tapes

THE SABC was this week requested to provide the Ciskei Supreme Court with all its recorded interviews with Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Ciskei's Acting Chief Judge Claassens made the request during an inquest into the deaths of former Ciskei security police chief, Charles Sebe, and Colonel Onward Guzana, a former member of the Ciskei military council.

Sebe and Guzana were killed earlier this year during an alleged coup attempt.

Guzana was shot dead at a roadblock, from which Sebe escaped to the nearby village of Gubevu where he was shot dead the next day.

Radio Ciskei was earlier ordered to hand over tapes of an interview in which it is alleged Gqozo admitted "giving instructions for the two men to be killed, as he had information they were coming to stage a coup".

Gqozo allegedly also told the SABC he had ordered his soldiers to "seek and destroy Sebe on sight".

A corporal in the Ciskei Defence Force, Thembu Matyobeni, told the inquest he was among the contingent of soldiers manning the roadblock at which Guzana was shot dead on the night of January 27.

Matyobeni said the soldiers were earlier briefed by a Colonel Mtei to "be on the lookout for a red Jetta car with an SW registration".

He said Colonel Mtei informed them who the occupants would be and that they "posed a threat to the government".

Matyobeni said the car approached the roadblock as expected but then failed to stop. He said shots were fired from the car "leaving us soldiers with no alternative" but to fire in self-defence.

He acknowledged that the shooting carried on even after their commander, Lt M Mguzulwa, had ordered them to stop.

Matyobeni said Mguzulwa ordered that the car be surrounded and searched. Guzana's body and two firearms were found inside the car. The other occupant had escaped.

He denied that Guzana had been shot at close range after the car had stopped.

Last week pathologist Dr Leon Wagner told the inquest it was "impossible for Guzana to have sustained the bullet wounds while driving through a roadblock, due to the angle at which they were inflicted".

Wagner told the court two bullet wounds in Guzana's head were "contact" wounds - inflicted with the weapon's muzzle pressed against the skin.

The inquest has been postponed to a date in September. – Veritas
### SCHEDULE 4

#### AID TO Ciskei

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* 1) Actual expenditure
** 2) Estimated expenditure

NOTE:
Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.
Row over Ciskei's new law

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Lawyers have condemned a recently gazetted amendment to Ciskei's "notorious" indemnity legislation, which under certain circumstances renders the state untouchable in terms of civil and criminal law.

As amended, the law would deprive the individual of the right to challenge arbitrary actions and the abuse of state power by public officials. National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) national secretary Mr John Smith said yesterday.

A regional director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Thomas Smith, said yesterday that it was clear the indemnity laws achieved the purpose of placing political figures and members of state above the law. The original decree was promulgated less than two months after a military coup last March.

It indemnified the government, the Council of State, the Ciskei Defence Force, the police and civil servants in respect of certain "actions".
Breakthrough in Ciskei law

*Weekly Mail Reporter*

IN A major breakthrough for trade unions, Ciskei has amended its labour decree to include workers on farms, domestic and small business employees, and provide for a novel industrial court system.

Praising the developments, labour lawyer Amanda Armstrong said South Africa could learn from the Ciskei model.

The latest amendments remedy key defects in the decree, the product of negotiations between the Congress of South African Trade Unions, employers and the government in the wake of last year’s military coup.

Cosatu has also secured the incorporation of domestic, farm and small business workers in Ciskei’s Conditions of Employment Act. Most South African statutes still exclude farm and domestic labour.

The decree outstrips South Africa in another vital respect: It provides for the election of a panel of independent adjudicators and presiding officers by the unions and the Ciskei Chamber of Commerce.

Civil servants remain excluded from the legislation, but negotiations with the Ciskei government are continuing.

In Bophuthatswana, talks between Cosatu and a cabinet committee last week on the homeland’s Industrial Conciliation Act, which bans “foreign” unions, made some progress towards an accommodation. A joint statement said changes were planned to the Act, that Cosatu would be able to study proposals and that a joint working committee would be set up “to discuss matters relating to the proposed legislation”.

However conflict is looming over Cosatu’s organising drive in the homeland, which it officially launched in Bophelengi recently.

Bophuthatswana Secretary for Labour Herbert Molaoato said it was “in Cosatu’s interest” to suspend organising. Cosatu regional secretary Donnie Khumalo, however, stressed that organising would continue “within the context of Bophuthatswana’s Industrial Conciliation Act”.

Khumalo also revealed that Venda and kwandoebelé had drafted labour legislation which substantially met Cosatu standards.

Venda’s legislation, already promulgated, included all public sector workers except the police.

Both Lebowa and Gazankulu aimed to adopt South Africa’s amended Labour Relations Act but with additional provisions which included farm, domestic and public sector workers, he said.
CISKMIAN rubber and plastic producer Darmag has bounced back, reporting a 167% increase in earnings a share, for the year to end-March 1991.

Earnings rocketed to R2m (R720 000 for 13 months to March 1990) or 8,8c (3,5c) a share, enabling the group to reward shareholders with a 3c dividend — the first payout in two years.

Directors said that while the removal of loss-making operations assisted the turnaround, the improved results were due mainly to the success of Darmag’s reduction in overheads and operating expenses.

Although turnover was static at R26m, vastly improved margins at 12% (5,6%) and a hefty decrease in interest paid to R80 000 (R1,2m) aided the bottom line.

Directors said a restriction on capital spending and control over working capital resulted in better plant and equipment utilisation. Long-term loans were cut.

Darmag’s business remains dependent on the level of activity of the lead acid battery industry.
Ciskei will ‘keep to release plans’

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei is ready to adhere to South African agreements on the release of political prisoners, Lawyers for Human Rights said this week.

A statement from LHR said it had been told by Ciskei Minister of Police, Prisons and Traffic, Lieutenant-General Zephulon Makuzeni, that “the spirit of the agreement between the Republic of South Africa and the African National Congress in respect of the release of (political prisoners) will be adhered to”.

It was impossible to obtain comment from the Ciskei itself, which some time ago stopped responding to almost all media inquiries.

However, since the Ciskei some months ago signed over to the SA Government the right to veto key appointments to its cabinet, it seems likely that it will fall in line with South African positions on the question.

According to the ANC, there are eight political prisoners in the Ciskei. — Eca.
Cishek Pies Present Health Risk

BY CLAIRE KEATON, ELDON

The Weekend Journal, June 28, 2024, p. 3
Ciiskei Justice appointment

EAST LONDON — The Ciiskei military government has appointed Brigadier Oupa Gqozo’s deputy, Commandant Siphiwo Silence Pita, as Minister of Justice.

Commandant Pita (35) replaces Keith Mathees, an advocate who was dismissed together with the ‘Minister of Works and Posts, H R L Salie.

The new Justice Minister is one of the four military officers who constituted the first executive committee of the Ciiskei Council of State, after last year’s bloodless coup that ousted the government of Lennox Sebe.

The others were Colonel Mangwane, Onward Guzana, who was shot dead in February at a roadblock, and Major Peter Hauser, who has returned to his native Austria.

Commandant Pita, a commander of One Ciskei Battalion, is from Middledrift. — Sapa.
Apartheid is not dead or even ill

BANNER headlines celebrated the death of apartheid recently after the defeat of the Population Registration Act.

At the same time, however, we read about the construction of new parliament buildings in Mmabatho, the mass dismissal of recalcitrant civil servants in the Ciskei and the proposed execution of two condemned prisoners in Botshwatsana.

It is here, in the "independent" offshoot of apartheid, that the anomaly of the new South Africa comes home to us. Despite the fact that the independence of these areas is only recognized by the government of South Africa and a couple of friendly military dictatorships elsewhere in the world, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President Lucas Mbane continue to exert control over the lives of their "citizens".

If the question of the "homelands" is not addressed by those involved in the negotiation process, moves towards a just and democratic dispensation in our country will fail.

In the light of this, it is perhaps appropriate to look more closely at the human rights records of the people currently enjoying power in some of these areas — I have taken the Ciskei as a case in point.

BRIAN CURRIN, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, finds the legacy of apartheid alive and well in Ciskei

The March 1990 coup in the Ciskei heralded a welcome end to the repressive rule of Mr Lennox Sebe. There was some pressure on the new ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, to ensure that the atrocities committed under the old regime would be eliminated.

Initially, the future of the Ciskei looked promising as Brigadier Gqozo, on the face of it, appeared to be actively promoting regional stability. The elimination of forced removals, the abolition of the death penalty and the open consultative policy adopted by the government indicated some measure of commitment to human rights.

Recent events in the Ciskei have raised serious concerns about that government's commitment to a human rights culture.

Brigadier Gqozo continues to make use of his curiously named International Researchers, a covert military hit squad, despite their recent exposure. Threats of extra-judicial execution, imposition of a minimum 10-year prison sentence for participants in the Border consumer boycott, detentions without trial, and inaction in dealing with victims of drought and famine are further examples of the countless incidents of blatant human rights abuse.

Political activists in the area live in fear of their lives, as abductions and attacks on their homes become the order of the day. The syndrome of the "disappeared", for so long a feature of political struggles in South Africa, is now the experience of those living in the Border and Ciskei regions.

Recent events, on many different levels, demonstrate quite clearly the repressive nature of the Gqozo regime. The recent attack on the house of the vice-president of the Border region of the ANC, Sam Mkhwanazi; the abduction, on the night of March 5, 1991, of Nokwanele Kleinbooi, the wife of a Ciskeian Defence Force deserter; the introduction of a mandatory five-year prison sentence for any violation of Gqozo's "dignity": the roadblock death of his former second-in-command, Colonel Onward Guzana, following three periods of detention without trial, the suspension, by Gqozo, of the Jardine Commission of Inquiry into corruption in the Ciskei.

As a result of Brigadier Gqozo's flagrant disregard for human rights in the region and the destructive and destabilising role which he now plays, Lawyers for Human Rights in the Border region has called for his immediate resignation.

The Ciskei remains, in the mind of most civilised nations, an intrinsic part of South Africa. That the South African government, which has ostensibly committed itself to political negotiation and an end to repressive legislation, not only observes but also supports those committing the atrocities detailed above, is reason to question its commitment to the abolition of apartheid.

Until we see the demise of the ethos and practice of separate development, which has given our country hundreds of borders and a myriad of parliament buildings, we cannot begin to say that apartheid is actually ailing, never mind dead.
No cash for care centre

THE former Nontsapho Cripple Care Centre is struggling to gain popular support after years of being associated with the regime of ousted president Lennox Sebe.

It was named after Virginia Nontsapho Sebe, the homeland's former First Lady, and relied heavily on "donations" extracted from unwilling Ciskeians.

The centre has been renamed Enoch Sontonga Rehabilitation Centre after the celebrated composer of Nkosi Sikelelwa! Afrika, and is trying to shed its past associations with the Sebe regime.

But now that Sebe has gone, people who felt obliged to pay R2 a month towards the centre are no longer willing to do so.

This has meant a dramatic decrease in revenue for the project. Last year’s donation to the centre was R2 000 - as opposed to the R50 000 to R80 000 previously obtained through donations.

Involuntary donations were a R2 "fee" collected in each government department and in residential areas.

During Sebe’s time, the centre also attracted enormous donations from businessmen inside and outside the homeland. It also enjoyed an annual government grant.

The present government has increased this grant, but the project is still struggling to survive financially.

Centre director Nomandla Molefe said the project was established in 1985.

Since then, it had trained 208 people. Of these, 97 were working in factories at Dimbaza and Fort Jackson.

Currently there are 45 students, who are taught weaving, knitting, carpentry and joinery, said Molefe. There was no shop to sell its products, but the centre planned to set up a bazaar.

At Sontonga, there is a space problem, but two four-room timber houses are at present being built to ease congestion.

The sewing class is so overcrowded that only a few students can be taught at a time, while others have to sit idly by. The same situation exists in the carpentry class. Storage, woodcutting and display are in one congested building.

Plumbing instructor Hamilton Jobo said: "Our problem is that we have no workshops. For woodwork we need a powershop, sprayshop for finishing, a workshop and a stall."

Besides the association with the Sebe regime, there is also general apathy toward the problems of the disabled.

"I do not know whether it is our upbringing, but it is mostly whites who are concerned about disabled people," said Molefe.

"Initially we were helped by social workers to identify disabled people and prospective students for the centre. This year, our instructors had to go up and down looking for disabled people. Social workers no longer help. They see this as extra work.

"We cannot do anything without the support of the community," said Molefe. - Elnews
New party to be ‘closed to communists’

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei’s military ruler Brigadier Gqozo has launched a new political party, the African Democratic Movement which will be open to everyone except communists.

Brigadier Gqozo, the newly-elected interim leader of the ADM, said, the movement would ensure those who wanted to destroy Ciskei were removed from positions of power.

“We are going to clean up Ciskei,” he said.

The announcement of the formation of the ADM, at the House of Assembly in Bisho yesterday, put rest a month-old rumour that Brigadier Gqozo was preparing to launch an Inkatha-linked “Ciskei Freedom Party”.

Brigadier Gqozo said, the ADM rejected “a unitary state and nationalisation because it is dictatorial and not democratic.”
Ciskei party for silent majority

BISHO — The newly formed African Democratic Movement believes there is no other political movement that represents the silent majority of southern Africa on a realistic and moderate basis.

Speaking at the official announcement of the formation of the ADM yesterday, the chairman of the Ciskei Council of State, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, said the ADM rejected a unitary state and nationalisation.

Brigadier Gqozo — the "elected leader" of the ADM — said no single party or movement could claim the right to be the sole representative of the majority.

The ADM would accommodate all peace-loving people who did not wish to be intimidated or involved in violence.

The brigadier said the ADM supported the unity of people through the common objectives and core values of the freedom of association, religion, responsible freedom of speech, a free economy, a bill of rights, an independent judicial system, and the right to equal opportunities and education. — Sapa.
Ciskei ‘condemned to servitude’

By Thabo Lesili

The South African Government had reneged on its commitments to Ciskei and had condemned it to a state of financial servitude, the homeland’s military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, claimed last night in a scathing speech.

Addressing a South African Institute of Race Relations briefing in Johannesburg, Brigadier Gqozo said Ciskei had to be reincorporated into a federal South Africa if it were to become viable and prosperous.

He said South Africa had reneged on the three cardinal principles spelt out in the report governing the independence of Ciskei.

The principles were, according to the brigadier, that:

- Ciskei should not be made “worse off” by independent status.
- The new state would be provided with all the necessary infrastructure required of a sovereign state.
- It would share equitably in the “commonwealth” resources of the Greater Southern Africa.

“Yet, the credibility of the SA Government is at stake. And it is that lack of credibility that makes us uneasy bedfellows with the new SA.”

Brigadier Gqozo said that when Ciskei assumed independence, SA had arranged, through its Parliament, for the enactment of a “Financial Arrangements Bill” which set down an amount as the budgetary provision which Ciskei would receive from the SA commonwealth.

“No provision was made for escalation of inflationary factors. No provision was made for any indexing or loss of foreign exchange value to the rand,” the brigadier charged.

Describing the Ciskei situation as a “paradox”, he said the people of Ciskei were given “so-called independence” for which they were expected to be grateful, whereas they were actually being condemned to a state of perpetual servitude.

“Budgeting allocation comes in dribs and drabs. When it suits them, we are independent, making it difficult to plan. We are told to sort out our problems. We are controlled paternalistically when we advance projects.”

Ciskei was an integral part of SA and reincorporation was essential if the homeland were to be prosperous and viable.

The Ciskei government would, therefore, favour a federal state that promoted self-determination through broad-based consultation in the new South Africa.

He denied allegations by Lawyers for Human Rights of human rights violations by his government, saying the organisation was guilty of “grossly misleading and inaccurate propaganda” from the ANC and should “change its name to ‘Lawyers for ANC Human Rights’.

He said the newly formed African Democratic Movement, of which he is chairman, would cater for the needs of “those who do not want to toyi-toyi and jump around raising flags and AK-47s”.

Brigadier Gqozo.
PARTYTIME IN CISKEI!
Top PAC delegates talk to Ciskei leaders

By Kaiser Nyatumba
Political Staff

A high-level Pan Africanist Congress delegation yesterday held talks with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei military government, according to a press statement.

The statement, issued by PAC Border region publicity secretary Zamikayn Gxabe, said the meeting was scheduled to discuss political, social and economic problems.

The meeting, Mr Gxabe said, followed the PAC's numerous attempts in the past to hold talks with the Ciskei Council of State on various issues of local and national importance.

The PAC delegation included national executive council members Mahlubi Mhondazayo, Mpokane Mangqangwana and Victor Zamela.

Also in the delegation were Border regional executive committee members Mvuyo Mhangwana, Walter Tshikila and Mr Gxabe.

Relations between the PAC and the Ciskei government were strained in mid-June after homeland soldiers hauled PAC publicity-secretary Barney Dessi out of a radio studio where he was giving an interview.

Brigadier Gqozo later apologised for the incident.
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**Gqoza: Ciskei should be in SA**

**Political Staff**

The homelands had only one route for both quality survival and international recognition and that was the road back to South Africa, the chairman of Ciskei's military council of state, Brigadier Oupa Gqoza, said yesterday.

Brigadier Gqoza said during a speech to the Cape Town Press Club: "We, along with the other TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) states, are expecting reincorporation.

Although it had gained its so-called independence, Ciskei had never relinquished its dependence on South Africa, he said.

Ciskei also wanted to be involved in the multiparty talks, he said.

Brigadier Gqoza also told the Press Club that Ciskei accepted the new tax rates for individuals and companies, VAT and the development of industry with maximum export potential.

The focus of economic development was to remove all obstacles and barriers to international trade and investment in Ciskei, he said.
Rebel Radio Ciskei man fired

By Claire Keeton

DISMISSED Radio Ciskei journalist Crosby Kolele alleges that he is being victimised over his opposition to the increasingly authoritarian rule of Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Kolele claims he was dismissed on direct orders from Gqozo.

The dismissal came on the heels of reports that Gqozo had ordered the radio to ban all mention in its newscasts of political organisations he doesn't like. These include the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Kolele, who was given no reason for his dismissal, claims he was fired because of his opposition to Gqozo's new African Democratic Movement (ADM). Kolele's dismissal has been condemned by the Association of Democratic Journalists (ADJ) and the South African Union of Journalists (SAUJ).

Marleithe Myburg of the SAUJ said: "The sacking of a Radio Ciskei employee as part of an alleged ploy by the Ciskei authorities to purge the station of opposition to the newly formed ADM, is not only a serious threat to media freedom, but also constitutes a serious case of unfair labour practice."

The chairperson of the Radio Ciskei board of directors said the station had agreed with Gqozo to run a "propaganda-free station", but these claims seem increasingly thin as evidence mounts of accelerating censorship at Radio Ciskei.

At the same time as mention of political groups was banned, news broadcasts were cut dramatically, both in length and number.

And as Gqozo tightens control over Radio Ciskei, the Ciskei government is involved in negotiations with the SABC to have its signal boosted to reach right across the Cape Province.

Observers believe that both moves are linked to the launch of the ADM. They suggest that Gqozo wants to use the radio station to boost his party.

ELNEWS
Border ANC to contest Ciskei laws

EAST LONDON — The Border region of the ANC will challenge Ciskei's National Security Act in Bishop's Supreme Court in November.

The ANC will argue that the security legislation is illegal on the grounds that it contradicts the homeland's constitution decree, passed earlier this year.

A lawyer representing the ANC said this week papers had been served on the Ciskei government and that the matter had been set down to be heard over three days from November 13.

The Supreme Court will be asked to decide whether the Ciskei Constitution Decree of 1980 — which guarantees Ciskei citizens certain fundamental rights — is contradicted by amended portions of the National Security Act of 1982.

The sections provide for detention without trial for indefinite periods for interrogation and restrict gatherings.

— Saps.
Ciskei ruler told to stand down for peace

EAST LONDON. — Speakers at a Border peace conference at the weekend blamed the government for instability in the region and called Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, "a stumbling-block to regional peace".

Some alleged the government had a "hidden agenda" to destabilise the region and foster ill-feelings between the Ciskei and Transkei governments.

Several delegates said Brigadier Gqozo should stand down to ensure peace in the region.

The conference was hosted by the African National Congress and the Border Business Action Committee (BBAC).

Delegates included Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, Border ANC chairman, the Rev Arnold Stoffel, the Anglican Bishop of Grahamstown, Bishop David Russell, BBAC spokesman Mr Errol Spring, Democratic Party MP Mr Andre de Wet, and National Party MP for King William's Town Mr Ray Radebe.

Also present were ANC national executive members Mr Chris Hani and Mr Steve Tshwete; as well as observers from the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

Brigadier Gqozo withdrew from the conference on Friday, saying the meeting would be nothing short of an "kangaroo court". — Sapa.
Call for Kei chief to quit

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Speakers at the weekend "peace conference" here placed the blame for instability in the Border squarely in the lap of the South African government and called Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo a stumbling block to regional peace.

They accused Pretoria of having a "hidden agenda" to destabilize the region and foster ill-feeling between the two homeland governments, and work against the possibility of the Bisho administration adopting policies similar to its counterpart in Umtata.

Several delegates said Brigadier Gqozo should stand down, for the sake of the region. Many warned that, if he did not do so, violence would inevitably result.

The conference was jointly arranged by the ANC and the regional business initiative, the Border Business Action Committee.

Although he was invited, Brigadier Gqozo withdrew on Friday, saying the meeting would be nothing short of a "kangaroo court".

A brief statement released afterwards said a steering committee of representatives from the participating bodies had been formed "to pursue matters raised and proposals mooted at the conference".
Former Ciskei colonel held

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's rebel military intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, who fled to Transkei last week in fear of his life, was last night in South African Police custody in King William's Town.

After giving statements to Transkei Police and journalists in Umtata on Friday, Colonel Hugo was handed over to South African embassy officials — having been refused asylum in Transkei.

He revealed details of a Ciskei covert unit run by former SADF officers — International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS) — which he said was effectively running the homeland.

IR-CIS allegedly operates from a house on Balasi Farm, outside King William's Town.

Colonel Hugo's wife yesterday expressed concern for his safety and said she was sure he would be questioned by former colleagues from Ciskei.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday Colonel Hugo was handed over by embassy staff to police in Queenstown on Saturday.

The station commander at King William's Town confirmed Colonel Hugo was at the police station, but said the matter was a "security branch" one.
SA colonel 'training Ciskei men''

EAST LONDON — Colonel Jan Breytenbach, the founder of the South African Defence Force's 32 Battalion, is reportedly training paratroops in Ciskei.

Ciskei's rebel military intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, who defected to Transkei last week, told journalists in Umtata that Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had hired Col Breytenbach on the advice of the secret International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS).

Earlier, Col Breytenbach had been seen in Ciskei military uniform, driving a Ciskei military vehicle.

Col Hugo said IR-CIS had warned Brig Gqozo that he had no one in the Ciskei Defence Force to rely on in an emergency, and urged him to get Col Breytenbach to form a parachute battalion.

He said he believed Col Breytenbach was being "led by the nose" by IR-CIS.

Brig Gqozo on Friday refused to answer queries about Col Breytenbach, saying he would not jeopardise Ciskei's security by "divulging information relating to my security personnel, relating to personal particulars".

Asked to comment on Col Breytenbach's whereabouts, an SADF spokesman would only say that he "reaffirmed the SADF years ago".

More details are emerging of the men involved in or linked to the secret IR-CIS.

Information on the people involved — compiled from revelations by Colonel Hugo, information gathered by a researcher for the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression, and through investigations — includes the following:

- Mr Jan-Anton Nieuwoudt is believed to be in charge of IR-CIS. Brig Gqozo apparently approached Mr Nieuwoudt while the latter was an officer in SADF military intelligence. Mr Nieuwoudt, according to his own terms, said Col Hugo.

- Mr Ted Brassell is a retired SADF major, a former SADF officer at Group 8 here, and a former deputy mayor of East London. Col Hugo believes Mr Brassell was originally hired by Ciskei to train Brig Gqozo's bodyguards.

- Colonel Gert Swanepoel is a former member of 32 Battalion and SADF Special Forces, in which he did intelligence work. Col Hugo said IR-CIS recruited Col Swanepoel to work in his office and he feared the man was there to spy on him for IR-CIS.

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Hugo out on bail

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Ciskei's rebel intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, was released yesterday on R5 000 bail after appearing in a court here.

Col Hugo was released pending an application for his extradtion to Ciskei in connection with alleged fraud involving R5 1 000.

Conditions of bail were that he report to the police here every second day and relinquish his identity documents.

During argument for bail, an advocate representing Colonel Hugo, Mr Kelib Mathebe, said Ciskei police officers — including the commissioner General J J Viktor — had questioned Col Hugo in the police cells here.
LHR to visit Ciskei 'political' prisoners

JOHANNESBURG. — Lawyers for Human Rights will soon visit prisoners in Ciskei to determine if they qualify for indemnity as political prisoners.

Ciskei's Department of Correctional Services confirmed that it had received a list of eight people the LHR wanted to see, and that the organization had been granted permission to visit them.

Major-General Dumo Silwandel, of Correctional Services, said that of the eight prisoners on the list, four had been discharged and one was unaccounted for.

However, General Silwandel insisted there were no political prisoners in Ciskei. The homeland had released all political prisoners — seven of them — in February last year.

"But we will throw our doors open and allow them to visit," Ciskei recently set up a panel of three judges to consider applications for indemnity.

When questioned about why Ciskei bothered with a board when it insisted there were no political prisoners, Correctional Services spokesman Colonel B Simandla replied: "There were prisoners claiming to be political prisoners, so to clarify the situation we set up the board."

Prisoners wanting to qualify, including those on the LHR list, would have to apply in writing to the board. But since the panel's inception earlier this year, none had applied, Colonel Simandla said.

LHR spokesman Mr Sandi Ntsikelelo said he was cynical about the board as it was formed unilaterally and consisted only of government officials. He was also doubtful about their definition of a political prisoner.

In Bophuthatswana, Mr Paul Daphne, of the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum said prisoners there were on the verge of embarking on another hunger strike.

"I have the impression that if they are not released soon, they will re-embark on a hunger strike and this time they will fast until death," he said.

Sixty prisoners in Bophuthatswana prisons recently suspended a fast after an emergency visit by top ANC officials, including ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Sixty prisoners in Bophuthatswana prisons recently suspended a fast after an emergency visit by top ANC officials, including ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The 60 are still in hospital recovering from their hunger strikes. Most of them were on hunger strike before their health was considerably improved.
LHR to visit prisoners in the Ciskei

THE Lawyers for Human Rights will soon visit prisoners it believes qualify for indemnity as political prisoners in the Ciskei, the organisations said yesterday.

The Ciskei's Department of Correctional Services confirmed it had received a list of eight people the LHR wanted to see and had granted the organisation permission to visit them.

Major-General Dumo Silandelwa of the Correctional Services said of the eight prisoners on the list, four had been discharged and one was unaccounted for.

However, Silandelwa insisted there were no political prisoners in Ciskei. The homeland had released all political prisoners. "But we will throw our doors open and will allow them to visit," he said.

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Sixty prisoners, who are still in hospital in Bophuthatswana prisons, recently suspended a fast after an emergency visit by ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

At Pollsmoor Prison in the Cape, two "Palestinian People's Movement" members "entered their 15th day of a hunger strike on Tuesday, according to the Human Rights Commission. An ANC spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus, yesterday said there were at least 800 unrest-related cases and all would still be tested for political status.

- Sowetan 31/7/91
CISKEI: Thuse is mouldering

smouldering

warn of outbreak

CISKEI OPPONENTS

GOGOZI OPPONENTS

Chairman, MDC

CITY PRESS, August 3, 1991
SACC urges government to re-incorporate Ciskei

JOHANNESBURG.—The South African Council of Churches has called on the government to urgently start re-incorporating Ciskei into South Africa.

SACC general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday that political instability was worsening in the homeland.

"The South African government must intervene to resolve a potentially-explosive situation."

"The government should not continue to maintain a Ciskei government whose policies contradict the new spirit of tolerance and discussion that President De Klerk is promoting."

Mr Chikane said the SACC was aware that South Africa argued it could not intervene in the affairs of an independent state pending negotiations on re-incorporation.

"But we are convinced the situation is so serious that it could be disastrous for the South African government to wait." — Sapa.
SADF head met Ciskei leader

EAST LONDON. — South Africa's deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Rusty Evans, and Defence Force chief General Kat Liebenberg met with the Ciskei's Council of State at Bisho on Monday, for "confidential discussions on matters of mutual interest".

The Ciskei government yesterday confirmed the meeting, but would not divulge details.

Mr Evans said there was nothing unusual about his meeting the Ciskei government, as it was part of his responsibility to ensure a sound administration for the homeland government.

The parties had wide and constructive discussions covering a range of activities, he said.

Nothing sinister should be read into the meeting, or the fact that General Liebenberg had accompanied him. The SADF chief had wanted to meet the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, as he had never before had the opportunity.

Brigadier Gqozo would be encouraged to develop closer contact with Group Eight Military Command in East London, Mr Evans said.

He said closer contact between the Ciskei and South Africa in all areas would be encouraged in future. — Sapa
Fears mount of Ciskei killing fields

Human rights groups accuse Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his security forces of destabilising the bantustan. FRANZ KRUGER reports:

Oupa Gqozo

SOUTH AFRICA — South Africa's security forces are accused of destroying human rights in the Ciskei. The new regime of Brig.Cfg. Oupa Gqozo, former police chief, has been accused of using violent tactics to maintain control.

The Ciskei, a small homeland in the Eastern Cape province, has been the scene of widespread human rights abuses. The new government of Brig.Cfg. Oupa Gqozo has been accused of using excessive force to maintain control.

The Ciskei security forces are accused of using violence against civilians, including extrajudicial killings and torture. Human rights groups have called for an independent investigation into the abuses.

The Ciskei, a former homeland, was created by the apartheid regime as a reserve for the Ciskei people. It was abolished in 1994, along with the other homelands, as part of the process of dismantling apartheid.

The Ciskei was notorious for its human rights abuses, including extrajudicial killings, torture, and Summary executions. The new government of Brig.Cfg. Oupa Gqozo has been accused of continuing these abuses.

The Ciskei is located in the Eastern Cape province, in the Eastern Cape region of South Africa. It was created as a reserve for the Ciskei people under the apartheid regime and was abolished in 1994 as part of the process of dismantling apartheid.

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Bloch royalties boost dividend

MARCIA KLEIN (1985)

CISKEI-registered Bloch increased its earnings by 7% to 4.9c a share, and upped its full year dividend by 8.8% to 4.5c a share in the year to end-June.

The DCM-listed company derives most of its income from royalties for the use of its trademarks by trading companies in the Bloch Supermarket group.

Income of R1.87m (R1.792m) was received from interest and royalties. Net income totalled R1m (R937,500) after expenditure of R71,700.

Chairman Bernard Rabinowitz said this was the first time since the company's listing in 1987 that net/pre-tax income topped R1m.

Licensees had reported an improvement in trading conditions.

The proceeds of the sale of a store in Grabouw would be used for new acquisitions, Rabinowitz said.

If the sale went through, Bloch Supermarkets would guarantee to pay minimum royalties of R1.04m in financial 1993 and R1.18m in financial 1994, indicating earnings of at least 5.1c a share in the year to June 1993.
Ciskei's CCB-style unit under scrutiny

BY FRANZ KNUGER

The police unit surrounding Ciskei's covert intelligence unit wears its history well. According to the head of the South African Defence Force, this week's attack on the unit in the Eastern Cape was an attempt to seize documents and change its structure.

The unit, led by the head of Ciskei's intelligence service, has been accused of involvement in a range of violent, political, and criminal activities. The attack was carried out by a group of presumed members of the unit, who had been involved in previous incidents involving the unit.

General Piet de Jongh, the head of the South African Defence Force, has called for a full investigation into the incident. He said that the unit had been involved in a number of incidents, including the assassination of a political leader and the disappearance of several individuals.

The attack, which took place on the night of 11 October, is the latest in a series of incidents involving the unit. It is not clear whether it was a single incident or part of a larger campaign.

The unit has been accused of being involved in a range of activities, including political assassination, corruption, and international espionage. The unit has also been accused of being involved in the activities of the Ciskei National Council, a group of politicians and military leaders who have been accused of being involved in the overthrow of the Ciskei government.

The attack on the unit has raised questions about the role of the unit in the activities of the Ciskei government and its relationship with the South African Defence Force. The incident has also raised questions about the role of the media in covering the activities of the unit.

The South African Defence Force has announced that it will conduct a full investigation into the incident and will take action against those responsible.

In a statement, General de Jongh said: "We will not tolerate any interference with our operations. We will take action against anyone who interferes with our operations."
GRACELESS UNDER PRESSURE

By FRANZ KRUGER Grahamstown

Ciskei's response to recent criticism has been a mixture of sullen silence, contradictory statements and furious counter-attack.

Only in the past two weeks has the Ciskei government again begun responding to inquiries from journalists. Before, it was largely impossible to obtain comment on almost any issue.

When allegations of the existence of International Research first surfaced, Ciskei maintained a complete silence. Only when the issue came before court did Police Minister Zebulon Makulezi confirm the unit's existence.

But later, Ciskei said "a company search" had revealed that no such unit existed. In the meantime, it seems the unit's name has been changed to Ciskei Intelligence Services.

Similarly, the clampdown ordered by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo on Radio Ciskei was first vehemently denied. "The fact that we are in agreement with Brig Gqozo in pursuit of a clean administration and a propaganda-free nation is incidental," a statement said.

Ciskei also didn't respond to calls for Gqozo's resignation and the reincorporation into South Africa. Only much later did Gqozo even refer to the statements from the churches and Lawyers for Human Rights.

In announcing he would not attend the Border peace conference late last month, Gqozo said it was going to be a kangaroo court. "I base this opinion on the well-known recent activities of Lawyers for Human Rights, African National Congress Women's League and the bishops' letters to President FW de Klerk."

This statement contained the most direct response to the accusation that the Ciskei government was destabilising the region.

Gqozo said the intention of the conference was to discuss destabilisation. "My country maintains law and order. There is no violence or instability in my country. If violence comes now it will be initiated from outside."

Launching his African Democratic Movement, he said it was the "mouthpiece of the silent majorities of South Africa". There was no other party which represented the majority on a realistic and moderate basis.

He dismissed claims it was linked to Inkatha, but said he now had a mandate to to do what the people needed "even ... to go to the negotiating table". — Ecom
Palazzolo's Waste Dump Scheme
Sicilian role in waste imports denied

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government has denied reports that controversial Sicilian businessman Mr Vito Palazzolo proposed a plan to import toxic waste into its territory.

Military ruler Brigadier Gqozo said there had been nothing sinister in the Ciskei government's discussing projects with Mr Palazzolo — "or with anyone else for that matter".

Brigadier Gqozo confirmed that a Cape Town attorney, who also acts for Mr Palazzolo's behalf, was "one of the consultants used from time to time by the Ciskei government".

Mr Palazzolo was an ambassador for Ciskei between May and July last year.

Reports have claimed that in 1987 he proposed importing 200,000 tons of toxic waste for processing by a company in Ciskei. It was estimated the project would earn R1.5 billion a year.

Earlier this year Brigadier Gqozo admitted having shelved a deal with an Austrian company to set up a waste-recycling plant in Ciskei. The South African government had advised him against it, he said.

A report yesterday claimed the South African government had "threatened Ciskei with drastic action" — even expulsion from the Customs Union — if it went ahead with the scheme.

Brigadier Gqozo said his office was prepared to talk to anyone who might stimulate business in the region.
It's own despitie unrest

Ciskei society holding

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BY JOSHUA

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Building the Nation
Ciskei Sunshine

By DAVID CARTE

SUN INTERNATIONAL Ciskei reports taxed profit up 31% to R28.8-million in its first results since listing.

The number of shares in issue after the listing increased by 50% to 78-million, with the result that earnings per share (on a weighted 68.7-million shares) rose 16% to R1.5c (R0.6c). This beats the prospectus forecast of R0.3c.

With occupancy of 80% - in line with those of SA - Ciskei Sun increased turnover by 26% to R148-million. Operating profit rose 25% to R27.7-million. The slightly lower margin was the result of large pay increases.

Interest paid dropped 43% to R4.2-million, and tax was negligible at R4,000.

Casino revenue rose 30% thanks to an increasing number of day-trippers, high-value jackpots and cost-effective marketing and promotions.

The directors report that the Government is not in favour of maintaining gambling exclusivity, but they "do not consider that any meaningful competitive gaming situation will arise in the short to medium term".

Chief executive Ken Rosevear says "Flagship Fish River Sun struggles to cope with the trade, so we are spending R125-million on expansion. The Mpekweni family resort and the Ama-toi at Bisho must budgets."
3 Ciskei soldiers drown, 5 missing after training jump

The Argus Bureau and Sapa

PORT ELIZABETH. — Three Ciskei Defence Force paratroops drowned and five are missing after a parachute training exercise.

In a statement, the Ciskei Council of State said yesterday's exercise had been conducted about 4 km upstream from the mouth of the Fish River.

During a drop from a CDF Skyvan aircraft, some of the paratroops landed in the river, probably as a result of unexpected wind near the ground, according to the statement.

Other paratroops landed on the bank.

Of the 16 paratroops, three died while eight were rescued. Two of the eight were resuscitated and taken to Settlers Hospital in Grahamstown.

Five of the soldiers are still missing.

A hospital spokesman said one of the two injured men was in a serious condition.

Divers from rescue services and the police are searching the river and its banks for the missing soldiers.

A Metro rescue service spokesman said today rescue work was hazardous because divers could easily get entangled in parachute lines.

He said the soldiers landed in the water with full military kit, which included rifles and ammunition.

First on the scene were a farmer and a friend who launched a rubber dinghy, he said.

Ciskei pilots Major Peter Molls and Mr Budgie Burgers, private pilot to Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, hooked the helicopter's skids into three parachutes to pull three men to safety.

A board of inquiry has been set up to investigate the incident, the Ciskei Council of State said.
GRAHAMSTOWN — Two Ciskei paratroopers yesterday described their narrow escape from death in a training exercise which went horribly wrong, killing at least three colleagues.

Algoa Regional Services Council assistant divisional officer A H Human said five paratroopers were still missing. Three bodies had been recovered and the others had been rescued or had landed safely.

Mr Human said 40 divers from East London, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and the Ciskei Defence Force were searching the Fish River for the missing men.

Corporal Leslie Delihlazo and Lance-Corporal Mabutho Majola were among 16 paratroopers dropped from a Ciskei Defence Force Skyvan aircraft about 4 km from the mouth of the Fish River on Tuesday.

A number of them landed in the Fish River in full military kit, including rifles. They were apparently blown off course by a strong wind.

Corporal Delihlazo and Corporal Majola were saved by the quick action of Ciskei helicopter pilots Major Peter Molls and Budgie Burgers, who hooked their parachutes with the helicopter skids and used the down-draft to blow them towards the river bank.

Speaking from their beds in the Setlers Hospital yesterday, the men said they remembered nothing of the rescue.

They said they had jumped from a height of more than 200 m and the last thing they could recall was hitting the water hard and losing consciousness.

When they came round they were in hospital.

SUN CISKEI

Forecast beaten

Sun Ciskei has experienced occupancy levels about in line with the hotel industry, around 56%. While hotels in SA, however, are only just breaking even, Sun Ciskei has an operating margin of 32%, higher even than Sun Bop's 30%, which has occupancies of around 73%. Revenue from casino operations increased by 30%, which enabled Sun Ciskei to beat the EPS forecast made at the time of listing by more than a cent.

Based simply on the historical results, Sun Ciskei looks like one of the few bargains available on the industrial boards. It has an earnings yield of 15.8% and a dividend yield of 11.1%. This is about three times the yields available from Sun Bop.

Sun International MD Ken Rosevear says that, for the casino resorts, hotel occupancy is not the crucial factor it would be for normal hotels. This is particularly true of the Ciskei operations. The flagship Fish River Sun has an occupancy of 65%. But, Rosevear says, it is overbooked at peak times. This is one reason the group is spending R18m on extensions to the resort.

Occupancy averages are brought down by the Mdantsane Sun, which is primarily an entertainment facility and where accommodation plays a minor role. The Amatola Sun caters for the East London business market, and it has suffered from the slump in the Border region.

Three factors may account for the relatively low rating of Sun Ciskei's share. Debt is one. Sun Ciskei still has R31m in long-term debt, which Rosevear says is unlikely to be reduced this year. Gearing was halved to 62% during the past year, because of the conversion of A shares into ordinary shares in October 1990 and the listing in March.

Secondly, Sun Ciskei is paying almost no tax and this could change along with the political status of the Ciskei. Thirdly, the Ciskei government has indicated that it may alter the group's exclusive licences to gambling in the territory. Management, though, does not believe that any meaningful competitor will arise in the medium term.

The full effects of the share dilution on listing will be reflected in next year's results. There are 75m issued shares, 50% more than at the end of 1990 and 9% higher than the weighted average for the 1991 year. Sun Ciskei's growth is almost certain to outstrip the dilution by a considerable margin.

Stephen Creighton

CISKEI'S THE LIMIT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year to June 30</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>1991</th>
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<tr>
<td>Turnover (Rm)</td>
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<td>103</td>
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<td>Operating income (Rm)</td>
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<td>Attributable (Rm)</td>
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<td>Earnings (c)</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>41.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dividend (c)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.7*</td>
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* For three months as a listed company.
Controversial unit in Ciskei disbands

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent
BISHO. — Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is disbanding the controversial International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service unit.

The unit has been at the centre of allegations that the Bisho administration has its own anti-ANC hit squad.

Pressure from the South African government was among the chief factors behind the decision.

Pretoria is central to salary and retrenchment negotiations with several of the former SADF officers recruited by the brigadier and has paid substantial sums to run the clandestine unit.

In a frank interview with The Argus, the brigadier angrily rejected suggestions that the unit had been set up as a "dirty tricks outfit". But he acknowledged that the revelation of the unit's existence earlier this year had created the "perception that we had established a private army".

Brigadier Gqozo also revealed that

- he had established the unit "as an extension of my bodyguard";
- the IR-CIS had reported "directly to me";
- he had purposefully formed the unit as a security arm operating entirely outside the command structure of the Ciskei Police and Ciskei Defence Force because he suspected many of the homeland's policemen and soldiers "had been recruited by enemy forces";
- deputy-director of Foreign Affairs Mr Rusty Evans and Chief of the SADF General Kat Liebenberg had urged him during a meeting in Bisho on August 6 to disband the unit;
- most of the 50 members of IR-CIS would now be integrated into the Ciskei Defence Force, though half of the dozen-odd senior officers (mostly South Africans, and some former SADF officers) had opted out of the Ciskei services altogether;
- International Research, the cover name for the unit before its name was changed to Ciskei Intelligence Service, was trained "to be a lean, mean reaction force in cases of surprise attack against the government of the Ciskei and the country".

The existence of the IR-CIS came to light in February this year after a Ciskei Military Intelligence officer Lieutenant Ntantisio Kleinbooi "fled" from the region.

At the time, the Ciskei government issued a statement saying that "any government in the world has the right and responsibility to establish a covert and secret intelligence service to ensure the security of the State and its citizens. To imply that such a service is sinister and abnormal would be totally irresponsible".

Since then, however, the IR-CIS has attracted considerable hostile attention from the ANC and human rights monitoring groups in the region who believe the unit was intended — or actually operated — as a CCB-type organisation to shore-up Brigadier Gqozo's hold on power.

In his interview with The Argus, Brigadier Gqozo admitted the role of the unit was to protect him and his administration, even from attempts to oust him launched from within Ciskei's regular security apparatus, but insisted its function was defensive, rather than aggressive.

"These people — there were about 40 or 50 altogether — were contracted by the Ciskei government, not the Defence Force," he said.

"It had been set up specifically to be an extension of the security of the Council of State — it was essentially an extension of my bodyguard — as it was under constant threat of violence from our enemy forces. I will not elaborate.

"It was also intended to be a lean, mean reaction force in cases of surprise attack against this government and country. They could and would do it because they had the capabilities to collect intelligence.”

See page 6.
Death of parabats ‘a tragedy’ but church uneasy at military training

The Argus Correspondent

KING WILLIAM’S TOWN.—The Border Council of Churches has described the death of eight Ciskeian soldiers in a parachuting accident as a national tragedy. But the council was concerned that the soldiers died undergoing military training and it asked why Ciskei was “gearing itself up for war and violence.”

The soldiers, members of the Ciskei Defence Force paratroop battalion, died during a training exercise on August 21, when they landed in the Fish River.

“As representatives of the Christian Church in this region we are deeply concerned that lives have been lost,” the council said.

“The untimely death of one single human being is a great loss to humanity, but when eight lives are lost in one incident it ceases to be a matter of individual concern. It becomes a national tragedy.”

“Although accidents will always be with us, we are concerned that these men lost their lives while undergoing military exercises.”

“South Africa is at a time when all parties are turning away from war and violence and entering into a new spirit of negotiation, peace and reconciliation.”

“While the rest of South Africa is celebrating a crucial breakthrough contained in the Peace Accord, in Ciskei we see the exact opposite — the creation of covert armies, a huge military budget, intensive recruitment from the SADF, rumours of a CCB-like hit squad, military attacks on people’s homes and surveillance of our homes.”

The council welcomed the announcement that the deaths would be thoroughly investigated, but called on the South African government to “see to it that the principles of the Peace Accord are adhered to by their appointed authorities in the homelands.”

In an address this week to soldiers attached to the Ciskei Defence Force’s Air Wing at Bulawayo airport, military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo said his government hoped the parents of the dead parabats would work with the government “in a united spirit.”

Rowdy reception for Ciskei’s military ruler at Rhodes meeting

The Argus Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN.—Students at Rhodes University jeered Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo at a meeting on the campus this week before walking out. They said they were protesting against his presence and continued oppression in the homeland.

Brigadier Gqozo was invited to speak on the campus by the Liberal Student Democrats, a rightwing group until recently affiliated to the National Students’ Federation.

Members of the audience greeted Brigadier Gqozo and his entourage of bodyguards and security police with shouts and whistles when he entered the packed lecture theatre.

The chairman of the meeting tried to introduce Brigadier Gqozo but was interrupted by a NUSAS/SASCO representative, who said he had a number of questions to put to the brigadier.

He asked Brigadier Gqozo to give a detailed account of the notorious” International Research, a CCB-type organisation that had been “linked to a secret camp used to train Inkatha members in guerrilla warfare”, and to explain why the Whittlesea Sada area was under curfew.

He then called on all “peace-loving” people to walk out and join a protest outside.

Addressing the 30 or so people left in the lecture theatre, Brigadier Gqozo devoted much of his speech to attacking the ANC.

Members of the audience asked a couple of questions at the end of the address, but the meeting quickly turned into a shouting match between Brigadier Gqozo and some of the protesters who had wandered back into the room.

His bodyguards eventually urged him out of the room while he shouted at a heckler that he would “spank” him if he ever set foot in Ciskei.
Alleged Ciskei hit squad to disband

By Michael Morris
Political Staff

BISHO — Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Gupa Gqozo will today disband the controversial International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service unit, at the centre of allegations that the Bisho administration has its own anti-ANC hit squad.

Pressure from the South African Government was among the chief factors behind yesterday’s decision.

Pretoria is central to salary and retrenchment negotiations with several of the former SADF officers recruited by the brigadier and paid substantial sums to run the clandestine unit.

Brigadier Gqozo has angrily rejected suggestions that the unit had been set up as a “dirty-tricks outfit”.

In one of his most candid interviews since taking power in a coup in March 1990, Brigadier Gqozo revealed that:

- He had established the unit “as an extension of my bodyguard” and that it had reported directly to him.
- He had formed the unit as a security arm operating entirely outside the command structure of the Ciskei Police and Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) because he suspected many of the homeland’s policemen and soldiers had been recruited by enemy forces.
- South African deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs Rusty Evans, and the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, had urged him during a meeting in Bisho on August 6 to disband the unit.
- Most of the 50 members of IR-CIS would now be integrated into the CDF, though half of the dozen-old senior officers (mostly South Africans) had opted out of Ciskei services altogether.

The existence of the IR-CIS came to light in February after Ciskei military intelligence officer Lieutenant Ntaitso Kleinbooi “fled” from the region.

At the time, the Ciskei government issued a statement saying that “to imply that such a service is sinister and abnormal would be totally irresponsible”.

Since then, however, the IR-CIS has attracted hostile attention from the ANC and human rights monitoring groups in the region, who believe the unit was intended — or actually operated — as a CCB-type organisation to shuts down Brigadier Gqozo’s hold on power.

In the interview, Brigadier Gqozo admitted that the role of the unit was to protect him and his administration, but insisted that its function was defensive rather than aggressive.

Among those who will not be joining the CDF is the former head of the IR-CIS, Anton Nieuwoudt, reputedly a former colonel in the SADF. He is believed to have been part of a secret SADF camp, called Hippo, in northern Namibia which was mentioned in reports on the training of Inkatha fighters in guerrilla warfare.

Others who have decided to opt out of the CDF alternative are almost certainly Clive Brink, also reputedly a former SADF colonel in the intelligence service, and Ted Brussel, thought to have been a major in the SADF in East London, where he was a city councillor in the 1970s.

Much of the controversy over the IR-CIS arises from allegations that it did not limit its activities to defence and information-gathering.

The East London-based Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression says actions the IR-CIS has been linked to include last year’s abortive coup attempt in Transkei in which coup leader Colonel Craig Daal and others were killed, and the deaths in January of Ciskei rebels Colonel Onward Guzana and Charles Sebe.

The board says various sources indicate the IR-CIS may have planned the ambush in Stutterheim.
Ciskei disbands secret unit

BISHO. — The functions of the controversial International Research-Ciskei Intelligence Service Unit (IR-CIS) have been transferred to the Ciskei Military Intelligence Department, the Ciskei Council of State said in a statement yesterday.

The unit itself has disbanded.

"This is in line with a decision taken in principle at the national peace conference, held in Johannesburg on August 23, and attended by delegates from the Ciskei," the statement said.

The decision was made "in order to promote a spirit of trust and cooperation whereby private or secret organisations should be discouraged." It was a "mutual agreement" made after discussions with the South African government, the council said.

Allegations were, it was reported yesterday, that the unit had been the Bisho administration's own anti-ANC hit squad.

Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has, however, angrily rejected suggestions that the unit had been set up as a "dirty-tricks outfit."

The existence of the IR-CIS came to light in February after Ciskei military intelligence officer Lieutenant Ntantscko KeMbpsi fled the region. — Sapa
HOMELAND - CISKEI - GENERAL

1991

SEPT. - DEC.
BISHO. — Allegations that the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Gqozo, was involved in a false coup plot resulting in the deaths of Mr. Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana were heard at an inquest in the Supreme Court here.

Colonel Guzana was killed at a roadblock outside King William's Town on the night of January 25 while Mr. Sebe, who had been travelling in the same car, escaped. He was shot dead a day later in a nearby village.

Under cross-examination, based on an affidavit, a former senior army officer in the Ciskei Defence Force, Lieutenant-Colonel Latela Naka, testified that the "dummmy coup" was set up by members of the Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, International Research, and senior CDF officers with the full knowledge of Brigadier Gqozo.

He had referred to it as a "seek and destroy" operation.

At a meeting at his home on the day of the shooting, Brigadier Gqozo had allegedly informed Brigadier A Jammangile (then head of the CDF) that when Mr. Sebe and Mr. Guzana arrived at the roadblock that night, they 'must be killed.'

In the affidavit, Colonel Naka said Brigadier Gqozo said he had no place in the cells and that the two would be a threat and could escape.

Colonel Naka said in his statement he had been recruited to organise troops, transport and weapons.

It had been mentioned that "there was going to be a dummy coup to be committed by people from outside Ciskei. C Sebe and M Guzana were mentioned," Mr. Naka said.

Mr. J van den Berg, acting for Brigadier Gqozo and CDF, questioned Mr. Naka whether Mr. Sebe had been part of the pretence or believed the coup was real.

Mr. Naka said Mr. Sebe thought the coup was real.

He earlier agreed that the plan was to cause Mr. Sebe and Mr. Guzana to believe that a coup had been carried out and that Brigadier Gqozo had been detained.

The inquest continues today. — Sapa.
The unbridgeable differences over the River Kei

Two South African-trained soldiers rule the Xhosa states of Ciskei and Transkei, but there’s no love lost between them. Since taking power in bloodless coups, both General Bantu Holomisa in Umtata and Brigadier Upa Gqozo in Bisho have turned out to be equally avid in their politics, but politically poles apart. Political correspondent Michael Morris visited both leaders to find out what they had on the agenda.

He says, for instance, of organisations which employ “destructive” tactics that “I make no apologies. I will be the first on the sub-continent to start banning them again”.

To the north, in Umtata, General Holomisa has his eye fixed on the broader state-building exercise.

He believes moves towards black political unity through the Patriotic Front conference could speed up negotiations.

What he advocates is that President De Klerk and black organisations should jointly formulate a programme of economic and investment needs to present to the international community. He believes the world will take note only once there is a united plea from all South Africans.

In his newly refurbished Presidential suite in the Botha-Sigcsau building — his office was wrecked in the battle that ended Colonel Craig Dull’s ill-conceived coup attempt last November — the General is at ease and confident.

It’s better equipped for politicking and administration now too. Right at his desk is a fax machine that’s a godsend to a man with his penchant for firing off usually unrelentingly critical fusillades at Pretoria. South Africa’s newsmen are being buttoned away from his HQ.

Despite his protests that his career as a soldier is his future, General Holomisa is as near a consummate politician as one could find: measured and cautious where he needs to be, bold where he can afford to be and statesman-like in the space between.

Where Brigadier Gqozo is sitting a role in the new South Africa, General Holomisa already appears to have one

THE Kei river cuts a deep, rugged canyon between Ciskei and Transkei that aptly reflects the political chasm, now, between the two homeland states.

Going north, the valley can take an hour to cross, particularly as the road on the Transkei side is single carriage and heavy vehicles soon reduce the flow to a series of long columns that snake their way out of the valley at an exasperating snail’s pace.

In contrast, the political rift, under present regimes, is probably unbridgeable.

The two military men who rule on either side of the majestic Kei are at daggers drawn. They are alike in some ways, though.

Both are South African-trained soldiers. Both took power in swift, bloodless military coups. Both ousted the men — Matanzima in Transkei and Sebe in Ciskei — who had led their countries to independence. Both overturned administrations they claimed were corrupt and self-seeking, and both cited high levels of corruption as the chief reason why it was necessary and urgent to wrest control from the politicians.

Both saw the need to — and did, in fact — liberalise the politics of their countries and both complain that South Africa does not give them enough money to run their administrations as they wish to.

And, arguably, both are now equally keen in their political careers.

Here they diverge.

Dressed in a grey suit and puffing on a long-stemmed traditional Xhosa pipe, Brigadier Gqozo made a curious first impression. The pipe is more or less doctor’s orders... he used to smoke cigarettes, but is now committed to an anti-stress regimen.

I had been told by his detractors to expect a “twit” who could not think on his feet, nor express himself without advisers at his elbow.

We were alone for two hours and, in fact, I found him both articulate and remarkably frank, albeit often bluntly.

What has made him bitter, controversial is his change of heart towards the Left — the ANC and its citvics.

His first public address in the dizzying week after ousting the Sebes was under an ANC banner. He went further, endorsing the citvics, as the “people’s representatives”, with prominence in local affairs. This is described now, by his critics, as “outrageous flirting.”

He loosened the administrative grip the Sebes had had and sought consultations on a new local government model. This is where the problems arose.

The Left claims he became arrogant and refused to discuss views differing from his own. The Brigadier says the ANC insisted its model be accepted unaltered.

Tension mounted after a series of crippling strikes and he got tough. He castigated the ANC for using the Ciskei to “promote their ideologies at the expense of the people”.

There is intolerance, intimidation and nepotism. Youngsters interfere in the marital affairs of their parents. Teachers play politics. The activists are scaring the hell out of people.

“I must tell you that my government is not prepared to lower standards in order to be the ‘good boy’ of the ANC.

“What we need in this country is respect, discipline and a reliable workforce. We need a growing economy which everyone will benefit from.”

What clearly worries Pretoria is how far Brigadier Gqozo is prepared to go to keep his opponents under his thumb.
Colonel extradited to Ciskei

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei's former military intelligence chief, Colonel Gert Hugo, was extradited by consent yesterday to the homeland to face theft charges.

He appeared in Zwellitsha Magistrate's Court and was released on R3 000 bail. The case was postponed to October 4.

Col. Hugo fled to Transkei in July. An application for asylum was turned down, and he was handed over to the South African authorities. — Sapa
Sebe inquest probes into 'dummy coup'

BISHO. — A witness in the Sebe-Guzana inquest, Mr L N Naka, was asked yesterday whether it was possible Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Mangwane Guzana had approached a member of Gaskol’s intelligence service (CIS) with information about a planned coup — or whether it had happened the other way around.

Mr Izak Smuts, appearing for CIS, was cross-examining the former CDF officer during the inquest into the shootings of Colonel Guzana and Mr Sebe on January 27/28 this year.

Mr Smuts examined the issue of whether or not Mr Naka had any evidence that a certain Mr Kula had been planted by the CIS as an agent provocateur to plan a dummy coup, and had been told to contact Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana.

Mr Naka responded that he had been informed (by Mr Anton Nieuwoudt of CIS) on January 26 that the dummy coup was to be staged by the CDF. He confirmed that he had no facts to prove that the coup had not come about in the way Mr Smuts suggested.

The inquest continues on Monday.
Only R4s used, says Sebe witness

BISHO. — A witness in the Sebe-Guzana inquest here denied yesterday that bullet holes in the vehicle the men were travelling in could have been made by weapons other than R4 rifles.

Rifleman Mzwahantu Makiwane, of the Ciskei Defence Force, was testifying during the inquest into the deaths of Colonel Onward Guzana and Mr Charles Sebe.

Colonel Guzana was shot dead on January 27 at a roadblock manned by CDF soldiers. Mr Sebe, who had been in a car with him, was shot by soldiers the following day in Gubevu village.

Rhn Makiwane, who had been at the roadblock, told Mr L.J Langeveld (leading evidence) that the soldiers had been armed with R4 rifles and light machineguns, and denied the presence of AK-47s, R1 rifles and 9mm pistols.

Mr M.T Moerane, acting for the Sebe family, later told Rhn Makiwane there was evidence before the court that some of the bullet holes in the car had been made by 9mm weapons, AK-47s and R1s. Rhn Makiwane denied this.

He said a red Jetta car had driven through the roadblock and shots had been fired from it. Searchers on the left-hand side of the vehicle as it drove past had returned fire.

The hearing continues.
Rejoining SA tops Ciskei list

PRETORIA. — The re-incorporation of Ciskei into South Africa will be at the top of the agenda of the proposed multi-party conference. Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, head of the territory's ruling military council, said yesterday.

Addressing the press at the State Guest House here with Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, he said talks they had just had would be "of great benefit to the people of Ciskei."
SA backed coup, court told

BISHO: A witness at the inquiry into the death of two alleged leaders of the failed Ciskei coup attempt in January yesterday said that he had been informed the coup had the support of President de Klerk.

The witness, former Ciskei Defence Force officer Mlendeli Kula, also said he had been told by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha that he had wanted to interview one of the coup plotters "to establish his acceptability as a head of state".

Mr Sebe had said the use of Umkhonto or the Transkei Defence Force to overthrow Ciskei would have resulted in South Africa's intervention to stop the coup.

According to the affidavit, Mr Sebe had the support of South Africa, the Transkei Defence Force and Umkhonto.

The coup attempt in January is central to the inquest into the fatal shooting of Mr Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana by Ciskei soldiers on January 27-28.

Two possibilities have been put to the court that the coup may have been organised by Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, the Ciskei Intelligence Services (CIS), using Mr Kula as an agent provocateur to lure Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana; or that Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana had genuinely plotted the coup and the CIS had led them to believe they had its assistance.

Sapa.
'SA approved coup plan'

BISHO. — A witness in the Sebe-Guzana inquest yesterday said he had been informed that a plot by the two men to overthrow the Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had had the support of the South African State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

THE witness, a former Ciskei Defence Force officer, Mr Mlandeli Alfred Kula, also said he had been told by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha wanted to interview Colonel Onward Guzana in order to establish his acceptability as a head of state.

Mr Kula said in an affidavit before the court that Mr Charles Sebe had said he was "not going to use Umkhonto we Sizwe in the coup" because South Africa had advised him not to do so.

The alleged coup attempt in January this year is central to the inquest into the killing of Mr Sebe and Colonel Guzana by Ciskei soldiers on January 27-28.

The Ciskei government alleged they had been plotting a coup.
Sick-pigs' scare confined to Ciskei

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON.—While almost all of Ciskei's pigs are reportedly infected with a disease which could cause brain damage in humans, pigs marketed here are believed to be almost unaffected.

The extent of the disease in Ciskei emerged in reported revelations by the only neurologist in the Border area, Dr Jack Thorn. He claimed the disease—cisticercosis—was the most common cause of epilepsy in Ciskei.

A veterinarian who inspects meat at the municipal abattoir here said yesterday the infestation among pigs sent for slaughter was less than 1%. He could not be named for professional reasons.
Niewoudt denies Ciskei coup plot fabrication

By PHILA NEGUMBA, Bloem

ANTON NIEWOUTD, a director of Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, on Tuesday denied his unit had made up stories of an attempted coup in order to lure Charles Sebe and Onward Guzana to their deaths.

Niewoudt (34) was giving evidence before the inquest into the deaths of the two men who were shot after being stopped at a roadblock in January.

The Ciskei has claimed the two, both former senior Ciskei security officers, had been on a mission to overthrow Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Niewoudt told Ciskei's Acting Chief Justice Michael Classens the Ciskei Council of State employed him in October last year as an intelligence adviser to Gqozo. He said he had known Gqozo long before then, and had been Gqozo's instructor in 21 Battalion in 1978-1979.

Asked why he was offered the job, he said he had been part of the first SADF instructors to train black soldiers. "I was well known in the black battalions of the SADF," he said.

Niewoudt agreed with a suggestion by Marumo Moerane, appearing for the Sebe family, that one of his tasks was to counter coups which were rife at the time of his arrival, train bodyguards and establish a covert intelligence unit. He confirmed his unit had used many names, including International Research, which Niewoudt said was "a cover name".

The unit has since been disbanded.

Moerane asked him who the handler of intelligence agent Miandeli Kula, who gave evidence last week, had been, but Niewoudt refused to answer, saying he was bound by the Official Secrets Act.

Niewoudt said Kula had first been a suspect in the coup plot but later supplied reliable information. This was why Kula had been compensated by Ciskei and re-employed.

Niewoudt told the court that when Sebe escaped on the morning of January 27, Brigadier Monwabisi Jamangile was in charge of the follow-up operation as commander of the Ciskei Defence Force. Jamangile had given the order that Sebe "should be caught and killed", Niewoudt said.

Asked by Moerane why he had not mentioned this in his affidavit, Niewoudt said police had not asked him. "I did not find it necessary as I did not want to involve myself in Xhosa politics," he added. He denied having trained Inkatha vigilantes as claimed in some press reports.

The witness also denied having been a member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) or the police unit Koevoet. "I am a member of the military intelligence and a good one," he said. The inquest hearing continues. — Venus
Arrested man to get R22 000

THE Appeal Court yesterday dismissed an appeal by the Minister of Law and Order against a judgment in which he was ordered to pay a trade unionist R22 000 for unlawful arrest and detention.

Mr David Mhuzimele Thandani, an organiser of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was arrested on August 17, 1983 at the African Food and Canning Workers' Union office in East London.

He was detained by the security branch of the South African Police and, later the same day, was handed over to members of the Ciskei Security Police, who detained him until October 14, 1983.

While he was detained in the Ciskei he was neither interrogated nor charged with any offence. He was never brought before a court of law in Ciskei.

On October 11, 1989 Mr Justice JFJ van Rensburg, in the Eastern Cape Supreme Court, ordered the Minister to pay damages of R22 000, with costs, to Thandani.

Yesterday Mr Justice Joubert said the Minister's defence was a denial that the detention and handing over of Thandani was wrongful and unlawful. It was also claimed that he was lawfully detained by the government of Ciskei.

The judge said that the evidence of the police captain, who testified at the trial on behalf of the Minister, was virtually destructive of the Minister's entire defence, save for the alleged validity of Thandani's detention in Ciskei.

He correctly conceded the invalidity and unlawfulness of Thandani's arrest and detention without a warrant of arrest.

The arrest and detention was executed on the instructions of the captain's commanding officer, since a request had been received from the Ciskei government.
Two hold controversial posts with Ciskei government

EXILE: Beyton Beytendorp

MEDIA MAN: Cypri Beytendorp

SOLDIER: Jon Beytendorp

The Brothers Bretenbach

News

Claire Keeton

EAST LONDON — Two of South Africa’s political prisoners are working on the outside after being denied a chance at freedom in the Ciskei. The two men, Beyton and Beytendorp, have held key positions in the Ciskei government and are now living in exile.

Beyton, a former media man, has become a prominent figure in the anti-apartheid movement. He has been arrested and imprisoned multiple times for his activism.

Beytendorp, a former soldier, has also been involved in the struggle against apartheid. He has been targeted by the apartheid regime and has spent years in prison.

The two men have expressed their commitment to continue their fight for freedom and justice.

Source: Guardian
ANC supporters 'held in Ciskei' 

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress has claimed that Ciskeian police have arrested several of its supporters at Msobomvu near Alice and that tension is reaching a "crisis situation".

Ciskeian security and uniformed police had arrived in large numbers to search a forest outside Msobomvu, an ANC organiser, Mr Fuhumzi Fomyo, said.

The alleged arrests followed a weekend clash between ANC supporters and supporters of recently reintroduced headmen which left two people seriously injured.

The Ciskei police in Alice yesterday refused to comment and the Commissioner of Police, General J J Viktor, could not be reached for comment.

ANC youth who had been present at the weekend clash reportedly fled into the forests fearing arrest by the Ciskei police or retaliatory attacks.

The clash had followed a meeting to encourage "unity and peace" in the Msobomvu community over the "divisive" headman system, Mr Fomyo said.

Last week, ANC leaders were allegedly arrested after the Ciskei police disrupted a meeting in the village. — Sapa.
Cast dismisses whites made administrators

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) has dismissed the appointment of white administrators for Alexandra and Kagiso as a non-event.

Cast's vice president, Mr Kgabisa Mosunkutu, said nothing had changed as black local authorities were still intact.

The MEC, Mr Olaus van Zyl, said in a statement the Regional Services Council chairmen of the areas in which Alexandra and Kagiso were situated would take over from councilors who had not yet bowed to pressure from extra-parliamentary organisations to resign.

The councilors would retain their positions, but would relinquish all decision-making powers to the newly appointed administrators, Mr C A du Bruyn and Mr John Griffiths.

Mr van Zyl said this would ensure the continued provision of essential municipal services.

Mr Mosunkutu said the civic had repeatedly called for the resignation of all black councilors.

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Full probe underway into Ciskei cell death

EAST LONDON. — Authorities said they had launched a thorough investigation into the death in a Ciskei police cell of 22-year-old Mount Coke man Mr Thandile Mtya.

The homeland's deputy attorney-general, Mr Leon Langeveld, said it had not been decided whether anyone would be prosecuted or if an inquest would be held as police had not completed their investigations.

Ciskei police told Mr Mtya's family on September 13 that he had been found hanged in a Passama police cell. This followed his arrest two days following the alleged theft of a pistol and a cassette player.

His father, Mr Mzwanele Mtya, has voiced concern over wounds on his son's body and the circumstances of his death. He saw his son's corpse in a Dimbaza mortuary last Thursday.

Mr Langeveld said he had ordered a full investigation. The police were continuing their investigations and it would probably take 'a bit of time' before a docket was submitted to his office for consideration.

A Butterworth magistrate has heard that a Transkeian key-point guard killed two Sri Lankan nationals and attempted to hide their bodies in a river.

Mr Zingisla Maqanda, 25, appeared before Mr M K Brown on two counts of murder and a charge of armed robbery.

The prosecutor, Ms Bulelwa Pakathi, told the court that Mr R Janagan, 23, and Mr T Kthirgamanadh, 43, were walking past a fuel depot on September 8 when Mr Maqanda shot them and robbed them of a pair of shoes and a wristwatch.

He then dragged them to a river where he covered their bodies with grass, Ms Phakati said.

In his defence Mr Maqanda said the men taunted him about his work when they walked past the depot.

The case was postponed to October 11. — Sapa
Sebe can go home, but...

No agreement had been reached between exiled Chief Lennox Sebe and the Ciskei Council of State for him to return to the homeland, the council said this week.

The council said, however, it was correct that Sebe had been informed he would be permitted to return to Ciskei. The offer had been made "in a spirit of reconciliation." Soweto

Reacting to rumours of Sebe's imminent return from South Africa, where he has lived in exile since he was ousted in a military coup, the council said it would, however, not be party to any agreement which transferred funds or property belonging to the people to Chief Sebe.

"A thorough analysis has been conducted into Mr. Sebe's financial affairs and the assets of the people have been separated from the private assets of Mr. Sebe," the statement said. - Sapa.
Ciskei row: 9 held

A FURTHER nine residents were arrested on Friday in Msobomvu village near Alice, where there have been violent clashes between supporters and opponents of Ciskei's headman system. (Cl NEWS, 6/10/91)

The arrests bring the number of people held to 25.

Alice-ANC spokesman Singatha Mafanya said the headmen, led by Jimmy Kula, on Friday went to the Ciskei government to inform officials of their decision to resign.

The headmen were said to be planning to announce their resignation today. – Clnews
Sebe return plans slated

THE Congress of Traditional leaders of South Africa (Contralela) has urged the South African Government to reconsider their plan to return former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe to the homeland.

Sebe, who was overthrown in March last year after allegations of corruption, has been offered indemnity from prosecution and R2.3-million. (Re(L) D(105)

Contralela national president Patekile Holomisa said the money should rather be used to ease the plight of Ciskei civil servants dismissed during a strike earlier this year. - Elnews 6/10/91.
Seven die

FIVE Ciskei soldiers and two civilians were killed and 11 others injured when a military truck crashed at Whittlesea in Ciskei, the military government announced yesterday.

The truck driver misjudged a bend in a road and overturned, killing the seven instantly last Thursday. Saja
Ciskei 'headmen' meet rising resistance

Widespread opposition is mounting in Ciskei as military strongman Oupa Gqozo moves to bolster his support base and crush the ANC, CLAIRE KEETON reports:

Attempts to reintroduce the headmen system in Ciskei have led to a wave of resistance by residents and their associations. Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo abolished the system after he came to power in March last year and demoted chiefs installed by the previous regime. Now the Ciskei government is re-installing the same chiefs and cutting ties with the residents' associations.

A campaign of defiance led by the Border Civic Congress has met with fierce reaction from the authorities. Events over the past three months indicate the homeland could be returning to the turbulence of the regime of Lennox Sebe's, before he was swept away by a mass uprising.

- July 14: Residents of 22 villages in Hewu announce their opposition to Gqozo’s plan to reintroduce headmen. Several people are injured and six arrested when Ciskei police tear gas the launch of the ANC Youth League branch in Thornhill.
- Police deny detaining ANCYL member Mkuhlile Baukubukwana but he later appears in court charged with intimidation.
- July 22: Ciskei's head of military intelligence, Colonel Gert Hugo, defects to Transkei. He says the Ciskei is controlled by the covert grouping International Researchers/ Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS).
- August 7: Several people are arrested after a hand grenade is thrown at the shop of an ADM organiser in Masele village in Peddie.
- August 30: Ciskei announces the closure of IR-CIS and says the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) will take over its functions.
- Sept 3: Headman Jimmy Kula of Msobomvu village, near Alice, imposes a curfew and calls for the CDF to patrol his area. He claims he received a threatening letter from an activist but cannot produce it.
- Sept 4: Residents of the Tyume district claim two headmen were elected at a meeting attended by three people. Kwezana village residents say a headman who failed to get support was voted in by his two sisters.
- Sept 8: An elderly man is killed and a number of people injured in a clash between supporters of Chief Makhanya and residents' associations near the Tyefe Irrigation scheme. The ANC claims police sided with the chief's supporters.
- Sept 9: The Zwelethina Residents' Association claims residents are being harassed by newly-elected headmen supported by police. There are claims those who rejected the headmen system were refused employment at a job creation scheme.
- The Hewu Residents' Association says people are being forced to accept headmen by making the headmen's attendance in certain matters compulsory — for example, in compensation claims.
- Sept 13: A Seymour magistrate refuses permission for a march in Balfour to protest against the re-introduction of headmen and living conditions.
- Alice ANC official Malusi Mmakula is questioned by Ciskei security police about why he spoke against headmen at a rally.
- Sept 14: Gqozo signs the National Peace Accord.
- The family of Thandile Mywa, found hanged in a police cell three days after being arrested in connection with theft, say they saw bruises on his body.
- Sept 30: Nine people are arrested and two hospitalised after fighting over the headmen system in Msobomvu village.

An Alice magistrate tells pensioners they will get their pensions only if they are accompanied by their headmen.

- Oct 2: Thirteen Msobomvu residents appear in the Alice Magistrate's court on charges of attempted murder and assault. Ten are jailed because they cannot pay bail of R300 each. Some of them say they were assaulted in police custody.
- Oct 4: An ANCYL member and his girlfriend are shot by an off-duty policeman while asleep at their house in Dongwe. The ANCYL says the Whittlesea police refused to act against the policeman, saying they were scared of him. Five Ciskei policemen hijack the car of a residents' association member at gunpoint.

Unkhonto we Sizwe (MK) chief of staff, Chris Hani, refuses to obey an order delivered to him in Alice to leave the homeland.

Fifteen Ciskei armed security policemen conduct a night raid on the home of a former SACP Border regional and MK member who was with Hani during his visit.

- Oct 8: An Msobomvu headman resigns, bringing to 10 the number of headmen who have resigned.
- Oct 10: Forty Kwezana residents are arrested for marching against the headmen system. The ANC says the march was peaceful until police disrupted it, beating elderly people and throwing teargas canisters.

Organisations at a rally in Whittlesea decide there is no point in trying to talk to Gqozo anymore, and issue an open letter to SA State President FW de Klerk.

- Oct 11: About 40 people arrested at Kwezana are released in Alice without being charged. They claim they were assaulted by Alice police. The residents' association, the ANC and the ANCYL plan to boycott all activities of the headmen.
- Oct 12 and 13: Houses of three headmen from Poulton are firebombed by youths. Ten people are arrested for arson.

The Ciskei government and police have consistently refused to comment on these incidents. — Elnews
Ciskei govt sanctions Sebe's return

BISHO.—Former Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe, who has been in exile since being ousted in a coup in March last year, will be allowed to return to his country, a statement from the Ciskei Council of State said yesterday.

This follows an agreement reached with the Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday afternoon, in terms of which Mr Sebe's assets will be disposed of to the benefit of the people in Ciskei.

Mr Sebe will, however, be legally entitled to pension rights when he is back in Ciskei. — Sapa
Sibey may return to Ciskei.
Covert unit 'still alive'

THE Ciskei's covert intelligence unit, International Researchers (IR), may not have been completely disbanded despite government promises to this effect, says the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIR). (105)

The Ciskei military government announced on August 30 that the unit had been closed and that its functions would be taken over by the Ciskei Defence Force.

But according to research conducted by the IBIR in the Border region, there are indications that "former members will continue to operate as individuals or even that a similar group under the same name will be set up to continue with the same work".

Ciskei Council of State media officer, Cloete Breytenbach, refused to comment on the allegations. — ECNA
Ciskei. Military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has declared a state of emergency in the homeland to curb what he claimed was ANC-sponsored arson and terrorism.

Reports indicate that violence in the adjacent Transkei region, the homeland of the ANC, has spread to the Ciskei. Gqozo, a member of the Zulu tribe, told reporters that he had issued the declaration to prevent violence in the Ciskei. Some of the ANC leaders have been targeted for illegal murders, and Gqozo said that the ANC had no hesitation in killing people if the government can prove that they were members of the ANC.

President Mr. Nelson Mandela has called for a dialogue between the ANC and the government to find a peaceful solution to the crisis. The ANC has rejected the declaration of emergency, saying it is an attempt by the government to suppress its activities. The government has agreed to negotiate with the ANC to resolve the crisis.
Nelson who?
NEITHER Nelson Mandela nor the African National Congress are entitled to dictate terms to any homeland, the Ciskei Council of State chairman Breg Oupa Gqozo said last night. (JOS)

Gqozo was reacting to ANC criticism that he was a 'banjungan leader with no standing.' Apo.
ANC lashes out at Ciskei leader

THE African National Congress has accused Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of using his position to force the organisation into a relationship with him.

In a statement lashing out at the homeland leader on Monday, ANC representative Marion Sparg called Gqozo a "bantustan leader with no standing at all in the eyes of the people".

She said the ANC was under no obligation to observe any kind of protocol with him.

The latest war of words between the organisation and the Ciskeian leader erupted after statements made by Gqozo over the weekend which the ANC has interpreted as a declaration of his intention to increase the level of repression in Ciskei.

"He stated publicly that he is dissatisfied with magistrates in Ciskei because they are not acting with enough vigour against the ANC. The ANC, he said, needs to be hit on the head and he intends doing so as soon as possible.

"All this was stated during a meeting with Chiefs. It is interesting to note though that the chiefs themselves publicly admitted to Gqozo that they did not have the support of the people.

"The ANC has warned for months of the increasing tension in Ciskei. Tempers are beginning to flare. Gqozo is trying to impose himself on the people of Ciskei through the imposition of the headman system and his so-called African Democratic Movement.

"Gqozo cannot force himself down the throats of the people. It is quite clear they do not want him, or the headman system," Sparg said. "Sowetan Correspondent."
Why Ciskei declared emergency

CISKEI decided to declare a state of emergency because security in the homeland was being seriously compromised, the Ciskei's Council of State media office said in a statement yesterday.

The proclamation, issued yesterday, empowers the Commissioner of Police to authorise, without warrant, the arrest or detention of any person deemed a threat to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order.

The statement said despite the signing of the Peace Accord, members of certain organisations were "pursuing a course of violence".

"In September and October the people of the Ciskei have had their security seriously compromised.

"They have been intimidated, their properties have been burnt down and government buildings have been subject to arson and sabotage," it said.

It said the commissioner had a right to restrict any media presence in certain areas or to prohibit the sale of printed matter.
Ciskei order: bring detained to court

BISHO. — The Supreme Court here last night ordered that 83 detained Ikhele residents should appear in court this morning.

This followed developments earlier yesterday when lawyers acting for the detainees were granted an interdict ordering Ciskei's Commissioner of Police, General J.J. Viktor, to ensure that 55 of the more than 300 reportedly detained residents appear in court before noon yesterday.

A lawyer acting for the residents, Mr. John Smith, said police had failed to do this and the lawyers had moved for contempt of court.

'No assaults'

General Viktor had tried to have the first interdict overturned by arguing that the residents were detained under Section 26 of Ciskei's security legislation, Mr. Smith said.

The court had ordered that 83 people named in a list before the court appear in the Supreme Court at 10am today to be identified by family and to be inspected for any evidence of assault, he added.

The first interdict also ordered General Viktor to issue strict instructions to the police to disregard a statement in which the military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had allegedly told police to 'assault people.'

Police were ordered 'in no way' to assault the applicants. — Sapa
SA might intervene ‘if asked’

EAST LONDON. — The South African government would consider attempting to resolve the situation in Ciskei if asked to do so by parties in the homeland, said the SA ambassador to Ciskei, Mr Piet Goosen. He stressed that Pretoria would not intervene unilaterally.

As the Ciskei government and the African National Congress — now at loggerheads over the emergency — were both signatories to the National Peace Accord, Mr Goosen urged them to resolve the situation under the accord.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the Ciskei military leader, said he implemented the emergency as a measure to quell unrest which he claimed was initiated by the ANC.

Just a few months ago the SA Foreign Affairs Ministry indicated that relations between Ciskei and SA were improving, and Mr Goosen said yesterday that it was too early to tell if the situation would deteriorate.

Lawyers and church leaders here continued to condemn the declaration of an emergency.

The National Association of Democratic Lawyers said the proclamation contravened Ciskei’s bill of rights, and the Bishop of Grahamstown, the Right Rev David Russell, appealed to President F W de Klerk to intervene.

In a letter to Mr De Klerk yesterday Bishop Russell asked South Africa to appoint an administrator-general to govern the homeland.

The SA Union of Journalists yesterday expressed concern at the declaration, particularly provisions restricting media presence in certain areas and the prohibition on the distribution of printed material.

The SAUJ further condemned an assault on two of its members from the Daily Dispatch newspaper by Brigadier Gqozo’s bodyguards.

The two reporters have laid charges of assault in connection with an incident outside SABC studios. — Sapa
To love, to honour, to obey and to rape

In South Africa, a man may not be convicted for raping his wife. This archaic law has just been overturned in Britain — and may well be overruled in Ciskei. By MARK GEVISER

Do you know that when you say "I do," you are giving blanket consent to your husband to do with you as he chooses to love and to cherish you, to honour and to rape you until death do you part?

That was the law in Britain until last week and it is still the law in South Africa. In Britain, the land's highest court of appeal over-turned a 250-year-old ruling that said a husband cannot be found guilty of raping his wife. Women's rights campaigners heralded the ruling as "the end of 750 years of sexual slavery." The first offender to be charged is a South African-born man, an accountant, who, it is charged, repeatedly and violently raped his wife while she was at a kitchen.

If he had stayed in South Africa, he would be free to practice his peculiar proclivities with impunity. For, despite recommendations of a South African Law Commission in 1985, the law of this land expressly gives a husband the right to force his wife to submit to sexual intercourse.

But an astonishing piece of legal activism in Ciskei is currently challenging this. In a case that is being heard in the Bisho Supreme Court, a man has been charged, for the first time in southern African legal history, for having raped his wife.

Mandisi Raymond Nanyana, a Grahamstown businessman, and his wife Nomzilo, a nursing sister, were married in 1980. But due to a gradual deterioration of the relationship, the pair separated and Nanyana is alleged to have raped his estranged wife in March 1990.

She alleges that he stormed into the house, accosted her and forced her to have sexual relations with him, as she was being visited by her cousin Mzoloke Mnqungwa, who was also present, and then instructed him to have sexual intercourse.

"Fearful of the accused’s threats, I had no choice," the plaintiff's summary of the case against him. The case against him was unsuccessful, and he was free to leave the house. The couple is now divorced. But did Mandisi Nanyana rape his wife or was he, as the law claims, acting within his husband's rights to force his wife to submit to intercourse?

In order to obtain clarity on the law, the Ciskei State Advocate's office has asked Mnqungwa to challenge the charge. Thomas Tyler, the state advocate who is arguing the case, suggests that "if the judge rules in favour of the state, it would set a precedent for Ciskei, and it would be strong persuasive authority for all of South Africa." The British ruling that was overturned is known as Hale’s Rule, in the 18th century, the chief justice Lord Hale, remarked, "The husband cannot be guilty of rape committed by himself upon his lawful wife for by their mutual consent and consent the wife hath given up her self unto her husband which she cannot retract." No wonder the current chief justice of Britain, Lord Lane, has written this year that the time has now arrived when the law should declare that a rapist remains a rapist subject to the criminal law irrespective of the relationship he has with his victim.

In Bisho, Tyler is arguing that Hale's law, being British, has never been applicable in South Africa. He is also arguing that the law has been considered faulty by both British judges and South African commentators, because it puts the rape of marriage under the wheel of law, making the husband the judge in his own court.

He quotes South African legal commentators who call it "a rather unsolved doctrine," "an archaic symbol of the subordination of women," and who say there is "flimsy" evidence for its existence in South African law.

He adds that while Roman-Dutch law originally gave a man unlimited "marital power" over his subordinate wife, "marital power no longer exists in its original form in South Africa. It might give the husband the right to choose a place of residence, but it certainly no longer sanctions personal subjugation.

In 1985, a law commission recommended that marital rape be criminalized, stating that a husband's legal immunity from a rape charge dates from "the time when a woman was regarded as the husband's property and had virtually no rights of her own, and is in direct conflict with the modern Western view of the marriage relationship."

But when the South African Ministry of Justice attempted to pass this recommendation into law in 1988, there was widespread opposition, particularly from the House of Delegates and Representatives on the grounds that it would cause a breakdown in the family structure. And so, a committee came up with the compromise that rape can be an aggravating factor if a man is convicted of assaulting his wife.

But like many compromises, this did more harm than good. We now have a situation where the status quo is that a man has not broken the law, the rapist, his wife said "I've seen the couple, and it feels like a travesty of justice to deprive the cohesion of a family as an excuse to avoid prosecuting a man for rape."

The couple said that a woman would be responsible for breaking up the family if she reported her husband for rape but that blaming the victim if it happens to her is who is breaking up the family. Just because she married him doesn't mean that she has to be held to that line, she said.

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The couple said that a woman would be responsible for breaking up the family if she reported her husband for rape but that blaming the victim if it happens to her is who is breaking up the family. Just because she married him doesn't mean that she has to be held to that line, she said. Women in Ciskei might find new-found protection as a result of Tyler's initiatives but, until the South African statute has been changed, women in the rest of South Africa will still be subject to a rule that even a law commission appointed by the Ministry of Justice has termed "archaic, unjust and unequal."
Beverage & Hotel sector and the market generally

One cloud that hangs over Suncisk is that the Ciskei government is not in favor of giving Sun International gaming exclusivity in the long term. Chairman Ken Rosevear says he does not expect any meaningful competition in the short-term to medium term, which seems fair comment. Sun Ciskei's assets are valued at R105m and in the Fish River Sun and Mpekwe Sun it has two of the best tourist sites in the country.

Investors will not forget in a hurry that the Mdantsane Sun was destroyed by fire last year; Ciskei has certainly been racked by more unrest than either Transkei or Bophuthatswana and the image of Suncisk's hinterland, the Border Region and Eastern Cape, does not help. Mdantsane, particularly, has suffered from the depressed business scene in East London. Average occupancy for 56% compared with 77% for Sun Bop.

Yet Sun Ciskei is an extremely profitable business, even in a recession in a depressed region. Attributable earnings increased by 51% and EPS at 41.5c was more than a cent higher than the forecast in the pre-listing prospectus. Casino revenues rose by almost a third. Suncisk carries about R32m in debt; this is more than R10m down on the previous year and cash resources have increased to R15.7m (1990: R1.3m).

Suncisk enjoys tax-free status but this might be jeopardised by reincorporation of Ciskei into SA. This adds risk to the counter.

This year the Fish River Sun will be expanded at a cost of R18m, which is expected to make a material contribution to the second half. Day visitor facilities will be expanded because of pressure. The biggest pressure on margins is likely to be wages which continue to increase well ahead of inflation.

Even with the uncertainties, Suncisk looks like a buy at current prices.  

**SUN CISKEI**

**Poor relation**

Activities: Operates four casino resorts in the Ciskei.


Capital structure: 75m ordinary. Market capitalisation: R175m.

Share market: Price: 230c. Yields: 13.7% on dividend; 18.0% on earnings; P/E ratio, 5.5; cover, 1.3. 12-month high, 260c; low, 210c.

Trading volume last quarter, 1.2m shares.

Year to June 30

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Despite Sun Ciskei's high trading margins, and the good profit growth it has enjoyed this year, investors treat it as the poor relation of the Sun International group. A P/E of little more than five is the sort of rating that would more often be awarded to an ex-growth counter.

The share was listed on April 17 during a bull market, when there were complaints about a lack of quality scrip. Yet the share has not been given the boost seen by the
ANC condemns arrest of members in Ciskei

Political Reporter

At least 13 ANC activists, youth organisers and community leaders had been arrested since the Ciskei's state of emergency was imposed, the ANC said yesterday.

The security police who had carried out these detentions had told residents they had a "long list" of people to detain and they should expect many more arrests, said the ANC's department of information and publicity.

The ANC warned that bloody conflict could erupt in the homeland if urgent steps were not taken to restore civil and political freedom.

The ANC said the declaration of the state of emergency was the culmination of months of repression.

Tension between Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the ANC has mounted over recent months.

The ANC has opposed Brigadier Gqozo's "increasingly repressive regime", particularly the imposition of headmen and the restriction on political activities.

The ANC appealed to people to support the demands by the Border Peace Committee.
Talks bid for peace in Ciskei

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. - A Border Peace Conference steering committee delegation will meet the National Peace Committee chairman, Mr John Hall, tomorrow in an attempt to bring peace to the Ciskei-Border region.

The move is a joint initiative between business and political organisations, amid concern over regional stability.

The steering committee has tried unsuccessfully to meet President F W de Klerk for months. Now with the declaration of a state of emergency in Ciskei earlier this week, peace initiatives in the region have become a matter of urgency.

The nominated Democratic Party MP and co-chairman of the committee, Mr Andre de Wet, said the delegation — also comprising an ANC Border executive member Mr Andrew Hendricks and the chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr Errol Spring — will meet Mr Hall in Johannesburg with the hope of setting up regional dispute-settlement structures.

There was growing concern over stability and peace in the Border region in the light of the proclamation of a state of emergency by Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Gupa Gqozo, earlier this week, Mr De Wet said.

"The situation has become more tense in the last few days. We do not need an outbreak of violence," he said.

While Mr De Klerk had declined to meet the delegation in earlier correspondence, he had suggested discussions with Mr Hall and with various government ministers to try to resolve the situation.

Mr De Wet said the steering committee had sent a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, requesting he set up a meeting — as suggested by Mr De Klerk — with the ministers of law and order, trade and industry and of manpower.

A response had not yet been received to this request, Mr De Wet said.
Ciskei teeters on edge of a popular uprising

By BILL KRIGE

"Who do you think makes the petrol bombs?" he asked.

Urgent steps to defuse the tension got underway before the national peace committee in Johannes-
burg yesterday amid widespread calls for the mili-
tary to step down to prevent a bloodbath.

Several people have died in political thuggery in the impoverished Xhosa home-
land because of a struggle for control at local level between government-appointed headmen and ANC support-
ing residents' associations.

The emergency declared on Tuesday has effectively outlawed political activity — and intro-
duced powers of arrest and detention which the ANC claimed were virtually unlimited.

It is understood that the administrator-general's option — broadly similar to the post in transitional
Namibia — is being put as a solution to a problem Pretoria does not need at a time when constitutional
talks are delicately poised.

Control over appointments to key cabinet posts was assumed by Pretoria some months ago and re-
incorporation is just a question of time.

It is understood that Chief Lent Maruwa, an exile who blew the whistle on corruption in Lennox Sebe's government and who enjoys broad support, might be invited to fill a figurehead slot while a top official takes charge of the administrative mess.

Officers

ANC regional spokesman Marion Sparg said the military leadership was responsible for bringing Ciskei to the brink of disaster.

"What worries us is not only the potential for commu-

nity violence, but the SADF officers who sur-
round Gqozo," she said, adding that the brigadier had "lost touch".

She said headmen were being foisted on unwilling communities who felt they were better served by resi-
dents' associations.

Meanwhile, the National Peace Committee has been asked to appoint a facilita-
tor to convene talks between the Ciskei government, the ANC and busi-

ness groupings in the Border region, said committee chairman John Hall.

The appointment depended on whether Brigadier Gqozo would agree to it.

As the brigadier had committed himself to the principles of the National Peace Accord, he should have no reason to reject the move, Mr Hall said.
Extra-judicial executions? No death penalty, but certain deaths arouse suspicion. Write to:name college
Ciskei police arrest
250 ANC members

ABOUT 250 ANC members were arrested in Dimbaza near King William's Town on Monday afternoon, bringing the number detained since the Ciskei state of emergency was declared to 278.

Among those arrested were ANC regional executive member Mr Sam Kwolita, the chairman of the Dimbaza Residents Association, Mr Vuyisile Radoni, and an executive member of the ANC and the residents' association, Mr Amos Mplea.

The ANC's Border publicity secretary, Ms Marion Sparg, said police were still refusing to confirm the whereabouts of emergency detainees.

"Many of our members have been held for over a week now in terms of the emergency regulations. Friends and relatives have approached police stations where they are believed to be held to take them fresh clothing and food parcels."

"In all cases, they are told that no emergency detainees are held in that particular station."

The ANC has also claimed that in Korgo, near East London, an armed group of PAC supporters led by an SAP special constable roamed the township on Sunday night, attacking residents.

"Seven people received stab wounds inflicted by pangas and axes and several stonings also took place," said Sparg.

Elnews
PRESSES LEGISLATION

In a press conference today, the Prime Minister announced plans for a new legislative framework to address the current economic crisis. The new legislation, titled "Economic Stability Act," aims to stabilize the currency, increase foreign investment, and promote domestic production.

The Prime Minister highlighted the challenges faced by the country, emphasizing the need for urgent action to ensure economic growth. He urged all stakeholders to support the new legislation, which includes measures to reduce government spending, increase taxes on high-income earners, and implement a new banking system to prevent future crises.

The legislation will be discussed in detail during the upcoming parliamentary session, and the Prime Minister reassured the public that the government is committed to implementing the necessary changes to stabilize the economy.
Ciskei raid nets 13 MK members

THIRTEEN MK members were arrested during an early-morning raid in the Ciskei yesterday, according to the ANC.

ANC Border publicity secretary Ms Marion Sparg said Linda Saba, Mfundo Naxo, Bubule Buya, Mxolisi Mziwem, Dumile Ngwevu, Xolani Robogi, Bandle Ngekelwane, Diaki Vani, Mdco Twaku, Humphrey Maxengwana, Derrick Mulele, Mzingisi Hobana and Thembani Saba were detained under Ciskei's Internal Security Act.

They were all former exiles who recently returned to South Africa after receiving indemnity from the South African Government.

Sparg said the arrested people were initially taken to Mdantsane's NUI police station, where they were questioned about their membership of the ANC and Umkhonto and any military training they may have received in exile.

"They are all now being held at Mdantsane Central Prison," she said.

Another four members were also detained but released later in the day.

Police carrying out the arrests at 3am yesterday said they were acting on orders from Bisho and had a list of 160 MK members who were all to be arrested.

Sparg said the ANC condemned the arrests and also reiterated its concern for other MK members being held under emergency regulations.

"It has been reported that 11 detainees being held in Tamara police station, who were arrested last weekend, had not been given anything to eat until yesterday," she said.
Crisis deepens

Military Leader's isolation continues amid claims of overthrow plot
Sebe goes back home

FORMER Ciskei president Lennox Sebe, who has lived in exile in Pretoria since March last year, has returned home.

Sebe, who has been allowed to return to Ciskei by the country's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, would not reveal his future plans, saying only he was "back to stay".

Sapa
Brigadier Gqozo’s behaviour has become an embarrassment to the Government, it is argued

Will SA dump Ciskei’s ruler?

Ciskei’s state of emergency has deepened the isolation of its military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and there are indications that South Africa may be preparing to dump him.

Last week, there were claims that the National Intelligence Service was plotting to overthrow Brigadier Gqozo. The claims were hotly denied by all sides, but South Africa has made little secret of its embarrassment at Brigadier Gqozo’s latest antics.

In an early reaction to the emergency, South Africa’s ambassador to Ciskei, Piet Goosen, said it was “regrettable” that the situation in the homeland was seen as having deteriorated to such an extent that an emergency was necessary. And in another indication of Brigadier Gqozo’s cooling relations with South Africa, he said on Radio Ciskei last week that Ciskei would not listen to President de Klerk or Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on how to resolve the crisis caused by the ANC.

An estimated 314 people, mainly ANC members and civic leaders, have been arrested or detained in Ciskei since the emergency started.

Brigadier Gqozo’s bodyguards allegedly threatened and assaulted two journalists who tried to ask him about the emergency.

The Ciskei ruler announced the emergency on SABC-TV, but no regulations were available for the next 24 hours, prompting speculation that these were drawn up only after the announcement.

Brigadier Gqozo instructed policemen to hit “silly people” on the head as court action was too slow—an instruction which the Ciskei Supreme Court subsequently ordered police to ignore.

Chief magistrates and public prosecutors were allegedly ordered not to grant bail to anyone charged with a politically related offence, and told not to grant permission for any protest marches.

There have been several attempts to mediate in the crisis, which is generally being seen as directed chiefly at the ANC and its allies. Immediately the emergency was announced, Mr Goosen said his Government would act as a mediator if asked to. Ciskei has not taken up the offer.

However, an initiative is now under way in terms of the National Peace Accord. A day after the emergency was declared, the steering committee of the Border Peace Conference, a local initiative involving businessmen, the ANC-Coasa-SACP alliance, Democratic Party and National Party, launched a call for Brigadier Gqozo’s government to be replaced by an interim administrator and transitional management council.

After meeting with the committee, the chairman of the National Peace Committee, John Hall, secured Ciskei agreement for a peace conference and the appointment of a facilitator. Last week there was optimism that peace talks could start this week. Then the ANC announced it had information that the NIS was planning to topple Brigadier Gqozo, within the week. In his place, the ANC said, South Africa hoped to install the current Minister of Manpower, Chief-Tanti Maqoma. The NIS, Chief Maqoma and South Africa all denied any knowledge of a coup plan.

Also last week, Brigadier Gqozo announced he was abolishing residents’ associations, on the grounds that local government in the form of headmen had been introduced to operate on residents’ behalf.

The conflict between residents’ associations and headmen is at the heart of the Ciskei crisis. Brigadier Gqozo has resurrected the unpopular headman system of the Lennox Sebe government in a move seen as an attempt to recruit support for his own African Democratic Movement (ADM).

A look at the Alice region gives some idea of resistance to the headmen: only eight out of 75 villages have headmen, in half the cases installed at meetings of fewer than 12 people. These headmen have had their homes stoned, their businesses boycotted, have been refused transport on local taxis and at least three of them have now resigned.

With the failure of the ADM and its headman system, and the repressive actions of the past few weeks, Brigadier Gqozo has become a political liability for South Africa. It is a far cry from the situation only a few months ago, when it was believed that he hoped to become part of a broad Government-linked ‘alliance of moderates’. — ECNA

David Walker is away on holiday. His column, Walker at Large, will resume when he returns.
Barend rules out intervention in Ciskei

PRETORIA — The government has ended speculation that the embattled Ciskean military government could be replaced by an administrator under no circumstances entertain discussion on any proposal for the replacement of a government of such a sovereign state," Acting Foreign Minister Barend du Plessis said after a two-hour meeting.

This emerged in talks between a high-powered government delegation and members of the Border Peace Conference steering committee in Pretoria yesterday.

"In view of the South African government's formal recognition of the sovereign independence of the TBVC states, it could not rule in a bid to quell unrest and a row with the ANC. The government has urged the Border Peace Conference to enter into negotiations with the Ciskei. — Sapa."
The South African Government yesterday effectively ruled out the possibility of replacing the embattled Ciskeian military government with an administrator.

This emerged after talks in Pretoria between a high-powered Government delegation and members of the Border Peace Conference (BPC) steering committee.

"In view of the South African Government's formal recognition of the sovereign independence of the TBVC states, it could under no circumstances entertain discussion on proposals to replace a government of such a sovereign state," Acting Foreign Minister Barend du Plessis said after the meeting.

At a meeting in July the BPC resolved to work towards the replacement of Ciskei's military government with "an accountable interim administration".

Military ruler Brigadier Cupa Gqozo has placed the homeland under emergency rule in an effort to quell unrest amid a quarrel with the ANC.

The ANC said that well over 100 of its members had been arrested during the 15-day-old emergency.

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Oupa Gqozo ... faces battle with ANC over state of emergency.

Among matters discussed yesterday were the political situation in the Border region, the potential of violence there spreading, and the depressed state of the region's economy.

Law and Order Minister Herrus Kriel and Manpower Minister Eli Louw joined in the talks with a BPC delegation that included ANC regional leaders and Border businessmen.

Judgment in an application to strike down Ciskei's state of emergency was postponed again yesterday to allow the court to hear an application challenging its security legislation.

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Barend du Plessis ... can't jeopardise TBVC states' sovereignty.

Yesterday a full Bench of the Ciskei Supreme Court heard applications on behalf of Thornhill pensioners Kolisi Siswana and an Anglican priest from Peddie, the Rev Alfred Dlamini. Both are being held in terms of the emergency.

The court will today hear argument in an application to strike down the National Security Act.

This action is being brought by the former chairman of the ANC in the Border, the Rev Makenklesi Stofile, and Mafuza Sigubi, an ANC member from the Whittlesea district. — Sapa and Elnews.
SA won't interfere in Ciskei govt

PRETORIA. — The South African government yesterday effectively ended speculation that the embattled Ciskeian military government could be replaced in favour of an administrator.

This emerged in talks here yesterday between a government delegation and members of the Border Peace Conference Steering Committee.

"In view of the government's formal recognition of the sovereign independence of the TBVC states, it could under no circumstances entertain discussion on any proposal at the replacement of a government of such a (Ciskei's) sovereign state," Acting Foreign Minister Mr. Barend du Plessis said.

Meanwhile, four children were left destitute when their parents were among those detained recently in the continuing detentions in Ciskei.

An ANC spokeswoman said in a statement that Mr. Mzwandile Ntshatsana — who was to appear in court in Alice yesterday on charges of intimidation — was immediately detained when he arrived. His wife Zodwa was detained a week ago and had to leave her four children at home. — Sapa
Students demand “share” of school funds

Widespread misuse of funds by Student Representative Councils (SRC) in Mdantsane and other Ciskei high schools have been revealed.

However, reports indicate that school administrators are also not immune from this practice. Reports from the area have indicated that students have embarked on a campaign demanding a slice of school funds.

In their demand, the students were guided by a provision of the SRC constitution which stipulates that the student body is entitled to funds from the school budget to run students affairs.

Finance

According to the reports, principals in some schools were forced to hand over funds to the students, while in others the students’ campaign drew a blank.

At Nyameko Secondary School, the principal reportedly gave over R3 000 to the SRC and the money was used to finance a beauty contest and a party. Liquor and meat were among the stock purchased for the event.

However, the report said the students were angered by the fact that some principals refused to account to the community on how the money was used, creating suspicions of misuse of school funds.

If teachers are not able to account for the money to run the school, how can students be expected to, the students ask?
The National Union of Metalworkers has hit out at the detention of two of its members — Dimbaza Foundries workers Richard Xhero and Tamsanga Thomas — by Ciskei police while they were attending a meeting in Pine Village near Dimbaza.
More sex makes higher taxes

CISSET'S military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, says sexual accountability would reduce the load on the economy "with planned population growth and the arrest of the AIDS epidemic."

Gqozo said: "Sexual accountability is the major key to economic growth and redistribution of wealth in South Africa" and would release women to be economically productive and improve access to quality education.

"People who are governed by their reproductive organs only without regard for the consequences should be penalised with higher taxes," he said. — eNCA
Babies to be sold in Ciskei!

A plan to turn Bisho into the baby-trade capital of the world was being touted at high levels in Ciskei's government, it was disclosed this week.

Well-placed sources and senior Ciskei government officials appeared ready to launch a massive international adoption agency that would buy up batches of foreign orphans with rich Western couples.

City Press has established that the scheme is at its final stage of planning.

Financial assistance for the project was secured some months ago, sources said.

Efforts to get comment from the Ciskei Government failed this week.

The baby trade could bring an important foreign exchange to the impoverished homeland.

However, the proposal's disarray for the children's wellbeing is likely to spark an outcry from child protection agencies.

City Press has established that the system for screening potential parents is dangerously inadequate and that large sums of cash will change hands.

"Buy ing" children, banned in many countries, is conducted surreptitiously.

Market

Behind the plan is Bisho-based businessman Doug Turney, mastermind of a failed attempt last year to import a plane load of Romanian children to Johannesburg.

Turney aims to market up to 2000 homeless boys and girls, mostly toddlers, through Ciskei every month.

The children would be obtained from Third World countries. They would be airlifted from their native countries on flights returning from overseas missions to disaster-struck nations.

The children would be taken to Ciskei's Bulawayo Airport to be collected by their new parents.

It is understood that childless couples in Britain, Australia, Scandinavia and the United States and Canada will be targeted.

The plan was first broached with senior Ciskei government officials last year. Sources said bonded officials acted as ''salesmen'' for the programme in Italy, giving the project their blessing on condition that a public relations professional be appointed to deal with it.

CP Correspondent

It is understood that Turney had difficulty finding someone to take on the job.

Ciskei's Communications consultant, Johannesburg-based PR specialist Denise Bjorkman, denies any knowledge of the homeland's adoption agency plan.

"I know nothing about that," she said. "I'm as fast as lightning, you know. This is propaganda. Ciskei has enough homeless children of its own."

A document leaked to the Daily News this week showed the Ciskei adoption plan to be open to abuse.

While prospective parents would be screened before being allowed to adopt, this process is likely to take less than six months.

"A top-level 'speedup' would be built into the process so that prospective parents don't have to be checked out by a qualified social worker - a step designed to avoid abuse by underworld connections."

No attempt would be made to assist children and their new parents cope with the trauma of adoption.

The children would have no contact whatsoever with their new guardians prior to their arrival in Ciskei.

Despite its inadequacies, the adoption bureau was expected to attract thousands of desperate couples willing to fork out for a child.

One of the Ciskei baby bureau's forecasts is that it will reduce much of the red tape usually experienced with international adoptions.

Childless couples often wait for weeks in foreign countries for their adoption applications to be approved. The Ciskei scheme is to handle the formalities so that adoptive families will be able to head home in a matter of hours.

Adopters will have to pay the agency a surcharge and cover the costs of the flights to Ciskei.
Security ruling is expected

The full bench of the Ciskei Supreme Court is expected to hand down judgment next week on the validity of the homeland’s state of emergency.

Judgment in four separate applications was reserved this week.

In one of the cases, ANC Border senior officials challenged the validity of the Ciskei National Security Act, particularly its detention provisions.

In other applications, emergency detainees, including Anglican priest Rev Alf Dlamini of Peddie, applied for release and for the emergency to be set aside.

The argument common to all the applications is that the emergency and the National Security Act are contrary to the Ciskei’s Bill of Rights.

The applications are being considered by Acting Chief Justice M Claassens, Justice W Heath and Justice R Claassens.

Challenging the validity of the National Security Act are ANC national executive committee member Rev Arnold Stoefile and Matuza Sigabi, a top local ANC figure.

The Ciskei emergency was imposed two weeks ago. (Veritas)
Ciskei ANC youth plan mass action

OVER 400 people are in detention under Ciskei's state of emergency and the Border ANC Youth League has announced that it plans mass action against the government of Ciskei's military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

In the latest incident, several schoolchildren from Siyabonga High School in Alice are reportedly in hiding after seven others were detained this week.

Phaki Hobongwana, of the league's department of information and publicity, said in a statement his organisation had decided to embark on a programme of mass action. The league would "rise in defence of our people and freedom", he said.

"All dictatorship will be challenged. The reign of terror perpetuated by Brig Gqozo and the seconded security officers from South Africa will be resisted."

The ANC charged that Ciskeian security police had detained at least seven schoolchildren in Alice, while other schoolchildren had gone into hiding to escape arrest.

The Ciskei Council of State wanted to know what the "alleged schoolchildren" had done to fear arrest.

The council statement added that if the children, who are old enough to join adult associations, then they are old enough to pay adult penalties for alleged crimes.

ANC Border publicity secretary Marion Sparg further charged that two ANC members, who are also executive members of the Emajwreni Residents' Association, were detained on Thursday. A member of the ANC Youth League in Masele, near King William's Town, Tobela Rhivana, was detained on Friday, she claimed.

Sparg said she had also received reports from Masele that three members of the ANC Youth League were attacked by a group of African Democratic Movement supporters last week. After the attack, residents decided to patrol the village to prevent further incidents.

The Council of State did not respond to these charges. - Elnews Sapa
Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is spending nearly R2-million of taxpayers' money on a massive public relations campaign to boost his image. He has hired communications psychologist Dr Denise Bjorkman, who was consulted by former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, to do the job.

He's already swapped his military dress for civilian clothes, discarding his starched avocado-green uniform for a suit of fine fabric and big, brightly coloured ties.

Sarcastically square-rimmed glasses and a patchy beard have transformed his youthful features into a look of confident maturity, and relaxed satisfactions.

Dr Bjorkman said this week she had been hired to establish Ciskei's communications department and once that was done she could take things a step further.

Dr Bjorkman, head of four communications-related companies and author of a number of books, will receive an undisclosed fee.

The bubbly Houghton-based businesswoman, who has worked on everyone from conservatives to communists, is a specialist in image packaging.

The Ciskei government said in a press statement this week that R1-million was being spent on launching a newspaper called the Border Post. There has been a protracted tussle between the brigadier and East London's Daily Dispatch.

Ciskei spokesman Saliwe Nishanu said this week that Ciskei planned to expand its public relations departments.

Impoverished Ciskei, under a state of emergency, is being racked by violent civil strife as pro-ANC communities continue to resist self-appointed Brigadier Gqozo's rigid rule.

The rural rebellion began three months ago when the brigadier, leader of the newly formed Africa Democratic Movement, repressed the last stand of village headmen - interpreted by villagers as an attempt to force people into the ADM.

Last month, the military ruler's tattered image slumped to an all-time low when he bluntly ordered his forces to 'beat silly people on their heads'.

The Bisho Supreme Court subsequently ordered Ciskei's commissioner of police, General JJ Viktor, to instruct his men to disregard the remark.

The new look Brigadier Gqozo gave a rousing speech this week, his first since drawing on Dr Bjorkman's expertise at the beginning of the month.

He moved a black tie function of the East London Institute of International Affairs to spontaneous applause.

'Border pineapple king' Corder Tlhepy stood up in front of the 200-strong audience and thanked the griming military man for his efforts in bringing 'stability' to Ciskei. 'It was the most polished performance I have seen from Brigadier Gqozo,' said one businessman who attended the meeting.
Ciskei to lift state of emergency

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei government yesterday agreed to lift the 17-day-old state of emergency in the homeland.

The announcement followed talks at an East London hotel between Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Ciskei government agreed to lift the emergency and the ANC undertook to suspend the recent war of words between the homeland government and the organisation.

In a joint statement after the talks, the parties also agreed to refrain from further public statements about one another.

They further undertook to work together in an effort to bring peace to the region.

However, mass action called for by the ANC in Ciskei for today would continue, but Mr Mandela said everything possible would be done to avoid confrontation and violence.

Brigadier Gqozo gave his assurance that the ANC's right to stage demonstrations would be respected.

A Ciskei Council of State spokesman said in response to inquiries that no decision had been made concerning people detained during the emergency — estimated to number about 400. — Sapa.
Ciskei may lift curbs soon

The Ciskei government and the African National Congress have reconciled and the state of emergency in the homeland could be lifted soon.

In a joint statement in East London yesterday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo committed themselves to peace in the region.

Gqozo confirmed that the state of emergency would be lifted and Mandela said all ANC members in Ciskei would be called on to conduct themselves peacefully.

Both said accusations levelled at each other in recent days had caused a deep rift between the Ciskei government and the ANC.

Differences had been settled at yesterday's meeting and agreement was reached on the need to resolve future disagreements by negotiation. - Sapa.
Ciskei and ANC agree on peace

EAST LONDON. — The African National Congress has made peace with the Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Qupa Gqozo, and the state of emergency in the homeland will be lifted soon.

In a joint statement yesterday ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Brig Gqozo committed themselves to the national peace accord.

The two men finally met yesterday after months of hostility and a weekend in which Mr Mandela called Brig Gqozo a coward.

Both leaders said that accusations levelled at each other had caused a rift but that differences had been settled at yesterday's meeting and agreement was reached on the need to resolve future disagreements by negotiation.

Mask action called for by the ANC in Ciskei today would continue, but Mr Mandela said everything possible would be done to avoid confrontation.

A Ciskei Council of State spokesman said in response to inquiries no decision had yet been made concerning people detained during the emergency.

Brig Gqozo said the parties had agreed to "bury the hatchet and forget all previous allegations".

A Ciskei government spokeswoman, Mrs Denise Bjoekman, yesterday dismisssed as "laughable" claims that Brig Gqozo was spending R2 million of taxpayers' money to improve his image.

She did confirm that there was an attempt to start a communication's department for the homeland government. — Own Correspondent and Sapa
Mass action threat to force out Gqozo

EAST LONDON — The ANC is still determined to force Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to quit and will step up a programme of mass action to achieve this.

The Border ANC's liaison officer, Ms Marion Sparg, said yesterday the lifting of the state of emergency would help to create the proper climate for further negotiation.

However, the ANC believed Brigadier Gqozo's resignation was the only way peace could be maintained in the region.

At a meeting on Sunday between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, the Ciskei government agreed to lift the emergency regulations and both parties said they would refrain from a war of words.

Ms Sparg said the ANC intended pursuing a programme of mass action which would intensify in the next few months. The key demands of the campaign would be calls for an interim government at both national and regional level.

A Ciskei government spokesman said last night Brigadier Gqozo had no intention of handing over to an interim administration. While accepting Ciskei was not sovereign, the government had "domestic jurisdiction" over the homeland.

Father Alf Dlamini, one of the more prominent detainees, was released on Sunday night. He was the subject of an application in the Bisho Supreme Court which sought his release and challenged the validity of the state of emergency. — Sapa.
Ciskei crisis not over for Gqozo or the ANC

However, a number of issues remain unclear. During the emergency, residents' associations were banned and detained ANC members told their organisation was banned, but there has been no announcement on the status of ANC-aligned groups.

The emergency seems to have been an expensive mistake for Gqozo as it severely undermined his already shaky political support base.

South Africa seemed embarrassed by the move, and there was speculation it might drop him.

Opposition to his rule has deepened, and it is unlikely widespread protests against him will stop.

Mass protests organised by the ANC against him were planned to begin on Monday, but lifting the emergency seems to have taken the wind out of protesters' sails. Several marches and pickets failed to materialise as planned on Monday.

But opposition remains deep. An ominous indicator of continuing tensions was the petrol bomb attack on the house of ANC leader Rev Arnold Stofile. The attack came on Sunday night—hours after Mandela's agreement with Gqozo. The bomber did not ignite, and little damage was caused.

Detentions continued. In the Seymour region on Monday, activists were again reported detained and even assaulted. A total of 415 people are believed to have been detained.

The emergency has strengthened calls for the military government to step down. The Border Peace Conference, representing business, the local ANC and local MPs, backed the call.

While calls for Gqozo's removal are clear, the ANC's strategy for dealing with him is less so.

While it agreed to stop public mud-slinging, the organisation firmly insisted on its right to continue campaigning for his removal.

The meeting between Mandela and Gqozo occurred despite previously firm policy by the regional executive not to have dealings with Gqozo.

Mandela first signalled his more conciliatory approach at the beginning of October, when he said the ANC would do everything to hold direct discussions with Gqozo.

On the same visit, Mandela tried unsuccessfully to telephone Gqozo, a move local officials later described as "a personal contact by Mandela".

Although there was no public criticism of the NEC's conciliatory moves towards Ciskei, regional officials cautiously said they had not made a "definite decision" about calling for a meeting with Gqozo. — Ecna
Gqozo’s bodyguard to be exhumed

Own Correspondent
EAST LONDON. — The body of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo’s chief bodyguard, Lieutenant Kadefunwa Qamata, who was shot dead under mysterious circumstances in February, is to be exhumed in Transkei next week.

The skull will be examined by experts in Cape Town to determine the exact measurements of a bullet wound on it.

The type of weapon which caused the wound, and the distance from which the shot was fired, may be crucial to the outcome of an ongoing inquest into Lt Qamata’s death.

In evidence led in the inquest a police ballistics expert testified that a 7mm bullet from a high-velocity rifle could have caused the head injury.

He agreed, however, that the wound could also have been inflicted by a 9mm Parabellum service pistol — of the type found on the river bank nearby, and allegedly belonging to Lt Qamata.

A doctor who conducted the initial autopsy, and measured the skull wound as 7mm, admitted he had not been provided with ideal tools. To clear up any doubt an exhumation would be essential, he told the court in May.

Lt Qamata went missing on February 9 after a shooting incident at the 1 Ciskei Battalion. His partly decomposed body was found in the Sikobeni River near the base on February 13.

The Ciskei government claimed the shooting attempt was a bid by army officers to overthrow Brigadier Gqozo’s government.
The Cisket government this week confirmed it had been approached by a Cisket firm last Friday for information for a scheme to fly thousands of children from Third World countries to Cisket. The firm was apparently willing to pay a substantial sum for the children, and the man behind the scheme, Mr. David Black, was due to leave for Turkey this week.

However, Cisket earlier this week had rejected the plan as a propaganda stunt by the man who claimed the Cisket government had been approached in December. Mr. Black, who was due to return to Cisket this week, gave no further details about the scheme.

Meanwhile, Cisket authorities have continued to receive applications from children who have been refused permission to operate in Cisket. The applications, which are currently being processed, are expected to take several months to be completed.
ANC youths detained in Ciskei

Ciskei police detained 15 ANC Youths League members near King William's Town on Friday, according to the organisation's Border president, Themba Kinana.

Kinana said three plainclothes policemen known as Paraflin, Peki and Abrahams arrived in private cars at Mzantsi on Friday morning.

He said they ordered people preparing for Friday night's launch of the Mzantsi ANCYL branch to disperse within three minutes.

The youths decided to disperse and to go ahead with the evening meeting, but soon after they went home police arrested them.
Ciskei confirms marital rape

In a strongly worded judgment, the Ciskei Supreme Court ruled this week that a husband may be charged with raping his wife. Until now, common law in Ciskei and in South Africa has maintained that a husband may not be charged with raping his wife because, according to an obsolete British law from the 17th century known as Hale’s Rule, a wife gives her husband blanket and irrevocable consent when she says “I do”.

But, in dismissing an objection by Mandisi Raymond Ncanywa that he could not be charged with raping his wife, Ciskei Supreme Court Judge WH Heath ruled that “South African society is against... the old, medi eval concept of the husband’s dominion over his wife’s body” and that “it is unlikely any civilized country or legal community will still adhere to such a principle”. Heath saw the principle of irrevocable consent as a “fiction” with “no foundation in law”.

A ruling in the Ciskei Supreme Court means that men may now be charged with raping their wives. What impact this will have on South African law remains to be seen.

By MARK GEVISSE

In modern society, he said, “the husband and wife have... become equal partners with full dominion over their own bodies”. And so, he continued, “the marital obligation does not... entitle the husband to take the law into his own hands by having intercourse with his wife against her will.”

With this ruling Ciskei has come into line with Britain, where last month the highest court of appeal in the land dismissed Hale’s Rule as “an anachronistic and offensive fiction”.

But will this ruling from an “independent” homeland have any impact in South Africa? Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) has condemned the ruling as “a major step forward in the long and hard battle for an end to legitimate violence against women” because, “domestic violence, including rape, remains a silent and hidden crime perpetrated against thousands of women daily in South Africa”.

While Heath made it clear that he believed his decision applied to South African law as well, a South African man may still rape his wife with impunity. This is despite an explicit recommendation by the Law Commission in 1985 that a statute be passed criminalising marital rape. But when the recommendation was brought before parliament in 1988, it was rejected because of widespread opposition, particularly in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, on the grounds that this would cause a break-up in the family structure.

A compromise was reached, stating that marital rape itself is not a crime, but that it could be an “aggravating factor” if a man is convicted of assaulting his wife.
Demos urge Ciskei's Gqozo to stand down

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

Hundreds of people marched to Ciskei's National Assembly building yesterday to demand the resignation of military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the appointment of an interim administrator.

The march was led by the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party and the Border Civic Congress.

Armed soldiers and police locked the gates to the building as the crowd sang and danced and called for Brigadier Gqozo.

ANC national executive committee member Arnold Stofle addressed the crowd and appealed for peace.

"It is the right of the people to decide who to lead them and as such they have got a right to remove that leader."

"We are here to make the point that Ciskei is governed by the will of the people. The ANC is not fighting to govern bantustans, but it is fighting for national unity."

The march ended without incident when the protesters dropped their placards and left.

The Ciskei Council of State granted permission for the march in line with an agreement reached between Brigadier Gqozo and ANC leader Nelson Mandela last month.

At that meeting Brigadier Gqozo agreed to lift the state of emergency in the homeland, but the ANC said it reserved the right to continue with mass-action campaigns and to demand Brigadier Gqozo's resignation. — Eetna
Green revolution

While Mlahbeni Simanga was mining coal and gold deep in the earth, he thought constantly of plants. Now, retired from the mines at 62 years old, his fingers are practically nonexistent and his hands clumsy from working the rich black soil of the Limpopo region of Transkei. His farm is flourishing.

Mr Simanga is one of the few farmers in Transkei who is using agro-forestry to cultivate crops successfully. On his two-hectare piece of land he has about 20 different crops.

When he started three years ago, the steeply sloped land was non-productive. Then Imithye Afrika, a group promoting agro-forestry, gave him some forestry trees, a fast-growing, high-protein, nitrogen-fixing hybrid referred to as the magic或supertrump.

Some of his ground slopes at about 50 degrees, so he used the locusts to hold the soil. He also grows them as a fence and windbreak for his banana plants — his first potential cash crop.

Now the fence is impenetrable. He added aloes, peach trees, apricot trees and orange trees. His banana crop is flourishing.

Some of the locusts have been cut down for fencing of another field while others have been sold and left to release nitrogen and fertile soil.

His enterprise is so successful that the Transkei government has given him permission to work as much land as he can.

"I work from sunrise to sunset without a break, because I love it," said Mr Simanga. His sloping land is contoured with sugar cane, and mango trees grow beside pumpkins. Sweet potatoes compete for space with pineapples, peach trees, yams, and gooseberries.

Mr Simanga has nine children. He is confident he will be able to pay for their education when all his plants yield crops.

Richard Bois of Imithye Afrika told journalists on a National Environmental Awareness Trust coastal expedition that his organisation was trying to promote agro-forestry and weeder to take the pressure off Transkei's indigenous forests.

Fodder

The group is trying to raise money to appoint a permanent training officer who will go around to train local people in agro-forestry.

Apart from the benefits of agro-forestry Mr Simanga has seen, the rapidly growing lucens can also be used as feed and fodder. Agro-forestry also helps to cut down on pests found in a mono-culture.

Mr Simanga has been speaking to his neighbours about agro-forestry, but so far to no avail. "They don't have their heart in it, but I will keep on trying," said Mr Simanga.

JULIENNE DU TOIT
Ex-director knew of plot

OWN CORRESPONDENT

BISHO — Although a former Ciskei director of publications knew about a plan by Mr. Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana to take over the homeland, he did not tell any Ciskei authorities because he had fled the homeland and no telephone was available.

The director, Mr. Goodman Makongolo, was testifying in an inquest into the deaths of Colonel Guzana and Mr. Sebe. When Mr. 1 Smuts, appearing for the intelligence unit, suggested that he was not opposed to the plans, Mr. Makongolo said there was nothing he could do because it was clear the matter had been planned and finalised.

When Mr. Smuts put it to Mr. Makongolo that the matter had not yet been finalised and that he had had an opportunity to redeem himself, Mr. Makongolo said he had been scared.

He said Mr. Sebe left in a car with Colonel Onward Guzana for Ciskei. At that stage, nobody could disrupt their plans as they would be in power in Ciskei the following day.

Firearms said to have been found in the car in which Colonel Guzana and Mr. Sebe were travelling were shown to Mr. Makongolo.

He admitted they resembled those that he saw in the car before the men left Umtata for Ciskei.

When Mr. Smuts pointed out the firearms had the letters TP on them, which indicated they could belong to the Transkei police, Mr. Makongolo said he did not know where they came from.

Colonel Guzana and Mr. Sebe were killed in Ciskei in January amid allegations that they were involved in a coup to overthrow the government of Brigadier O Gqozo.
Ciskei's detention law invalid, court declares

The Argus Correspondent

BISHO.—The Ciskei state of emergency and the detention clauses of the Ciskei National Security Act have been declared invalid on the grounds they conflict with the territory's Bill of Rights.

A full bench of the Ciskei Supreme Court yesterday gave judgment on four applications, three of them dealing with the emergency and one with section 26 of the National Security Act.

The court upheld the argument central to all four, that the provisions conflicted with the Bill of Rights and were therefore invalid.

The emergency was imposed on October 20, and lifted on November 20 after a meeting between ANC President Nelson Mandela and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

However, the security law remained in force. The ruling on the emergency was of more than academic interest since the question of costs hinged on it. Costs were awarded against the Ciskei government.

The court has sent a strong signal that it will uphold the primacy of the Bill of Rights.

The challenge to the security law was brought by a senior ANC official, the Rev Arnold Stollie.

The judgment was given by Ciskei's Acting Chief Justice, Mr Justice Michael Claassens, Mr Justice Willem Heath, and Mr Justice Roger Claassens.

The judges said: "We are of the view that the regulations proclaimed under the state of emergency unquestionably had the effect of abolishing, diminishing or derogating from the fundamental rights" set out in the Bill of Rights.
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The judges said: "We are of the view that the regulations proclaimed under the state of emergency unquestionably had the effect of abolishing, diminishing or derogating from the fundamental rights set out in the Bill of Rights." — Veritas.
The Ciskei government's newly launched newspaper is already embroiled in a major row, with its former editor resigning and threatening to sue the Ciskei Council of State.

The first edition of the fortnightly Border Post appeared just over a week ago, but its editor, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, has already left.

The Ciskei government initially claimed he had been fired over the poor quality of the edition. But Breytenbach in turn called the claim "a downright lie", and said he had resigned.

He produced a letter of resignation as evidence.

He said the claim was libellous, and said he was considering legal action.

In the letter, addressed to Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Breytenbach said he had resigned to avoid future friction and confrontation.

He said the Council of State had no right to fire him or any staff member in the newspaper.

As a former managing director, Breytenbach said any dismissals would be between him and the board of trustees.

Approached for further comment on a range of issues around the newspaper and its future, the Ciskei government subsequently in an apparent about-face faxed a terse reply which only said: "The Ciskei government wishes to place on record that it has no service contract with Mr Cloete Breytenbach and therefore he could not have been fired from its services."

Talking about the paper, Breytenbach said the first edition "was not well received in government circles", and that the Council of State was planning to appoint an editorial committee to screen every edition before it went public.

Breytenbach said he was criticised for not being pro-government enough. - Ecna.
Ciskei government and its ex-editor battle over paper

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government’s newly launched newspaper is already embroiled in a major row, with its former editor resigning and threatening to sue the Ciskei Council of State.

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The Ciskei government said in a statement: “The Ciskei government wishes to place on record that it has no service contract with Mr Cloete Breytenbach and therefore he could not have been fired from its services.”
Let Mandela go back to Transkei

ANC followers say hostel dwellers must be driven back to Natal and their accommodation destroyed because they cause all the violence.

The same should apply to Mandela for if after his release he had been deported to Transkei where he comes from, there would never have been any violence in the Transvaal except in Natal where ANC and IFP Zulus are mercilessly killing each other.

Those Zulus are stupid by having allowed themselves to be divided by Mandela into two groups. He should go and stay in Transkei and there will be peace in the Transvaal.

The squatter camps should also be destroyed as they were built by Xhosa people who came from Transkei to the Reef to look for jobs after the abolition of the influx control laws.

The ANC turns a blind eye to the squatter camps because the bulk of their supporters stay there.

All they know is to shout that hostels be destroyed. The hostels were erected long before the influx regulations were scrapped and some townships built.

We the hostel dwellers did not flock to the Reef during that time but have been living in hostels for many, many years.

We are permitted to reside and work in the Johannesburg area. The ANC supporters in the townships, the ones with big mouths, must also demand that Mandela be driven to Transkei and the squatter camps be destroyed.

Zulus are not only in Natal but everywhere in this country. We did not opt for independence like the Xhosa people.

NTABANYANA, NDEBELE Merafe Hostel, Soweto.
Two Ciskei ministers quit

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The embattled Ciskeian military government of Brigadier Oupa Guqzo has been dealt yet another blow with the resignation of two cabinet ministers.

Mr Bantubonke Tokota, director-general in the Council of State office, said the Minister of Police, General Zebulon Makuzeni, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr M S Manzi, had resigned.

He declined to give reasons for their resignation and refused to comment on speculation that former Ciskei police chief Brig Fire Zibi would take over General Makuzeni’s post. Brig Zibi is currently out on bail pending an appeal against a year’s imprisonment for intimidation.

Brig Guqzo, who seized power from former Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe 21 months ago, has had a turbulent year.

In January he claimed he had foiled a plot to overthrow him, in February his chief bodyguard was shot and later in the year there was a spate of government sackings.

On October 28 he declared a state of emergency to curb what he called acts of arson and terrorism fomented by the ANC. The emergency lasted only 17 days and was lifted after he had a meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela.
Ciskei ministers quit

BISHO.— Ciskei's director-general in the Council of State office, Bantuhoske Tokota, has confirmed the resignation of the homeland's Minister of Police, General Zebulon Makuzeni, and the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. M S Manzi.— Sapa.
Ciskeian cabinet ministers quit military govt

PORT ELIZABETH — The embattled Ciskeian military government of Brig Gqozo has been dealt yet another telling blow with the resignation on Tuesday of two cabinet ministers.

Ciskei's director-general in the council of state office, Bantubonke Tokota, has confirmed the resignations. Tokota said the resignations of Police Minister Gen Zebulon Makuzeni and Foreign Minister M S Manzi had been accepted by Gqozo.

Tokota declined to give reasons for their resignations. He also refused to comment on speculation that former Ciskei police chief, Brig Fikile Zibi, would take over Makuzeni's post. Zibi is out on bail pending an appeal against a year's imprisonment for intimidation.

Gqozo, who seized power from Lennox Sebe 21 months ago, has had a turbulent year since January.

That month Gqozo claimed he had foiled a plot to overthrow him in an incident during which former Ciskei security chief Charles Sebe and Col Mangwane Guzana were gunned down.

In February Gqozo's chief bodyguard Lt Kadefunwa Qamata went missing after a shooting incident at No 1 Ciskei Battalion. His body was found near the military base.

The Ciskei government claimed the shooting was a bid by army officers to overthrow Gqozo. Gqozo's government later claimed Qamata had committed suicide.

Less than six months ago Gqozo sacked two of his more credible councillors, justice minister Keith Matthee, and works minister H R L Sele.

Gqozo had been at loggerheads with the ANC which called for his resignation on October 23. Gqozo declared a state of emergency in the homeland to curb what he called acts of arson and terrorism fomented by the ANC. He claimed the ANC was trying to undermine his government.

The emergency was lifted after 17 days.
ANC, Ciskei hold talks after 3 slain

By Abel Mushi and Sapa

ANC leader Nelson Mandela sent veteran ANC activists Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba to Ciskei on Saturday for talks with the homeland’s military ruler in connection with the murder of three people by alleged ANC supporters on Thursday.

According to Ciskei police, a mob swept into a field in Masole last week and killed three people, one of them the village headman.

Three other people are reported to have been seriously injured.

Mr Mhlaba said the ANC and the Ciskei government — represented at the talks by Brigadier Upa Gqozo — had agreed to work together to restore peace in the troubled border area.

Speaking from Port Elizabeth in a telephone interview with The Star yesterday, Mr Mhlaba said his organisation had recommended that the regional structures of the National Peace Accord be invited to resolve the conflict.

"Although the exact cause of the conflict is not yet known, it appears that there has been a misunderstanding between our supporters and members of the newly formed African Democratic Movement in the area, which is loyal to the Ciskei government," he said.

"Gqozo blamed the lack of tolerance on the part of the ANC, whom he says want to be the only dominant party in the area. But our supporters have denied the claims, stressing their recognition of other organisations' democratic right to co-exist peacefully."

Mr Mandela’s intervention and the delegation of himself and Mr Mbeki formed part of the organisation’s duties to perform political tasks in keeping with the spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa.

A total of 175 people were arrested in Masole after the killings.

ANC Border publicity secretary Marion Sparg yesterday said an ANC request that all those held should be immediately released had not been accepted, but the Ciskei had agreed to give detainees access to doctors and lawyers and bring them to court "as a matter of urgency."
ANC hopes to prevent Ciskei bloodbath

THE ANC wanted to prevent a "Natal-type" situation of violence and revenge developing in the Ciskei-Border region, ANC leader Govan Mbeki said yesterday.

Mbeki was speaking after ANC president Nelson Mandela dispatched him to meet Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo in an attempt to defuse simmering tensions in the area following the deaths of three people in the homeland last week.

He said it had been decided that "regional peace structures" should be set up, consisting of members of Ciskei's military council, the NP, the ANC and other organisations committed to the peace accord.

"We would not like to have a situation arising as one has in Natal. We could get a situation where in a number of other locations a conflict would arise between the structures established by the Ciskei military council and the (ANC) structures already operating," Mbeki said.

The ANC delegation, which included national executive committee members Arnold Stowe and Raymond Mhlaba, met Gqozo after the arrest of 175 people in connection with Thursday's killing of Mapelane village headman Solomon Mbambani, his sister-in-law and another woman.

A 500-strong crowd went on to attack the homes of supporters of the African Democratic Movement which draws its strength from traditional leadership structures.

Mbeki said the ANC was opposed to the headman system in the Ciskei, but not to leaders drawn from the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA.

He said his delegation had asked that the arrested people be released, but this was opposed by the homeland government.
Homelands - Gskei-General
1992
January - August.
Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Patients were dying unnecessarily at Mdantsane's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital because of general inefficiency and unsupervised staff at satellite hospitals, a doctor has claimed.

The Border secretary of the National Dental and Medical Association, Dr Clarence Mini, yesterday blamed the increase in deaths on "the national crisis in the health sector and the decay in effective health administration in the area".

Dr Mini said the number of deaths of mothers and newborns had increased over the festive season when fewer doctors were on call.

Also, satellite hospitals in Hluleka, Mbuji, Coka and Keiskamma had often referred patients to Cecilia Makiwane in a serious condition, he said.

Head of the paediatric ward Dr Felicity Goosen said she was unaware of an unusual increase in death statistics.
Vision of justice blurred?

By ZB MOLEFE

ISKEI’s strongman Oupa Joshua Gqozo has a vision for his greatblesi homeland. "It goes like this: "I have a vision of justice for my people and for all the people in our region." Then Gqozo, who is under fire for human rights violations since taking power in a bloodless coup two years ago, changes gear. Particularly when he talks of his hatred for the Ciskei’s financial dependence on South Africa.

"Why should we pick up the tab for eight years of misuse of money by (Lennox) Sebo and his cronies when the South African government sat back and folded its arms?" asks Gqozo in the latest issue of Focus Ciskei, official organ of the homeland’s Council of State.

He argues that the Ciskei was never economically viable in the first place. But Ciskeians accepted independence on three principles: These are that the homeland would not be worse off as an independent state; that the Ciskei would share in the resources of a greater South Africa and that his homeland would be provided with the infrastructure required by a sovereign independent state.

"Certain aspects of these promises have never been fulfilled despite bilateral agreements with the South African Government," said Gqozo. He does not spell out what aspects of these agreements were never met. What about reincorporating Ciskei into South Africa?

"Its almost ludicrous to talk about reincorporation," Gqozo laughs. "Although termed independent, Ciskei could never relinquish its dependence on South Africa. We have always been bound by servitude."

Focus Ciskei also carries an article headlined "Ciskei trailblazes in human rights" which spotlights what it calls "the rarest species on the whole southern African sub-continent" — ombudsman Mxolisi Mekuto and the Harvard University-educated Viwa Notshe, the homeland’s newly-appointed public defender.
Gqozo, ANC agree to refer Masele violence to forum

THE bloody violence in Ciskei's Masele village, where three people were hacked to death on December 26, is to be referred to dispute resolution structures set up in terms of the National Peace Accord.

This was agreed at an urgent meeting between top-ranking delegations of the Ciskei Government and the ANC last week.

The ANC delegation was led by executive member Raymond Mhlaba while the Ciskei delegation by military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Both sides pledged to do all in their power to spread a message of peace to the village and to Ciskei and the Border region as a whole. ANC Border region publicity secretary Marion Sparrow said:

Months of tension between supporters of the ANC and those of Brig Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) erupted on December 26 when an enraged mob killed the village headman Solomon Mbambo and two family members.

They were reported to have avenged the stabbing of a resident by a supporter of the ADM during a fight on Christmas Day.

Ciskei police then detained 175 people.

Sparrow said both parties agreed to use the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee to resolve the conflict.

An ANC request that all those held should be immediately released had not been accepted.

The ANC had also expressed concern at reports that ANC supporters in police custody had been beaten and assaulted and the Ciskei had agreed to ensure no further incidents of this kind took place.

She said the ANC remained concerned about the situation in Masele and that people were still very angry.

She said similar incidents could happen in other parts of Ciskei.

"We appeal to our supporters to exercise discipline and restraint and not to react to any kind of provocation from any quarter," Sparrow said.

Gqozo was not available for comment. — EK
One step forward, steps back in Ciskei

Democracy in Ciskei: the ‘Oupa’ obstacle

When Ciskei’s lennox Solomons led a bloodless coup in March 1990 by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo there was hope that the homeland’s citizens would enjoy political freedom.

But within months these hopes were dashed as Sebe-style repression, says Africa Watch, a committee of the United States-based Human Rights Watch, in its latest report Ciskei: Ten years as a homeland under the fiction of independence.


With this background there was little room to discuss the immediate future to the homeland’s complex problems, says the latest Africa Watch report.

According to the human rights group, “these problems can, however, not be solved without addressing the underlining cause - the homeland policy itself.”

The report says that despite official commitment to reincorporating Ciskei, there has been no corresponding action.

Africa Watch says that in 1991 Gqozo attempted increasingly to silence opposition with repression.

This was after he initially aligned himself with anti-apartheid groups seeking reincorporation.

“Allegations of government supported hit squads and covert military operations surfaced, and the African Democratic Movement (ADM), was launched with a simultaneous crackdown on opposition groups and individuals,” it adds.

It says the movement was a thinly disguised attempt to prevent talk of independence.


Of the report, it added “It is a joint venture with the Grahari Rural Committee, the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression in the Eastern Cape and the News Agency.

The project was funded by the government on October 29 when Gqozo declared a state of emergency. Earlier, on September 14, he had issued a national news report, together with the South African government and representatives of South Africa’s military budget. The report criticises the NNP (for continuing to provide 95 percent of the Ciskei’s military and economic budget and for “refusing to seek a resolution to the violence”, instead South Africa refuses to intervene in the violence until it is asked by the Ciskei authorities.

This abdication of responsibility toward communities in Ciskei puts the black struggle to attain a non-racial, democratic South Africa on the line, it says.

Gqozo has been particularly hostile towards the media - especially Radio Ciskei. In February he ordered the suspension of programme editor Dlile Solomola for showing the leader too little respect.

This arose after Solomola dared to telephone Gqozo for a comment on the death of Joonie Sebe, a police constable.

On April 3 Gqozo sequestered a radio security police detainee disc jockey Mphatuli Mphatuli for three days after allowing an official of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union to telephone Radio Ciskei and announce union meeting on the air.

In May, during former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher’s visit to South Africa, two news presenters were suspended for inviting Transkei’s Bantu Homelands to comment on the visit.

On June 16 last year (1991) Ciskei soldiers burst into the radio station and forcibly ejected PAC publicity secretary Barry Devenish while he was on the air.
Most Masele villagers freed

Ciskei: Police have released all but 23 of the 175 Masele village residents who were detained in connection with the death of three African Democratic Movement members on December 26.

Ciskei's deputy Attorney-General Leon Langeveld said on Friday police dockets had been received but investigations were continuing.

Hacked 11/11/92

While he could not say whether villagers still being held would be charged, some people would appear in court tomorrow or Tuesday.

They would face several charges, including three counts of murder, three of attempted murder and arson.

Langeveld could not say when the majority of the detainees were released.

The 175 were held after a mob hacked to death a headman and two others in a field near the village.

The local residents' association said the villagers were avenging the stabbing of a resident on Christmas Day.

Meanwhile, Errol Spring, of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, said he knew nothing about the Masele incident being referred to by the committee following a meeting between the ANC and the Ciskei government.

This was earlier claimed by the ANC but no confirmation of this could be obtained from the Ciskei government.

Langeveld said he was busy with a docket concerning the death in suspicious circumstances of a Mount Ciskei man, Thandile Mtja, in a Ciskei police cell.

Hanged

There were a few matters which had to be clarified before a decision, expected in two to three weeks, would be made.

Mtja died in custody in September and police claimed he had hanged himself, but after seeing the body, his family thought there was foul play. – Sapa-AP
Ciskei is appointing a man convicted of intimidation as its new Minister of Police.

Brig Fikile Zibi is expected to take over the position soon, as Gen Zebulon Mukuzeni has resigned.

Zibi is on bail pending an application for leave to appeal against a Supreme Court judgment upholding his conviction on charges of intimidation.

Earlier this year he was sentenced to two years in jail — one year conditionally suspended — on the charges.

His application for leave to appeal is to be heard on February 7.

The Ciskei government has remained tightlipped about Mukuzeni’s resignation, which came at the same time as that of Foreign Affairs Minister MS Manzi.

Director-general BRR Tokota would not disclose why the two men had resigned.

Neither Manzi nor Mukuzeni could be reached for comment yesterday.

Military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo would not respond to inquiries.

See Page 11
More detained in Ciskei by 'men in balaclavas'

By Claire Keeton

A NUMBER of people have reportedly been detained in Ciskei in the past two weeks as tension mounts between villagers and headmen.

Last week "a host of 27 unregistered hippos and police vehicles" drove into Masingata, said King William's Town attorney Mr Russel Linde.

He said residents had reported the detention of five ANC members by men in balaclavas.

Linde said the Ciskei Commissioner of Police, General JJ Viktor, had confirmed the detention of Mr Cyril Wase, but not the detentions of Mr Mzukisi Pisi, Mr Gobani Ntshobe, Mr Hozana Cikiswa or Mr Moteli Songanga.

King William's Town advice office administrator Ms Pumla Maglingazi said security forces detained a young boy in the village of Masingata.

Maglingazi said five ANC supporters were arrested two weeks ago in Quzini location, following the petrol-bombing of the headman's house. It is not known whether they have been charged.

She said at Masele village, the scene of fierce fighting over the festive season, a temporary police station and soldier's camp have been erected and security forces are patrolling the village.

"Armed people from (Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's) African Democratic Movement (ADM) are patrolling with the hippos," she said.
Outcry over CP's dirty tricks claim

Plans to destabilise the homelands had been made in 1990 by President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Botha. Dr Ferdinand Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the State President's opening of Parliament address, he said this information had been in secret documents leaked to the Conservative Party (CP).

He also claimed that when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo refused to sign the declaration of intent at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codess) in December last year he had been threatened that his would be replaced by another government.

National Party MPs shouted denials to both allegations.

Dr Hartzenberg said the SA Communist Party was the leader of an alliance with the ANC and Cosatu that "would return socialism to its rightful place" in South Africa.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa wanted recognition for his country and the only way he would get that was from the CP, which were true nationalists.

The National Party had consigned itself to a coffin with its support of Codess as it could not win an election based on one man, one vote. — Sapa.
Pushy Ciskei parents detained

TEN people have been detained by Ciskei police after parents at Mdantsane's Solomon Mahlangu High School forced the school to take more students.

They were detained after registering the students without the permission of the school authorities. The principal had refused to take more pupils on the grounds that it could not take more than the 800 already registered, but parents ignored him and registered more students.

All those registered by the parents were removed later the same day by the Ciskei police.
Ciskei's leader for talks with CP

MICHAEI MORRIS
Political Correspondent

Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, is visiting parliament today for talks with the Conservative Party. He is lunching at parliament with Dr Andrews Treurnicht and CP foreign affairs spokesman Mr Tom Langley.

THE Department of Education and Training is launching a pilot TV education scheme for black schools this year. Daily programmes for matrics will be broadcast from April 1 to September 30.
CP, Gqozo find common ground

CAPE TOWN — Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht have agreed, after holding talks in Cape Town yesterday, that they have much in common politically.

“We found ourselves discussing, to our relief, a lot of common aspirations,” Brigadier Gqozo said after the talks.

The talks follow similar recent discussions between the CP and President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP and Brigadier Gqozo agreed that Christian values must remain in place; that there must be a free-market economy; that there was a necessity for the maintenance of law and order; that they both rejected communism as well as the control of security forces by any parties other than the legitimate government; and on the necessity of self-determination.

They both rejected any form of domination, and demanded the recognition of the right to self-determination.

Brigadier Gqozo said although they both rejected the concept of a unitary state, he believed in a federation with a strong central authority.

He had had qualms about signing Codesa’s Declaration of Intent as it called for a united SA.

“But after consultations we were told a united South Africa does not necessarily mean a unitary South Africa, and we decided to sign”

It was too early to speculate on whether or not Ciskei would consider joining forces with the CP. Ciskei had “touched on the subject” of encouraging the CP to join Codesa.

“I think that if we are to have lasting solutions to South Africa’s problems, all parties should be represented at Codesa,” the brigadier said.

Dr Treurnicht said he did not envisage an alternative to Codesa, but would welcome talks with any leaders who subscribed to self-determination. — Sapa.
self-rule
agree on
CP, Ciski!
Treurnicht, Gqozo find common ground

CAPE TOWN — The CP leadership yesterday met Ciskei military council chairman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — giving fresh impetus to CP efforts to forge alliances with homeland leaders.

After the meeting CP leader Andries Treurnicht told a news conference that the CP was exploring the possibility of a meeting of all leaders who agreed with self-determination. However, he did not "necessarily" see this as an opposing forum to Codesa.

Gqozo is the sixth leader of an independent or semi-independent homeland to meet Treurnicht recently. He has also met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After yesterday's meeting, Treurnicht and Gqozo issued a statement in which they listed a number of areas of agreement which included the principle of self-determination. Gqozo said if the right to self-determination was not recognised it would "amount to a threat to (certain) people's future".

He stressed that the Ciskei government believed in a federation — under the control of a central government. He felt the homelands should be "dissolved" into broader areas, but opposed any suggestion that Ciskei and Transkei should merge.

The CP envisaged a confederation in terms of which the various "peoples" governed themselves but co-operated with others on a voluntary basis, Treurnicht said.

Gqozo said the Ciskei government was committed to Codesa and did not think that signing the negotiating forum's Declaration of Intent was in conflict with its stand on federalism. He also disclosed that President F W de Klerk had been approached in connection with perceptions that government and ANC were reaching agreements behind closed doors and presenting them to their negotiating partners to be "rubber stamped".
Bloch reports 4.3% rise in performance

MARCIA KLEIN

CISKEI-registered Bloch has reported a 4.3% earnings increase to 2.4c (2.3c) a share in the interim period to End-December as the retail trade experienced a difficult six months.

Income of R516 700 (R400 200) was received from royalties, and pretax profit increased by 3.7% to R519 100 (500 400). After a small increase in taxation, profit after tax was 4.3% up at R445 200 (R420 900).

Bloch paid a 15.8% higher dividend of 2.2c (1.9c) a share.

Chairman Bernard Rabinowitz said the higher dividend "underscores Bloch's consistent performance since listing... in 1987".

He said retail trading had been tough and meat sales in particular had been negatively affected by the introduction of Vat.

But Bloch licensees expected "a gradual recovery in the economy and a concomitant improvement in their turnovers".

Bloch has forecast that royalty income for the full year would generate profit after tax of 5.2c a share, which would represent a 13% increase over the previous year.
Cop appeal fails

THREE senior Mdantsane policemen who were convicted of assault-related charges in 1990 lost their appeals in the Bishop Suprem Court on Friday and had their sentences doubled instead.

The three are Fumane-kile Willie, 38; Mauzodidi Mejeni, 38; and Themba Halom, 42.

Mejeni died in a car accident last year.

On Friday, Ciskei Chief Justice, Judge Benjamin Pickard, sitting with Judge Roger Clasen, said the offences were "depraved and raised horror.

The sentences passed on the three – an effective 18 months' each – were "shockingly inadequate".

He increased their sentences to three years each.

The three policemen arrested two young women in 1989 while looking for a suspect in Mdantsane and detained them over a weekend.

The women were forced to drink urine, had ice cubes inserted into their private parts, were stripped naked, suffocated with plastic tubes, kicked and slapped.

Said Pickard: "This type of offence is prevalent in Ciskei. Because police have powers, they think they can do as they like." - Sapa
Palazzolo is Ciskei citizen

Johannesburg. — The Ciskei Council of State yesterday admitted that controversial Sicilian businessman Mr. Vito Roberto Palazzolo is a Ciskei citizen and presently resides in the homeland.

Mr. Palazzolo, who lived in a luxury mansion in Franschhoek, was forced to leave South Africa in October last year after the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Gene Louw, revoked his permanent residence permit following claims of alleged shady business deals. — Sapa.
Downturn, disputes hamper SunCisk

LOW occupancy and labour disputes have affected the performance of Sun International, Clieker (SunCisk), in the six months to end-December.

Chairman Ken Rosevear said results, in which earnings were fractionally lower than the previous year, reflected the effects of the continuing recession, high interest rates, inflation and unemployment.

SunCisk hotels averaged an occupancy of 55%, which was in line with other three, four and five star hotels in southern Africa, but below occupancies achieved by the other Sun International companies.

Rosevear said the Atalaya Sun, reliant on business travellers, had experienced depressed trading conditions and had pulled down the average occupancy figure.

Turnover over the six months increased by 15% to R59,5m (R52,6m). Rosevear said revenue growth was reasonable, notwithstanding the disruption caused by construction at the Fish River Sun as well as labour disputes and strike action.

A 35% increase in payroll costs affected operating profit, which rose by only 5% to R17,7m (R16,4m). Rosevear said SunCisk had now reached a wage level comparable with other major players, so operating income should not be affected by such high wage increases in future.

In spite of sluggish growth in operating income, pre-tax profit rose 19% to R11,9m (R13,4m), mainly because of a reduced interest cost of R1,2m (R3m) arising from an increase in the company's share capital. Attributable earnings were 19% up at R15,8m (R13,4m), but earnings a share, calculated on a weighted number of shares in issue, were down 1% to 21,3c (21,5c).

SunCisk declared an interim dividend of 15c a share compared with 17,5c a share in 1990 calculated on a weighted average number of shares.

SunCisk expected a moderate improvement in second-half earnings.
BISHO. — The Ciskei government has denied that Sicilian businessman Vito Palazzolo is serving as adviser to Council of State chairman Brigadier Gqozo.

However, a government statement confirmed he was living on property owned by Brigadier Gqozo. “There is nothing sinister about this arrangement because Palazzolo is a personal friend of Brigadier Gqozo,” the statement said.

The suggestion that Palazzolo had been allowed into the Ciskei in return for donations to the homeland’s development was also not true, it added.

Reporters visiting Brigadier Gqozo’s mansion found it deserted and the grounds overgrown. — Sapa and Own Correspondent
SunCiskei's growth hit by labour disputes

By Sven Lünecke

Sun International’s Ciskei subsidiary, SunCiskei, managed to report satisfactory earnings growth in the six months to end-December, despite a drop in occupancy levels at its key hotels.

Turnover increased by 13 percent to R59.5 million (R52.8 million) but a significantly higher payroll costs reduced growth in operating profit to five percent at R17.2 million (R15.5 million).

Profits before and after tax were 19 percent up on last year mainly due to the reduced interest cost arising from the increase in the company's share capital.

Interest payments dropped from R3 million to R1.2 million.

Attributable earnings were up 19 percent from R13.4 million to R16 million, but earnings per share fell slightly from 21.5c to 21.3c as a result of the increase in the weighted number of shares in issue.

An interim dividend of 15c (17.5c) a share was declared.

In their comment on the results the directors said that revenue growth was adversely affected by labour disputes and the expansion work at the Fish River Sun, which was completed in December.

SunCiskei's hotels averaged an occupancy of 55 percent, in line with the national average, but below the occupancies recorded at Sun City and the Wild Coast Sun.

Looking ahead, the directors said that earnings should improve moderately in the second half, due mainly to the recently completed extensions to the Fish River Sun, provided there was no further significant deterioration in conditions.
Palazzolo for Kei project?

EAST LONDON. — The whereabouts and activities of Mr Vito Palazzolo continued to remain a mystery yesterday as Ciskei government officials ignored press questions on the issue.

A question which has remained unanswered is whether Mr Palazzolo is involved in a development planned for the Ciskei coastline.

It is believed that he is poised to pour millions into a coastal development project.

The Ciskei denied that he had been appointed political adviser to the homeland government, but did not respond to reports that he was to move into a mansion which once belonged to Mr Lennox Sebe.
Haven for army men

ANY unemployed South African soldier – preferably with a background in Special Forces or Military Intelligence – who heads for Ciskei will probably find a job.

All the top posts in the Ciskei military appear to be filled by officers who are either directly seconded from the SADF to the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) or who are former SADF personnel now fully employed by Ciskei.

Between them, they control the defence budget, employment of personnel, weapons bought and operations carried out.

Last July, South African officials named six officers as being seconded to Ciskei. Most of them now appear to have resigned to become directly employed by Ciskei, apparently in an attempt to sever direct links with the SADF.

The inheritance of covert military unit International Researchers-Ciskei Intelligence Services (IR-CIS) can also be seen. CDF chief Brig. Marius Oelofse had been seconded from the SADF to the CDF. He appears to have become one of Gogo’s chief advisers.

Second-in-command of the CDF is Col. Dirk van der Bank. Although van der Bank was initially a seconded officer, he is now contracted directly to the CDF. He spent a period as acting commander of the CDF after an alleged ‘coup attempt’.

Military Intelligence is run by Ockert Swanepoel and his deputy Hendrik Chris Nel. Chief of Staff, Finance, is Col. Raymond Williams, formerly of the EP Command and a former Special Forces member.
HOW AND WHERE

EXPOSED: Plot to whip up revolt against Cagosa fails

TO GRAB CISKEI

Impasse Riddle of a balding balladeer

By Peter Malherbe

13/1/92

SOUTH AFRICA
ANC grab at Ciskei

to symbolically occupy the Ciskei capital of Butha-the-Next, and signatures of support were to be handed over.

On May Day, the campaign was to have ended with a rally in all sub-regions. A budget of R148 590 was allocated for the campaign.

Transport costs — including car hire for 60 days — were estimated at R50 400, while R17 650 was earmarked to hire venues, sound equipment and stages for six rallies and for the stadium where the people’s assembly was to have taken place.

Newspaper and “sky” advertisements, banners, pamphlets and posters were budgeted at R41 000, while 20 temporary organisers were to be paid R1 000 each for work on the campaign.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that the matter was being dealt with by the organisation’s senior leadership, the Border regional organisation, and Brigadier Gqozo.

She said it was not known who had drawn up the document and “this is one of the things we are looking into”.

However, reliable sources confirmed the plan was the brainchild of the ANC’s leadership in the Border region and that the documents were intended for “internal use only”.

The plan is the latest move in a protracted dispute between the ANC and Brigadier Gqozo, who seized power in a military coup that ousted President Lennox Sebe in 1990.

VOTES

On Saturday, March 14 — three days before white South Africans voted in the referendum — polling booths were to have been set up in major urban centres and mobile booths sent to rural areas to collect votes for a new Ciskei administration.

On Sharpville Day — March 21 — rallies were planned to mobilise support for a people’s assembly, which was to have been announced by Mr. Mandela on Friday, April 3.

Three days later, on Solomon Mahlangu Day, the people’s assembly was to have been convened in King William’s Town and an interim administration announced.

The administration was
ANC to go ahead with anti-Gqozo plan

THE ANC said yesterday it would go ahead with its plan to oust Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo through a mass action campaign, and denied this contradicted its commitment to negotiations.

The statement follows a Sunday Times report which disclosed that the Border region planned a mass action campaign to press for Gqozo's removal.

The campaign would culminate on April 3 with ANC president Nelson Mandela announcing a 'people's assembly'.

ANC Border region secretary Lucille Meyer yesterday criticised "the sensationalism" of the Sunday Times report and denied the plan was contradictory to the national peace accord and the Codesa declaration of intent. She said the ANC had made repeated but unsuccessful attempts to discuss its difficulties with Gqozo.

According to documents released by the ANC yesterday, the plan is designed to weaken Gqozo's position at Codesa; to isolate him politically; to expose SA's military intelligence programme in Ciskei; to bring about an interim administration in the homeland; and to weaken government's position at Codesa. The region had budgeted R142 000 for the campaign.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the plan conflicted with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord and Codesa's declaration of intent.

He said a meeting between Ciskei and the ANC was planned.
ANC ‘coup’ is ‘symbolic’

EAST LONDON. — The ANC plans to go ahead with a "symbolic" ousting of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and replace him with an interim administration over the next few weeks.

"This was the message from a delegation representing the tripartite alliance of the ANC, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions here yesterday.

The alliance was reacting to a Sunday newspaper report that a "bizarre ANC plot" to oust Brig Gqozo from power had been thwarted.

The Border ANC's publicity secretary and ANC national executive member, Miss Marion Sparg, denied the "sensational" claims that a local ANC "conspiracy" existed to oust Brig Gqozo.

"We are not talking of an actual process where we are going to (physically) remove the man from power," Miss Sparg stressed.

According to documents released by the ANC the objectives for the plan are:

- To weaken Brig Gqozo's position at Codesa;
- To isolate him politically,
- To expose South Africa's military intelligence programme in Ciskei;
- To bring about an interim administration in the homeland, and
- To weaken the government's position at Codesa.

The region had budgeted R142 000 for the campaign.

But Ciskei demands reasons

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement yesterday that the plan conflicted with the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and Ciskei's declaration of intent. He said the government had been informed of the ANC's plans by Ciskei and would not allow South African territory to be used to destabilise homeland governments.

He said a meeting between Ciskei and the ANC was planned. ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus confirmed this.

Miss Sparg said Mr Botha's statement should be taken with "a big pinch of salt" as the campaign was no different from the ANC's "people's parliament" campaign held in Cape Town recently.

There had been no response to the latter as "some sort of sinister plot" to oust President F W de Klerk. "Surely that so-called plot would have received far more attention," she said.

Brig Gqozo yesterday said he would give the ANC until Wednesday to explain the plot — Own Correspondent, Sapa
ANC breach of Codesa

Pretoria condemns 'plot' against Ciskei

By Helen Grange

The Government has accused the ANC of breach-
ing the spirit of the National Peace Accord and Codesa's Declaration of Intent after learning of the organisation's plot to take over Ciskei.

Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Umpa Gqozo said in a statement last night that he would give the ANC until Wednesday to explain the plot—a hopeless, he said, and one that had been leaked to him.

ANC Spokesman GILL Marcus confirmed on Saturday that a delegation of se-

ior members is to hold talks this week with Brigadi-

er Gqozo about the reported plan.

Foreign Minister Pity Bheki yesterday said South Africa would not permit its ter-

rity to be used in plots to destabilise homeland gov-

dernments.

Mr Bheki said the plan conflicted with both the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and the Decla-

ration of Intent accepted at Codesa. It was also in contravention of the mandate of the mediator.

The East London News Agency reported that the exec-

utive committee of the ANC's Border region yester-

day disowned its "picketing" reports of the ANC plot.

And another development, Border branches of the ANC SA Community Party and Ciskei yesterday en-

dorsed the "Campaign Around Ciskei Crisis" and vowed to continue with the programme of action.

Piki Buthe, the vice-president of the ANC,...
Ciskei bans peace accord meeting

By Chris Mabuya

Ciskei has banned a meeting to set up a peace committee because the organisers had not asked for permission in writing.

The meeting in Middeldrift was to have set up a Local Dispute Resolution Committee in terms of the National Peace Accord.

The director-general of Ciskei's Department of Justice, Mr Vive Notsha, said organisers had not applied in writing to hold a meeting.

They had only asked the magistrate to assist in the planning and to be present.

"We are not part of the Border-Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee," Notsha said.

"We are not going to involve ourselves in such meetings until we have reviewed our decision."

The Border-Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee and the Border Council of Churches (BCC) have criticised the ban as an attempt to disrupt and undermine peace in the region.

The BCC has also challenged Ciskei to prove its commitment to the principles of Codesa and the National Peace Accord.

The church organisation asked Ciskei to resume its active participation in the regional peace committee.

Mr Reg Mason, chairperson of the Border-Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee, said: "I am extremely disappointed that yet again efforts to bring peace to the region have been frustrated."

— Elnows

Away with VAT: Clerics from various denominations in the Western Cape picket against VAT. The demonstration was held to demand the extension of the list of tax-exempt foods and a total exemption of tax on all health care for the poor by March 31.
C'kei 'still committed to Peace Accord'

BISHO. — The Ciskei is still committed to the National Peace Accord in spite of its decision to withdraw from the Border Peace Committee, the homeland's Council of State said yesterday. In an earlier statement yesterday the council announced its withdrawal from the Border Peace Committee with immediate effect, following disclosures last week that the ANC's Border region had plotted to destabilise the homeland. The Ciskei Director-General of Justice, Mr Viwe Ntshe, claimed that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance acted in total disregard of the principles of the peace committee. Commenting on the controversial document allegedly drawn up by the ANC's Border regional executive, the statement said there still had been no direct response from the chairman of the Border Peace Committee on the document. — Sapa
Ciskei pulls out of peace body

Ciskei has pulled out of the Border regional peace committee.

This comes after the disclosure of African National Congress' plans for a campaign against Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

At a press conference yesterday, Ciskei's director general of justice, Mr Viwe Notshe, said since the formation of the Border-Ciskei regional dispute resolution committee, the ANC-led tripartite alliance had displayed total disregard for the principles of the National Peace Accord.

The committee had become simply a forum for the airing of political points of view and the scoring of political points, Notshe said.

The homeland, however, reaffirmed its commitment to the National Peace Accord.

Regretted

Reacting to the Ciskei's decision, the ANC said it was "not surprised", but regretted the step.

My Marion Sparg, the Border region's publicity secretary, said the Ciskei administration had "never been interested in peace from the start".

It was also significant that the decision came just as Ciskei was required by the peace committee to explain why Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act had not been repealed.

This section had been used to ban ANC meetings.

Nevertheless, the ANC hoped Ciskei would rethink its decision.

"The only way to achieve peace in the region is for all parties to sit together and discuss the situation honestly and squarely," Sparg said.
Ciskei pledges peace

THE Ciskei government and the Boy Scouts of SA pledged themselves to the national peace accord yesterday in a ceremony at Barlow Park, Sandton.
Ex-Inkatha leader quizzed on letter

One of the chief sources of alleged SA Defence Force implication in Inkatha training, Mbongeni Khumalo, was yesterday accused of having applied for a job from Ciskei military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation investigating the Weekly Mail's claims heard that Mr Khumalo had had a meeting with Brigadier Gqozo on November 8 last year.

**Catalyst**

Mr Khumalo told the committee yesterday he had not asked for a job at the meeting. Instead they had discussed "general issues" which he was not able to expand on.

Pierre Ralie, for the SADF, then produced an unsigned letter allegedly drafted by Mike Davis, of Creed Consultants, in which Mr Khumalo referred to the November 8 meeting and said Brigadier Gqozo's African Democratic Movement (ADM) should act as a catalyst to bring together South African pragmatists so that "the future of South Africa will be better than its past".

He also mentioned that the ADM should "start initiating training programmes so that the movement will be ready for the inevitable election". "I believe I could be invaluable in this regard," the letter said.

The letter also said Mr Khumalo's previous experience with Inkatha would allow him to offer a substantial contribution to the brigadier.

Mr Khumalo, who was an Inkatha Youth Brigade organiser, denied speaking to Mr Davis or asking him to draft a letter to Brigadier Gqozo.

Mr Khumalo's information on an elite group of Inkatha members who were trained at a camp in the Caprivi Strip, and the training of a group called the "Black Cats" from Wesselton near Ermelo, formed much of the basis for the setting up of the investigative committee.

Mr Khumalo was adamant that Creed Consultants was responsible for the hit-squad training of Inkatha members in the Caprivi in 1986, although it had been registered as a close corporation only in February 1989.

**Funding**

He was also insistent that he visited Creed's offices in 1988.

The reason he thought Creed had been behind the training and funding was that Guy Boardman of Creed had spoken to some of the Caprivi trainees in 1989 and been on first-name terms with them.

Some of the trainees had told Mr Khumalo that Mr Boardman was at Caprivi with them.

The commission's hearing continues. — Sapa.
Softly-softly, softly-

The Washington Post

By Claire Keeton

Washington Post

10/13/92

The very minute of American history was frozen in time as the White House announced the appointment of Anthony Kennedy as the new member of the Supreme Court.

Kennedy, 63, is a respected jurist who has served on the Court since 1988 and is known for his conservative views.

The announcement came as a surprise to many, as Kennedy had previously indicated that he was not interested in serving on the Court.

The announcement was met with mixed reactions, with some expressing excitement at the prospect of a more conservative Court, while others were concerned about the potential impact on civil liberties.

Kennedy's appointment has the potential to shape the Court's decisions on key issues such as affirmative action, abortion, and gay rights for years to come.

The announcement also marks the end of an era for Justice Antonin Scalia, who died in February and had been a key figure on the Court for decades.

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Kennedy's appointment has the potential to shape the Court's decisions on key issues such as affirmative action, abortion, and gay rights for years to come.
TALKS to resolve tension between the ANC and the Ciskei government deadlock on Friday.

An angry Brig Oupa Gqozo, Ciskei’s military ruler, has now vowed to use all the force at his disposal to stop a planned ANC campaign against him.

The talks dealt with the ANC’s plans for a mass-action campaign against the Ciskei Government, culminating in the “symbolic” installation of an interim government for the territory.

Reg Mason of the Border/Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee yesterday said he was disappointed at the outcome of the talks.

“The least we will do is to try to make the two parties come together as soon as possible,” he said.

Gqozo described the ANC plan as a recipe for conflict and confrontation.

He said it was in contravention of the National Peace Accord, to which both parties were signatories.

He was shocked to hear that the ANC’s national leadership knew about the plan.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the plan was not a subversive plot, but rather a campaign for democratic expression and free political activity.

“The document containing what our region and its structures is about to embark on is not aimed at engineering a coup of any sort,” he said.

El-

news
Pik warns ANC against Ciskei plan

By PETER MALHERBE

The ANC and the Ciskei government have failed to reach agreement on the campaign to oust Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Gqozo. The campaign is due to be launched in East London this week. (S) (I)

The ANC said it was "ominous" that Brigadier Gqozo had admitted to the presence of SANDF personnel in Ciskei, and claimed it was clear that the homeland government would continue to use military intelligence members against the ANC.

The leader of the ANC delegation to Ciskei, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, came out in full support of the ANC's campaign yesterday. He called on the ANC to take any action during the non-violent campaign, which, he said, could lead to bloodshed and further conflict.

But Brigadier Gqozo responded: "I will use every means available to the ANC to ensure that the disruptive and callous campaign is nipped in the bud." He accused the ANC of trying to destabilise the territory.

Mr Ramaphosa said the campaign was no different from any other programme of mass action undertaken by the ANC. The ANC would be calling on its supporters to "vote" in favour of an interim administration in Ciskei, and the results would be announced during a "people's assembly" on April 6, he said.

He said the only "illegal" element of the campaign was the intended defiance of repressive laws in Ciskei, which were used to ban ANC meetings there.
ANC shuns plea on Ciskei plan

Political Staff

THE ANC is determined to go ahead with its campaign for an interim administration in the Ciskei, undeterred by warnings from the Ciskei and South African government.

But government sources said they did not believe South Africa would intervene militarily.

A deadlock was reached between the two parties at a meeting in Bisho on Friday after revelations of ANC plans to oust Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha warned that mass action by the ANC in the homeland could lead to violence and bloodshed.

The South African government regarded the deadlock between the ANC and the Ciskei government in an "extremely serious light".

He said the government would not hesitate to take any action necessary to prevent destabilisation of the Eastern Cape region.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the movement's campaign in the Ciskei was no different to other ANC programmes of mass action.

The ANC would call on its supporters to express their support for an interim administration in the Ciskei and the results would be announced on April 6 at a "people's assembly".

But Brigadier Gqozo had said he would use every means within the law to prevent the campaign.

The Border ANC's publicity secretary, Ms Marion Sparg, said the ANC had not changed its plans.

The campaign would begin with a Press conference later this week, followed by pickets with the ANC's demands. Polling booths would be set up for the vote on an interim administration.

The ANC Youth League promised to throw its weight behind the campaign on the grounds Brigadier Gqozo "represents nobody but himself at Codesa".
Ciskei, ANC fail
to settle differences

BISHO. — The Ciskei government and the ANC failed to settle their differences at a weekend meeting.

The meeting intended to resolve the controversy caused by the ANC’s stated plan to “symbolically overthrow” the administration of military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

After the meeting, Brigadier Gqozo expressed dismay at the “militant attitude” of the ANC.

He said the ANC had threatened to continue with its destabilising programme of mass action in the region.

The Border Ciskei Dispute Resolution Committee expressed disappointment that the issue was not resolved.

The ANC’s secretary-general, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, has come out in full support of the organisation’s campaign.

In a statement on Saturday he issued an urgent call to Brigadier Gqozo not to take any action during the non-violent campaign which could lead to violence and further conflict.

He said it was regrettable the meeting had ended in deadlock with the Ciskei military ruler issuing threats against the ANC.

It was hoped the Ciskei Government would reconsider its position and allow the campaign to proceed peacefully as was intended, Mr. Ramaphosa said. — Sapa

Buthelezi ‘incensed’

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned of underground activities by the African National Congress in its plan to “overthrow” the government of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

“I am incensed by what the ANC is trying to do in Ciskei,” he said. “The ANC obviously have difficulty in abiding by normal democratic rules of the game.

“I will call for this matter to be monitored by the National Peace Committee and Codesa,” he said. — Sapa
Govt holds breath as ANC, Gqozo square up

By Peter Fabricus and Esther Wagh

The Government was yesterday trying to defuse a potentially explosive clash between the ANC and Ciskei.

SA Government sources said they did not believe Pretoria would intervene militarily.

A deadlock was reached between the two parties at a meeting in Bisho on Friday after revelations of ANC plans to oust Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned at the weekend that mass action by the ANC in the homeland could lead to violence and bloodshed.

The SA Government regarded the ANC-Ciskei deadlock in a very serious light.

Mr Botha said the Government would not hesitate to take any action necessary to prevent destabilisation of the eastern Cape region.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the movement's campaign in Ciskei was no different to other ANC programmes of mass action. The ANC would call on its supporters to express their support for an interim administration in Ciskei, and the results would be announced on April 6 at a "people's assembly".

Brigadier Gqozo has, however, said he would use all legal means to prevent the campaign.

IfP president Mngosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned of underground activities by the ANC in its plan to undermine Ciskei's government.

In a statement, Chief Buthelezi said ANC activists relied on the support of Umkhonto we Sizwe to set black against black and promote mass action.

"I am incensed by what the ANC is trying to do in Ciskei," he said.

"The ANC obviously has difficulty in abiding by normal democratic rules of the game. "Brigadier Gqozo must be assured the whole of South Africa wishes him well and regards the ANC offensive against his leadership as being contrary to the spirit of Codesa and the National Peace Accord." — Sapa.
Row over Ciskei rocks Codesa

CODESA was rocked yesterday by a call from four participants for a suspension of proceedings until the ANC called off its anti-Ciskei government campaign.

Delegates were concerned at the move by the Ciskei government, Inkatha, Qwa-Qwa's Dikwan-Kwela Party and Gazan-kulu's Ximoko Progressive Party (which later said it did not intend jeopardising Codesa). The call was supported by Bophuthatswana and Solidarity.

Discussions on the call for suspension until there was an unconditional undertaking from the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn dominated the management committee meeting.

The ANC told a news conference that discussions, brokered by government, would be held in Pretoria today in an attempt to resolve the issue.

ANC national executive committee member Thabo Mbeki refused to spell out whether the ANC would go ahead with the Ciskei campaign. But he did not rule out the possibility of similar campaigns against other homeland and TBVC governments, specifically Bophuthatswana.

Mbeki said the Ciskei campaign was aimed at ensuring free political activity in Ciskei for all parties.

ANC delegates confirmed that a document which called for the resignation of Ciskei military leader Brig Gupte Gqozo and for an interim government was produced by the ANC's Border region. "Gqozo is not fit to govern Ciskei, even during the transition," the document said.

The ANC said it had made several attempts to discuss the "crisis" with Ciskei leaders. All had been rejected.

Management committee member Pravin Gordhan said the ANC had informed the committee it would postpone the launch date of the campaign until talks between the parties had been held.

See Page 2
Call for suspension of Codesa

JOHANNESBURG — Codesa was forced to

Call for suspension of Codesa
ANC asks Ciskeians to disobey orders

EAST LONDON.—The ANC Border region has called on Ciskei policemen and soldiers to back a campaign “for peace and democracy” in Ciskei.

The call came after two ANC meetings in Alice and Middledrift were broken up by Ciskeian police at the weekend.

Border ANC publicity secretary, Miss Marion Sparg, said they were calling on Ciskei police to disperse ANC meetings, and to refuse to carry out provisions of Section 43 of the homeland’s National Security Act.

The Act empowers the police to ban and break up meetings.

“Members of the Ciskei police and Defence Forces truly committed to defending their people, have a valued role to play in the security forces in a new South Africa,” said Miss Sparg. — Eca.
Call for Codesa suspension over ANC drive in Ciskei

Four Codesa participants have called for its proceedings to be suspended until the ANC has given an undertaking that it would withdraw its campaign in Ciskei.

But the Ciskei government, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Ximkoko Progressive Party (XPP) of Gazankulu and the Dikwankweta Party of Qwa-Qwa yesterday stressed they would not walk out of Codesa.

However, in a surprise move, the XPP yesterday afternoon distanced itself from the call.

XPP national chairman E.P.P Mhlanga said support for the Ciskei government’s call was given on the strict understanding that this matter would be dealt with by the management committee “behind closed doors in the spirit of Codesa.”

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed yesterday that talks between the SA and Ciskei governments and the ANC would be held today. The meeting, he said, would be “a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in Ciskei.”

Codesa’s management committee has come out in support of today’s meeting. Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the trilateral meeting could make a substantial contribution to the resolution of the dispute.

He said the committee did not want to become involved in the dispute at this stage and felt the issue would be best resolved by the parties themselves.

The groups who called for the suspension of proceedings said the ANC campaign was contrary to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord and contemptuous of Codesa’s Declaration of Intent.

“We, accordingly, call upon the management committee to suspend the proceedings at Codesa until such time as it has obtained an unconditional undertaking from (secretary-general) Cyril Ramaphosa on behalf of the ANC that the campaign will be withdrawn,” the groups said.

Asked if this was the start of a loose alliance, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdhlalose said this was not necessarily so, but “if it happened, there would be nothing wrong.”

Dr Henk Kayser of Ciskei said his government wanted Codesa to succeed and sought to safeguard Codesa’s principles.

The ANC said it regretted the Ciskei move to bring a regional dispute to Codesa. “We appeal to all those committed to the Codesa process not to allow this false hysteria to destabilise it,” said Mr Ramaphosa.

The Ciskei government’s move was “unhelpful” as the Codesa management committee was in the process of discussing the matter when Ciskei was going public with the dispute.

“All the steps are clearly calculated to sensationalise the issue and are contrary to the spirit of resolving matters through negotiations and discussion,” Mr Ramaphosa said.

From the moment the issue arose, the ANC headquarters had been involved with discussions with its Border region, the Ciskei administration and the SA government in order to find an effective solution, he said.

“Our commitment to the negotiations process is unchallengeable,” said Mr Ramaphosa.

The issue was not the alleged destabilisation of Ciskei but the fact that there was no political freedom in the homeland.
THE Ciskei government yesterday asked CODESA's management committee to suspend all proceedings of the convention until the ANC had called off its campaign to topple Oupa Gqozo.

And Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday that the South African and Ciskeian governments and the ANC would meet today in "a further attempt to defuse and hopefully resolve the dispute surrounding the planned political actions of the ANC in the Ciskei".

CODESA's management committee, however, has decided not to be drawn into the dispute.

Earlier at CODESA, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dikwankwela Party of Qwaqwa and Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu had called themselves with the Ciskei call, agreeing that proceedings be discontinued until the ANC committed itself to a "ceasefire".

Mr N Nogcansl, chairman of Ciskei's council of ministers, said yesterday: "We believe that the parties cannot in good faith continue with the negotiating process while this threat remains in existence and the ANC acts unilaterally in contravention of the National Peace Accord and CODESA's Declaration of Intent."

According to a document of the ANC Border region - verified by NEC leaders yesterday - the ANC planned, among other things, to:

- Weaken Ciskeian leader Oupa Gqozo's position at CODESA;
- Isolate Gqozo politically;
- Expose Pretoria's agenda in the homeland;
- Bring about an interim administration in Ciskei.

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**Row in CODESA**

> The Border region also said the Ciskei government did not have the support of the people in the region, and it therefore had to resign.

However, the ANC said yesterday it regretted the fact that the Ciskei government had dragged a "regional dispute" into CODESA.

The ANC said the move was "calculated to sensationalise" the dispute while discussions around the issue were under way at CODESA's management committee.

The ANC Border region on February 13 requested a meeting with the Ciskei Cabinet to resolve the differences between the two parties in the region.

But in a letter from the Ciskei government, signed by Gqozo, the ANC request for talks was dismissed.

"The reasons for the appointment which has been requested are irrelevant and far-fetched and do not warrant a meeting," Gqozo said in his reply dated February 17.

CODESA's management committee chairman Mrepho Nhlangana last night said that the convention had decided not to get involved in the dispute between the Ciskei and the ANC.

Mr N Nogcansl said: "The view of the management committee is that the dispute is best solved between the ANC and Ciskei, he said."
SADF denies Ciskei link.

London - The South African Defence Force denied being involved in the Ciskei affairs, saying that any reports of its involvement were baseless.

The South African Defence Force (SADF) has denied any involvement in Ciskei affairs, stating that any reports claiming otherwise are baseless. The force has maintained a strict policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, and any claims to the contrary are rejected outright.

The statement comes in response to recent reports suggesting that the SADF was providing support to the Ciskei government, which has been in a state of political turmoil for several years. The SADF has consistently denied any such involvement, stating that any reports of its intervention are baseless and without merit.

The recent developments in Ciskei have sparked concern among international observers, who have expressed concern over the stability of the region and the potential for further unrest. The SADF has reaffirmed its commitment to maintaining peace and security in the region, and any reports of its involvement will be dealt with firmly and expeditiously.
Ciskei and ANC shake hands and look to the future

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

The Ciskei government has agreed to urgently review its security legislation to enable peaceful public meetings and marches — following a meeting yesterday between Ciskei leaders, the ANC and the Government in Pretoria.

In what was termed an "exceptionally productive" meeting, the ANC also agreed to review its campaign to call for the resignation of Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and replace the Ciskei government with an interim government.

Disputes

Further meetings between the ANC and Ciskei have been planned to discuss co-operation within the Border region to promote peace and stability, the peaceful resolution of disputes, freedom of political expression and the headman system in the homeland.

The breakthrough in relations between the Ciskei government and the ANC is the culmination of months of bitter disputes between Brigadier Gqozo and the ANC's Border region executive. Scores of ANC activists have been arrested in the homeland for participating in mass protests over the past year.

In a joint statement yesterday, the three parties said the meeting had taken place in a "spirit of goodwill and willingness to accommodate each other".

Ciskei is to review its National Security Act to enable all parties in the homeland to hold peaceful public meetings and marches.

"The ANC agreed to review its campaign in the light of the spirit of the discussions and the undertakings made consistent with the National Peace Accord and the Declaration of Intent of Codesa," the statement said.

All parties reconfirmed their commitment to Codesa, it added.

On Monday, the Ciskei, QwaQwa and the Inkatha Freedom Party called for the suspension of Codesa proceedings until the ANC denounced its plans.

Yesterday's meeting was hosted by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and attended by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Brigadier Gqozo.
Over Ciskei
Ciskea crisis
Pact axverts
ANC to tone down campaign
Ciskei

CODESA was seen from possible su
Row over Gqozo

THE National Union of Mineworkers condemned the invitation by Gemin Impala Refineries to Ciskei leader Brig Osupa Gqozo to speak at the refinery yesterday.

A Gemin spokesman said no official invitation had been issued, but when management learned he was apparently due to arrive, it asked him not to. Gqozo agreed and no address took place.
Truce

ANC, Ciskei
ANC's Ciskei action starts

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The ANC and allied organisations last night officially launched — with one significant amendment — the controversial campaign for "peace and democracy" in Ciskei.

The launch followed Tuesday's "truce" in Pretoria between the ANC and the Ciskei government, which was seen as defusing tensions over the campaign calling for an interim administration for the homeland.

The "Popular front for peace and democracy in Ciskei", consisting of 16 organisations, last night said it had dropped plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

This concession followed Ciskei's undertaking to review Section 43 of its National Security Act which allows for the banning of public meetings.

Yesterday the first leg of the campaign kicked off with placard demonstrations around Ciskei.

No about-turn

The ANC in Whittlesea claimed Ciskei police had teargassed a demonstration there, injuring four people. The Ciskei government has not responded to inquiries.

Last night, a senior ANC official conceded that an undercurrent of the campaign would be an attempt to win support from the Ciskei police force, army and civil service — seen by the ANC as areas of dissonance within Ciskei.

The front maintained the decision to launch the campaign was not an about-turn on agreements reached in Pretoria. The campaign would continue even if Section 43 was scrapped as it was part of a national demand for an interim government and constituent assembly.

Border ANC media officer Miss Marion Sparg dismissed claims that the campaign was ill-timed and would play into the hands of a "no" vote in Tuesday's referendum.

She stressed the campaign was aimed at ensuring peace and stability in the Border region.
ANC launches its Ciskei campaign

EAST LONDON — The ANC and a broad front of allied organisations last night officially launched — with one significant amendment — the controversial campaign for "peace and democracy" in Ciskei.

The launch followed Tuesday's "trace" in Pretoria between the ANC and the Ciskei government, which was seen as defusing tensions over the campaign aimed at calling for an interim administration for the homeland.

The Popular Front for Peace and Democracy in Ciskei, consisting of 17 organisations, said last night it would push ahead with the campaign, but had dropped plans to defy Ciskei security legislation.

This concession was made following Ciskei's undertaking to "review" Section 43 of its National Security Act which allows for the banning of public meetings.

But even as the campaign kicked off, an incident of Ciskei police action against protesters was reported.

The front maintained the decision to launch the campaign was not an about-turn on agreements in Pretoria and added Ciskei had recognised the right to free political activity in the homeland.

The ANC said Ciskei had been made aware the campaign would continue.

Yesterday placard demonstrations were held around Ciskei.

Sapa reports from Bisho that the Ciskei council of state confirmed Ciskei police used teargas to disperse about 300 placard-bearing demonstrators in Whittlesea.

It said the demonstrators were branded as "rebels and criminals".

To Page 2

Ciskeiichever12342

placing placards "denigrating" and "degrading" the Ciskei government. Police gave them 20 minutes warning before dispersing them.

"It is regretted that the protesters acted contrary to committing themselves with the results of the fruitful meeting between the Ciskei government, SA government and the ANC," the council said.

"The requests for the marches reached authorities after midday today, when the marches had already commenced."

Signatories to the campaign's declaration included the ANC, ANC Youth League, SACP, Cosatu, Bocmo, PAPPS, East London Taxi Association, SADTU, African Advise and Resource Centre, East London Arts and Culture Union, National Education Coordinating Committee, the Ncse, African Culture, Young Christians Society, Sached, Corplant and Cosas.
Ciskei cops tear gas 300 protestors

Ciskei police used tear gas to disperse about 300 placard-carrying demonstrators in Whittlesea yesterday, the Ciskei Council of State said.

It said in a statement that the demonstrators were carrying placards "denigrating and degrading" the Ciskei government. Police gave them 20 minutes to disperse.

"It is regretted that the protesters acted prior to acquainting themselves with the results of the fruitful meeting between the Ciskei government, the South African Government and the ANC," the council said.

At a joint meeting with the ANC and the South African Government on Tuesday, Ciskei undertook to review provisions of Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which restrained freedom of political activity. - Sapa
Buthelezi warns of 'interference'

ULUNDI.—The government has a very good chance of winning the referendum on Tuesday but it could lose it on the issue of the ANC: "interference" in the affairs of the Ciskei.

This was said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last night by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He revealed he and his cabinet held talks yesterday morning with the Ciskei military council leader, Brigadier Gupa Qozo, and some of his ministers.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC attacked a self-governing region contrary to the Codesa statement of intent.

He said the worst thing that could happen during SA's political transition would be for the government to lose its will to rule.

The people threatening to bring about "mayhem" in the Ciskei were people from South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said developments in the Ciskei would make many people who might have voted "yes" on Tuesday debate that decision now.

If the government failed to act in this dispute, it would amount to endorsing the anarchy the ANC wanted to introduce into SA.

Earlier Chief Buthelezi said Brigadier Qozo told him the ANC intended destabilising other self-governing regions, including KwaZulu.
Buthelezi warns of ‘interference’

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Earlier Chief Buthelezi said Brigadier Qozo told him the ANC intended destabilising other self-governing regions, including KwaZulu.
Ciskei braces for ANC protests

The African National Congress and the Ciskei government clashed this week over ANC plans for a campaign in the territory. After South African government intervention the protest will go ahead — the possibility of violence is still strong, reports FRANZ KRUGER

The ANC has been planning a campaign in the territory, but the Ciskei government has been resistant. The ANC says it has evidence of the Ciskei government's involvement in the campaign.

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The Ciskei government has been accused of being involved in the campaign, but the ANC says it has evidence of the Ciskei government's involvement in the campaign.
Ciskei town rallies to fired clerk’s side

The authorities did not realise what they were taking on when they fired the town clerk of a small coastal town — and then the entire town council — because they opposed a development project.

EAST LONDON — Residents of the small coastal resort of Hamburg in Ciskei have rallied to the support of their former town clerk, Professor James Thom.

When Ciskei police tried to evict the dismissed employee from his government-owned house last week, about 200 residents occupied it and refused to budge.

Thom was fired last month after opposing a planned development project for the town. But when the town council refused to relieve him of his duties, they were also dismissed.

The council objected to the development on the grounds that they had not been consulted and because it was rumoured to involve controversial Sicilian-born businessman and fraud convict, Vito Palazzolo.

One of the participants in last week’s incident, pensioner Hence Forth, said they occupied Thom’s house “to prevent the authorities from taking it into their possession”.

He said the trouble started when a messenger of the court arrived at Thom’s house with an eviction notice. “Then the whole of Hamburg gathered here,” said former councillor Gloria Steeman, speaking from her office which is just down the road from Thom’s house.

The messenger phoned Peddie police for reinforcements — three cars and a van — and the residents started moving up the hill to Thom’s property. While they were on their way, they saw police “drag and push” Thom into a car. One witness said they threw him into the car “like a bag of mealies”.

Steeman said the police were “panicky” and “narrowly escaped” the large crowd, who followed the car to the police station. They were ordered to leave by armed policemen.

“We sat in the professor’s house until early Saturday morning, when he came home,” said Steeman.

On Monday a Mdantsane magistrate set aside the eviction order, saying it was outside the jurisdiction of the Peddie court. Thom, for his part, seemed untroubled by the uproar — although he admitted he had resisted arrest.

“A very, small man in his 60s, he said he was physically tired and bruised, but spiritually strong. “When in any society, the innocent are incarcerated because they are fighting against corruption and malpractice, and the guilty are outside, I can draw only one inference: something is seriously wrong with the system,” he said.

A former dean of the law faculty at Fort Hare University and a former mayor of Hamburg, Thom has a long association with the town. Ciskei’s move to replace him and the town council with more co-operative officials followed their demand to be informed about development plans for Hamburg late last year.

In November the Hamburg Town Council received a letter asking them to ensure “Professor Thom is relieved of his services”.

When they failed to comply, they were advised that their appointment was not in accordance with the Municipal Act of 1987 and they were relieved of all responsibilities.

On the same day, Ciskei authorities appointed a senior Peddie magistrate, Thozamile Tetyana, as commissioner of Hamburg. A few days later Tetyana sent a letter terminating Thom’s services. He also appointed a former town clerk, Lungisi Ntuli.

But council members and Thom refused to take their dismissal lying down, and both white and black residents vowed to defend them in their fight.

Now the town council and Thom are embroiled in a legal battle with the Ciskei authorities. On Wednesday they lodged two urgent applications with the Bisho Supreme Court.

The applications have been postponed until April 9. — Enews.
ANC, Ciskei deadlock

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday came out in full support of the organization's campaign for an interim administration in the Ciskei.

Ramaphosa said an urgent call yesterday to Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo not to take any action during the non-violent campaign.

He said it was regrettable a meeting between the ANC and Ciskei government had ended in deadlock with Gqozo issuing threats against the ANC.

Ramaphosa said he regarded as particularly ominous the admission by Gqozo during the meeting that there was a presence of SADF Military Intelligence personnel in Ciskei.  

–  Sapa
ANC calls off vote on Ciskei

By Peter Malherbe

The ANC has suspended plans to hold a symbolic vote for the removal of Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Gopa Gqozo. Voting was due to have taken place in the territory yesterday, but was put on hold after a meeting between a high-level national ANC delegation and regional ANC structures on Friday.

Controversial elements of the ANC campaign for an interim government in Ciskei were dropped after the meeting between the national and regional delegations.

Noteworthy absent from the "reformulated" version of the campaign were the original intentions to weaken Ciskei's and South Africa's positions at CoSesa and to isolate Brigadier Gopa Gqozo. Sources said ANC heavyweights Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Patrick Lekota, Steve Tshwete and Raymond Mhlaba had decided on a meeting with the regional executive because "head office" was unhappy with the way the dispute with Ciskei had been handled.
Ciskei acts against ANC

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government has been granted an interim interdict in the Bisho Supreme Court restraining the ANC from continuing with certain aspects of the organisation's controversial campaign in the homeland. This was confirmed yesterday by a lawyer acting for the ANC, Mr. Hintsa Siwisa.
Ciskei goes to court over ANC campaign

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government has been granted an interim interdict in the Bisho Supreme Court restraining the African National Congress (ANC) Border region from continuing with certain aspects of the organisation's controversial campaign in the homeland.

This was confirmed by a lawyer acting for the ANC, Mr Mntsha Siwusa, who said the interdict had been granted to the government by the chief justice, Mr Justice Pickard, last week.

The interdict was granted shortly after the ANC region decided, following talks with ANC national executive committee members, to drop most of the elements of the campaign targeted by the Ciskei in the interdict.

Mr Siwusa said the interdict restrained the ANC from compelling or forcing people to occupy government buildings or to defy security legislation.

The application sought, but failed, to stop the ANC setting up polling booths and encouraging people to vote last Saturday for an interim administration in the homeland, Mr Siwusa said.

On Friday the ANC revised its original campaign, dropping the "symbolic" occupation of government buildings and the defiance of security legislation and postponed the voting procedures.

Border ANC spokeswoman Ms Marion Sparg said the ANC had received a letter from the Ciskei government's lawyers saying the Ciskei had decided not to pursue an interdict to halt the voting process itself.
ANC renews the Ciskei fight

AN accord between Ciskei and the ANC is in tatters, and the latter has vowed to intensify its campaign for "peace and democracy".

Three weeks after the ANC dropped plans to oust the military government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, it has announced it will "intensify its campaign" of mass action.
Ciskei police teargassed me — Sparg

EAST LONDON — ANC national executive committee member Marion Sparg was teargassed and threatened at gunpoint by members of the Ciskei police and defence force at Tentergate in the Whittlesea district at the weekend, the ANC has alleged.

The incident occurred on Saturday when the ANC attempted to hold a meeting to commemorate the Sharpeville shootings, the ANC said in a statement.

The ANC said Ciskeian security police had arrived at the venue before the meeting and asked if they had permission for the meeting in terms of section 43 of the National Security Act.

After Miss Sparg arrived, three members of the security police returned and identified themselves as Warrant-Officer M M Mrubata, Sergeant S Duda and Sergeant N T Mntu. Miss Sparg said they told her the meeting could not take place.

She then went with members of the ANC sub-regional executive to the house of one of their members for a meal.

"While we were eating, the security forces arrived and told us that our meal in fact constituted an illegal gathering in terms of section 43," Miss Sparg said.

"Police and soldiers deployed themselves around the house. We explained to Warrant-Officer Mrubata that the people who were at the house ... were simply going to eat a meal and then leave for home.

"One of the soldiers walked up as we spoke and threw three teargas canisters directly at us. "When we moved a few steps forward to ask him to refrain, a line of soldiers walked towards us and cocked their guns."

Miss Sparg said the ANC delegation then left the house.

"A Ciskei police spokesman said he had no comment on the allegations." — Sapa.
ANC's Sparg 'tear gassed'

EAST LONDON

Senior ANC member Ms Marion Sparg was teargar
gassed and threatened
at gunpoint by Ciskei
policemen and soldiers
at Tentergate in the
Whittlesea district at the
weekend, says an ANC
statement.

A Ciskei police
spokesman would only
say "No comment" to in-
quiries. 

The incident occurred
on Saturday when the
ANC tried to hold a com-
memorative meeting of
the 1960 Sharpeville
shootings. — Sapa
Govt pays for riot damage

OWN CORRESPONDENT

EAST LONDON. — Businesses damaged during the rioting after the 1990 coup which brought Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to power have been recompensed to the tune of R500,000. A spokesman for the Ciskei National Relief Fund said yesterday the money had been paid last week to 47 businesses and another 40 claims were due to be considered next week.
Ciskei has paid out R500 000 in riot relief

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei National Relief Fund has paid out R500 000 to businesses whose premises were damaged during rioting in 1990.

The rioting followed the March 1990 coup which brought Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to power in the homeland.

A spokeswoman for the fund said this week the money had been paid last week to 47 businesses whose claims had been approved by the organisation. — Sapa.
**For disruption**

Hall blames ANC Peace row in Ciskei

JOHANNESBURG — The chairperson of the Dismissal Investigation Committee, Dr. N. K. Hall, has accused the ANC of disrupting the Independent Commission of Inquiry into the Peace row in Ciskei. The commission has been investigating allegations of fraud and corruption in the contractorship of the former Ciskei leader, John Hall, who was accused of embezzling funds from the contractorship. The commission has heard testimony from various witnesses, including former Ciskei leaders and officials. The commission is expected to submit its report to the government in the near future.
Colonel leaves Ciskei unit

EAST LONDON — The founding commander of the SADF's controversial 32 Battalion, Colonel Jan Breytenbach, has left the employ of the Ciskei Defence Force, Ciskei has confirmed.

Colonel Breytenbach had been training the Ciskei parachute regiment since mid-1991.

A Ciskei Council of State spokesman yesterday confirmed that the colonel's "contract with the Ciskei government has been terminated by mutual agreement".

He had left the unit, based near Bulawayo airport, about three weeks ago and his whereabouts were unknown. The spokesman said the unit remained operational. — Sapa.
Peace body’s failure
ANC’s fault

The establishment of a dispute resolution committee in the Border-Ciskei region was disrupted by the ANC plan to destabilise Ciskei’s government, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall said yesterday.

He was responding to the resignation on Wednesday of Border-Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee chairman Reg Mason.

"Mr Mason showed himself to be a fully dedicated chairman and worked incredibly hard to establish the dispute resolution committee.

"The procedure was disrupted by the ANC’s plan to destabilise the Ciskei government. He obviously felt that the resolution of that problem was in the hands of the politicians and his committee could not function.

"In his view, this was an exercise in futility. The position will be resolved and we need to carry on with the peace procedure," said Mr Hall.

Earlier this month, Ciskei uncovered plans by the ANC to launch a destabilisation programme in the homeland.

Ciskei then called for the suspension of negotiations at Codesa until the ANC renounced its plans. The issue was resolved at a Pretoria meeting between Ciskei, the ANC and the SA Government.

"In good old Peace Accord tradition, it is one step forward and two steps backwards," Mr Hall said.

He refused to comment on a string of allegations against the National Peace Committee, including claims that he had not responded to requests by Mr Mason to bring Ciskei back to the regional peace table.

The ANC said it was appalled at Mr Hall’s statement and rejected his allegation that the organisation was responsible for disruption of the regional dispute resolution committee.

ANC Border region publicity secretary Marion Sparg said the attempt to lay the blame entirely at the door of the ANC was a deliberate misrepresentation of facts.

The ANC found it strange that Mr Hall had decided to highlight only one point mentioned in the lengthy memorandum which Mr Mason had submitted to substantiate his reasons for resignation. Most of these reasons related to problems experienced with the agreement reached in Pretoria between the ANC and Ciskei, Ms Sparg said.

In keeping with that agreement reached, the ANC had revised its first document on the campaign and dropped some of the clauses to which Ciskei had objected. The campaign, as it was now, consisted of peaceful political protest.

The ANC said it was unfortunate that a National Peace Committee member had decided to issue such a statement at a time when it had been agreed at a meeting that two members of the National Peace Secretariat, Gert Myburgh and Ayendra Naidoo, would attempt to mediate in the dispute to facilitate a peaceful solution in terms of the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

The ANC added that it remained committed to the Peace Accord. — Sapa.
Border-Ciskei region committee chairman resigns

THE chairman of the Border-Ciskei Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr Reg Mason, has resigned, fuelling fears that the National Peace Accord could be heading for failure.

Mason resigned on Wednesday night, saying he was "tired of beating against a brick wall" in trying to bring peace to the region.

The Peace Accord has been dogged by problems since its inception last September. Legislation to give it teeth has not yet been introduced, while "justices of the peace" and "police reporting officers" provided for in the accord have not yet been appointed.

A police board - appointed in terms of the accord to effect neutrality in the police - is still to have its first meeting, and regional dispute resolution committees in some areas have not yet got off the ground.

The Government warned on Wednesday that continuing violence in black townships could stall negotiations at Codesa, intimating that the Peace Accord had failed so far to address the violence.

The Human Rights Commission said 62 people had been killed and 52 injured in political violence last week. This brought to 396 the number of blacks killed since the declaration of the referendum.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said the implementation of any agreement depended on the reduction of violence so that individuals could obtain information "without intimidation or forceful interference with their freedom".

The ANC has accused rightwing whites and Government security forces of instigating township violence to destabilise the black opposition movement.

The Government denies involvement - but these are exactly the sort of disputes the National Peace Accord was aimed at resolving.

In a comprehensive "list of concerns" attached to his letter of resignation, Mason challenged the South African and Ciskei governments' commitment to the peace process.

He also criticised the ANC for its "ill-timed" and "ill-considered" anti-Ciskei campaign and the delay the dispute had caused to the peace development programme in the region.

Mason said the Ciskei government had ignored the National Peace Secretariat's offer of help in the homeland's dispute with the ANC, and had not been prepared to discuss its withdrawal with the secretariat.

Ciskei's Minister of Justice had undertaken last week to arrange a meeting with the regional peace structure which he had agreed was long overdue, but "there has been no response".

The homeland ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had still not replied to a secretariat request sent on March 12 asking for a meeting to discuss a "working relationship" and how to effectively implement the peace accord.

Ciskei had further failed to support the formation of local dispute resolution committees by banning a launch of such a committee at Middledrift.

It had also banned public meetings in Whittlesea and Keiskammahoek, Mason said.

A request to the chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr John Hall, to bring Ciskei back to the regional peace table following Ciskei's signing of the accord had gone unanswered, Mason added.

He said his fax message to Hall suggesting possible action to resolve the Ciskei-ANC dispute had also gone unanswered.
Ciskei, ANC mediation bid

JOHANNESBURG. — Unionist Mr Jay Naidoo and Mr Gert Myburgh, both members of the National Peace Secretariat, will mediate between the ANC and the Ciskei in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the two, the secretariat said yesterday.

Bishop Trevor de Bruyn will act as interim chairman. Cf 28/3/62

Earlier this month it was revealed that the ANC was planning a de-stabilisation campaign in the homeland.

In other peace initiative developments during the past three days the secretariat said peace structures had been set up in Kimberley, Klerksdorp and Port Elizabeth. — Sapa
Pease accord ‘not heading for collapse’

The national peace accord was firmly on course and there was no reason to believe it was heading for collapse, spokesman Val Paquet said at the weekend.

Paquet was reacting to speculation that the accord was in jeopardy after the resignation of Border-Ciskei dispute resolution committee chairman Reg Mason on Wednesday and the ANC’s repudiation of accord chairman John Hall’s criticism of the ANC’s role in the Ciskei dispute.

Paquet also disclosed that Bishop Trevor de Bruin, of the Methodist Church in the Border-Ciskei region, would serve as interim chairman of the committee.

She said she could not understand how all the work done by the peace committee could be viewed as lost because of the resignation of one person.

“Tremendous work has been done and many lives have been saved by the peace process,” she said.

On ANC Border spokesman Marion Sparg’s attack on Hall for singling out the ANC as being solely responsible for disrupting the dispute resolution committee, Paquet referred to a paragraph in Hall’s second statement on Thursday.

It read: “I regret having omitted (in previous statements) significant factors such as the banning by the Ciskei government of public meetings in Whittlesea and Keiskamma Valley and its lack of support for the formation of local dispute resolution committees by banning a launch of such committee at Middledrift — factors referred to by Mr Mason in his letter.”

The committee also announced at the weekend that peace structures had been set up in Kimberley, Klerksdorp and Port Elizabeth last week.
Attempt to settle ANC, Ciskei row

UNIONIST Javindra Naidoo, advocate Gert Myburgh and two members of the National Peace Secretariat will mediate between the ANC and Ciskei in an attempt to resolve a dispute between the two parties.

The secretariat said in a statement at the weekend an agreement that the two men be involved in the mediation was reached after the peace secretariat visited East London last week.

"Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, who is presently the deputy chairman, will act as interim chairman," the statement said.

It was reported earlier this month that the ANC was planning to launch a campaign aimed at destabilising Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's military government.

Mr. Gqozo, demanded that negotiations at Convention for a Democratic South Africa be suspended until the ANC had announced its intentions.

In other peace initiative developments during the past few days, the secretariat said peace structures had been set up in Kimberley, Klerksdorp and Port Elizabeth.

The three structures were launched by the chairman of National Peace Secretariat, Dr. Antonie Gildenhuys, and other members.

A steering committee for the Northern Cape established in Kimberley on Wednesday would prepare the ground for the formation of a regional dispute resolution committee on April 8.

The meeting was attended by the National Party, the ANC, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the SA Police, church bodies, civic structures, SA Chambers of Business and other business organisations.

Mr. EF Cahill, of the Northern Cape Chamber of Business, was appointed chairman of the steering committee.

After a report-back by the steering committee formed last month, a regional dispute resolution committee for the Western Transvaal region was formed in Klerksdorp.

The Eastern Cape regional dispute resolution committee was established in Port Elizabeth on Thursday. - Sopa.
Ex-chairman tells why he quit

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Attempts to bring peace to Border and Ciskei have been bedevilled by political immaturity in some quarters, says the former chairman of the local Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr Reg Mason.

Mr Mason resigned after heightened tension between the Ciskeian government and the local leadership of the African National Congress.

He said after his resignation that both sides shared the blame for the tension in the region.

Mr Mason said the ANC's campaign to oust the Ciskeian military administration was ill-timed and to some extent ill-conceived.

And he was also sharply critical of the Ciskeian government's attempts to frustrate the work of his committee.

He said Ciskei had withdrawn from its organisation and then effectively banned meetings to establish dispute resolution committees in several towns in the region.

Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had still not replied to a request from his secretariat on March 12 for a meeting to discuss the implementation of the peace accord in the region.

When a military ruler took office by a coup, there was uncertainty about whether he really represented the people, Mr Mason said.

Perhaps this uncertainty caused him to feel threatened.

Mr Mason felt the Ciskeian government had been biased against him from the outset.

"They seemed to think that I was working hand in glove with the ANC, which is nonsense. I am prepared to work with anybody for peace," he said.

He had, however, found the local ANC to be genuine in its support for the peace process.
‘Intervene over Ciskei chief’

The eastern Cape region of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has asked Codesa, President de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha to intervene in the alleged harassment of Ciskei Paramount Chief Maxobayakwuleza Sandile by the homeland administration.

Contralesa said yesterday that the chief received a threatening letter last week from the Ciskei Council of State because he refused to sell "cards" of the African Democratic Movement.

The body has also requested a meeting with Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gopo, pointing out to him that we wished to discuss "the issue of intimidation of traditional leaders to sell these cards". (Political Reporter.)
Jurists’ report part of ANC plan against IFP, Ciskei tells chief

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given his full support to the Inkatha Freedom Party, and simultaneously launched an extraordinary attack on the ANC.

In a letter directed to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi – which was released for publication from Umtata yesterday – Brigadier Gqozo congratulates the KwaZulu leader for his response to the recent findings of the “so-called International Commission of Jurists (ICJ)”.

The ICJ published a report this week which was highly critical of the IFP’s role in Natal violence.

Brigadier Gqozo writes to Chief Buthelezi: “Your handling of the situation was... absolutely brilliant.

“I was once again extremely glad to be able to call you a brother and a friend,” he said.

“I was also reassured of my admiration for you since my childhood days.”

Brigadier Gqozo said it was “obvious that (Chief Buthelezi) is a primary target of the ANC and that the elimination of your IFP forms an integral part of an orchestrated plan.”

“The recent despicable action to use the international jurists in order to once again attack the IFP is clearly part of that plan.”

Congratulating Chief Buthelezi on his rejection of the ICJ report, Brigadier Gqozo writes: “You have reflected the sentiments of the many South Africans who are fed up with the wicked ways of the ANC.

“You have once again stood up to expose the ANC for the subversive and corrupt organisation it is.”

Myopic

“I trust that all peace-loving South Africans have been convinced that the people who use such dubious means to score political points should never be allowed to run this country.

“The ANC’s actions demonstrated to all of us how morally bankrupt and politically myopic they are.”

Brigadier Gqozo concludes: “I thank you and your party for your unwavering stand against the evil forces who are bent on destroying our country.

“I thank you in particular for the co-operation and support you are rendering to me and my government... Rest assured of our full support.”
Paramount Chief defies Oupa Gqozo

The battle lines have been drawn between Ciskei’s Paramount Chief Maxhoba Sandle and the homeland’s ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, as Sandle continues to defy attempts to pull him into line.

The animosity between the two surfaced again this week when the Council of State director-general, Mr BR Tekota, wrote a letter to Sandle, king of the Rahabe, threatening to cut his R800-a-month salary for “not performing all of his duties”.

A source close to Sandle said this followed an instruction from Bisho last month that the chief should surrender his official car before the end of March.

Two weeks ago, the king led a separate delegation of six chiefs to a Codesa subcommittee meeting in opposition to a delegation selected by Gqozo and led by the homeland’s Minister of Manpower, Chief Lent Magoma.

Before going to Codesa, Sandle wrote a strongly-worded letter expressing his opposition to Gqozo’s involvement in the nomination of chiefs.

“I wish to inform you that the nomination of the delegation of chiefs is the prerogative of my paramountcy,” Sandle wrote to Gqozo.

“According to our understanding, homeland governments were requested by Codesa to act as facilitators for Wednesday’s meeting.

“I therefore wish to inform you that I do not approve of the delegation you nominated and that I will personally be leading a delegation to Codesa.”

The letter reportedly angered Gqozo, who has repeatedly failed in his attempts to get Sandle to support his African Democratic Movement.

One of the more recent attempts was the offer of a luxurious Bisho mansion, formally the home of Ciskei’s deposed life-president, Mr Lennox Sebe.

The king openly refused the offer, asking Gqozo to first consult his (the king’s) subjects on the matter.

Sandle has now sought legal advice on the latest move by the Ciskei ruler.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA, of which Sandle is a staunch member, has sent memoranda to State President PW de Klerk, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and Codesa, asking them to intervene.

The pending formation of a “non-political” association of traditional leaders is seen as a “sour grapes” attempt by the Gqozo government to oppose Contralesa and undermine the king.

The formation of the body, spearheaded by Chief Magoma, is a joint effort between conservative chiefs in the Ciskei and Transkei.

Contralesa national president Chief Patekile Holomisa said they suspected the De Klerk Government had a role in the formation of “fragmented and tribal-based” traditional leaders’ associations in order to destroy Contralesa and weaken the ANC.

But confrontation with the homeland regime is nothing new to Sandle. He was unpopular with Sebe, who, for a long time, would not let him assume his position as paramount chief.

Sebe allegedly connived with Sandle’s mother, Nolizuwe – whom he had installed as regent – to sideline the then prince.

Because of her friendship with Sebe, Nolizuwe became a pariah in the homeland and almost alienated the Sandle chieftaincy.

Now, however, Gqozo’s actions have brought the monarch closer to his subjects. Ordinary residents are starting to voice concerns over the attacks on the king, not to mention their outrage that he is paid only R800 a month.

They’ve said this indicates Gqozo has no respect for Sandle, and are beginning to echo the ANC’s call for an interim administration in the Ciskei.

A meeting scheduled for next Wednesday at the Mngqusha Great Place, Sandle’s residence, is to discuss latest developments and could take a strong stance against Gqozo.

Sources say many chiefs and their traditional councillors are pushing for Sandle to openly distance himself from the Ciskei leader.
New body to give chiefs voice at Codesa

By Eric Naki

CONSERVATIVE chiefs from Ciskei and Transkei opposed to the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) are to set up a non-political association.

A "unanimous" decision to establish the new body was taken at a meeting in the House of Assembly from the Ciskei Council of State.

More than 200 Ciskeian chiefs, councillors and headmen attended the "fruitful discussions permeated by a spirit of goodwill and oneness"; it said.

The 16-person delegation from the Transkei Traditional Leaders Association (TTLA) was led by their president, Chief GCK Nota.

The association said the purpose of its visit to Ciskei had been to forge unity between the two homelands and to encourage Ciskei's chiefs to form a non-political association.

Once formed, the association for chiefs' and paramount chiefs' rights, it said.

"It is inconceivable that Codesa can decide on the land, subjects and rights of traditional leaders without involving them," said the statement.

The TTLA has in the past voiced opposition to unification with Contralesa on the grounds that the latter was a South African body with little support in Transkei.

Contralesa in turn called the TTLA a "puppet organisation" consisting of conservative chiefs who supported the homeland system.

The Bisho meeting delegated ister of Manpower, to meet paramount chief King Maxhoba Sandile and ask him to convene a meeting to decide on the formation of a non-political association for Ciskei's traditional leaders

— Elnews
The ANC this week announced it would hold a "People's Assembly" in King William's Town tomorrow as part of its ongoing campaign for peace, democracy and free political activity in Ciskei.

Resolutions approved by the assembly will be sent for Ciskei's working groups. These would include the demand for a speedy reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa.
EAST LONDON. — The ANC on Friday announced that it will hold a “People’s Assembly” in King Williams’s Town today as part of its ongoing campaign for peace, democracy and free political activity in Ciskei.

Resolutions approved by the assembly will be sent to Codesa, ANC Border region spokeswoman Ms Marion Spang said.

Demands to be tabled include speedy reincorporation of Ciskei into South Africa and the establishment of an interim government and constituent assembly. — Sapa.
CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has assured Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Government's support for an accommodation of the Zulu king at Codesa.

Mr de Klerk and the IFP leader addressed the media after nearly four hours of talks yesterday. Mr de Klerk said he had held discussions with various parties and representatives of homeland governments at Codesa regarding what Chief Buthelezi described as "the thorny issue of the Zulu king.'

He had impressed upon them the need for the matter to be brought urgently to a head, "re-iterating the Government's support for accommodation of KwaZulu in an agreed-upon form, including the king, if KwaZulu so wishes."

Both men said some misunderstandings had been cleared up, and that further meetings would follow.

One issue raised was the Government position on transitional arrangements.

Chief Buthelezi said misunderstandings had arisen by things being read into certain concepts. He had been reassured on all of the issues on the agenda, he said.

"I return home much happier..." He said he was in Codesa through the IFP presence there, but "I am concerned about the Zulu nation, which you know is a sovereign nation and which is not represented at Codesa."

He believed the discussions the State President had held with individual members at Codesa had been very helpful.

"The king has suffered a lot of indignity through the matter being so protracted," he said. — Sapa.
Leaves bloody trail behind
Ciskei's brazen rustlers

'Round hiding in the
not until ambushed by

By Chris Mbhez

South

16/9/94
New Ciskei-based airline links Jo'burg and Bisho

LINDEN BIRNS

A NEW Ciskei-based regional airline, South West, which will operate scheduled return flights between Bisho and Johannesburg, was launched yesterday.

The airline will use an ex-Safair Lines twin-engined 52-seater Convair CV 580 propliner on the route.

There will be two return flights on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and a single flight from Johannesburg to Bisho on Sundays.

In a statement yesterday the airline said it was established in response to the need to service the Ciskei’s tourist and industry sectors.

The aircraft, which is being leased from Johannesburg-based firm Regional Air, has been configured to carry eight first class seats and 44 economy class seats.

Economy class fares on the route will cost R320 one way and R640 return. First class tickets are being sold for R600 one way and R1200 return. Several discount incentive fares are also being offered.

In the past, travelers using scheduled flights to travel between Bisho and Johannesburg have had to travel via East London, which is about 788km from Bisho.

Flying time between Johannesburg and Bisho is about one hour and 40 minutes.

The Ciskei government spent millions buying two old Convair 580 jetliners.

Last year the Ciskei government auctioned off the two planes for R10 each after they had been left to rust on the tarmac at the Bisho Airport for several years. They were not flown after their delivery to Ciskei.

New look for SAA planes

LINDEN BIRNS

SAA announced yesterday that it had refurbished several of its older aircraft and would start to phase in new crockery, cutlery and other in-flight service items, as part of its latest “re-imaging” campaign.

Airline spokesman Zelda Rouse said SAA was not prepared to say how much the “cabin enhancement programme” would cost.

Several foreign airlines have announced extensive refurbishment and re-imaging programmes.

SAA’s oldest Boeing 747-200s, some of which have been in service since 1971, have had their cabins refurbished and given new interiors similar to those installed in its two new Boeing 747-400s.

Airline staff began wearing their new uniforms this morning.

These mark the first uniform update for SAA since the 1980s.

Plan to drive safely and save lives
Ciskei airline takes off

EAST LONDON. — A commercial airline flew from Ciskei's Bulembu Airport yesterday — the first time since the controversial airport was completed five years ago. The only flights from Bulembu have been by the Ciskei Defence Force, the government and private charter. Southeast Airline, in which the Ciskei government has invested R2.1 million, is to operate return flights between Bisho and Johannesburg. — Ecn (10/8)
New airline to Bisho

By LEN KALANE

A NEW airline, South
east, began a scheduled
service between Johan
nesburg and Bisho in the
Ciskei this week.

Using a twin-engine
turboprop Convair 580
leased from Regional Air,
Southeast will operate
two return flights daily on
Monday, Wednesday and
Friday and one on Sun
day.

The aircraft carries
eight First Class and 44 in
Economy Class.

Southeast will use
check-in and arrivals fa
cilities at Terminal C at
Jan Smuts Airport.

The potential air travel
market between Johan
nesburg and Ciskei is es
timated at 20,000 flights a
year, according to a state
ment released by the air
line.
Ciskei finance minister quits

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON.— Ciskei's Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs Dr Arno Pretorius, a South African appointee in terms of a bilateral agreement reached last year, has resigned.

While it is believed the move is linked to his unhappiness with public spending in Ciskei, Dr Pretorius yesterday would only say: "I have my reasons." A senior source in Bisho said the "final straw" for Dr Pretorius had been attempts by directors-general to improve their salaries and perks.

CT 23/4/92
Finance minister may quit Ciskei

By CLAIRE KEETON. East London

The finance minister of Ciskei has decided to resign because budgetary restraints were being ignored by strongmen at the top of the Ciskei hierarchy.

Andries Pretorius was appointed minister of economic affairs, finance and state administration by South African Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha. Botha signed an economic treaty on February 26 with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, in which the brigadier effectively surrendered control of the homeland's finances in exchange for a constant South African Defence Force presence. The South African officials were sent in to salvage the situation last year when Gqozo was under attack from mass-based organisations.

The homeland's failure to toe the line on spending culminated in Pretorius deciding to return to Pretoria and resign in a few months. He implied Ciskei had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty.

Reports of the resignations of other seconded South African officials could not be confirmed. Director General of Finance Rod Smith said as a seconded official he could not resign but he could be "de-seconded".

Meanwhile, members of the Ciskei Defence Force are angry about the prominent role played by South Africans in the security forces. South African military personnel have held most of the top posts. — Enews
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By CLAIRE KEETON, East London

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Meanwhile, members of the Ciskei Defence Force are angry about the prominent role played by South Africans in the security forces. South African military personnel have held most of the top posts. — Enews
New airline attempts take off in Ciscel

April 25 to April 30, 1999

By Claire Keesow

South National
Ciskei bodyguard 'was murdered'

By PHILANGUMBA

The former chief bodyguard of Ciskei ruler Brigadier Dupa Gqozo was "probably" murdered by Ciskei soldiers, the Bishop Supreme Court was told this week.

Advocate Marumo Moerane said during closing argument in the inquest into the death of Lieutenant Kadehunwa Qamata that suicide should be ruled out as a cause of death. He also said there seemed to have been a conspiracy to cover up the death. He pointed to testimony by a soldier who said he had heard about Qamata's death the day before the body was found on February 13 last year.

Qamata's partly decomposed body was found floating in the Sikobeni river near the base of Ciskei's Battalion 1, a few days after a confrontation between different factions in the Ciskei Defence Force.

Advocate WJ Kingsley said when Qamata ran away from the base, he was armed with the pistol that was subsequently discovered in the vicinity of his body. There was no evidence to suggest that he was killed.

Mr Justice Michael Claassens reserved his finding. — Veritas
Ciskei bodyguard ‘was murdered’

By PHILAND NGQUMBA

The former chief bodyguard of Ciskei prime minister Bongani Mapoza was ‘probably’ murdered by Ciskei soldiers, the Bisho Supreme Court was told this week.

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Mr Justice Michael Claassens reserved his finding. — Veritas
Interim rule:
Gqoza sees a dark tunnel

Ciskei's military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, believes there would be no security for the homeland under present Codesa plans.

Speaking at a Press conference on Tuesday night, he said the homeland would not be reincorporated into South Africa under an interim government unless it meets specific criteria.

**Tunnel**

"I firmly believe reincorporation or an interim government now is like entering a dark tunnel. You get in and think there is peace and safety. But people mug you and you are not seen again," he said.

Ciskei would need assurances of how the interim government would work before they accepted it and residents were allowed to vote for it.

"We must know whether it is federal or unitary. What the boundaries of Ciskei are and whether they are geographically acceptable and economically viable." Gqozo said Ciskei would not enter a unitary State.

**Vote**

If the military council rejected an interim government in South Africa, residents of Ciskei would not be able to vote.

"We wouldn't involve ourselves in elections in another country," said Gqozo.

He condemned the proposal that a constituent assembly be elected to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Despite labelling Codesa a "circus", he said it was the appropriate forum for drawing up the constitution, as a constituent assembly would be dominated by a "majoritarian sector" trying to entrench its position.

Ciskei had constitutional power now and could "do what it wants", while in the future it could "lose everything". - Elnews
Gqoza lays down bottom line for re-incorporation

By Claire Keeton

THE military ruler of Ciskei, Brigadier Oupa Gqoza, would be angry if Ciskei held an election and he was not chosen.

"If the Ciskei military government disbanded and elections were held for a federal government, I would be angry if I ran and I were not chosen," he said.

Speaking at a press conference this week, he said the homeland would not be re-incorporated into South Africa under an interim government unless specific criteria were met.

"I firmly believe re-incorporation or an interim government now is like entering a dark tunnel. You get in and think there is peace and safety. But people mug you and you are not seen again," he said.

Before the whole product is accepted, Ciskei should know exactly what it looks like before it is accepted and residents were allowed to vote for an interim government.

"We must know whether it is federal or unitary, what the boundaries of Ciskei are and whether these are geographically acceptable and economically viable.""-

Brigadier Gqoza said Ciskei would not enter a unitary state.

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Despite labelling Codesa a "circus", he said it was the appropriate forum for drawing up a constitution, as a constituent assembly would be dominated by a "majoritarian sector" trying to entrench their position.

He said Ciskei had constitutional power now and could "do what it wants", while in the future it could "lose everything".

"We would not give away what there is to become nothing," he said. — Enews

IRATE: Brigadier Oupa Gqoza of Ciskei

East London to get casino soon despite uncertainty
Taking a walk on Ciskei's wild side

By THEMBA KHUMALO

OUR motorcade of luxurious cars pulled up outside the smart Mdantsane post office complex was in sharp contrast to the obvious poverty of the rag-tag bunch of Ciskeians who quickly surrounded us.

But this was not the kind of observation I was expected to make. Instead the press entourage was firmly encouraged to look at the "good works" currently in progress.

In fact, to do otherwise was quite difficult - we were the personal guests of Ciskei's military dictator, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

And, in seven major speeches delivered during the two-day tour, he made sure that we got the message.

Good Works ... Strongman Oupa Gqozo. However, two years have passed and a lot of wreckage still blots the Ciskei landscape.

Gqozo's popularity - at a high during the revolt - has waned somewhat.

Did this explain why the brigadier seemed to be at pains to point out where he and his junta were still "doing good".

Gqozo, surrounded throughout by senior Cabinet Ministers and an interesting array of white "advisors" told us that:

- His government had spent R4.5-million on rebuilding post offices, schools and rest offices, wrecked in the rampages.
- Water-pump schemes and telecommunication services in rural areas had been upgraded and more development projects were in the pipeline.

We also visited Middle-drift Prison, a modern institution 65 km west of the capital Bisho, which is being upgraded to hold an extra 150 convicts.

We were shown around the prison with its large communal and single cells and two training centres where prisoners will be taught artisan skills.
SA owes billions—Ciskei

Soweto
Correspondent
SOUTH Africa owes Ciskei "billions of rands" and has exploited Ciskei since its inception, says Ciskei military council leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

He said on Monday in an exclusive interview that Ciskei was no longer prepared to be dictated to and demanded a fairer deal in the new South Africa.

Gqozo said the popular idea that Ciskei was indebted to South Africa to the tune of millions of rands was based on a one-sided picture.

South Africa pumped R705 million into Ciskei's budget last year, he said, but this did not make up for the losses that the manipulation of the past had cost the country.

OUPA GQOZO

"This country has been used by South Africa as nothing more than a huge labour pool."

Gqozo said thousands of Ciskeians worked in South Africa, where they spent their money and paid taxes.

"We get nothing out of it, but have to provide those workers with homes, roads, services ... everything."

Gqozo said South Africa had drawn the borders of Ciskei so that no commercial centres were included in the country.

"We remain unwanted tourists in King William's Town and East London, which are both just outside our borders."

"We cash our cheques in 'King' and spend our money in East London—all to the advantage of South Africa."

"Ciskei has no borders to speak of," he said. "People move through the country at will. Road traffic carries all kinds of merchandise on which we charge no taxes or levies. But we have to maintain the roads."

Gqozo said the boundaries given to Ciskei in terms of the new dispensation would be of great importance.

His government is known to favour a greater Ciskei that would include East London, King William's Town and the so-called "white corridor."
ALLEGED coup plotter Charles Sebe died naked in a hail of gunfire after surrendering to Ciskei soldiers on January 28 last year, the Bishop Supreme Court heard this week.

Ciskei soldier Sergeant Wandile Mhlomi told the court Sebe was ordered out of the Gubu village house by a former chief commander of the Cape Defence Force, Brigadier Andrew Jamangile.

Defence counsel Marumo Moonerane put it to Mhlomi that the former commander of Number One Battalion, a Colonel Mtei, had said in a statement that when he arrived Sebe was naked and was surrendering.

A bodyguard of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Sergeant Major Veliti, had ordered Sebe to lie down, Moorerane quoted.

Mhlomi denied this and also said he was not aware of any alleged radio contact between the officers involved in the incident and Gqozo, who was alleged to have ordered that Sebe be killed.

The court heard Colonel Mtei had said in his statement Sebe was driven towards the house by armed soldiers and Sergeant Veliti shot him in the back of his head and he fell.

Another witness, Lieutenant Mrvali Ncama, told the court it was discovered Sebe was unarmed when he was killed.

The hearing continues.

Sapa
Ciskei decree raises legal doubts

EAST LONDON — Ciskei has issued a decree amending the Magistrates' Courts Act to prevent its citizens from being imprisoned for civil debt, even if they are in full-time employment and receive a regular income.

The decree, which came into operation on May 1, effectively strikes the last remaining practical method for extracting payment from a recalcitrant debtor.

This has prompted some legal firms to advise their clients not to grant credit facilities to Ciskeian citizens without some form of security guarantee.

One lawyer, Steven Clarke, said an alternative method of recovering debt that was commonly used in South Africa and elsewhere in the world — the sale of attached assets — could not be relied on in Ciskei.

Mr Clarke described the difficulties his firm had experienced in executing against debtors' assets in Ciskei. "Invariably no attachment is made by the sheriff, or if an attachment has been made, no sale in execution takes place, notwithstanding that the sale has been properly advertised."

Mr Clarke attributed the breakdown in the debt-recovery system to inefficiency on the part of court officials.

"Now the debtor also knows that if he does not comply with a court order, nothing will happen to him."

A circular to magistrates from the Ciskei Justice Department said the amendment would "put an end to this disguised civil imprisonment".

"Impeccuous persons will no longer languish in prison (at State expense) simply because they are poor." — Sapa.
Ciskei airline experiences slow start

THE recently launched Ciskei airline, Southeast, has operated on an average of less than 25% passenger loads in its first month.

Southeast is financed largely by the Ciskei government, which has ploughed R2,1m into the airline. Ciskei cabinet minister N Nogcantsi is the airline’s chairman.

One of the airline’s directors, Burger Olofse, said from Bisho last night that it was unrealistic to assess the carrier’s performance after only a month, and that it would be fairer to reflect on its business after three months.

He confirmed that its 53-seater Convair CV 580 had been flying with passenger loads of between seven and 14 people.

When it was launched in April the airline published a timetable indicating that it would operate two return flights a day on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, a return flight on Sundays and a one-way flight on Thursdays.

Olofse said only one return flight was being operated on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and that planned second return flight on those days “had not come to fruition”.

The airline’s Sunday flights were patronised by Ciskei’s Codesa delegates, he added.

Prospects for the airline were good as Ciskei had begun marketing itself as an eco-tourism destination, promoting its hiking trails, beaches and nature reserves, said Olofse.
There's no business like Hawkers' business

By Chris NAVAR

There's no business like Hawkers' business

The Weekly Mail May 26 1992
ANC members detained after Ciskei protest

CLAIRE KEETON
Weekend Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON.—At least 14 African National Congress members were detained in the Ciskei after being arrested during a protest two days ago.

A duty-sergeant at a police station in Mdantsane, Ciskei, said 14 people were being held in the cells there and would appear in court on Monday.

However, a spokesman for the Mdantsane Residents' Association, Mr Gilbert Gidana, said 17 people were being held at the station.

The protesters were arrested for picketing against Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Gopa Gqozo.

Border ANC spokesman Mr Mcebisi Bata said the demonstrators were picketing at a ceremony opened by Brigadier Gqozo, when he ordered the police "to take away these nasty things".

"Following this order," the police charged at the demonstrators, assaulting some with rifle butts while others were chased into nearby houses."

He alleged police had damaged property and that further assault had taken place inside Mr Gidana's house.

Mr Bata condemned the behaviour of the police, saying those arrested and assaulted had not committed any crime.

He warned the police to think twice about obeying unlawful orders and said: "Their future is with the communities and not individuals such as Brigadier Gqozo."
Ciskei's State Attorney's office could face a criminal charge over the employment of attorney C Mapoma, who has been interdicted from practising, according to a Cape Law Society spokesman.

The interdict was brought by the Cape Law Society, which also has jurisdiction over Ciskei and Transkei, after irregularities in the administration of certain trust funds in Transkei were discovered, the society's director Ingrid Hoffman said on Thursday.

A decision to strike him off the role had been taken, but had to be confirmed in court, she said.

She warned that in terms of the Attorneys Act a criminal charge could be laid against the person who had employed Mapoma. – Sapa
EAST LONDON — The Ciskei government has closed off avenues in its constitution which would have allowed the homeland's reincorporation into South Africa through international treaty.

In a recent decree, the government also specified Ciskei courts do not have the power to declare unlawful legislation, including its security law, which existed before March 1990, when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo came to power.
ANC eyeing mass protests in Ciskei

EAST LONDON.—African National Congress executive Mr Steve Tshwete has called on people in the border to direct their mass action protests against Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the homeland's Minister of Education Mr P P Jacobs.

Mr Tshwete told a rally that teachers had been unfairly treated by the Ciskei government and he appealed to residents to support them.

Mass mobilisation was necessary, but should be organised and disciplined, he said.

He accused President De Klerk of being "intransigent" during negotiations.

"Mr De Klerk strides like a democrat abroad while he is a fascist inside South Africa."

Mr Moses Mayekiso, president of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), told the rally that Sanco would not negotiate a local government system with existing municipalities until an interim government was in place.

Sanco could not negotiate with white municipalities when talks at national level had broken down. — Sapa.
100 held in township swoop

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — More than 100 residents of Phakamisa township in the Ciskei have been held after a pre-dawn raid by Ciskei police following several unrest-related incidents in the township.

A house belonging to a policeman and a high school principal's car were set alight on Tuesday, and last week township youths allegedly petrol-bombed two houses belonging to councillors. (OS) ARG 16/11/92

A South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) official said the police were still arresting people.

However, Ciskei Commissioner of Police General Jan Viktor said there had been no arrests in connection with the incidents. Police had "pulled in" people for questioning.

The conflict in the township was reported to have been sparked by a decision to build two-roomed houses for a squatter community. — Eca.
To Reestablish Schools

Mass Action Looms

New Nation (Plymouth) 11-27/12

Subscription Proposal

VIEWS OF ADHOCRATS OPPOSED
EAST LONDON R25
R25 000

Qqozo saved
by decree

Qqozo cannot be called
to give evidence before
any court proceedings in
terms of a new decree.

But Lawyers for Hu-
man Rights yesterday
said the move was a
clear attempt to prevent
Brig Qqozo from having
to give an account before
an inquest of his alleged
role in the deaths last
year of Mr Charles Seba
and Colonel Onward Gu-
zana — Sapa
Aid on way to starving in Ciskei

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.

Help is on the way for an estimated 60,000 people starving in Ciskei's drought and because of massive unemployment. It will come from the Ciskei National Relief Fund's national feeding scheme announced yesterday by Mrs Elsie Fish.

A Win-a-House competition launched at Mdantsane will help to raise funds. — ECNA.
Now Oupa faces mass action crisis

EAST LONDON Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, has returned from addressing the United Nations to find a worsening crisis in the homeland.

It had been a "proud moment" when the UN gave him a hearing in its special session on South Africa last week, he said.

"I was invited to come back to address them on the realities of South Africa," he said.

But the "realities" in Ciskei were becoming increasingly uncomfortable for the brigadier.

The beginning of the ANC's mass action campaign this week was marked by clashes with Ciskei police in many areas, and residents said Ciskei had declared an unofficial state of emergency.

Violence was worst in Dimbaza, near King William's Town.

In one incident there, a policeman was stoned to death by a mob and his body thrown into a burning bus.

An ANC spokesman in the area said Ciskei security forces had scaled entrances in the township and started arresting and assaulting residents.

In other areas, the houses of policemen, chiefs and others were attacked with petrol bombs and grenades, Ciskei said.

Residents in turn complained of indiscriminate beatings and teargas attacks.

The violence was said to be the worst since the 1990 coup which brought Gqozo to power.
Gqozo comes home to Ciskei’s realities

Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo returned from addressing the United Nations to a worsening crisis in his region after the ANC launched its mass action campaign there.

It had been a “proud moment” when the UN gave him a hearing in its special session on South Africa last week.

“I was invited to come back to address them on the realities of South Africa,” he said.

But the “realities” in the Ciskei were becoming increasingly uncomfortable for the brigadier.

The beginning of the ANC’s mass action campaign this week has been marked by clashes with police. Residents said an unofficial state of emergency was in operation.

The worst violence occurred in Dimbaza, the resettlement camp turned industrial growth point, near King William’s Town.

In one incident there, a policeman was stoned to death by an angry mob and then thrown into a burning bus.

The ANC spokesman in the area said Ciskei security forces had sealed all the entrances to the township and had started to arrest and assault residents.

In other areas, the houses of policemen, chiefs and others were attacked with petrol bombs and handgrenades, police said.

Residents in turn complained of indiscriminate beatings and teargas attacks.

Some 40 people appeared in court in Zwelitsha after they occupied the court building.

Bishop Trevor de Bruyn, the chairman of the regional peace committee, said it was the worst violence since the 1990 coup which brought Gqozo to power.

Gqozo said in a statement that the “ANC had provoked security forces in Ciskei beyond reason”. He said the Ciskei would not tolerate mass action.

“The people of Ciskei have stomached the ANC insensitivity to their suffering for too long,” Gqozo said.

The crisis has also affected the schools, where there has been no teaching since the start of the third term.

There has been a long-running dispute between the education authorities and the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) over recognition of the union.

In Mdantsane alone, 29 teachers have been suspended, according to Sadtu.

Gqozo also faces problems among his own cabinet, which has been rocked by four sudden resignations.

The four are the Minister of Justice, Mr Nnkhuleko Nqabane, the Minister of Police and Prisons, Mr Vive Notshe, the Minister of State Affairs, Mr Bantubonke Tokota, and the Minister of Transport and Aviation, Mr M Kashe.

No reasons have been given for the resignations which took place in the last two weeks.

However, sources said there had been a row over a proposal by Gqozo that contributions to his African Democratic Movement (ADM) be deducted from civil servants’ salaries.

Gqozo was also reported to be unhappy with some of these ministers’ alleged close relations with the South African government.
Oupa Gqozo gets life ‘sentence’

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, was sentenced to life imprisonment in a mock trial held during a rally outside the East London City Hall.

Amid a large police and army presence, an estimated 15 000 people cheered as the “judge”, Mr Otto Tokwe, the Border regional president of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), passed the sentence yesterday.

Mr Tokwe said Brigadier Gqozo’s suppression of free political activity in the Ciskei deserved a life sentence. Other charges included Brigadier Gqozo’s continued occupation of a government seat without having been elected and his allowing security forces “to murder and assault innocent people in the homeland”.

The mock trial formed part of the ANC’s mass action campaign, which brought the city centre to a standstill.

Speaking at the rally, the ANC’s Border vice-president, Mr Andrew Hendricks, challenged white people not to stay at home while their fellow citizens were fighting for their freedom in the streets.

Meanwhile in Port Elizabeth, the city’s Market Square was renamed the Vuyisele Mini Square at a rally, which was attended by more than 10 000 people, yesterday.

Mini and others were hanged in the 1960s for the murder of a police informer. — Eema.
Labour's options

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party has decided to give its regions two options: either to form an alliance with the ANC and the PAC, or to form a contrast party.

This decision was taken at the "coloured" political party's national executive meeting in Maitland, Cape Town, on Saturday. LP media relations officer Mr Peter Hendrickse said the party expected the regions to provide a solution at its annual conference in Port Elizabeth in December.

Gqozo slates mass action

CISKEIAN leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo told UN envoy to South Africa Mr Cyrus Vance at the weekend that the African National Congress' programme of mass action presupposed a "no" vote.

Gqozo blamed the ANC for 25 acts of violence in the past fortnight alone and said by definition the mass action could not be peaceful.
Life term for Gqozo

News Mook trial formed part of the ANC's mass action campaign

ended at democracy for all: 21/11/12

Whites challenged: Mass action in

Gqozo will not permit march

By Esther Waugh and Sapa

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has informed the ANC Border region that the organisation's planned march on Bisho is unlawful and has warned that if it proceeds, his government would regard it as "confrontational". ANC Border secretary Lulicile Meyer said yesterday.

While the organisers of the march insist the protest will go ahead, Ciskeian security forces have set up roadblocks to prevent any mass action spilling over into the territory.

Brigadier Gqozo has also called in the South African Defence Force "to defend the most important economic growth points" in the nominally independent territory.

"They (the ANC-led alliance) will not have the pleasure of destroying anything in my country," he said.

As the likelihood of conflict in the volatile region grew, a United Nations observer was yesterday refused permission to enter Ciskei.

It is understood that Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Renier Schoeman yesterday travelled to the homeland to intervene.

Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa yesterday vowed that the march would go ahead as planned today.

He said an independent monitoring group - including church representatives, lawyers, businessmen, the Black Sash and a representative of the National Peace Secretariat (NPS) - would attend the march.

An NPS official has confirmed that NPS chairman Dr Antoine Gildenhuys will fly to Bisho this morning to find out at first-hand what the situation is.
Ciskei residents to stake claim to land

By Jo-Anne Collings 41897

Residents of the Ciskei town of Thornhill, one of the most infamous of the resettlement areas created by forced removals, will be staking their claim to State-owned land today as the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation sits in the eastern Cape.

According to Mike Kenyon of the Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC), Thornhill residents will be making a bid for 12,000 ha of State-owned land adjoining the Hewu district of Ciskei. This land is at present controlled by the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs.

They will also be challenging the scheduled auction of land owned by the Department of Public Works, which is due to take place next Wednesday.

"The Thornhill community, with which the GRC has worked very closely, intends making representation for some of these farms of which the Minister of Public Works intends to dispose on August 12," said Mr. Kenyon.

He said Thornhill was the only community in the Hewu district with an interest in gaining additional land.

Police probe 'Koevoet searches'

The police have launched a high-level investigation into the ANC's claims of Koevoet police actions in the south-eastern Transvaal.

The investigation would be headed by Brigadier Floris Mostert. The probe followed allegations on Sunday at an ANC rally in the settlement of Driefontein that members of the reputedly disbanded Koevoet police unit had carried out house-to-house searches in the area on Friday and Saturday, speaking a foreign language.

The investigation would be headed by Brigadier Floris Mostert. The probe followed allegations on Sunday at an ANC rally in the settlement of Driefontein that members of the reputedly disbanded Koevoet police unit had carried out house-to-house searches in the area on Friday and Saturday, speaking a foreign language.

"We will establish the facts of the incident," Captain Kotze said. He said the disbANDING of Koevoet was well under way, but reiterated that Koevoet members could remain in the police force.

Koevoet, a police counter-insurgency unit, operated in the former South West Africa, mainly in Ovambo. It became notorious for its treatment of the local population.
Clash looms over C'kei march plan

JOHANNESBURG. — Ciskei's military leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, provoking fears of a clash, has vowed he will not allow a mass action march on the capital, Bisho, to go ahead as planned today.

While the organisers of the march insist the protest will go ahead, Ciskeian security forces have set up roadblocks to prevent any mass action spilling over into the territory.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani, scheduled to lead the march from King William's Town to Bisho, insists it will go ahead.

Brig Gqozo has also called in the South African Defence Force to defend the most important economic growth points in the territory.

National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antoine Gildenhuys is to fly to Bisho this morning.
FACE TO FACE: Marchers and police size each other up before clashing in Grabow yesterday. A man was killed and several others injured when police used tear gas to stop the illegal march.

Police kill Grabow man

A man was killed and six people, including a two-month-old baby, were injured when police opened fire on marchers in Grabow.

A mother and her baby were treated for tear gas inhalation.

Protesters confronted police and demanded access to a toilet that was shut off in the area.

Women light candles of peace

Flames symbolize hope not destruction, burned in Cape Town at the march action event.

For the Western Cape branch of the ANC Women's League, theaddle was not declaring war on burning but restoration as they prayed for peace by lighting candles.

More than 200 women gathered in the Methodist Methodist Church for a 72-hour fast.

Stayaway disrupts refuse removal

ABSENTISM among city council staff resulted in the closure of some public toilets and the disruption of refuse removal.

Police used batons and tear gas to disperse the crowd.

UN official barred from entering Ciskei

EAST LONDON - A United Nations official was barred from entering Ciskei by homeland police acting on an order from above.

UN observer Mr. Joe Campos was turned away at the post yesterday by police who said they had instructions to enter the homeland to prevent any unrest.

The police said they were under orders not to allow anyone to enter the country.

Mr. Campos, who was in the homeland for the first time, was allowed in yesterday by his superiors in Johannesburg, arrived in East London on Sunday.
Ciskei spurns UN's Campino

Ciskei authorities yesterday refused a member of the United Nations observer mission to South Africa access after he had travelled to the area to observe mass action.

Mr Jose Campino, who is one of the 10 UN observers of the ANC-led mass action, was refused entry at Mdantsane border post by soldiers who were manning a roadblock at the township entrance.

Campino, who returned to his hotel in East London to await further instructions from the head of the UN base in Johannesburg, said the incident occurred shortly after 12.20 pm.

Some members of the UN team flew over Soweto and Vaal Triangle townships in a helicopter yesterday before being taken on visits to Benoni, Daveyton, Alexandra and Soweto. They were accompanied by representatives of dispute resolution committees.

Leader of the UN delegation, Mr Hisham Amayad, said their mission should be seen as more than a public relations exercise.
Ciskei border tense after protest march

Ciskei border tense after protest march. After sunset, 30 000 demonstrators were eventually persuaded to disperse from the Bisho Stadium where they had gathered after an attempt to march on the Bisho civic centre. Members of the national peace secretariat were instrumental in defusing the volatile situation, sources said. Earlier, there were fears of a major clash and threats of bloodshed at the border post. Journalists were advised to leave the area.

About 150 armed members of the Ciskei Defence Force confronted the 30 000 demonstrators as they approached the border post. The marchers were finally allowed into the stadium, where Hani addressed them and a memorandum was handed to a police representative.
Marchers move into Ciskei capital after hours of stand-off

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

BISHO — In fading light, the ANC yesterday finally marched into the Ciskei capital after intervention by the National Peace Secretariat and the South African Government.

Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo had declared the march, which was to deliver a memorandum to the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, unlawful and ordered the homeland's defence force and police not to allow the ANC protesters to cross the border between King William's Town and Bisho.

The ANC was met at the border by Ciskei security forces with cocked guns.

The confrontation seemed set to explode several times, but National Peace Secretariat (NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys finally reached an agreement with the Ciskei government for the ANC to march into Bisho Stadium.

Dr Gildenhuys moved between the two groups throughout the day to avert possible bloodshed.

The march was monitored by UN observer Jose Campino, who was refused entry into Ciskei on Monday, and NPS members Deon Rudman and National Party MP Gert Myburgh.

Soon after the marchers — estimated at 30 000 to 50 000 — left King William's Town's Victoria Park cricket field at noon, Dr Gildenhuys conveyed three alternatives to marchers from the Ciskei government: the ANC could hand over the memorandum at the border; march 100 m into the homeland and hand over the document; or leave the protesters at the border and send a small delegation to deliver the memorandum at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

The marchers, led by SACP chief Chris Hani, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa and ANC national executive committee members Raymond Suttner, Marion Sparg and Saki Macozoma, rejected all of the options.

At 1.30 pm the marchers were close to the border, and Dr Gildenhuys was still trying to broker a deal.

The ANC was told the South African Government had intervened and wanted to play a "facilitating role".

The SA Government also requested Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa to telephone Mr Hani to persuade the ANC not to go ahead with the march.

Almost four hours later, the marchers were told agreement had been reached for them to move into Bisho Stadium, where they handed over the memorandum to a Ciskei official.
Gildenhuyys wins the day

Qozo finally allows protesters to enter Bishe Stadium

A TENSE stand-off between mass action supporters and Ciskeian security forces yesterday ended at sunset when military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo agreed to allow more than 30 000 demonstrators to enter the Bishe Stadium.

The crowd then had the last say when they refused to use the back entrance to the Stadium as instructed by the Ciskei security forces.

Gqozo had earlier vowed that the marchers would not enter Ciskei. His opponents, however, insisted they would not be stopped from marching on the Legislative Assembly buildings in Bishe.

The crowd waited in the blazing sun for more than five hours while negotiations were being conducted.

The two sides started the day with hardline positions which seemed to offer no compromise.

Negotiations to end the impasse brought in Dr Antonie Gildenhuyys, the chairman of the National Peace Secretariat and South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

A United Nations' observer, Mr Jose Campino, was present.

Gildenhuyys won the praise of most of the participants involved in the negotiations for having made every effort to resolve the issue.

There were more than a dozen times during the day when it seemed the standoff was about to explode.

Members of the Ciskei security forces stood facing the crowd with guns cocked at the ready.
Ciskei confrontati

A crowd of many thousands led by the SACP's Chris Hani was massed on the Ciskei border for several hours yesterday. They wanted to march into Bisho, the capital, but were confronted by Ciskei security forces. ESTHER WAUGH of The Argus Political Staff reports on frantic efforts to defuse a dangerous situation and avoid bloodshed.

Mr Chris Hani... led thousands on the march to the Ciskei border.

Mr Pik Botha... sent "phone me" message on the field telephone.

Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo... refused to let marchers into Ciskei.

The ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa... spoke to Mr Hani on the phone at the height of the crisis.

The ANC finally declared into Bisho, the Ciskei capital, after intervention by the National Peace Secretariat and South African Government, ending the tension. Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo declared the march, which was due to leave a rally in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly building, unlawful and ordered the helicopters to leave, but they refused to allow the ANC to prevent the march from entering the capital.

The ANC was met at the border by Ciskei security forces armed with machine guns.

The stand-off between the two sides lasted for several hours, with both sides reporting deaths and injuries.

Ciskei had been in a state of emergency for several months preceding the march, with a ban on political meetings and a curfew in place.

The ANC and Ciskei leaders exchanged letters and talks were held, but a peaceful resolution was not reached.

At 17h00, the ANC was finally allowed to march into Bisho, but only after a delegation was allowed to enter to negotiate.

The ANC demanded the release of political prisoners and the reinstatement of the ban on political meetings.

The Ciskei government refused to negotiate and declared the ANC's demand a "nullity."
TENSE STAND-OFF... Members of the Ciskei's Defence Force stand armed border yesterday to stop an ANC march on Bisho as part of its two-day mas...
Student shot dead in clash

PORT ELIZABETH. — Port Hare University student Mr Selwyn Taunyana was shot dead when protesters clashed with Ciskei police at Alice on Wednesday.

Ciskeian police said the security forces opened fire when a mob that had barricaded streets of Alice and set a government vehicle on fire, attacked them with stones and petrol bombs.

Ciskei Police Commissioner General J J Viktoria confirmed 39 people had been detained in connection with the unrest over the past few days.

Meanwhile, the rate of daily unrest-related incidents countrywide has tripled in the past week and on Wednesday, when an estimated 110 000 people participated in the ANC alliance's mass action campaign, eight people died, 26 were injured and 953 arrested, police said.

In their daily unrest report police said three policemen attacked while on patrol were among the injured.

There were 61 mass actions countrywide attracting about 110 000 participants, and 621 illegal demonstrations during which 953 people were arrested.

A woman and a seven-year-old girl were killed and three women, two men and two children were seriously injured when homes were attacked with petrol bombs and random shots were fired at Hlanjiva reserve near KwaMbonambi in Natal. — Sapa
Patience keeps the peace

THE ANC march to Bisho this week was a recipe for conflict — but turned out to be a success story for National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

The battle lines were clearly drawn when Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oopa Gqozo vowed not to allow an ANC demonstration on Tuesday to spill into Ciskei from King William's Town.

Into the fray ventured Gildenhuys. He patiently shuttled between the marching demonstrators — said to be 30,000 to 50,000-strong — and the Ciskei Legislative Assembly to find a solution.

ANC supporters began to gather in King William's Town's Victoria Park at 9 am. A few kilometres away at Ciskei's border, police guarded a roadblock.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member the Rev Arnold Stofle said roadblocks were also set up around several nearby towns.

Asked if the ANC was not afraid that Ciskei security forces might open fire on the protesters, Stofle said it would be a "welcome surprise if they did not use live ammunition".

SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, who led the march, warned that border and send a delegation to deliver the memorandum.

Ciskei soldiers carrying light machine-guns and policeman armed with teargas formed a human barrier across the border.

At 1.35 pm Gildenhuys told Hani: "We are still negotiating." Hani replied: "We are pushing ahead."

As the demonstrators reached the border at 2 pm, news came that the South African Government wanted "to play a facilitating role".

Hani was asked to contact Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Gildenhuys accompanied him across the border to make the telephone call.

Almost two hours later, at 4.25 pm, Hani emerged from a hotel saying: "It is a stalemate."

Botha was unable to get hold of Gqozo.

At 4.50 pm Gildenhuys was told on a field telephone that "the police are concerned about the fading light. If no decision is taken by the marchers, police will take action."

It was agreed at 5.35 pm that the demonstrators could march into Bisho stadium, and the crowd toyi-toyed down the road to the stadium with the soldiers running ahead.

FLYING the UN flag, National Peace Secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys kept conflict in Bisho at bay on JESDAY, OTHER WAUGH reports.

the use of violence against the demonstrators would have serious implications for the peace process.

At 11 am the leaders of the march — Hani, Cosatu assistant secretary-general Sam Shilowa and NEC members — were introduced to the crowd.

Police used their vehicles to block off side-roads along the 5 km route.

Gildenhuys, with peace secretariat members Deon Rudman and Gert Myburg in a car bearing a United Nations flag, set out on the first of several trips between demonstrators and Gqozo.

Hani was told that Gqozo had given the ANC three options: hand over their memorandum at the border, march 100 m into Ciskei and hand over the document; or leave the crowd at the border and send a delegation to deliver the memorandum.

Ciskei soldiers carrying light machine-guns and policeman armed with teargas formed a human barrier across the border.

At 1.35 pm Gildenhuys told Hani: "We are still negotiating." Hani replied: "We are pushing ahead."

As the demonstrators reached the border at 2 pm, news came that the South African Government wanted "to play a facilitating role".

Hani was asked to contact Foreign Minister Pik Botha. Gildenhuys accompanied him across the border to make the telephone call.

Almost two hours later, at 4.25 pm, Hani emerged from a hotel saying: "It is a stalemate."

Botha was unable to get hold of Gqozo.

At 4.50 pm Gildenhuys was told on a field telephone that "the police are concerned about the fading light. If no decision is taken by the marchers, police will take action."

It was agreed at 5.35 pm that the demonstrators could march into Bisho stadium, and the crowd toyi-toyed down the road to the stadium with the soldiers running ahead.
ANC president Nelson Mandela would be held responsible for whatever happened in the Ciskei this weekend, the homeland's military ruler, Brig. Oupa Gqozo said yesterday.

In an interview with Radio Ciskei, Gqozo said: "We want to tell the ANC that we will not tolerate their nonsense and our security forces are ready for any action."

"We have enough security laws to deal with them. It has come to my notice that Mandela will be addressing gatherings in the Ciskei. We want to warn him that if anything happens during his visit he will be responsible for the evil deeds of the so-called mass action," he said.

Gqozo praised the homeland's security forces for not allowing the ANC to "do as they pleased" on Tuesday.

He was referring to the march from King William's Town to Bisho, which was halted at the Ciskei border in a tense stand-off between demonstrators and hundreds of heavily-armed soldiers.

After protracted discussions, around 50 000 marchers pushed into the homeland and occupied Bisho stadium where they presented a memorandum.

Gqozo said the government had compromised "enough" by allowing the ANC 500 metres into the Ciskei, and then agreeing to allow three people to present the memorandum.

"The ANC would not agree with us and they were pushing their luck too far," he said.

He said the "war against communism" had just begun. - Elnews
Follow the Ciskei's contour of eco-tourism

By MARIA JOHNS

Ciskei is setting its sights on eco-tourism as the major industry of the future — an appropriate notion considering the region's unspoiled coastline with its 11 estuaries, forests, mountains, game reserves and floristic bounty including cycads.

The Ciskei government is making a temporary grant of R15-million to Contour, Ciskei's version of Safour. This money is intended to involve the private sector in job creation. A five-year plan has been implemented to double the bed/nights occupancy at resorts along the coast (Fish River and Mpekweni Sun), on the Amatola trail and at Katberg.

Ciskei has a number of game reserves — Tsolwana, Mpafti and Double Drift, the latter being particularly interesting because it borders the Great Fish River and will be amalgamated with two other parks in South Africa, the San Knott and Andries Vosloo reserves.

Ciskei reserves specialise in antelope, white rhino and birds, and Double Drift has interesting succulents. Accommodation is either in old Victorian farmhouses or rustic bush camps. Visitors can cater for themselves if they choose but for about R100 a night one can get meals and arrange game drives.

Contour's Burger Oelofse is not holding his breath for an avalanche of overseas tourists. Instead, Ciskei is aiming at the South African market.

With a view to creating affordable holidays, hiking trails are being strongly promoted. The Amatola trail is well-known as one of the toughest and most beautiful in the country, and there are trails in the mountains and in most of the game reserves.

Contour is full of novel ideas for expanding tourism facilities, such as trout lodge time-sharing, coastal developments, ethnic Xhosa villages and "pompirolle" safaris (a pompirolle is a hand-driven railway car like the one in the David Kramer Volkswagen advert).

There are, however, areas for concern regarding the ecological viability and sustainability of tourism in Ciskei. Will the coastal development, for example, be handled sensitively or will Ciskei turn its coast and estuaries into a pack-em-in Piett? And will eco-tourism in Ciskei involve local entrepreneurs or outsiders who will abuse the natural resources?

Not everyone in Ciskei can make a living from the land, and repair of erosion and over-grazing will result only when people are given viable alternatives to subsistence farming. Eco-tourism could play a role here.

The two largest developments are Sun International hotels, the Fish River and Mpekweni Sun. The latter is the least Sunlike Sun I have ever seen, actually endeavouring to blend in with the surroundings instead of overpowering them.

An Mpekweni speciality is the booze cruise up the estuary in which you are regaled with champagne and oysters while you look at birds and cycads. Birding and nature trails are also offered.

A less environmentally-friendly facility is the hiring of four-wheel-drive motorbikes for tearing up and down the beach, disturbing the birds and destroying plants and other forms of life in the sand.

It is also disturbing that the Ciskei Forestry Department seems convinced that its indigenous forests are invincible. Three yellowwood furniture factories flourish in the area and no plan exists for formal regeneration of yellowwoods.

"They just seed themselves like weeds in the pine plantations," is one of the forestry officer's throw-away lines.
Subpoena did not reach Oupa Gqozo

BISHO — The presiding judge in the Sebe-Guzana inquest reacted with shock yesterday to a disclosure that Ciskei’s military ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had not received a subpoena, issued in June, to testify at the inquest.

Counsel for the Ciskei Defence Force, Mr John van der Berg, said Brigadier Gqozo’s attorneys had received the subpoena and Brigadier Gqozo became aware of its contents on July 7. On the same day the military council issued a decree exempting the head of state from giving evidence before a court of law.

Brigadier Gqozo would have to be consulted again before the court could be told if he would testify.

The inquest is investigating the death of Colonel Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzanu in January last year.
Ciskeian refugees win their first fight

AN impoverished Ciskeian refugee community struck a blow in its battle to regain land in South Africa this week when it stopped a sale of public land in the Eastern Cape.

The 18,000 members of the Thornsfield community, who live in an enlarged wasteland, were forcibly moved to Transkei but fled at independence in 1976 in a bid to keep their South African citizenship, which failed when Ciskei was created in 1982.

Since then their queries about the land they believe is theirs have been mired in a bureaucratic shuffle between Pretoria and Bloemfontein.

Now, 16 years later, they are fighting for the land they believe is theirs. Through lawyer Clive Plackett, the group complained to the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation about the sale of 4,125 hectares near Queenstown in the Eastern Cape.

The sale was being rushed through by officials of the Department of Public Works — despite a government pledge not to do so. In Parliament in June, the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr. Jakob de Villiers, pledged that land would only be sold by the Department of Public Works after the commission's advice had been considered.

Four days after the group's complaint to the commission, Wednesday's auction was stopped at the last minute by Pretoria after the commission lodged objections to the sale.

The commission has also heard representations from various groups, including Thornhill's Group 4, about a further 12,000 hectares of land in the Queenstown district — including a large block of land adjacent to Thornhill.

The indefinite delay in Wednesday's sale has alarmed white farmers in the Queenstown and Tarkastad districts, who insist that commercial and communal farmers can't co-exist.

But an ANC spokesman slammed the farmers' protests as outdated thinking by those who "live in the Verwoerdian era".
Five Ciskei policemen are killed

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Five Ciskei police officers died and four were wounded in two incidents in Mdantsane.

Township residents reported that four police officers burnt to death after their van was set alight over the weekend.

Two others managed to escape the burning vehicle, but were seriously hurt.

In a second incident a patrolting police van was shot at by unknown gunmen from a car, which was later abandoned.

According to Mdantsane police, one of the police officers died, and two others were injured in the incident.

The home of the general secretary of South African Communist Party (SACP) in the Border region, Skenjana Roji, was also attacked over the weekend.

Mr Roji, also an executive member of the ANC in the region, was not at home at the time of the shooting, though his family were.

Twenty-seven bullet holes were found after the attack, but no-one was injured.

Mr Roji's father, Stanley, said: "We all dived for cover, and we thank God that we are all alive."

Mr Roji, a former commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe, when asked to comment said he did not think the attack was on him personally.

His parents are also members of the ANC in the area. — Ecna.
Unregulated gambling hits Sun Ciskei results

MARCIA KLEIN

PRESSURE on consumer spending, unregulated gaming operations and big wage increases saw attributable earnings of Sun International, Ciskei (Sun Ciskei), rise by a marginal 2% to R29m (R28,5m) in the year to end-June, its first full year of reporting as a listed company.

The group, whose resorts include the Fish River Sun, Mpekweni Sun, Amatola Sun and Mdantsane Hotel and Entertainment Centre, reported a 7% decline in earnings to 38c a share from 43c in the previous year on an increased weighted average number of shares in issue.

Chairman Ken Rosevear said results reflected the difficult trading conditions, pressure on consumer spending and reduced consumer confidence brought about by the socio-political situation.

Revenues were affected also by the unregulated gaming establishments that operated during the year, especially those in the Port Elizabeth and East London areas.

Rosevear said against this background, results for the year were satisfactory. Revenues increased by 14% to R117,3m from R103,1m. But margins and profitability were affected by significant wage increases, and operating profit was 2% down at R32m compared with R33,7m in the previous year.

Profit after tax increased by 7% to R30,4m (R29,5m), benefiting from a lower interest charge and no taxation. The big decline in interest and a reduction in gearing to 33% from 62% reflected additional financing in the form of preference share capital and cash flow from operations.

After R1,4m was paid in dividends to preference shareholders, attributable earnings were up by 2%.

A final dividend of 12c a share brought the dividend for the full year to 27c (31c).

Rosevear said occupancies were 53% for the year, down slightly from the interim period. Sun Ciskei was working on various aspects of its resorts to draw more booking, and it was marketing for day visitors.

There had been no improvement in trading conditions in the first weeks of the new financial year. This, and the activities of the unregulated gaming operations, made it difficult to forecast earnings for financial 1993, Rosevear said.

The share closed yesterday at 140c, lower than the 150c issue price.
Border shooting: SAP open murder docket

THE SOUTH African Police have opened an attempted murder docket after gunmen shot at them before escaping over the Transkei border.

The gunmen are suspected of complicity in at least one of the two ambushes on Ciskei police over the weekend, in which five policemen were killed.

Suspected of complicity in Ciskei cops' death: 18/5/72

But police this morning were tightlipped about their investigation. Border police liaison officer Lieutenant Colonel Christo Louw said police were "doing their utmost" to catch the culprits, and were working with the Ciskei police on the case.

He refused to say whether Transkei had been approached for assistance. Transkei's Minister of Police Colonel Aaron Ntshinga said no request for a follow-up had been received from South Africa.
Business boycott planned over Ciskei schools crisis

By CHRIS MABUYA: East London

AN Mdantsane organisation has called for a boycott of East London businesses from Monday, to call attention to the education crisis in Ciskei.

The chairman of the newly-formed Mdantsane Education Crisis Ad hoc Committee, Lulamile Nazo, said the boycott was an attempt "to draw the attention of South African authorities into the interrupted process of learning in Mdantsane schools".

He said Ciskei was the "brain child" of the South African government and the state should exercise its influence over the homeland.

The "indefinite" boycott would focus on East London but was expected to spread to other areas in the Border region. The action will be reviewed depending on the response from South African authorities, said Nazo.

Schooling in Mdantsane schools has been disrupted since May, when teachers and students began protesting against the indefinite suspension without pay of 35 teachers. Twenty-eight of the teachers were suspended for staging a sit-in at the offices of Education Minister Petros Jacobs. The others were suspended on the outcome of a commission of inquiry set up earlier this year to investigate alleged lack of discipline in Ciskei schools.

The crisis has also affected the Dr Rubusana College of Education, which was closed at the end of last month after students refused to go to schools for teaching practicals.

A 20-member delegation which attempted to meet Jacobs to discuss the situation last week was allegedly assaulted by Ciskei police.

The salaries of female teachers in Ciskei have been raised to equal those of their male colleagues, with a nine percent increase for teachers across the board, reports CLAIRE KEETON.

"The said increase will include the closing of the gap between female and male teachers," the Ciskei Council of State (CCS) announced in a statement this week.

CCS media liaison officer Vatiswa Nshanga said prior to this increase female teachers were earning less than their male counterparts but now they will earn "the same amount".

The statement said salaries of Ciskei teachers would increase by between 9.8 percent and 9.9 percent, would commence at the end of August and would be backdated from July 1 1992.

--- Elnews
Ciskei military ruler Brigadiero Gupta Gqozo will not testify at the Sebe-Guzana inquiry being held in the Bisho Supreme Court, the inquiry judge was told yesterday.

In an affidavit, Gqozo told Mr Justice Michael Claassen he will be unable to testify because of "political turmoil" fomented by opponents of the homeland government.

"The extensive pressures upon my government as a consequence thereof have brought about such demands upon my time that I am precluded thereby from spending any significant period of time upon any other pursuit than addressing the immediate and urgent demands of my office," he said.

The inquiry concerns Mr Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana, who were killed by CDP soldiers in January 1991.
Another march on Bisho planned

Sowetan Correspondent

SEVERAL actions, including another march on Bisho, are being considered by the ANC as part of the next phase of the organisation’s programme of rolling mass action.

The plan was discussed at a tripartite alliance summit on Sunday and will be considered at a national executive committee meeting next week and at the alliance’s campaigns forum.

Campaigns organiser Mr Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday several regions had already planned actions for the fourth phase, which was aiming at installing a new government.

The ANC Eastern Transvaal region had already embarked on a consumer boycott following dismissals during the national general strike earlier this month. This region was planning a march on the electrified fence between Mozambique and South Africa at the end of September.

The occupation of Cape Town’s city centre on October 12 to coincide with the opening of the special session of Parliament was being planned by the Western Cape region, he said.

The Border region had decided to march on Bisho on September 9 after a similar protest on August 4 when 500(n) demonstrators marched to the Bisho stadium.

The last phase would continue to focus on the ANC’s 14 demands on violence and transitional arrangements.
Court rebukes Ciskei ruler

BISHO. — A judge rebuked Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo yesterday after he declined to testify at an inquest into the deaths of top military officers.

Mr Justice Mike Clausens said it was “reprehensible that someone could place himself beyond the law”.

He is probing the deaths of General Charles Sebe and Colonel Onward Guzana.

The court heard earlier that Brigadier Gqozo had ordered their deaths. — Sapa
THE University of Fort Hare might proceed with an interdict prohibiting Ciskei security forces from entering the campus following the fatal shooting of a student.

Mr Sethlomo Tanyana (24) was shot on campus on August 5 when police opened fire on demonstrators taking part in the ANC's mass action campaign in Alice. He died on arrival at hospital.

On Saturday university officials met with Ciskei authorities to discuss the conduct of the security forces. Lawyers representing the parties were asked to pursue the matter.

"Our lawyers will see now if there is a need to proceed," the head of the university's public relations department, the Reverend Arnold Stofile, said yesterday.

Stofile said the university wrote to the Ciskei military council after the shooting requesting a meeting to discuss a code of conduct for the security forces.

"Initially they did not respond, disdainfully ignoring it. We briefed our lawyers to file papers for an interdict prohibiting their entry to campus.

"Then they requested a meeting, but it did not take us anywhere.

"The people present were calling themselves professionals not politicians," he said.

Stofile said the Ciskei delegation included the chief of the Defence Force, the Commissioner of Police, their legal adviser and the Minister of Police, Prisons and Justice.

The Ciskei delegation reaffirmed Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's 1990 agreement with the university which said they would not invade the campus unless there was a "life-threatening crisis" or threat to state security and that even here they would first consult with the university authorities.

But Stofile said the agreement did not provide sufficient security while "animosity exists between the regime and democratic forces".

Stofile said he did not think "anybody or anything could compensate for loss of life", but if the Ciskei would revert to democratic practices it would "go a long way to easing the existing tension". - Eca. 
The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) has come out against a consumer boycott of white-owned business in East London, saying it believes parents should be given a chance to resolve the Mdantsane education crisis.

The boycott, which started on Monday, was called in an attempt to get the South African Government to intervene in the crisis.

Schooling in Mdantsane schools has been disrupted since May when teachers and students began protesting against the indefinite suspension without pay of 35 teachers.

Twenty-eight of the teachers were suspended for staging a sit-in at the offices of Education Minister Mr Petros Jacobs. The others were suspended on the outcome of a commission of inquiry set up earlier this year to investigate alleged lack of discipline in Ciskei schools.

The crisis has also affected the local Dr Rubusana College of Education which was closed at the end of last month after students refused to go to schools for teaching practicals.

PAC Border regional publicity secretary Sizwe Mfaxa said they walked out of a meeting held to discuss the boycott on Sunday because the Mdantsane Education Crisis Ad-hoc Committee would not listen to their views.

Mfaxa said the PAC delegation to the meeting was subjected to ridicule after proposing that parents should be given a chance to meet Jacobs without the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Students and South African Democratic Teachers Union being present.
Move to stop troops

THE University of Fort Hare might proceed with an interdict prohibiting Ciskei security forces from entering the campus following the fatal shooting of a student.

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- Ecau.
How SADF props up Gqozo

South Africa's Military Intelligence is conducting a covert operation against the African National Congress

By EDDIE ROCH

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HISKOM's National Security Council is conducting a covert operation against the African National Congress (ANC) in the Eastern Cape.

The operation, codenamed 'SADF Prop Gqozo', is aimed at disrupting ANC activities in the province and eliminating key members of the party's leadership.

The operation was launched in response to a series of attacks on SADF bases in the Eastern Cape, which were attributed to the ANC.

The SADF has been deployed in the province to provide security and support for the operation.

The operation has been met with resistance from the ANC, which has described it as a violation of their rights.

The South African Human Rights Commission has urged the government to ensure that the operation does not violate the rights of civilians and that it is conducted in a manner that respects the rule of law.

The SADF has denied any involvement in human rights violations and has said that it is conducting the operation in self-defense.

The operation has been met with mixed reactions from the public, with some expressing support for the SADF and others calling for an end to the violence.

In response to the operation, the ANC has launched a counter-attack, with members of the party calling on their supporters to resist. The SADF has urged its forces to remain calm and professional.

The operation is ongoing, and it is not yet clear what the outcome will be.

The SADF has been working closely with the National Security Council and the Department of Defence to ensure that the operation is conducted in a manner that respects the rule of law and the rights of all parties involved.

The SADF has also been working with international partners to ensure that the operation does not violate international law.

The SADF has said that it will continue to monitor the situation closely and will take appropriate action to ensure that the operation is conducted in a manner that respects the rule of law and the rights of all parties involved.

The SADF has also called on all parties to engage in dialogue and work towards a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

The SADF has said that it is committed to upholding the rule of law and protecting the rights of all parties involved in the conflict.