

Violence

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IRiphabliki YeCiskei
I-Ofisi YeBhunga
LoMbuso



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The Chairman
Technical Committee on Violence
Multi-Party Negotiation Process
WORLD TRADE CENTRE

Sir

Enclosed please find a list of the causes of violence, as well as documentation describing the nature of violence being experienced in Ciskei.

Yours faithfully

Richards

PP ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
COUNCIL OF STATE: CISKEI

CAUSES OF VIOLENCE :

* POLITICAL INTOLERANCE

* INFLAMMATORY STATEMENTS BY THE LEADERSHIP OF ORGANISATIONS LIKE THE ANC FROM PUBLIC PLATFORMS INCITING THEIR FOLLOWERS TO VIOLENCE

* DELIBERATE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGNS (PAMPHLETS; TAPES; POSTERS AND BANNERS) AIMED AT DISCREDITING THE LEADERS OF HOMELANDS AND OTHER POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS NOT SUPPORTIVE OF ANC/SACP

* INTIMIDATION OF ORGANISERS, RANK AND FILE MEMBERS OF OPPOSITION PARTIES

* THE MORATORIUM ON THE DEATH PENALTY (SA) - CISKEI BILL OF RIGHTS

* MASS ACTION IE BISHO MARCH

* SUSTAINED CAMPAIGN TO DISCREDIT AND INTIMIDATE SECURITY FORCES CAUSES PEOPLE TO INDULGE MORE READILY IN VIOLENT ACTIONS

* THE ASSUMPTION OF A THREATENING POSTURE ALL THE TIME BY THE ANC AND ITS ALLIES IE "IF YOU DON'T ACCEDE TO OUR DEMANDS WE WILL....."

TO : MR M WEBB

FROM : COMSEC

STATS AND FACTS ON VIOLENCE IN CISKEI

PAGE 1 : STATISTICS OF THE LAST 3 YEARS

PAGE 2 + 3 : PROFILE OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED ATTACKS
SINCE BISHO TRADEGY.

PAGE 4 + 6 : EXAMPLES DESCRIBING THE NATURE OF ATTACKS

PAGE 7 : PAC REFERS TO ANC INTIMIDATION IN BORDER
AREAS.

PAGE 8 : ANC VOWING TO TARGET CISKEI.

PAGE 9 : BUSINESS DAY ON ANC PLAN TO TARGET BRIG.
GQOZO.

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STATS:

DURING 1991 A TOTAL NUMBER OF 87 POLITICAL VIOLENCE RELATED INCIDENTS COMMITTED AGAINST BRIG GQOZO GOVERNMENT AND ITS SUPPORTERS WERE REGISTERED.

DURING 1992 A TOTAL NUMBER OF 386 POLITICAL VIOLENCE RELATED INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED TO THE CISKEI POLICE. MORE THAN 90% OF THESE VIOLENT ATTACKS WERE CARRIED OUT AGAINST SUPPORTERS OF BRIG GQOZO.

SINCE JANUARY 1993 TO DATE, A TOTAL NUMBER OF 167 POLITICAL VIOLENCE RELATED INCIDENTS WERE REPORTED IN THE CISKEI. DURING APRIL 93 ALONE, 74 VIOLENT ATTACKS WERE REPORTED TO THE CISKEI POLICE. 56 OF THESE INCIDENTS WERE ARSON RELATED AND CARRIED OUT IN MOST CASES BY MOBS OF YOUTHS HURDLING PETROL BOMBS AT THE HOUSES OF SUPPORTERS OF BRIG GQOZO AND THE ADM.

FROM INFORMATION RECEIVED AND POLICE INVESTIGATIONS IT BECAME EVIDENT THAT THE ANC ALLIANCE AND ITS SUPPORTERS CAN BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR AT LEAST 564 POLITICAL VIOLENCE RELATED INCIDENTS CARRIED OUT IN THE CISKEI SINCE JANUARY 1991.

NO LESS THAN 304 VIOLENT ATTACKS AND CASES OF SEVERE INTIMIDATION WERE CARRIED OUT AGAINST CISKEI TRADITIONAL LEADERS, HEADMEN AND THEIR SUPPORTERS SINCE THE ANC ALLIANCE DECLARED THEIR REJECTION AND DEFIANCE OF THE HEADMAN SYSTEM DURING 1992.

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STATISTICSUNREST RELATED INCIDENTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CISKEI

ATTACKS ON SECURITY FORCES; MEMBERS OF TOWN COUNCILS;
THE HEADMEN; AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT MEMBERS AND
HEADMEN SUPPORTERS :

AS FROM THE 7th SEPTEMBER 1992 TO 13 MAY 1993

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>TOTAL NUMBER OF ATTACKS</u>
1. <u>SEPTEMBER</u>	
Headman	20
Headman supporters	15
African Democratic Movement	12
Security Forces	50
TOTAL	<u>97</u>
2. <u>OCTOBER</u>	
Headman	5
Headman supporters	0
African Democratic Movement	1
Security forces	31
TOTAL	<u>37</u>
3. <u>NOVEMBER</u>	
Headman	0
Headman supporters	0
African Democratic Movement	1
Security forces	3
TOTAL	<u>4</u>
4. <u>DECEMBER</u>	
Headman	3
Headman supporters	0
African Democratic Movement	2
Security forces	1
TOTAL	<u>6</u>
5. <u>JANUARY</u>	
Headman	0
Headman supporters	0
African Democratic Movement	2
Security forces	0
TOTAL	<u>2</u>

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6. FEBRUARY

Headman	1
Headman supporters	0
African Democratic Movement	1
Security forces	2
TOTAL	<u>4</u>

7. MARCH

Headman	3
Headman supporters	0
African Democratic Movement	11
Security forces	3
TOTAL	<u>17</u>

8. APRIL

Headman	8
Headman supporters	2
African Democratic Movement	2
Security forces	13
TOTAL	<u>25</u>

9. MAY

Headman	2
Headman supporters	1
African Democratic Movement	0
Security forces	3
TOTAL	<u>6</u>

TOTAL INCIDENTS: 198

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COMPARISON STATISTICS

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UNREST RELATED INCIDENTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CISKEIMONTHS :-

	<u>MARCH</u>	<u>APRIL</u>
<u>ATTACKS ON SECURITY FORCES</u>		
Handgrenade attacks on members	: 0	0
AK 47 attacks on members	: 0	1
Attacks on members (firearms etc)	: 1	3
Handgrenade and limpet mine attacks on buildings/premises of Security Forces.	: 0	1
Handgreande and limpet mine attacks on homes/houses of security forces	: 0	0
Attacks on premises occupied by Security Forces	: 0	0
Petrol bomb attacks on members' houses and set alight	: 0	5
Murder	: 0	3

ATTACKS ON MEMBERS OF TOWN COUNCILS, THE HEADMEN SYSTEM, THE ADM AND CIVIL SERVANTS / MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC: PAC/ANC :PETROL BOMB ATTACKS ON HOUSES / HOUSES SET ALIGHT:

(a) Members of Town Councils	: 0	0
(b) Headmen	: 1	4
(c) Headmen supporters	: 0	14
(d) The African Democratic Movement (ADM)	: 8	1
(e) Civil Servants	: 0	2
(f) Members of the public (no organisation)	: 6	5
(g) Members of the Pan Africanist Congress	: 0	1
(h) Members of the African National Congress:	1	8

ATTACKS WITH FIRE ARMS / STONES etc.

(a) Members of Town Councils	: 0	0
(b) Headmen	: 0	1
(c) Headmen supporters	: 0	5
(d) The African Democratic Movement (ADM)	: 1	0
(e) Civil Servants	: 0	0
(f) Members of the public (no organisation)	: 3	1
(g) Members of the Pan Africanist Congress	: 0	0
(h) Members of the African National Congress:	2	2

HAND GRENADE ATTACKS ON HOUSES AND ON MEMBERS:

(a) Members of Town Councils	: 1	0
(b) Headmen	: 2	1
(c) Headmen supporters	: 0	1

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MARCH APRIL

(d) The African Democratic Movement (ADM) :	1	1
(e) Civil Servants :	1	1
(f) Members of the public (no organisation) :	3	0
(g) Members of the Pan Africanist Congress :	0	0
(h) Members of the African National Congress :	2	0

INTIMIDATION

(a) Members of Town Councils :	0	0
(b) Headmen :	0	2
(c) Headmen supporters :	0	0
(d) The African Democratic Movement (ADM) :	0	0
(e) Civil Servants :	0	0
(f) Members of the public (no organisation) :	0	0
(g) Members of the Pan Africanist Congress :	0	0
(h) Members of the African National Congress :	0	0

MURDER

(a) Members of Town Councils :	1	0
(b) Headmen :	0	0
(c) Headmen supporters :	0	1
(d) The African Democratic Movement (ADM) :	1	0
(e) Civil Servants :	1	0
(f) Members of the public (no organisation) :	3	3
(g) Members of the Pan Africanist Congress :	0	0
(h) Members of the African National Congress :	1	2

AK 47 ATTACKS ON MEMBERS

(a) Members of Town Councils :	0	0
(b) Headmen :	0	0
(c) Headmen supporters :	0	0
(d) The African Democratic Movement (ADM) :	0	0
(e) Civil Servants :	0	0
(f) Members of the public (no organisation) :	0	0
(g) Members of the Pan Africanist Congress :	0	0
(h) Members of the African National Congress :	0	0

ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS

Premises of Government :	2	8
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ATTACKS ON VEHICLES

Government vehicles (Bombs, etc) :	0	4
Private vehicles (teachers, etc) :	1	20

PRIVATE BUSINESSES

Attacked and looted :	1	5
Destroyed through petrol bomb attacks/ Petrol, etc. :	1	0

<u>TOTAL INCIDENTS</u> :	<u>45</u>	<u>106</u>
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<u>ARRESTS BY POLICE</u> :	<u>6</u>	<u>117</u>
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COMMENTS

THERE HAS BEEN AN INCREASE OF INCIDENTS / ATTACKS ON MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY FORCES, HEADMEN, HEADMEN SUPPORTERS, GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS, GOVERNMENT VEHICLES, PRIVATE VEHICLES AND PRIVATE BUSINESSES DURING APRIL 1993.

THE INCIDENTS / ATTACKS INCREASED AS A RESULT OF THE ASSASSINATION OF THE LATE Chris HANI (SACP) ON 1993.04.10.

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Ciskei State of Emergency

Border PAC accuses ANC of intimidation

by ANDREW TRENCH

EAST LONDON — The Pan Africanist Congress in the Border yesterday accused the African National Congress of "terrorising" its members in the region.

This comes less than a week after the ANC and PAC co-convened and formed the Patriotic Front alliance in Durban.

The PAC's regional secretary, Mr M. Mhangwani, said in a statement the organisation felt it necessary to expose the ANC's "barbaric acts".

The statement claimed that Mr Bhesi Mavana, who was in-

jured during a clash with ANC members at Izeli near King William's Town last Sunday, was a member of the PAC, and not the African Democratic Movement, as was claimed by the residents' association there.

More than 300 people were arrested after the incident, which was alleged to have been a clash between residents and the local headmen committee.

The PAC claimed other of its members injured in the attack were Miss Nofemele Velaphi, Mr Simon Majamane, Mr Isane Mshuntsha and Mr Lindiso Mqulana.

The statement said such acts made a mockery of the Peace Accord and enhanced the "ANC's notorious reputation as a common denominator in violence".

Such incidents further undermined the ANC's commitment to the Patriotic Front, it said.

The PAC called for the disbanding of all residents' associations and the Border Civics Congress to make way for a structure agreed on by all organisations.

The regional executive committee intended exposing "ANC

brutality" to the world and said it would demand money from the ANC to pay for Mr Mavana's damaged property.

It cited alleged incidents of attacks on PAC members by those of the ANC. Included in the claims were:

- Members of the Pan African Students Organisation were attacked by members of the Congress of South African Students in Alice;

- PAC members were attacked at Qumra by members of the Komga Residents' Association during the launch of the PAC Komga branch;

- Similar "acts of terror and intimidation" had been carried out by residents' associations, which denied PAC members the right to exercise their democratic

right to belong to the organisation, the PAC said.

Despite the "provocation" the PAC had shown its commitment to peace by not retaliating.

The organisation claimed while ANC leaders signed peace accords, the deeds of their members seemed to indicate they were bent on "wiping out all competition".

The Border ANC press officer, Miss Marion Sparg, declined to comment until the statement had been examined fully.

The PAC said it intended meeting with the ANC's regional executive to address the "potentially explosive situation".

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Daily Dispatch 6/8/92.

ANC vows to make Ciskei ungovernable

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The ANC yesterday vowed to make Ciskei ungovernable while Brigadier Oupa Gqozo remained in power.

Businessmen were also warned not to take action against workers taking part in mass action focusing on industrial areas.

A regional executive member of the ANC Dr Chippy Oliver, warned that bosses who "intimidated or dismissed" participating employees would be "taught a serious lesson".

The statement came during the tripartite alliance's "occupation" of the city centre here yesterday, which was monitored by a United Nations observer, Mr Jose Campino.

Dr Oliver said it was time businessmen took a clear stand on whether they supported the "cause of the people for democracy". Businessmen had for too long stood on the sidelines, he said.

He warned of a wave of strikes in different industries and asked bones

in the region to set up "solidarity committees" to support the strikers.

The alliance said the mass action campaign would continue after meetings to assess the situation this Saturday.

The call to make Ciskei ungovernable came from Dr Oliver and the Border president of the South African Civics Organisation, Mt Otto Tokwe.

"Gqozo must go and we are going to push him out," Dr Oliver added. Mr Tokwe appealed to people to make Ciskei ungovernable while the headmen system continued to exist.

The Border ANC president, Mr Silumko Sokupa, called on President F. W. de Klerk to remove Brig Gqozo speedily, or the ANC would do so, using "discipline and political methods".

He also said that communities under attack from Ciskei security forces had a right to protect themselves, and the means used would depend on the threat. He denied the ANC was contemplating setting up self-defence units in these areas.

ANC to go ahead with anti-Gqozo plan

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THE ANC said yesterday it would go ahead with its plan to oust Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo through a mass action campaign, and denied this contradicted its commitment to negotiations.

The statement follows a Sunday Times report which disclosed that the Border region planned a mass action campaign to press for Gqozo's removal.

The campaign would culminate on April 3 with ANC president Nelson Mandela announcing a "people's assembly".

ANC Border region secretary Lucille

TIM COHEN

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 iso-

late him politically; to expose SA's military intelligence programme to Ciskei; to bring about an interim administration in the homeland; and to weaken government's position at Codesa.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the plan conflicted with the letter and spirit of the national peace accord and Codesa.

Gqozo said yesterday he would give the ANC until Wednesday to explain the situation, Sapa reports. Earlier, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus confirmed an ANC delegation would meet Gqozo this week.

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