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BACKGROUND To THE BISHO MASSACRE

BRIEFING DOCUMENT

The killings which took place in Bisho yesterday during an ANC-led protest action against the rule of the military dictator. Bagedier Oupe guzo. must be seen against the background of increasing repression in the bantueten in recent months. While the massacre in Bisho is itself a terrible tragedy. it seem against the background described below. it falls into a pattern of the bloody history of Ciskei since guzo assumed power in a military coup in March 1990.

Immediately after his assumption of power, a move which has now been exposed as being clearly engineered in South African military intelligence circles. there followed a

very brief "honeymoon " period between progressive forces and the new regime of Brigadier Oupe guzo. However. the same forces who placed guzo in charge quickly intervened to put an end to this "dalilence " with the ANC . Under the influence at various

military "advisers " from South Africa. guze. quickly moved into a hostile position vis-e

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Matters came to a head in October last year with a State of Emergency under which thousands of ANC supporters were detained. The intervention of the ANC Prooidont Nelson Mandela led to the lifting of the State of Emergency. However. a de facto state

of emergency continued in the region with Ciskei using various security laws to arrest ANC members and disrupt ANC meetings etc. Together with the activity of vigilante-type groupings in support of guzo. there were soon many areas of Ciskei which became no-go areas for the ANC. To this day. the ANC and other political parties like the SACP are not granted any kind of access to the state radio. Radio Oiekei. The Ciskei administration

has also routinely refused to deal with the Daily Dispatch newspaper and in many cases has banned school pupils from reading the newspaper because of its alleged ANC slant.

MEETINGS BANNED

One of the more notorious pieces of legislation which the Ciskei government still uses to declare ANC meetings unlawful. is Section 43 of the National Security Act. in terms of this piece of legislation any gathering may be declared illegal by a magistrate. The

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application of this act is so uniform. as to declare any ANC meeting In the territory of Ciskei illegal. amounting to an effective banning of the ANC Itself In Ciskei. Agreement was reached In March 1992 with both the Ciskei and SA government that this piece of legislation would be amended so as to allow free political activity In Ciskei. This

agreement was never heeded by the Ciskei regime. Instead events since then have seen a turn to the worse, Such that the lowintensity war is now being conducted against the ANC in the F&QL'JIE - WHI'I U'm area. at the moment the approval of "in BA uuvuu Imam II 53".

The last few weeks in particular, have seen a dramatic increase in the levels of repression in the region. For instance. It is reported that police and soldiers. often in

plainclothes and wearing balaclavas carry out regular assaults on residents in the townships. Some of these assaults are particularly brutal. In some cases. one person has been assaulted for several hours by unknown assailants who burst into houses demanding to know if residents are members of the ANC.

ANC HOMES ATTACKED

Homes of various ANC members have come under attack, including the homes of senior national and regional leadership. In one instance 27 bullets were fired at the home of one

of the members of the regional leadership. During this same period. a student at Fort Hare University was killed on campus by members of the Ciskei Defence Force. In another instance a hand grenade was thrown at the home of an ANC branch secretary. His five-year old child was killed. and several others injured. This was the fifth such bombing in this particular village. Children were nice severely affected by members of the Ciskei police In another instance when police arrived at the home of an ANC member. They refused to accept charges of assault after the incident. In most cases. Ciskei security forces are accompanied by members of the African Democratic Movement (ADM). formed by Fikile Mkhosana himself and which continues to work with the support and infrastructure of the Ciskei administration.

HIT SQUAD ACTIVITIES

Various information has also come to light of the training of several quasi-military and HLI-SC'UHCI groupings in the region. HQIOCMB Or VinOU: v.39, Buch 33 in the Komga area, in the township of uivict Impwund 11": plubul qu ul' Zqu-apoakiug and UIEI uuthlmsa spukltlg people staying in camps in the vicinity. When enquiries were made to the authorities, these people were removed from the area.

In the Seymour area of Ciskei, residents confronted a criminal gang calling themselves Amadare. Gang members indicated to the ANC that they had been approached by unknown persons to form this gang to carry out attacks on the ANC.

SA MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND SPECIAL FORCES

In August last year. a covert military unit. known as International Researchers. was uncovered and Ciskei announced its disbandment after the intervention of General Kat Liebenberg from the SADF. This unit, which had strong links to SA Military Intelligence, has been linked to the killing of Charles Saba and Onward Guzana which is currently the

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subject of a court case in Blsho. However the disbandment of this unit. did not mean the end of South African Involvement.

It was the personnel of IR who are said to have convinced Guzo that the ANC was his main enemy in Ciskei and the biggest threat to his regime. One of the social forces used by IR and the Ciskei state is the institution of headmen. These adjuncts of the discredited

system of tribal chieftanship. have been controlled by the Ciskei security forces. Various headmen have reported receiving arms and money from the security forces to act against the ANC. Headmen have also acted in concert with the ADM and police at village level. In many cases. it has become difficult to distinguish between police. headmen and ADM, such is the level of co-operation - all aided and abetted by the administration in Blsho. More recently. it has come to light that various training bases are being established in the

region. People are lured to the area under the guise of offers of employment. However. on arrival, ANC supporters were separated from the rest and told to return home. Whilst in the bases. such members witnessed others receiving lessons in firing and target training - In this regard it was told that they are only to be trained in the use of arms and not in the use of

. ANC activities.

KOIVVOET - BATTALION 32

Members at notorious units of the SADF and SAP like Koevoet and Betellions 31 and 32 have also been identified in the region. In many cases Portuguese-speaking black soldiers have been present at various roadblocks, both within SA and Ciskei itself. There are also reports that a deal is being struck, to integrate members from these units into the Ciskei security forces.

It has been a long-standing demand by the ANC in the region. that members of the SADF, and. in particular of Military Intelligence. be removed from the area.

SADF . MI PERSONNEL :

A brief overview of those involved. will give an indication of the extent of SA military and

police involvement in the territory :

. ' Chief of the SADF, Brigadier Marius Oelechig. was seconded from the SADF in May 1991. He is one of Guzo's chief advisers. taking over this role from another former member of South African military intelligence. Antoon Nieuwoudt. Oelechig was formerly in Army Intelligence in the SADF. It was regarded as highly unusual that an officer, whose background was purely in intelligence and had never held a single command post. should be handpicked by the SA government to assume command of the Ciskei Defence Force.

The Second in Command of the CDF is Colonel Dirk Van Der Bank. who was also initially seconded by the SADF.

The Head of CDF Military Intelligence is Ockert Swanepoel. Both he and his deputy. Chris Nel, came from a Special Forces background in the SADF. Swanepoel is said to have

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come from Battallon 32 while Net was the main interrogator of Sweet; guerilles during the Namibian war of Independence.

t Another key figure in the Ciskei security network is Basie Ootshuysen "acting secretary general " of the African Democratic Movement. It is Onsthuysen. who amongst others. Is said to have persuaded Guzo of the need for a movement such as the ADM to oppose the ANC. Ootshuysen has since been publically linked to various SADF MI covert operations in the region. He headed the "Dynamic Teaching " operation. which has since been exposed as a front for the SADF.

t' Lastly. but not certainly not least. there is the ubiquitous figure of Major General J J .

Viktor. formerly of the SA Security Police. and now Commissioner of Police in Ciskei. His appointment to this post was taken as a strategic decision along the lines of a similar decision to move an individual such as General Jac Buchner to head the Kwa Zulu police. South Africa's involvement in the day-to-day running of the Ciskei administration '8 spearheaded through individuals such as those named above. Their involvement, in particular. In the operation of the security forces in Ciskei. has long been exposed. This

s involvement extends beyond the material and logistical support without which the Ciskei security forces could not exist. Their involvement extends to the strategic direction of the security forces in Ciskei itself. It is quite clear, that individuals such as those named above. with many others as yet unknown. are directing developments in Ciskei. especially the escalation of violence in a deliberate attempt to bolster the undemocratic Ciskei regime and to weaken the ANC and its allies.

8 September 1992

Department of Information and Publicity