

- ASSISTING THE CISKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY IN THE KILLING OF MR CHARLES SEBE AND MR ONWARD GUZANA IN FEBRUARY 1991.

THE COMMISSION FINDS THAT THE DEATHS OF THE ABOVE PERSONS WERE GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH THE FORMER STATE, THE SADF, THE CISKEI HOMELAND AUTHORITY AND COLONEL CRAIG DULI ARE HELD ACCOUNTABLE.

Conflict between Ciskei government supporters and the ANC

- 343 In the months immediately after the Gqozo coup, there were good relations between the Ciskei authorities and the ANC and its allies. This situation deteriorated by mid-1990, with conflicts revolving in particular around the homeland government's support of the system of rural government involving chiefs and headmen as opposed to the ANC and its allies' preference for a system of residents' associations. In July 1991, Brigadier Gqozo launched the African Democratic Movement (ADM), which later became the political party with which he contested the 1994 general elections. This party was drawn into the conflicts between Ciskei and ANC.
- 344 Conflicts became increasingly violent from 1991. From April to August 1991, a state of emergency prevailed in the Whittlesea district of Ciskei; in late October, a state of emergency was declared throughout Ciskei which lasted until mid-November. Clashes increased during 1992 (particularly during August 1992 – the month between the ANC's peaceful 'practice' march to Bisho of 4 August and the march that resulted in the Bisho massacre of 7 September). The Bisho massacre thus took place against a background of increasing conflict between Ciskei authorities and ANC supporters. After the massacre, conflict between the two groups seems to have increased for a few weeks; there was also an increase in the use of more sophisticated weaponry during this period. The worst of the violence appears to have subsided by the end of that year. Most of the attacks seem to have involved arson, burnings or stoning aimed at security forces on the one side and at prominent ANC-alliance members on the other.
- 345 The CDF recorded 218 incidents of political violence in Ciskei between the lifting of the state of emergency on 17 November 1991 and 30 August 1992 (a week before the Bisho massacre); fifty-eight of these incidents took place in August 1992. For the three-month period 1 June to 31 August 1992, the CDF recorded 139 attacks; these appear to be attacks solely on Ciskei government supporters (victims were chiefs, headmen, policemen, soldiers, private security force members associated with the government, and other government employees); no ANC victims were identified. Of those 139 attacks, twenty-four were aimed at security force