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H'LANDS - Ciskei - General

1-9-80 - 31-10-80

# Meeting on Ciskei school deadlock

**EAST LONDON** — Parents and guardians of all pupils at Khulani High School, Mdantsane, have been invited to a meeting at the school on Wednesday.

The meeting has been called by the principal, Mr H. J. van Staden, in a bid to end deadlock at the school.

The deadlock started on August 12 when pupils handed over to the school all government supplied books.

The following day some pupils were arrested by police following burning of books on the premises.

Since then pupils have been going to school but ignoring teachers coming into the classrooms.

In the letter Mr Van Staden wrote: "In view of the fact that we are experiencing unrest at the school and the students are refusing to accept textbooks that we hand out to them, you are hereby requested to at-

tend school together with your child on September 3, 1980 at 9 am.

"The Inspector of Education will then address you on the whole matter."

On Wednesday some pupils from the school will be appearing in the Mdantsane magistrate's court on charges of sabotage and public violence.

Meanwhile the boycott of classes restarted at Wongalethu High School last week.

Pupils are reported to have asked the principal about a pupil detained since June 15.

They left the school claiming they were dissatisfied with the explanation given by the Ciskei Department of Education on the matter. The head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, Colonel Charles Sebe, has said he will not comment in the press on schools unrest and detentions. — DDR

problem in MAN.

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Re: Term 3: Here it is suggested that a discount factor equal to (or slightly higher than) the interest rate on a comparable loan should be used for this term. This stream is riskier than the stream in Term 2 because the lessee requires to have a taxable income to get the cash flow.

Re: Term 4: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. To facilitate a fair comparison with leasing the most rapid method of depreciation allowed by the Receiver of Revenue should be used. Further- more depreciation in this context includes the invest- ment and initial allowances.

Re: Term 5: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. This stream is the tax shield arising from the tax deductibility of the interest on an equivalent (the displaced) loan.

# Deaths: School Brides Bow

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN** — Chief Minister Lennor Sebe yesterday blamed the deaths at Sada on the South African Government's failure to inform them of the move to close schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

"Their failure to erect a common sense and courtesy caused the unrest at Sada," Chief Sebe said.

He said if the Minister of Education and Training, Dr. F. Hartzenberg, had warned them about the closure, the Chief would have made plans to forestall interference in his school as 80 per cent of the students in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage were Ciskeians.

"Our problems had been eight per cent solved but the closure of schools in the urban areas changed our situation," he said.

"We have information that boys from Fort Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Grahamstown are working in the area."

"They have accompanied their arms in leaving schools closed in their area and they are now concentrating on the Chief, particularly Madantsane, Dumbora and Zwelisha."

"We would have made plans to forestall interference by elements who may have tried to eliminate our students. You can imagine what happens when such a big number of students have been thrown out on the streets and allowed to roam about freely."

Chief Sebe was commenting on the storming to death of Constable Lunette Mbebe, 31, of Queenstown, and the death of Michael Msimu, 16, a pupil at the Nompumele Interned-

ate School, who was shot during the unrest.

Chief Sebe said before the unrest "strange people" were seen at Sada and his government believed the strangers orchestrated the riot.

But he warned whoever was behind the riots was making a "great mistake" as the Ciskei Government would not be intimidated.

He said Const Mbebe's death was a great tragedy because he was a promising young man. The manner in which he had

died was highly disturbing.

"When he was faced with a big stone he had no chance to a pupil. But his attempt kept on throwing stones at his head, a method of killing which is completely foreign to the Ciskei."

Chief Sebe's claim that external elements were to blame for the school unrest was echoed by the secretary for Ciskei Intelligence, Colonel Charles Sebe.

Commenting on yesterday's arson at Lwazi

Secondary School in Madantsane where two classrooms, the principals' office and a storeroom were gutted and 300 000 damage caused, he said pupils from other schools had stoned Lwazi on Thursday night.

There was a minor arson attempt at Wenelethu High School in Madantsane.

Pupils from various schools had grouped in threes on Thursday night and there had been several incidents early in the night, Col Sebe said.

He said his men were now on Phase Two of their strategy and the upheavals would be quelled.

Meanwhile, the Daily Dispatch traced the Madantsane family yesterday who said they had not been given any details about the death of Michael, a 17 year old pupil.

Mrs Elsie Madantsane, 60, said one of her other sons had gone to Queenstown's Prother Hospital to identify the body.

At Zwelisha, a total of 300 Thembelabantse High School pupils appeared briefly in the magistrate's court charged under the emergency regulations yesterday.

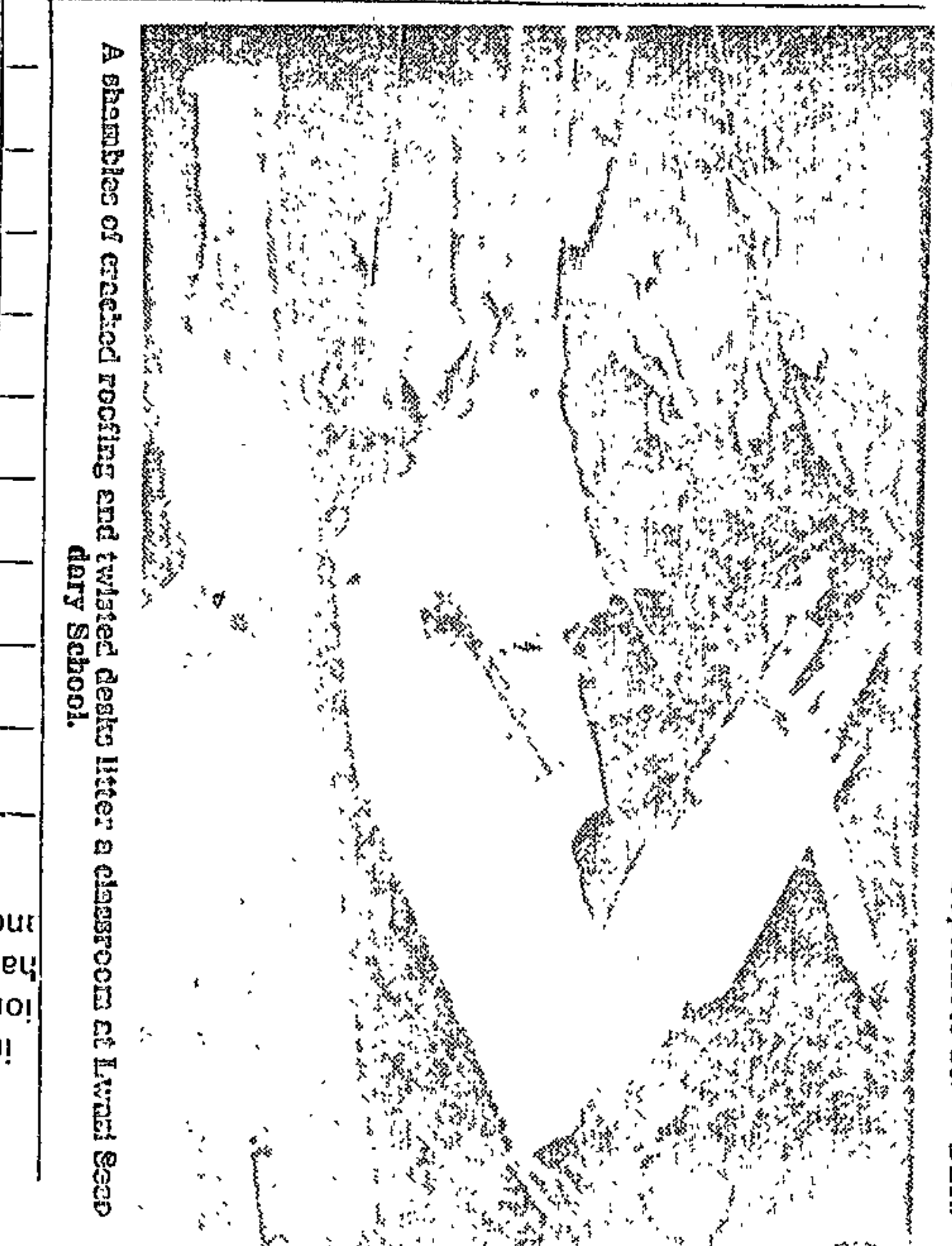
All were remanded to September 20. — DUN.

to disqualification and to possible exclusion from University

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

## WARNING

Initials	Examiners				



A shambles of cracked roofing and twisted desks litter a classroom at Lwazi Secondary School.



# Ciskeian resettlement camps scandalous — Sebe

Argus Correspondent

ZWELITSHA. — Parched, poverty-stricken Ciskei did not have enough food and water to share with the thousands of people 'driven out' of South Africa into Ciskeian resettlement camps, the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Mr Lennox Sebe, said here.

In an interview, Chief Sebe said no words could describe the desperate situation of the people resettled in the Ciskei. He criticised the South Africa Government for 'shunning its duty' by pressing Xhosa-speaking blacks into an already suffering state.

'You do not even hear about these camps until

something tragic occurs. We used to take the refugees for humanitarian reasons, but the time has come to take a firm stand. No one is looking after these people,' he said.

'They have absolutely nothing. We have brought this to the attention of the South African Government countless times, but something scandalous must happen before something positive is done.'

Unemployment in the Ciskei has been estimated

by Ciskei Government officials to be above 50 percent. An official survey has found that almost one in every two Ciskeian children suffered from malnutrition.

A severe drought, one of the worst recorded, has laid waste the homeland. No crops have been gathered in the past two ploughing seasons.

Chief Sebe said that in spite of a R7-million drought relief allocation from the Pretoria Government, the situation in the

Ciskei was 'worse than it had ever been' and the people in Ciskeian resettlement camps were not the Ciskei Government's responsibility.

Nine new settlements had been created recently in the Ciskei in white areas of South Africa. The population at Ndevana, a camp outside Zwelitsha, was 45 000, Chief Sebe said.

'The South African Government has shunned its duty and we — the Ciskei Government — are the losers.'

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# Ciskei 'hasn't enough to share'



With the population of the Ciskei estimated at more than 2-million, can this land afford to take care of thousands more people in settlement camps such as Kammaskraal, Ndevena or Thornhill? In times of drought, water and food become increasingly scarce so that family members have to walk kilometres to get water from reservoirs, brought by the Ciskei Government's drought relief water tankers, for basic domestic use.

By Josie Brouard  
**ZWELITSHA** — Parched, poverty-stricken Ciskei did not have enough food and water to share with the thousands of people "driven out" of South Africa into Ciskeian resettlement camps, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Mr Lennox Sebe, has said.

In an interview, Chief Sebe said no words could describe the desperate situation of the people resettled

in the Ciskei. He slammed the South African Government for "shunning its duty" by pressing Xhosa-speaking blacks into an already suffering state.

"They have absolutely nothing. We have brought this to the attention of the South African Government countless times.

Unemployment in the Ciskei is estimated by Ciskei Government officials to be well

over 50 percent, while an official survey has found almost half of Ciskei's children suffer from malnutrition.

A severe drought, one of the worst in living memory, has laid waste the homeland with absolutely no crops yielded from the past two ploughing seasons.

Chief Sebe said in spite of a R7-million drought relief allocation from the Pretoria Government, the situa-

tion in the Ciskei was "worse than it had ever been" — and that the people in Ciskeian resettlement camps were not the Ciskei Government's responsibility.

"Traditionally, we were prepared to help and share with these people. But their numbers are swelling, and we do not have enough to share."

● Pages 20, 21: Full report and pictures.

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● Picture by Alf Kumalo.







## Role of

# chiefs to change

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The political role of chiefs in the Ciskei is destined to undergo a change in terms of long-term planning in the homeland.

The first hint of the move was made yesterday when Chief Minister L. L. Sebe addressed the South African Government deputation to the Ciskei independence talks.

Chief Sebe said the "undefined" traditional role of the chiefs of the Ciskei might be an obstacle to consultations with other population groups.

"In our genuine desire to find workable solutions to our common problems, we have devised a role for our chiefs whereby they will retain a venerated and honourable responsibility as custodians of the traditions and customs and laws of the Ciskei nation," Chief Sebe said.

The chiefs would consequently no longer play an active part in the Legislative Assembly or the executive "but will be established in a forum to be known as the College of Chiefs."

The move, when implemented, would remove from the Legislative Assembly a section of representation which has never been approved of by many political observers.

Chieftainship has been the heart of separate development and chiefs automatically became members of the Legislative Assemblies of all the homelands, in terms of the South African Government's policies.

Even after independence in Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda-land, chiefs still play an active role politically.

The political power of the chiefs in the Ciskei became evident after the first general election in the homeland in 1973, when in spite of the fact that Chief Sebe had been supported by three-quarters of the electorate at the polls, he was able to beat Chief J. T. Mabandla by only two votes in the chief ministership stakes.

Chief Mabandla had only five elected members on his side but was supported by 19 of the 30 chiefs.

Chiefs still outnumber the elected members of the CLA by 14 members, five members of the Cabinet are chiefs and only three are non-chiefs.

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# Jobless and very poor

## In the middle of nowhere

Kammaskraal is a typical resettlement camp. Four to five hundred families were moved there on May 12 this year from Alexandria, a coastal town between Port Elizabeth and Port Alfred.

Their tents are pitched in the middle of nowhere, 25 kilometres along a dust road on a white man's former farm.

The tents flap furiously in the wind. Many of them — they were provided by the South African Government along with three days' rations — have collapsed. Some inhabitants have built shanties of corrugated iron. A social worker and district nurse hope to establish a clinic in the

farmer's home. But there is no money for furniture or facilities, no telephone, no ambulance service.

At Kammaskraal, there are no schools, shops, roads running water — almost nothing at all.

Just the people, their tents and a couple of water tanks filled twice a week by the Ciskei Government. There are abolition blocks, provided by the South African Government.

The nearest hospital is Numpumelelo at Peddie, about 30 km away, the nearest shop (to purchase maize) a 10 km walk. A bus passes through at 7 am and 2 pm; the single fare is 80 cents.

The Ciskei Marketing Board pays R100 for one head of cattle. Most Kammaskraal settlers have already sold their stock because there is no certainty of grazing.

It is supposedly a temporary settlement; no-one is sure where

these 400-odd families will be moved to next.

At Thornhill further north, where people were settled from Herschel in 1976, several thousand still wait to be resettled again.

About 200 people gathered in the open to meet the social worker and nurse.

They told of their plight: a family of 10 sleeps in one tin hut, the father is dead, none has work, their only income is a R55 pension the grandfather receives from the Ciskei Government every two months.

An old woman says she needs three bags of meal-meal to feed the family of 10. The maize alone swallows R45 of the R55.

## 'Drop in the ocean'

There are many other settlement camps in Ciskei, such as Ndevana and Potsdam near Zwelitsha, Zwelidlinga in the Peddie district, Thornhill, Sada and Ntamba-Timba near Queenstown.

According to the Q u a l Commission, about 100 000 "settlers" have streamed across Ciskei's borders in the last decade. This figure was considered conservative by Mr Godden.

There are very few jobs in the Ciskei. It is common to find one employed person supporting an average family of ten.

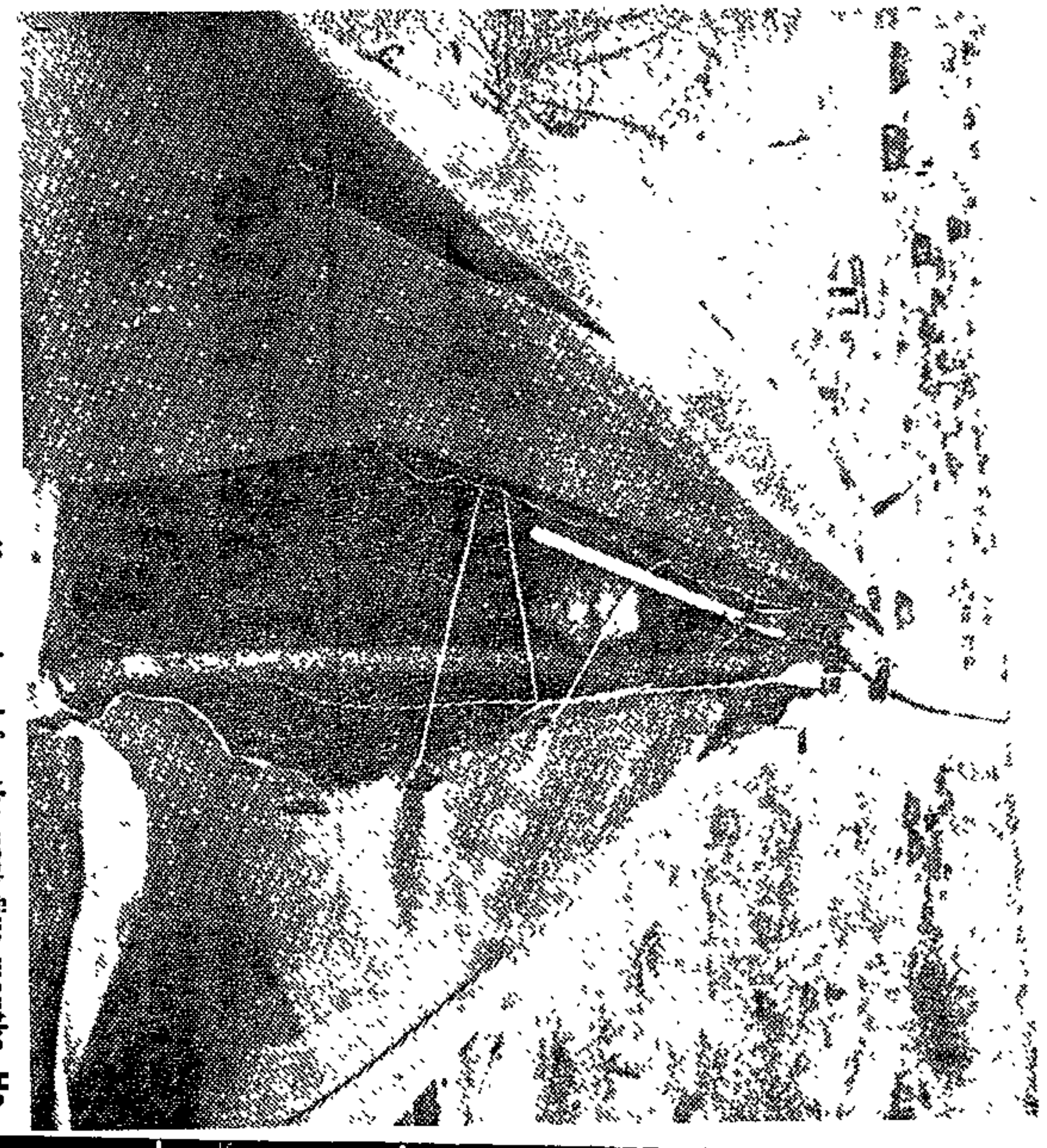
According to Mr B du Randt, Secretary of the Department of Justice and Manpower Development, there are about 32 factories — about 28 at Dimbaza, three at Sada and one or two at Zwelitsha. They provide 3 500 jobs — a "drop in the ocean" for a population of more than two million.

In the Ciskei's four hospitals and 92 satellite clinics, the main problem is malnutrition. The hospital service tackles this through education, the weighing of babies and subsidised feeding pro-

grammes, but lack of money means few transport facilities and poor communications, so many sick people do not reach hospital and others do not return for check-ups.

Ciskei's biggest problem is perhaps one of numbers, but the concept of family planning is making little headway because the people believe in large families.

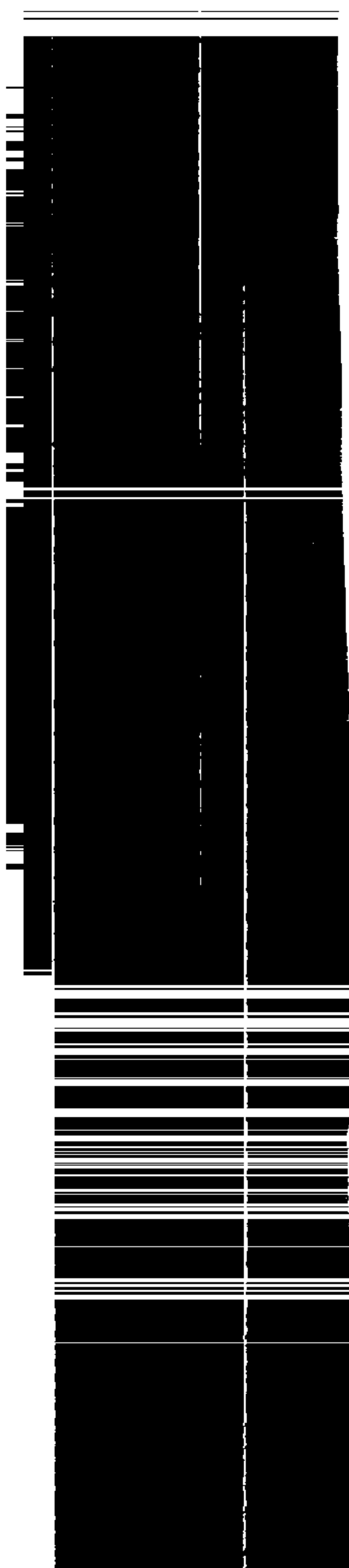
**TOMORROW:** Measures taken by the Ciskei Government to alleviate the problems of drought, hunger and unemployment.



This man has been living in a tent at Kammaskraal for the past five months. He has no job: he eats when a family member's pension of R55 every two months allows.



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# The Ciskei... boomer-dry

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Report by  
Josie Brouard  
Pictures by  
All Kumalo

The Ciskei is bone-dry, almost totally jobless and heart-breaking poor. It is the saddest place I have visited.

According to the Quail Commission, there are about 2,25-million Ciskeians, of whom 1,2-million live in the homeland permanently. It is twice as densely settled as neighbouring Transkei — and five times more than white South Africa.

*"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its sweetness on the desert air"*

from Gray's "Elegy, written in a Country Churchyard" quoted by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox L Sebe.

dams and reservoirs. There are only 1300 ha under irrigation. There is barely enough water for basic domestic use. Rivers and dams are dry. Many areas rely totally on the relief work by the Ciskei Government, which has sunk 160 boreholes since April and has 16 tankers working around the clock to take water to as many residential areas as possible.

At this time of the year, Ciskei's land should be green, lush and blossoming after spring rains, with farmers ploughing for the summer crops of maize and beans. Instead, the land is arid and cracked, dotted with thorn bushes and Karoo-like scrub. Soil erosion and overgrazing have largely created a wasteland.

Harsh, cold winds sweep up the dry soil in whirls of dust. In the last wet season, up to last October, the Ciskei had an "average to good" 570 mm of rain. From October to April this year, it had 120 mm, an average of about 20 mm a month — less than one inch. Crops reaped this year: Nil. "Total disaster for the last two

ploughing seasons and perhaps for a third," according to Ciskei's agricultural chief, Mr Garrett F Godden. Mr Godden says there are 10 000 ha of potentially irrigable land in the Keiskamma region alone, land of high potential. So far, 850 ha have been irrigated.

The Ciskeian budget this year was R8-million, with the Department of Works allocated the highest figure: R30,3-million. The Department of Justice is allocated the lowest sum, a figure of R0,8-million. More than 70 percent of the budget is allocated by the South African Government.

Mr L Atwell, secretary of the Department

of Works, says the Ciskei needs water purification systems. One, to serve at least 40 000 people, would cost at least R2,5-million.

Mr Godden said R300-million — or three times the Ciskei's total budget — would be needed to develop the Keiskamma river basin. His budget this year: R11,5-million.

Compounding the problems of the Ciskeian government is the question of resettlement camps. I visited several to which Xhosa-speaking blacks have been courted to move. There are at least 12 of them, adding another 100 000 to 150 000 people to the already overpopulated homeland.





A mother and child peer from the "window" of their home and another peeps from underneath at Ndevana, just outside Zwelitsha, where the Ciskei Government sits. Ndevana is a rural settlement — because there is no industry.

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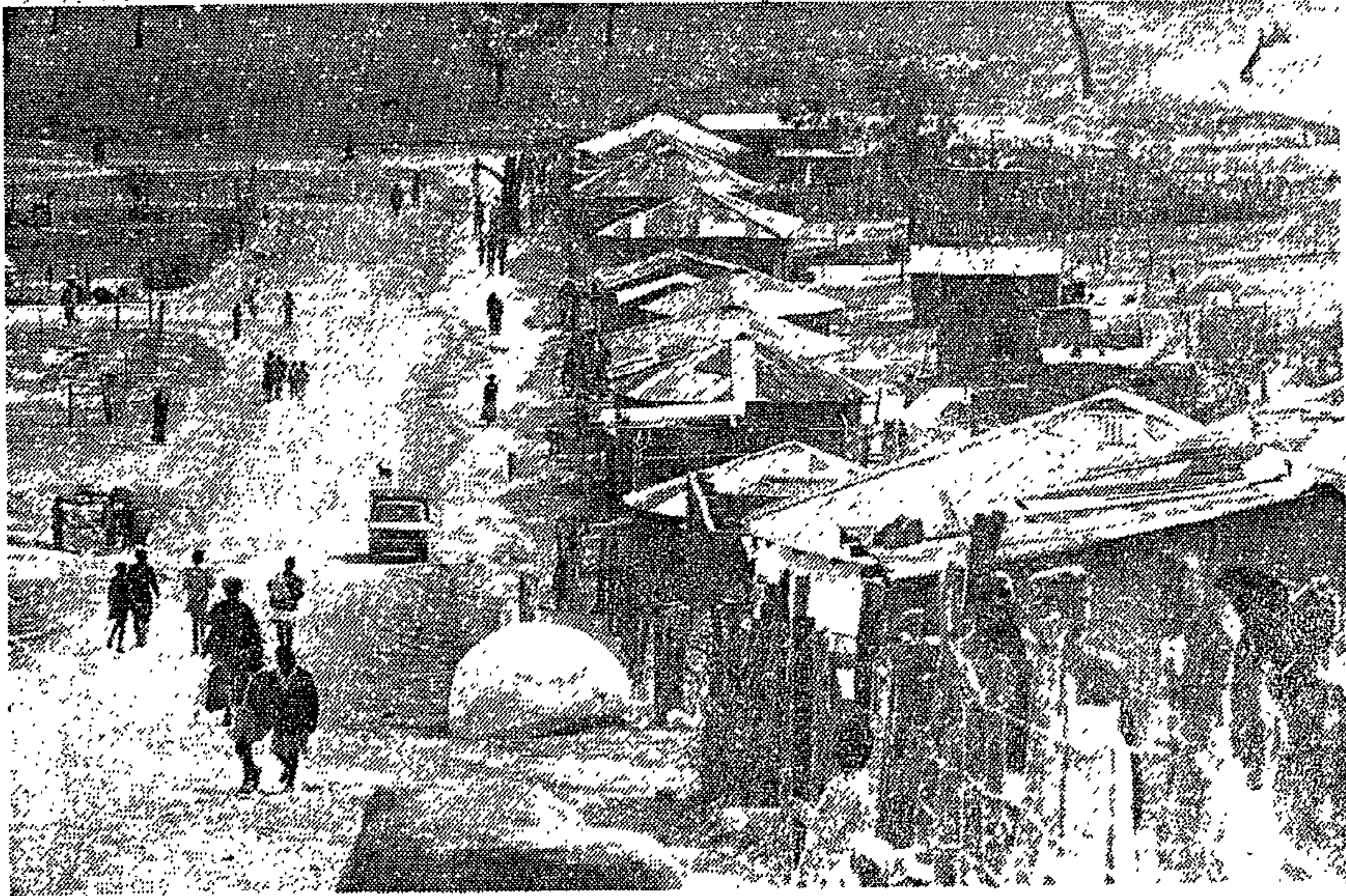


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## HOMELAND



**Ndevena resettlement camp: where 45 000 people face the prospects of drought, poverty and unemployment. There is not one single job at Ndevena other than the special drought relief work allocated by the chiefs to the most needy. People build dams and clear dongas for R2 a day.**



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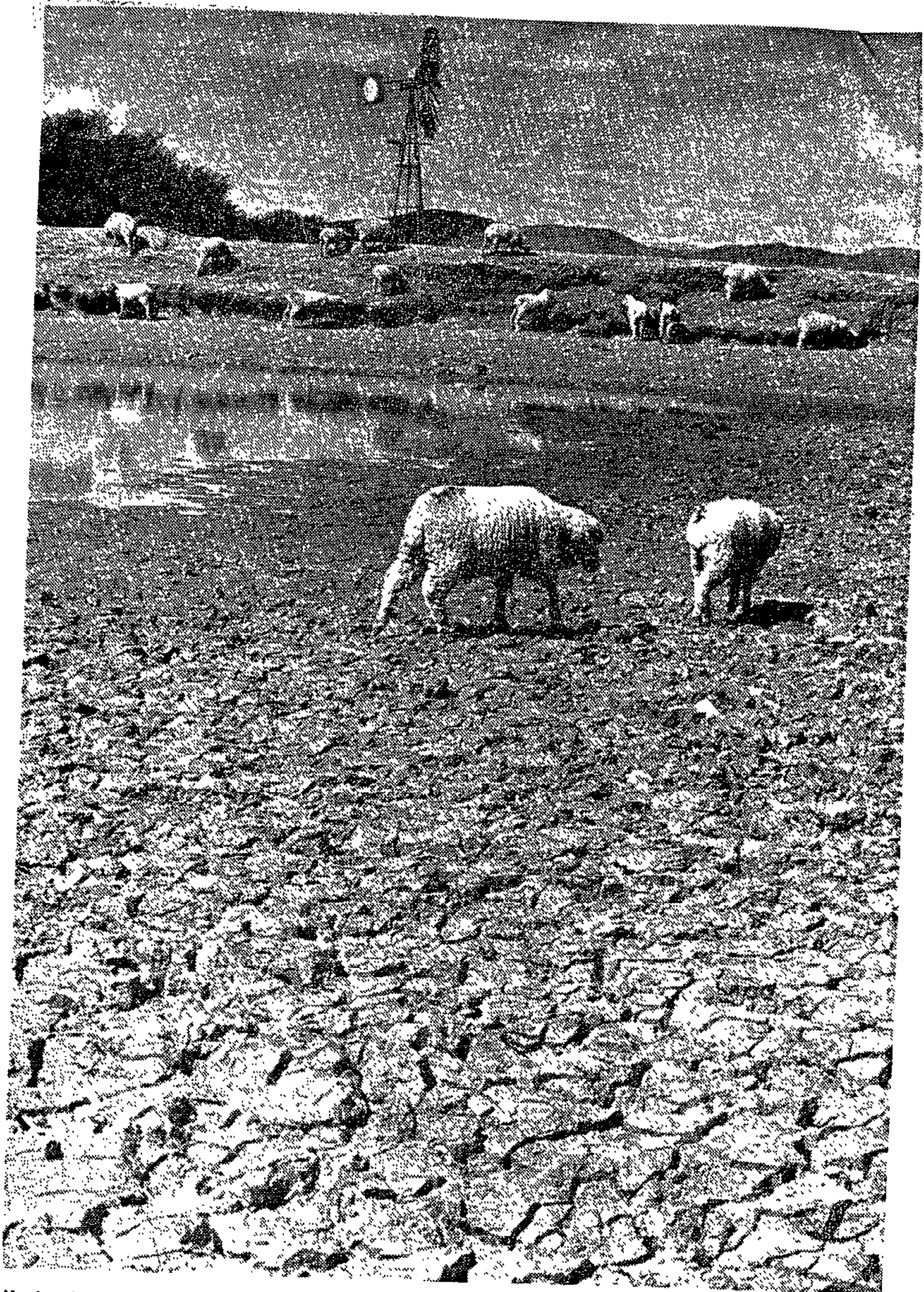
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The people of Kammaskraal camp listen attentively to a local Ciskeian MP as he explains that there are plans afoot to establish a one-man clinic where they have been settled. Tents for them have been pitched the slope of a hill, 25 km along a dust road.



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Hardest hit by the drought are the cattle, sheep and goats, for which grazing lands and sources of water have rapidly dwindled.



# Ciskei plans to govern by all-race consensus

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The Ciskei Government has proposed joint government between Border whites and Ciskei in a 'Greater Ciskei' based on proportional representation and a minority veto.

It has also called for a full constitutional conference between blacks, whites and other interested groups in the area to thrash out joint government.

Describing the plan as 'consociational democracy', the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said it had been drafted as a long-term solution to the region's economic and political problems.

He presented it yesterday to a South African deputation led by Mr R J Raath, deputy director-general of the Department of Co-operation and Development.

The plan is based on:

- Government through power-sharing among all political groups;
- Co-operation among all groups;
- Avoidance of a 'winner takes all' philosophy, and its replacement by a system of government in which maximum consensus is required;
- The existence of a minority veto to ensure that certain categories of legislation shall be enacted, amended or repealed only with the assent of a substantial majority of the members of the legislature.

## Constellation

Chief Sebe said: 'The basic principle of consociational government is consensus by all the various groups within the greater Ciskei on a system of proportional representation.

'Consensus should, therefore, be sought from the outset in the early stages of negotiation, and no prefixed or dogmatic ideas should be fostered or laid down.'

There was much to be said for a system of government which constitutionally protected the rights of minority groups without reserving some seats in the Legislative Assembly for whites only and others for blacks only.

The new constitutional plan would operate within a confederation or constellation of Southern African states, he said.

Ciskei needed whites and was determined not to make mistakes which could encourage their exodus from the territory.

Chief Sebe said his government was 'determined to win over our white friends.'

## 'Fears'

'In pursuing a mutually acceptable political alignment, my government is mindful of the need to allay all the fears and suspicions of white South Africans in entering into a possible political alliance with an African government.

'We have absolute confidence that a political solution can be found between the various racial groups through a process of sensible co-operation and negotiation, and especially so in the area of the 'greater Ciskei,' he said. — Sapa.



# Ciskei Defence

Drought relief measures have helped at most one-tenth of the Ciskeian people. In the long-term, the total Ciskei budget this year is "a drop in the ocean" of what is needed to uplift the homeland nation. But the Ciskei government is committed to self-help. JOSE BROUARD reports...

ZWELITSHA — The Ciskei Government is using a R3-million manpower development programme, which has doubled the number of employed Ciskeian people in the past six months alone, to tackle the problem of the jobless in the homeland.

With staggeringly high unemployment in the Ciskei, the Government has begun an intensive recruitment and training programme to "sell" to white South Africa an improved Ciskeian labour force — and so create more opportunity for the homeland people. The sophisticated

Computer Efforts have been

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# Plans to 'sell' a labour force

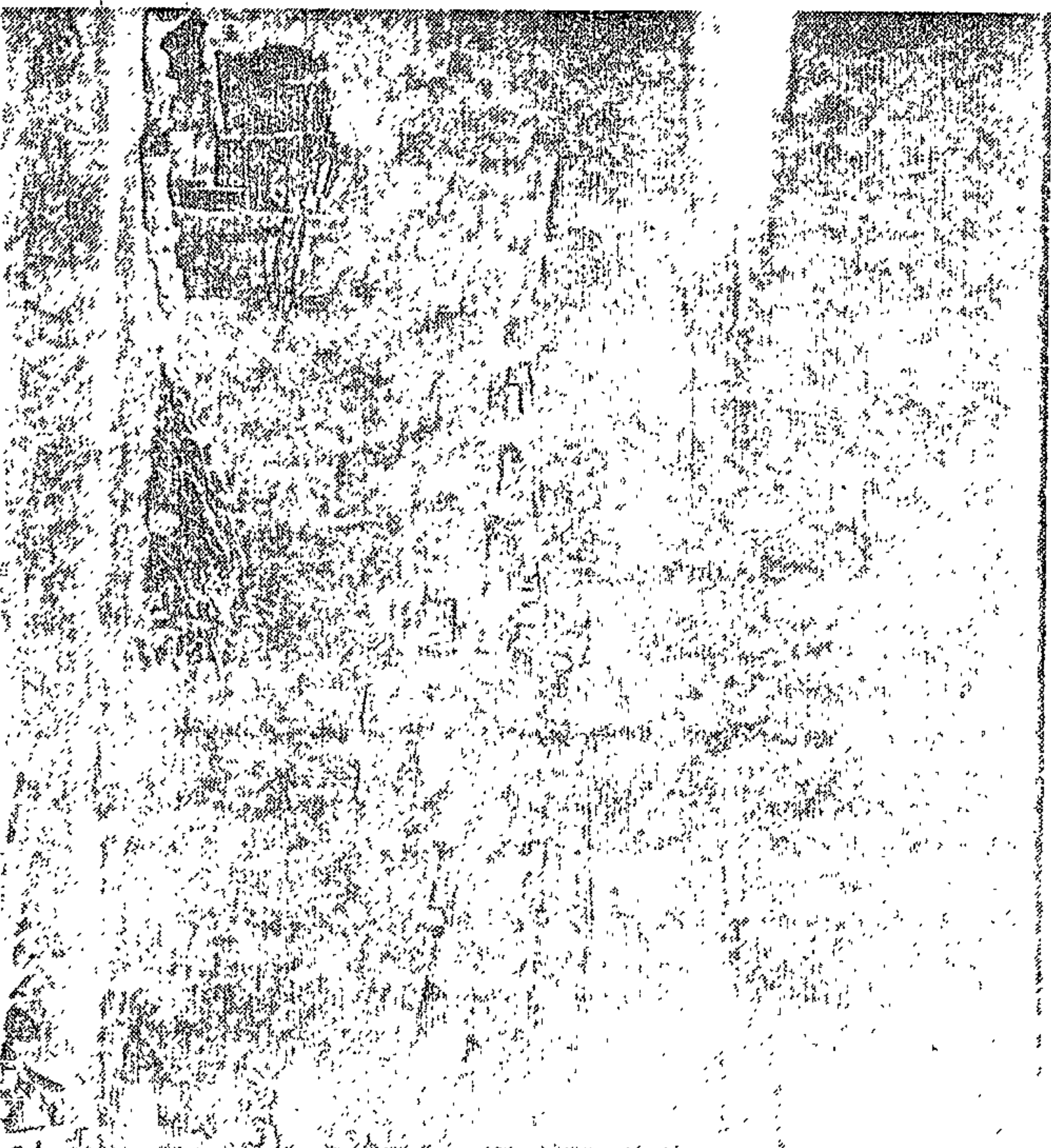
Since it was launched this year, the response has been overwhelming, Mr du Randt said. He reported a 26,8 percent increase in placements over last year.

## Potential

Ciskei's agriculture department has created 1200 jobs at the three irrigation schemes at Tyefu on the Fish River in the west, Keiskamma river basin in the centre and the Shiloh irrigation scheme in the north, which have an irri-gable potential of more than 10 000 ha.

Mr Godden sees a potential for 20 000 jobs in the Keiskamma region alone, and points out that 10 000 ha of forests would mean another 400 jobs. The R7-million allocated to the Ciskei for drought relief is being stretched taut — and used to solve the short-term crisis.

Half has been allocated for work for those who have no





nity for the homelands people.

The sophisticated manpower programme — like a massive employment agency — is the first to be launched by any homeland government and has the full backing of the Ciskei Chief Minister, Mr Lennox L Sebe.

Before it was launched, there were about 12 500 jobs available in the homeland. Thirty two factories provide 3 500 jobs, government and public service employ 7 800 and an additional 1 200 jobs have been created on three irrigation schemes.

### Assets

Since January, at least another 12 000 people have been placed in jobs — BUT, outside the homeland.

One of the Ciskei's main assets remains its people.

### Computer

Efforts have been made to attract and create industry in the homeland, but the great bulk of the manpower supply is still idle.

Using a computer system to record workers' employment details, the Ciskei's manpower development programme hopes to roll out able Ciskeians to South Africa's mines and industry as neatly as off an assembly line.

The criticism such a programme draws is that people are regarded as saleable products. But the campaign is one which Mr B du Randt, programme head, and his specialised 35-man staff are proud of.

The programme is a firm step to alleviate unemployment and hunger.

called for work for those who have no food or income because of drought. Workers are chosen by tribal chiefs from the most needy, and are paid R2 a day for building dams, clearing dongas and growing vegetable gardens.

### Malnutrition

A relief programme to provide fodder for cattle reached "at most" one-tenth of the cattle, Mr Godden admitted.

The black state's hospitals, with malnutrition run-of-the-mill, are perhaps hardest hit. In spite of the drought the government was able to provide 8 000 bags of fortified maize.

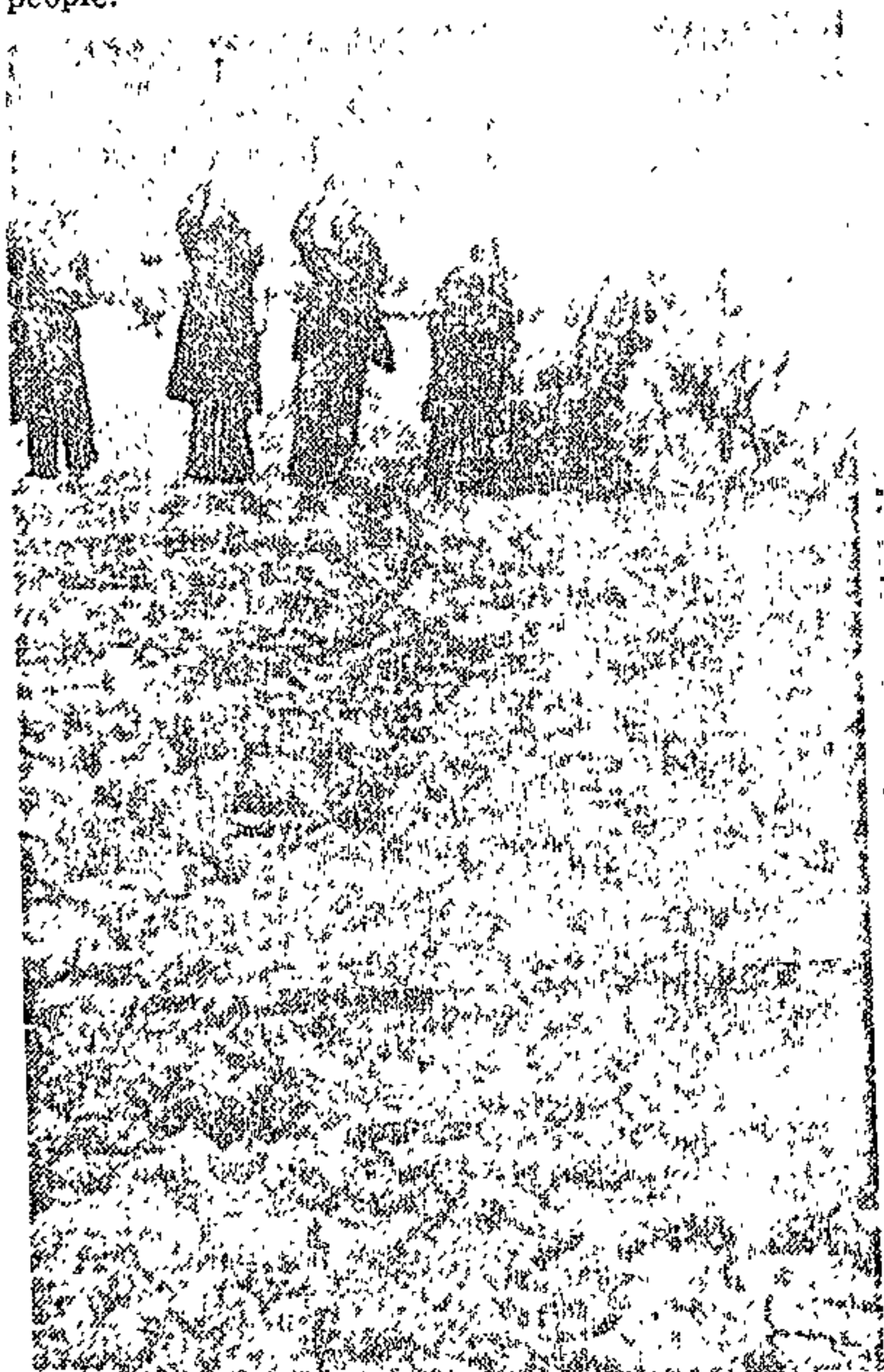
This fed about 400 000 children for five days — on 200 grams of maize total a day. Says Dr P E Pistorius: "This is yet again, a short-term solution. . . ."

All indications are that the time is long overdue to cure the cause and the symptoms in the Ciskei.

The Ciskei C the lands' l



Ciskei Chief



Work at last (above and below) for some of Ciskei's needier people. The wage: R2 a day. Thousands of people have been employed to do drought relief work since the homeland was declared a drought disaster area in April.





**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

Trucks and police vehicles were used yesterday to transport Zeleni Secondary School pupils to the Ciskei police headquarters at Zwelofsha near here.

This followed unrest at the school yesterday, where stone-throwing pupils broke windows.

The unrest started in the morning when male students refused to return to classes. They were joined by other students after the short recess.

Sources at Zeleni said yesterday the students complained a few months ago about the "low standards" of tuition at the school, particularly in the form V class.

The principal of the school, Mr A.N. Mqomboti, was not available for comment yesterday.

Colonel Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central

# Ciskei police arrest

## pupils after unrest

Intelligence Services, refused to supply the press with any information relating to the school unrest in the Ciskei.

Col Sebe, however, promised last week he would give a press conference today on the unrest where he would provide "full details" on the matter.

The Ciskei Education Department would be forced to close Khulani Commercial High School, Mdantsane, if unrest leading to the resignation of white teachers continued at the school.

This was said by the Mdantsane Central circuit

Inspector of schools, Mr P. B. Cossie, at a meeting of parents and matric students at the school yesterday.

Mr Cossie said the Ciskei Education Department had asked him to call the meeting following disturbances at the school since August 12.

He said matric pupils in two classes were not cooperating with the teachers and no formal teaching had been done in the classes since August 12.

The department has instructed me to explain that since this is a commercial school there are

not enough black teachers to man it," Mr Cossie said.

"And because of the disturbances at the school one white teacher had left and a maths specialist would leave at the end of the year."

"If all white teachers here leave the school the department may be forced to close it because we shall not have enough black teachers to teach the subjects offered."

Tracing problems at the school he said pupils had written a letter to the principal complaining about certain matters.

"Some of these had

been put right by the principal but he had to refer others to our head office and we are still awaiting a reply."

Mr Cossie said the school had had no problems with other classes.

An impassioned plea to students to continue their normal school work and write examinations at the end of the year was made by Mrs M. Mpoziswa, who said she was disturbed by the yearly disturbances in school ending up in her children not completing their education.

In Port Elizabeth there were again few pupils at black higher primary and secondary schools, in spite of a call by student leaders that they return to school grounds from Tuesday.

No incidents of police action were reported.

- DDR-EDC

# New Ciskei home loan scheme

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— A 100 per cent housing loan scheme for Ciskei Government officials and employees living in the homeland has been launched by the government and the Ciskeian National Development Corporation (CNDC).

Chief minister Lennox Sebe said officials and employees were being given an opportunity to own their homes.

The CNDC usually requires a 20 per cent deposit for a loan, but this

will be guaranteed by the government under the new scheme.

The Public Service Commission will subsidise the interest rate on the loan.

CNDC general manager, Mr Frans Meisenholl, said yesterday that 27 applications had already been received and processed.

"It looks as though the scheme is really going to take off and we are geared to meet the expected flood of applications," he said.

— DDC.

The general approach will now be applied to the problem in MAN. 530 which follows.

Re: Term 5: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. This stream is the tax shield arising from the tax deductibility of the interest on an equivalent (the displaced) loan.

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# Sebe seeks talks on joint rule

**ZWELITSHA —** The Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has called for a full constitutional conference between blacks and whites to thrash out a joint government proposal for the homeland and the Border.

He made the call after the Ciskei presented the proposal to the South African Government here yesterday.

The plan — labelled "consociational democracy" — was presented to the South African delegation led by the Deputy Director-General of Co-operation and Development, Mr Roels Raath.

The plan for government of what he called the Greater Ciskei, is based on proportional representation and a minority veto and was drawn up by his government as a long-

sought from the outset and no prefixed or dogmatic ideas should be fostered or laid down."

He said the plan would operate in a confederation or constellation of Southern African states.

They had accepted that their package deal — the pre-conditions for independence based on land consolidation and citizenship — would be accepted and implemented for this purpose.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koorhof, had assured the Ciskei

Avoidance of the "winner takes all" philosophy and its replacement by a system of government in which maximum consensus is required; and

A minority veto to ensure that certain categories of legislation will be enacted, amended or repealed only with the assent of a substantial majority of the members of the legislature.

Chief Sebe said: "The basic principle of consociational government is consensus by all groups in the Greater Ciskei on a system of proportional representation.

"Consensus must be

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"In the longer term, in pursuing a new mutually acceptable political alignment, my government is mindful of the need to allay the fears and suspicions of white South Africans in entering into a possible political alliance with an African government.

"We strongly believe the time has come for the leaders of all the salient interest groups in the Greater Ciskei to come together at the conference table to debate the acceptability of constitutional proposals.

"Such a conference should be fully representative of all salient interest groups in the Greater Ciskei and decisions should only be sought and attained through a process of consensus, or by substantial majority support," he said.

After yesterday's five-hour discussions, Chief Sebe issued a press statement announcing the establishment of a working committee to find out areas of agreement on the independence proposals.

The committee, comprising representatives of the Department of Co-operation and Development and the Ciskei Government, would also make suggestions on the issues of citizenship, confederation, land and finance.

Chief Sebe said yesterday's discussions were amicable "but because of the complexity of the situation, no firm commitments on the package deal were made."

By CHARLES NOAKULA  
and MIKE CHANDLER

term solution to the region's economic and political problems.

It is based on:

Government through power sharing among all political groups in the region;

Co-operation among all groups

that he was confident that all outstanding matters regarding the package deal could be resolved shortly.

But Chief Sebe said yesterday the package deal was only an interim step leading to peace and prosperity for all and a

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## Britons for Ciskei

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— Four Britons had been appointed to senior posts in the Ciskei Health Services department and would start their duties as soon as the South African authorities had given them the necessary clearance, the director of the health services, Dr Charles Bikitsha, said here yesterday.

He said 20 more medical personnel were needed to serve in the territory.

Dr Bikitsha said he had interviewed more than 100 people in Britain last month. They had responded to advertisements placed in British newspapers for the medical posts.

Another post that had to be filled urgently was that of a superintendent in the Hewu district.

According to Dr Bikitsha, a doctor in the West Indies had been earmarked for the position.

— SAPA.

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The general approach will now be applied to the problem in MAN.

Re: Term 5: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. This stream is the tax shield arising from the tax deductibility of the interest on an equivalent (the displaced) loan.

Re: Term 4: The riskiness of this flow is likely to be equal to that of Term 3 thus the same discount factor is suggested. To facilitate a fair comparison with leasing the most rapid method of depreciation allowed by the Receiver of Revenue should be used. Further- more depreciation in this context includes the invest- ment and initial allowances.

Re: Term 3: Here it is suggested that a discount factor equal to (or slightly higher than) the interest rate on a comparable loan should be used for this term. This stream is riskier than the stream in Term 2 because the lessee requires to have a taxable income to get the cash flow.



Return to  
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KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
 — School-boycotting students in the Ciskei have until next Friday to return to classes or be withdrawn from school registers.

This ultimatum was given yesterday by the Ciskei Secretary for Education, Mr O. S. Bomela, in a press statement.

Mr Bomela said Std 8 and Std 10 students who were entered to sit for their final examinations would also be withdrawn from the school registers if they defied the ultimatum.

He said: "The department makes an earnest appeal to all parents to ensure their children attend school for the purpose of learning, especially as the Department of Education and Training has announced those students who do not write their examinations in November will not have an opportunity to write them later." — DDR

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# Politicians welcome Sebe's proposals for joint rule

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EAST LONDON — Politicians on both sides of the political field have welcomed Chief Lennox Sebe's proposals for a constitutional conference and joint government in the Greater Ciskei.

But the New Republic Party has suggested that joint rule would only work if there was "effective protection of minority rights".

The National Party MP for East London City, Mr Gert Myburgh, and former Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr John Malcomess, both said they were impressed with the Ciskeian Chief Minister's plans for a "consociational democracy".

Mr Myburgh hailed Chief Sebe as "a constructive leader who knows where he wants to go".

"I am extremely pleased with what I have heard of Chief Sebe's proposals," Mr Myburgh told the Daily Dispatch yesterday.

"From what I can gather, Chief Sebe is trying to set up committees outside his government to look at points where there is disagreement."

Through brain-storming sessions, they would be able to identify problems and probably come up with solutions.

Chief Sebe's proposals were presented to the South African Government in Zwelitsha on Thursday and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was confident that the Ciskei package deal could be resolved soon.

The Progressive Federal Party candidate in next month's East London North by-election, Mr John Malcomess, said the PFP's federal system

could be embodied in Chief Sebe's plan for a Greater Ciskei.

"It is noteworthy that he proposed proportional representation, a minority veto, power sharing, consensus government and the rejection of a winner-

area should be allowed to sort out their own future without being dictated to by Pretoria.

"South Africa can only have a secure future if we sit around a conference table and consult with all South Africa's peoples,

Ciskei could only be possible if it provided for effective protection of minority rights," Mr Bell said.

"The NRP's view is that a minority veto and proportional representation on its own would be inadequate for achieving this."

His party felt minority protection was best achieved by group action in a federal-confederal constitution.

However, the NRP would not object to taking part in a conference to thrash out a joint government proposal for the Ciskei and the Border.

"Wherever serious interracial and intergroup negotiations have been conducted in Southern Africa, final agreement was reached in a system of group accommodation."

The mayor of East London, Mr Donald Card, said any political change in the area had to be negotiated through the South African Government.

He stuck to his beliefs that an economic solution would solve a lot of problems for the area, and said this had already been accepted by the government.

The mayor of King William's Town, Mr Des Beacham, wanted more details about the plan before commenting.

"We will have to wait for further developments and study the plan further before I can give any comment," he said.

"In any event, I think the final decision will come from the central government, as this is a state matter." — DDR

(News by Chris Vick and Mike Chandler, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)

Editorial opinion, page 6.

## New independence probe for Ciskei

PRETORIA — A committee will be appointed to investigate certain issues and matters which the Ciskeian Government feels have a vital bearing on independence of the homeland.

The establishment of the committee was announced in a joint statement here yesterday by the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, and Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe.

"The committee will consist of a chairman to be appointed by the State President and representatives of the two governments to be appointed on the grounds of wide knowledge of such matters."

The names of the people will be announced shortly.

"The committee will be called upon to present an interim report on matters on which agreement has been reached before October 5, 1980."

Matters relating to the further constitutional development of the Ciskei were of paramount importance and therefore required intensive study and careful thought, the statement said.

Following the statement the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, indicated that some of the issues which the Ciskei Government referred to in a memorandum to the government on February 28 this year were: Statutory discrimination; a confederation for Southern Africa; citizenship; land matters as well as other unresolved issues.

It was decided to appoint such a committee in the light of developments and the progress made by the various committees and commissions regarding issues referred to in the document. — SAPA.

takes-all philosophy," Mr Malcomess said.

"These are all embodied in the PFP constitutional proposals and we would be happy to take part in such a conference."

He said people in the

whatever their colour."

His opponent in the by-election, former United Party MP for East London City, Mr Harland Bell, had his reservations about the proposals.

"Joint rule for the



# Ciskei floats joint border plan

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Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. —

The Ciskei government has proposed a form of joint government between border whites and Ciskei in a "Greater Ciskei" based on proportional representation and a minority veto.

The Ciskei government also called for a full constitutional conference between blacks, whites and other interested groups in the area to thrash out joint government.

Calling the plan "consociational democracy", Ciskei's Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said it had been drafted by his government as a long term solution to the region's economic and political problems.

According to Chief Sebe — who presented the plan to a South African deputation led by Mr Roels Raath, deputy director-general of Co-operation and Development — the plan is based on:

- Government through power sharing among all political groups in the region;
- Co-operation among all groups;
- Elimination of the "winner takes all" philosophy and its replacement by a system of government in which maximum consensus is required; and
- The existence of a minority veto to ensure that certain categories of legislation shall be enacted, amended or repealed only with the assent of a substantial majority of the members of the legislative.

"The basic principle of consociational government is consensus by all the various groups within the Greater Ciskei on a system of proportional representation," Chief Sebe said.

"Consensus should, therefore, be sought from the outset in the early stages of negotiation and no prefixed or dogmatic ideas should be fostered or laid down."

He said there was much in favour of a system of government which constitutionally protects the rights of minority groups without reserving some seats in the legislative assembly for whites only and others for blacks only.

Chief Sebe said the new constitutional plan for the Greater Ciskei would operate within a confederation or constellation of southern African states.

"For this purpose we have accepted that the package deal as submitted will be accept-



# September 12 deadline for all Ciskei students

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By OWEN VANQA

THE Ciskei education department has issued an ultimatum to students to return to classes by September 12 or they will not be able to write the end of the year examinations.

The secretary for education, Mr O S Bomela, said his department had decided on September 12 as the deadline for students registered at the various schools to report to classes, failing which they would be withdrawn from the school registers.

He said those standard eight and mat-

ric students who were entered for the end of year examinations would not be allowed to write the exams if their names had been taken off the school register.

He said this would mean that they would lose a year since the next sitting would be November 1981.

Students who failed to meet the deadline would not be allowed to attend school for the rest of 1980, he said

Attendance at various Ciskei schools has not been normal since June.



# Police warned not to assault girl

By OWEN VANQA

THE JUDGE President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Cloete, issued an urgent order on Friday night restraining the Ciskei police from assaulting a Mdantsane school-girl detained under the Ciskei Emergency Regulations — R252.

This was a sequel of an urgent appeal made by Mrs Nonvuyo Ngxale to the Grahamstown Supreme Court.

In her affidavit Mrs Ngxale said that her daughter, Pumeza, a student at Mzomhle High School, was detained by the Ciskei police on August 6. A few days later she received a telegram from an unknown person called Millie informing her that Pumeza was badly injured at the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital and she should visit her. On August 25 it was rumoured among some of Pumeza's schoolmates that she had died in detention.

She said all the information made her believe that one or more members of the Ciskei police or Ciskei Central Intelligence Services had committed serious assaults on Pumeza.

Mr Justice Cloete upheld her application, and granted a temporary interim order until September 11 restraining the Ciskei Minister of Justice, the Commissioner of Ciskei Police, the Mdantsane station commander and the head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services from assaulting her.

In his affidavit a field worker of the Border Dependents Conference, Mr Alfred Melete of Mdantsane, said while he was detained at the Mdantsane police cells he saw Pumeza in a passage. She had a swollen face with the right eye virtually closed because of the swelling. In the evening he heard girls detained with Pumeza screaming, shouting and calling the police to

come and open the cell door because they claimed Pumeza was in great pain. A few days later he heard more screams from the girls calling out to the police and saying something about Pumeza having fainted or having lost consciousness.

A medical practitioner in Mdantsane, Dr Lawrence "Dubs" Msauli, said in his affidavit that he attended to Pumeza in hospital. She complained of sleeplessness and headaches. On examination he observed healed bruises about her head, face and body.

She told him she had been assaulted by the police while in detention.

Dr Msauli said he had since checked earlier hospital records and they recorded an assault case.



# Order prohibits police assaults

102

GRAHAMSTOWN -- An interim interdict has been granted restraining the Ciskei police and the Ciskei Central Intelligence services from assaulting or interrogating in an illegal manner in 17-year-old Mzombile High Schoolgirl detained under Proclamation R252

The police and intelligence service have been ordered to show cause by Thursday why the order should not be made final

The order was made by the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Cloete, here after hearing an application made for the pupil by her mother on Friday night

Respondents in the matter brought up by Ms Sylvia Nomvuyo Ngxale, of Zone One, Mdantsane, are the Ciskei Minister of Justice, Chief Z. Njokwani, the Ciskei Com-

missioner of Police, Col J Gerber, the station commander at Mdantsane, Capt C. Pakade, and the Secretary for Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Col Charles Sebe

The application was backed by affidavits from the detained girl's mother, her sister, a doctor, a former detainee and a married clerk who had tried to trace information about the girl's admission to hospital during her detention

The order reads: "That a rule nisi do issue calling upon the respondents to show cause if any on 11 September, 1980

(a) Why they should not be interdicted and restrained for the duration of the detention under Regulation 8 (2) of Proclamation R252 published in Government Gazette No. 5757 dated 30 September, 1977 for either directly or indirectly, through their own actions or those of anyone under

their command or of one of other of them from

(i) Assaulting.

(ii) Interrogating in any manner other than that prescribed or permitted by law.

(iii) Employing any undue or unlawful pressure on

(iv) Subjecting any form of duress on Pumeza Ngxale

"That this order serves as an interim interdict pending finalisation of this matter on 11 September, 1980.

"That this order and notice of motion together with the annexures to be served on the four respondents personally.

"That the costs be costs in the cause"

Advocate T L. Skwevya, of Flettermaritzburg, instructed by Magqabi, Siwisa and Partners appeared for the applicant. The respondents did not make an appearance.

— DDR.

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# Ciskei says yes to self-rule if conditions met

By Craig Charney

The Ciskei has agreed to accept independence, provided final details can be thrashed out with Pretoria.

The homeland Government has also proposed a scheme for power-sharing among blacks and whites in the Greater Ciskei region after independence.

A joint committee of

officials from the Ciskei and the Department of Co-operation and Development will try to resolve disagreements between the two governments regarding citizenship, land consolidation, finance and the proposed confederation of states.

The committee is due to report back on October 5. Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said that if an acceptable package deal could be worked out, the Ciskei would take independence.

## NIUWOUT

The Ciskei has demanded dual South African and Ciskeian citizenship for its residents. While the Government's proposals will not be clear until the report of the Niuwoudt Commission on citizenship, it appears likely it will offer homeland citizens only a diluted form of "associate citizenship."

The Ciskei has also demanded all the land between the Fish and Kei Rivers. The Van der Walt Commission's final consolidation proposals remain secret, but the Government's intention to make East London a new growth point makes it unlikely it will cede the coastal city.

Chief Sebe has proposed establishment after independence, of a power-sharing arrangement among blacks and whites, but his acceptance of independence does not appear to be conditional on this.

Reminiscent of the proposals of the Quail Commission on the Ciskei, the Sebe scheme would establish a consensus-orientated regional government, with proportional representation and a minority veto over essential interests.



# SA firm to aid Ciskei projects

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KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— A major South African company which manufactures tractors has pledged further assistance to Ciskei's agricultural development projects.

Top executives from the company, including the managing director, Dr Leon Knoll, held dis-

SA 127 DIS 11/9/80  
cussions yesterday with Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture, the Rev W. M. Xaba. They later had lunch with leading Ciskeian officials, including Chief Minister L. Sebe.

Dr Knoll, whose company sponsored a chair of agricultural engineering at the University of Fort

Hare, said representatives from his company would make regular visits to the Ciskei in a bid to help agricultural projects.

The visitors said yesterday they had been impressed by both the Keiskammahoek and Tyefu irrigation schemes.  
— DDC.



# Ciskei submits names

DATE 11/9/80  
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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Ciskei Government has submitted to the State President the names of its representatives to serve on the joint Ciskei-South African Government constitutional committee.

The committee, which will investigate issues pertinent to Ciskei's independence, was proposed last week at a meeting between Ciskeian and South African representatives.

"We have already submitted our representatives' names for the committee and we are now waiting on the South African Government to do likewise so that headway can be made as soon as possible on the matter," the Rev. W. M. Xaba, Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture, said yesterday. — DDR.



# Outsiders blamed for Ciskei riots

Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The head of the Ciskeian police, Colonel Charles Sebe, today blamed troublemakers from Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Cape Town for the school riots that left two dead yesterday.

The two dead were a policeman and a pupil, whose names have not yet been released.

Colonel Sebe said the riots that erupted at Sada, near Whittlesea, were definitely inspired by troublemakers from urban areas.

His men had been pursuing groups of these pupil leaders through the night.

He said there had been seething unrest in Ciskei since the weekend after schools in the urban areas had been closed through the boycott.

All the accused are being held in custody.

Groups of pupils from these schools had infiltrated Ciskei and fomented trouble, he said.

This is not my opinion, it is an evaluated fact, said Colonel Sebe.

School attendance in Ciskei had stood at 89 percent last week — before the arrival of the urban troublemakers.

There have been nasty episodes — what I would call urban terrorism — since the weekend.

We have never experienced such things before, and the situation is getting worse, he said.

12/9/80  
Argus  
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# Police man

## stoned

## to death

Cape Times  
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Own Correspondent

**EAST LONDON. — A Ciskeian policeman and a high school pupil died yesterday after "a shoot-out between police and pupils" in the Whittlesea district, the head of the Ciskei intelligence services Colonel Charles Sebe,**

Pupils claimed three scholars aged between 11 and 12 years had been killed and 50 injured when police opened fire. They claimed quirts and teargas were used as well as guns.

Colonel Sebe said only one pupil had been killed. He refused to disclose how many, if any, had been injured.

The medical superintendent at the Frontier Hospital in Queenstown, Dr R Shatter, said last night "a number" of injuries of a minor nature had been treated at the hospital following the Whittlesea incident.

Most had been discharged by early evening and none of the injuries treated at the hospital had been of a major nature, he said.

He understood there had been a death at Whittlesea but there had been none at the hospital.

### 'Trouble spot'

Colonel Sebe chartered an aircraft to fly to the trouble spot. "I quelled the matter and placed it under investigation," he said. A number of pupils had been arrested but he would not disclose how many.

He said the trouble started about 8.30 am when pupils at the Mlotshana High School "ran amuck."

"They left their classes and marched into three other

### Steve Biko

In Gmsberg location pupils marched out of classes at the Forbes Grant Secondary School saying they were doing so to observe the third anniversary of the death of black consciousness movement leader, Steve Biko, who died in police detention.

The pupils said as it was the eve of the anniversary they would not attend classes until Monday. They told the principal, Mr J Moses, they were not boycotting classes. Pupils said several pamphlets were distributed at the school.

Mr Moses said the pupils had marched away peacefully and when the Security Police arrived the school was deserted.

Meanwhile in nearby Zwelusha the police and home guard are patrolling the township each day from 10 pm.

Colonel Sebe said this did not constitute a curfew. The home guard were protecting the homes and parents of those pupils who were attending schools.

The exercise was directed at "those thugs who are against education." Colonel Sebe said he felt pity for the thugs who crossed the path of the home guard as no mercy would be shown to them. "We shall protect vigorously the homes, parents and pupils who are attending classes and their homes," Colonel Sebe said.

The policeman was stoned to death in Sada near Whittlesea when a group of about 800 pupils turned on 15 policemen and stoned them.

Pupils had gone on the rampage attacking police vehicles and the policeman had been stoned to death by the mob, he said.

The police fired shots and, according to official reports one pupil was killed.

The pupils dispersed and a number were later arrested when police reinforcements were rushed in from elsewhere in the Ciskei and from South Africa.

### 'Three killed'

Pupils claimed three scholars aged between 11 and 12 years had been killed and 50 injured when police opened fire. They claimed quirts and teargas were used as well as guns.

Colonel Sebe said only one pupil had been killed. He refused to disclose how many, if any, had been injured.

The medical superintendent at the Frontier Hospital in Queenstown, Dr R Shatter, said last night "a number" of injuries of a minor nature had been treated at the hospital following the Whittlesea incident.

Most had been discharged by

schools commanding pupils to leave classes," Colonel Sebe said. The pupils were being watched by the police, who had been instructed not to take action until reinforcements arrived.

A group of about 800 students were coming out of the Sibulela Training College when they charged and stoned the police. A shootout followed, Colonel Sebe said.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Border area, Colonel J H du Plessis, confirmed his men had been called in to assist. But said as the matter was in the Ciskei it was up to the Ciskei police to decide what details to disclose.

### Steve Biko

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The pupils said as it was the eve of the anniversary they would not attend classes until Monday. They told the principal, Mr J Moses, they were not boycotting classes. Pupils said several pamphlets were distributed at the school.

Mr Moses said the pupils had



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## 'Riots were organised'

EAST LONDON — The head of the Ciskeian Police, Colonel Charles Sebe, today blamed troublemakers from Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Cape Town for the school riots that left two dead yesterday.

The two dead were a policeman and a pupil, whose names have not yet been released. Colonel Sebe said the riots that erupted at Sada, near Whittlesea, were definitely inspired by troublemakers from urban areas.



DAILY DISPATCH 12/9/80

# 264 in court

EAST LONDON — A total of 264 Ngcelwane High School pupils appeared in Mdantsane magistrate's court yesterday charged under the Ciskei emergency regulations.

The charge was under Section 13 of the regulations and involved the holding of an illegal meeting at the Zone Nine shopping centre, Mdant-

sane, yesterday morning.

All pleaded not guilty and were warned to appear in court on September 23.

Two other pupils, who were represented earlier had charges against them withdrawn after their attorney had insisted he be given time to study the charges and prepare their defence. — DDR



# 2 Killed at Sada

**EAST LONDON — A Ciskei policeman was stoned to death and one pupil was confirmed shot dead during school riots in Sada near Whittlesea yesterday.**

## Pupil shot; policeman stoned to death

A student constable died instantly when a group of about 800 pupils armed on 15 policemen and stoned them. The police fired shots and, according to official reports, one pupil was killed.

The pupils dispersed and a number were arrested later when police reinforcements were rushed in from elsewhere in the Ciskei and from South Africa.

Pupils claimed three scholars aged between 11 and 12 years had been killed and 50 injured when police opened fire. They claimed quirts and gas were used as well

The head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, Colonel Charles Sebe, said only one pupil had been killed. He refused to disclose how many, if any, had been injured.

The medical superintendent at the Frontier Hospital in Queenstown, Dr. R. Shaffer, said last night "a number of injuries of a minor nature, had been treated at the hospital following the Whittlesea incident.

Most had been discharged by early evening and none of the injuries treated at the hospital had been of a major nature, he said.

He understood there had been a death at Whittlesea but there had been none at the hospital.

Pupils at the hospital last night said two pupils, Xoliswa Dlamini and Linda Soko, had been admitted.

They said about 40 had been treated at the hospital and had been taken by ambulance to King William's Town where they were believed to be in police custody.

Colonel Sebe chartered an aeroplane to fly to the townships. "I quelled the matter and placed it under investigation," he said.

A number of pupils had been arrested but he would not disclose how many.

He said the trouble started between 8.30 and 9 am when pupils at the Mhlotshana High School "ran amuck". "They left their classes and marched into three other schools, commanding students to leave classes," Col Sebe said.

The pupils were being watched by the police, who had been instructed not to take any action until reinforcements arrived.

"A group of about 800 pupils were coming out of the Sibulela Training College when they charged and stoned the police. A shootout followed," Col Sebe said.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Border, Colonel J. H. du Plessis, confirmed his men had been called in to assist, but said as the matter was in the Ciskei it was up to the Ciskei police to decide what details to disclose.

In Ginsberg Location near King William's Town pupils marched out of classes at the Forbes Grant Secondary School saying they were doing so to observe the third anniversary of the death of black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, who died in police detention.

The pupils said as it was the eve of the anniversary they would not attend classes until Monday. They told the principal, Mr J. Moses, they were not boycotting classes.

Pupils said several pamphlets were distributed at the school.

Mr Moses said they had marched away peacefully and when the security police arrived the school was deserted.

At Mlungisi township near Queenstown attendance at the Mkwana Secondary School dropped from 34 per cent on Monday to 28 per cent yesterday following an incident on Wednesday when some students were chased from their classrooms.

The exercise was directed at "those thugs who are against education."

Col Sebe said he felt pity for the thugs who crossed the path of the home guard as no mercy would be shown to them.

"We shall protect vigorously the parents and students who are attending classes and their homes," Col Sebe said. — DDR.

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**THE** dead Mdanisane crimebuster, Lieutenant Willie Ncoko, was "served" with a summons on Thursday alleging illegal arrest and detention.

The crack detective was gunned down at his shop by an unknown assassin. It is generally believed that the gunman was a hired professional.

The Ciskei police are tight lipped and not releasing anything to the Press about the circumstances surrounding the shooting or what progress they have made in their investigations.

The summons was served by the Mdanisane Messenger of the Court, Mr A Ntonga, two days before Ncoko's funeral.

# Dead cop sued for illegal detention

They were served at his home.

The summons was issued by Mdanisane attorney Gqokoma, of Zone Four, who alleges that Lt Ncoko arrested and detained him at Mdanisane Police Station in March.

Mr Ncoko is cited as a second respondent with the Minister of Justice as first respondent.

Mr Gqokoma is claiming a total of R3 000 of which R1 000 is for wrongful ar-

By  
**OWEN VANQA**

rest and R1 500 for unlawful detention.

It was claimed that due and proper notice of intention to proceed against the Minister of Justice and Mr Ncoko was given during Mr Ncoko's lifetime, but both parties refused and, or neglected to pay the amount claimed.

Lt Ncoko's killing is still

the talk of the town — he was killed a week ago.

Residents believe he was killed by a professional assassin hired by a person or persons who wanted to settle a score. The question is who is the assassin?

It is generally believed that the assassin must have been paid a lump sum of money to pull the job. People say nobody would take such a big risk for peanuts, knowing that Lt Ncoko was a sharp

shooter. In a number of cases accused persons alleged Mr Ncoko used brutal methods to extract information. They claimed he was a ruthless interrogator.

In 1978 schoolkids convicted in the Grahamstown Supreme Court for the murder of two policemen and public violence claimed Mr Ncoko forced some of them to make statements. They said he handcuffed them, placed a rubber tube over their face so they could not breathe and hit them with fists. The policemen were stoned to death at Mdanisane after the funeral of the black consciousness leader, Steve Biko, in 1977.



ROM 16/9/80 (27/8) (105)

# Students kill teacher

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN - A schoolteacher was stoned to death yesterday by students in the Alice district of the Ciskei.

The death of Mr Jara, principal of the Imingcangathelo Junior secondary School, was confirmed by Chief Minister I. L. Sebe and the head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Colonel Charles Sebe.

Chief Sebe said that a detachment of Ciskeian police, under Col Sebe, was rushed by

helicopter to the trouble spot

However, the students had already vanished when the policemen arrived on the scene and we could not help Mr Jara", Col Sebe said.

Mr Jara's is the second Ciskeian to be stoned to death.

A Ciskeian student constable, Mr Lungile Mbebe, of Queens-town, was killed by rioting students at Sada Township last Thursday



DAILY NEWS 105 16/9/80

# 10 named for committee on Ciskei future

PRETORIA — The names of the members of the committee which would deal with matters related to the further constitutional development of the Ciskei were announced here last night by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, jointly with the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe.

The statement said the committee would present an interim report before October 5 on matters where agreement had been reached.

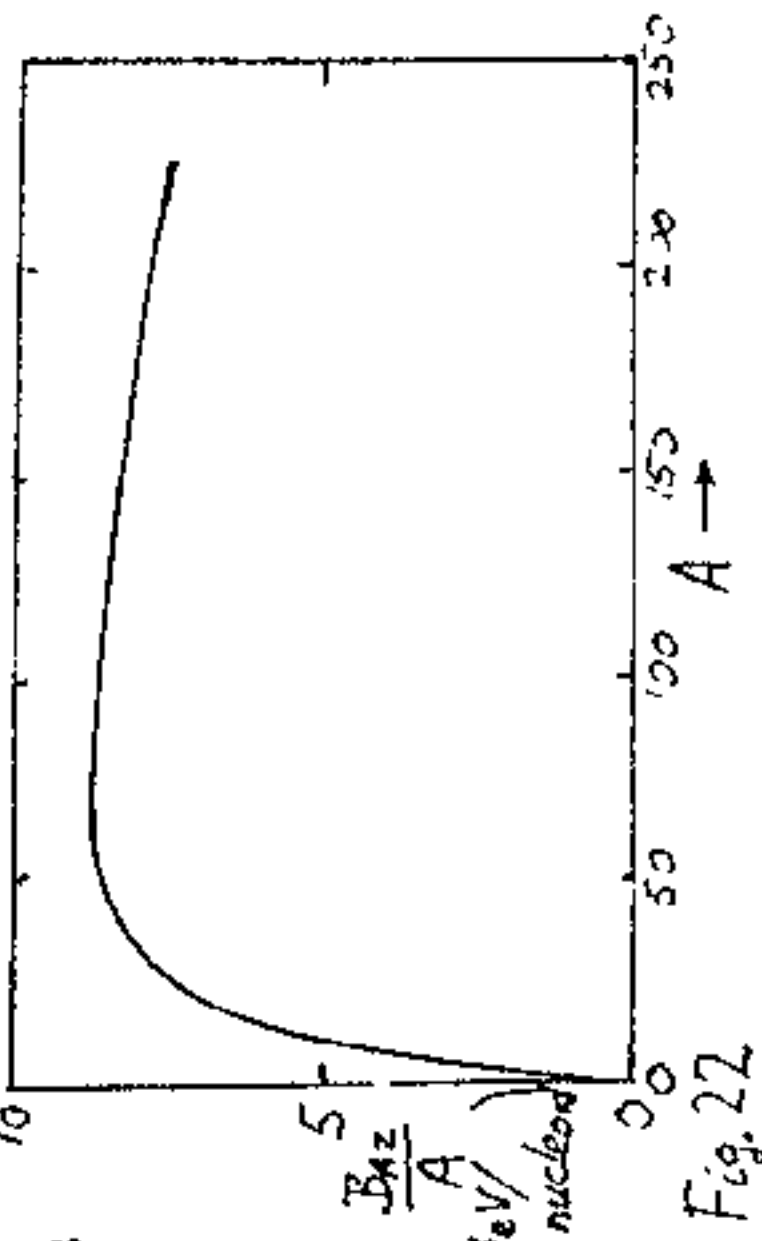
The members are: Mr R. J. Raath, deputy director-general, Department of Co-operation and Development (chairman); Mr D. J. F. Hitge, chief com-

missioner, Eastern Cape (secretary); Mr C. J. Groblier, chief director development, Department of Co-operation and Development; Mr G. H. J. van Vuuren, of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information; Dr R. Burton, of the Department of Finance; Mr E. G. Kemp of the Treasury; Mr G. F. Godden, secretary of Agriculture of the Ciskeian Department of Agriculture and Forestry and manager of the Ciskeian Marketing Board; Mr G. D. Maytham, secretary of the Department of the Chief Minister of the Ciskei; Mr R. Mali, chairman of the Ciskeian Public Commission, and Col X. C. Sebe, chief of the Ciskeian Intelligence Service." — SAPA.



### 4.8 Fission and Fusion

In the stable nuclei the nuclear binding energy  $B_{AZ}$  increases as the nucleon number  $A$  increases. To show the rate of increase we plot the ratio  $(B_{AZ}/A)$



versus  $A$  in fig. 22. The ratio is approximately constant and reaches a maximum of  $\sim 8$  MeV nucleon<sup>-1</sup> for "medium" nuclei ( $A = 40-120$ ). The lower values for light nuclei can be attributed to enhanced 'nuclear surface tension'. The lower values for heavy nuclei ( $A \geq 120$ ) can be attributed to the enhanced Coulomb repulsion of the protons in these nuclei.

If we fuse light ( $A \leq 10$ ) nuclei into medium nuclei or if we split (fission) heavy ( $A \geq 100$ ) nuclei into medium nuclei our final system will therefore be more bound than the initial system (fig. 22).

The kinetic energy of fusion one or both energy to overcome the nuclear separation. Fission occurs spontaneously or induced by a form of radiation a nuclear reaction as  $^{235}\text{U}$  with neutrons (fragments) produce are initially high ground states and are also released in the fission process. Most of the energy released in each fission ( $\sim 200$  MeV) appears as the kinetic energy of the fission fragments.

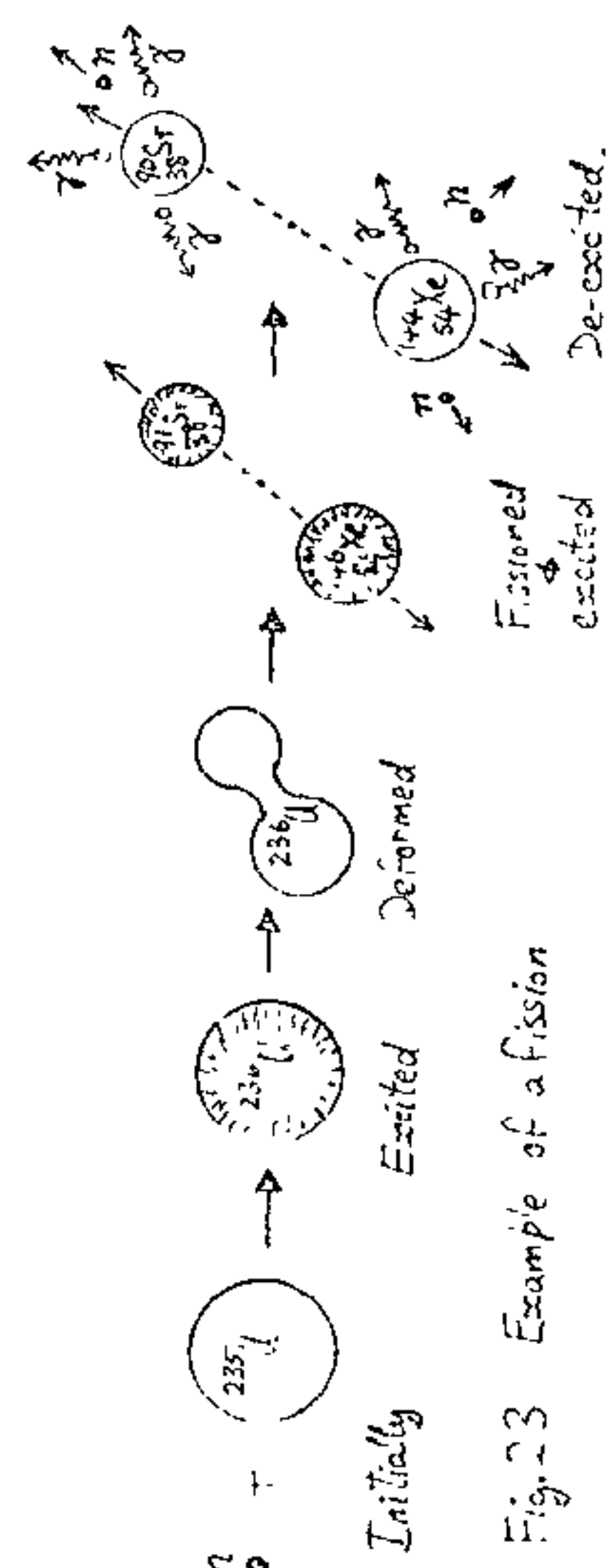


Fig. 23 Example of a fission

### 5. Interactions and Measurements of Nuclear Radiations

We consider only radiations (particles) having kinetic energies in the energy range (between  $0.1$  MeV and a few  $\times 10$  MeV) typical of nuclear physics. The interactions of these radiations with matter are basic to many phenomena and to many aspects of nuclear technology. Examples are the detection of nuclear radiation, the design of radiation shielding and the assessment of radiation dose.

#### 5.1 Interaction of radiation with matter

As a representative group of particles (radiations) we will consider the electron, proton, alpha particle, neutron and gamma photon ( $e, p, n, \alpha, \gamma$ ). Within these the charged particles form a natural group or subset which it is convenient to consider together.

(a) Charged particles (e.g.  $e, p$  and  $\alpha$ ) interact predominantly with the atomic electrons in matter. Their interactions with nuclei are extremely rare, in comparison, at the energies nuclear radiations lead to the ionization

**School head stoned to death**  
CAPT TAMES  
16/9/80  
105  
EAST LONDON. — The headmaster of a school in the Alice district was stoned to death yesterday, bringing the death toll in the Ciskei school riots over the past 14 days to four. The latest death was confirmed by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, and by the head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, Colonel Charles Sebe. Colonel Sebe said that when yesterday's unrest was reported to the government, a detachment of police under his personal command was flown to the area by helicopter.

When the police arrived on the scene the students "had already vanished" and the headmaster, a Mr Jara, was dead. Chief Sebe said: "People must now realize we are no longer contending here with students but with terrorists who have no consideration for human life."

"It has never happened in the history of the Ciskei that schoolchildren would go and kill their principal as brutally as Mr Jara was killed. I am convinced these children will kill their own parents." He criticized the South African Government for closing schools in Port Elizabeth, which, he said, resulted in an influx of students "who are now disturbing the peace" into the Ciskei.

Chief Sebe also blamed the South African Government for its delay in handing over some police stations to the Ciskei. A Ciskeian student constable, Mr Lungile Mbebe, was killed last Thursday when he was stoned by rioting students at the Sada township. Two students also died during the unrest at Sada. — Sapa

On the energy loss for particles in matter depends on the density of the medium and the charge and the velocity of the particle. It is higher for a higher charge or a lower velocity. If we compare alphas and protons at the same energy, for example, the alphas have a higher charge and (owing to their larger mass) a lower velocity. Therefore, in a given medium, ( $-\frac{dE}{dx}$ ) is larger for alphas than for protons of the same energy and the alpha range is less than the proton range for the same incident energy (see tables below and fig. 24(a)). Furthermore, for other particles, the velocity increases, and hence ( $-\frac{dE}{dx}$ )

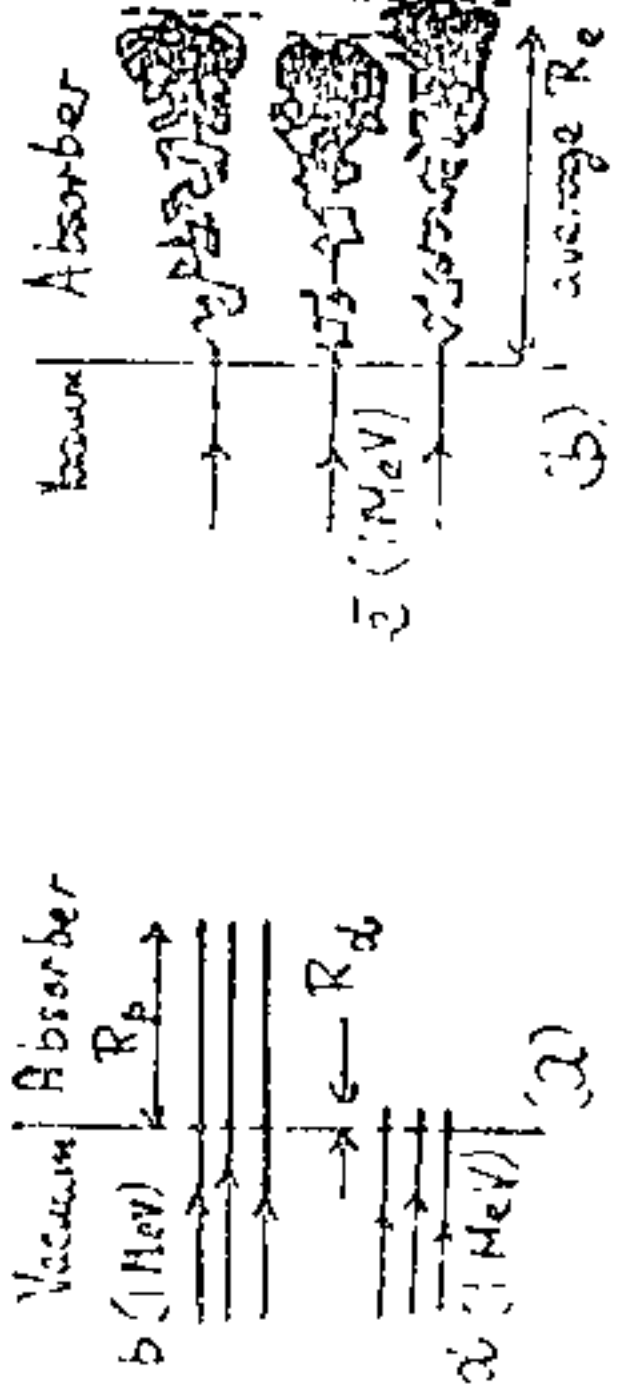
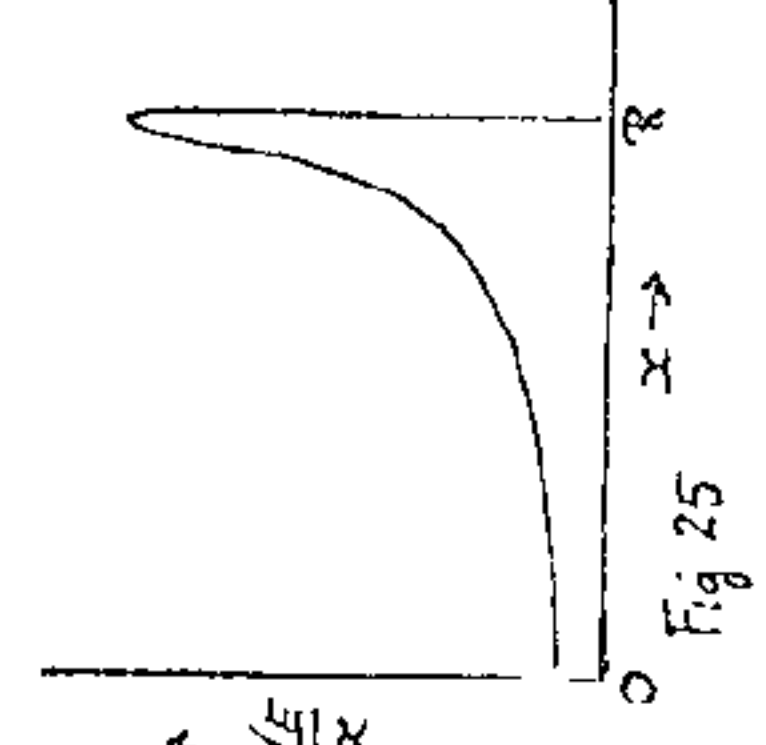


Fig. 24





# Stoned to

death

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A Ciskei school principal was stoned to death yesterday.

## *Ciskei principal killed by pupils*

The death of Mr Jara, principal of the Imingangathelo Junior Secondary School at Gqumashe in the Alice district, was confirmed yesterday by Ciskei Chief Minister L. L. Sebe and the Secretary of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Col Charles Sebe.

The killing brings the death toll in the Ciskei school riots in the last 10 days to four.

At Sada last week, a policeman was stoned to death. It also emerged yesterday that two pupils died at Sada, not one as first reported.

According to Col Sebe, another unidentified pupil was killed in the clash with police besides Michael Masimini, 16.

Chief Sebe said immediately the unrest at Gqumashe was reported, a detachment of Ciskeian

police, under Col Sebe, was flown in a helicopter to the trouble spot.

But Col Sebe said the students had already disappeared when the police arrived.

Col Sebe confirmed about 40 Ciskeian policemen were patrolling Gqumashe and the outlying areas last night.

By  
CHARLES  
NQAKULA

Chief Sebe said: "People must now realise we are no longer contending with students, but with terrorists who have no consideration for human life.

"It has never happened in the history of the Ciskei that schoolchildren would go and kill their principal as brutally as Mr Jara was killed. I am convinced these children will kill their own parents."

He reiterated his criticism of the South African Government's closure of schools in Port Elizabeth, which he claimed enabled an influx into the Ciskei of scores of students "who are now busy disturbing peace in the Ciskei."

He said his government had been able to cope with the situation for 10 weeks, "but since the closure of the schools in Port Elizabeth, we have four deaths on our hands."

Chief Sebe said Ciskei police had been instructed to deal with the riot situation with tact "and we have asked our men to conduct themselves with restraint, even under very trying circumstances, in an effort to avoid senseless death."

There were many ways in which people could fight for freedom "but I must state categorically killing your people is not one of them."

Chief Sebe hit at the South African Government for the delay in handing over some police stations to the Ciskei.

"I have information that following the closure of schools in Port Elizabeth, some of the students from the schools have infiltrated the areas in the Ciskei which still fall under the South African Police and that is where we experience most problems."

DAIC 7 DSP 16/9/80

(105) (80) (80)



# Ciskei committee will do groundwork

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Southern Africa Bureau

THE committee appointed this week to investigate the further constitutional development of Ciskei will do the groundwork for independence while waiting for final reports from Government commissioners on our deputation and advise him.

According to a source close to the committee, it will investigate "nuts and bolts" issues such as extradition and defence treaties, customs unions and labour agreements.

It will also hold further discussions to see where agreement can be reached on aspects of Chief Minister Lennox Sebe's demands.

Chief Sebe has insisted on Ciskeians retaining South African citizenship -- and he wants more land.

The source said the solution to these two problems in particular would be delayed until the final reports of the Van der Walt Commission by estimating land consolidation and the layout of a primitive housing into the urban area.

The committee, created in a joint statement by Chief Sebe and the Minister of Communication and Development, Dr Piet Jaarveld, has been asked to prepare an interim report on areas of common agreement by October 5.

Chief Sebe's conditions for independence are included in a book entitled "Challenges" which contains some of his major speeches and statements.

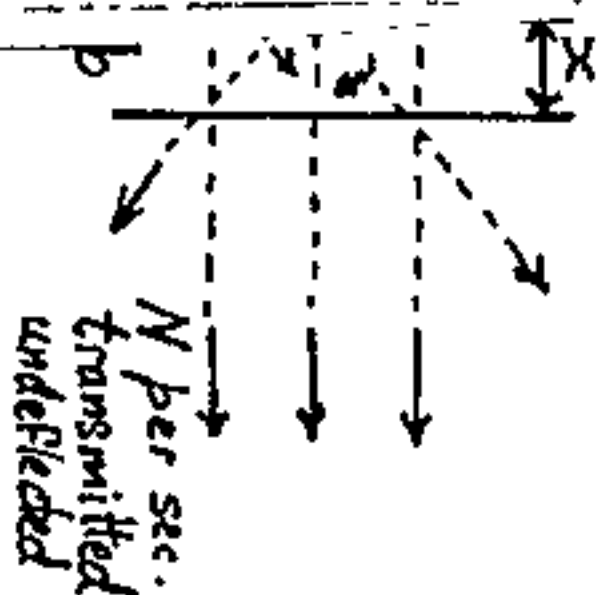
In February this year he stated his attitude to citizenship at a Press conference after receiving the report of the Ciskei Commission.

There are two principles on which the Ciskei is standing in relation to future independence. Firstly the Ciskei must not be a puppet of South African intervention, and secondly the Ciskei must seek to retain and develop their nationality as Ciskeians.

He also stated his commitment to a referendum on the independence issue at which he would present a "full package" of the important aspects to his people.

... particles and these particles then interact with the matter as described in (a). Hydrogenous media such as wax, water or plastic are of particular interest because a neutron can lose any fraction (0-100%) of its kinetic energy in a

nuclear  
... some of its  
... or a nuclear  
charged  
particles  
often



ions in  
... place

... process and  
... from one  
... large  
... (of  
... their energy  
... trajectories  
... and their

increases, as the particle penetrates deeper into the medium. The density of energy deposited ( $-dE/dx$ ) is therefore highest at the end of the range (fig. 25).

Relatively heavy particles such as the p or  $\alpha$  are not significantly deflected in their collisions with the much lighter electrons in matter and the maximum energy

single elastic collision with a proton. The maximum nuclear recoil energy  $E_{max}$  resulting from elastic scattering of neutrons (of mass  $m_n$  and energy  $E$ ) on a nucleus of mass  $m_N$  is given by

$$E_{max} = 4m_n m_N E / (m_n + m_N)^2 \quad \dots \dots \dots (34)$$

Thus  $E_{max}/E$  is much smaller for heavy nuclei than for hydrogen.

(c) Gamma rays

The three most important effects in the interaction of gamma rays with matter are the photoelectric effect (described in section 2.1), the Compton effect (section 2.1, p.5) and pair production (section 2.3, p.8). Energy is transferred from the incident gamma photon to a photoelectron, a Compton electron or an electron-positron pair respectively. These charged secondary particles then interact with the medium as described in (a). As in the case of neutrons, the interaction of gammas with matter is a statistical process and is governed by an exponential absorption law of the form given by eq.(33) but with  $\alpha$  representing the gamma ray absorption coefficient. This coefficient can, in turn be considered as the sum of components  $\alpha_{PE}$ ,  $\alpha_C$  and  $\alpha_{PP}$ , corresponding to the photo-, Compton and pair effects. Thus

$$\alpha = \alpha_{PE} + \alpha_C + \alpha_{PP} \quad \dots \dots \dots (35)$$

The absorption coefficients are largest for the heaviest elements (e.g. lead) and  $\alpha_{PE}$  usually dominates for gamma energies below 0.5 MeV,  $\alpha_{PP}$  for energies above  $\sim 1.0$  MeV and  $\alpha_C$  for energies around 1 MeV.

A convenient measure for gamma interaction calculations is the half-thickness, analogous to the half-life in radio-activity. This is defined as the thickness  $x_{1/2}$  of the particular medium required to reduce the fraction  $N/N_0$  (eq.(33)) to one half for a particular gamma energy.

$$\text{Thus } N/N_0 = \frac{1}{2} = \exp(-\alpha x_{1/2}) \quad \dots \dots \dots (36)$$

Some values of  $x_{1/2}$  are given below (in mm)

Energy	Lead	Concrete
1 MeV	9.0	47.0
5 MeV	14.5	100.0



# Arson at Ciskei school

DAIKY, DAP 17/9/86 (75)

# Stoning: 4 held, school closed

EAST LONDON — There was another arson incident at an Mdantsane school yesterday morning — the third in schools in the area since last Thursday night.

Furniture and a black board in three classrooms were set alight at Sofate Secondary School, Zone 6, on Monday night. Police were at the school yesterday morning when pupils boycotted classes.

The pupils were ultimately instructed to leave the premises.

The extent of the damage could not be established yesterday but it was believed to be a couple of hundred rands.

Meanwhile the attendance at other schools continued to drop yesterday.

From the empty desks it appeared the attendance at Ngcelwane High School was about 60 per cent while at Nkwenkwezi and Nyameko it was about 70 and 85 per cent respectively.

At Wongalethu, most of the classrooms were empty and only external candidates were writing the September examinations. Total attendance was below 90.

Classes were continuing as usual at Mzomhle High School despite threats from boycotting pupils from other schools that they would use violence against them if they continued to attend classes.

Several boys in the senior classes did not attend but it was learnt from one teacher that there was general panic at the school and some pupils were finding it difficult to concentrate on their studies. — DDR.

ALICE — The school where a Ciskei school principal was stoned to death near here was closed yesterday and four pupils were arrested in connection with the incident.

The Ciskei Government confirmed the closure and arrests in connection with the death of the principal of the Imingcangathelo Junior Secondary School at Gqumashe, Mr Silverman Mzondeleli Jara, 33.

The Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, said the five teachers at the school would be transferred to other Ciskei schools, but no arrangements had been made for the 244 pupils.

"We would have been unreasonable if we had allowed the school to function after Mr Jara's death, forcing teachers to face students who had killed their principal," Chief Jongilanga said.

Asked what arrangements had been made for pupils who wanted to continue their studies, Chief Jongilanga said: "No arrangements have been made."

Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, who is also the Minister of Police, confirmed the arrests and said Gqumashe did not fall under the Ciskei police, although the school did.

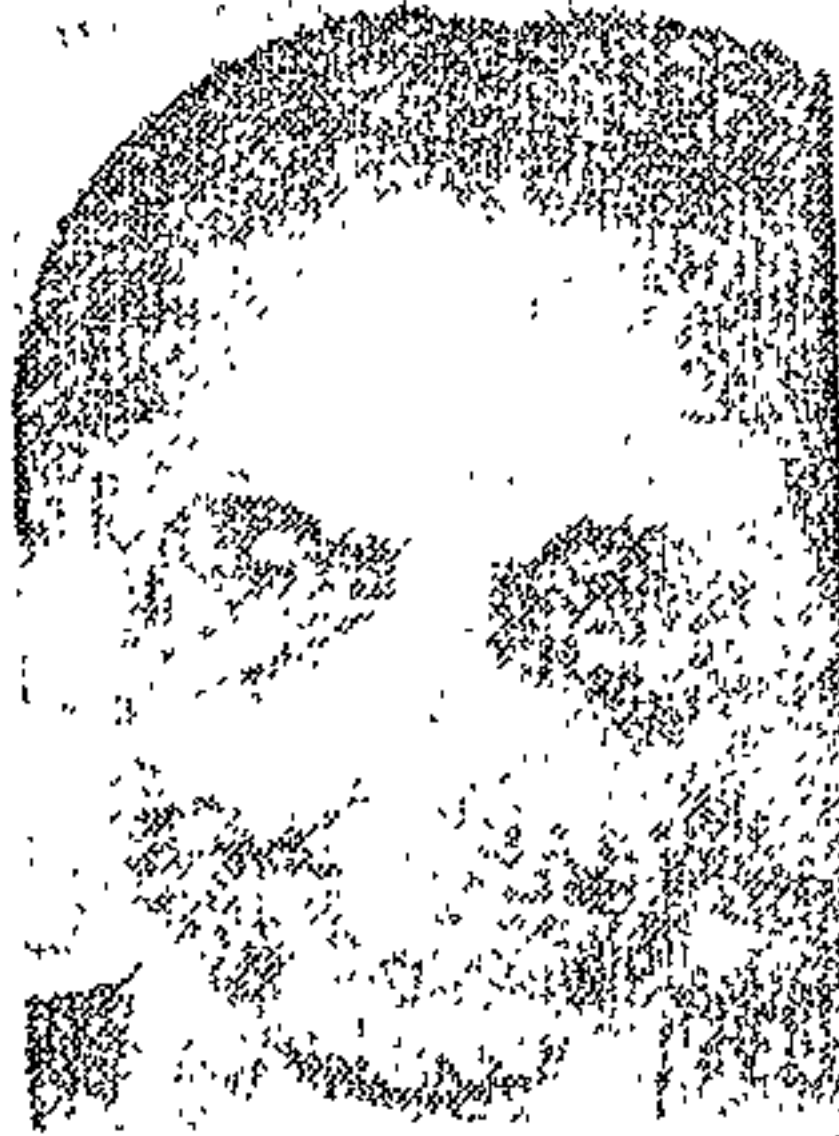
"But we were forced to send our own police to investigate the matter," Chief Sebe said.

The suspects would appear in court as soon as possible.

Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, said

yesterday Mr Jara, popularly known as "Vaks," was certified dead on arrival at Victoria Hospital.

"A brick hit him on the temple and his skull was crushed," Brig Sebe said.



BRIG SEBE... promoted yesterday.

Mr Jara, the first principal of the school, which was started at the beginning of last year, obtained his teacher's certificate at Healdtown in 1963 and taught at St. Matthew's College, the Arthur Tsengwiwe Training School at Cala, and then Lovedale before starting Imingcangathelo.

Meanwhile, the incident has left behind a frightened community at Gqumashe.

Brig Sebe denied reports that an Imingcangathelo pupil detained some time back had died — the alleged reason for the pupils' uprising.

No students from the

school had ever been detained "and certainly no one has died there following detention," he said.

He said about five students — two girls and three boys — were taken in for questioning some time back, but had been released immediately.

The Daily Dispatch visited the Gqumashe area yesterday after Chief Jongilanga, accompanied by Chief L. W. Magoma, Minister of Interior and the Rev W. M. Xaba, Minister of Agriculture, went there to tell residents about the closure of the school.

"Some of us had not heard about the death until we were called to the ministers' meeting and told about the closure," said an elderly man interviewed yesterday.

"The whole incident was rather funny because we did not hear any screams and any noise at the school which is situated centrally," he said.

Mrs Ethelina Jara was away in King William's Town when her son was killed "and only heard the news when I came back late on Monday evening," she said yesterday.

Mr Jara was the eldest of her three children, and is also survived by his wife, Joyce, and three children.

The family said yesterday they had not yet heard the full story of Mr Jara's death and had not made funeral arrangements. — DDR.



# Woman beaten up by pupils

DAVID DISE 17/9/50

EAST LONDON — A 23-year-old woman was beaten up in Mdantsane by pupils who thought she was a scholar and claimed she was breaking the school boycott in the township.

Miss Ntombifikile Mbangcolo, of Zone 9, Mdantsane, was treated overnight at the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital for bruises and weals to the head, body and limbs.

"I had accompanied a friend after buying some meat at the Zone 9 shopping centre on Monday afternoon when I met these boys who accused

me of attending school," Miss Mbangcolo said.

She explained she was not a scholar and had not been one for two years. But they would not listen and one of them said he knew her. They then attacked her with sticks, stones and anything they could find.

"If it had not been for a man who drove past and saw what was happening, they would have beaten me to death," she said.

The man drove her to hospital.

Miss Mbangcolo believes the clothes she wore at the time — a black skirt and a blouse — were mistaken for the uniform of the Rubusana Training School, in Mdantsane.

Student teachers at the school have not joined the boycott which has been plaguing schools in the township since May.

Miss Mbangcolo would report the matter to the police after leaving hospital. — DDR.



# Fire at Ciskei school

DAK 9 JWP  
18/9/80

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— A fire at the  
Zwelethemba High School  
at Zwelitsha yesterday  
partly damaged a cup-  
board and burnt some of  
the books in it. It is not  
known whether the fire  
was an arson attempt

The burning cupboard  
was discovered when a

clerk at the school saw  
smoke coming out of the  
classroom.

Sources said students  
had been attending school  
regularly but yesterday  
they did not carry any  
books to school.

Attempts to teach were  
frustrated when the

students reportedly failed  
to respond or started  
humming songs.

The school boycott in  
Mdantsane spread to  
Buchule High School  
yesterday.

At Khulam High School  
pupils were sent home  
before 11 am

The boycott continued  
at many schools but there  
were several pupils  
attending classes and the  
school with one of the  
highest attendances.  
Hlokoma High was busy  
with September ex-  
aminations for pupils who  
will be sitting for the Std 8  
and Std 10 examinations  
at the end of the year.  
DDR



DAILY NEWS 13/9/80

(105)

# 11 held over Jara death

EAST LONDON — Eleven suspects are being held in connection with the murder of the Immaculate Junior Secondary School principal, Mr Silverman Jara.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier J. H. du Plessis, said yesterday his men, aided by members of the Ciskei police, were still searching for more people suspected of being involved in the incident in which Mr Jara was struck to death at Gugumache near Alice on Monday.

Brig Du Plessis said the acting divisional criminal investigation officer, Colonel J. Nel, had personally handled preliminary investigations into the killing, and the investigating officer now handling the case was Lieutenant J. B. Wiese.

"Following a request from the Ciskei police they are helping in the investigation under the command of Lt Wiese," Brig Du Plessis said — DOR



## HOMELANDS 105 Ciskei in line?

FM 19/9/80

The Ciskei might, after all, become the fourth homeland to opt for Pretoria-style independence. A joint committee of Ciskeian authorities and the Department of Co-operation and Development is considering the constitutional development of the territory.

This is surprising in view of the recommendation of the Quail Commission early this year that the Ciskei should not consider independence under present circumstances. Economic factors, such as the high rate of unemployment, estimated at 39% in urban areas, and a population density of 126 people a square km — the highest in the country — featured prominently.

Meanwhile even Pretoria, through its pronouncements on regional planning and the findings of the official think tank on the homelands, Benso, has become lukewarm about the chances of ethnic-based economies taking off.

In the light of this, what could the joint Ciskei committee come up with to entice the homeland into independence? Several possibilities exist.

The first is land. Chief Minister, Lennox Sebe, wants far more than the present 660 000 ha. The proposed land consolidation would contribute another 300 000 ha and embrace the whole region between the Fish and Kei rivers; the Stormberg mountains in the north, and the coast.

This package would reduce population density to 85 people/km<sup>2</sup>.

The Van der Walt Commission on homeland consolidation has yet to come up with its final recommendations. It is, however, apparent that the cost of buying out white farmers could be prohibitive. But the Benso suggestion that "white" growth points be incorporated into homelands to stimulate or sustain development is a definite possibility. The present Ciskei is dismally lacking in agricultural and industrial centres and is the poorest homeland yet to consider independence.

East London will present problems. Observers believe it is not likely that the port will be included in any deals. It might, however, be turned into a free port serving the Ciskei, Transkei, and SA.

Sebe has also stated that a new political dispensation should be explored in discussions on independence. He wants dual citizenship for Ciskeians, a measure that could allay fears among blacks, who, according to the Quail survey, regard the loss of SA citizenship as one of the worst outcomes of independence.

He also wants a "consociation" for the region. This would require a black/white political arrangement on a proportional representation basis, with the right of minority veto. Presumably he is anticipating the incorporation of whites into the homeland and for them to become part of its political framework.



# Township councillors elected unopposed

DAILY DISP 19/9/80 105

EAST LONDON — Mdantsane will have no township council elections this year — all candidates nominated in the township's 12 wards were returned unopposed.

The Ciskei National Independence Party had a clear run on nominations.

The returning officer, Mr D. G. Boucher, the chief magistrate of Mdantsane, said he received 12 names, one for each ward, and since there were no reasons to disqualify any of them, he declared them all elected.

Two members of the old

council who stood for election and were returned are Mr S. T. Skeyi, of Ward 3, and Mr M. S. Nene, of Ward 6

The Ciskei Government has to appoint up to ten more members to the council

The 12 members declared elected are, from Ward 1 to 12 respectively: Mr V. M. Mati, Mr D. S. Ndletyana, Mr Skeyi, Mr Z. D. Nkobia, Mr B. M. Pondla, Mr Nene, Mr A. Lubisi, Mr N. G. Nkumanda, Mr W. M. Fikisolo, Mr M. J. Malahla, Mr M. P. Mqosha and Mr F. S. Zweni — DDR



EAST LONDON — Violence erupted at Mdantsane yesterday and boycotting pupils stoned buses, a car, two schools and the home of a high school principal.

An unidentified bus driver was treated for head injuries and discharged from Cecilia Makiwane Hospital after youths, believed to be pupils, stoned a bus in Zone 10.

The roads department chief at the Mdantsane Special Organisation, Mr A. S. Roux, was stoned by more than 30 youths while driving through Mdantsane yesterday morning.

His MSO vehicle was badly damaged and Mr Roux had a large bruise on his shoulder after being hit by one of the stones.

The youths turned on Mr Roux as he drove past a bus which had been stoned minutes earlier, hurling rocks through the windscreen and onto the roof of his bakkie.

He managed to drive away from the group and they were later seen moving towards the railway line in NU 11.

Large rocks were found

# Mdantsane violence: 2 injured

DAILY DISPATCH  
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105  
105

in the back of the bakkie and there was a large dent in the door millimetres above the top of the window.

In another incident in Zone 10, Mrs Noma-themba Rululu, wife of the principal of Ngcelwane High School, Mr Ray Rululu, was woken by a hail of stones on her house windows yesterday morning.

Mrs Rululu, a nursing sister, who is on night duty, did not know what was happening until she realised the culprits were youths she believed to be schoolchildren.

Pupils at Nvameko and Mahavi secondary

schools, in Zone 8, were forced to leave their classes when youths attacked the schools with stones.

Two other schools, Khulani and Nkwonkwezi High, had to stop their classes early because of incidents.

The station commander at Mdantsane, Major G. M. Fakade, confirmed the attack on the bus but would not give any further details.

The head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, could not be contacted for comment yesterday. — DOR



From Our Correspondent

EAST LONDON. —  
The unrest in Ciskeian schools, which has claimed four lives in the past 10 days, is a symptom of a widespread discontent that is now reaching deep into rural areas.

Whereas earlier unrest in the Eastern Cape was largely confined to the urban areas, it now involves children of the closely-knit and conservative rural Xhosas.

Their conservative parents are largely opposed to the boycott, and village men have taken up sticks several times to drive pupils back to school.

But many children and young people have become militant. This seems uncharacteristic.

The change in mood was brought about by troublemakers from the urban areas, claims the head of the Ciskeian police, Brigadier Charles Sebe.

If this is true, then the troublemakers seem to have fertile ground in which to sow their ideas.

Leaders of the boycott claim 80 percent support among Ciskeian pupils. They say the boycott has been sporadic only because of pressure from police and parents.

Some of the agitation to boycott classes has come from former Fort Hare students who earlier this year decided to forgo their studies and return home.

The boycott gained momentum, and there were a number of violent incidents before hundreds of students decided to leave the university.

These students spread through Ciskei and some

19/9/80  
**Ciskei**

**unrest**

**growing**

became active instigators, urging pupils to boycott their schools.

Feelings towards those who did not support the boycott ran high and pupils' homes, particularly in Swelitsha, have been stoned.

"Those who give recognition to the system by attending classes are traitors to the nation," said the former Fort Hare student.

The former students say they feel betrayed by blacks in Natal and coloured in the Cape who have returned to their universities.

A former student admitted that the boycott did not have the support of older Ciskeians.

"They have had some influence, but I don't think they played a major part," he said. "Things were reaching a zenith in Ciskei anyway."

The boycotters' battle cry has been 'equal education, but in reality their demands have a much broader meaning. They are demanding full equality, and they see the education system as a root cause of the black man's second-class status.

A breeding ground for disenchantment and disillusionment has been creat-

ed," said Brigadier Sebe. "But feed the people three times a day and give them job opportunities, and you will have almost no need for laws in this country."

"If you are having three meals a day and the man next door to you is starving, how can you expect peace? It is as simple as that."



DAILY NEWS 20/9/80 (105)

## 4 Mdantsame pupils arrested over violence

MDANTSANE — Four school pupils have been arrested by the police following incidents of violence here this week.

The station commander, Major C. M. Pakade, yesterday said the arrested pupils, whose ages range between 18 and 22, will appear in court on Monday.

The arrests followed the stoning of a bus in Zone 10 on Thursday. The driver was treated and discharged at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital.

Major Pakade appealed to the residents of Mdantsane to be calm and report any incident to the police.

He said the public's co-operation was greatly needed. The police were in control of the situation.

Police patrols were intensified in the township yesterday assisted by members of the South African police. — DDR

## Jara death: 16 held

ALICE — Sixteen people are expected to appear in the magistrate's court here on Monday in connection with the death of a Ciskei school principal.

Mr Silverman Jara, principal at Imungangathelo Junior Secondary School

in Gqumashe, was stoned to death after unrest at the school on Monday.

Charges have not yet been drawn up and the suspects are being held at Alice police station. — DDR



## SUNDAY POST

Reporters

SIXTEEN people are believed to have been arrested in connection with the death of the principal of Imingcanga-tshelo Junior Secondary School at Gqumhashe, near Alice.

Mr Silverman Mozondeleli Jara, 38, was killed after a brick struck him on the head during a stone-throwing incident at the school last Monday.

The Ciskei Government has since closed down the school indefinitely.

It is believed that the suspects will appear in court this week. They are being held at the local police station.

Gqumhashe residents, who spoke to SUNDAY POST about the incident, said they did not believe the students had intended to kill their principal.

They said they believed Mr Jara was hit by a

# School head's death: sixteen are held

brick which was intended for one of the windows of the school — the target of the stone throwing.

And Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, confirmed that Mr Jara was hit by one brick and that there were no further attacks on him.

Mr Jara, who was buried at the weekend, was the fourth person to have died during schools riots in the Ciskei, over the past three weeks.

The others were a policeman and two students at Sada township, near Whittlesea.

It was confirmed by a police spokesman that one of the students was shot by the police when students stoned the policeman to death during rioting.

The other student's death was discovered the following day and the circumstances surrounding his death have remained a mystery.

Meanwhile, 264 students from Ngqelwane High School in Mdantsane will appear in court on Tuesday, charged under the Ciskei emergency regulations.

The charges involve the holding of an illegal meeting at the Zone 9 shopping centre on September 11.

They pleaded not guilty at an earlier hearing.



# Jara death: hunt for 40 suspects

DAK 7 23/9/80

ALICE — Police are still looking for more than 40 suspects in their investigation into the death of school principal Mr Silverman Jara.

The head of the Imungangathelo Junior Secondary School in Gqumasho was stoned to death at the school last week.

Sixteen suspects were expected to appear in court here yesterday but the station commander at the police station said it would be 'a couple of

weeks" before there were any court appearances.

"This is a strange case, as there are about 60 schoolchildren we have to speak to," Captain J. H van Wyk said.

"If we do not have them all here it is easy for some of the suspects to put the blame on others who we can't question."

A few of the students will be charged with murder, he said, and the rest would be charged with public violence —  
DDR

77

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# Lawyer detained in <sup>DAK 158</sup> <sup>24/9/80</sup> Ciskei <sup>105</sup>

EAST LONDON — An Mdantsane attorney, Mr Hintsu Siwisa, has been detained in terms of Proclamation R252 of the Ciskei emergency regulations, according to staff at his office.

They said Mr Siwisa was fetched from his office yesterday by members of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services.

A spokesman at his office said the intelligence service men arrived at about 8 am and took Mr Siwisa away. Later police in uniform came and asked for Mr Siwisa's partner, Mr B. Magqabi, who was away at the time.

Mr Siwisa was to defend 132 pupils of Phillip Ngcelwane High School who appeared yesterday with another 132 charged under the Ciskei emergency regulations.

They are alleged to have been involved by holding an illegal meeting at Zone Nine shopping centre, Mdantsane, on September 11.

The pupils pleaded not guilty to the charge. They were warned to appear in court on October 22.

Mr Q. M. Klaas appeared on behalf of Mr Siwisa's clients, while Mr J. W. Tutani appeared for the remaining 132 pupils.

The head of the intelligence service, Brigadier Charles Sebe, could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

DDR

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# Unrest case witness disappeared court told

DAILY DESP 24/9/80

(105)

GRAHAMSTOWN — State witnesses due to give evidence arising out of recent unrest here had been sent away by their parents because of a fear of intimidation, a police sergeant told the Grahamstown Supreme Court yesterday.

In one case an important witness had disappeared while the headmaster of the Ntsika Junior Secondary School had also fled because of intimidation.

Sgt J. Strydom, of the Port Elizabeth murder and robbery squad, was giving evidence opposing a bail application by 12 of 13 children accused of murder and public violence.

The children, whose ages range from 13 to 17, will stand trial next month for the murder of a 49-year-old taxi driver, Mr

Alfred Soya.

Mr Soya was stoned to death on May 14 after he and other members of the self-styled vigilante group, The Peacemakers, had attempted to force boycotting pupils to return to classes.

The children had been held in custody since their arrest in May. Bail was previously refused by order of the Attorney General of the Eastern Cape, Mr E. C. Heller.

Sgt Strydom said several young state witnesses were likely to be intimidated if the accused were released on bail.

Some of the accused might also be intimidated or persuaded to flee the country.

If they were released on bail and this was publicised, it would also make it more difficult for

the police to trace missing state witnesses.

Sgt Strydom said that in one unrest case an accused had fled to Transkei and police were finding it difficult to get him back to stand trial.

Earlier, the Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Cloete, ordered the case to be heard in camera because the accused were under age.

Only parents and guardians could attend, but the judge ruled that the press could remain in court as "proceedings where the liberty of a person is at stake should be held in public as far as possible."

However, the press would not be allowed to disclose the identity of the accused.

The stepfather of one of the accused told the court that parents and guar-

dians had formed a committee and had undertaken to "guard" their children at home should they all be granted bail.

Mr Justice Cloete said he was concerned for their safety as he was the upper guardian of "some very small children."

Possible tension could also be caused by a vigilante group if the accused were released, the judge said.

"The last thing this court wants to do is create further unrest."

The judge asked the witness to discuss this matter with his committee and report back to the court today.

Giving evidence earlier, the accused all said they would abide by any bail conditions.

The case continues today. - DDC.

105

# SACC worker detained

A FIELD worker of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Mr David Mngxekeza was detained yesterday when going to pay bail for 171 students.

Ms Hughes said Mr Mngxekeza had gone to the court in Whittlesea to negotiate for the paying of bail for the students, when he got detained.

According to Ms Ann Hughes of the SACC in Johannesburg, Mr Mngxekeza's detention was confirmed by the Ciskei Police.

Earlier Mr H Siwisa, an attorney who was supposed to represent the students, was also detained by the Ciskei Security Police.

increases, as the particle penetrates deeper into the medium. The density of energy deposited ( $-dE/dx$ ) is therefore highest at the end of the range (Fig. 25).

Relatively heavy particles such as the p or  $\alpha$  are not significantly deflected in their collisions with the much lighter electrons in matter and the maximum energy lost per collision is only a tiny fraction of the p or  $\alpha$  energy. These heavy particles therefore retain their original directions throughout the slowing down process and their ranges are well defined - do not vary much from one particle to another of the same energy (Fig. 24(a)).

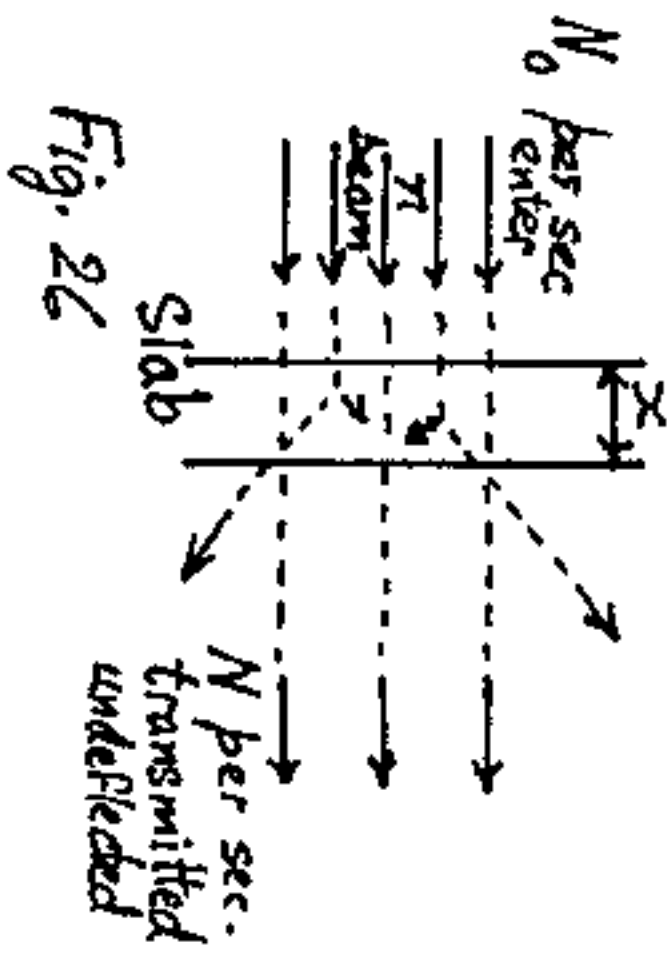
For, can scatter through large angles with atomic electrons (of mass  $m_e$ ) a large fraction of their energy is transferred to the electron. Therefore their detailed trajectories are more complicated than those of a neutron to another and their ranges (Fig. 24 (b)).

Listed below:

Ranges of 1 MeV protons in different media (in mm)

Air	Aluminium	Lead
20.0	0.0126	0.0106

ly with the nuclei in atoms and statistical process. If we place a mass  $x$  of material in the path of  $N_0$  neutrons (Fig. 26) then the number  $N$  of neutrons which survive after passing through the mass  $x$  is given by  $N = N_0 e^{-\alpha x}$  where  $\alpha$  is the absorption coefficient of the material. The number  $N$  of neutrons which are transmitted through the mass  $x$  is given by  $N = N_0 e^{-\alpha x}$ .



coefficient of the slab and depends on neutron energy and on the species and density of nuclei in the slab.

The neutron-nucleus interaction is either a nuclear scattering process, in which the neutron transfers some of its energy to the resulting (charged) recoil nucleus, or a nuclear reaction which usually leads to the emission of charged particles or gamma rays. Thus the secondary particles resulting from neutron interactions in matter are often charged particles and these particles then interact with the matter as described in (a). Hydrogenous media such as wax, water or plastic are of particular interest because a neutron can lose any fraction (0-100%) of its kinetic energy in a

single elastic collision with a proton. The maximum nuclear recoil energy  $E_{max}$  resulting from elastic scattering of neutrons (of mass  $m_n$  and energy  $E$ ) on a nucleus of mass  $m_N$  is given by

$$E_{max} = 4m_n m_N E / (m_n + m_N)^2 \quad (34)$$

Thus  $E_{max}/E$  is much smaller for heavy nuclei than for hydrogen.

### (c) Gamma rays

The three most important effects in the interaction of gamma rays with matter are the photoelectric effect (described in section 2.1), the Compton effect (section 2.1, p.5) and pair production (section 2.3, p.8). Energy is transferred from the incident gamma photon to a photoelectron, a Compton electron or an electron-positron pair respectively. These charged secondary particles then interact with the medium as described in (a). As in the case of neutrons, the interaction of gammas with matter is a statistical process and is governed by an exponential absorption law of the form given by eq. (33) but with  $\alpha$  representing the gamma ray absorption coefficient. This coefficient can, in turn be considered as the sum of components  $\alpha_{PE}$ ,  $\alpha_C$  and  $\alpha_{PP}$ , corresponding to the photo-, Compton and pair effects. Thus

$$\alpha = \alpha_{PE} + \alpha_C + \alpha_{PP} \quad (35)$$

The absorption coefficients are largest for the heaviest elements (e.g. lead) and  $\alpha_{PE}$  usually dominates for gamma energies below 0.5 MeV,  $\alpha_{PP}$  for energies above ~ 1.0 MeV and  $\alpha_C$  for energies around 1 MeV.

A convenient measure for gamma interaction calculations is the half-thickness, analogous to the half-life in radioactivity. This is defined as the thickness  $x_{1/2}$  of the particular medium required to reduce the fraction  $N/N_0$  (eq. (33)) to one half for a particular gamma energy.

$$\text{Thus } N/N_0 = \frac{1}{2} = \exp(-\alpha x_{1/2}) \quad (36)$$

Some values of  $x_{1/2}$  are given below (in mm)

Energy	Lead	Concrete
1 MeV	9.0	47.0
5 MeV	14.5	100.0



# Koornhof in Ciskei on Monday for talks

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J. JSP 26/9/80  
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PRETORIA — The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, is to visit the Ciskei on Monday and Tuesday to follow up discussions here yesterday between the governments of South Africa and the Ciskei.

A delegation of chiefs of the Ciskei Government said this after talks with the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, and Dr Koornhof.

The delegation submitted a memorandum which served as "a basis for in-depth discussions on matters of great concern to all the people of the Ciskei."

"The Prime Minister and his government are endeavouring to ensure a better future for our young people by way of the provision of adequate training facilities, the creation of work opportunities, the establishment of a development bank, incentives to establish small business undertakings and the im-

plementation of regional and co-operative development projects, with specific reference to the Ciskei, East London and the Eastern Cape region, all of which cost money and take time to bring to fruition," said a statement issued after the talks.

According to the statement, Mr Botha assured the delegation that the government would continue to help the Ciskei to develop to the advantage of all Ciskeians and that in the process, it would help them to maintain law and order, including tribal offices, schools and clinics. This was in the interest of all concerned, especially young people.

Mr Botha appealed to Ciskeians to help develop the Ciskei and not to destroy what has already been achieved.

"During our meeting with Dr Koornhof, who was equally sympathetic and positive in his approach, as were his officials, he reaffirmed that the government was giving serious attention to the further elimination of hurtful discriminatory measures, as recommended by the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions."

The statement says Dr Koornhof also reaffirmed the government's acceptance of the principle of equal pay for equal work, based on equal qualifications.

"The minister also assured us that the



DR KOORNHOF

government was committed to the principle of equal quality of education for all the people of South Africa as is proved by the appointment of a commission investigating all aspects of education in South Africa.

As far as the settlements at Ndevana, Potsdam, Silver City, Ox-

ton and Keiskammahoek were concerned, a joint committee, under the chairmanship of the Deputy Minister of Development, Mr J. J. G. Wentzel, would immediately investigate to what extent the Department of Co-operation and Development could assist to alleviate the problems there, the statement said.

"The Minister acknowledged that there were certain problems about the police districts of Alice and Peddie.

"Discussions between the Minister of Police and Chief Minister Lennix Sebe took place about three weeks ago when specific problems received attention.

"A decision was taken that a committee comprising members of the Ciskeian Government service and the SA Police would investigate uniform actions by the two forces to co-ordinate their activities.

"The question about when the Alice and Peddie police stations would be transferred to the Ciskeian Government is likewise receiving the immediate attention of the SA Police." — SAPA.

Paper No.....  
(to be copied fr

ination Paper)

## NOTE CAREFULL

1. The answers on the left hand pages may be used for rough work, but no credit will be given for such work.
2. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.
3. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.
4. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

## WARNING

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.
2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.
3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University

# Police swoop 'to quell unrest'

Continued from Page 1

police from border duties.

Kulani has about 11 white teachers, mostly women, who teach English, Afrikaans and technical subjects.

There are about 15 black teachers.

Other post primary schools in the township have not been closed although classes are still being boycotted.

Meanwhile another

fieldworker of the Border Dependents Conference, Mr Alfred Motele, of Mdantsane, has been picked up by the Ciskei Police.

His wife said he was arrested on Wednesday night.

Mr David Mangukeza, of Babaleni Location near Queenstown, was arrested by the Ciskei Police on Monday night at Windlesree while making arrangements to pay bail for Sada students charged after unrest in the Ee settlement area.

This is the second time Mr Motele has

been detained.

A Mdantsane lawyer, Mr Mkhata Simso, who has been helping Ciskei students charged during the school unrest, was detained on Monday morning.

Brigadier Selts confirmed the detentions yesterday.

He said they were detained under the Ciskei security laws in connection with the student unrest in the Ciskei and that Mr Motele and Mr Simso would be charged soon.

He could not say whether Mr Mangukeza would be charged.



# 500 pupils rounded up in police swoop

## Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — More than 500 pupils were rounded up by Ciskeian police in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha yesterday and later handed back into the care of their parents.

The chief of the Ciskei Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said he had personally led the police in their "clean up" operation in the two East London townships.

Brig Sebe said there had

been a 98% school attendance in the Ciskei before the unrest. But after 11 weeks of escalation the police had been "forced to act before things went out of hand."

He said it was decided to sweep Mdantsane and Zwelitsha after the closure of schools in the urban areas.

During the swoop a number of students were taken to charge offices in both townships so that those who had

come from the urban areas and were staying in the Ciskei could be identified.

Brigadier Sebe said that not a single Ciskeian pupil was detained in the swoop.

Zwelitsha was not affected on a large scale but the situation was "serious" in Mdantsane, he said.

"At Mdantsane we even picked up children who were not attending school, but staying in the township," he said.

After the children had been rounded up and taken to the charge office, their parents were called to fetch them.

At the same time talks were held with parents and their children about why they were influenced by the "agitators" not to attend classes, Brig Sebe said.

"We are definitely gaining momentum in this regard and we are sure to beat the enemy. The majority of parents are behind us. They want their children to be educated," he said.

Brig Sebe said parents of pupils who came from Port Elizabeth and other urban areas had fetched their children.

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# Swoop on 500 Ciskei Pupils

By 11/17 Div 26/9/80

**EAST LONDON** — More than 500 pupils were rounded up by police in Mdantsane and Zwelitshe yesterday and later handed back into the care of their parents.

The secretary of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said he headed the police during an operation aimed to "clean up" Mdantsane and Zwelitshe. The operation started at 6 am yesterday. He was assisted by Lt-Col W. Toba, Lt-Col Z. B. Makhuzeni and Major C. M. Pakade.

Brig Sebe said there had

been 98 per cent school attendance in the Ciskei. But after it weeks the unrest had escalated and forced the police to act before things went out of hand.

He said it was decided to sweep Mdantsane and Zwelitshe after the closure of schools in the urban areas.

During the clean up a number of students were taken to the charge offices in both townships so that those who had come from the urban areas and were operating in the Ciskei could be identified.

Zwelitshe was not affected on a large scale but the situation was serious in Mdantsane, Brig Sebe said.

"There, we even picked up children who were not attending school, but staying in Mdantsane", he said.

After the children had been rounded up and taken to the charge office their parents were called to fetch them. At the time talks were held with parents and their children about why they were influenced by the agitators not to attend classes, he

said

"We are definitely gaining momentum in this regard and we are sure to beat the enemy. The majority of parents are behind us. They want their children to be educated", Brig Sebe assured.

He emphasised that during the operation not a single Ciskei pupil was detained.

He said the parents of pupils who came from Port Elizabeth and other urban areas fetched their children.

Brig Sebe also confirmed

of the detention yesterday of a hard worker for the Dependants Conference of the South African Council of Churches, Mr Alfred Mthembu, of Mdantsane, under the Ciskei emergency regulations.

He also confirmed the detention of another Dependants Conference field worker Mr G. Mngweni, of Queenstown, and Mr Hintsa Swisa, an Mdantsane attorney, who was detained on Monday.

Both had been detained in connection with unrest, he said. — DFN

BRIG SEBE, we had to

act.



# Ciskei asks SA for early package deal

DARY JSP  
27/9/80  
105

By CHARLES NQAKULA  
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— Keep us on your side or  
throw us to the wolves.

This was the challenge issued by a deputation of Ciskeian chiefs and headmen when they met representatives of the South African Government this week to discuss a variety of problems encountered by the Ciskei.

The deputation, comprising Chiefs H. Zulu, of Sheshegu, W. Zibi, of Ngcwazi, and P. Malefane, of Thornhill, and Headmen P. Mkohlakali and M. Fiyo, also told the South African Government the Ciskei nation was in peril.

In a joint statement yesterday they said the challenge to the South African Government related, among other matters, to the Ciskei's package deal for independence.

"Give us the package deal and give it now because tomorrow is too late," they said.

The statement added: "We have come this far but cannot die for an unjust cause. Keep us on your side or throw us to the wolves — the choice is yours."

They said the deputation also could not face the people it represented "empty-handed" any longer.

"And we also cannot tolerate this new talk of agreeing on what can be agreed upon and waiting for the rest. The nation is in peril. Tomorrow is too late."

Sketching the background of Ciskei's economic and industrial endea-

vous and the promises that were not fulfilled by the South African government, they said.

"Through the years we have reassured our people and our children that the dream of equality in separation would become reality.

"Today the dream has tarnished, the promise is tattered and darkness shrouds the future."

Major development schemes in the Ciskei could not be implemented and those that had been started, such as the Keiskamma irrigation scheme, "lie dusty and forgotten, destroyed by lack of money."

Promises of industry and jobs also fell by the wayside because of the government claims of "no cash."

But there was a glimmer of hope, they told the government, "when our leaders spoke about the package deal, saying it contained the answer for a country seeking peace."

When nothing came of the package deal, schoolchildren started burning schools.

"Horror mounted on horror with children, not yet even at the age of puberty, crushing in a policeman's head, killing their teacher, fleeing and not returning home, stoning all that moved to guard the schools, routing grown men with the fierceness of their onslaught."

The statement added: "When our children say they reject our way they are perfectly justified. We have trodden the middle road to no purpose."

# Armed youths disrupt classes

DAILY DISPATCH 27/9/80

EAST LONDON — Police raids were intensified for the second day in Mdantsane after three armed youths disrupted classes at a school yesterday.

Three youths who appeared to be pupils, went to Ulwazi Junior Secondary School in Zone Two at 10 am.

Armed with pangas, they threatened to kill pupils who did not leave the school. At the time of the incident a Form Three class was writing a mathematics exam.

The pupils were forced to leave the class and ran from the school. No damage was caused to the school and no one was injured. The culprits disappeared in the township.

Police were alerted and rushed to the school.

A senior police spokesman said every available police van was used in the subsequent raids. Police who were off duty were recalled.

He said the raids were intensified near Highway main bus terminal. A number of people were also rounded up near the Mdantsane Hotel and at the Lennox Sebe building complex.

The swoop was again headed by Brigadier Charles Sebe, secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services. Other commissioned officers were Lt-Col W. Toba, Lt-Col Z. B. Makuzeni, Major C. M. Pakade and Lt R. M. Khonjwa.

The spokesman said about 400 people, including pupils, were held for questioning.

Among them were suspects in various crimes who are to appear in court on Monday. The others were released.

Brig Sebe could not be contacted to comment on the operation yesterday.

— DDR



# E Cape pupils held in Ciskei

MC-1  
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29/9/80  
275

EAST LONDON — A number of pupils from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage have been detained in the Ciskei.

This was confirmed yesterday by the Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe. He declined to disclose the number and where they had been held.

Brig Sebe said the students were arrested during police raids between 1 a.m. and 3 a.m. yesterday in Mdantsane and other areas of the Ciskei.

He said the students had been at various institutions in the Ciskei where they had allegedly influenced other students to boycott classes.

Last Thursday a joint meeting of parents, students and councillors was held at the Mdantsane police station.

It was addressed by the Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, and the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Rev W. M. Xaba.

It was attended by more than 500 students and 2 000 parents.

Brig Sebe said: "It is a pity that parents from the urban areas fail to realise the dangers being prepared for their children by agitators who want to further the aims of their organisations at the expense of the children." — DDR.

JAK 4

Drop 29/9/80

105

# We're opposed to camps says Sebe

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei Government was opposed to resettlement camps but had a duty to its people, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, said yesterday.

Chief Sebe was commenting on conditions at Kammaskraal, a new resettlement camp in the Peddie district.

The camp is an old farm handed over to the Ciskei and has been used to accommodate 173 families moved from the Alexandria district.

Chief Sebe said the newspaper report which appeared at the weekend, had not shown half the real situation the people at the camp were subjected to.

"Words fail to express our feeling about its horrors and one wonders if the question of colour has not hardened people in this country over the years."

He said seeing the camp should break the most hardened man.

"Out of humanitarian considerations we cannot drive Ciskeians away when they have nowhere to stay but we have always asked for liaison on the matters before any action is taken," Chief Sebe said.

Their difficulty had been that they had never been able to get anything straight from any official.

"It appears resettlement has become a problem the South African Government feels it cannot face because not one official ever stands up to say this has been done and the official line has been this," he said.

"It is a wicked thing and I am sure that now that it is raining those people are living in lakes.

"What is annoying to every Ciskeian is that even the highest authority will promise action on

these matters every time they are taken up but somehow they seem to crop up every time and when they do no one seems to know how they have occurred," Chief Sebe said.

Recalling the case of Thornhill, he said they had many problems there but had put their foot down and in the end the people at Thornhill felt they were better off there than where they had lived before.

"This should be the guiding factor in resettlement. No one expects people to live in squatter areas, but when they are moved they should lead a better life in their new homes.

"Unfortunately this does not seem to be happening as often as we are promised and we still end up with places like this new one," Chief Sebe said. — DDR



# Ciskei deportees appeal to Koornhof

EAST LONDON — Two men deported by the Ciskei Government last year have appealed to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr P. G. J. Koornhof, to allow them to settle in Duncan Village.

Mr J. Z. Kobo and Mr L. Malotana, both former members of the Ciskei National Independence Party, said in the letter to the Minister:

That on January 19, 1979 they were falsely accused of having participated in an unlawful bus strike.

That on April 20, 1979 they were served with deportation orders in terms of Proclamation R252 of 1977 and given 48 hours' notice to leave the Ciskei.

That they decided to seek temporary accommodation in Duncan Village with relatives while making representation to the Ciskei authorities through members of the CLA, Cabinet Ministers and

finally the East London City Council, through its Mayor, Mr Donald Card.

That when these failed they sought alternative accommodation in Duncan Village through the Community Council and Eastern Cape Administration Board officials, and

That all efforts had been unsuccessful.

Mr Kobo and Mr Malotana claimed they had been arrested and detained in connection with the bus strike, had been charged but that the charges were withdrawn later.

All this had happened although they had not been bus drivers and did not possess drivers' licences, they said.

"We don't know where to go because we have seen everybody in authority except you, and this has been going on for over a year and a half," they state in the letter to Dr Koornhof. —DDR



MR KOBO



MR MALOTANA

# Vital Ciskei talks today

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105

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— A full-scale high level meeting between South African Government and Ciskei political leaders takes place in Zwelitsha this morning against a background of pupil unrest in the homeland.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, will meet Ciskeian Legislative Assembly members as well as chiefs, headmen and councillors, in the CLA chamber.

Dr Koornhof arrived here yesterday afternoon and spent the night with the Ciskei Commissioner-General, Mr J. J. Engelbrecht, at his official residence, Blacklands.

Last night he held informal talks over dinner with the Ciskei Cabinet.

This morning Dr Koornhof will meet first with Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, before meeting the CLA members, chiefs, headmen and councillors.

After the meeting, both Dr Koornhof and Chief Sebe will address the CLA gathering.

Dr Koornhof's visit follows urgent appeals by both Chief Sebe and Ciskeian chiefs last week for the South African Government to accept Ciskei's so-called "package deal" for independence.

In Pretoria last week, the Ciskeian chiefs issued an appeal for the South African Government to accept the package deal, or "throw us to the wolves."

The appeal noted the escalation of pupil unrest in the Ciskei resulting from school boycotts and the murder of a Ciskeian high school principal and a cadet policeman.

"If we return again with nothing to our people we will kill their hope and they will turn from us and follow the children. The nation is in peril — tomorrow is too late," the Ciskeian chiefs told the South African Government.

Ciskei Government officials have blamed the pupil unrest on outside agitators. — DDR.



# Sebe: Independence for the Ciskei soon

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11/10/80  
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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.** — The Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, announced in King William's Town yesterday that the Ciskei would soon become independent.

Speaking after discussions with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, Chief Sebe said his people had agreed unconditionally that the territory should go ahead with independence. It was a decision of the people, and in his view it would not be long before the Ciskei attained independence.

Chief Sebe said the most controversial aspects of Ciskeian independence had been dealt with on Monday in his talks with Dr Koornhof.

He also disclosed that after their talks yesterday, he and Dr Koornhof had addressed a national meeting of chiefs, headmen and other people representing a cross-section of the Ciskeian population.

Dr Koornhof told them the joint committee appointed to investigate Ciskeian independence had reached consensus in Pretoria on Monday on the main outstanding problems, and the details had already been conveyed to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

In a joint statement after yesterday's meeting, the two Ministers said Dr Koornhof's visit was requested by Mr Botha after a delegation of chiefs and headmen had gone to Pretoria on September 25.

Details of the agreement will be announced at Zwelitsha by the Chief Minister on October 5.

One of the sensitive issues on which agreement had been reached was that in the event of independence, no Ciskeians employed in South Africa would be removed to the Ciskei except after consultation between the two governments.

A committee under the chairmanship of Mr G Wentzel has been appointed to examine the problems surrounding the Ndevana, Silver City, Oxton, Kelskammahoek, Potsdam and Kammaskraal settlements, and to assess and report on the needs and the financial implications of meeting those needs.

The areas of Berlin, East London, King William's Town, Mdantsane and Zwelitsha and the Ciskei will be promoted as an area of common economic development in which all of the peoples in the region can share. — Sapa.

# ZWELITSHA — The Ciskei has accepted independence and the final details will be worked out this month.

This was announced here yesterday by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe following his talks with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

Chief Sebe said his people had agreed unconditionally that the territory should go ahead with independence. It was the people's decision and in his view it would not be long before independence.

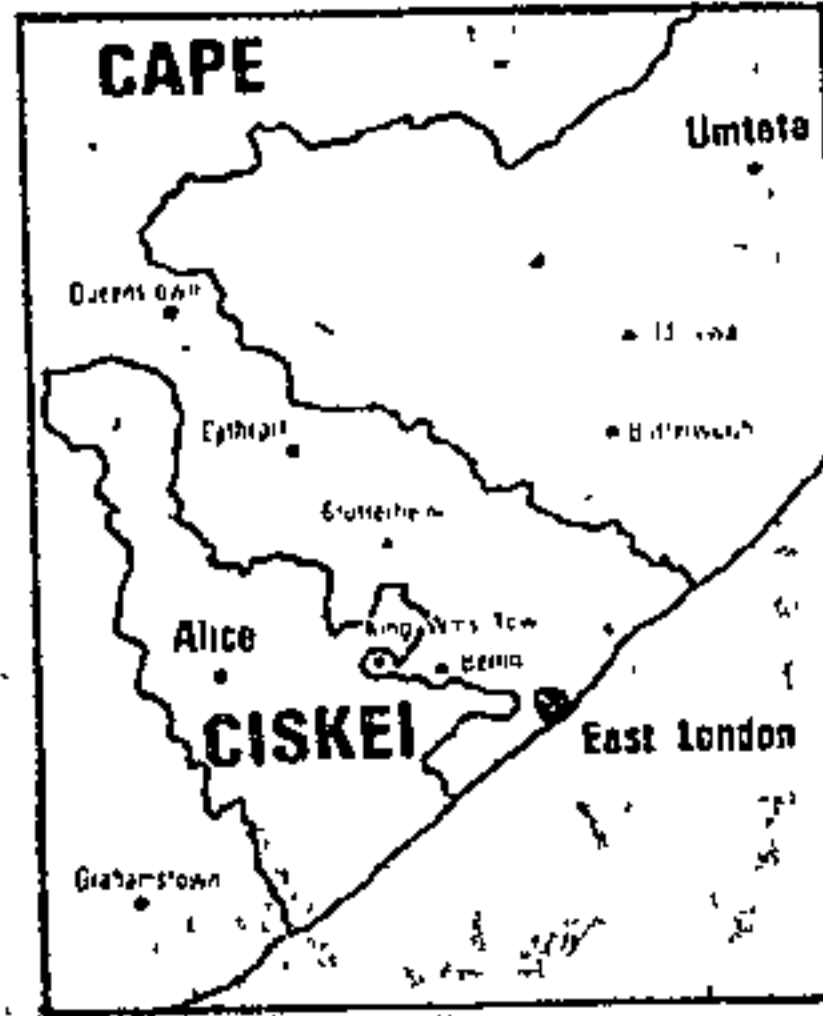
Chief Sebe said the most controversial aspects of Ciskeian independence had been dealt with.

Asked whether this meant that issues such as land consolidation and citizenship, the demands in his package deal, had been settled, he said the fact that a confederation of states had been accepted in principle cancelled all less important problems, as confederation was the key word.

Chief Sebe and Dr Koornhof addressed a national meeting of chiefs, headmen and other people representing a cross-section of the Ciskeian population.

Dr Koornhof told them the joint committee ap-

pointed to investigate independence had reached consensus in Pretoria on the main outstanding problems, and the details had already been conveyed to the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha.



The two governments had agreed on a satisfactory joint approach on how to deal with all the principal issues of the package deal.

Details of the agreement would be announced by Chief Sebe at a "meeting of the Nation" here on Sunday.

In their joint statement yesterday, Chief Sebe and Dr Koornhof said discussions centred mainly

around the "need for the removal of uncertainty on vital issues affecting the future of the Ciskei".

The statement announced that the joint committee appointed to examine the package deal would continue to meet to discuss further details.

"One of the sensitive issues on which agreement was reached was that, in the event of independence, no Ciskeians resident and employed in South Africa would be removed to the Ciskei, except after consultation between the governments."

It was also announced that a committee had been appointed to report on "ways and means of achieving equality of educational systems as applied to the various race groups".

"The government of South Africa is committed to equalising salaries based on the principle of equal work and on compulsory education for all," the statement said.

Another committee has been appointed under the chairmanship of Mr G. J. Wentzel to examine the problems "surrounding the Ndevana, Silver City, Oxton, Keiskammahok, Potsdam and Kammaskraal settlements and to assess and report on the needs and the financial implications of meeting those needs."

The South African Government is to finance a visit by Ciskeian chiefs and headmen to Bophuthatswana and Venda to examine the situation there at first hand.

The statement concluded: "It is felt that the Ciskei is on the threshold of an inspiring period of its history out of which all Ciskeians young and old can draw hope for the future." — DDR-SAPA.



# Ciskei expels cast of Crossroads play

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DD 1/10/80

EAST LONDON — The cast of a play from Crossroads has been ordered out of the Ciskei and their play has been banned in the homeland, according to members of the cast.

The secretary of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, Brigadier Charles Sebe, was not available yesterday to confirm the ban but the scheduled performance of the play in Mdantsane last night was cancelled.

The scheduled performance of Imfuduso will go ahead in the Masazane Youth Centre in East London tonight.

The chairman of the Crossroads Women's Committee, Mrs Regina Ntongana, confirmed yesterday Ciskei police had rounded them up at the close of the show in the Anglican Church Hall

at Dimbaza and questioned them for three hours.

According to members of the cast they had just finished performing and were introducing themselves when the police approached them.

"As the secretary of the Crossroads Women's Committee, Mrs Muriel Mbobosi, was introducing herself, the police intervened," a spokesman said.

"They told us to board our bus and three policemen accompanied us to the police station.

"Mrs Ntongana and Mrs Mbobosi were questioned for close on three hours. We were all then taken in and all our names and addresses taken.

"We were told to go back to Cape Town immediately as we would not be allowed to perform in

Mdantsane.

"We explained we still had to perform in East London and the police told us never to set foot in the Ciskei again."

The play, now in its third year, depicts the struggle in Crossroads until it reached international importance and the government finally agreed to build a new township for its residents.

It has no director or producer and is performed entirely by women and two young girls reliving their own experiences, with the dialogue changing from show to show. It has been hailed as a new concept in grassroots theatre.

It has had runs in Cape Town and Johannesburg and was in Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown before coming to Dimbaza. —  
DDR

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# Ciskei on way to uhuru—Sebe

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, has announced in King William's Town that the Ciskei would soon become independent.

Speaking after discussions with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, Chief Sebe said his people had agreed unconditionally that the territory should go ahead with independence.

It was a decision of the people and in his view, it would not be long before the Ciskei attained independence.

Chief Sebe said the most controversial aspects of Ciskeian independence had been dealt with in his talks with Dr Koornhof.

Asked whether this meant that issues such as land consolidation and citizenship had been settled, he said the fact that a confederation of states had been accepted in principle cancelled all less important problems, as confederation was the key word.

Chief Sebe also disclosed that, after their talks, he and Dr Koornhof had addressed a national meeting of Chiefs, headmen and other people representing a cross-section of the Ciskeian population.

Dr Koornhof told them that the joint committee appointed to investigate Ciskeian independence had reached consensus in Pretoria on the main outstanding problems, and the details had already been conveyed to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha. — Sapa.





Chief Lennox Sebe.

# Sebe opts for independence against will of people

BLACK people yesterday slammed Chief Lennox Sebe for having decided to opt for independence for the Ciskei in total disregard of the Quail Commission which cost them about R160 000.

The Quail Commission which was appointed by the Ciskei Government reported that a large majority of the Ciskeian people rejected independence in favour of a un-

itary state for the whole of South Africa, with universal suffrage and a simple majority rule.

Mr Chris Mokoditsoa, the first vice-president of the now banned Black People's Convention (BPC) said it was disquietening that the ink of the Quail Commission's Report had barely dried and in total disregard of his own commissions' recommendations,

Chief Sebe should seek the so-called independence.

However," he said, Chief Sebe's action is not at all surprising as it was predictable. It follows a well trodden path of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, where the minority, like in the Republic rule the majority. "Black people are however aware that Bantus-

tan leaders are not concerned with the plight of the people but seek to create false "comfort" for themselves." The Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) said it was not surprised at the fact that the Ciskei has also decided to opt for the so-called independence. "Our only sympathy goes to those sons and daughters of our country who will

henceforth be branded as Ciskeians and thus be deprived of their limited rights as South Africans," Azapo said. Chief Sebe announced on Tuesday that the Ciskei would soon be independent. He said his people had agreed unconditionally that the territory should go ahead with independence. He said it was the decision of the people.

Sebe:

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We won't

be like

Transkei

Own Correspondent

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, last night categorically denied that Ciskei was going to accept independence unconditionally.**

Chief Sebe said that there should be "no confusion" that Ciskeian independence would be like the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana or Venda.

Reports that Ciskei had opted for independence were not true, saying that independence had been accepted only "in principle".

"I feel that those two little words left out of reports are very important," he said.

"It must be categorically stated that Ciskei, in view of certain matters that have been agreed upon in the package deal by a committee comprising South African and Ciskeian government officials, will opt for independence in principle, pending further talks between the two governments on certain matters that are still to be discussed as contained in the package deal.

"Matters that have already been agreed upon will be announced by me on October 5 at the Zwelitsha Stadium.

"The Ciskei type of independence should not be confused with the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda



Chief Lennox Sebe

type of independence."

Asked to explain that, if this was so, why were Ciskeian chiefs and headmen to visit Bophuthatswana and Venda, Chief Sebe said no decision had been taken by his government on the visit.

"The proposed visit by chiefs and headmen, financed by the South African Government, should not be associated with the envisaged independence Ciskei has accepted in principle," he said.

Commenting on allegations that the SABC's Radio Xhosa had been given preferential treatment over other media, Chief Sebe said he was against discrimination between news media by his government.

He was commenting on complaints by reporters covering meetings on Tuesday that the SABC had apparently been granted an interview with Chief Sebe while other reporters were denied an interview.

Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of Ciskei's Central Intelligence Service, agreed yesterday that the media should not have been barred from the meeting between the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, and Ciskeian cabinet ministers, legislative assembly members, chiefs and headmen.

In an interview after speaking at the Cape National Party congress in Port Elizabeth yesterday, Dr Koornhof said the government regarded the Greater East London area, including Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, as an important area for future development.

Agreement had been reached between the South African and Ciskeian governments on the issue of citizenship and land — which Chief Sebe had previously described as non-negotiable conditions for independence.

### Citizenship rights

He refused to disclose details of the agreements, although he referred to a statement earlier this week by Mr P W Botha that some homelands were reluctant to take independence because they would lose their citizenship rights.

Dr Koornhof said a date for independence had not been decided, but a joint Ciskei-South Africa commission under the chairmanship of Mr R J Raath, the Secretary of Co-operation and Development, had been appointed to discuss details.

What is...  
over 12,000 employment opportunities have been created in the Ciskei since May this year," he said. These jobs had resulted from the R7 million drought-relief programme which had been instituted by the Ciskeian and South African governments.



From BARRY STEINER  
PORT ELIZABETH — An independent Ciskei would play a leading role in a peaceful and prosperous Southern African confederation, the Minister of Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said yesterday.

# Agreement on citizenship

Dr Koornhof said agreement had been reached between the South African and Ciskeian governments on the issue of citizenship and land which the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, had previously described as a non-negotiable conditions for

independence.

"Agreement has been reached as how to deal with those issues," he said.

He refused to disclose details but referred to a statement earlier this week by the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, that some homelands were reluctant to take independence because they would lose their citizenship rights.

Dr Koornhof also said a date for independence had not yet been decided but a joint Ciskei-South Africa commission under the chairmanship of Mr R. J. Raath, the secretary of co-operation and development, had been appointed to discuss details.

Chief Sebe would also address the nation on Sunday and it was likely that further details would be revealed then.

Dr Koornhof said that as far as he was concerned there had to be substance and positive contributions to the development of the Ciskei.

"What I think is quite remarkable is that over 12 000 employment opportunities have been created in the Ciskei since May this year."

The jobs had resulted from the R7 million drought-relief programme

which had been instituted by the Ciskeian and South African governments.

"On this year's budget we have made available R800 000 as a start for the Pillar of the Nation youth movement to create jobs.

"This is a direct result of the visit of the Prime Minister and myself to the Ciskei last year," he said.

"Another real problem is the closer settlement problems at Silver City, Potstam, Keiskamamahok, Oxtou, Ndevana and Kammaskraal."

A joint government committee had sorted out the problems at Thornhill and the same committee would be appointed under the chairmanship of the Deputy Minister of Development, Mr Greyling Wentzel, to investigate the issue "and solve it once and for all."

The committee would start sitting at the end of October when Chief Sebe returned from Europe.

The question of compulsory education had also been discussed and Dr Koornhof said he had pointed out that the government had accepted the need for equality of education as soon as possible.

The principle of equal pay for equal work for equal qualifications had

also been accepted by the South African Government.

The government was removing hurtful discrimination and Bills dealing with this matter would soon be published for comment.

"My view is that the Ciskei, with justification, can look ahead with confidence and hope for a better quality of life, provided they have the will and dedication which

I think they have," Dr Koornhof said.

He also praised Chief Sebe who, he said, was "a fine and strong leader who was surrounded by a fine Cabinet."

Dr Koornhof urged Ciskeians to participate in the development of the nation and to find a solution to problems.

"Through co-operation a very fine country can emerge," the Minister said.

## Bright future for EL says minister

PORT ELIZABETH — The government regarded the greater East London area, including Mdantsane and Zwelitsha, as a very important area for future development, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said yesterday.

"I believe this area is on the threshold of important economic development, including the creation of jobs," Dr Koornhof said in an interview.

Both the Prime Minister and he had spoken on a number of occasions about the question of regional development.

This policy held a lot of promise for the Ciskei and the surrounding area which included East London, King William's Town and Berlin.

"I regard this as one of the most thrilling developments of my life," Dr Koornhof said.

"In terms of the new growth points, apart from the four established metropolitan areas, this area will be regarded as a very important region."

Dr Koornhof also said he believed these developments would help create a better quality of life in the region. — PC.



# Optimism Over Self-Rule

105 JD 2/16/80

EAST LONDON — Reaction from political, civic and business leaders to the Ciskei government decision to opt for independence ranged from cautious optimism to total approval yesterday.

The cautious note came from the Progressive Federal Party candidate for the East London North by-election, Mr John Malcomess, who said he believed the future of South Africa did not lie in breaking up the country into independent states.

The Mayor of East London, Councillor Donald Card, was most enthusiastic about the move.

"I have always felt we could not get things off the ground in this region unless there was a clear agreement between South Africa and the Ciskei," Councillor Card said.

"I do, at this stage, believe that this area is going to become the greatest," he added. Mr Malcomess said he

hoped Chief Lennox Sebe and his government had ensured that Ciskeians who live outside the homeland's borders were not going to lose their South African citizenship and Section 10 rights.

(Section 10 rights involve the right to be regarded as a permanent resident of an urban area in terms of Section 10 (i) a and (i) b of the Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945.)

"I cannot blame Chief Sebe for opting for independence because the alternatives offered by the South African government are such that no man will accept them.

"It is a great shame that the government will not accept the type of power-sharing which Chief Sebe announced in the Daily Dispatch two weeks ago," Mr Malcomess said.

He believed the future of South Africa lay in a genuine sharing of power between all people, whatever their colour, in such a way that there

would be no domination of minorities and therefore peace and security for all South Africans.

Earlier Mr Malcomess said that the announcement by the Ciskei government meant that East London and the Border was now "almost totally surrounded by independent countries."

He asked what the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr P. Koorhof, meant when he said he would make independence as attractive as possible for the Ciskei.

"Does it mean that he will be giving lots more land to the Ciskei?"

"It is imperative that East Londoners be told now what is going to cause growth in this area. All we have so far are promises; for the last three years we have had promises. It is about time we had some facts and some action," Mr Malcomess said.

Cllr Card said the announcement would give leaders in the area a

chance to work on the co-prosperity plan which would involve Transkei, Ciskei and the Border area.

The NRP candidate for the East London North by-election, Mr Harland Bell, said his party would recognise the right of the people of the Ciskei to take a decision to be independent.

"It is fundamental to our policy that the peoples of the autonomous homelands should be allowed to decide themselves their future political dispensation," Mr Bell said.

His party envisaged that through the confederal structure that it proposes, the independent states would be entitled to recognition on the confederal basis and thereby form a part of the total of Southern Africa, he said.

The President of the Border Chamber of Industries, Mr John Rich, did not think Ciskei independence would alter the situation materially in

industry here at present. "I don't think Ciskei independence will bring industries here that would otherwise not come," he said.

He also did not think the move would affect the regional growth point economically.

He said the matter was a decision of Ciskeians on which they would be wished the best.

He hoped industry would enjoy the same cooperation it enjoyed in the past.

An executive member of the Border Chamber of Commerce, Mr George Orsmond, said the announcement would not necessarily make a big change in business in the area.

"We will have to continue to assist the area in every possible way," he said.

Whites would have to stay to help develop the region, Mr Orsmond said. —DDR.

News by Leslie Xinwa, 33, Cayton Street, East London.



# It won't solve Ciskei problem say academics

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**PORT ELIZABETH** — Political independence for the Ciskei would make no difference to the homeland's overwhelming economic problems and its dependence on South Africa, a Rhodes University economist said yesterday.

Mr Phillip Black, a senior lecturer in the economics department who has made a study of the Ciskei economy, said that by opting for political independence against a background of underdevelopment, limited resources and plain poverty, the Ciskei "seems to have its priorities wrong."

"They seem to be placing a higher priority on political independence than on economic development and in view of the urgency of their economic problems, this is unfortunate," he said.

Mr Black said he failed to see how independence — even with the concept of a confederation of states — would make any difference to the territory's economic dependence on South Africa.

Professor Ernst Marais, principal of the University of Port Elizabeth and a member of the Quail commission which looked into the question of Ciskei independence, said the only way to solve the economic problems confronting the Ciskei was by regional economic development — including Ciskei, Transkei and the East London corridor.

It was essential that the Ciskei hold a referendum among Ciskeians both in and outside the area before accepting any independence package deal, said Professor Terence Beard, head of the politics department at Rhodes University.

Prof Beard referred to a statement earlier this

year by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe in which he promised a referendum on any independence package.

In the statement which followed the report of the Quail Commission, Chief Sebe said that when negotiations had been completed on the package, the Ciskei Government would go to the electorate and ask them whether they accept or reject it.

Prof Beard said yesterday that if the Ciskei was tempted to take independence without a proper referendum, it would get off to a bad start as a decision as crucial as this should not be taken without basic consultation with the people.

If Ciskei independence means half a million Ciskeians might be repatriated from white South Africa, there would be "standing room only" and in 10 years, Ciskei would become a desert, said Rhodes political scientist Mrs Nancy Charton.

Mrs Charton said if continued resettlement was part of the independence deal, then Chief Sebe and others in Ciskei's government "need their heads read".

She and other academics said they were "shocked and dismayed" at the news.

Mrs Charton said Ciskei, when fully consolidated, would consist of 800 000 hectares of of which 13 per cent was arable.

She said much of the land was overworked and eroded. Mdantsane was nothing more than a dormitory town, and in rural and urban Ciskei, poverty was endemic.

Nearly half of all Ciskeians lived permanently in white South Africa, said Mrs Charton.

— DDR-DDC

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# Sebe rejects unconditional independence

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, has categorically denied Ciskei is going to accept independence unconditionally.

Chief Sebe said in a statement yesterday there should be "no confusion" that Ciskeian independence would be like the independence of Transkei, BophuthaTswana or Venda.

He said reports that Ciskei had opted for independence were not true, saying that independence had only been accepted "in principle".

"I feel that those two little words left out of reports are very important," he said.

"It must be categorically stated that Ciskei, in view of certain matters that have been agreed upon in the package deal by a committee comprising South African and Ciskeian Government officials, will opt for independence in principle, pending further talks between the two governments on certain matters that are still to be discussed as contained in the package deal.

"Matters that have already been agreed upon will be announced by me on Sunday, October 5, at the Zwelitsha Stadium," Chief Sebe said.

"The Ciskei type of indepen-

dence should not be confused with the Transkei, BophuthaTswana and Venda type of independence."

Asked to explain why, if this was so, Ciskeian chiefs and headmen were to visit bophuthaTswana and Venda, Chief Sebe said no decision had been taken by his government on the visit.

He agreed that there should be an efficient flow of accurate information between government agencies and the media.

Commenting on allegations that the SABC Radio Xhosa had been given preferential treatment over other media, Chief Sebe said he was personally against discrimination between news media by his government.

Chief Sebe was commenting on complaints by newspaper reporters covering the meetings on Tuesday that the SABC had apparently been granted an interview with Chief Sebe while other reporters were expressly denied an interview.

Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of Ciskei's Central Intelligence Service, agreed yesterday afternoon that the media should not have been barred from the Tuesday meeting between Dr Koornhof and Ciskeian Cabinet Ministers, legislative assembly members, chiefs, headmen and public servants.



# Squatter

removals  
DD 2/10/80  
to Ciskei  
(105)  
defended

PORT ELIZABETH — The Deputy Minister of Development, Dr G. Morrison, yesterday defended his department's decision to assist in the removal of about 250 families from the Woolridge and Alexandria districts to the Kammaskraal resettlement camp in the Ciskei.

He said the people were given tents at Kammaskraal, where they had sanitation facilities and had access to a school. He had asked that, where possible, wooden houses be provided.

The squatters at Woolridge had been removed because they had been living under atrocious conditions.

The squatters removed from Alexandria had been squatting on the farm Thornhill. The previous owner had died and two new owners took over control to be confronted with a squatter community who refused to work.

He said that in addition the squatters had 94 cattle, 99 dogs and 40 pigs on the farm.

"They were living like rats with no water and with the nearest school about 10 km away," he said. — PS.

# Sebe: it's not

# unnecessary

105

DD 2/10/80

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —** Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, has categorically denied Ciskei is going to accept independence unconditionally.

Chief Sebe said yesterday in a statement there should be "no confusion" that Ciskeian independence would be like that of Transkei, Bophuthatswana or Venda.

"I feel that those two little words left out of reports are very important," he said.

"It must be categorically stated that Ciskei, in view of certain matters that have been agreed upon in the package deal by a committee comprising South African and Ciskeian Government officials, will opt for independence in principle, pending further talks between the two governments.

**From MIKE CHANDLER Daily Dispatch man in King William's Town.**

dependence should not be confused with the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda type of independence.

Asked to explain that if this was so, why Ciskeian chiefs and headmen were to visit Bophuthatswana and Venda, Chief Sebe said no decision had been taken by his government on the visit.

by his government. Chief Sebe was commenting on complaints by newsmen covering the meetings on Tuesday that the SABC had apparently been granted an interview with Chief Sebe while they were denied an interview.

Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of Ciskei's Central Intelligence Services, agreed yesterday that the media should not have been barred from the meeting on Tuesday between Dr Koorhof and Ciskeian Cabinet ministers, Legislative Assembly members, chiefs, headmen and public servants.

Brig Sebe agreed much confusion could have been prevented had journalists been allowed to attend the meeting and that more accurate information would have been available to journalists to relay to the Ciskeian people. — DDR.

Reaction, page 9  
Editorial opinion, page 16.



'Conditions  
must be <sup>STAR</sup> 2/10/80  
met first' (105)

Political Staff

Professor George Quail, chairman of the Ciskei's Quail Commission, said today his advice to the Ciskei was not to accept independence before the conditions set out by the commission had been met.

One of the most important conditions, he said, was that Ciskeians, both in the Ciskei and in the South African common area, had to vote in favour of independence in a carefully supervised referendum.

Speaking in Johannesburg, Professor Quail said he did not know what the Ciskei had been offered by the South African Government.

If the Ciskei were offered a deal that would make it part of a confederation of states, there would have to be clarity on the nature of the arrangement and the conditions for its establishment.

Professor Quail said the Ciskei would also have to participate in the working out of any such constitutional arrangement if it were to become part of it.

# Unrest led to action against cast — Sebe

105  
DDR 3/10/80  
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— The Crossroads cast which was debarred from staging *Imfuduso* in the Ciskei, was yesterday accused of having advocated the black consciousness philosophy and of having sung freedom songs on the stage at Dimbaza.

The allegation, which was made by Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, was said to be one of the reasons why the cast was not allowed to stage further shows in the Ciskei.

"The other reason is that the cast contravened a number of regulations, which relate to concerts, plays and other forms of stage entertainment in the Ciskei," Brig Sebe said.

One of the regulations was contravened when the cast entered Mdantsane "with a white lady who did not have a permit to enter the township."

Brig Sebe also said the organisers of the show failed to make the necessary arrangements with the various township managers to get the necessary permits.

The staging of the play was also ill-timed because of the current political climate in the Ciskei.

"We feel the time is not appropriate for them to put on this kind of play because of the unrest in the Ciskei," Brig Sebe said.

He added: "The cast was promoting the black consciousness philosophy and therefore motivating our

students to continue with the unrest at a time we are trying to fight the issue.

"It was for that reason that the police had to act but it is wrong to say the cast was chased away from the Ciskei and has been banned."

Brig Sebe said when the play opened at Dimbaza, where the members of the cast were rounded up for questioning by police after the show, members of the cast shouted black consciousness slogans.

"They also sang freedom songs and raised their clenched fists in the black power salute and the police had to stop the whole exercise."

None of the members of the cast could be reached for comment yesterday. They left East London early, following a show at the Masazane Youth Centre on Wednesday evening.

But people who saw the play at the youth centre denied yesterday that any member of the cast had shouted black consciousness slogans, had sung freedom songs or saluted in the black power fashion.

"I don't know what Brig Sebe means when he says the members of the cast were advocating the black consciousness philosophy," said one of those interviewed, but, like the others who commented on the East London show, she refused to allow her name to be quoted.

Efforts to trace people who saw the show at Dimbaza were yesterday unsuccessful. — DDR



# Thuru Ciskeians had rejected

page 1

IN deciding to opt for independence for the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe is following a pattern established by the Transkei and followed by Bophutha-Tswana and Venda — reject independence and opt for it later.



The Ciskei this week opted for independence. Political reporter Phil Mzimkulu in this article gives a background to the homeland's independence issue; and illustrates how the anti-independence states are diminishing as one by one they opt for "independence".

When the "Club of Eight" first met in Um-tata in the early seventies all the members were unanimous that they were not going to opt for independence. The members of this elite club were Transkei, Bophutha-Tswana, Venda, Ciskei, Gazankulu, Lebowa, QwaQwa and Kwazulu.

Transkei, to the dismay of the other members decided to opt for independence. Transkei was expelled from the Club. The remaining members pledged themselves to their earlier decision. But another member, Bophutha-Tswana went to Pretoria to negotiate a deal. It was independence for Bophutha-Tswana and

the Club was reduced to six members. These again went through the same ritual of rejecting independence.

But they received another blow when Venda decided to visit Pretoria and opted for independence. Only five members remained from the original eight.

However, another homeland, KaNgwane was born. Chief Sebe, who was always viewed as the next candidate for independence not only rejected it, but appointed a commission at great cost to investigate.

The Quail Commission was appointed to enquire into and report and make recommendations to the Government of the Ciskei on the practical feasibility considering all political, economic and social aspects of independence.

The eight-man Quail Commission worked for 14 months at a cost of R160 000 and thereafter submitted a 150-page report. The Commission's report clearly showed that about 90 percent of the Ciskeians rejected independence.

The salient point from their report was the following: "Our attitude survey shows that a unitary state for the whole of South Africa with universal suffrage and a simple majority is preferred by Ciskeians." However these are the reasons given by the

share of political and economic benefits within South Africa.

Chief Sebe disregarded all these reasons.

The Quail Commission, however, put conditions in terms of which Ciskei could opt for independence. They were that:

- Ciskeians vote in favour of independence in a carefully supervised referendum on the issue.
- Citizenship on satisfactory terms is negotiated with South Africa.
- An enlargement of the Ciskei to an extent acceptable to them,
- Rights of Ciskeians to work and remain in South Africa is preserved,
- South Africa agrees to provide equitable financial support.

After the Commission had presented its report Chief Sebe said the Ciskei government would consider independence if the aspirations of its people to retain their South African citizenship and a share in their South African birthright could be guaranteed. He also promised to hold a referendum on the independence issue.

**NO REFERENDUM**  
Since 90 percent of the people rejected independence



Chief Sebe . . . gone against Commission's findings.

those tabulated by the Quail Commission?

Both Chief Sebe and Dr Piet Koornhof do not want to disclose what is in the package deal they have agreed upon. Dr Koornhof has said agreement has been reached on the issue of citizenship and land. He said agreement has been reached on how to deal with these issues. He refused to disclose details of the agreements.

Chief Sebe said further talks are still planned on certain matters. The Transkei has also entered into an agreement with Pretoria.

But it is simply a matter of "a Rose by any name..." Will the Club of Eight diminish further?



CONT.

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POST

(105)

mission for the rejection of independence:

- The terms on which separation is currently available as in the case of Transkei, Bophutha-Tswana and Venda are not favourable,
- In terms of size and economic viability, the Ciskei would rank among the world's least endowed states.
- An independent Ciskei would not be accorded recognition as a bona fide member of the international community of nations.
- According to our attitude survey two out of three Ciskeians oppose separation on present terms.
- Finally South Africa is changing; this is not the time for Ciskei to cut itself off from the prospect of gaining its rightful

have been of no use. Without having held a referendum Chief Sebe in announcing that they were going to opt for independence said his people had agreed unconditionally to go ahead with independence.

With a stroke of a pen, Chief Sebe went against the report of the Quail Commission. But worse still, he went against his promise of holding a referendum. It was R160 000 down the drain.

Chief Sebe has done a little somersault from his announcement on Tuesday. He has now denied that Ciskei is going to accept independence unconditionally. He said independence has only been accepted in principle.

What conditions is Chief Sebe talking about? Are they the same as



# 'Expatriate' Ciskeians are key voters

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Southern Africa Editor

CISKEIANS living outside the territory would be an imponderable factor in a referendum on Ciskei independence, says Mrs Nancy Charlton, senior lecturer in political science at Rhodes University.

The Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, who has accepted independence in principle, has committed himself to hold a referendum.

When the Quail Commission Report on independence was submitted to him in February, Chief Sebe said in a speech: "I am committed to the holding of a referendum on the independence issue."

The Quail Commission advised against independence unless certain conditions were fulfilled, among them a clear pro independence vote -- in "a carefully-supervised election" -- from Ciskeians living in both the Ciskei proper and "white" South Africa.

Mrs Charlton, who has done field work in the Ciskei, anticipated a pro-Sebe vote from Ciskeians living in the Ciskei in an independence referendum.

She said: "Homeland elections favour the party which has power. They work on rewards and punishment. People believe they will be rewarded if they vote for the ruling party and punished if they do not."

But Ciskeians living outside Ciskei in white-ruled areas were an "imponderable factor", and might bring a strong anti-independence influence to bear, she added.

According to the Quail Commission, most blacks deemed to be Ciskei citizens live outside the Ciskei in the "common South African area". Of the estimated 2,100,000 Ciskeians, 68% live in "white" areas.

The commission found that opposition to independence was stronger among urban Ciskeians than their rural kinsmen -- with only one in five urban dwellers favouring independence, against an overall rating of nearly four in 10.

In the last Ciskei election in 1978, Chief Sebe's ruling Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) swept the board, winning all 22 of the elected seats.

Given the opposition of most Ciskeians to independence under the existing formula, the overwhelming victory of the pro-independence CNIP appears to be anomalous. Several factors, however, help to explain the result.

Though most Ciskeians oppose independence, the Quail Commission found that it became less unpalatable when certain conditions were fulfilled. One was an independence agreement which secures their right to live and work in white-ruled areas.

Chief Sebe has repeatedly emphasised his determination to win the right of Ciskeians living in South Africa to remain there -- as well negotiating an independence deal with Pretoria which would enable Ciskeians to retain South African citizenship within a South Africa confederation or federation.

Chief Sebe has undoubtedly benefited electorally from his stand. Another factor favouring him is Proclamation R252, which provides for detention without trial. It may strengthen the punishment element in Mrs Charlton's reward-and-punishment theory.

In a separate appendix to the Quail Commission Report, one of the commissioners, Dr Robert Rothberg, said of homeland elections: "In none do opponents have an easy time. None has had an unmanipulated election. Not all have gone as far as Ciskei and detained people without trial."

A third factor which seems relevant to Chief Sebe's 1978 victory is what the Quail Commission described as the "great disinterest" of Ciskeians living outside the territory.

But if these "expatriates" decide to mobilise and bring their influence to bear in a "carefully-supervised referendum", the result could be a reversal of the 1978 result.

By Craig Chaney

By accepting independence in principle, Ciskei has gone directly against the recommendations of the Quail Commission, the expert panel it appointed.

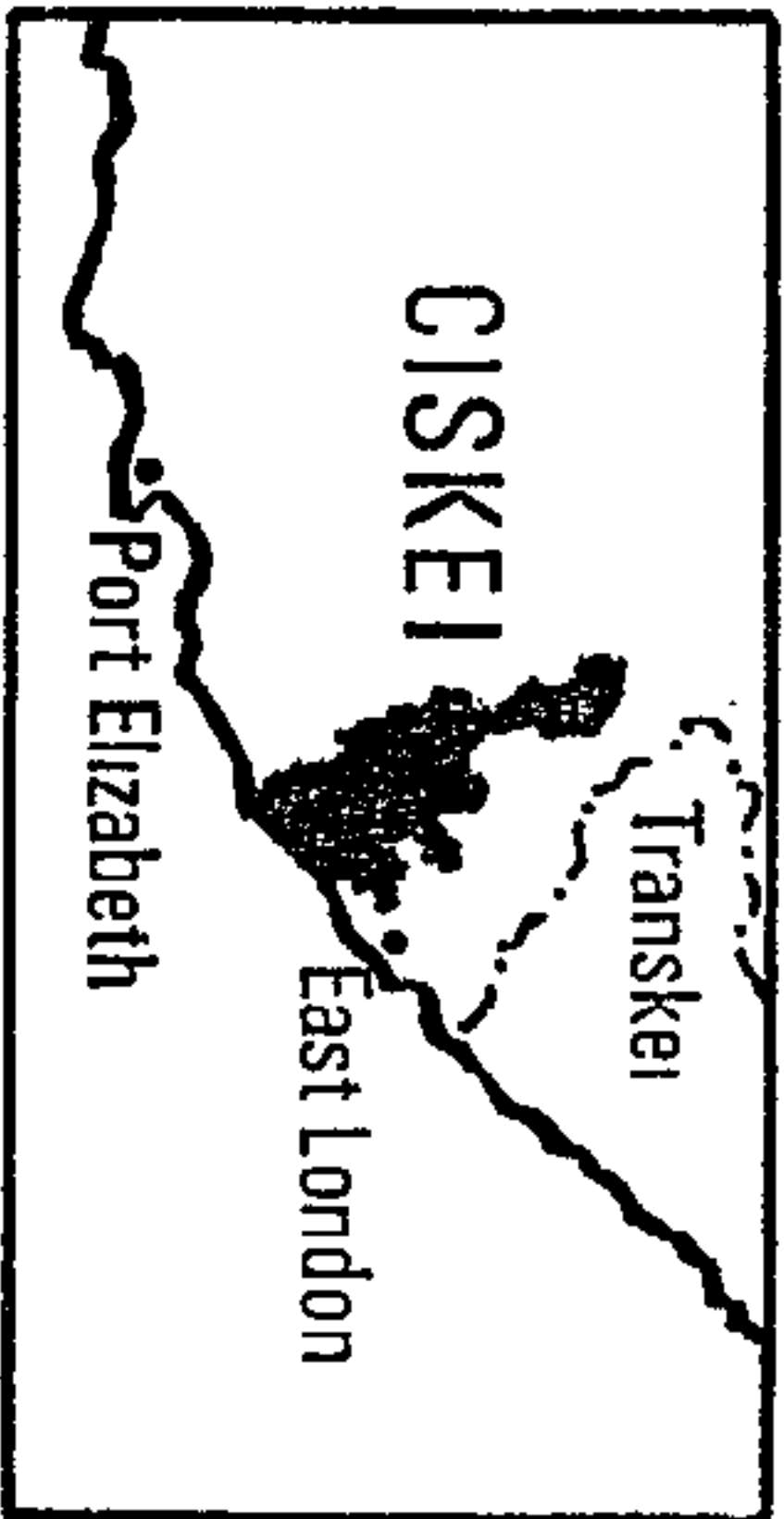
When the Quail Commission reported in February, it spelled out conditions for independence nearly impossible to satisfy within the framework of the homelands policy.

Most important, it said Ciskeians in the common area must have the choice of Ciskeian or South African citizenship.

It also said South Africa must give up its power to deport those who chose to remain South Africans.

In addition, the commission said the overcrowded homeland should hold out for an acceptable grant of land, having claimed all the territory between the Fish and Kei rivers and the port of East London.

Accepting those conditions would have been a fundamental departure



from the homelands policy for Pretoria. It would have acknowledged urban Ciskeians as South African citizens, and would have transferred important white lands and cities to black rule. In line with the com-

# Ciskei needs referendum for international recognition?

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Professor Robert Rotberg, a prominent member of the Ciskei Commission, says the Ciskei's decision to opt for independence has come as a "great shock."

The commission was financed by the Ciskeian Government and it spent more than a year examining the issue of independence for the territory.

Commenting on Press reports that the Ciskei had decided to accept independence, Dr Rotberg

# Sebe independence acceptance goes against commission's report

mission's recommendations, Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe began his independence negotiations by demanding dual citizenship for Ciskeians, along with all the land previously claimed. However, in the

agreement-in-principle announced this week, he appears to have backed down on both demands. Ciskei's membership in the proposed "Confederation of Southern African States" — a condition for independence — will offer

Ciskeians "southern African" nationality. But they will all be Ciskei citizens, not South Africans — and South Africa has reportedly promised only that it will not deport Ciskeians who are employed.

This marks no change in its policy regarding the independent homelands, according to Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash. "There's absolutely nothing in it at all," she says. "It was never the intention of the South African Government to deport these people while their labour was needed."

As with the other independent homelands, she said, urban Ciskeians will still be subject to influx control.

said this was "exactly contrary to the unanimous and firmly expressed views of the Ciskei Commission" which spent more than a year "trying to decide what was in the best interests of all the people of the Ciskei."

Professor of political science at the Prestige Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Professor Rotberg said the commission declared that independence was neither preferred by Ciskeians — according to their own opinion polls — nor wise in

today's South African political climate. He said the commission was aware that there might, nevertheless, be sentiment in the Ciskeian Government favouring independence. So the commission declared that, if the Ciskeian Government insisted on asking for independence, at a minimum it should insist on:

• Financial support commensurate with the enormous contribution the Ciskei had made to the South African economy over the past 100 years.

Professor Rotberg said that if the Ciskei wanted to do the impossible — gain international acceptance for its independence — the only way this might be achieved was by way of a referendum held under impeccable international supervision.

• Provision for the retention of South African citizenship.

• Much more land.

• It argued that South Africa is changing, and that Ciskei should not risk cutting itself off from the possibility of a greater share of economic and political benefits through independence.

The commission rejected the notion that a "constellation of states" in which Chief Sebe has put great stock in accepting independence, would compensate for the disadvantages of separation.



# Milk scheme will give jobs to 70

MDANTSANE — A fresh milk scheme has been started here.

This follows the partial taking over of door-to-door deliveries of milk and amasi by the Ciskei Marketing Board.

Previously the scheme was operated by a dairy on behalf of the board.

A senior inspector for the board, Mr V. Magodla said the scheme would create work for 70 unemployed Ciskeians but as a start seven had been given employment.

Mr Magodla said the Ciskeians would come from Mdantsane.

He said the ultimate goal would be to establish a R366 000 dairy depot in the township.

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The delivery scheme was put into operation in zones 9, 11, and 12 from September 23.

Six handcarts and uniforms have been bought by the Ciskei Marketing Board. At present the milk and amasi is still supplied by the dairy for Mdantsane.

Hewu, Ntabethemba, Thornhill and the surrounding areas get supplies from a dairy which is an agent of the board and pays a levy to the board.

Zwelitsha and Dimbaza are supplied by the Kieskammahoek Irrigation Farms and Tshatshu Dairy United Farms produce amasi for Zwelitsha residents.

# Jongilanga: education to be free

DD 4/10/80 (105)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Ciskei education would be free and compulsory for all, the Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, said yesterday.

Chief Jongilanga said steps would be taken by his department and the South African Department of Education and Training to ensure compulsory free education.

He and other homeland education ministers had decided this with the Minister for Education and Training, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, in Pretoria last week.

Dr Hartzenberg assured them the government was working towards compulsory free education for all in urban areas.

Chief Jongilanga said black students entering teachers' training colleges next year would have Std 10 qualifications.

"To upgrade and improve present teachers who have the primary teachers' certificate or



**CHIEF JONGILANGA**

matriculation, they will follow a part-time two year course," he said.

Chief Jongilanga also said that pay parity between black and white teachers would move to phase four of a five phase plan to equalise salaries.

Three phases have already been implemented. The fourth will put black principals, deputy principals and departmental heads on the same salary scale as whites.

The fifth phase will be equal pay for all teachers.

## Ciskei deal to be outlined

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Ciskeians will know tomorrow what agreement has been reached with the South African Government on the homeland's package deal for independence.

Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe will announce constitutional development shortly after 10 am at the Zwelitsha Stadium.

The announcement follows intensive talks on the package deal of land consolidation, citizenship rights and development aid.

A collection for the Ntabakandoda fund to build a cultural centre will be made.

The ceremonies open at 10 am with a prayer and welcome.

Chief Sebe will speak after the Ntabakandoda collection and a vote of thanks by Chief L. W. Magoma, Minister of the Interior, will follow. —  
DDR.



# East Whites lead black

THE last two remaining whites in the former German settler village of Frankfort, due to be incorporated into the Ciskei, have been unanimously elected mayor and mayress of the all-black community.

This is Mr Gerhardus Petzer's fifth consecutive term as mayor — the first with a black council.

"I have always supported the South African Government and have voted Nationalist.

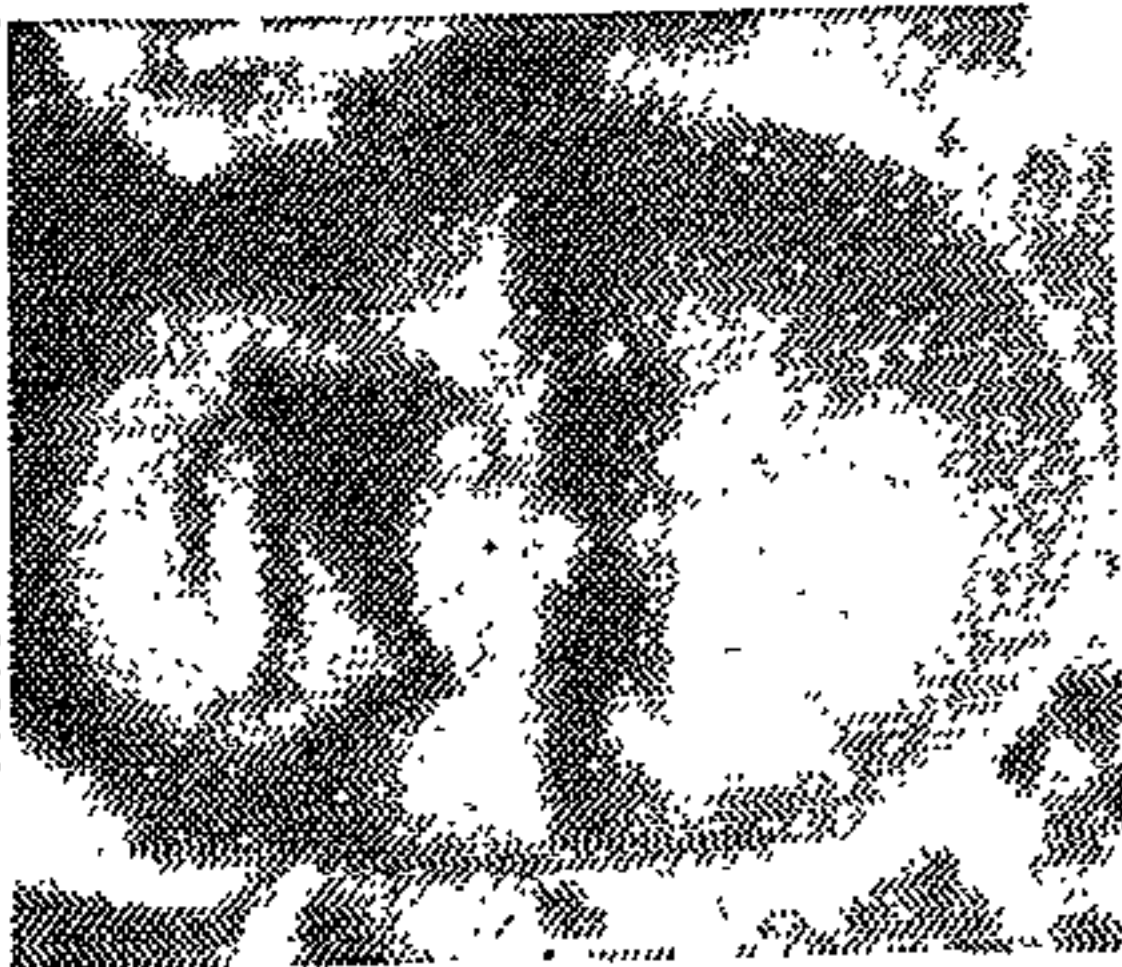
"I am still a Nationalist... only now my allegiance is 100 per cent for the Ciskei Government," the portly, grey-haired Afrikaans gentleman told me this week.

At one stage there had been uncertainty about his stay in the black community, but senior Ciskei officials have now indicated that he is welcome to stay as long as he wishes to.

Mr Petzer's ties with the tiny settler village, which lies about 10 km from King William's Town, goes back three generations to the time of his grandfather, who was one of the area's original settlers.

He left Frankfort for the first time in 1936 after matriculating at Dale College and joined the South African Police in Pretoria.

He later qualified as a teacher and, after teaching in Johannesburg and later acting as physical education instructor in the South African Army, he returned to Frankfort in 1955 and has been there since.



WELLINGTON ZMBALI  
Frankfort's deputy mayor

BY RAY JOSEPH

"My whole life is in this area. My family farmed here and I farmed here and I came back with the intention of living the rest of my life in my beloved Frankfort," he said.

Mr Petzer, 60, who speaks Xhosa fluently, is known as "Sbonda" (headman) to the 2 000 blacks who live in the village and three surrounding kraals in the mayoral area.

He is also acting deputy principal at the nearby Zeleni High School.

## Moved out

Mr Petzer told how, on his return in 1955, Frankfort had a population of 383 whites.

"After the Government started taking over parts of the area

for future consolidation more and more people moved out. In the 1970's they left in large numbers and the school, which once had 200 pupils, had only three left by 1974.

"I then successfully applied for the school to be handed over to the blacks. The last whites left four or five years ago and today only me and my wife, Joyce, are left and we have no intention of leaving our home."

Being mayor in Frankfort, Mr Petzer said, required more than just seeing to municipal affairs.

"My wife and I are also, like full-time social workers helping with family problems, disputes and 101 other matters.

## 'Happy to become Ciskeians'

"Joyce, who is known affectionately by all the people in the area as 'Mama', is also the Frankfort municipality pound mistress and she is responsible for keeping all trespassing cattle under lock and key until their owners pay the fines.

The village council consists of Mr Petzer, a deputy mayor, town clerk and assistant town clerk.

Although their present municipal budget is only about R1 000, regular meetings are held on the first Monday of every month and all traditional municipal practices are carried out to the letter.

The monthly meetings are held in the mayoral office, a tiny backroom at Mr Petzer's home, which is jam-packed with documents and other paraphernalia.

After his return in 1955 Mr Petzer served as head of the then village management board, the equivalent of mayor, for two years.

"Being the only whites has made no difference to us. Our home is open to all the people at all times and we regularly host parties and dinners for those who visit," he said.



The last white couple in Frankfort — the Mayor and Mayress, Mr and Mrs

## Tour

"We attend numerous functions every month at which we are the only whites

"But it does not feel funny to me. I was brought up on a farm and spoke fluent Xhosa from an early age.

"I grew up with the picnicians on the farm and they were my closest friends. I played with them, swam with them and I was champion klerie fighter among the kids.

Today nothing has changed and there are always blacks around me.

"I consider myself Ciskeian and hope I will be allowed to take out citizenship of the country when it becomes independent.

"Here I feel wanted and needed and as if I belong. These people of Frankfort are my people and I love them very much. I feel very safe here and my doors are always open.

On possible Ciskeian independence, Mr Petzer said: "Chief Sebe is faced with a giant task.

"But he is a good man with a good Cabinet and I think independence is a good thing and can definitely work."

During my visit Mr Petzer took me on a tour of his town.



# A new human dump for Ciskei

By VICTOR MFOPU

ALMOST 1 000 people from the Alexandria and Woolridge districts have been dumped at a desolate resettlement camp in the Ciskei.

People are housed in tents, corrugated iron shacks and prefabricated dwellings, in Kammaskraal 50 kilometres from Peddie, the nearest town.

Professor Michael Whisson, a member of the Glenmore Action Committee said, "These people had several sources of income which are not available to them in a rural area."

The people were trucked there by Department of Co-operation and Development officials.

Many say they are starving. Skimmed milk and soup are rationed.

Mr T Fukuse, a resident, said: "The area is drought stricken. There is no running water. Water is trucked in once a week.

A total of 245 families working on farms in the Woolridge and Alexandria districts were put on trucks in midwinter and driven to Kammaskraal. The area is one of the most densely populated in the Ciskei.

The Ciskei authorities have refused to recognise the Kammaskraal camp as their problem, and say it is the responsibility of the South African Government.



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By OWEN VANQA

BANTU education in the Ciskei was abolished in 1977, the Ciskei Chief Inspector, Mr F Bhengu, told a parents meeting in Mdantsane.

Black students and pupils boycotting classes in the territory were ignorant of the homeland's educational system. Parents were also ignorant of the educational achievements and advancement, he said.

There was a need for parents and inspectors to meet once or twice a year so that they could be told what the Government was doing for the education of their children, he said.

Even before the introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, Blacks throughout the country received Bantu Education which was then called Native Education.

Black kids were taught, under Native Education, to be servants

# Pupils 'ignorant of Ciskei teaching system'

teachings, civics and history. Pupils were ignorant of the political, social, economic and commercial aspects of their country. They were ignorant of the country's needs, he said.

Mr Bhengu said he could understand pupils from other areas who did not know about Bantu Education but not those at the Ciskei schools.

He said Bantu Education was established in 1977 after the Minister

of Education Mr D M Jongelanga, had studied the educational systems of the various racial groups.

With the abolishment of Bantu Education in the Ciskei, double sessions were eliminated, the number of schools and Government paid teachers increased. All teachers were paid by the state and Zulu was introduced as a medium of instruction from Standard 1 to 7. It was before Bantu Education, he said.

Mr Bhengu also said that:

- Agriculture was only taught as a subject now.
- Some books were provided free to pupils and this was a step towards introducing free education for every child in the Ciskei.
- Free and compulsory education would be introduced in future.
- The Ciskei Government had introduced numerous medical, technical, industrial, commercial and trade schools.

but had to restore diplomatic ties with South Africa anyway because of the homeland's need for the money South Africa continually injects into her economy.

The Status Acts that deals with citizenship in the three independent homelands have also been another bone of contention.

On one hand Transkei claims that the Transkei Status Act does not give automatic citizenship to all Xhosas who have some affinity to the homeland, but South Africa insists that was the agreement reached between the governments before independence.

Chief Sebe has apparently turned a blind eye to all these, and more, suggestions. The South African Government will not negotiate the question of citizenship or land consolidation with a non-independent homeland perhaps as a mode of giving incentive to these homelands to opt for independence.

Last year, the Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha said his Government would review the Land Act of 1936 and since then, except for the incorporation of Mafeking into Botswana, very little has happened on land consolidation.

Both Chief Sebe and Dr Piet Koornhof will not say how far discussions have gone on citizenship, land consolidation and financial support.

Will Dr Koornhof live up to his reputation which gave him the nickname Piet "Broken Promises"? — SUNDAY POST Reporter.

The three so far independent homelands have tried to push for dual citizenship, but South Africa has not been yielding. And if it did, what value would homeland independence have? Homeland independence has come to be viewed with suspicion by blacks because of the fear of losing the qualifications to be in urban areas, the fear of loss of employment opportunities and fear of having to work barren land.

This is the path that the Ciskei has now opted for — diametrically opposed to the recommendations of the Quill Commission which was set up by the Ciskei government to study the feasibility of independence.

The Ciskei is the worst off of all the homelands which are independent at this stage, and has been described as a poor area from a backward section of South Africa.

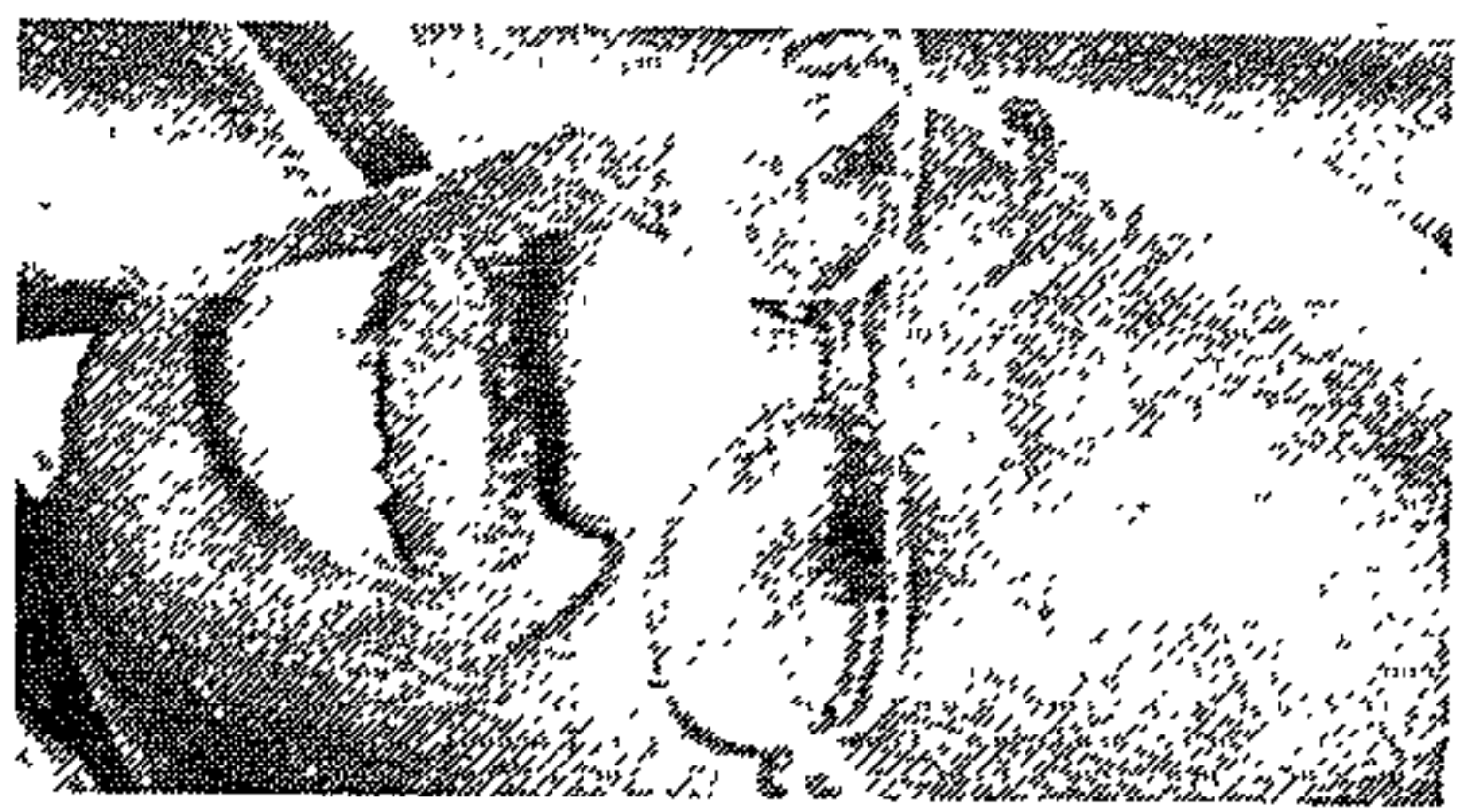
In addition to the disadvantages that the Ciskei already has, it will how inherit thousands of people resettled from areas in South Africa and living in resettlement camps.

# Chief Sebe — ignoring his people's rejection of 'uhuru'

Already, there are no less than 10 resettlement areas in the Ciskei and these include Thornhill, Dimbaza, Sada, Zweledinga, Oxtan and Elukhanyisweni.

No industries exist in these areas to accord job opportunities, and consequently there is massive unemployment, starvation is rife and medical facilities are lacking.

How will a fragmented, small and poor territory be able to employ and feed these millions of people when it lacks virtually all the attributes of a viable economy? Among the points raised in favour of



Chief Sebe

Ciskei independence are that it will minimize the friction between black and white and provide early economic benefits for the territory.

The Quill Commission report notes that none of the three independent black states consulted their citizens on whether they should opt for independence.

In its survey, the commission found that the majority of Ciskeians were opposed to independence.

In trying to get international recognition, the Ciskei cannot hope to do any better than the other independent homelands.

Try as they may, recognition is not forthcoming, thus relegating them to the position of a perpetual vassal state of South Africa.

As an alternative to independence the Quill Commission had proposed the Ciskei should consider a multi racial condominium which would remain part of South Africa and in which power would be shared between blacks and whites.

As the commission perceived it, the condominium, while still being part of South Africa, would be autonomous, thus enabling it to scrap some of South Africa's iniquitous legislation.

"The concept is based on the premise that by remaining part of South Africa, the condominium would have the right to an appropriate share of the taxation of the whole country."

Inhabitants of the condominium would remain South Africans: "No individual would be compelled to move. No one would have to give up his land. No cities would be altered in the complexion of the population. The discriminatory legislation of South Africa would not be enforceable within the condominium," the report said.

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# The bleak future of a barren land that has opted for...

THE Ciskei will become the fourth homeland to opt for independence since 1976 — much against the recommendations of political scientists and economists.

In opting for independence, the Ciskei government has chosen to walk the path of broken promises and unfulfilled dreams that has already been trodden by Transkei, Bophutha-Tswana and Venda.

As Ciskei moves towards independence, up-  
permost in the minds of most of her people is the birthright they may have to sacrifice — citizenship. The question of citizenship is an issue which has turned homeland independence into a nightmarish farce.

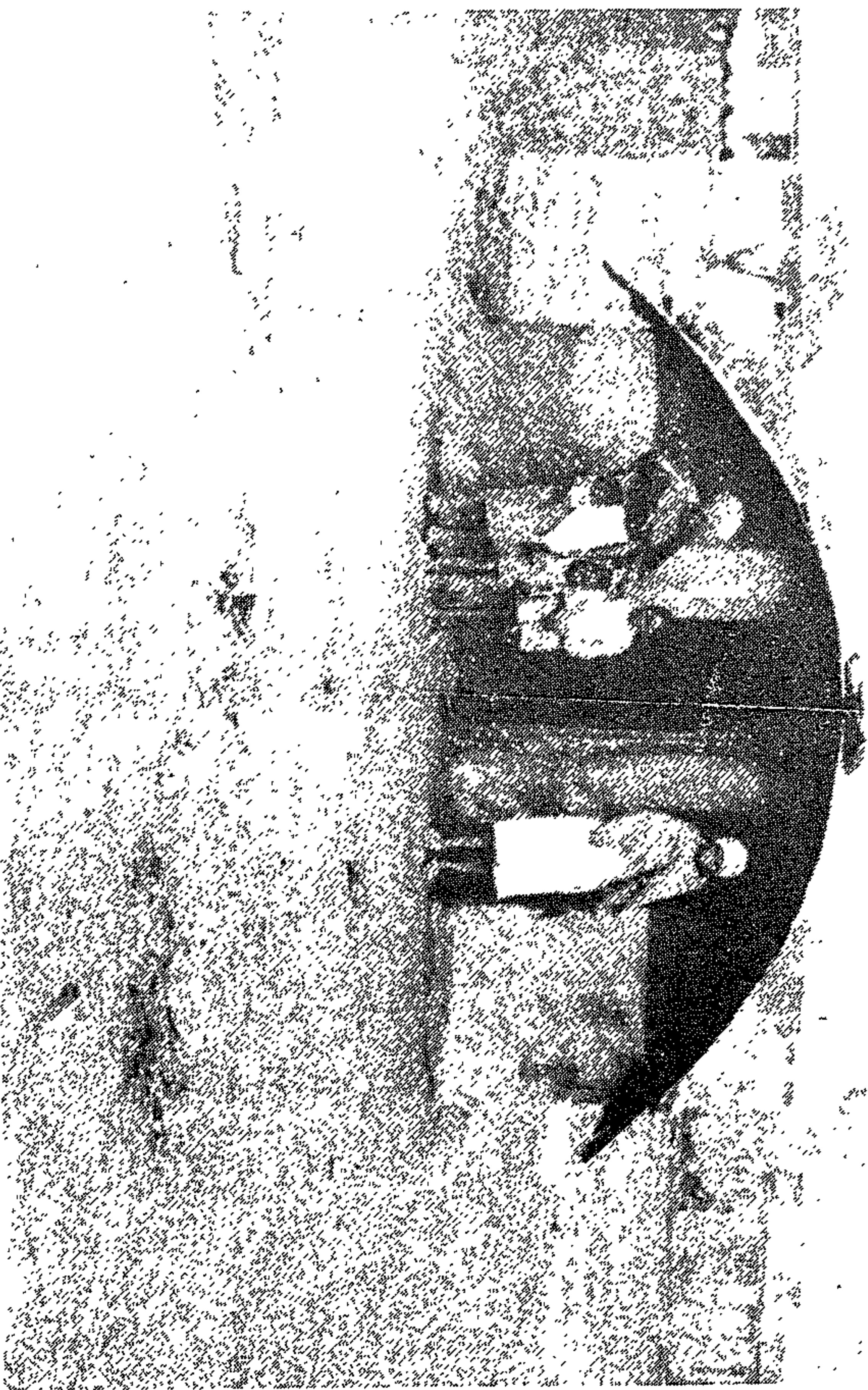
Citizenship, land consolidation, employment opportunities and financial support from South Africa have proved to be some of the major problems of homeland independence.

After the pomp and pageantry of independence celebrations, it is only then that independent homelands awake to the implications of the step they have taken.

Last year, the Transkei broke off diplomatic links with South Africa over land consolidation and bitter disputes have ensued between the two over citizenship.

Transkei demanded that part of Griqualand East be incorporated into the territory and when South Africa would not give in to that demand diplomatic links were severed.

"These people are mixing up consolidation with restoration. That land is our right, and we are not prepared to accept any exchange of land," Chief George Matanzima, Transkei's Chief Minister, said. The Transkei did not yet set the territory



Resettlement — the Ciskei's grim heritage.

# Independence — path of broken promises

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# Pitiful plight of the dumped Ciskeians

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — White South Africans seem to be more concerned about the rising meat price than about the pitiful plight of people near starvation in the human dumping grounds of Ciskei.

The problems facing hundreds of thousands of men, women and children living at Oxtou, Thornhill, Zwededinga, Kama's Kraal and dozens of other "resettlement" camps are enormous but largely ignored by the public.

And the Ciskei Government, battling against huge odds to accommodate massive influxes of people into the homeland feels whites in the region should become much more involved.

The Ciskei Government, aware of the huge festering sore in the society it governs, does not have the finances to cope.

Irrigation and other Ciskei agricultural schemes to bring water and fertility back to a barren land now ravaged by drought are exorbitantly expensive, and benefit only a minute portion of the population.

Industrial development has provided only a few jobs around the growth points of Dimbaza, Middle-drift and Whittlesea.

But for the vast majority of people packed into the Ciskei at a density of 126 people every kilometre there are no jobs and little food.

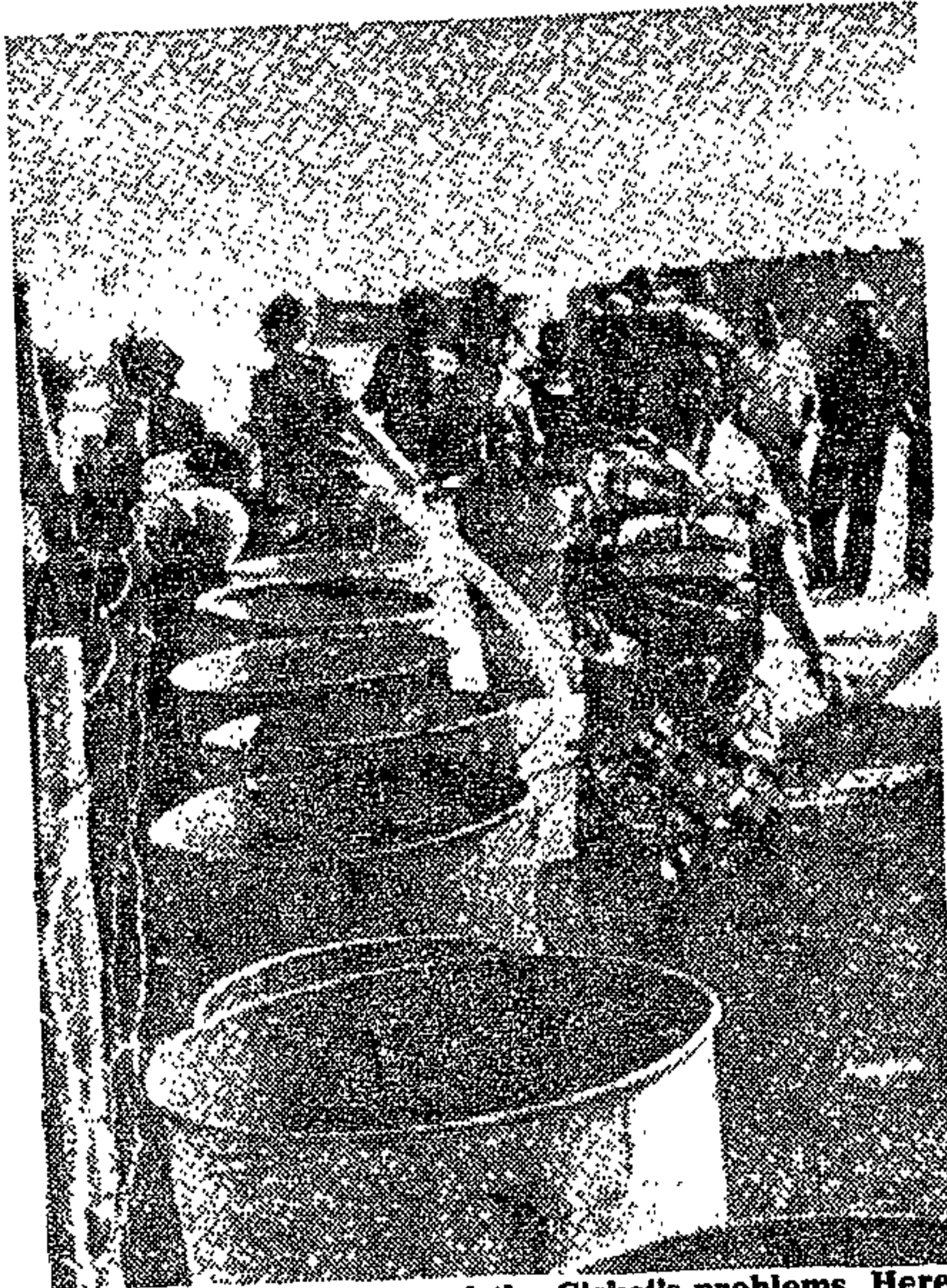
It is a problem that compounds itself.

Every time the meagre resources of the Ciskei Government are able to help a hundred people with housing and food, thousands more come into Ciskei from South Africa and Transkei.

It is this constant stream of people moving into the Ciskei, some voluntarily, some forced through circumstances such as being kicked off farmsteads in South Africa and some forced by law, that poses the greatest problem.

For example, the Ntabatamba area was planned to accommodate three chiefs and their peo-

From Daily Dispatch man **MIKE CHANDLER**



Drought has aggravated the Ciskei's problems. Here an army water tanker brings relief to thirsty Ciskeians.

ple from the Herschel district who left the district after it had been excised from Ciskei and annexed to Transkei African Government.

But 10 000 more people infiltrated the area from all over South Africa, greatly increasing the pressure on the limited land put aside for the resettlement of the Herschel people.

Put into perspective, it is an area of land which once supported 17 white farming families in reasonable comfort but now has to support 50 000 people.

As a result, the Ciskei Government cannot cope. It needs financial help, but an affluent white population in the region has done virtually nothing.

The Secretary for Ciskei Agriculture, Mr Gary

Godden, discounts criticism that the Ciskei Government is not doing anything.

"The Ciskei Government is doing all within its power, within its limited resources, to create permanent settlements for these people.

"In both the Ntabatamba and Zwededinga communities, plans have been prepared and are being implemented for the construction of dams, the reticulation of water, the development of irrigation, the layout of residential settlements and the building of clinics and schools. Mobile clinics visit the area and school feeding schemes have been started.

"In fact, in the current financial year, some R3.7 million will be expended in the Ntabatamba-

Zwededinga rehabilitation exercise.

"In making this statement it is not that we wish to be complacent and give the impression we are satisfied with this input, but this is the budget we have been provided with and therefore we must work within it.

"It is totally incorrect to create the impression that the Ciskei Government is not concerned about the plight of these people."

Mr Godden says it is the white community in the region which should become much more involved.

"The public has failed to show any appreciative concern for the difficult circumstances that have prevailed in the Ciskei as a result of the drought."

He said the public should be concerned about the plight of these people and make some contribution towards alleviating the hardships in these resettlement camps.

"In all, some half a dozen donations have been received out of the entire community and one of R1 400 was collected by a Standard Four class at the Herbert Hurd School in Port Elizabeth.

"It shows what can be done when there is genuine concern for the plight of one's fellow man."

Mr Godden says the resettlement camps are also the responsibility of South Africa.

"These people and their miserable circumstances are the problem of South Africa," he said.

This is a sentiment reflected in Ciskei political thinking.

Says Chief L. W. Magoma, Minister of the Interior, "the problem of resettlement is an exercise for the South African Government."

Chief Magoma made it clear the Ciskei Government was not prepared to inherit the problem if the homeland accepted independence.

"We have made a clear condition that South Africa looks after these people before independence," he said.



# Of no jobs, no money, no hope: Ciskei tribal chiefs are desperate

**NO CROPS, no employment, no money, no hope** — That is the way a delegation of Ciskeian chiefs who visited Pretoria last week to appeal to Prime Minister P. W. Botha summarized their plight.

Not one word of it was exaggerated. Ciskei is in a desperate condition with problems which seem insurmountable.

In common with most developing countries the major problem is people. Ciskei simply has too many. The estimated population residing in the homeland is 660 000, which makes it the most overcrowded rural area in South Africa.

The homeland has a population of 16 people per square kilometre. Its population density is five times that of the rest of South Africa and twice that of its sister homeland Transkei.

And these figures don't include the estimated 1 000 000 people living outside of the homeland who the South African Government classifies as Ciskeians.

Chief Lennox Sebe has estimated that if the Ciskei were forced to provide a home for all of these people — to implement the Nationalist dream of a "white" South Africa, the density would shoot to 253 per square kilometre — or 10 times that of South Africa.

Rhodes University political scientist Mrs Nancy Charton predicted this week that if repatriation were to happen the Ciskei would have "standing room only" and would be a desert within 10 years.

Even if repatriation does not become a reality Ciskei still has unbelievable problems. The present internal population is growing at a rate of over three percent. It is expected to double within the next 15 years.

The enormous physical damage this is doing to the land is evident from figures produced by the Quail Commission which investigated independence for the homeland.

The commission estimated that nearly half of the land area was "moderately or severely eroded." In fact only 23 percent of Ciskei was free of soil erosion.

The homeland, like KwaZulu, was recently in the grip of the worst drought it had experienced in 30 years. Although rains have now eased the situation, South Africa was forced to give R7.5 million in aid amid fears that stock losses could exceed 100 000 animals.

Add to this rampant unemployment. The Quail Commission estimated that one in every three township dwellers was without a job. The industries in the so-called "white corridor" which stretches up from East

London to Queenstown are swamped with labour.

In the Ciskei, southern Transkei and Border areas some 37 000 new workseekers enter the market every year. Yet industries within the homeland's boundaries provide only an infinitesimal 0.0001 percent of jobs.

Ciskeian tribal chiefs, in an appeal they made to the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, for help last week, said they believed their hand was in "dire peril".

They said: "Keep us on your side or throw us to the wolves. The choice is yours. For us — we cannot face the people empty-handed. The nation is in peril. Tomorrow is too late. We have no crops, no employment, no money, and no hope."

PETER MANN on the Ciskei scene



**CISKEIAN Chief Minister**  
Lennox Sebe will announce today the principles on which he is prepared to lead his homeland to independence.

Although Chief Sebe is playing his cards close to his chest, refusing to speak to the Press before today's "meeting of the nation" at which he will disclose the independence plan, his brother Brigadier Charles Sebe predicted there would be no deviation from the "package deal" the Ciskei had proposed to the South African Government.

Brigadier Sebe would not give details of the "package deal" which he said was "classified".

## Still doubt

Land, citizenship and finance are three of the elements due to be discussed by Chief Sebe at today's meeting. They form an integral part of the deal the Ciskei is attempting with the Government.

There is still some doubt whether Chief Sebe has finally accepted that he will become independent.

This week he pointed out that Government media reporting his decision had left out that he had only agreed "in principle" to independence.

Chief Sebe has in the past laid down stringent conditions to be fulfilled before he will become the fourth of South Africa's homelands to opt for ethnic independence. These conditions, which form part of the package deal, include a referendum, the Ciskei is

claiming all the land bounded by the Great Fish River in the south and the Great Kei River in the north, stretching inland from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg Mountains at Queenstown.

London, through King Williams Town, Stutterheim and Queenstown — in an independent Ciskei.

Chief Sebe is demanding that all the land outstanding in terms of the 1975 land consolidation proposals be bought and transferred to the Ciskei.

Chief Sebe said in his package deal, Chief Sebe also wants the citizenship rights of his people protected in a form of confederation with South Africa.

It would give Ciskeians the right to retain employment anywhere within the confederation, give all

citizens the right to hold a passport of the confederation and contain an undertaking by the South African Government "to institute a planned programme to phase out all discriminatory legislation within its territory."

Ciskeians are deeply conscious of the fact that all the citizens of South Africa, regardless of colour, have helped create the wealth of the country.

Those are the key elements of the "package deal" Ciskei has attempted to negotiate. The extent to which they have succeeded is likely to be known today.

Today will also show whether Chief Sebe is to live up to his promise — he was given a mandate to negotiate by acclamation of his Niaba Kandoda speech.

# D-DAY FOR Chief Sebe

## MISTER MAYOR, THE BLACKS' CHOICE

GERHARDUS PETZER and his wife Joyce are a mayor and mayress with a difference. They are the only whites living in the tiny village of Frankfort in the Ciskei and they have been elected by blacks.

"When the village went black, the municipal voters' roll was changed to allow black ratepayers or occupiers of property to vote."

"I was re-elected and, although I offered to stand down, the council unanimously re-elected me mayor," Mr Petzer said. "Through he owns property in East London, the Free State and Johannesburg, he is adamant he does not want to move and would like to become a Ciskeian citizen if the homeland becomes independent."

"When I led the deputation to fight to keep this area white it was not because I didn't



Gerhardus Petzer and his wife Joyce — the mayor and mayress of Frankfort and the only whites in the area

want to live under black government but because we wanted to preserve the character of the area which had been settled by German immigrants. They had really nowhere else to go to preserve their identity."

Mr Petzer, 60, who says he has always been a Nationalist wants to die in Frankfort, the district in which he was born.

"Ciskeians are deeply conscious of the fact that all the citizens of South Africa, regardless of colour, have helped create the wealth of the country."

The Ciskei is seeking a guarantee that it will be given membership of the Rand monetary area, the

"I don't think independence of the Ciskei will make any difference. I don't think whites should be afraid of it," Mr Petzer says.

"I get along with these people exceptionally well because I am strict but fair," he said.

"In 1974, we still had a full white council. But whites were leaving fast."

South African Customs Union and that a formula for the provision of development aid on an indefinite basis will be worked out.

Those are the key elements of the "package deal" Ciskei has attempted to negotiate. The extent to which they have succeeded is likely to be known today.

Mr Petzer is acting vice-principal of the Zelezi High School. One of his major concerns is the hate of Afrikaners displayed by young blacks.

"I don't know how to overcome it. They really hate Afrikaners," he said. He and his wife provide most of the entertainment in the village. A television set in a shed in their backyard is the most popular place in Frankfort.

reference to decide on independence.

Since then, however, Chief Sebe has said he had no need to go back to the nation — because he says, he was given a mandate to negotiate by acclamation of his Niaba Kandoda speech.

SEBE . . . day of decision





CHIEF SEBE

## Ciskei party for France

7/10/80

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, leaves on Friday for a 14-day visit to France to discuss Ciskei independence with French politicians and industrialists, his office announced yesterday.

Chief Sebe will be accompanied by the Minister of Agriculture, the Rev X. M. Xaba, the secretary to the office of the Chief Minister, Mr Graham Maytham, the secretary for agriculture, Mr Gary Godden, and the general manager of the Ciskei National Development Corporation, Mr Frans Meisenholl.

Mr Xaba and Mr Godden will travel to Sweden after the visit to France to follow-up contacts made during earlier overseas visits. This trip will also be aimed at finding investment capital for the homeland.

— DDR-DDC.





# Race laws must go says Sebe

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DD 6/10/80

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Statutory racial discrimination is alive and well and living comfortably in South Africa.

This was said yesterday by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, when he addressed the Ciskei nation on areas of agreement between his government and the Pretoria government regarding independence for the Ciskei.

Chief Sebe said various departments of the South African Government were scrutinising legislation with a view to amending statutory discrimination based solely on colour.

He said: "Statutory discrimination cannot just disappear because it is enshrined in the country's constitution."

The scrapping of racial discrimination is one of the demands the Ciskei has made in its independence package deal.

Chief Sebe said yesterday the sharing of amenities by all races did

not indicate discrimination was dead.

"For as long as discrimination is part and parcel of the constitution it cannot die and only after the pillar that represents citizenship is destroyed can discrimination be said to be dead," he said.

The question of citizenship was very vital to the Ciskei Government as it was one of the principal issues revolving around independence.

Commenting on the matter yesterday, Chief Sebe said: "The Ciskei Government reiterates its stand on the issue and confirms that it will not take independence until this matter has been settled in a satisfactory manner."

Later in his address, however, Chief Sebe said some of the issues which were not resolved as shown in the interim report following discussions between the South African-Ciskeian joint committee could be resolved after independence.

"Let us forge ahead and not be delayed by some of these matters as we shall find time later to resolve them," he said.

Before he sat down to await the decision of his people on independence, Chief Sebe said: "We live in exciting times and it is fitting that the people of the Ciskei should have been thrust into the forefront in achieving these new developments."

— DDR.  
Experts to guide Ciskei,  
page 9.

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# Sebe spells out

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Ciskei will enter into a confederal agreement with South Africa when independence is attained.

This was announced at Zwelitsha yesterday by Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe.

Releasing an interim report to about 8 000 people at the Zwelitsha Stadium, he said:

"It is felt a major breakthrough has been achieved in that the Government of South Africa has conditionally committed itself to enter

ing into a confederal agreement with the Government of the Ciskei."

The structure of the agreement would be negotiated concomitantly with the attainment of independence.

Chief Sebe said the joint South Africa-Ciskei committee, which identified areas of agreement between the two governments, was unable to spell out the final details of the confederal agreement which would follow independence.

"It should, however, be noted that a number of agreements will form part of the confederal agreement which will eventually

ly be signed between the two governments," he said.

Chief Sebe said the Ciskei's demand for land is that its political boundaries should extend from the Great Kei to the Great Fish Rivers and from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg Mountains.

Commenting on citizenship, he said: "Although there has been no positive finding in the report (of the joint committee) on the issue, I must state that I have also had expert advice on this question and I am told that there should be no problems in separating the two concepts of nationality and

citizenship, in the same ways as this is done in many Western countries."

Regarding finance, he said the Ciskei would not be deprived of any rights

### From CHARLES NQAKULA

He pointed out that "the whole philosophy in terms of which finance is supplied will alter in the light of the agreement to form a confederation."

The confederal arrangement would also contain agreements regarding, among others, extradition, elections, detention of prisoners, movement of citizens across common borders and registration of companies.

In agreeing to the suggested confederation

the South African Government had realised it had a choice between "confederation or conflict" according to a letter, which Chief Sebe quoted from yesterday, received from the South African Government.

The letter said: "As a part of your package deal, the implementation of a confederation between the two states can be commenced with on the date of taking of independence."

On the main demands of the package deal, land, citizenship and finance, Chief Sebe reported that: "The South African Government will allocate R80m for the purchase of

100 000 ha of land in the further consolidation of the Ciskei, before the end of this year.

A note from the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, on the matter, from which Chief Sebe also quoted, said: "It can therefore be accepted that the government wishes to deal with the consolidation of the Ciskei in terms of the package deal as priority number one."

Acceptance of independence was indicated by a show of hands among Ciskeians attending the meeting.

Earlier Chief Sebe said independence would not be like that of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Ven-

da, although he did not mention the three states by name.

"Anybody who says our independence will be the same as the independence of the other is a clown, to put it in polite language," he said.

He reported that the South African government would fulfil the Ciskei Government's demands as embodied in the independence package deal.

He quoted from a letter from the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piel Koorhof, who said the South African Government was prepared "to meet your request."



# Committee of experts to help guide Ciskei

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — A committee of experts from the Ciskeian and South African Governments will be appointed soon by the State President to monitor the enlargement of the Ciskei government service.

This will be one of the aspects of an extensive programme which will improve administration in an independent Ciskei, enabling the new state to cope with the demands of independence.

The appointment of the committee was announced yesterday by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe, when he submitted to about 8 000 Ciskeians the interim report of the joint South Africa-Ciskei committee, which was appointed to identify areas of agreement between the

two governments on independence for the Ciskei.

The chairman of the new committee would be appointed by the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, Chief Sebe said yesterday.

"The committee will then liaise with sub-committees of experts appointed in all South African Government departments, statutory bodies as well as in the present departments of the Ciskei Government."

He said the committee would report from time to time to a joint Cabinet committee consisting of members of the Cabinets of the governments of the Ciskei and South Africa, under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

"Problems which the

working committee cannot resolve and matters requiring decision will also be submitted to such a joint Cabinet committee," Chief Sebe said.

He said it would be the responsibility of the committee to ensure an independent Ciskei would have "the personnel, knowledge and ability to deal effectively with the multiplicity of matters for which the government of an independent state is responsible."

Chief Sebe said agreements between the two countries would be bilateral and both governments would have to approve provision in terms of the agreements as well as approve any amendments or alterations to the agreements.

Chief Sebe also announced the Wentzel Committee had recommended financial aid to the Ciskei worth R10 597 000 for the development of Ntabethemba and Zweledinga (both areas commonly known as Thornhill) for the next three years.

Chief Sebe said his government was encouraged by the announcement by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, on co-operative development for the Ciskei and the Border area.

His government could, however, not comment on the matter as "too few details have been given to make it possible for us to react to it." — DDR.

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DD 6/10/80

# Sebe Policees referendum

105 DD 7/10/80

**ZWELITSHA — The Ciskei will hold a referendum on independence.**

This was announced by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe at a press conference here yesterday.

He also said negotiations with South Africa on the independence issue would continue even though there were some areas where agreement had not been reached.

Replying to questions during the press conference, he said Ciskeians

had given his government a mandate to go ahead with the negotiations on independence.

During the mass meeting at Zwelitsha Stadium, the youth, nurses, teachers—in fact the cross-section of the nation—said the joint South Africa-Ciskei committee should go ahead with its job.

“Holding a referendum against this background would be a luxury exercise.”

“To respect the Quail Commission’s report, a referendum will be held

after the committee has finished its job,” Chief Sebe said.

He said reaction clearly indicated that negotiations on independence should carry on in spite of the fact that there were some areas where agreement had not been reached between the two governments.

His government would not stand still. They would “drive as fast as possible as aspects of the package deal are met.”

The date for independence would be decided when the joint

Ciskei-South Africa committee finished its job.

“When the committee has a full report, we will then think on the question of a referendum.

“What will happen is that we will not be wooed by temporal benefits. We are dealing with people and cannot afford to experiment with people’s lives.”

Chief Sebe said although the nation had said his government should go ahead with the negotiations, this did not mean they would opt for

independence unconditionally.

The cornerstones in the package deal were the issues of land and citizenship.

Chief Sebe said it would be good and fine if Ciskei achieved international recognition after independence, but that was not important. Economic viability for the homeland was more important than political recognition.

“Should we fold our arms and do nothing and wait for international recognition?” he asked. — DPC.



# Report threats parents told

105

DD 7/10/80

**MDANTSANE** — Several parents whose children are attending school here have been threatened with death. A number of houses have been stoned.

Reports have been made to the Mdantsane police, who confirmed the incidents yesterday.

One parent whose house was stoned was Mr J. T. Celiwe.

He said he was asleep at about 10 pm on Sunday

when he heard a knock and people outside his house told him to take out his son's school uniform and books because they wanted to burn them.

Soon afterwards he heard stones being thrown at his car which was parked in front of the house. Stones were also thrown at the house's windows.

The culprits ran away and he gave chase and called the police.

Other parents said they had been threatened with death because their children attended school.

A spokesman for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services said last night anybody who has a similar complaint should contact the police. He said he had not yet received a report of the incident at Mr Celiwe's house.

He assured residents of Mdantsane that each and every case would be dealt with.

"There have been a number of incidents reported of the intimidation of students who want to be educated.

"The agitators will not succeed", he said.

Police in Mdantsane said last night they were carrying out normal police patrols. — DDR

# Ciskei <sup>CH 12 1980</sup> a teeming rural slum

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Ciskei, which might become independent soon, is a vast and teeming rural slum.

No other conclusion is possible after visits to several resettlements, where tens of thousands of "redundant" people eke out an erratic existence on land as stony and barren, as desolate and forbidding as a Martian landscape.

At Oxton, a "close settlement" in the Whittlesea district, children faint in school from hunger. When they faint or throw fits, they are referred to the camp's only clinic for vitamin syrup.

"So many fall asleep in class that we can do nothing about it," says a teacher. "They are all malnourished."

Further north, at Thornhill, it is a fortunate mother who manages to beg or borrow sufficient mealie meal to give her children a meal every day.

At Ciskei's latest dumping ground, Kamaaskraal, some 40 km south of Peddie, we found adults who had not eaten for three or four days.

"We are starving here," said a spokesman for some 450 people forcibly removed from white farms in the Alexandria district.

"We live on samp because mealie meal is too expensive and we save that for the children. When the food runs out we try to borrow from our neighbours."

At many of these resettlements we found people clinging desperately to the hope that they were going to be moved "soon" to a "proper township."

They have fed on this dream for four years — a seemingly futile hope that has been fuelled regularly with promises from Ciskeian chiefs, officials and the South African Government.

Rural tenant farmers, used to having a plot of land to cultivate and livestock to graze, pin all their hopes on a township "with factories" to provide employment because nothing grows in the close settlements in which they have found themselves.

Even if the land was not stripped and eroded from overuse, even if it was not stricken by drought, the tiny plots allocated to each family would be incapable of providing even the most basic subsistence.

A few enterprising families battle with home-made ploughs and manage to produce a spinach, or cabbage patch from the rock-hard soil.

Those more fortunate have been assisted by small and expensive irrigation schemes. Others still own a few emaciated cows who ravenously crop

the cactus because there is no grass left.

Listless and rheumy-eyed, the old men, the abandoned women and the employable who cannot find work, talk of their hope that this life is just "temporary."

After four years in dustbowls like Oxton, Zweledinga and Thornhill, they believe they will eventually be moved — yet again — to a better place.

Others are more fatalistic. "We have come to die here," said a prematurely aged man at Heaton Trust Farm settlement.

And at Oxton, a woman caring for 18 children in a three-roomed corrugated iron shack, shrugs indifferently when asked whether she supports Ciskeian independence.

"What difference does it make? We are still starving here."



# Pupils' homes terrorised at Mdantsane

By LESLIE XINWA  
and  
SABELO NGANI

MDANTSANE — A group of pupils here is terrorising the homes of pupils who are not boycotting classes, residents here claim.

The group, with their heads disguised, call at the homes and demand the pupils' books and school uniforms.

If the books and uniforms are handed over, they burn them. If they are not handed over, they stone the house and threaten the family with petrol bombing and death.

But yesterday the secretary of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said they had cracked the group and 30 had been detained.

A Hlokoma High School Std 8 pupil, Nontuthuzelo Mala, had her books and uniform burnt when the group called at her Zone Seven home.

The fire was put out by police minutes after the group had left.

Most incidents were reported in Zones Seven and Eight.

At the home of Thozama Nkohla, a pupil at the Nyameko Secondary School, a group of pupils arrived at 10.10 pm on Sunday.

They demanded her books and uniform and while Mr Nkohla was arguing with them, his daughter sneaked the books and her school tunic to the group who made a fire with it a few metres from her home.

At Mr D. Mpunga's home, a short distance from the Nkohla home, almost all window panes were broken.

Mr Mpunga said they were not given a chance to hand the books over.

Parents believe the pupils have a list of addresses and names of pupils who are still attending classes.

Occupants of House No 3373, Zone Seven, said they heard noises of people singing freedom songs late on Monday night.

A few minutes later there were knocks on all doors and windows and demands for uniforms and books.

"They broke windows and left before we could find the books," Miss N. Jamela said.

Brig Sebe said: "We have broken this organisation whose actions are tan-

amount to urban terrorism."

He said there had been two groups of 50 and 70 pupils involved in the attacks. He assured all residents all would be arrested within a day or two.

"I must also point out that the residents and all those pupils who still want to attend classes are assured of our total protection," Brig Sebe said.

Meanwhile in Port Elizabeth, where boycotting pupils forced pupils out of lower primary schools on Monday, the circuit inspector of schools, Mr Steve Buys, met the Director of Education and Training in the Cape, Mr H. D. Owens, who flew from Cape Town to discuss the latest developments in the schools.

Several reports of threatening telephone calls to principals whose schools were still running this week, have been received.

All schools were still closed yesterday following the enforced closure on Monday.

In Cape Town five youths had been arrested in connection with alleged intimidation of teachers and pupils at lower primary schools in black townships.

The arrests were a sequel to incidents when teachers were threatened if they allowed pupils from Sub A to Std II to attend classes.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, Brigadier Daniel Nothnagel, said the youths would appear in court soon.

DD 8/10/80

# Children in Ciskei faint from hunger

105

RDM 8/10/80

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Ciskei, about to become independent, is a vast and teeming rural slum.

No other conclusion is possible after visits to several resettlements, where tens of thousands of "redundant" people eke out an existence on land as barren, desolate and forbidding as a Martian landscape.

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they do, they are referred to the camp's only clinic — where they are given vitamin syrup.

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They have fed on the dream for four years — a hope that has been fuelled regularly with promises from Ciskeian chiefs, officials and the South African Government.

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# Projects offer Ciskeians a good share

105 DD 9/10/80

By JENNIFER HYMAN  
ORT ELIZABETH—Two ambitious irrigation schemes in rural Ciskei and the growth of Dimbaza as an industrial centre reflect pockets of development in a land otherwise beset by overcrowding, lack of employment and the continual relocation of "redundant" workers from elsewhere in South Africa.

At Tyefu, in the hook of the Fish River opposite the Fish River Drift, and at Keiskammahook, in a picturesque valley below the Matola mountains, extensive and white-controlled irrigation projects offer a chance to share the good life to a selected group of Ciskei farmers and provide spin-off jobs for about 1 100 wage earners.

On the industrial front, the 29 Dimbaza industries have reduced unemployment in this former resettlement camp to 000.

Employing more than 800 workers, the small

factories include a steel foundry which exports 20 per cent of its products abroad, as well as factories manufacturing paint, furniture, carpets, clocks, bicycles and soccer balls.

Further industrial growth points are planned by the Ciskei National Development Corporation at Middledrift, 20 km from Dimbaza, and at Mdantsane.

Five small factories established at the resettlement camp of Sada, in the Whittlesea district, have provided some jobs, but unemployment and poverty are still rife among the camp's 15 000 residents.

The Tyefu irrigation project, started two years ago at an initial investment of R2 million, involves mainly food crops and relies on water from the Fish River, which is pumped into off-river storage dams and then fed through canals to 62 farming plots.

A total of 39 families exchanged their tribal land

three years ago for quarter-hectare plots, on which they are assisted by project supervisors in producing enough maize and vegetables to feed their families.

Known as "subsistence plots", the families on these, are able, in a good season, to sell their excess produce and make a cash income of up to R250 a month.

In addition, 12 farmers elected by the tribal authority have been allocated four-hectare units which they farm commercially, selling their cotton, cabbages, tobacco and carrots in Port Elizabeth and East London.

The scheme runs its own fields and also provides seedling beds, planting, ploughing and transporting of produce are also organised by the central project.

Production figures are good, with crop yields that compete favourably with the best in the country. By the end of the year,

Tyefu should have 198 subsistence plot holders, 30 commercial farmers and provide employment for 800 wage earners.

Included in the latter group are 150 to 200 people from the nearby Glenmore resettlement camp, where no land has been allocated to the 3 000 people relocated there from white farms in the Alexandria district.

Ironically, Tyefu is considered by the Ciskei Department of Agriculture as a relatively poor farming area, with low and erratic rainfall and extremes of heat and cold.

Glenmore, on the other hand, is right on the banks of the Fish River and the soil is good. In the tiny plots adjacent to each of the settlements' regulation split pole shafts, cabbages and other vegetables flourish without the aid of irrigation schemes — but not enough to provide the food needs of each family.

There is no way the

Tyefu scheme can be extended to include Glenmore, according to Ciskei's Secretary for Agriculture, Mr Gary Godden.

The settled, traditional population of 45 000 in the Tyefu valley regard the people of Glenmore as interlopers.

"They have been literally dumped here by the South African authorities and their future is a South African problem," said Mr Martin Uhlig, Tyefu's project manager.

In contrast to the tribal-based, labour intensive scheme at Tyefu, with its hundreds of women and children employed to plant, harvest and trim the crops, Keiskammahook's irrigation scheme has so far turned 60 farmers into profitable dairymen.

By the end of this month a further 30 hand-picked farmers will be settled on the standard 4 ha plots in the Keiskamma valley.

They each have six cows and together produce

about two million litres of milk a year on land bought from white farmers by the South African Development Trust in 1957 and taken in hand by the Ciskei four years ago.

The scheme is run on rigidly centralised discipline. All the land and stock is owned by the Ciskei Government and leased to the farmers for three years at a time, after they have proved their efficiency during a 12-month probationary period.

Up to date, automated milking sheds are used communally and all processing, packaging and transport of the milk are carried out by the project.

About 400 people derive some form of employment from the scheme in addition to the farmers and their families, who are mostly earning between R500 and R600 a month.

Like Tyefu, the project is expensive and not yet economical. A single dam cost R10 million — the entire Department of Agriculture and Forestry

budget for three consecutive years.

A further R150 million will be needed to irrigate the Keiskamma basin further down the river, estimates Mr Godden, who points out that both Tyefu and Keiskammahook so far benefit "an infinitesimal number" of rural Ciskeians.

"If we can generate that kind of money, then we are talking business as we can then do something about improving life in this part of the world," he said.

Irrigation schemes in the Ciskei ruthlessly demonstrate the division between haves and have-nots.

The Shitoh scheme, which serves the Whittlesea location, south of Queenstown, has been unable to grow food crops without expensive security fencing.

This is because the crops would be stripped as soon as they emerged from the ground.



# Ciskei's farm projects help the jobless

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RDM 9/10/80

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two ambitious irrigation schemes in rural Ciskei, and the growth of Dimbaza as an industrial centre, reflect pockets of development in a land otherwise beset by over-crowding, lack of employment, and the continual relocation of "redundant" workers from elsewhere in South Africa.

At Tyefu, in the hook of the Fish River opposite Committees Drift, and at Keiskammahoek, in a picturesque valley below the Amatola mountains, expensive white-controlled irrigation projects offer a chance to share the good life to a selected group of black farmers — and provide spin-off jobs for about 1 100.

On the industrial front, the 29 Dimbaza Industries have reduced unemployment in the former resettlement camp to 2 000.

Employing more than 1 800 workers, the small factories include a steel foundry and others manufacturing paint, furniture, carpets, clocks, bicycles and soccer balls.

Further industrial growth points are planned by the Ciskei National Development Corporation at Middeldrift, 20km from Dimbaza, and at Mdantsane, outside East London.

Five small factories established at the resettlement camp of Sada, in the Whittlesea district near Queenstown, have provided many jobs — but unemployment and poverty are still rife among the 15 000 residents.

The Tyefu Irrigation Project, begun two years ago at an initial cost of R2-million, involves mainly food crops, and relies on water from the Fish River, which is pumped to about 62 farming plots.

A total of 39 black families exchanged their tribal land three years ago for quarter-hectare plots, on which they are assisted by project supervisors to produce enough maize and vegetables to feed their families.

Known as "subsistence plots" the families are able in a good season to sell their excess produce and earn up to R250 a month.

In addition, 12 farmers elected by the tribal authority have been allocated four-hectare units which they farm commer-

cially, selling their cotton, cabbages, tobacco and carrots in Port Elizabeth and East London.

Production figures are good, with crop yields which compete favourably with the best in the country.

By the end of the year, Tyefu should have 198 subsistence plot-holders, 30 commercial farmers, and also provide employment for about 800.

Included in the wage-earning group are 150 to 200 people from nearby Glenmore resettlement camp, where no land has been allocated to the 3 000 people relocated there from white farms in the Alexandria district.

Ironically, Tyefu is considered by the Ciskei Department of Agriculture a relatively poor farming area, with low and erratic rainfall and extremes of heat and cold.

Glenmore, on the other hand, is right on the banks of the Fish River and the soil is good. In the tiny plots adjacent to each of the settlement's regulation split-pole shacks, cabbages and other vegetables flourish.

However, the land is unable to provide the food needs of families. Food distribution undertaken last year by an international church aid organisation has been taken over by the South African Government, and today most Glenmore families who have no wage earner or pensioner among them, exist on Government rations.

There is no way the Tyefu scheme can be extended to include Glenmore, according to the Ciskei Secretary for Agriculture, Mr Gary Godden.

The settled, traditional population of 45 000 in the Tyefu Valley regard the people of Glenmore as interlopers.

"They have been literally dumped here by the South African authorities, and their future is a South African problem," says Mr Martin Uhlig, Tyefu's project manager.

In contrast to the tribal-based, labour intensive scheme at Tyefu — with its hundreds of women and children employed to plant, harvest and trim the crops — Keiskammahoek's irrigation scheme has so far turned 60 black farmers into profitable dairymen.

By the end of the month a further 30 hand-picked farmers will be settled on the standard

four-hectare plots in the valley.

They each have six cows, and together produce about two million litres of milk a year on land bought from white farmers by the South African Development Trust in 1957, and taken over by the Ciskei four years ago.

All the land and stock is owned by the Ciskei Government, and is leased to the farmers for three years at a time, after they have proved their efficiency during a 12-month probationary period.

Up-to-date automated milking sheds are used communally, and all processing, packaging and transport of the milk are carried out by the project.

About 400 people derive some form of employment from the scheme in addition to the farmers and their families, most of whom are earning R500 to R600 a month.

Like Tyefu, the project is expensive and not yet economic. A single dam cost R10-million — the entire Department of Agriculture and Forestry budget for three years.

A further R150-million will be needed to irrigate the Keiskamma basin further down the river, estimates Mr Godden, who points out that both Tyefu and Keiskammahoek so far benefit "an infinitesimal number" of rural Ciskeians.

Irrigation schemes in the Ciskei demonstrate the division between haves and have-nots.

The Shiloh scheme, which serves Whittlesea location, has been unable to grow food crops without expensive security fencing — the crops would be stripped by the thousands of landless and jobless people in the nearby resettlement camps of Sada, Oxton and Zwelidinga.



# A State of poverty

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FM

10/10/80

"Another milestone on the road to self-determination and good neighbourliness . . . and a manifestation of the success of the policy of separate development," says Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof. He was referring to Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe's decision "in principle" to accept independence as the fourth new black state in SA.

In apparent disregard of his own Quail Commission's recommendations eight months ago, which advised against accepting independence unless certain conditions were met, Sebe said the "confederal agreement" between his government and SA, had "cancelled out" other problems.

However, details of the confederation would be worked out *after* independence, Sebe said in Zwelitsha on Sunday.

Clearly clarity is lacking. Sebe reportedly said the confederal arrangement would contain agreements regarding, *inter alia*, extradition, elections, the movement of citizens across borders, detention of prisoners, and registration of companies.

Sebe read part of a letter received from Pretoria stating that "as part of your package deal the implementation of a confederation between the two states can be commenced with on the date of taking independence."

Paying lip service to Quail's recommendation that a "carefully supervised refer-

endum" on independence should be held among Ciskeians both inside and outside the region, Sebe said on SABC television this week that one would be held, but would merely be a "formality." A show of hands among the 8 000-strong meeting on Sunday, had, apparently, indicated acceptance of independence. (The Quail Commission found, incidentally, that the majority of Ciskeians surveyed rejected independence as contrary to their interests and favoured a democratic, unified SA.) Sebe insists that his conditions for independence are favourable compared with those of Transkei, BophuthaTswana, and Venda. Many are sceptical. The joint statement issued a week ago is couched in the blandest terms, saying: "In the event of independence, no Ciskeians resident and employed in the Republic would be removed to the Ciskei except after consultation between the governments." What precisely this means remains to be seen once Sebe's "confederal arrangement" with Pretoria gets off the ground — after independence.

Addressing the Zwelitsha meeting, Sebe said that the joint SA-Ciskei committee on independence had made no positive finding on citizenship, but "I have had expert advice on this question and I am told there should be no problems in separating the two concepts of nationality and citizenship

in the same way as this is done in many western countries." Again this will, it seems, be worked out after independence.

In terms of government policy, all blacks "belong" to one or other homeland, and policy is to resettle blacks without Section 10 rights.

## More land

Sebe also told the meeting that the SA government would allocate R80m to buy up 100 000 ha of land before the end of the year. Land consolidation was a top priority, he said, reiterating his demand that Ciskei's political boundaries should extend from the Kei to the Fish rivers and from the Indian Ocean to the Stormberg mountains, thus taking in the white "corridor" that includes East London.

Koornhof, after his meeting with Sebe earlier this month, said development would be promoted on a regional basis across political boundaries. "The areas of Berlin, East London, King Williams Town, Mdantsane, Zwelitsha, and Ciskei would be promoted as an area of common economic development in which all the peoples in the region can share."

The Quail Commission recommended, among the conditions for accepting independence, guaranteed continued financial support from SA. Sebe told his meeting, however, that it was not possible for the

joint committee, "in the time at its disposal . . . to work out a formula in terms of which financial aid could be forthcoming." The terms in which finance is allocated would, in any case, be altered in the light of the agreement to form a confederation, he said.

Talk of the region's "finances" is, anyway, a moot point. Like all the homelands, Ciskei is virtually totally dependent on Pretoria: 80% of its public revenue comes from Pretoria as part of taxes and duties levied on the 1.43m Ciskeians (68% living elsewhere in SA, and partly from development grants and salaries paid to seconded white officials in the Ciskei.

The population living inside the territory is around 670 000. Unemployment in the urban areas is put at about 39% of the workforce. Prospects for economic development are poor. Of the 31 factories in the Ciskei, 28 are situated at Dimbaza. These employ 1 846 Ciskeians whose total annual income is R1.3m, according to FS Meisenholl, GM of the Ciskei National Development Corporation.

The CNDC's total investment in Ciskei, said Meisenholl recently, stands at R41.7m. Other investments came from the Corporation for Economic Development (R11.4m) and from white entrepreneurs (R14.9m), totalling a mere R68m. The new state's motto might just as well be "Forever poor."



# CISKEI HISTORY IN MAKING

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DD 10/10/80



Pictures taken at Zwelitsha when the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe, spoke of the decision to accept independence in principle.

declaration.

Acceptance of independence was indicated by a show of hands among Ciskeians attending.

More than 8 000 people attended to hear the Chief Minister's historic

Pictures show Chief Sebe speaking and sections of the crowd.



## Parents blamed

MDANTSANE — Parents have been blamed for the school troubles.

The Ciskei Minister of Education, Chief D. M. Jongilanga, said unless tribal authorities offered protection to teachers they would lose them.

Chief Justice Mabandla, former member of the now defunct opposition, said parents were to blame as there was no co-operation between them and chiefs.

The Secretary of Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe, had told the gathering that the key word for pupils today was that "Kill these teachers who do not toe our line."

He was speaking at a meeting which briefed a Ciskei delegation which went to Pretoria to opt for independence for the Ciskei.

He said he had seen anonymous letters sent to teachers threatening

It is feared that most pupils will not write the end of the year examinations, thus causing a financial drain on the parents with a wasted year.

A parent-teachers organisation has been suggested in some quarters.

DD 10/10/80

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# Sebe appeals to parents to come forward

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DD 12/10/80

EAST LONDON — The Secretary of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe, yesterday appealed to parents whose children are detained as a result of the school disturbances to contact him.

"We are releasing most of the students detained and others are still in detention because we want to give them over to their parents and the parents have not come forward yet," Brig Sebe said.

He warned, however, that some students would have charges preferred against them.

"The dockets are already with the Attorney General and as soon as he has gone through them we shall ensure that these students are taken to court for trial as soon as possible," he said.

A total of 195 pupils had been released since the beginning of last week, he added.

Also released was the Mdantsane attorney who has been defending students charged as a result of the disturbances, Mr Hintsa Siwisa. Mr

Siwisa spent 17 days in detention until he was released yesterday.

Brig Sebe said Mr Siwisa's release was unconditional.

Turning to the school disturbances, Brig Sebe said the average attendance in schools at Mdantsane and Zwelitsha had risen to 65 per cent during the week. In rural areas figures had risen to above 80 per cent. "The student unrest is over and we can now assure all students who are attending classes of the fullest protection. This will also include their homes."

Brig Sebe said they had detained five more students in connection with incidents this week when several homes had windows broken after students had demanded uniforms and books belonging to pupils still attending classes. This had brought the number detained to 35 and investigations were continuing.

He said these were among the pupils against whom charges would "definitely" be laid.

DDR



# Alice may be dropped 105 as new Ciskei capital

RDM 11/10/80

Political Staff

**EAST LONDON.** — The university town of Alice may no longer be turned into the capital of the Ciskei.

Yesterday, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said: "I don't want to upset anyone but I don't think we will be going to Alice."

He refused to comment any further on the matter of a new capital, clearly unwilling to jeopardise any decisions by the South African Government on the Van der Walt Commission recommendations.

But it is known that Ciskeian civil servants are being encouraged to buy land and build houses in a new suburb at Zwe-

litsha, which is near King William's Town.

The present seat of Government in the Ciskei is at Zwelitsha.

It would have cost a fortune to construct a new capital, although the South African and Ciskei Governments appointed a committee to investigate the question.

That committee recommended that a new capital be built at Alice and this was accepted by both governments.

Chief Sebe's comment yesterday, however, indicated that this decision had been changed.

If this is the case, it seems inevitable that the King William's Town-Zwelitsha complex

will become the capital.

This would save the massive costs which would have been involved if the the capital had been moved to Alice.

And it would concentrate all Ciskei Government administration in one place.

It would also keep the capital close to East London, whose harbour is likely to be shared by the Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa.

It is unlikely, though, that any firm decisions on the transfer of King William's Town to the Ciskei will be revealed until the South African Cabinet makes its final decision on the Van der Walt Commission's report.

# Sebe leaves for talks in France

DD 11/10/50 (105)

EAST LONDON. — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, left yesterday for an intensive two-week trip to France.

During his visit, he will explain to politicians, government officials, journalists and industrialists the agreements between his government and the South African Government on the question of independence.

The Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture, Rev. W. Kaba, who is accompanying him, will also meet with a group of Protestant priests and representatives of the World Council of Churches.

Rev. Kaba and the Ciskei's Secretary for Agriculture, Mr. Gary Godden, will also be spending four days in Sweden and a short period

in Britain before returning.

Chief Sebe said yesterday that the purpose of the trip was to follow up contacts he had made in France during an earlier visit.

The trip would enable him to outline the progress which had been made in the Ciskei and follow up the great interest in the Ciskei.

They would also be meeting academics, agricultural and marketing experts and spokesmen from all major political parties in France.

He said he hoped that they would be able to overcome some of the difficulties faced by other states when they had obtained their independence.

He would also encourage industrialists to invest in the Ciskei. — PC



# Sebe challenges UN on poll

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DD ~~11/10/80~~ 11/10/80

**EAST LONDON —** The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, yesterday boldly challenged the United Nations to supervise the referendum in the homeland on the question of independence.

In an interview shortly before his departure to France, Chief Sebe said the referendum would be supervised but it had not yet been decided who would carry this out.

"But we could ask the noisy United Nations to come and supervise the referendum.

"Or we would ask Prof George Quail who has many international contacts to work on it," Chief Sebe said.

No date for the referendum had yet been set but this would be finalised after the joint Ciskei-South Africa committee investigating the independence details had completed its work.

When these negotiations had been completed, the whole package deal would be put to the nation, and after that, a referendum held.

"In fact, we are ready for a referendum now.

"There is a word that is interesting me, and the more I think about it the more exciting it becomes, and that is a supervised referendum," Chief Sebe said.

The Chief Minister's commitment to a supervised referendum of the Ciskeian people on the question of independence is a bold move.

In none of three states that have gained their independence from South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, were voters directly asked whether they supported independence or not.

Should the package deal negotiated at the end of last month by Chief Sebe and Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, be rejected in a referendum, it would be a damaging blow to both the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party and the South African Government.

But if the independence package were overwhelmingly endorsed by the Ciskeian people in a referendum it would be the first clear indication of black support for government policies of separation.

There is little doubt that the Ciskeian cabinet is confident that it will win a referendum and that its agreements with the South African Government will get popular backing.

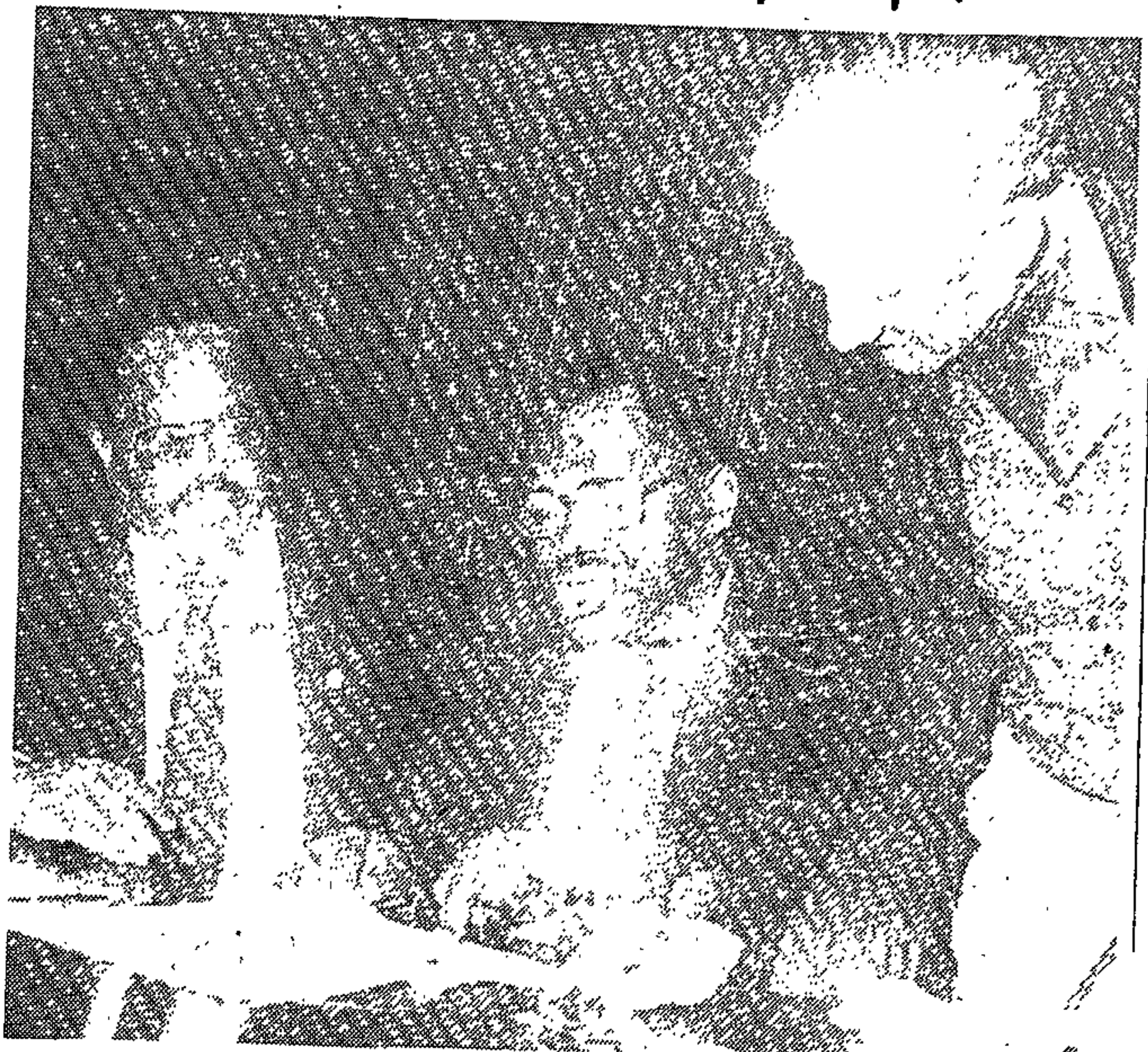
Chief Sebe revealed in the interview the agreements reached with Dr Koornhof had been "reinforced by a letter from the Prime Minister himself to me personally".

He added that the Prime Minister was aware that the Ciskei always remembered that it had a raw deal in the past, even if it had been put in writing.

He also revealed that the joint Ciskei-South Africa committee had already met to discuss the independence question and said it was remarkable how much the committee had achieved in one day.

Chief Sebe indicated, too, that the Ciskeian cabinet was anxiously waiting for the South African cabinet's decisions about the Van Der Walt commission recommendations on the consolidation of the homelands.

He said that Dr Koornhof had told him



Shortly before his departure to France yesterday, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, discusses final details with his Minister of Agriculture, Rev W. Xaba, and the Secretary for Agriculture, Mr Gary Godden, who will be accompanying him. Report, page 2.

that the South African cabinet would be meeting later this month to discuss the Van Der Walt report.

Once the package deal, which involved the reten-

tion of South African citizenship, a confederation and consolidation, has been finalised, it will be voted on in a referendum.

The decision to hold a referendum is a calculated gamble, but if it comes off Chief Sebe will have won a significant victory and a boost to his policies. — PC



# King may become capital of Ciskei

DD 11/10/80

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EAST LONDON — The university town of Alice may no longer be turned into the capital of the Ciskei.

There has been mounting speculation that King William's Town, the white enclave on the border of the Ciskei, is to be incorporated into the homeland and made the capital.

And yesterday, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, virtually confirmed that Alice would no longer be the capital.

In an interview, he said: "I don't want to upset anyone but I don't think we will be going to Alice."

He refused to comment any further, clearly unwilling to jeopardise any

decisions by the South African Government on the Van Der Walt Commission recommendations.

But it is known that Ciskeian civil servants are being encouraged to buy land and build houses in a new suburb at Zwelitsha which is next to King William's Town.

The present seat of government in the Ciskei is at Zwelitsha and it would have cost a fortune to construct a new capital, although the two governments did appoint a committee some time ago on the question.

That committee recommended that a new capital be constructed at Alice and this was accepted by both governments.

Chief Sebe's comment yesterday, however, indicated that this decision had been changed.

If this is the case, it seems inevitable that the King William's Town-Zwelitsha complex will become the capital.

This would save massive costs which would have been involved if the capital had been moved to Alice and it would concentrate all Ciskei Government administration in one place.

It would also keep the capital in close reach of East London whose harbour is likely to be shared between the Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa.

It is unlikely, though, that any firm decisions on the transfer of King William's Town to the Ciskei will be revealed until the South African cabinet has made its decision on the Van Der Walt report. — PC



# Deported from bantustan, two men are . . .

# Stateless!

That's the story of two Xhosa-speaking men who have been deported from the Ciskei and are now living in white South Africa waiting for permission from the Department of Cooperation and Development to live in East London.

Mr Joe Kobo and Mr Livingstone Malotana have now been informed by Dr Piet Koorhof's department that they will be informed in two weeks whether they can remain in their refuge at Duncan Village near East London.

And besides Mr Kobo's Ciskei ban he is also not wanted in Transkei, where he recently spent 387 days in detention before being released this year and ordered out.

Transkei-born Mr Kobo and Mr Malotana are now unable to visit their wives and children in nearby Mdantsane because it falls under the Ciskei. Mr Kobo has five children and Mr Malotana two.

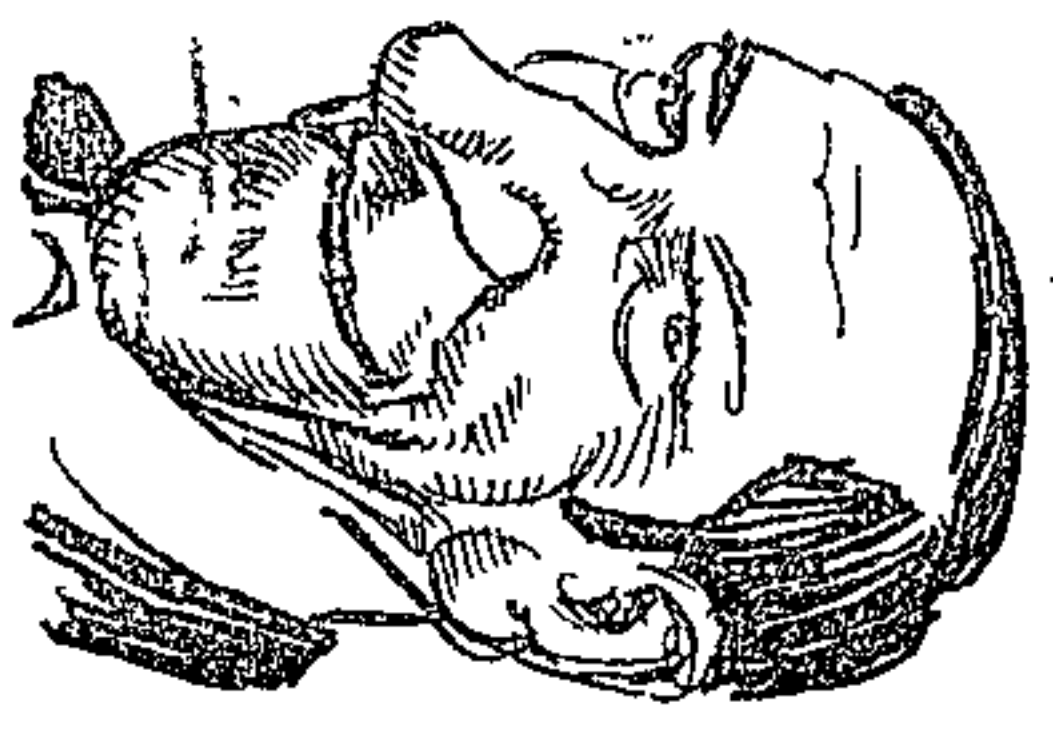
Mr Kobo says his troubles started in the mid-sixties when he joined Transkei politics after studying economics at university in London. "I detested talk of

## SUNDAY POST Correspondent

because I wanted to test the sincerity of the Nationalists. I later had to fight it through the Democratic Party of which I became national secretary. But I was forced to flee when the entire executive of the party was detained in 1976."

He then lived in Ciskei where he was given political asylum by the Sebe government and appointed editor of the government's newspaper, Umthombo.

"But they also started talking of independence — something I always opposed — and later I suffered another miscarriage of justice," Mr Kobo said. "In 1979 there was a bus drivers strike and



to the government any longer because independence was a fait accompli.

"I was on my way to see Prime Minister George Matanzima after having made an appointment, when I was detained and kept in prison in Umtata for 387 days. I was released in August this year and ordered out."

A bitter and angry Mr Kobo said: "These are the fruits of the dreadful system of apartheid and independence that makes brother rise against brother. I still say I oppose independence and all I want now is a place in South Africa which is not balkanised and where I can

live as a South African. At least one has hope, as there are some homeland leaders who have refused Pretoria-type independence.

Mr Malotana, who has lived in Mdantsane and East London for 21 years, was a statistics clerk at the Ciskei Transport Company when the bus drivers strike erupted. He was also a member of the Mdantsane

Township Council, but was detained for 90 days and charged in court under the Riotous Assemblies Act as a result of the bus strike.

His charges were also withdrawn in court and he was served with a deportation order and also lives with friends in Duncan Village.

"I just hope the South African Government will let us live in peace because I have no intention of going to live in Transkei where I was born and I am not wanted in Ciskei.

"This to me is all just a miscarriage of justice and all I want now is to be reunited with my family."

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By OWEN VANOA

A MDANTSANE mother's bid for a court interdict to restrain the Ciskei police and intelligence services from assaulting or interrogating her daughter in an illegal manner was dismissed in the Supreme Court in Grahamstown.

Mrs Sylvia Ngxale applied to the court last month for the interdict, alleging that she got reports that her daughter, Pumeza, had been assaulted while in detention and was admitted in hospital.

Pumeza is a metric pupil at Mzomhle High School. She was detained under the Ciskei emergency Regulations in

# Judge rejects mother's plea on detained child

August at the height of school unrest in the township.

The Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice Cloete, dismissed the application with costs. He said all the affidavits supporting the application were based on hearsay.

There were instances in which hearsay could be accepted but hearsay based on other hearsay could hardly be accepted in a case where there was

other evidence based on personal observation.

In her affidavit Mrs Ngxale said she received a telegram from an unknown person telling her that her daughter was badly injured and had been admitted at the Cecilia Makwane hospital in Mdantsane.

Affidavits from Pumeza's cell mates at the Mdantsane police station claimed that she had told them before they were released that she had been assault-

ed by the police.

The respondents — the Ciskei Minister of Justice, the Station Commander of Mdantsane police station and the head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services — denied the alleged assault.

Affidavits from them as well as other police involved, claimed that Pumeza had tried to avoid arrest on August 11 by climbing a fence. She had slipped and fallen and been trampled by other

fleeing school children.

The chairman of both the Border Council of Churches and Border Dependents Conference, Rev Adolphus Mkhondo Botoman, of Mdantsane, said in his affidavit that Pumeza was brought to his house by the police on August 13 in the course of their investigations.

"In regard to my position in Mdantsane, which I consider to be one which makes me well known to the inhabitants and which enables them to trust me, I have no doubt that Pumeza would have confided in me or would have complained and asked for my assistance if she had been assaulted or in anyway mistreated," he said.



Sun Post 12/10/80 (105)

# Sebe plans 'uhuru' poll

THE Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has challenged the United Nations to supervise a referendum in the homeland on the question of independence.

Shortly before his departure for France, Chief Sebe said the referendum would be supervised but it had not yet been decided who would do so. "But we could ask the noisy United Nations to come and supervise the referendum."

"Or we could ask Professor George Quail, who has many international contacts, to work on it," Chief Sebe said.

No date for the refer-

endum had yet been set but this would be finalised after the joint Ciskei-South Africa committee investigating the independence details had completed its work.

When these negotiations had been completed the package deal would be put to the nation and a referendum would be held.

"In fact, we are ready for a referendum now. There is a word that interests me, and the more I think about it the more exciting it becomes, and that is a supervised referendum," Chief Sebe said.

If a referendum is held

Ciskei will become the first of the former homelands that has sought the opinion of the masses before taking independence.

None of the three former homelands — Transkei, BophuthaTswana and Venda — had asked its citizens about the independence issue.

There is little doubt that the Ciskeian Cabinet is confident that it will win a referendum and that its agreement with the South African Government will get popular backing.

Chief Sebe revealed in the interview that the agreements reached with the Minister of Co-opera-

tion and Development, Dr Koornhof, had been reinforced by "a letter from the Prime Minister himself to me personally".

He said the joint Ciskei-South Africa committee had already met to discuss the independence question and it was remarkable how much the committee had achieved in one day.

The Chief Minister said the Ciskeian Cabinet was "anxiously" waiting for the South African Cabinet's decision on the Vander Walt Commission recommendations on the consolidation of the homeland. — Sapa.

# Independence — Grim burden facing Ciskei

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Unless Ciskeian independence brings with it sufficient bargaining power to ensure both industrial and agricultural development on a big scale, the future of the homeland's 665 000 people looks bleak.

The independence package would also have to contain absolute guarantees that no more immigration into the Ciskei takes place under the South African Government's resettlement policy.

For as this policy stands at the moment, nearly 500 000 people living illegally in white urban areas, on "black spots" and white farms, are scheduled for "relocation" in Ciskei.

The territory — already comparatively densely settled with 126 people per square kilometre — thus faces a population increase of roughly 60% in the next five years, without making allowance for natural increase.

A Ciskei expert, Mrs Nancy Charton of the Rhodes University department of political studies, puts it plainly: Without a total moratorium on resettlement, she says, the Ciskei will be a desert in 10 years.

Already the huge resettlement camps to the north, in the Whittlesea district, have become vast, sprawling rural farms. The land at Thornhill has been completely denuded by over-crowding and overgrazing, while in the teeming camps of Oxton

and Zwelendina, bare survival is the most pressing problem.

And resettlement continues in spite of promises by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, that there would be no more German-type resettlement without concomitant work opportunities and facilities.

The most recent dumping of "redundant" farm labourers took place only a few months ago, at Kammaskraal, near Peddie.

There is no work at Kammaskraal, no land allocated, and the 1 000-odd people there are living in makeshift structures.

The Ciskei Government seems either unable or unwilling to say no to this kind of resettlement. But, says Mrs Charton, unless it takes a firm stand in future there will be no development — only famine and death.

Industrial and agricultural development are other areas where guarantees need to be exacted, given that the Ciskei, like other independent South African homelands, will be denied overt foreign recognition and therefore access to foreign aid.

As things stand at present, Ciskei is an impoverished territory. Its largest "city", Mdantsane, has no industry and only a rudimentary commercial sector.

Nearly half the inhabitants of Mdantsane live below the breadline and the city is nothing more than a dormitory suburb providing labour for East London.

In fact, Ciskeians exist to a large extent on wages derived from labour migrants to jobs in "white" South Africa.

Some industrial development has taken place in Ciskei, at places such as Durbara, creating job opportunities and producing better living conditions in these areas.

But the profits from these industrial growth points, owned by whites from South Africa and abroad, are drained out of the Ciskei to shareholders.

There is little spin-off for the Ciskei at present from either the border industries or those within the homeland, except in terms of jobs.

And some experts can't see the situation changing unless existing industrial centres such as the East London-King Williamsown-Berlin axis are included in an independent Ciskei.

Expensive, white-controlled irrigation schemes have also benefited some people in some areas.

But, says the Secretary of Agriculture and Forestry, Mr Gary Godden, the numbers represent "an infinitesimal" proportion of the total rural population.

Ciskei clearly wants to expand its irrigation schemes to include larger land areas and benefit a greater number. But so far they have cost millions of rands and are not yet economical.



# Ciskei ADM 14/10/80 team in French talks <sup>(165)</sup>

Own Correspondent

PARIS — A five-member delegation from the Ciskei led by the chief minister, Mr Lennox Sebe, has arrived in France for a 10-day visit aimed partly at securing eventual French recognition of the territory as an independent nation.

The delegation is due to have talks at the French Foreign Ministry — though probably not at ministerial level — and also to meet parliamentary deputies and senators and members of employers' organisations.

Accompanying Mr Sebe are his secretary of state, Mr G D Maytham; the Minister of Agriculture, Water and Forestry, Mr W M Xaba; his secretary of state, Mr M Godden, and the director-general of the Ciskei National Development Corporation, Mr F S Meisenholl.

Their visit is the first of a number being made to Western democracies both to learn from their political structures and tell them about Ciskei plans for the future.

Delegation sources said the political independence of the Ciskei must be based on its economic progress and to this end the delegation wanted to meet partners interested in taking part in its agricultural and industrial development.

The delegation hoped to open a dialogue in France to define stages in co-operation with a view to recognition of Ciskei "as a black republic within Southern Africa," the sources said.

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# Ciskei's influx dilemma

Own Correspondent

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Hundreds of thousands of people in the Ciskei are facing insurmountable problems — and the public is either unaware of it or unconcerned.

The Ciskei Government is battling against huge odds to accommodate the massive influx of people in "resettlement" camps at Oxtou, Thornhill, Zweledinga, Kama's Kraal and dozens of other Ciskei areas.

Ntabatumba for instance once accommodated 17 white farming families in reasonable comfort. The area was then planned for three chiefs and their people from the Herschel district after that region had been included into Transkei. Now it has to support 50 000 people from all over South Africa.

The Ciskei Government feels whites in the region should become more involved in assisting with the problem. It just does not have the finance to cope.

Irrigation and other agricultural schemes to bring fertility back to a barren land now also ravaged by drought, are exorbitantly expensive and benefit only a small portion of the population.

Industrial development has provided only few jobs limited to the growth points of Dimbaza, Middeldrift and Whittlesea.

And everytime the Ciskei Government is able to accommodate some hundred people, thousands more follow from South Africa and Transkei.

It is this constant stream of people moving into the Ciskei, some voluntarily, some kicked off farms in South Africa or forced by law, that constitutes the vicious circle.

The Ciskei Secretary for Agriculture, Mr Gary Godden, discounts criticism that the Ciskei Government is not doing enough.

"The Ciskei is doing what it can within its limited means to create permanent settlements for these people."

"In both the Ntabatumba and Zweledinga communities, plans are being implemented for the construction of dams, reticulation of water, development of irrigation, layout of residential settlements and building of clinics and schools. Mobile clinics visit the areas and school feeding schemes have are underway."

"In fact, in the current financial year, some R3 700 000 will be spent on the Ntabatumba and Zweledinga rehabilitation schemes."

"It is totally incorrect to create the impression that the Ciskei Government is not concerned about the plight of these people," Mr Godden says the white community in the region should become far more involved.

"The public, for example, has failed to show any appreciative concern for the difficulties now resulting from the drought."

"In all, some half a dozen donations have been received out of the entire community . . ."

Mr Godden says the resettlement camps are also South Africa's responsibility.

Says Chief L. W. Maqoma, Minister of the Interior: "Resettlement are really a South African exercise."

Chief Maqoma made it clear the Ciskei was not prepared to inherit this problem with independence.

"We have stated as a clear condition that South Africa must look after these people before independence," he said.



# MP: Sebe decision ill-considered move

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DD 14/10/80

**EAST LONDON** — Chief Lennox Sebe's decision to opt for independence was "an ill-considered move", the MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Kowie Marais, said yesterday.

In an interview Mr Marais said the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof's promises must have been "absolutely wild" to persuade the Ciskei Chief Minister to opt for independence.

He said the Quail Commission had advised against independence.

"They advised a condominium and what we need is a fresh start like this. I don't see why the Quail Commission could not continue by co-opting whites and others from East London.

"The eventual future of the area would be decided on economic issues.

"The unemployment and other factors are there for economic growth — or for unrest and upheaval," Mr Marais said.

"We all know East London is going to be an integrated society no matter who says what. It is as inevitable as next month's wind and it is essential we make proper provision for it."

Mr Marais, who headed the committee attempting to forge a united opposition movement at the start

of 1977, said neither the South African Government nor the New Republic Party could offer any solution to the problems of this area.

He discounted rumours of a new economic deal for the area being announced by the government soon.

"The University of Stellenbosch survey published recently shows East London is still bumping along at rock bottom economically. Factors for economic development here are less favourable than for any of the other big centres and Ciskei independence can only mean a further disadvantage — an excellent harbour that could become a white elephant.

"Whites are uncertain and investors will not put their money into the area until they see what is to happen. This is the place where a new view and a new economic system is called for and these are the issues on which the present East London North by-election should be fought," he said. It would be a pity if King William's Town were to be incorporated into the Ciskei. The only hope for King and the whole area was for it to be jointly run as an integrated and democratic area.

"The government has no solution — not even in Piet Koornhof's fertile mind — and they and the NRP are too bound by apartheid to solve the

problems," Mr Marais said.

An expert on Progressive Federal Party policy, he is in East London canvassing voters he calls "the doubtfuls" — those who have not decided who they will vote for.

"The voters here are very aware and I have been questioned in detail about the plan for a united opposition," he said.

"The only reason the plan failed was on the local option issue. The PFP refused to accept it and still do so because it was inherently racist, and had all the machinery of apartheid for its implementation. It was a dangerous venture for white minority rights.

"The UP maintained (as the NRP still does) that such an ethnic power base was necessary to meet white fears of domination.

"One would have thought the NRP would have used the East London North by-election as an occasion for telling the electorate how this local option concept, translated into practical terms, would ensure security of white rights, avoid the complete political domination of the city by black South African citizens lawfully residing or working here and persuade blacks to accept voluntarily the continuation of the whole apartheid set-up.

(News by Ian Wynne, 33 Caxton Street.)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Calls for disinvestment from South Africa by the western world were criticised yesterday by Ciskei's Chief Minister L. Sebe when he addressed industrialists in Paris.

Chief Sebe's visit to France is aimed at influencing French industrialists to invest in the Ciskei and the French government to recognise the contemplated independence of the Ciskei.

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**Sebe: disinvest calls harmful**

In his speech, a copy of which was released in Zwelitsha, the Chief Minister told the industrialists most black leaders in South Africa were committed to developing a democratic system within a free enterprise system.

"For the ordinary black man this system (of free enterprise) is in question," Chief Sebe said.

The black man had had the ideologies of western democracy thrust upon him for years, but the only results he had seen were a widening economic gap between the haves and have-nots.

"The have-nots in the South African situation are the blacks which is why the black man in South Africa today is saying very forcefully to the Western World that there is a need to prove in some tangible way that they will be better off under a Western democratic constitution than under communism.

"It is for this reason that talk of disinvestment is so damaging," Chief Sebe said.

He said there was some movement in South Africa towards significant change, albeit at a snail's pace.

"The current philosophy in most of Europe seems to be that it is preferable to support the so-called freedom movements operating against South Africa from outside its borders.

"But such assistance should be seen for what it is, which is a commitment to change by violence."

The Ciskei was not looking for charity or handouts.

"What we seek is for industrialists to join us in a partnership operation in terms of which they will invest in the Ciskei," said Chief Sebe. — DDR-SAPA.



# Sebe calls on France to accept Ciskei's deal

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, has called on the French Government to accept Ciskei's independence package deal to expedite its acceptance by the South African Government.

Making the call in Paris yesterday, Chief Sebe said: "If these proposals are acceptable to France that could well be the factor which will sway the balance in gaining acceptance by the South African Government and that in turn could well mean the difference between violence or peace in our country."

Chief Sebe made his call at a dinner attended by a cross-section of leading figures from all walks of life in France. A copy of the address was released at Zwelitsha.

The Ciskeian leader's visit to France, which ends late next week, is aimed at gaining recognition for the proposed independence of the Ciskei.

Chief Sebe also said homeland leaders had achieved significant success in their efforts to bring about change in South Africa.

"Such change as has taken place in white political attitudes in South Africa can largely be attributed directly to homeland leaders or to the fact that we have highlighted certain inequalities in the system which has become the focus of broader world

opinion and pressure."

He said politicians in many countries where he had visited were comparatively ill-informed about the policies of the national states within South Africa.

"Leaders of these states are by and large written off as puppets of the South African Government or alternatively it is believed the power vested in them is so rigidly controlled that they are not in a position to exercise any influence on the overall policies."

He said the Ciskei did not "fully support" the policies of apartheid of the South African Government.

"However, we are cooperating within those policies because they have created a platform in the South African political arena from which we can legally and fearlessly voice the feelings of our people in an effort to achieve a more just political dispensation for them by peaceful means."

Chief Sebe said the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, which he leads, has stood for the re-unification of the Ciskeian people into one nation "and we have fought for the restoration of our traditional land and will continue to do so in the future."

He said despite the fact that the Ciskei was a "de facto" one-party state "it is important to note the opposition parties are

neither prohibited nor discouraged."

He said the coalition which followed defection by the only remaining members of the opposition in the Ciskei Legislative Assembly at the beginning of 1980 "has arisen out of a desire on the part of the people of the Ciskei to face the future with a united front."

Regarding the Ciskei's future constitutional development, Chief Sebe said the Ciskei would not opt for independence if it implied the residents of a future independent Ciskei would lose all their rights in South Africa.

"The South African Government has only committed itself on one important issue in this package so far, which has been agreement to enter into a confederal arrangement with the Ciskei."

He said the delay on other matters in the Ciskei's independence proposals did not surprise him as the proposals were a "substantial departure" from the South African Government's current blueprint for independence.

But he was optimistic that in the changing political climate in South Africa all the outstanding issues would be settled soon.

"In the event of the South African Government sanctions these changes then I am duty bound to put the proposals

to my people for acceptance or rejection in a nationwide referendum," Chief Sebe said.

"I would have no objection whatever to such a referendum being supervised by an international body."

He said because of the standards of the modern world there already appeared to be doubt regarding recognition of the "new state of Ciskei if it comes into being."

He said: "Recognition of the future of the Ciskei by the international community is vital to our development and it is the only way in which we can hope to retain our dignity and self-respect and rise to a position of political equality with the rest of South Africa."

Chief Sebe said France needed to assess the South African situation particularly in the light of his proposals for the Ciskei.

He said it would be forcing a solution on South Africa "which neither the black nor the white people want" if the Western world continued to withhold its recognition of new states "despite the fact that they have been created in a spirit of justice and democracy."

He said forcing a solution on South Africa would hinder the course of change and would lend strength to the arms of those who sought to accomplish change by violence. — DDR.

DD 16/10/80

## Pensions, allowances increased in Ciskei

ZWELITSHA — Social pensions and parental allowances in the Ciskei had been increased with effect from October 1, the

Minister of Health and Welfare, Dr B. Maku, said here yesterday.

The pension and parental allowances would be increased by R5,50 and children's allowances by R1,60.

Dr. Maku said the categories involved were old age, blind, disabled and war veteran pensioners and the recipients of parental and children's allowances.

In addition to the increases, a single bonus of R18 would be paid to those categories during November when September - November pensions were paid out. — SAPA.



# Europe should change attitude to SA—Sebe

STAR 17/10/80 105 #17

**The Star Bureau**  
PARIS — Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe has appealed for France to re-examine the situation in South Africa, particularly that of Ciskei whose proposals for independence were one of the biggest breakthroughs in 30 years.

He told a group of senators here that if France accepted the Ciskei move to independence this could swing any South African decision in the homeland's favour.

Chief Sebe is on a 10-day visit to France.

He told a news conference before a meeting with French Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet today his visit had already achieved much.

He criticised Europe's attitude towards South Africa, charging it accepted

any little person who made noise or chaos or created bloodshed as a hero.

"Mandela is not even known to the traditional chiefs. He is regarded as a hero because he was arrested."

Explaining why some preferred to co-operate, he said: "The choice to our minds is a simple one.

"Do we count our successes by the number of corpses strewn across the African countryside, or do we fight less dramatically perhaps but just as effectively nevertheless for a new order based on peaceful co-operation?"

Chief Sebe's criticism followed an appeal by the Rev Wilson M Xaba who left the African National Congress in 1953.

Mr Xaba called on ANC men to put down their



Chief Lennox Sebe

weapons and return home to fight apartheid from within.

"It's useless to talk of things you saw 20 years ago," Chief Sebe said, cri-

ticising those opponents of Pretoria who lived safely in Europe away from the realities of apartheid.

The Ciskei Chief Minister, who returns home on Thursday had earlier warned the senators that if the Western world continued to refuse to recognise new States as well as those created in a spirit of justice and democracy, it would impose on South Africa a solution wanted neither by blacks nor by whites.

"Such a policy throws up obstacles to the process of change and reinforces the position of those who seek to impose change by violence."

While Chief Sebe would not specify why he was visiting France, observers said he was pressing for political and financial support.

PARIS — France is giving red carpet treatment to Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe, and he will meet the Foreign Minister, Mr Jean Francois Poncelet, today.

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## Ciskei govt acts on referendum

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Ciskei Government, reacting to a move by chiefs, has approached the South African Government to assist in preparing a proclamation which would form the basis of a referendum for independence.

In a statement issued at Zwelitsha yesterday, the Ciskei Government revealed the chiefs were concerned about the referendum following press statements "made by a so-called leader in the urban areas of the Eastern Cape."

The leader referred to was not mentioned by name, but a civic leader who is known to have commented on the necessity of an internationally super-

vised referendum was Mr A. Z. Laxani, of Port Elizabeth.

According to the Ciskei Government's statement, the chiefs requested the government to clarify the matter of a referendum.

"As a result of this request the caucus of the Ciskei National Independence Party met on October 15 and decided to approach the South African Government for assistance to prepare the necessary proclamation for holding a referendum."

The referendum will mark the second time people have been asked by means of a plebiscite for their views on the constitutional development of the Ciskei. — DDR.

Chief Sebe arrived here on Friday last week for a 12-day visit heading a five-man delegation and he has been feted this week by French politicians, bankers and businessmen.

He has addressed Deputies of the National Assembly and also Senators at separate meetings in the French Parliament during which he emphasised the need for recognition of Ciskei by Western European countries.

He will undoubtedly make this his main theme during his meeting with the Foreign Minister.

But although there is great private interest here in Chief Sebe's mission, it would be premature to expect that France would extend recognition to Ciskei while having refused it to Transkei.

Chief Sebe has invited leading dignitaries to the forthcoming Ciskei independence celebrations. These include the mayor of Paris and head of the powerful Gaullist Party, Mr Jacques Chirac, and a former Premier, Mr Antoine Pinay.

Speaking at a press conference after he and his delegation had met officials of the French Foreign Ministry, MPs and businessmen, Chief Sebe said his government would sit at the negotiating table for three years if necessary to get what it wanted in independence terms from South Africa.

He said he had reason to believe the Ciskei might be recognised internationally despite the failure of Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana to gain recognition.

There were three reasons for believing this, he said. "Their indefensible" problem of citizenship, whereas the Ciskei had agreement for Ciskei citizenship with South African nationality in the proposed federal agreement; harsh, discriminatory laws which Ciskei had asked to be removed completely; and because the Ciskei would not suffer from the removal of people in urban areas "at the whim of a junior member of the administration."

He added it was important that South Africa had accepted the Quail Commission recommendations on a confederal status.

Chief Sebe strongly criticised violent activists who "flee to London and the good life while other leaders worked with their suffering people seeking a peaceful road to improvements."

He criticised Europeans for concentrating their attention on what he described as minor figures such as Nelson Mandela and Dr Nthato Motlana (chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten) "who could not even get elected to a local council". — DDR-SAPA-AP.



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# Ciskeians will suffer says Tutu

EAST LONDON — The independence of the Ciskei would mean nothing but suffering and repression for the ordinary people, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said yesterday.

"It is difficult to see who will benefit except those at the top.

"As far as the so-called ordinary person is concerned it will mean nothing but suffering and repression.

"In addition, they will be excluded from their birthright, a share in the wealth of South Africa.

"It will merely be making themselves more useful as a dumping ground for discards which a rich South Africa should be trying to solve and deal with," Bishop Tutu said in an interview.

The government knew that the bantustans would never be viable.

"Now they are trying to dismantle them without dismantling them." — PC

# Nurse believed held

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EAST LONDON — A Frère Hospital staff nurse, Mr Walter Makonjwa, is believed to have been detained in the Ciskei.

His wife, Mrs S. Makonjwa, said her husband had been taken by plain clothes policeman from his Mdantsane home at 11 pm on Wednesday.

Mrs Makonjwa said she had tried to establish her husband's whereabouts to no avail.

The Secretary of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, was not available for comment yesterday.

Police at Mdantsane said they had no knowledge about the detention and referred inquiries to Brig Sebe. —  
DDR



DAIS 7 DESP 22/10/80

Jekwa (as)

may be

detained

EAST LONDON — Two prominent Mdantsane men are believed to have been taken into police custody.

They are Mr Hubert Mfana Jekwa and Mr Stanley "Six Years" Phoolo, neither of whom have been seen at their places of work this week.

Mr Jekwa, a boxing promoter and garage owner in Mdantsane, is believed to have been detained last Thursday.

Mr Phoolo, a former provincial rugby player, was detained the next day, according to one of his associates.

Efforts to get confirmation from the garage staff about the possible detention of Mr Jekwa have so far been unsuccessful.

Nor has Mrs Jekwa been available for comment.

A check at the sports shop where Mr Phoolo has worked for 25 years revealed he was "on leave".

When the Daily Dispatch questioned the secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service, Brigadier Charles Sebe, about the two men he would neither confirm nor deny the detentions.

— DDR.

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# Don't retard SA change urges Sebe

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN**  
Since solutions had been found, accepted or about to be accepted, all outside intervention ran the risk of freezing or slowing down the process of change in South Africa, Ciskei's Chief Minister Lennox Sebe told the French people.

Chief Sebe made this point in what he described as an 'open letter' to a leading French newspaper, *Le Figaro*, for what he said was a very 'negative article on the French rugby tour of South Africa.'

"The newspaper, which condemned South Africa as a totalitarian state in the same category as Russia, accused the country of denying all human rights to the majority of the population," Chief Sebe said in his letter.

lesson and political ukases or others from outsiders, especially those who are our so-called friends," he said.

Chief Sebe said the French rugby team would be accorded a warm welcome "by all the peoples of South Africa in a spirit of true sportsmanship, because it is also thanks to sport that spiritual evolution and institutional change will be facilitated."

Addressing himself directly to the writer of the article, Guy Lagorce, Chief Sebe said: "You are either badly informed or you are a racist in denying black people like myself the right and opportunity of regaining our land and the roots of our nationality."

Chief Sebe said the Ciskei was in the middle of negotiations with the South African Government in a bid to regain its independence and the territories of its ancestors.

"In particular, we wish to be linked in a confederal system with our white, coloured and Indian brothers and with the other black nations." Ferasse replies to critics, page 21.

# ANC exiles parasites Xaba tell churches

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN**  
A founder member of the African National Congress, the Rev W. M. Xaba, has accused the organisation of being 'parasitic' and has called on the French Protestant churches not to support the World Council of Churches.

The Ciskei Minister of Agriculture's address to the churches in Paris, was released here yesterday.

Mr Xaba denied there was a black majority in South Africa, saying there was "no such thing as black majority".

He said: "I know this because I was a foundation member of the ANC and when it came to elections in those early days, there was a stalemate."

"Each Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Sotho nominated their own candidates and then proceeded to vote strictly along ethnic lines, disregarding ability, leadership qualities or status to hold a particular office."

Mr Xaba said the Ciskei was keen to make known its political philosophy of peaceful evolutionary methods to achieve constitutional advancement.

"We are opposed to adopting the law of the gun of the Eastern and Central African terrorists," he said, adding such "obnoxious and abominable methods" were not needed in South Africa.

"We know also terrorism of one sort

creates terrorism of another sort while atrocities of one sort create atrocities of another, but all are the losers and none achieve their objectives."

"We do not want this type of activity in South Africa and we do not want to see the World Council of Churches promoting this terrorist activity."

"We know and fear that the WCC is making donations and money available to those ANC descendants who have fled South Africa, opting out of contributing to change and who have become parasitic on organisations similar to the WCC to meet their living costs."

He said those people were unknown to the mass of Ciskeians and had no political standing or popular costs.

"Must we have a Western nations solution rammed down our throats but cowardly, descendants live among you and are constantly overstating their case to you?"

He said the Ciskei Government was dealing daily with the problems faced by Ciskeians in both the territory itself, and in the urban areas of South Africa. "We have not abandoned them and run away."

"We are devoting all our efforts to creating development opportunities for them to help improve the quality of

their lives.

"We are forging new concepts to political interdependence with the white communities of South Africa. We are bridging the great gulfs in living standards between our respective peoples and we are curtailing apartheid legislation and practices."

He said the South African government had made concessions in the citizenship and nationality issues and had opted for joint venture areas in 'former sacred white preserves'.

Mr Xaba said separate development and apartheid were not synonymous and denoted totally different concepts in South Africa.

"The political concept of separate development denotes an evolutionary constitutional advancement of various nations of people, firstly through a process of self government and finally to a state of political independence such as has been gained by practically all of the Third World African countries."

"Apartheid, on the other hand, is pure racial discrimination which assaults the dignity of the human being and is something my nation, my people and my government hate."

He said Ciskei's participation in homeland development was influenced by a desire to regain its former national entity. — DDR

# Tabata in new post

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN**  
The man who was the first black departmental secretary in the Ciskei, Mr K. B. Tabata has been recalled after being sacked from the post.

Mr Tabata was appointed Secretary for Education in 1978, but he lost his post at the beginning of this year.

He has now been appointed Secretary for Interior, which has brought to two the number of black departmental secretaries in the Ciskei.

The other secretary, Mr O. S. Bomela, took over the Department of Education secretary post, following termination of Mr Tabata's services. — DDR



112-7 Dist 25/10/80

# Exam pupils barred: 34 held

EAST LONDON — Ciskei police yesterday detained 34 students in connection with alleged interference with other students who wanted to go to school and write internal examinations in Mdantsane schools.

Trouble started early yesterday morning when several students were stopped near a cinema at the corner of Qumza Highway and Bomela Road and told not to go to school.

The students were going to Dr Rubusana Training College and Mzomhle and Khulani High Schools.

Most of the students detained were arrested near Dr Rubusana college when they allegedly stopped students and some women teachers going to the school.

General attendance at various schools on the first day of internal examinations in secondary and high schools yesterday ranged from poor to good.

Schools with the lowest turnout were Mzomhle, where 173 girls out of 788 boys and girls due to write the examinations turned up. Ngcelwane, where 140 of the more than 300 students in Forms One, Two and Four sat the examinations, Wongalethu, where a third of the students in the three classes that do not sit for external examinations were writing yesterday, and Mxameke, where 170 of the 500 students for internal examinations were at the school by 9.45 am.

At two primary schools in Zones 12 and 11 pupils in classes were driven out by some boys at Fikile Bengu Higher Primary and Londolozani Lower Primary respectively.

A police van had to rescue some Mzomhle High School girls who had sought refuge in a home in N U. 1 after being chased by boys armed with knives and other sharp instruments. — DDR.

# Sebe's message: work, work, work

APC 25/10/80 105

**EAST LONDON** — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, yesterday gave notice to his people that days of easy office hours were over.

"You can kick me out but I will not participate in exercises which have brought down empires by closing offices at 4.30 in the afternoon.

"We must work and work and work very hard.

"Freedom is an empty word and the package deal is rotten if it is not accompanied by sacrifice and responsibility." Chief Sebe said at the airport here after his return from France.

He said in a short speech after his arrival

that it was understandable that the independence of the other homelands had not been recognised because of the citizenship agreements that had been reached.

But this had changed with the concept of a confederation which he found during his visit had a wide level of support particularly as confederation had been seriously considered before the concept of Africa for the Africans had been developed.

"The country which is most sympathetic on this issue is France," Chief Sebe said.

The philosophy of confederation was supported because it was the duty of

both parties to ensure that they were both free and this was not only a verbal commitment by them.

Confederation was also a commitment to share the wealth of both parties.

This was important because the Ciskei did not have mineral resources of its own.

"I can tell you that the government of France is not only sympathetic to the idea of confederation but has learnt through experience that one person cannot hold on to the strings at the expense of the other," he said.

After a speech in France by the Rev W. A. Xaba, the Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture, to a group of Christians which included

the World Council of Churches, a Catholic Bishop had phoned to ask what they could do to help with the implementation of the confederation.

When they had been asked about Oliver Tambo, the leader in exile of the banned African National Congress, they replied: "We are feeding the people he has left behind in the struggle while he stays in very great hotels."

He believed that the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, would never be able to solve problems because the people no longer worked hard.

This was different in France where people

woke up at three and four in the morning to work.

"As a message I want to say to my people: no developing nation can ever hope to succeed if the civil servants, the ministers and the chiefs work from eight to 4.30.

"Forget about it. It has sunk Great Britain so that it will never recover.

"You must work with dedication and you must work hard.

"We have to set an example. The chiefs must set an example, as far as ploughing and as far as clinics are concerned," Chief Sebe said.

If people did not like this, they could kick him out, he added.

During his two-week visit, Chief Sebe met a wide range of people, including the Mayor of Paris, Mr. Jacques Chirac, who was to be a candidate for president next year.

His party had also met a large number of industrialists who had expressed considerable interest.

The managing director of the Ciskei National Development Corporation, Mr. Frans Meisenholdt, had been overburdened with these inquiries, Chief Sebe said.

He also announced that he would be making a full report to the nation on Sunday, November 2, about his visit. — PC



# Ciskei police detain matric student again

see post 26/10/80

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A MATRIC student at Zeleni High School near King William's Town, Vuyani Qwati (20), was re-detained on Wednesday by the Ciskei police seven days after he had been released from detention.

Mrs Qwati said her son was originally detained under Proclamation R252 of the Ciskei Emergency Regulations. After two months in detention he was released and told to go back to school. He stayed away from school because he was receiving medical attention, she said.

The Secretary of the Ciskei National Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe, was not available for comment. He has said previously, however, that a number of pupils in Mdantsane have been detained for stopping other students from attending classes.

Security was tightened at several Ciskei post-primary schools as internal examinations started.

# Inimidators in bush camps — Sebe

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**MDANTSANE** — Ciskei pupils intimidating other pupils who were writing examinations were warned last night they were "treading a very thin spider web" and they would soon be caught in it. The warning came from the Secretary for Ciskei Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe. He was commenting on

pupils' attempt to burn down the Zone Nine house here of a pupil writing examinations. "We are aware of pupils camping out in the bush near Mdantsane who come out at night to intimidate other pupils and their parents. "Already 104 have been detained for their terrorist activities and the

attorney general is considering charging them with either public violence or sabotage soon. "I appeal to parents and all pupils to remain calm as we have the situation under control. The exams will not be disrupted by these elements." Meanwhile in Port Elizabeth an attempt was made to burn down the

Methodist Church in Walmer. About R800 damage was caused before the fire brigade doused the fire. Otherwise the townships were quiet yesterday following the stone-throwing at the weekend after the announcement of the result of the Coetzee-Weaver fight.

In Guguletu and Langa, however, buses, a bakkie and a police vehicle were stoned last night shortly after the end of the television broadcast of the fight. "This is the second time in three days that the fight is believed to have prompted unrest in the townships. — DDR-DDC. Editorial opinion, page 16.



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# 75 pc sit for Ciskei exams

EAST LONDON — About 75 per cent of the candidates registered for the senior certificate examinations in Ciskei schools turned up for the first day of examinations yesterday, the Secretary for Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, said.

Brig Sebe said more pupils turned up in rural areas where the attendance was more than 80 per cent.

He said he had been surprised by a higher than expected turnout in Mdantsane.

"The pupils responded well and this is through the untiring efforts of the police who have worked

round the clock in protecting people against the terrorism that has been going on in Mdantsane," Brig Sebe said.

He did not have figures for Mdantsane but a check through the schools yesterday showed that about 58 per cent of the pupils had turned up.

The school with the highest figure had 69 per cent.

Brig Sebe said that although the turnout had been good he had received no report of a 100 per cent turnout from any school.

He also revealed that the "Ciskei's boys on the border" — a para-military special police unit trained in urban terrorism —

were back in the Ciskei to help quell uprisings during the examinations.

The group of 72 men would return to the border at the end of the exam period, he said. Also assisting police were volunteers, mainly tribesmen from rural areas.

"Their duty is to protect buildings and they do not do anything else," he said.

There were a few men

from inside Mdantsane and Zwelitsha but the bulk of these men came from rural areas and were deployed in various parts of the Ciskei, with the majority in Mdantsane.

Brig Sebe said the number of students detained as a result of incidents lately had risen to 115 and plans were going ahead to have them taken to court as soon as possible. — DDR

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MAY 1980 30/10/80

## Ciskei referendum to be on December 4

**ZWELITSHA — A referendum to determine the attitude of Ciskeian voters to the question of independence for Ciskei is to be held on December 4.**

Announcing the referendum in a press statement yesterday, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief, I. L. Sebe, assured Ciskeians that his government would stand firm on citizenship, land and financial issues when negotiating independence.

"My government will insist that some form of citizenship or nationality of the confederation be granted to all Ciskeian citizens," she said. "It will also insist that the terms under which such citizenship or nationality is granted will be satisfactory and in the interests of all Ciskeians."

Chief Sebe said the land question was still being negotiated and that Ciskei would insist on a "satisfactory solution" to that issue as well.

Chief Sebe also said he would ensure that Ciskei received adequate financial support in the event of independence.

"It has already been agreed in writing with the South African Government that the Ciskei and South Africa both have a share in the assets of the confederation regardless of where they are situated."

Chief Sebe said the referendum was being held at the insistence of Ciskei chiefs and members of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, who during his visit to France had met the Cabinet and demanded a referendum "as soon as possible".

In a statement showing his obvious support for independence, Chief Sebe said: "There is no doubt in my mind that peace and stability can prevail in this part of the world and that Ciskeians are sufficiently mature politically to take this step to independence."

"By voting in favour of independence, Ciskeians will ensure that they progress to full nationhood and that the rights for which our forefathers fought on the Eastern Frontline are restored. We are a free people and have the right to demand that we will be allowed to govern ourselves."

In answer to a question Chief Sebe said the United Nations had been invited to supervise the referendum. — DDR.  
Full statement, page 21.



# Ciskeians to vote on independence issue

JALCY JSP 30/1/80

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ZWELITSHA — Ciskeian voters will be able to reply to the question of independence for Ciskei in a referendum on December 4.

This was announced by the Ciskeian Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, in a press statement released here yesterday.

The statement said:

"I feel that it is incumbent on me as the Chief Minister of Ciskei to spell out the steps which have led up to this action being taken."

"My government was aware of the fact that there were certain financial advantages for the Ciskeian people in the taking of independence. It is apparent that the budgets of independent states

have been substantially increased after independence to the extent where it is made possible for them to devote much more to the development of their countries.

"There were, however, certain aspects of the independence issue which remained obscure to us and we were unwilling for the financial benefits to take the irretrievable steps to independence without light having been cast into these areas of obscurity."

"It is for this reason that we appointed the Quall Commission whose report and findings have been hailed throughout South Africa and the rest of the world as the best investigation so far on the independence issue.

"When this very able commission rendered its report we made a thorough study of that report and presented it to the nation at Ntabakandoda in order to allow them to express an opinion on it. At the meeting on Ntabakandoda which was attended by 100 000 Ciskeians, the main issues contained in the report were debated and certain proposals were put.

"Out of these discussions arose a document which expressed the feelings of the people in regard to independence, and which attempted to marry these feelings to the feelings of the commission. This document has become known as the "package deal" and it was presented to the Govern-

ment of South Africa on February 22 this year.

"Many discussions on the contents of this document have resulted and finally a committee was appointed to render a report on those areas on which agreement with South Africa could be reached before October 5, 1980.

"The agreement which was reached and signed with South Africa dealt fully with the package deal. An important breakthrough was obtained for the first time in South African politics in that an agreement was reached to enter into a confederal agreement with South Africa.

"This agreement will be signed with the attainment of independence.

The principle has, however, been accepted.

"Important issues which are still outstanding are the issues of citizenship for Ciskeians resident within the Ciskei and within the Republic and in this regard my government will insist that some form of citizenship or nationality of the confederation be granted to all Ciskeian citizens.

"It will also insist that the terms under which such citizenship or nationality is granted will be satisfactory and in the interests of all Ciskeians. The land question is also in the process of negotiation and the government of the Ciskei will insist on a satisfactory solution to this problem as well.

"We will ensure that the government of the Ciskei receives adequate financial support in the event of independence and in this connection it can be noted that in principle it has already been agreed in writing with the South African government that the Ciskei and South Africa both have a share in the assets of the confederation regardless of where they are situated.

"These are the issues in relation to independence on which my government stands firm. We are aware that there is still much bargaining to be done.

"Our question to the nation at this stage is whether they are in favour of independence in the terms which are spelt out in the package deal

whose contents have by now become more familiar to most Ciskeians.

"I think the point should be made that the referendum is being held at this stage on the insistence of the Ciskeian people as transmitted to us via their traditional leaders and their elected members in the Legislative Assembly.

"During my absence from the country in France, these leaders met the Cabinet and demanded that we go ahead as soon as possible with the referendum. There is no doubt in my mind that peace and stability can prevail in this part of the world and that Ciskeians are sufficiently mature politically to take this step into independence.

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H'LANDS - Ciskei - General

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shortly about the whole matter  
Han 17 Q.C. 883  
South African Development Trust  
Mdantsane

\*8. Dr. A. L. BORAINÉ asked the  
Minister of Co-operation and Development:

- (1) Whether the South African Development Trust is involved in the con-

JUNE 1966

struction of houses in Mdantsane through the agency of any organization; if so, what organization;

- (2) whether there has recently been any work stoppage or other industrial unrest amongst workers of this organization; if so, (a) what were the causes and (b) what steps have been taken to obviate such causes?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes, the City Council of East London which, as developing agent, employs people on a temporary basis and which in this regard functions under the name of Mdantsane Special Organization.
- (2) Yes.
  - (a) As a result of the action of a certain trade union the workers ceased work for an afternoon only.
  - (b) The complaints of the workers have been investigated by the relevant City Council as the responsible organization and a liaison committee has been established to attend to the matter.

**Ciskei: drought relief measures**

\*16. Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development: *Hum. 17 Q.C. 871 11/6/80*

- (1) Whether he has received representations from the Ciskei Government in regard to the application of drought relief measures in Ciskei;
- (2) whether such measures are to be applied; if so, (a) when and (b) what form will the measures take; if not, why not?

†The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes.<sup>a</sup>
- (2) (a) An investigation was carried out by the Department of Co-operation and Development and a works-committee consisting of Ciskei Government officials and an official of the Department of Co-operation and Development is since 22 May 1980 attending to the execution of a relief programme.
- (b) Fresh drinking water is being supplied to people and animals where necessary and mobile tankers are being used. Employment opportunities are being created to undertake the following works:
  - (i) Eradication of noxious weeds;
  - (ii) Preparation of land for afforestation;

- (iii) Burning of fire breaks;
- (iv) Maintenance of roads; and
- (v) Clearing of culverts and waterways.

Further, feeding programmes and feeding schemes for cattle are being undertaken. The aim will be to safeguard the breeding nucleus of the national herd by selecting the young breeding animals and arranging that these animals be provided with supplementary fodder at selected points on a fully subsidized basis. This programme is also in full operation. Representations are being made to the Treasury for the provision of the necessary funds. I have acquainted myself of the situation in the Ciskei during a visit to the area on 9 May 1980. My Department is investigating the possibility of making available (1) enriched maize on resale to people in the Ciskei and (2) enriched food to children and the aged.



MONDAY, 9 JUNE 1980

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply: *9/6/80*  
*Hansard 17 Q 101 553*  
 Agreements between South Africa/Transkei  
*(103)*

608. Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information:

- (1) What amount was paid by South Africa to Transkei in terms of agreements between the two countries at the time of Transkei independence;
- (2) whether any additional amounts have

been paid to Transkei in (a) loans or (b) grants; if so, (i) how many and (ii) what was the amount of the loan or grant in each case;

- (3) whether any further (a) loans or (b) grants are envisaged during the current financial year; if so, what loans or grants?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INFORMATION:

- (1) The following amounts were paid to Transkei annually since independence in terms of the provisions of the Act on Financial Arrangements with Transkei (Act 106 of 1976) and an inter-governmental agreement in regard to financial arrangements:

	(Rand Million)			
	1977-'78	1978-'79	1979-'80	Total
Statutory Amount .....	113,5	113,5	113,5	R340,5
Taxes collected from Transkei citizens in the R.S.A. ....	8,3	9,9	5,7	R 23,9
The following payments, being Transkei's share of the common customs revenue pool, were made in terms of the provisions of the Agreement on Economic Relations between the R.S.A. and Transkei: .....	40,0	62,38	88,49	R190,87
The following amounts were paid, being compensation payments made in terms of the Monetary Agreement which represents a return on the Rand currency circulating in Transkei: .....	3,07	1,88	2,05	R 7,0
In terms of the Agreement regarding the Development of Certain Areas and related matters, the following amounts were paid to Transkei by the Department of Co-operation and Development: .....	4,84	3,44	2,22	R 10,5

(2) (a) Yes.

- (i) One.
- (ii) R14 million in the 1979-'80 financial year for the completion of development projects.

(b) None.

(3)(a) and (b) The Agreement in regard to Financial Arrangements expired on 31 March 1980 and arrangements for 1980-'81 are presently being negotiated which will provide for:

- (i) the transfer of taxes collected in South Africa from Transkei citizens and
- (ii) development aid—R101 million.

The South African Government is also prepared to consider financial and technical aid in respect of individual development projects.

MONDAY, 9

**Drought relief measures**

How 16. *Quin. Lot 832* **105**  
\*2. Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS asked the  
Minister of Agriculture and Fisheries:

- 4/6/80*
- (1) Whether drought relief measures are to be applied in (a) the coastal area from Bushman's River to the Kei River, (b) the Ciskei and (c) the inland areas of the Border; if not, why not; if so,
  - (2) (a) what form will the measures take and (b) when will they be put into operation?

**The DEPUTY MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES:**

- (1) (a) and (c) All representations from organized agriculture for the introduction of drought relief measures in specific areas are considered on merit. Resulting from representations by the Berlin and Kei Road Farmers' Unions, the magisterial district of King William's Town was listed as a

pasturage distress area as from 3 June 1980. No other representations in this regard have been received from the areas in question.

- (b) This is being dealt with by the Minister of Co-operation and Development.
- (2) (a) The first phase of such drought relief measures is a rebate of 75 per cent on the cost of transport of fodder by the S.A. Railways. Depending on the duration and severity of the drought conditions and with due regard to the financial position of stock farmers in a listed pasturage distress area, the Government may, as a second phase, introduce a loan scheme for the purchase of fodder, which may be followed, as a third phase, by a scheme for the payment of a subsidy on the cost of fodder purchases.
- (b) consideration of representations for the listing of pasturage distress areas enjoys the highest priority on a continuous basis.



21/5/80

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**Stutterheim: new township**

\*5. Mr. R. J. LORIMER asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

- (1) Whether the reinvestigation into the siting of a new township on South African Development Trust land near Stutterheim has been completed; if so, what decision has been made;
- (2) whether development of the township has been commenced; if not, why not?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes, and decided that Frankfort township be developed to accommodate the people from Stutterheim.
- (2) No. The concept layout plan has been submitted to the Ciskeian Government for comment as the planning of the area is being done in co-operation with the said Government.

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Ciskeian citizenship  
14(763) 14/5/80 (103) (105)

\*10. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

- (1) Whether Blacks in the Eastern Cape who are not Transkeians are required to take out Ciskeian citizenship as a condition precedent to (a) the issue of reference books to them and (b) the registration of birth of their children; if not,
- (2) whether complaints have been made to him or his Department that such requirement is being applied by officials in the Eastern Cape; if so,
- (3) whether such complaints have been investigated; if so, with what result; if not, why not;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION:

- (1) (a) No.  
(b) No.
- (2) No.
- (3) and (4) Fall away.

*Note:* The hon. member is also referred to the oral reply to question 11 on Friday, 21 March 1980.



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FRIDAY, 25

- (2) (a) when was it appointed, (b) who are its members and (c) what are its terms of reference;
- (3) whether any meetings of the committee have been held; if so, how many;
- (4) whether it has made any recommendations; if so, (a) what are the recommendations and (b) what is the attitude of his Department to these recommendations?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) (a) 22 February 1980.
- (b) The hon. the Deputy Minister J. G. Wentzel.  
The hon. the Minister Xaba from the Ciskei.  
Mr. G. Godden from the Ciskei.  
Mr. G. Maytham from the Ciskei.  
Mr. S. W. Pienaar: Department of Co-operation and Development.  
Mr. D. VAN Niekerk: Department of Co-operation and Development.  
Mr. M. T. Cilliers: Department of Co-operation and Development.
- (c) The Committee investigated what remains to be done with regard to the removal of people from Glen Grey and Herschel to Ciskei.

- (3) Yes—one.
- (4) (a) and (b)  
Certain recommendations were made to the Department of Co-operation and Development by the Chairman of the Committee but they are still under consideration. Final details thereof cannot be disclosed at this stage, but will be disclosed as soon as decisions had been taken.

Ciskei/South Africa committee 105  
 10(660) 25/4/80  
 \*14. Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

- (1) Whether a joint Ciskei/South Africa committee has been appointed to examine the situation in the Thornhill-Sada area; if so,

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Glenmore Township: development

0(662) 25/4/80  
\*15. Mr. D. J. N. MALCOMESS asked the  
Minister of Co-operation and Development:

- (1) Whether the development of Glenmore Township has been halted; if so, (a) when was the decision to do so taken and (b) for what reasons;
- (2) (a) what amount was spent on the development of Glenmore and (b) for what purposes;
- (3) whether an alternative scheme has been decided upon; if so, what scheme;
- (4) what provision is being made for people living in Glenmore at present?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) Yes.
  - (a) 21 September 1979.
  - (b) The Ciskeian Government did not consider Glenmore to be a national or regional growth point within their National Development Plan which became available after the planning of Glenmore had been commenced with. Furthermore the Ciskeian Government was no longer prepared to participate in the development of Glenmore as a township as the land, on which it was to be developed had been earmarked for agricultural purposes.

- (2) (a) R600 000.
  - (b) The amount was expended on the erection of temporary housing, a clinic, a water purification sys-

tem, an oxidation dam, water reticulation, a school and other services to cater for approximately 600 families until such time as permanent houses would be available.

- (3) Alternative arrangements are still being negotiated and no statement can be made at this stage.
- (4) The basic needs of residents of Glenmore including the maintenance of temporary dwellings and services and any essential amenities incidental to the normal administration of townships in South African Development Trust areas will continue to be provided.



# Plan for Ciskei

PRETORIA — The Van der Walt Commission has recommended that King William's Town and the Berlin area be incorporated into the Ciskei.

This was announced here last night by the chairman of the commission, Mr Hennie van der Walt.

According to a statement issued by him, the draft proposals for the consolidation of the Ciskei affect the following areas:

- Black Kei-Winterberg (Tarkastad district);
- Waterdown Dam-Klip-plant-Hogsback (Cathcart district);
- Pire-Kubusi (King William's Town district);
- Berlin-King William's Town (King William's Town district);
- Kidds Beach-Chalumna (East London district);
- Proposed excisions of the Gubu Dam and a part of the Peeltion location.

According to Mr Van der Walt, the proposed extra land is additional to the 100 000 ha which still has to be acquired in terms of the 1975 recommendations.

The statement follows one on Thursday by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koorhof, in which he requested the commission, in view of the Ciskei's independence, to give priority to the draft proposals for the Ciskei.

The statement says that during the next two weeks a proper point-to-point description of the proposed land allocations to the Ciskei will be made available to the Eastern Cape Agricultural Union and on request to people and other bodies affected by it.

As soon as those affected had had the opportunity to study the draft proposals, the commission would consult with the land owners and others involved, as well as with the Ciskei Government.

The result of these meetings, accompanied by the commission's final proposals, would afterwards be conveyed to the Cabinet for its consideration and presentation to Parliament, which had the final say.

Regarding King William's Town and Berlin, the same procedure would be followed in the hearing of evidence as had been the case with Mafeking.

The possible utilisation of the East London harbour as a project of co-operation between Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa

— as proposed by the commission — would also be looked at closely.

Further details concerning sitting days and times for the hearing of evidence would be heard later, the statement said.

In an interview last night, Mr Van der Walt said if the proposals were approved by people living in the areas, about 137 000 ha would be added to the Ciskei.

Mr Van der Walt said the incorporation of King William's Town and Berlin was essential in the light of the decision to make black areas economically viable.

"We are planning to handle King William's Town on the same basis we handled Mafeking. In practice we have shown that since it became known that Mafeking was to be included in Bophuthatswana, an economic revival took place and we believe that the same thing is going to happen to King William's Town."

Asked about the cost of the additional land, Mr Van der Walt said it had been calculated that the outstanding 100 000 ha at 1975 prices would cost R80 million, and that the 1975 recommendations plus the commission's would cost about R189 million.

"However, this is an arbitrary figure and we will have to wait and see how it develops," Mr Van der Walt said. — SAPA.

## Leaders decline comment

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Reaction to the news that the town may be incorporated into the Ciskei drew stiff "no comments" last night.

The Mayor, Mr Eric Weyer, said: "Give me a little time to think about this then I will issue a comment," he said.

The chairman of the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce, Mr Godfrey Howes, also asked for time.

The Deputy Mayor and a leading local businessman, Mr Ray Radue, said: "I would prefer to wait and see the announcement in print before commenting."

In East London, the Mayor, Mr Donald Card, said the recommendation that Berlin be incorporated into the Ciskei was "only a recommendation at this stage."

"It is up to those involved to put their point. It now depends on those loyal industrialists who have moved to the Berlin area to make their decision and I believe that it will be my council's duty to stand by the request of the majority of those in Berlin."

Mr Card said he had expected Berlin to be dealt with in terms of the co-prosperity plan. — DDR.

## Sebe predicts new economic boom

ZWELITSHA — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, last night welcomed the announcement on consolidation proposals for the Ciskei.

He said: "The possible inclusion of King William's Town within our boundaries is seen as a major step towards achieving economic viability for this area."

"Berlin is a developed industrial complex which has never really progressed to any great extent. We believe in the Ciskei that we can create a bustling and prosperous centre for industry and commerce around this nucleus."

"The creation of this extended growth axis from Dimbaza to Berlin within a national state now makes Ciskei the most attractive place in South Africa for white investment. If we add to this the fact that King William's Town is a most pleasant residential centre for white investors, we then have a combination of factors which I predict will lead to a new economic boom in the area."

"The whites who find themselves within the newly created boundaries need have no fear. It is in our interest to preserve their confidence in us and we have formulated certain plans in regard to their future in the Ciskei which we are sure will reassure them."

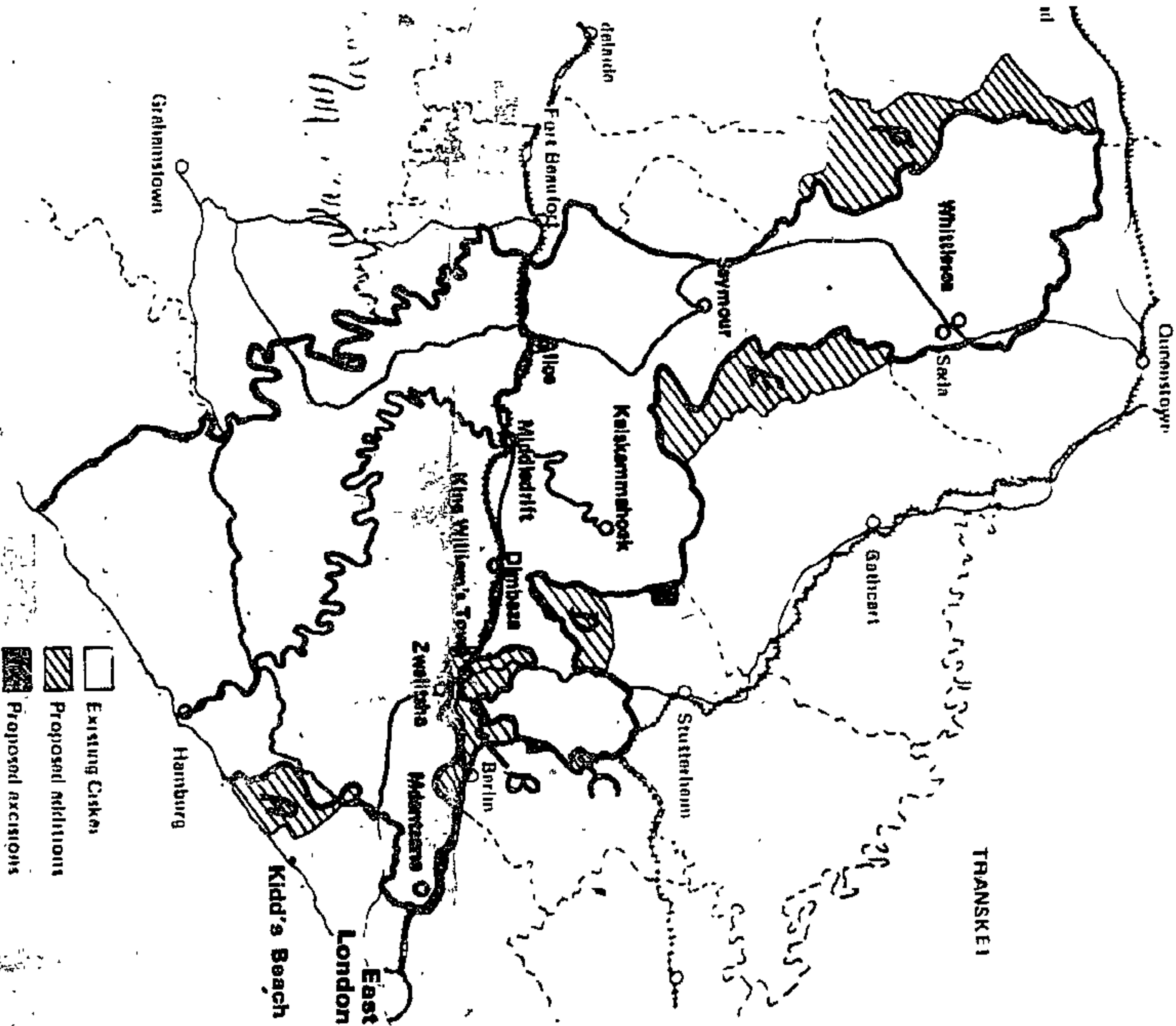
"The exact nature of negotiations in regard to the hand over of the white areas is not yet clear, and it is therefore a little premature to make statements against the background of this uncertainty. We will in due course make more specific announcements."

"For the moment I can only say that my government has studied the situation in other central African countries and is very anxious to avoid the type of mistakes which will result in a crippling influx of whites."

"We will look very carefully at problems such as schooling, residential areas and law and order in the long term."

"My message to my white brothers and sisters is 'we need you and you need us, let us get together and build a better future for all our children.'"

"The land included does not of course satisfy all Ciskei demands and we will continue to press to have them satisfied. — DDR.



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# Mixed feelings on the Border

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## Consolidation proposals for Ciskei get grudging acceptance from some

THERE is grudging acceptance among whites on the Border over the Van der Walt Commission's recommendations to incorporate King William's Town and Berlin into Ciskei.

Businessmen in East London and King William's Town believe the consolidation proposals, if accepted, will be a boost for the economically depressed area, but others fear the encroachment of black states on the narrow white corridor that joins East London through King Williams's Town, Stutterheim, and Cathcart to Queenstown and the rest of white South Africa.

The Van der Walt Commission has proposed the incorporation of King William's Town, Berlin, Winterberg, Klipplaat, Hogsback, Pirie, Kubusi, Kidds Beach and Chalumna into Ciskei, while it proposes to excise the Gubu Dam and part of Peulton from Ciskei.

This incorporation, plus the additional 100 000 hectares which still have to be acquired in terms of the 1975 recommendations, will cost about R189-million, but this was an arbitrary figure, according to the commission's chairman, Hennie van der Walt. He said the draft

By PETER DAVIS and  
MAUREEN GRIFFIN

proposals would be made available for study to all those affected. The commission would then consult these people and the Ciskei Government before the final proposals were conveyed to the Cabinet and Parliament.

The National Party MP for King William's Town Hendrik Coetzer, who farms in the white corridor, said he had mixed feelings about the proposals.

Mr Coetzer said if consolidation succeeded in achieving peaceful co-existence between the races, this would be a great achievement for Prime Minister P. W. Botha and Chief Minister Lennox Sebe.

"But I would expect certain guarantees to be given to the residents of consolidated areas to ensure they will not suffer financial loss," Mr Coetzer said.

The Mayor of King William's Town, Eric Weyer, expressed some irritation at the consolidation proposals.

"In my opinion the coloured and white residents of King have not yet been consulted, nor have there

been discussions with the borough council, the local chamber of commerce and the leaders of industry," Mr Weyer said.

"Whites and coloureds here are quite happy to co-operate with Ciskei, but as the exact nature of the proposed handover of King William's Town isn't clear, it is impossible for me to make any statement against this background of uncertainty.

"I wonder whether the setting up of a co-prosperity development zone for this region, as is at present being investigated, would not be a more acceptable solution which would possibly bring greater economic prosperity to Ciskei than the proposed incorporation of King William's Town.

Godfrey Howes, president of the King William's Town Chamber of Commerce, echoed the mayor's views, adding: "We believe Chief Sebe adopts a far more pragmatic approach to the interests of the white and coloured community than certain other black leaders, and in this respect we are probably fortunate in having a man

who will consult other population groups."

East London's Mayor Donald Card said the proposals put paid to the doubting Thomases who were convinced East London would go black.

"We have a co-prosperity plan with Transkei and Ciskei which includes sharing facilities such as the harbour. The sooner we get this issue sorted out and get together to work out economic solutions for the area, the better.

"We will take a census of the area and if the people there are satisfied with the proposals, we will back it, but if not, we will fight it."

Tony Selley, president of East London Chamber of Commerce said.

"I feel King William's Town will benefit because it will become the capital of Ciskei. Even at present it is enjoying a greater boom than East London..

"As far as East London is concerned, the uncertainty regarding this city's future has now been removed. It appears East London is being kept in the white corridor.

"We have been stagnating economically because of the uncertainty and this should now be

eliminated. But we do need further benefits and further concessions from Government."

John Rich, president of the Border Chamber of Industries and a Berlin industrialist, said he would need full details of the announcement before he could gauge the implications.

"As far as industry is concerned and the development of the area, the proposed incorporation doesn't over-excite me."

Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, said the whole question of independence for Ciskei as a separate entity was absurd -- against the spirit of the Promotion of Self-Government Act No 46 of 1976 which clearly stated the Xhosas were one unit.

Chief Matanzima said Transkei and Ciskei should unite to fight the problems of Southern Africa, but Chief Sebe's handling of independence was a "circus"

Chief Sebe welcomed the proposals and said the possible inclusion of King William's Town into Ciskei would be a major step towards achieving economic viability for the area.



Own Correspondent

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.** — A battle is shaping between community leaders here and the Government over the planned incorporation of the town into Ciskei — as proposed by the Van der Walt Commission.

Both the borough council and the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce are opposed to the incorporation plans, saying the alternative of a co-prosperity development zone is preferable.

And both bodies have deny Mr Hennie van der Walt's claim that the residents of the town have been consulted.

In a statement, the Mayor, Councillor Eric Wever, said: "It was stated that representatives of King William's Town served on the southern regional committee, known as the Greef Committee, of the Van der Walt Commission.

"This is incorrect as no one from King William's Town, except officials of the Government of Ciskei who are resident in our town, did in fact serve on that committee, nor did the committee have any discussions with the borough council,

# Whites angry over Ciskei takeover plan

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the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce or leaders of industry."

Mr Godfrey Howes, chairman of the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce, said his organisation felt that the setting up of a co-prosperity development zone for the area was a more acceptable solution than the proposed incorporation into Ciskei.

However, Mr Howes added: "We believe that Chief Sebe has adopted a far more prag-

matic approach to the interests of whites and coloureds than certain other black leaders do, and in this respect we are fortunate in having a man who will and is prepared to consult with other population groups."

Although the possibility that King William's Town will be incorporated into Ciskei has been common knowledge for some time, the announcement was still a shock. Businessmen and residents expressed concern over the financial implications of the plan.

# Sebe pleased with land proposed for the Ciskei

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Own Correspondent

ZWELITSHA. — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has welcomed the announcement on consolidation proposals for the Ciskei.

He said at the weekend: "The possible inclusion of King William's Town within our boundaries is seen as a major step towards achieving economic viability for this area.

"Berlin is a developed industrial complex which has never really progressed to any extent.

"We believe in the Ciskei that we can create a bustling and prosperous centre for industry and commerce around this nucleus.

"The creation of this extended growth axis from Dimbaza to Berlin within a national

state now makes Ciskei the most attractive place in South Africa for white investment.

"If we add to this the fact that King William's Town is a most pleasant residential centre for white investors, we then have a combination of factors which I predict will lead to a new economic boom in the area.

"The whites who find themselves within the newly-created boundaries need have no fear. It is in our interest to preserve their confidence in us and we have formulated certain plans in regard to their future in the Ciskei, which we are sure will reassure them.

"The exact nature of negotiations in regard to the handover of the white areas is not yet clear and it is therefore a little

premature to make statements against the background of this uncertainty. We will in due course make more specific announcements.

"For the moment I can only say that my government has studied the situation in other Central African countries and is very anxious to avoid the type of mistakes which will result in a crippling efflux of whites.

"We will look very carefully at problems such as schooling, residential areas and law and order in the long term."

Chief Sebe called on whites to work with his people.

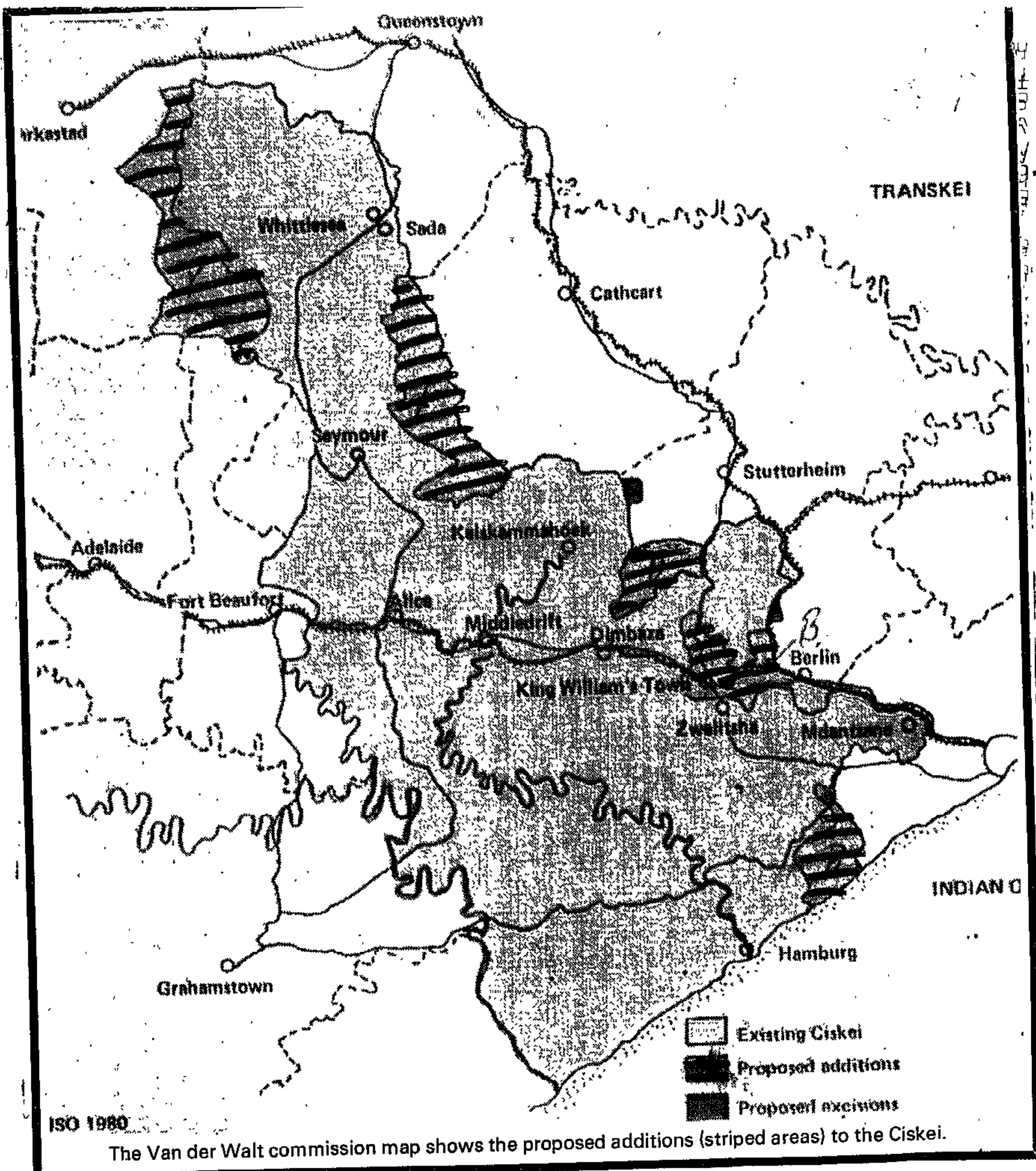
"The land included does not of course satisfy all Ciskei demands and we will continue to press to have them satisfied."

Has a degree in Operations Research from Tilburg, Holland. He has been with Shell International for 10 years and worked for that company as an international consultant in several countries around the world. His experience includes the design and development of systems for financial management, manufacturing control and production optimisation. He has taught courses in Management Information Systems and Operations Research at the Business Schools of the Universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch. He is recognised as a member of the consultants group of the Computer Society of South Africa and specialises in requirement definition and design of industrial systems.

Klaas van der Poel

CURRICULUM VITAE





## Sebe extends hand to whites

Own Correspondent

ZWELITSHA. — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, yesterday welcomed the announcement on consolidation proposals for the Ciskei.

He said: "The possible inclusion of King William's Town within our boundaries is seen as a major step towards achieving economic viability for this area."

"Berlin is a developed industrial complex which has never really progressed to any extent. We believe in the Ciskei that we can create a bustling and prosperous centre for industry and commerce around this nucleus."

"The creation of this extended growth from Dimbaza to Berlin within a national state now makes Ciskei the most attractive place in South Africa for white investment. If we add to this the fact that King William's Town is a most pleasant residential centre for white investors, we then have a combination of factors which I predict will lead to a new economic boom in the area."

Whites who found themselves within the new boundaries need have no fear. "It is in our interest to preserve their confidence in us and we have formulated certain plans in regard to their future in the Ciskei which we are sure will reassure them."

## Proposal seeks to add town areas to Ciskei

CAPL TIMES  
3/11/80  
105

PRETORIA. — The Van der Walt Commission has recommended that King William's Town and the Berlin area be incorporated into the Ciskei.

This was announced here at the weekend by the chairman of the commission, Mr Hennie van der Walt.

According to a statement issued by him, the draft proposals for the consolidation of the Ciskei affect the following areas:

- Black Kei, Winterberg (Tarkastad District)
- Waterdown Dam, Klipplaat, Hogsback (Cathcart district)
- Pirie, Kabusi (King William's Town district)
- Berlin (King William's Town district)
- Kidds Beach, Chalumna (East London district)
- Proposed excisions of the Gubu Dam and a part of the Peulton location.

According to Mr Van Der Walt, the proposed extra land is additional to the 100 000 ha which still has to be acquired in terms of the 1975 recommendations.

The statement follows one on Thursday by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, in which he requested the commission, in view of the Ciskei's intended steps towards independence, to give priority to the draft proposals for the Ciskei.

As soon as those affected had had the opportunity to study the draft proposals, the commission would consult with the land owners and others involved, as well as with the Ciskei Government.

The result of the meetings, accompanied by the commission's final proposals, would afterwards be conveyed to the Cabinet for its consideration and presentation to Parliament, which had the final say.

Possible use of East London harbour as a project of co-operation between Ciskei, Transkei and South Africa — as proposed by the commission — would also be looked at closely.

In an interview last night, Mr Van Der Walt said that if the proposals were approved, about 137 000 ha would be added to the Ciskei.

He said the incorporation of King William's Town and Berlin was essential in the light of the decision to make black areas economically viable.

Asked about the cost of the additional land, Mr Van Der Walt said it had been calculated that the outstanding 100 000 ha at 1975 prices would cost R80 million, and that the 1975 recommendations plus the commission's would cost about R189 million.

"However, this is an arbitrary figure and we will have to wait and see how it develops."

## Battle over Ciskei plan

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — A battle is shaping between community leaders here and the government over the planned incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei as proposed by the Van der Walt Commission.

Both the Borough Council and the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce are opposed to the incorporation plans, saying that the alternative of a prosperity development zone is preferable.

And both bodies hotly deny Mr Hennie van der Walt's claim that the residents of the town have been consulted.

The mayor, Mr Eric Weyer, said in a statement that the residents did not have the opportunity to express their views on possible incorporation into Ciskei.

"It was stated that representatives of King William's Town served on the southern regional committee — known as the Greef Committee — of the Van der Walt Commission.

"This is incorrect. No one from King William's Town except officials of the Government of Ciskei who are resident in our town did in fact serve on that committee. Nor did the committee have any discussions with the Borough Council, the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce or leaders of industry," he said.

### No consultation

His views were echoed by the chairman of the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce, Mr Godfrey Howes, who said: "Certain officials of the Ciskei Government who are resident in King William's Town did serve on the Greef Committee and they expressed the views of the Ciskeian Government and not of the people of King William's Town. There was no consultation with the man in the street, the Borough Council or the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce."

"Concern was also expressed over property ownership and whether building societies would be protected and be allowed to transfer their money to their head offices for redistribution or whether money raised by building societies would have to stay in Ciskei.

One building society member, who asked not to be named, feared that building societies may have to "freeze" their activities and not accept any bond applications.



# Ciskei invites France <sup>(105)</sup> to set up export base <sup>DA 7 8/86</sup> Sebe <sup>3/11/80</sup> warns: register

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — French industrialists have been invited to make the Ciskei their base for the promotion of their export trade to Africa.

The invitation was disclosed yesterday, at the Zwelitsha stadium, by the Reverend W. M. Xaba, Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture, when he reported on the Ciskei delegation's visit to Europe.

Mr Xaba said the invitation had been made after Chief L. L. Sebe, who headed the delegation in France, had given a complete picture of all aspects of Ciskei's development which industrialists would find to be conducive to the establishment of industries in the Ciskei "as compared with other Third World African countries".

"Our delegation obviously made a deep impact on the representatives and it is confident-

ly anticipated that benefits will flow from these discussions," said Mr Xaba.

He said Chief Sebe told another group of industrialists later it was up to the Western nations to help find an economic solution for the successful development of a better quality of life for the underprivileged people of South Africa.

Mr Xaba said the delegation was poorly received by the French Ministry of Agriculture.

"Neither the Director of International Relations nor his deputy was interested or prepared to assist us with our development problems," he said.

Their attitude was consistent with the attitude of the French Government towards South Africa and its apartheid philosophy.

"It is infuriating to us in the Ciskei to be told by representatives of the

Western democratic countries that we Ciskeians, although not in any way responsible for the political philosophy of the South African Government, must pay the penalty for apartheid when in fact we are the victims of the system," said Mr Xaba.

The French attitude, as expressed at a meeting on October 17 by Mr Herly, Secretary General, African and Madagascan Affairs, was that the country remained impartial but totally condemned racial discrimination.

"He went on to say France was most sensitive to the problems that had been described by Chief Sebe and now had a much better understanding of the reality of what is taking place in the Ciskei," said Mr Xaba.

Mr Herly had said it was necessary for France to be very careful because of world condemnation of apartheid. — DDR.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Civil servants who did not register as voters in the Ciskei would not be promoted, Chief Minister L. L. Sebe warned yesterday.

He was speaking at a reception at the Zwelitsha stadium, where the Minister of Agriculture, the Reverend W. M. Xaba, was giving a report to Ciskeians on the recent trip to Europe by a Ciskeian delegation.

Civil servants were asked to register as voters by Mr R. Mali, the chairman of the Ciskei Public Service Commission, and Monday last week was the deadline for such registration.

Chief Sebe said yesterday there were six "very intelligent" government employees who refused to register and we cannot promote such people." — DDR.



# Cautious support for land plan

EAST LONDON — Community leaders here were cautiously optimistic about the Van der Walt Commission's proposals to incorporate Berlin and King William's Town into the Ciskei.

The National Party MP for King William's Town, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, said it would perhaps be the popular thing to oppose the incorporation out of hand and fight it tooth and nail.

"But to merely seek popularity would be false to my ideals and the reason as to why I entered politics in the first place.

"I entered politics to achieve full equal partnership and co-operation between English and Afrikaans speakers. That has been achieved. The next phase of our development is to find a basis of co-operation and co-existence between black and white.

"If the incorporation should be a prerequisite for this, and be of benefit to the country as a whole, then I must forget my personal interests and support it for the sake of my country and in the interests of peaceful co-existence.

"But I would expect and demand guarantees of certain rights and practices. No man must suffer financial loss or personal inconvenience."

The deputy chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer and chairman of the Eastern Cape Regional Committee of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr P. A. van Zyl, said the proposals were very positive.

"The newest proposals, if seen in conjunction with the possibility of joint venture areas in and around East London, can create such a big stimulus that we can embark on the eighties with even more trust and enthusiasm.

"If we are serious to make the homelands economically viable as far as it is possible, we should look at this matter very soberly and not become emotional.

"It is natural that King William's Town and Berlin should be aligned with the Ciskei. It will save millions of rands in infrastructure costs.

"With the uncertainty over the Border area now possibly removed, I become excited over the uplifting and business possibilities that lie ahead for the Ciskei

and the Border area.

"I can thus say that I fully support the proposals of the Van der Walt commission," Mr Van Zyl said.

The chairman of the East London Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Selley, said the proposals were still not a fact.

He said the only point of interest to East London in the proposals was that the uncertainty was removed. He said it would not make any difference to the employment problem in East London until the government started implementing improved concessions in the East London area.

"If we get better concessions and the co-prosperity zone idea of the government becomes a reality, then we will have something to look forward to and in regard the proposals are good news for East London."

He said it was a disappointment that some of the pineapple land near Kidd's Beach might be consolidated into the Ciskei too. The area was a big supplier to the canneries in the East London area and the production should drop it might be detrimental to East London. — DDR



MR COETZER ... expects guarantees.

# Battle lines shape up in King

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A battle is shaping between community leaders here and the government over the planned incorporation of the town into the Ciskei.

Both the Borough Council and the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce are opposed to the incorporation plans proposed by the Van der Walt Commission saying the alternative of a co-prosperity development zone is preferable.

And both bodies hotly deny Mr Hennie Van Der Walt's claim that the residents of the town have been consulted.

The Mayor, Mr Eric ... said the residents did not have the opportunity to express their views on incorporation.

"It was stated that representatives of King William's Town served on the southern regional committee, known as the Greef Committee, of the Van Der Walt Commission.

"This is incorrect no one from King except officials of the Ciskei government who are resident in our town served on that committee, nor did the committee have any discussions with the Borough Council, the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce or leaders of

industry.

"In my opinion the white and coloured residents of King have not been consulted to date in connection with the Van Der Walt recommendation.

His views were echoed by the chairman of the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce, Mr Godfrey Howes, who said although not surprised by the proposal itself, he was surprised at Mr Van Der Walt's statement that the residents had been consulted. He described it as "totally incorrect."

"Certain officials of the

Ciskei Government who are resident in King did serve on the Greef Committee, and so they expressed the views of the

By  
MIKE CHANDLER

Ciskeian Government, and not of the people of King.

"There was no consultation with the man in the street, or the Borough Council or the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce," Mr Howes said.

Both Mr Weyer and Mr Howes said that residents of King were prepared to co-operate with the Ciskei Government, but that the majority of residents "do not wish to lose their identity."

"I wonder whether setting up a co-prosperity

development zone for this region being investigated would not be a more acceptable solution which could possibly bring greater economic prosperity to Ciskei than the proposed incorporation of King," Mr Weyer said.

"The Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce feels a co-prosperity development zone for this area is perhaps a more acceptable solution rather than the proposed incorporation," Mr Howes said.

However, Mr Howes added: "We believe that Chief Sebe has adopted a far more pragmatic approach to the interests of whites and coloureds than certain other black leaders do and in this respect we are fortunate in having a man who will and is prepared to consult

with other population groups."

Although the possibility that King William's Town will be incorporated into Ciskei has been common knowledge for some time, Mr Van Der Walt's statement on Friday night came as a shock to many residents.

One leading businessman did not hear the announcement on television, and when asked for comment asked assurance from the reporter that he was "not joking".

At a social function dinner on Saturday night, many businessmen and residents expressed concern over the financial implications of the incorporation plans.

Concern was expressed over property ownership and whether building societies would be protected and be allowed to transfer their money to their head offices for redistribution, or whether money raised by building societies would have to stay in Ciskei.

One Building society manager feared building societies may have to "freeze" their activities and not accept any bond applications.

Editorial opinion, page 8.

SA to scrap race laws predicts Xaba

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — South African discriminatory laws will be repealed early next year.

This bold prediction was made yesterday at the Zwelitsha Stadium by Reverend W. M. Xaba, Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture.

Mr Xaba said the repeal would be a result of negotiations between the South African and Ciskeian Governments, which had already resulted in power-sharing agreements based on a confederal principle between the two governments.

Speaking at the same meeting, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said the South African Government had agreed to consider dual citizenship for Ciskeians and would also

look into South African nationality for Ciskeians.

Citizenship is one of the bases for negotiation of independence by the Ciskei Government.

Chief Sebe said he would meet South African Government officials in Pretoria this morning to discuss the nationality issue.

"We have the basis for an agreement on dual citizenship and South African nationality," Mr Xaba said.

"We are to see discriminatory laws repealed early next year and, in terms of money, we have negotiated the equal distribution of South Africa's wealth," he said.

— DDR

See also page 9



# Traditional homeland proposals thrown out

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3/11/80  
105

## Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Traditional consolidation has finally been thrown out by the Government with the announcement of the Ciskei consolidation proposals.

The main breakaway point of the Van der Walt Consolidation Commission proposals for Ciskei is the incorporation of white areas including King William's Town and Berlin into the homeland without the removal of whites.

Previously the Government approach had been to clear land incorporated into homelands of whites at the cost of millions of rands.

The proposals have been generally welcomed, with some reservations, by the white opposition parties who see the plans as a final admittance that "traditional separate development cannot work."

The proposals, if accepted, will still cost the taxpayer a substantial amount, estimated by chairman of the commission, Mr Hennie van der Walt, to be in the region of R189-million.

The proposal that East

London harbour should become a joint-venture area shared by South Africa, Ciskei and Transkei is also seen as very significant for future consolidation of other homelands.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on co-operation and Development, said in an interview: "The proposals can only be seen as an improvement. It is only a pity that it has taken the Government so long to realise that the idea of chopping the country up into neat black and white blocks was a hopeless non-starter.

"But the key issue is the extent to which the Government intends to halt the massive uprooting of millions of black people."

Mrs Suzman welcomed the move to placing the emphasis more on economic development but added that the creation of regional growth areas envisaged by the proposals could in themselves create problems.



# Ciskei set for poll fight

4/11/80

ARGUS 105

**Argus Correspondent  
EAST LONDON. —**  
The announcement that Ciskeians will go to the polls on December 4 to decide on independence has launched one of Southern Africa's most contentious referendums.

Should the referendum go in favour of independence, it will be hotly disputed by opponents of the Ciskeian Government.

This is particularly so as the decision to take independence could be made by a minority of Ciskeians.

More than half the 2.4 million Ciskeians live outside the homeland, mostly in urban areas of South Africa.

## NOT IDENTIFY

Many of these urban Ciskeians do not want to identify themselves with the homeland and have refused to register as voters.

Apparently the referendum will be limited to registered voters, excluding the urban Ciskeians who have insisted on regarding themselves simply as South Africans.

This means that nearly half the Ciskeian voters will exclude themselves from the decision-making process, according to Mr A. Z. Lamani, a former chief whip of the ruling Ciskeian National Independence Party.

Mr Lamani is now chairman of the Committee of 21, which is strongly opposed to independence.

When announcing the referendum, the Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, gave an assurance that he would insist on certain concessions from the South African Government.

Among these were citizenship for Ciskeians of a South African confederation, a satisfactory solution to land issues, and adequate financial support for the homeland.

# Ciskei detains 10 student leaders

ZWELITSHA. — Ten members of the Council of South African Students were detained by the Ciskei Government at the weekend, after they had attended the funeral of a former Robben Island prisoner, according to the secretary of the Ciskei Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe, yesterday.

In an interview with reporters in Zwelitsha, he said before the detention of the students he had met the organisers of the funeral, who were former members of the banned African National Congress.

One of the matters discussed was that it had come to the notice of my office that at some funerals the ANC was utilising schoolchildren to dominate such funerals.

He said this was against the traditions of the black people and highlighted the aims and objectives of the banned ANC.

He said the Ciskei intelligence services had been left with no option but to clamp down on the student leaders. Six students from Mdantsane, three from Port Elizabeth and one each from Zwelitsha and Dimbaza were detained on Sunday.

Brig Sebe said the announcement at the weekend that Berlin and King William's Town should be incorporated into an independent Ciskei had "quelled subversive acts by students and elements outside schools, especially in the area of Mdantsane, near East London". — Sapa.



# Stayaway vote will hand Sebe self-rule

kan 5.11.60 105

By PATRICK LAURENCE  
Southern Africa Editor

THE Ciskei goes to the polls on December 4 to vote in a referendum on whether to accept independence or not — but there appear to be no immediate takers for the role of arguing against independence.

The ruling Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) of Chief Minister Lennox Sebe, which favours independence in principle while negotiating on some of the details, won a clean sweep of the elected seats to the Legislative Assembly in the 1978 general election.

Since then, the opposition Ciskei National Party of Chief Justice Mabandla has thrown in its lot with the CNIP, leaving no major anti-independence party operating within the institutionalised framework of Ciskei politics.

Opponents of independence, or "fragmentation" of South Africa, include the banned Afri-

can National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, which refuses to contest "bantustan elections", and the Azanian Students' Organisation, which shuns "system politics".

The actual referendum, the first to be held before independence in a homeland, is therefore likely to record an overwhelming victory for Chief Sebe and his CNIP.

Before formally setting the date for the referendum, Chief Sebe declared his willingness to ask the Department of Foreign Affairs to request the United Nations to supervise the poll.

As far as could be established, however, by yesterday the department had not received a written request from the Ciskei Government to approach the UN.

Only registered Ciskei voters will be allowed to participate in the referendum.

Ciskei nationals who have not already registered have until November 9 to do so. A regis-

tration stamp must be recorded in their reference books, which will be used to identify genuine voters at the polling booths.

The referendum would be conducted within the framework of Proclamation R194 of 1972 as far as was appropriate, a spokesman for the Ciskei Government said yesterday. Proclamation R194 is a standard model election law for the black homelands.

One of the criticisms of the "standard model" is that it does not provide illiterate voters with a completely secret vote, as they have to enlist the assistance of a polling officer in casting their ballots.

A similar arrangement was made, however, for illiterate voters in the British-supervised election in Zimbabwe in February. But Commonwealth observers were free to inspect the whole process.

The Quail Commission on the Ciskei recommended a "carefully-supervised referendum"

be held on the independence issue. It did not specify what it meant by "carefully-supervised" or who should do the supervising.

Mrs Nancy Charlton, a political scientist at Rhodes University, has said Xhosa-speakers living outside the Ciskei per se could exercise a decisive influence on the result.

In a survey conducted for the Quail Commission, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, of the University of Natal, found Chief Sebe was not popular among "city Xhosa".

But it seems unlikely that their influence will be mobilised, because of the absence of a powerful organisation able to do so for the referendum. Their dislike of Chief Sebe seems to be manifested primarily in hostility towards "homeland politics".

Prof Schlemmer said: "More than six out of 10 'city Xhosa' eschew all forms of participation in homeland affairs."



# Brig Sebe: land plan eases unrest

DA 5/11/80 (105)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The announcement of the possible incorporation into the Ciskei of King William's Town and Berlin had far-reaching benefits for the Ciskei, according to Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services.

Brig Sebe said in an interview yesterday he had been given information that since the announcement, acts of "sabotage" which were committed by youths especially at Mdantsane had subsided.

"My information is that these radical youths have reacted positively to the announcement, but I do not wish to delve deeply into this matter," Brig Sebe said.

Chief Minister L. L. Sebe, meanwhile, says while he is happy with the 'first step' in the con-

solidation of the Ciskei, he will still continue with his claims for more land 'even after independence'.

He said yesterday: "The Van der Walt recommendations are a good start as far as we are concerned but that is not where the matter will end as I am committed to claiming all the land that my people want in terms of the Ciskei package deal, which was approved by the nation as a basis for independence negotiations with the South African Government."

In terms of the package deal, the land that the Ciskei Government wants from the South African Government stretches from the Kei River in the east to the Fish River in the west and from the Indian Ocean in the south to the Stormberg Mountains in the north.

Most of the land which will be outstanding, in terms of the package deal, when Ciskei becomes independent, will be the territory which is known as the white corridor in South Africa.

Only King William's Town and Berlin, in the white corridor, will go to the Ciskei in terms of the Van der Walt Commission recommendations.

Chief Sebe also said the independence negotiations would continue this morning.

Chief Sebe revealed the committee, made up of nine members, had been augmented "to include constitutional development experts."

Today's round of talks would probably decide on almost all matters still outstanding of the package deal, Chief Sebe said. —

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## 1.2 LUDS and BOOKS.

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Besides SACHED students, staff and tutors, many students and teachers were granted book allowances. Various schools have been visited by a number of organisations have been using the library. For this reason, a more efficient lending system should be introduced. A pending large number of defaulters. However, strenuous efforts are now being made to ensure that loans are repaid by the end of the month. A number of books has been taken by the SACHED students and tutors.

## 1.3 Calendar MAY + August 1980:

1.7.3

Besides our normal tutorial programme (see 1.4), mock exams were planned and are now being conducted.

1.7.4

The author and subject catalogues are being triplicated so that a copy of each will be available at the Langa (Zama) Centre and eventually also at the Lotus River Centre (see 2.2).

1.4.1

Students and workers in the Western Cape in the period under review, our activities were hindered by a schools boycott, for reasons which are not relevant to our subject classes. A school boycott by students and workers in the Western Cape in the period under review, our activities were hindered by a schools boycott, for reasons which are not relevant to our subject classes. A school boycott by students and workers in the Western Cape in the period under review, our activities were hindered by a schools boycott, for reasons which are not relevant to our subject classes.

1.8

Donations in connection with the schools boycott but one member of staff, Neville Alexander, and at least one tutor, Leila Adams, have been involved in the boycott. Under the provisions of the General Laws Amendment Act and the Income Tax Act, the boycott is illegal. Her activities in the schools boycott have been criticised from this, which is very widely supported. A fairly substantial amount of money has been involved in the boycott. This boycott is still being observed and we have had to make arrangements for students to be taken home at night.

2.1.4.2

Foundation English activities was manifest mainly in the high absentee rate. The tutors' assessment of the students who have not attended at least 50% of the classes since the end of April, for whatever reason, have been summoned to explain

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DD. 5/1/80 (105) ~~105~~  
**Unrest case postponed**

**WHITTLESEA** - The hearing in which 435 people, most of whom are pupils from five schools in the district, are appearing on charges of public violence, was postponed to January 26, 1981.

About 75 per cent of those who appeared are 17 years old and under. They were all released to the custody of their parents at an earlier hearing.

Bail for those over 17 was fixed earlier at R75

Ball conditions were changed at the hearing on Monday as follows:

That each accused will have to report to the Whittlesea police station between 6 and 7 am every day until his or her respective school is closed for the holidays

That the pupils will attend such school as long as the principal orders that they attend school.

That students residing

outside the district and who came for educational purposes will have to apply to the station commander or his deputy here to leave the district and the station commander or his deputy will lay down the conditions.

The students and others are all appearing in connection with disturbances in the area on September 11 when a pupil was shot dead and a policeman stoned to death. - DDR

Discussions about the Students' Medical Aid Scheme have taken place but because of the generally unstable situation in the Peninsula during the period under review, these discussions have not yet been finalised.

**1:6:6** The SACRED NEWSLETTER will be edited by the S.A.E. with the cooperation of B.A.S.

**1:7:2** The figure of 180 UNISA Students reported to the Trustees' meeting in June seems to have been an error as it included a

**1:7:1** number of students who had been issued with SACRED (as well as British Council donations) and because of the focus on African Studies at SACRED, Espefawa, the library is being reorganised and divided up differently.

**1:7:2** Besides SACRED students, staff and tutors, many students and teachers from various schools in the Peninsula, as well as individuals belonging to a number of organisations have been using the library. For this reason, a more efficient filing system has been introduced.

**1:7:3** Besides our normal tutorial programme, (see 1.4), mock exams were planned and are now being conducted.

**1.3** Calendar JUNE: 668  
JUNE: 668  
Besides our normal tutorial programme, (see 1.4), mock exams were planned and are now being conducted.

**1.4.1** The other and subject catalogues are being triplicated so that a copy of each will be available at the Langa (Zama) Centre

**1:7:5** The other and subject catalogues are being triplicated so that a copy of each will be available at the Langa (Zama) Centre and also at the Langa (Zama) Centre. The other and subject catalogues are being triplicated so that a copy of each will be available at the Langa (Zama) Centre and also at the Langa (Zama) Centre.

**1:8** The other and subject catalogues are being triplicated so that a copy of each will be available at the Langa (Zama) Centre and also at the Langa (Zama) Centre.

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# Ciskei holds another top union official

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Reporter

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CISKEI police yesterday arrested a second senior official of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) — only shortly before he was to address workers at the Chloride (SA) plant in East London about a referendum to test their support for the union.

The referendum is likely to lead to the unregistered union being recognised by the company — the first to do so.

The detained man is Mr Sifa Njikalana, branch secretary of the SAAWU in East London. He is also the acting branch secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers Union.

His arrest appears to be part of a crackdown by Ciskei authorities on the union.

Earlier this week the union's national organiser, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, was detained.

The absence of the two men

means there will be no local senior SAAWU office-bearer available to sign the union's recognition agreement with Chloride if the company decides to recognise it formally after the referendum today.

The union's Durban-based general secretary, Mr Samuel Kikine, said yesterday that he would travel to East London to sign the agreement if the SAAWU wins the referendum.

According to union and other sources, Mr Njikalana was arrested in Mdantsane, the sprawling township outside the city on the Ciskei border.

He was due to address workers at Chloride about the referendum.

Mr Njikalana was expected to explain the referendum procedure to workers and tell them of the Chloride management's decision in principle to recognise the SAAWU.

The secretary of the Ciskeian Intelligence Service, Brigadier

Charles Sebe, could not be reached yesterday for comment.

This is the second time this year that Mr Njikalana has been detained by police. He was held briefly by South African Police after a strike at an East London factory.

When Mr Gqweta was detained, Brig Sebe told the Rand Daily Mail's East London correspondent that he was being held in connection with "student disturbances".

Mr Kikine has denied that Mr Gqweta was involved in student affairs. He said he was "a committed and busy trade unionist who does not have time for student politics".

Mr Gqweta has been held twice this year, by the Ciskeian and South African Police. He faces charges in the Ciskei and South Africa in connection with two strikes in the East London area.

In the 1960's companies still made their own utilities such as sorts and their own technical software for statistical and engineering applications. Such software is now also mostly bought ready-made, since the problems are simple and well understood.

In the 1970's software has become available for such general tasks as payroll and financial accounting. These are now considered more or less as utilities and are therefore typically bought ready-made.

The final and most important level may be called Special Application Software. This consists of applications that are specific to a particular business. Through its high level of integration this software is extremely complex and ready made packages are therefore more difficult to apply.

Special Application Software (SAS) has several important characteristics:

- it is typically closely linked to the "nuts and bolts" of a business e.g. customer handling, production control
- it is highly integrated and changes are difficult to make
- it must serve the decision making needs of the organisation and must therefore be able to grow with the organisation.



# Ciskei minister praises Afrikaner farmers

*DAK's Desp  
G. H. K.*

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei would have been better off if it had been an area that was adjacent to Afrikaner and not English-speaking farmers, the Ciskei Minister of Agriculture, the Reverend W. M. Xaba, said last night.

Mr Xaba was interviewed about a statement he made to a Port Elizabeth afternoon newspaper claiming that English-speaking South Africans were "a bunch of hypocrites".

He said homelands that were neighbouring Afrikaner farming communities received immense help from the farmers.

"In the Western Transvaal, Northern Cape and

even Eastern Free State, farmers are only too keen to provide tractors to help out black communities," Mr Xaba said.

Mr Xaba said Ciskeians had never fought against Afrikaners and there was no animosity against them.

"But for 100 years we fought against the British and when we were conquered they set about trying to destroy our traditions.

"Lord Charles Somerset declared himself a chief of this area and then threw us to the wolves."

Mr Xaba praised Afrikaans farmers for their contribution to the Ciskei Relief Fund.

"Even there we have been getting donations

from sources far from us. We have had help from as far afield as Northern Natal but nothing from our neighbours.

"These people belong to the Pfp, a party which seeks a multiracial South Africa and yet does not want to get anywhere near the black man."

On relations with neighbouring towns — an issue brought to the melting pot by the move to incorporate King William's Town and Berlin to the Ciskei — Mr Xaba said he had called on municipalities to keep closer contact with the Ciskei but when he had sent a letter to Mrs Elsabe Kemp who was then mayor of East London, he never got a reply. — DDR.

2/11/50  
Another Saawu  
official detained

EAST LONDON — An official of the South African Allied Workers Union here, Mr Sisa Njikelana, has been detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations.

The Secretary for Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, confirmed Mr Njikelana had been detained.

He said he and the national organiser of Saawu, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, were being held in connection with

allegations about involvement in student disturbances.

Another official of Saawu, Miss Zodwa Mapela, said she had been told Mr Njikelana was taken from his Mdantsane home at 5.25 am yesterday.

Brig Sebe said Mr Alfred Metele, a Dependents Conference field worker detained last month, would be charged and would appear in court early next week. — DDR



# King seeks to stop incorporation

STAR 6/11/80

(105)

**Own Correspondent**  
**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The Borough Council of King William's Town is urgently seeking a meeting with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koorhof, to state its case against incorporation into Ciskei.

It is supported by the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce and believes it also has the backing of other bodies and the local coloured population.

Both bodies say the alternative of a co-prosperity development zone is preferable. They deny the claim of

Mr Hennie van der Walt, chairman of the Consolidation Commission, that the residents of the town have been consulted. The council unanimously reiterated its rejection

of incorporation during a meeting this week. After the council's meeting, the Mayor, Mr Eric Weyer, released a statement setting out the council's stand:

"It was with considerable shock and dismay that my council had to learn from the news media that the Van der Walt Commission was recommending, inter alia, that

King William's Town be incorporated in Ciskei. It was stated by Mr van der Walt that representatives of the town served on the southern regional committee of the commission. This is incor-

rect as no one from King William's Town, except officials of the government of Ciskei who are residents in our town, served on that committee.

"The committee did not have any discussions with the borough council, the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce or leaders of industry."

Mr van der Walt's argument on television that East London was not included in the incorporation proposal because of the high cost of compensating property owners was not accepted by the borough council.

Scramble  
to sell

Property

Own Correspondent

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The announcement on consolidation proposals for Ciskei at the end of last week, was followed by a scramble this week among white King William's Town residents to sell their properties before their values drop.

This was learnt this week from local estate agents, who said, however, they did not expect the rush to last or bring the current high property prices down in the near future. It was, however, an indication of what could happen when final decisions about consolidation for Ciskei have been taken.

Spokesmen for three estate agents said there had already been a marked decline in the number of people putting houses on the market.

The director of one company, Mrs Penny Lindstrom, said that in the first half an hour after opening on Monday, her switchboard was flooded with calls. "We have been having a boom scare," she said.

# Ciskei Whites Want Guarantee of Rights

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Own Correspondent

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— If the white residents of King William's Town were to accept proposals for incorporation into the Ciskei, they would do so only if the authorities provided very strong guarantees to protect their interests.

Interviews with the townfolk have revealed that they are unhappy with the example set in

other consolidated towns, such as Umtata, Alice and more recently, Matikeng. The conditions demand that:

● The South African Government legally and in writing binds the State to compensate in cash, within a period of two years from the date of incorporation, all owners of immovable property, of businesses and of industry, and to this end the

Government sets up a fund immediately.

● For a minimum period of 10 years from the date of incorporation the government shall guarantee the continued existence of the municipality, of King William's Town's present schools, the present hospital and any other organs of local government falling under the Cape Provincial Administration. In addition, the position of employees of

these bodies should be secured.

● The deeds office of King William's Town continues to fall under the South African Department of Community Development and remains to serve its existing area.

● All immoveable property in the municipal area continues to remain freehold land, capable of being sold and purchased freely between willing buyers and sellers, irrespective of race.

● The South African Government ensures that free enterprise in business and industry be allowed to continue.

● Residential areas be created in King William's Town where people can freely elect either to reside in an area exclusively for whites, blacks, coloured or "mixed populations."

● The Government indemnifies every private person or company in the town, against possible moves by the Ciskei government to take over or nationalise property, businesses or assets.

## Hogsback not happy

**ALICE** — The residents association of the Border mountain resort, Hogsback, is to act against the government's move to incorporate the area into Ciskei.

Leading the move against incorporation is Mr Jamie Stephenson, acting chairman of the residents association, who said: "The Greeff Committee (regional committee of the Van der Walt Commission) never consul-

ted us. They drove through, had a cup of tea and left."

Like many elderly residents of Hogsback, Mr Stephenson and his wife have retired to Hogsback. And don't want to face starting all over again.

"The average age among the 143 permanent residents is 70 years, said Mr Stephenson.

"Many have put everything into their property. Even if they can face

moving, will they be paid out, will the compensation be enough to start again, will they get it soon enough? They do not have much time left."

Other objections the association gave were:

● The chances were limited that the unique and historical Hogsback haven would be preserved.

● Services such as the post office, police station and roads would deteriorate.



# No crackdown on union, says Ciskei

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Southern Africa Bureau

TWO trade unionists detained in the Ciskei this week were arrested because of alleged involvement in student unrest and not for union activities, the secretary of the Ciskeian Intelligence Service, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said yesterday.

The men, both senior officials of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU), are Mr Thozamile

Gqweta, the national organiser, and Mr Sifa Njikalana, secretary of the East London branch.

Brig Sebe denied yesterday that the detentions were part of a crackdown on the union by Ciskei authorities.

"Their arrest has nothing to do with trade unionism. They are involved in student protest in the Ciskei. We are up to our necks with student protest in the Ciskei," he said. Their

activities were being investigated, and it was possible they would be charged.

Brig Sebe attacked "Marxist" agitators, whom he claimed were using the students' ostensibly protesting against "Bantu education" -- to cause civil unrest.

"We are prepared to clamp down on any Marxists. Change will not be brought about by Marxists, but by the internal people."

He said his government's attitude to trade unions had been spelt out in the past, and he was not prepared to repeat it.

In February, Mr Gqweta was refused permission to open a union office in the Ciskei.

An appeal to Brig Sebe for assistance was turned down, and Mr Gqweta claimed that he had said that he and the Ciskeian Government were against unions in the homeland.

Brig Sebe later denied this, but was quoted as saying he believed trade unions in the Ciskei were "redundant".

The general-secretary of the SAAWU, Mr Samuel Kikine, denied earlier this week that Mr Gqweta was involved in student affairs.

Mr Gqweta's devotion to his union duties left him no time for student politics, Mr Kikine said.

# ANGRY WHITES FIGHT BID TO BOOST CISKEI

BY CASSIE DU PLESSIS

PORT ELIZABETH. — In spite of assurances by the South African authorities that the latest land consolidation proposals for Ciskei are still negotiable, the general feeling among white residents is that it is a 'foregone conclusion.'

Be that as it may the government will have more opposition than ever before, in consolidation by taking away King William's Town, the biggest urban centre yet to face this possibility, and Hogsback, one of the most picturesque parts of the country.

This emerges from a survey among white residents. They say it hurts that they, who know better than anybody else, were not consul-

Under fire at a National Party meeting in Fort Beaufort this week, the Minister of the Interior, Mr Chris Heunis, and the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr G de V Morrison, were emphatic that the Van der Walt Commission proposals were still far from final.

They had been announced early so that residents would have time to put their case.

They claimed that the residents had been represented. 'People from your

area were in the regional committee of the commission,' said Dr Morrison.

But the leader of the anti-incorporation fight in the Hogsback area, Mr Jamie Stephenson, says 'They drove through here, had tea and left. We don't even know their faces.'

A handful of Hogsback people favour incorporation, such as a hotel managing director who thinks business will boom. The possibility of a casino is not excluded.

Businessmen in King William's Town also say business will boom. But most say it will be only an initial phase, as happened in Alice, Umtata and Mafeking.

## 'COIN MONEY'

Others say many businessmen just wanted to coin money and then get out.

'The say what is close to them is being used as bait to get Ciskei to accept independence. The Government cares tuppence about us.'

Most Hogsback residents are old and do not want to face leaving their last haven of peace.

Estate agents say they are flooded by people who want to put houses on the market.

## 'NOT ASKED'

The Mayor of King William's Town, Mr Eric Weyer, said this week: 'The white and coloured residents of King William's Town have to date not been consulted in any manner in connection with the recommendation of The Van der Walt Commission to have King William's Town incorporated.'

The council have decided to unite all concerned bodies in the area to present a united anti-incorporation front.

They have the full support of the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industries — and also of many former National Party supporters, who say they have been let down by the party.

Some even say they will now align with the HNP, which 'calls a spade a spade.'

8/11/80 KRAMS

CISKEI

165



# Ciskei holds 13 unionists

8/11/80  
AFCWU  
105

By DAVID BLEAZARD,  
Labour Reporter

THIRTEEN people were arrested at a road block in Mdantsane, East London, last night in what has been described as an 'emerging vendetta' against trade union work in the area.

Among those arrested were the national president of the registered Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Manie van Graan, and the vice-president of the unregistered African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Alfred Noko.

Officials of the unregistered South African Allied Workers' Union and Western Province General Workers' Union were also held, apparently under Ciskeian Proclamation R252.

A spokesman for the WPGWU said the trade unionists were arrested about 10 pm by Brigadier Charles Sebe, head of Ciskeian Intelligence, and a South African Security Police captain.

## LOCAL CHAIRMAN

Others arrested last night include the local chairman of the AFCWU, Mr Welile Mzozoyana; a member of the FCWU's management committee, Mr Kallie Schippers; a SAAWU organiser, Mr Xolani Khota; and a WPGWU organiser, Mr Wilson Sidina.

Mr Robert Gqwetha, Mr Lawrence Tulula, Mr Bangumzi Sisingo, Mr Humphrey Mxegwana, Mr September Mpakati, Mr Orea Ndingayi, and a Mr Kwesha were also detained.

The secretary of the AFCWU'S East London branch, Mr B P Norushe, has been in detention for nearly five months.

Two officials of the SA Allied Workers' Union, the branch chairman, Mr Sisa Njikelana, and the national organiser, Mr Thozamile Gqwetha, have been detained in the past two weeks.



# THE ANGER OF A THRIVING TOWN THE GOVT WANTS TO GIVE AWAY



Businessman Bev Radue . . . sceptical about development prospects



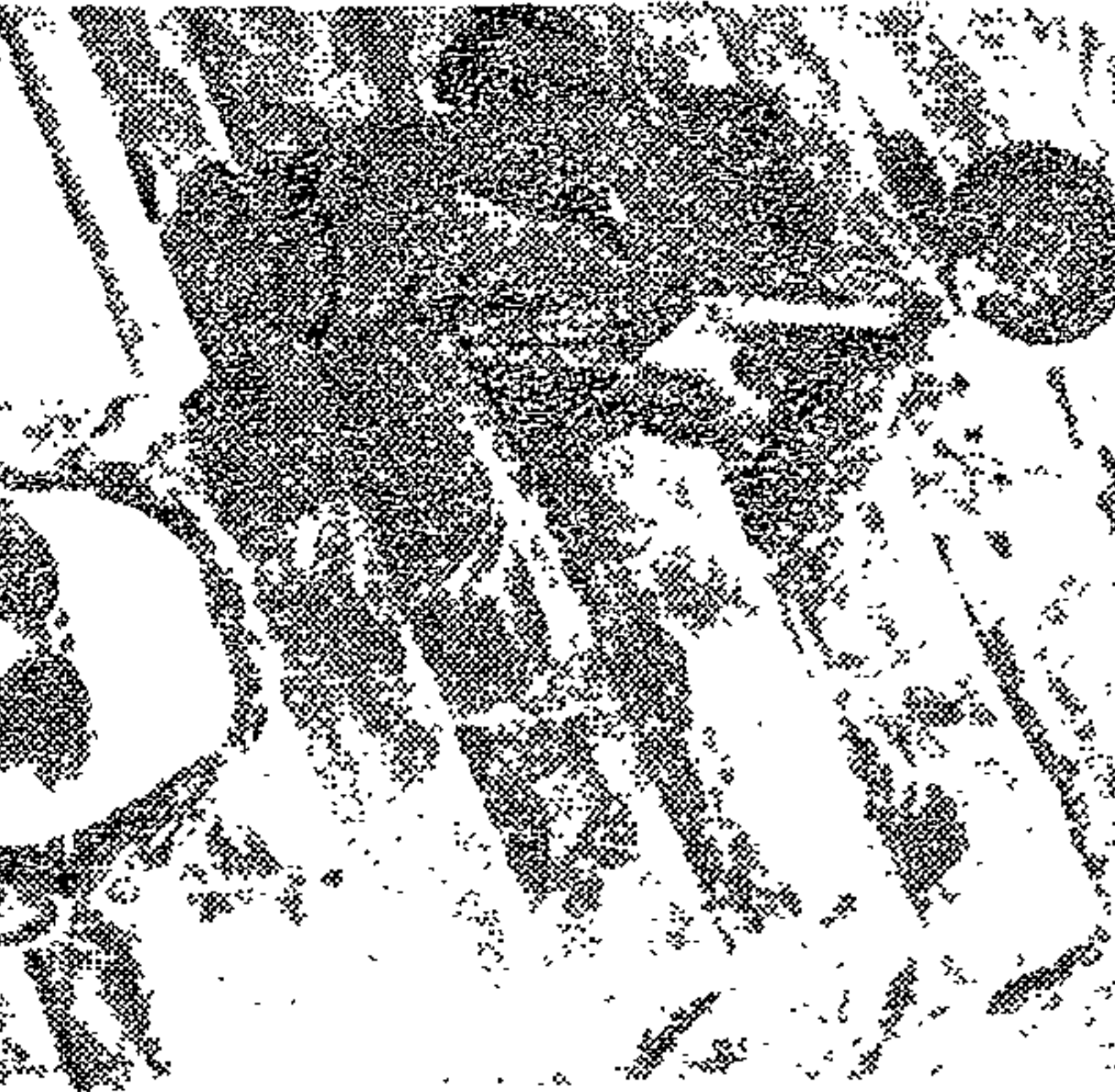
Coloured community leader Victor Wilson: "It stinks!"



"What will happen to the beautiful buildings?" ask Lenora Fraunstein (left) and Freda Hartwig



Chief Sebe . . . "It's a good start"



**By CHRIS WHITEFIELD**

A STATUE of Queen Victoria stands almost dead centre of King William's Town. Around her four old war cannon point protectively out at the town square.

They symbolise, for the many "King's" old-timers, the raging border wars fought by their forebears before the turn of the century to protect white-owned land from black invaders.

Now the Border town's whites feel those cannon have been turned round by their own Government — and the traditional way of life heven by their Victorian ancestors is about to be shattered.

"We're bitter and shocked," is the blunt comment of the town's Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce chairman, Mr Godfrey Howes.

Their disillusionment stems from the announcement on television this week that the Van der Walt consolidation commission for Ciskei has proposed the incorporation of white areas, including King William's Town, into the homeland, without the removal of whites.

The town's leaders say they were not consulted . . . of on television by com-

## It's the

# BORDER WAR

## NOT AMUSED

### all over again as King William's Town prepares to fight incorporation

Mayor Eric Weyer . . . fighting for King William's Town's economy and tradition



Now, an almost tangible air of apprehension has crept into the white and coloured communities.

"We and our families have worked and fought for these beautiful buildings and houses and now what's going to happen to them?" asks elderly Mrs Lenora Frauenstein.

"They're so beautiful and the blacks won't even look at them... we are very disappointed," said her shopping companion, Miss Freda Hartwig.

And behind the facades of the incongruous mixture of old and new buildings in King — in the town square the Victorian architecture of the British Kaffrarian Savings Bank and the new and gleaming lines of the Post Office vie for Queen Victoria's attention — community leaders are plotting ways of winning this battle.

## 'Ghost town'

"We're going to fight this one," said Mayor Eric Weyer. "The Borough Council is totally opposed to the possibility of King William's Town being incorporated in Ciskei."

He stressed that the issue was not a racial one, but economic: "It has been noted with concern that the town of Alice, which used to be a stable, rural town, has developed into a "ghost town" and is stagnating since its incorporation into Ciskei.

"Likewise, the municipal infrastructure and quality of the civic standards of the principal towns of Transkei — Umtata and Butterworth — have deteriorated considerably since Transkei became independent," said Mr Weyer.

"The Council is convinced that the town, which has been growing rapidly and flourishing economically, will regress due to disinvestment in the area and a loss of development of infrastructure," he said.

Mr Howes pointed out that in Alice whites weren't able to buy or develop land or property without special permission.

"You also have to sell to blacks if you decide to get rid of your property.

## Seething row

"All sorts of financial institutions would leave town," he said.

Mr Bev Radue, managing director of a wholesale firm established in King William's Town soon after the turn of the century, said he was sceptical about development prospects after the incorporation.

He pointed out that another major problem would be the purchase of houses for staff — if the "no-white-buying" clause applies white businessmen will not be able to buy houses for staff.

A seething row has broken out about the comments made by commissioner Mr van der Walt on television — described as "untruths" by one councillor.

Mr van der Walt told a television interviewer that representatives of the town served on the Southern Regional Committee of the commission.

"This is incorrect as nobody from King William's Town, except officials of the Government of Ciskei who are resident in our town, did in fact serve on that committee, nor did the committee have any discussions with the Borough Council, the Kaffrarian Chamber of Commerce or leaders of industry," said Mr Weyer.

"In fact, to put it bluntly, my council has to date been totally ignored in all negotiations between the governments of the

## NOT AMUSED . . . that's the reaction of King William's Town whites as their traditions are threatened by the homelands policy

Republic and the Ciskei," he said.

Mr Howes described Mr van der Walt's statement as "totally incorrect."

A businessman, who asked not to be named, said there had been talk around town of being included in Ciskei, but Mr van der Walt's statement had come as a slap in the face.

"I am certain that most of the inhabitants

of King William's Town do not wish to lose their identity, no matter what short-term economic benefits may come forth from the proposal," said Mr Weyer.

"The whites, or the greater majority, will move due to the eventual strangulation of the economic growth caused by the lack of free enterprise which can be seen in towns like Alice,

Butterworth and Umtata.

"Thus the goose that lays the golden egg might die and the whole purpose of the exercise will be futile," said the angry Mayor.

King businessmen would rather see a form of economic sharing with the Ciskei — a co-prosperity development zone which they hope would safeguard their financial interests and

ensure they do not lose their identity under the Ciskei.

"I wonder whether the setting up of a co-prosperity development zone for this region would not be a more acceptable solution which would possibly bring greater economic prosperity to Ciskei than the proposed incorporation of King William's Town?" asked M. Weyer.

But it's not only the town's whites who are troubled about the developments. Many in the coloured community are eyeing the proposals with scepticism.

"It stinks," was the comment of chairman of the town's coloured ratepayers committee, Mr Victor Wilson.

## Dumped

He pointed out that several of the coloured people already in King William's Town had moved from areas incorporated into the Ciskei — some as often as four times.

"Now they are going to be dumped again," he said.

"Anyway the homelands are just an extension of apartheid and have the Pretoria trademark on them," he said.

The National Party MP for King William's Town, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, has, however, said that if the incorporation was a basis for co-operation and co-existence between black and white and in the interest of the country, he would support it.

"I have not been consulted or informed of the proposals of the committee and I must await the full details before I can judge whether they are fair or necessary or acceptable. After all, it is only a proposal as yet," he said.

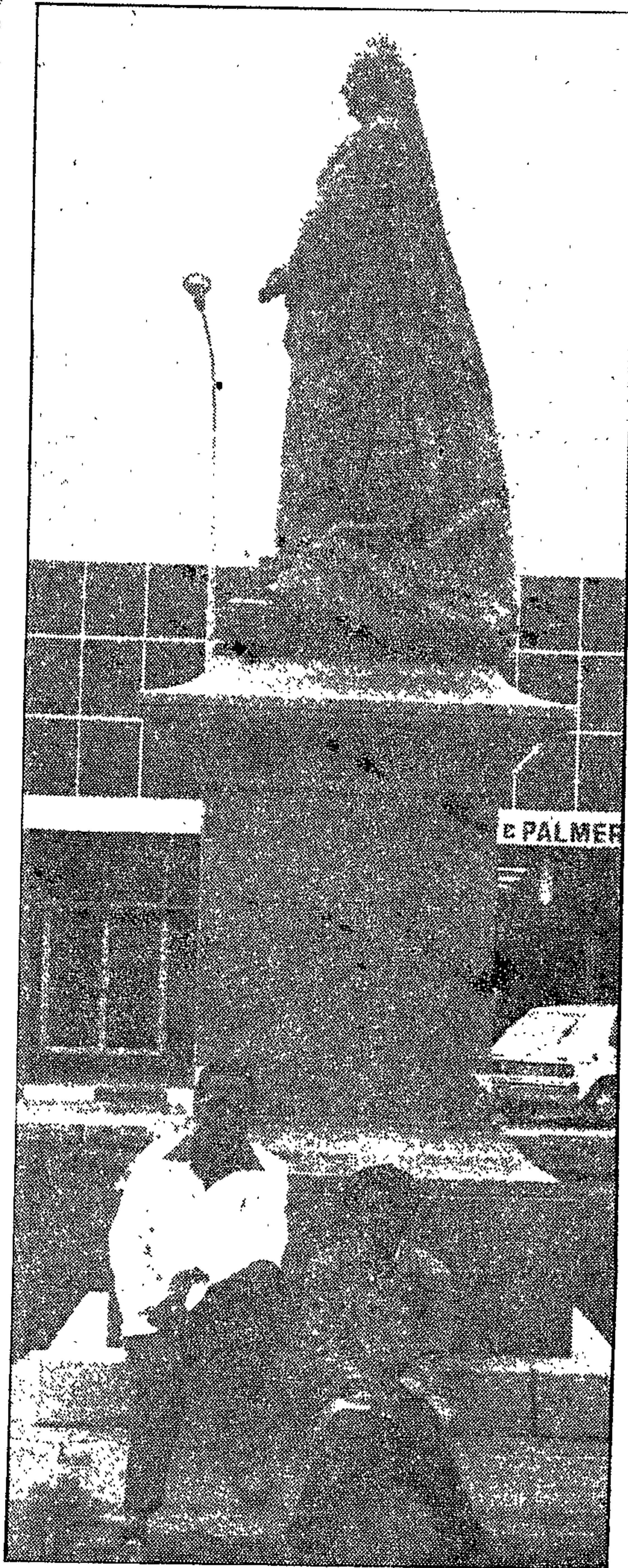
## Happy

Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said he is happy with the "first step" in the consolidation of the Ciskei.

He said: "The Van der Walt recommendations are a good start as far as we are concerned but that is not where the matter will end as I am committed to claiming all the land that my people want in terms of the Ciskei package deal, which was approved by the nation as a basis for independence negotiations with the South African Government."

Blacks in the streets of King William's Town itself seemed unaware of the storm breaking around their heads.

But perhaps the labourers spending their lunchtime slumbering at Queen Victoria's feet told the story of King William's Town today — a town of tradition being threatened by the Government's homeland policy.





# Election double talk fooled Border town

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room  
19/1/82

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — For more than a decade, Nationalist leaders, including a Prime Minister and a current member of the Cabinet, have assured white people in King William's Town that the town would not go black.

But, in a situation which parallels the incorporation of Port St Johns into Transkei in spite of written promises to the contrary by Government leaders, it seems inevitable that King William's Town will be incorporated into the Ciskei.

Before Mr Hennie van der Walt, MP, announced that his commission into the consolidation of the homelands had recommended incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei, the commission report was considered by two Cabinet committees and the Cabinet itself.

Technically the recommendation can still be overruled, but this is unlikely.

But for three consecutive elections, Nationalist leaders told King William's Town that this would never happen. Yesterday, the former United and South African Party MP for King William's Town, Mr Boet van den Heever, accused the National Party of betraying the voters in the constituency.

"It is an absolute betrayal ... it is a sell-out," Mr Van den Heever said.

During the 1974 general election, in which Mr Van den Heever held on to the King William's Town seat by 478 votes after a concerted Nationalist onslaught, the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, said at a public meeting in the town hall that neither East London nor King William's Town would be incorporated into either Transkei or Ciskei.

Answering a question from Mr J Wiehahn, a former United Party MPC for Queenstown, who shortly afterwards joined the NP, Mr John Vorster said neither area would be transferred to a homeland for two reasons.

The first was that in terms of the 1936 Land Act, the Government had no plans, then, or in the near future, to do so, and secondly, it did not have the money to do so, even if it wanted to.

The following night the then leader of the United Party in the Cape, Mr Myburgh Streicher, provoked a storm of criticism when he said emphatically that the Government could not be trusted and that both East London and King William's Town would go black.

As late as May 1978, the then Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and now Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, told an official delegation from the King William's Town Borough Council that the town would not be incorporated into the Ciskei.

Dr Hartzenberg repeated to the delegation assurances he gave in the 1977 general election campaign in the area, and the delegation then released a statement to the Press repeating the Deputy Minister's stand.

One of the first Cabinet Ministers to make promises about King William's Town was the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M C Botha, who had made similar promises about Port St Johns.

Speaking during the campaign for the 1970 election, in which the NP's candidate was Dr L Munnik, now Minister of Health, Mr Botha told voters in the King William's Town constituency that the town would not be incorporated, would not be "engulfed by more Bantu reserves", and the Government would do everything possible to open areas surrounding the town more effectively to white occupation.

Mr Van den Heever said yesterday that the Nationalist MP for King William's Town, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, should resign. "Why did he not tell them in 1977? He is virtually sitting under a false mandate because he should have told the voters then that King William's Town could be incorporated into the Ciskei. But now he is elected, he says King William's Town can go black," Mr Van den Heever said.

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# 13 detentions: Union asks Govt to act

## EAST LONDON — The Minister of Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha, has been asked to intervene in the detentions of 13 trade union officials in the Ciskei.

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This was disclosed yesterday by the secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Jan Theron, who spoke to Mr Botha on Saturday.

The men were detained by South African and Ciskei police at the entrance to Mdantsane near here at about 10.30 on Friday night.

Brig Charles Sebe, the highest-ranking police officer in the Ciskei, was reported to be present when the arrests were made along with members of the South African Security Police.

The men are all officials of the South African Allied Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union.

Thursday, having travelled to East London from the Western Cape by car.

The suggestion that such men are investigators is an outrageous smear. It also shows that since the only association between the arrested men was that they were trade unionists travelling home, the real motive for the arrest was their trade union activities.

"Unless the authorities release these men we will be forced to conclude that it is because of their success in organising workers in East London and because of the acceptance and recognition being gained from employers that the South African state has now

of the South African Security Police.

The men are all officials of the South African Allied Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and the Western Province General Workers' Union.

Mr Theron said yesterday when he asked Mr Botha to intervene, Mr Botha referred him to the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe.

He said Chief Sebe told him he was not prepared to allow trade union officials to organise Ciskei workers "and lose them their jobs."

Speaking on behalf of the three trade unions involved, Mr Theron said: "We are outraged by the arrest of 13 trade unionists travelling home on Friday night along with the arrests last week of two other trade unionists."

"We are convinced that this is a full-scale attack by the State on trade unions in East London. We are also convinced that the Ciskei authorities are being used by the South African authorities to do their dirty work for them. The fact that a captain and other officials of the South African Security Police were present at the time the arrests were made bears this out."

"Claims that these men are connected with schools unrest in Mdantsane or any other disturbances are patently ridiculous. Four of the arrested men have been in East London only since

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success in organising workers in East London and because of the acceptance and recognition being gained from employers that the South African state has now resorted to such crude victimisation," Mr Theron said.

The detained men are Mr Wilson Sidina, an official of the Western Province General Workers' Union; Mr Alfred Noka, national vice-president of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union; Mr Dan Welle, Mozoyana, chairman of the East London branch of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union; Mr an Graan, national president of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union; a Mr Kwesha, a member of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union; Mr Xolani Kota, Mr Robert Gqweta, Mr Lawrence Tulula, Mr Bangunzi Sifingo, Mr Humphrey Maxegwana, Mr September Mpakali, and Mr Orla Ndingayi, all of the South African Allied Workers' Union; and Mr Kalie Scheepers of Cape Town.

Six women who were in the company of the detained men were kept in custody for a few hours before being released and told to report to the headquarters of the Ciskei Security Police in Zwelitsha today, Mr Theron said.

Attempts to contact the South African Security Police for comment were unsuccessful last night. — DDR

# Citizenship not solved says Sebe

NEW BRIGHTON — After independence, the people of Ciskei should have Ciskeian citizenship and South African nationality, Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said here yesterday.

At a meeting in the Centenary Hall here, he said the citizenship issue was the only one which was not ironed out in his government's independence negotiations with South Africa.

He said the Quail Commission had found that the citizenship issue was the reason that the independent states were not

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recognised internationally. That was why his government was pressing for Ciskeian citizens to retain their South African nationality.

Chief Sebe, who proclaimed himself a student of pragmatic politics, said he checked in as a South African at international airports.

He said in terms of the bilateral agreement with Pretoria, Ciskeians would lose the right to vote for the South African Government.

But who cares about voting in South Africa? The only thing we want from them is protection and a share of the country's mineral wealth.

"I am prepared to challenge anybody who questions Ciskei's independence. I tell them right now that the freedom of the black man on a universal basis will come from the Ciskei."

The French Foreign Office had hailed his government's efforts saying they would be the

"universal solution to the problem of the black man in South Africa."

He said his government had received the conditional go-ahead of the Quail Commission, "a selection of overseas radicals".

On the independence referendum, to be held on December 4, Chief Sebe said: "There is really no reason for a referendum because 100 000 people at Ntabakandoda have expressed support for independence."

Seventy five per cent of Ciskeians wanted a confederal state with independence inside the Republic. This was after 95 per cent had expressed their wish for a one-man one-vote unitary state.

"Pretoria rejected the idea of a unitary state, because it would mean majority rule, which in fact would be majority chaos."

Chief Sebe told an applauding audience that Ciskei had made history with its coming referendum. — DDC.



EAST LONDON — For more than a decade, Nationalist leaders, including a Prime Minister and a current member of the cabinet, have assured white people in King William's Town that the town would not go black.

But, in a situation paralleling the incorporation of Port St Johns into Transkei in spite of written promises to the contrary by government leaders, it seems inevitable that King William's Town will be incorporated into the Ciskei.

Before Mr. Hennie van der Walt, MP, announced that his commission into the consolidation of the homelands had recommended the incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei, the commissioner's report was considered by two cabinet committees and the cabinet itself.

Technically the recommendation can still be overruled, but this is very unlikely in view of the fact that the cabinet has virtually given the go-ahead for the transfer of the town into the Ciskei.

But for three consecutive elections, Nationalist leaders told King William's Town that this would never happen.

Yesterday, the former United and South African Party MP for King William's Town, Mr. Boet van den Heever, accused the National Party of

# Kings: NP accused of betraying voters

By BARRY STREEK  
Political correspondent

It is an absolute betrayal. It is a sell-out," Mr Van den Heever said. During the 1974 general election, in which Mr Van den Heever held on to the King William's Town seat by 478 votes after a concerted Nationalist onslaught, the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, said at a public meeting in the town that neither East London nor King William's Town would be incorporated into either the Ciskei or Transkei.

Answering a question from Mr J. Wichahn, a former United Party MPC for Queenstown who shortly afterwards joined the NP, Mr Vorster said neither area would be transferred to a homeland for two reasons.

The first was that in terms of the 1936 Land Act the government had no plans then, or in the future, to do so, and secondly, it did not have the money to do so even if it wanted to.

The following night, the then leader of the United

Party in the Cape, Mr Myburgh Streicher, provoked a storm of criticism when he said emphatically that the government could not be trusted and that both East London and King William's Town would go black.

## Land plan omits EL

EAST LONDON — While the Van Der Walt Commission has recommended that King William's Town be incorporated into the Ciskei, the future of East London is, at least for the time being, not scheduled for incorporation into the Ciskei.

It is instead to be regarded as a co-prosperity zone in which major facilities, such as the harbour, are to be shared between South Africa, Transkei and the Ciskei.

Nevertheless, Government assurances about the future of East London have a familiar ring about them.

When Mr Hennie van der Walt, MP, the chairman of the commission into the consolidation of the homelands, was asked why East London was not to be incorporated into the Ciskei as well, he told an SABC-TV interviewer that the expense of buying out the white people would be too great. — PC.

Minister of Planning, who said his statement was irresponsible and unpatriotic; Mr Geoff O'Connell, who was then the NP's provincial candidate in King William's Town but is now a Nationalist Senator; Dr Hilgard Muller, then Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Mr Robbie de Lange, a Nationalist stalwart on the Border who was then Mayor of East London.

As late as May 1978, the then Deputy Minister of Rural Relations and now Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, told an official delegation from the King William's Town Borough Council that the town would not be incorporated into the Ciskei.

Dr Hartzenberg repeated assurances he gave in the 1977 general election campaign in the area to the delegation, which then released a statement to the press repeating the deputy minister's stand.

One of the first cabinet ministers to make promises about King

William's Town was the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, who had made similar promises about Port St Johns.

Speaking during the 1978 election, in which the NP's candidate was Dr Lapa Munnik, now Minister of Health, Mr Botha told voters in the King William's Town constituency that the town would not be "engulfed by more Bantu reserves" and the government would do everything possible to open areas surrounding the town more effectively to white occupation.

It now appears that the government is trying to forget these assurances which were made, mostly, during election campaigns.

Mr Van den Heever said yesterday that the NP for King William's Mr Hendrik Coetz should resign.

"Why did he not resign in 1977?" "He is virtually sitting under a false mandate because he should have told the voters then that King William's Town could be incorporated into the Ciskei."

"But now he is elected, he says King William's Town can go black."

"I wonder if he would be agreeable if Cathcart or Church Square in Pretoria went black?" Mr Van den Heever asked. — PC.  
Nat assurances, page 7.

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# Kings: a history of Natal assurances

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165/11/80 DAILY DIS

**EAST LONDON** — During three consecutive general elections, Nationalist leaders told the voters of King William's Town that the town would never go black.

Speaking in support of the current Minister of Health, Dr Lapa Munnik, who stood for parliament in the constituency for the Np in 1970 but who lost the election, the former Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, was the first cabinet minister to give such an assurance.

According to the Daily Dispatch of March 12, 1970, Mr Botha "assured local voters last night the town would not be engulfed by more Bantu reserves".

"And he pledged the government would soon be doing 'everything possible' to open areas surrounding the town even more effectively to white people.

"King William's Town will be much better off than in the past," Mr Botha said.

In the 1974 general election, the issue was raised more frequently, particularly in view of the impending independence of Transkei.

When the then Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, came to speak at a public meeting, he was directly tackled on the issue by a former United Party M.P.C. J. Queenstown, Mr J. Velehah, who the next day joined the Np.

Mr Velehah asked Mr Vorster at the meeting

whether East London or King William's Town were going black.

In the Daily Dispatch of April 10, 1974, it was reported that: "Mr Vorster said the answer was no for two good reasons. First, in terms of the 1936 Land Act, the government had no plans now or in the future to incorporate East London or King William's Town into the Transkei or the Ciskei."

"Secondly, 'Can you see any government having enough money to buy out East London or King William's Town to give to the Transkei or Ciskei?'"

The next day, however, the then Cape leader of the Up, Mr Myburgh Stretcher, who later became leader of the South African Party before joining the Np, rejected Mr Vorster's statement.

It was reported on April 11: "East London and King William's Town would not remain with the Republic of South Africa but would go black, the leader of the Up in the Cape, Mr M. Stretcher, predicted here last night."

"Referring to promises made to the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster in King William's Town this week that the town and East London would not go black, Mr Stretcher said no one could go on this alone."

"With the further development of government policy they will become like Eshowe and Port St Johns — they will become part and parcel of independent homeland states."

The reaction to this claim was instant, as though Mr Stretcher had suggested the ludicrous. Even the Up's Border chairman, Mr Jack Wainwright, then MP for East London North, dissociated himself from the remarks.

In the front page lead of the Daily Dispatch on April 12, 1974, it was reported: "The Minister of Planning, Mr Loots, yesterday repudiated a statement by the leader of the Up in the Cape, Mr M. Stretcher, that East London and King William's Town would go black and would not remain in the Republic."

"Mr Loots described Mr Stretcher's statement as irresponsible and unpatriotic and said he was shocked."

"What grounds did Mr Stretcher have for saying such a thing, apart from petty party-political reasons?"

"It could have the effect of destroying confidence in the future of East London and King William's Town and I can only hope the people who matter throughout South Africa will see Mr Stretcher's statement as coming from a political lightweight who is on his way out and who will never have any say in the affairs of South Africa and the Border."

"I repudiate the claim totally and absolutely," Mr Loots said.

"Mr Robbie de Lange, the Mayor of East London, said it was with a deep sense of disgust that he read the prediction of Mr Stretcher that East

## By BARRY STREK Political correspondent

London and King William's Town would go black.

"Such a statement is not only political trash, but the manner in which it was put across shows the stamp of an immature politician who wishes to make an impression."

"Mr Stretcher had inferred that the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, had told the voters of King William's Town a deliberate untruth — but it was Mr Stretcher whose statement was untrue."

In the Daily Dispatch of April 17, 1974, Mr Geoff O'Connell, then the Np's provincial candidate in King William's Town and later a Senator, was reported as saying: "How can we have faith in representatives of a party whose leadership says the area will go black? Don't accept the prophets of doom for this area."

Two days later, Mr O'Connell was reported as saying: "King William's Town and East London are ideally situated to develop as a great white-controlled commercial and industrial centre serving the needs of the Ciskei and Transkei while at the same time entering both the market locally as well as overseas."

In spite of these statements, the then Leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, was not convinced when he wound up the Up's campaign in King William's

Town and, as it turned out, made some accurate predictions.

The Daily Dispatch of April 20, 1974 reported that Sir De Villiers "quoted at length from the assurances given by Dr Verwoerd, Mr M. C. Botha and the Secretary of Bantu Administration about Port St Johns."

"What of King William's Town? You, too, are in the front line when it comes to the implementation of Nationalist policy."

"Mr M. C. Botha right here during the election four years ago gave the assurance that King William's Town would not be engulfed when it came to Nationalist consolidation plans."

"One only has to look at what has happened to Braunschweig and Frankfurt to understand what the real future of King William's Town will be."

"In the light of what has happened to Port St Johns and what may be happening to Eshowe are you prepared to entrust your future to Nationalist assurances that all will be well?"

However, in the Daily Dispatch of 23 April, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, repeated the assurances about King William's Town.

"The tactics of the Up's Cape Leader, Mr M. Stretcher, of saying it was

a premeditated issue that the Border area would go black were nothing but ghost stories, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr H. Muller, said last night.

"He said it was against government policy for the area and not a practical possibility that the Border would go black because of the enormous costs involved."

"Dr Muller said 3 375 morgen of black land which bordered on the King William's Town municipal area has been declared white."

Nevertheless, the rumours about King William's Town's possible incorporation persisted and various government leaders persisted in saying that the town would remain white and that the 1975 boundaries were final.

Thus, according to the Daily Dispatch of November 10, 1976, Dr Ferde Hartzenberg, the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, assured the Deputy Mayor of Elliot that "the final boundaries of all the homelands have been finally determined and requests for more land which may be received in future from the various leaders will not be considered."

A year later, as reported in the Daily Dispatch of November 1, 1977, Dr Hartzenberg told an election meeting in Stutterheim that the "government's consolidation plans had been finalised and the scheduled boundaries would not change."

"I want to say with as much emphasis as I can that this plan will not change. It is final."

"I want to give the absolute assurance that the corridor will remain."

The MP for Griqualand East, Mr Gray Hughes, was not convinced and said Dr Hartzenberg's assurances were "not worth the paper it was written on in the newspapers."

"What about the assurances made by Dr Verwoerd, who was Prime Minister, and Dr Daan de Wet Nel, who was a full minister, about Port St Johns?" he asked.

Mr Jan Jordaan, shortly to defeat Mr Hughes in the 1977 election, attacked the MP for his statement and pointed out that Mr Vorster and Mr Dr Hartzenberg had both made assurances that the boundaries would not change.

"Mr Hughes then comes along and has the audacity to say that for a mere deputy minister to give such assurances was laughable," Mr Jordaan said.

The sad saga of government assurances was not over. Six months later an official delegation from the King William's Town Borough Council went to Dr Hartzenberg to discuss the issue of the town's possible incorporation into the Ciskei.

The Daily Dispatch of May 30, 1978 reported: "The white corridor, including King William's Town, will not be incorporated into the Ciskei, according to Dr F. Hartzenberg, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development."

"This was stated in a statement issued to the press yesterday by the King William's Town municipality."

Dr Hartzenberg made this assurance to the Mayor of King William's Town, Cllr D. E. Wilson, during an interview recently in Cape Town, according to the statement.

"Cllr Wilson was accompanied by the Town Clerk, Mr H. C. Hutten, and the MP for King William's Town, Mr H. S. Coetzer."

Relations, and Development.

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"Cllr Wilson was accompanied by the Town Clerk, Mr H. C. Hutten, and the MP for King William's Town, Mr H. S. Coetzer."

Dr Hartzenberg said the Government was not considering the incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei, or according to the claims of the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, by abolishing the white corridor and including the land in question into the Ciskei."

In spite of all these statements, assurances and promises, from which the ordinary person could only assume that King William's Town would not be transferred to the Ciskei, it now seems that precisely the opposite is to occur.

Still, it was not the only promise not kept. In 1970, Mr Vorster, in his bid to get Dr Munnik elected as MP for King William's Town, said at a public meeting in the town: "I personally give preference to this part of the world and the Government knows it."

That, too, did little for the development of the area, as the 1970s have shown so clearly. — JPC



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# Biko ANSWER TOMORROW?

Own Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN** — Tomorrow South Africa may discover the reasons behind the Medical Association's decision not to press for disciplinary action against one of the doctors who attended black consciousness leader, Mr Steve Biko, before his death in detention.

The medical profession is saying these disclosures will be made at a special meeting of the Federal Executive of the Medical Association of South Africa (MASA) scheduled to be held in Cape Town

tomorrow afternoon.

After the meeting the chairman of the Federal Executive, Professor Guy de Klerk, will issue a statement and be available for Press interviews.

This meeting could be one of the most important so far in the controversy surrounding the three Port Elizabeth doctors, Dr Benjamin Tucker, Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Colin Hersch, whose conduct came into question at the inquest following the death of Mr Biko three

years ago.

After the inquest, the magistrate, Mr M J Prins, asked the South African Medical and Dental Council to investigate the evidence concerning the doctors.

It was not until April this year that the council announced its decision — it would not take any disciplinary action against the doctors.

Dr J P van Niekerk, Deputy Dean of the UCT Medical School and vice-chairman of the faculty's professional standards

committee (established as a result of the Biko issue) said he and his colleagues were optimistic that the meeting would clarify MASA's stand.

He said the faculty were not asking for a reversal of MASA's decision but were hoping to be given the reasons for the decisions.

A number of prominent faculty members had indicated they would attend the meeting, which if normal procedure was followed — would be open to all MASA members.



MR BIKO

# Ciskei's detention of unionists criticised

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Reporter

THE continued detention of trade unionists in the Ciskei — despite the fact that Ciskeian authorities have said publicly the unionists will not be charged — was slammed by unionists yesterday.

The detentions may also elicit strong reaction from overseas unions. The Rand Daily Mail has learnt that they are aware of the detentions and are expected to react to them soon.

And unregistered unions charged yesterday that the detentions were a concerted attempt by the authorities to "smash" them before new legislation aimed at wooing unions into the Government's official bargaining system was introduced.

Ciskeian authorities detained 13 trade unionists from four separate unions at the weekend, bringing to 15 the total number of unionists in detention in the homeland.

Two other officials of unregistered unions are being detained by South African police.

This is the biggest crack-down on the union movement since 1978.

Unregistered unionists said they believed the South African authorities are partly responsible for the arrests. But Ciskeian authorities have denied this.

South African Security Police were present when the detainees were taken to a police station in Mdantsane township, although Ciskeian authorities said this was "a coincidence".

In other developments yesterday:

○ Hopes that the unionists would be released immediately dimmed as Ciskeian Intelligence Service secretary, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said a decision on whether to free the men would be made on Friday — he had originally said a decision would be made today;

○ Three unions, the SA Allied Workers Union, African Food and Canning Workers Union and Western Province General Workers Union announced that a mass meeting of East London workers would be held tonight to discuss the arrests;

Protests at the detentions from the unregistered union movement continued yesterday.

In a joint statement, the AFCWU, WPGWU and SAAWU said statements that the Ciskeian authorities did not plan to charge the men proved "that there was no evidence of their having committed an offence."

Referring to impending changes in law designed to woo unions into the Government's official bargaining system, the unions said:

"We can only conclude the suggested reforms presuppose the repression of unions who have opposed the present labour dispensation and we are understandably sceptical about the motives behind these reforms."





# Sebe <sup>DD</sup> supports new Berlin <sup>105</sup> racecourse

EAST LONDON — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has promised "one hundred per cent support" for the establishment by the Border Turf Club of a racecourse at Berlin.

The Border Turf Club has already received authority from the Jockey Club of South Africa and from the Cape Provincial Administration to operate a racecourse there.

The club's chairman, Mr Louis Hart, had a luncheon meeting in King William's Town yesterday with Chief Sebe and his brother, the head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, Brigadier Charles Sebe.

The Chief Minister told Mr Hart at the luncheon that he would not only support the venture but would also recommend certain people to serve on the committee.

He said his government would allow the establishment of off-course tote facilities throughout the Ciskei territory and he assured the turf club that the racecourse would

share the benefits from off-course takings.

Mr Hart said yesterday he had been warmed and encouraged by Chief Sebe's enthusiasm over the proposed racecourse.

"I left him convinced he is solidly behind our initiative and that there will be no problems whatsoever regarding the establishment and the running of the racecourse if it is sited in a future independent Ciskei.

"Indeed, the likelihood that our operation will fall under Ciskeian control does not change our attitude in any way either. We have always envisaged the closest co-operation with the Ciskeian Government in the venture and have always regarded the racecourse as an industry and a facility that should be of benefit to all sections of our regional community."

Mr Hart also said that Jockey Club support need not be affected by the possible situation of the racecourse in the Ciskei provided it was built and run to the standards required by the Jockey Club. — DDR

# Trade unions to discuss detentions tonight

EAST LONDON — The three trade unions whose members were detained by Ciskei security police on Friday night are to hold a mass meeting at St John's Church Hall here tonight to discuss the continued detention of the 13 men.

The men were members of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, the South African Allied Workers' Union and the Western Province General Workers' Union.

Mr David Lewis, an organiser with the Western Province General Workers' Union, speaking on behalf of all three unions, said last night the Ciskei authorities had publicly stated they did not intend charging the people.

"In other words, we have stated all along, there is no evidence of their having committed any offence and yet they continue to remain in detention.

"Accordingly we can only repeat that we

believe these people are being held in a deliberate attempt to smash the three trade unions and as a direct response to the overwhelming support enjoyed by our unions in East London.

"It is ironic that the Minister of Manpower Utilisation should be visiting East London tomorrow in order to

promote Manpower 2.000. The Minister would do better to reflect upon the sorry state of industrial relations in East London despite recent attempts by local employers at reconciliation.

"We can only conclude that the real content of the suggested reforms of the industrial relations legislation presupposes

the repression of those unions which have opposed the current dispensation.

"We are understandably sceptical of the Government's good faith in this regard and of the support which their reforms will find among those workers who are consistently subjected to repression of this type," Mr Lewis said. — DDR



Ciskei: <sup>Argus</sup> 12/11/80

# Spotlight on top Border schools

Argus Bureau  
PORT ELIZABETH. — The future of two of South Africa's leading boarding schools — as well as several other educational institutions — has become one of the most sensitive issues concerning the proposed incorporation into Ciskei of King William's Town.

Principals speak optimistically about the future, saying they believe their schools will stay under control of the Cape Education Department.

But community leaders and parents say the schools are already adversely affected by the prospect of being in a black state.

Quietly optimistic is Mr C D Thomson, the principal of Dale College which has a rich tradition spanning back to its establishment in 1877. Today it accommodates 454 pupils, of whom half are boarders from throughout the country.

## CONFIDENT

Mr Thomson said he could see no reason for pessimism which in itself would have a negative effect on the school.

He based his confidence for the continued control of the school by the Cape Education Department on the fact that such an arrangement had been made in other independent homelands.

'We will probably eventually go multiracial, but it will come gradually,' he said.

His school would be in the 'front line' as an example to the rest of the country.

'There will be no panic, the floodgates won't open. Black pupils will probably be allowed on academic merit. If they are academi-

cally qualified they would also be equal socially,' he said.

Another local school with a rich tradition is Kaffrarian Girls' High School, which opened in 1875 and today has 597 pupils from Sub A to matric — 91 of whom are boarders.

The principal, Mrs J Morgan, said she had no fears for the future and believed some 'friendly arrangement' would be made between Ciskei and the South African Government. 'Judging by what happened in Umtata, I hope so,' she said.

## NO COMMENT

Mr C P Colyn, principal of the biggest Afrikaans school in the area, De Vos Malan High School, declined to comment: 'I can say nothing, because nothing is known,' he said.

However, the chairman of his school committee, Mr Louis Steyl, said he had information 'from a good source' that if King William's Town went black the white schools and status would be respected.

'But if they go multiracial I foresee an exodus of white people.'

The chairman of the Dale College school committee, Mr N F Woolgar, said: 'I cannot see Dale's character changing. The Cape Education Department will sufficiently protect the schools.'

'Multiracialism will not come soon. When it does, it will already have been accepted all over the country.'

The director of education in the Cape, Mr H A Lambrechts, said today there had been no change in King William's Town's status and it was still part of the Cape.

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# Ciskeian detainees released

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON—The 13 trade union officials detained by the Ciskeian police at the weekend were released at noon today.

The men, all officials of the South African Allied Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and the General Workers' Union, were detained as they crossed the border of Ciskei into Mdantsane.

The Ciskeian Police head, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said the men were detained in connection with schools unrest.

He said today that the Ciskeian Cabinet yesterday had decided to release the officials.

"We have completed our investigations and it will not be necessary for them to appear in court," he said. "We are also satisfied that they will be returning home."

a racial prejudice?

b a struggle over cattle?

c a struggle over land?

Discuss each of the possibilities mentioned.

2 To what extent do the Khoikhoi show an understanding of motives for, and implications of, colonial encroachment?

Consider specifically the words of the Khoikhoi as quoted by Van Riebeeck.

3 Discuss the differences between the settlers and the Khoikhoi in their respective attitudes towards the land. Quote from the extract in support of your views.

4 "Who should rather in justice give way, the rightful owner or the foreign intruder?" (Lines 22 and 23).

"Their land had justly fallen to us in a defensive war, won by the sword, as it were." (Lines 35 and 36).

Paying special attention to the underlined words, critically discuss the "justness" of the two claims.



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officials

Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The 13 trade-union officials who were detained by the Ciskeian police at the weekend were released at noon today.

The men, all officials of the South African Allied Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union and the General Workers' Union, were detained as they crossed the border of Ciskei into Mdantsane.

The head of the Ciskeian police, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said the men were detained in connection with unrest in schools.

#### A MEETING

He said today that at a meeting of the Ciskeian Cabinet yesterday it was decided to release the officials.

'We have completed our investigations and it will not be necessary for them to appear in court,' he said.

'We are also satisfied that the four officials from Cape Town will not be staying in this area. They will be returning home.

'On the information we have, we could have detained the 13 for more than three months.'

#### DENIAL

He denied there was any link between the detentions and the men's trade union activities.

Union officials have claimed the men were detained because of the growing strength of their movement in the East London area.

# Ciskei police free detained union officials

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EAST LONDON — The 13 trade union officials detained by the Ciskei police at the weekend were released at midday yesterday. They had been held for four days. No charges were brought.

The men were all officials of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and the Western Province General Workers' Union.

All three unions are unregistered. They have refused to register under the Government's present Labour dispensation.

Reacting to the news of their release, Mr Jan Theron, acting as spokesman for all three unions, said the detentions were a "disgrace."

He said: "It is obvious that these men were arrested and held for four days for absolutely no valid reason."

"The fact that they were not questioned upon being detained, and the fact that while they were still being held the authorities were able to say that no charges would be laid against them, shows this was an attack on the trade unions and a misguided attempt to break the unions."

The men were arrested at a road block at the entrance to Mdantsane last Friday night.

They said yesterday they were told by the Ciskei police when they were released that those of them who did not live in Mdantsane were not to return to Mdantsane but were to find accommodation in East London last night, which they did.

About 800 people packed into St John's church hall here last night, to hear first-hand accounts from the detainees about

their detention.

Mr Robert Gqweta of the South African Allied Workers' Union said after being stopped at the road block, they were taken to the police station by the Ciskeian police. "While they were going through the formalities, Brigadier Sebe entered," he said. "Is this Saawu?" he asked. As we were not there as Saawu but as workers we did not give him a reply. Thereafter we were called before Brig Sebe one by one. He didn't bother to ask us but told us we were involved in the school disturbances and he immediately booked us under Proclamation R252.

"I do not know the limits and latitudes of this law but I know it is the one most commonly used in the Ciskei."

Mr Gqweta said the men were all locked up together which made them feel at home. He described their stay in detention as "tolerable."

The freed men are Mr Wilson Sidina, Mr Alfred Noka, Mr Willie Mzozoyana, Mr M. van Graan, Mr E. T. Qwasha, Mr Xolani Kota, Mr Lawrence Tuluja, Mr Bangunzi Sifingo, Mr Humphrey Maxegwana, Mr September Mapakati, Mr Oria Ndingayi, Mr Kalie Scheepers, and Mr Gqweta.

There are six trade unionists still in detention in South Africa and the Ciskei. — DDR.

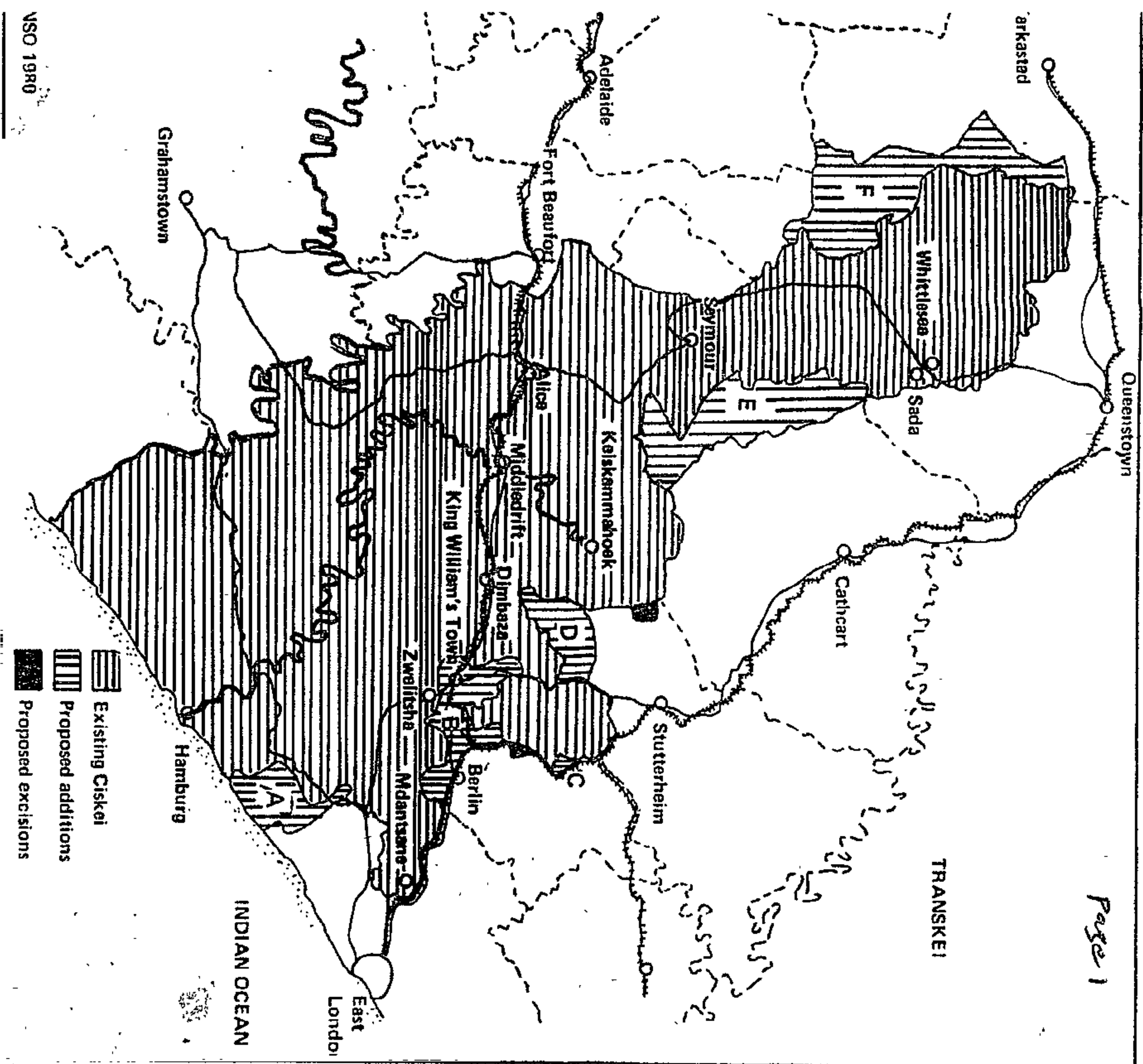
Cape union protests,  
page 2.



# Ciskei's new boundaries

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# Kings should accept the inevitable

(105)

The Van Der Walt Commission's proposals for the new boundaries of the Ciskei have, understandably, brought great happiness and much sadness to many people.

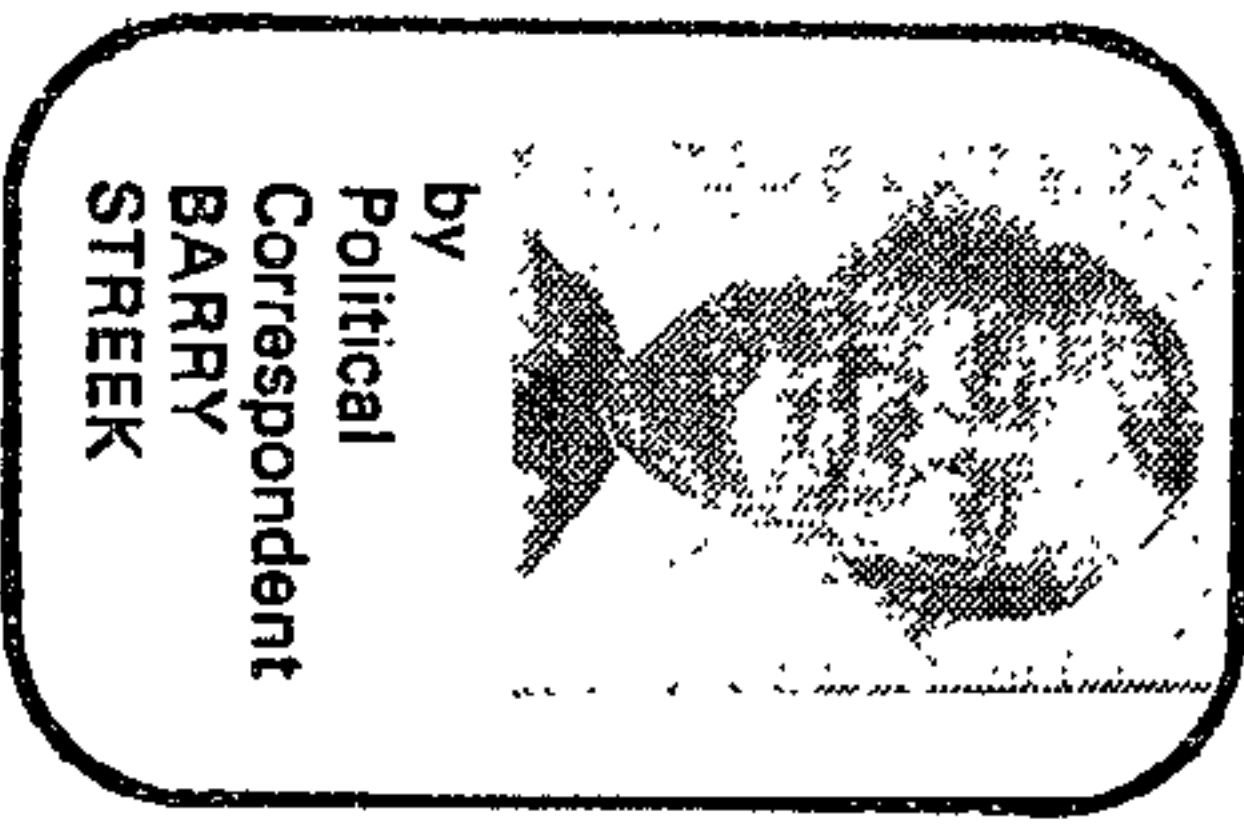
The idea of change, such fundamental change, is not always easy to accept.

And in the circumstances, it is understandable that the reaction of King William's Town people who do not like the idea of living under the jurisdiction of the Ciskei Government was to do their level best to persuade Dr Koornhof and the cabinet to change their minds.

It is even more understandable that those people who happen to be voters in the area will feel deceived and, in Mr Boet van den Heever's terms, betrayed, by the promises and assurances of Nationalist leaders who, unlike Mr Myburgh, Streicher and Sir de Villiers Graaff, were unable to see the logical consequences of their own policies.

It is also natural for people to be concerned about the values of properties and what will happen to their possessions which are tied up in fixed assets.

The uncertainties and insecurities of white people in King William's Town about the prospects of having black



ministers and MPs to no avail.

All they really succeeded in doing was show their new government that they were unwilling to accept the realities of black rule, which is what most of the statements coming out of King William's Town are doing at present.

In some respects it may be a little hard on King William's Town and the other new areas being incorporated into the Ciskei that it is coming to them first, but it is about time white South Africa started facing up to the fact that the days of white rule are dying and decaying.

For all the efforts of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, and the Treurnicht wing of the NNP of

If the strikes and labour unrest throughout South Africa in the last two years have shown one thing it is that the majority of South Africans are not going to be satisfied with a political dispensation in which they have no say.

It is all very well for politicians to pretend that the homelands offer a solution to South Africa's political problems, but they know in their heart of hearts that is not going to work.

Certainly, the policies of separation may delay, a little, eventual power-sharing in the whole of South Africa, but they are not the answer — because they do not satisfy the aspirations of the majority of South Africans and will never do so.

The people of Soweto, Langza and Guguletu, Kwazakhele and New Brighton, Kwa Mashu and Umlazi, let alone the Mdantsanes and Garankuwas which are technically inside homelands, simply will not accept a vote in a homeland and it is the final solution. And it is totally unrealistic for anyone to hope that this will be the case.

The only solution is for white South Africa, probably through the device of a national convention, to come to terms with

East London white, or about local options, but that only has value for short-term political gain. It has no value in terms of finding a long-term solution because it fails to take any serious account of black feelings.

What is more these issues are not confined to little white islands in the suburbs or in hotels or the beaches. They have distinct political implications.

The days of all-white local authorities and all-white parliaments are drawing to an end. Not tomorrow but certainly in the future.

When the government talks about a regional co-prosperity zone it is, in effect, paving the way for joint (that is, inter-racial) decision-making over East London harbour and other resources. It is paving the way, slowly but surely, for power-sharing.

If the people of King William's Town come to terms with it they will, like the people of Matikeng, really and truly become the forerunners to the future South Africa. They will be a step ahead.

By the time the traumas of change start hitting the other white islands, they will have adjusted already.

Certainly, there will be difficulties and problems. Change is never easy. But it is inevitable.

With deliberate government aid, too, it seems likely that there will be considerable economic development coming to the Berlin-King William's Town area. This will probably mean that, like Umtata and Matikeng, the change of political authority will probably be accompanied by a rapid rise in property values and business



In a statement on the proposals for the Consolidation of the Ciskei, the Chairman of the Van der Walt Commission, Mr Hennie Van der Walt said the following procedure would apply:

- A comprehensive, point-to-point description of areas proposed for incorporation into the Ciskei would be sent to the East Cape Agricultural Union and, on request, to affected owners and organisations;

- As soon as those affected had had the opportunity to study the proposals, the Commission would consult with them and negotiate with the Ciskei Government;

- The result of the discussions would then be conveyed to the cabinet, accompanied by the Commission's final proposals, for consideration by the cabinet and submission to Parliament, which had the final say;

- In the case of King William's Town and Berlin the Commission would adopt the same working procedure for the hearing of evidence as applied in the case of Mafeking;

- The possible exploitation of East London Harbour as a co-operative project by the Ciskei, Transkei and SA, as proposed by the Commission would, at the same time be investigated more fully.

The Commission would shortly make known more detailed particulars of days and times when evidence would be heard.

Mr Van der Walt also pointed out that the additions proposed by the

Commission were additional to the approximate 100 000ha which still had to be bought in terms of the 1975 proposals.

The following description of the 1980 consolidation proposals were issued:

1. The Swart Kei-Winterberg area (F on map) (Tarkastad district).

This area covers about 49 000ha and consists of the following farms:

Bezuidenhout Kraal Mond, Roodewal (Rocklands), Haslope Hills, Keys Poort, Elandskraal alias Elandsheuvel, Kingsmead, Bower Hope, Vrisgewaagd, Patience, Perseverance, Energy, Thrift, Property Nos 1W, 2W, 3W, 4W, 5W, Industry, Snowdale and part of the farm, Success.

2. The Waterdown Dam-Klipplaat-Hogsback area (E on map) (Cathcart district).

This area covers about 36 000 ha and includes inter alia the Waterdown Dam, the Hogsback tourist resort and State forests.

The area includes all properties situated to the west of the boundary line described below and the area in the Stockenstrom and Cathcart districts approved for consolidation by Parliament in 1975:

From the point where the Whittlesea-Waterdown Dam road cuts the eastern boundary of the farm Langedraai southwards, along the western road reserve of

this road to where it meets the Cathcart-Seymour tarred road; from there in a generally southerly direction with the middle of the Klipplaat River to the north-west beacon of farm 30; from there along the eastern boundary of farm 29, so that it is included in the area, to where it cuts the northern boundary of Nyameni location.

3. The Pirie-Kubusi area (D on map) King William's Town district.

This area covers about 13 000 ha and includes inter alia Sandile's Grave, the Cwencwe and Pirie State forests, as well as the Maden and Rooikranz dams.

The area is situated between Mpahlana's location in the east and the Keiskammahoek district in the west which is Ciskei ground area, and south of the road which goes from Fairview and Woodlands in the east to Sandile's Grave in the west and from there further northwards in a straight line along the watershed to the most easterly beacon of the Keiskammahoek district, about one kilometer to the south of Mount Kemp.

4. The Berlin-King William's Town area (B on map) King William's Town district.

This area covers about 19 500 ha and includes, inter alia, the Berlin industrial area as well as King William's Town and municipal area.

The area includes, apart from the Berlin industrial

area, all properties in the King William's Town district which are situated to the south and west of the Berlin-Peelton rail line.

5. The Kidds Beach-Chalumna area (A on map) East London district

This area covers about 20 000ha and includes, inter alia, Kaysers Beach resort. Kidds Beach is not included in the area.

The eastern boundary of this area stretches from the Ncera river mouth along the middle of this river to where it cuts the East London-Port Elizabeth tarred road; from here north-east along the western reserve of this road to where it crosses the Kidds Beach-King William's Town road; from here generally northwards along the western reserve of this road to Glenfields; from here northwards along the western reserve of the Glenfields-Silverdale road to where it cuts the northern boundary of farm No 40; from here along the boundary and including farms Nos 40 and 46.

Proposed Excisions.

1. Gubu Dam.

The farm Fort Merriman belonging to the SA Development Trust on which Gubu Dam is situated. The area involved is about 600ha.

2. Portion of Peelton location.

The portion of Peelton location situated to the east of the Kei Road railway line reserve and which involves about 1 000ha.

goes with it, are understandable as well.

These are facts of life, or rather facts of aspirations and hopes, and there is no point in discounting them.

But, however understandable, I am not sure that the idea of protest and resistance to incorporation is the wisest response.

The white residents in Transkei organised a white citizens' body which tried to petition Parliament (and, incidentally, gave rise to the best speech I have ever heard by Harry Schwartz). They saw ministers, prime

ty, it is no longer realistic to look at the future and say confidently that the whites will rule over the remaining 86 or so per cent of South Africa forever.

Nationalist politicians may say publicly from the platforms that the white person will be dominant in the land outside the homelands. They may even preach resistance to changes in white power areas.

But it is not on. And they know it, as much as they knew that King William's Town could not remain white in terms of their own policies.

of black people and to negotiate a solution.

And whatever way one looks at it, when that day comes, as surely it will, laws such as Group Areas Acts and Mixed Marriages Acts will become totally redundant because no person of colour, of any shade of political viewpoint, will support them.

That means little white islands like King William's Town, in any event, are on the way out. Little white islands in parts of East London could also be on the way out.

A lot of hot air can be released from political platforms about keeping

The final consideration is that the South African Government rarely changes its mind on such issues. If, by chance, it now decided not to accept the Van Der Walt Commission recommendations, the Ciskei Government would renounce the independence package deal, and no Nationalist Government is going to risk such a danger.

In short, the most sensible move for the people of King is to accept the move and make the best of it. They are more likely to benefit from a positive response than by opposition to the inevitable.



By Bruce Cameron  
THE Ciskei consolidation proposals are expected to provide the basis of how the Government will tackle consolidation of the other homelands.

But even though there has been a marked change in emphasis in consolidation, opposition to the further consolidation of Kwazulu remains solid.

And it is in Kwazulu that the Government faces its most vexing problems, where even the 1974 consolidation proposals are nowhere near being completed, with the aim of cutting the homeland down to 10 separate parts.

In Ciskei the Government has clearly shown that it will no longer be tied to the traditional concept of creating entirely separate, politically and economically independent states.

It has rather angled its course towards economic interdependence, cutting expenditure on purchasing ground and reducing the numbers of people to be moved.

It is seen rather as consolidation by drawing lines, leaving whites where they are not only to save the cost of moving them but to provide an economic bolster for the homelands.

The other major deviation has been the creation of what the Government has called joint venture areas in which the homelands and white South Africa share economic installations — either publicly or privately owned and in or out of the homelands.

However, in Natal Kwazulu the problems are greater than in Ciskei — Kwazulu lies splintered throughout the province providing a home for an enormous Zulu population.

The economic base and infrastructure are seen as interlinked and inseparable.

Spearheading the opposition to the further consolidation of Kwazulu has been business and industry, while organised agriculture in Natal has warned that the economic future of the regions would be wrecked.

The South African Sugar Association in the forefront of the battle, fears the delicately balanced sugar industry would suffer irreparable damage which would affect the whole region.

Spokesmen for industry and commerce feel that the Ciskei proposals would make little change if they formed the basis of further consolidation of Kwazulu, as the ultimate aim would still be the creation

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**Ciskei a blueprint?**

of two separate political and administrative entities, making it practically impossible for the economic base of the two regions to remain intertwined.

If eventually Kwazulu were forced into taking independence it would only make the problem worse. Industry and commerce remain committed to an alternative political solution to separate development being found even though they are loath to

enter the political arena publicly themselves to offer any such solutions.

However, they have thrown their weight behind the Buthezi Commission which is looking at the political and economic interdependence of Kwazulu and Natal.

There is, however, concern that the Government might try to outmanoeuvre the commission by forcing upon Natal and Kwazulu the proposals — still to be published — of

the Van der Walt Consolidation Commission before the Buthezi Commission can report.

Mr Hennie van der Walt MP, has already publicly hinted that in terms of his proposals major changes are in store for Natal, with areas such as Richards Bay becoming joint venture areas.

From his hints it is clear that the Government also plans to reduce still further the 10 parts of Kwazulu recommended in 1974.

DD. ~~13/11/80~~ (105) (134) (124) (322) (180)  
**Six unionists still held:  
govts to be petitioned** 13/11/80

**EAST LONDON —**  
Members of three trade unions decided here last night to petition the South African and Ciskeian governments for the release of six trade union officials still in detention.

Four of the detained men are Mr Thozamile Gqweta, the national organiser of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), Mr Sisa

Njikelana, branch chairman of Saawu, Mr Sirking Goci and Mr Boyce Soti, both organisers for Saawu at the Ciskei Transport Corporation.

These men are being held in the Ciskei, and at a meeting at St John's Church hall last night, members of Saawu voted to ask East London employers to approach the Chief Minister of the

Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, for their release.

Two other trade union officials, Mr P. B. Norushe and Mr Oscar Mpete, members of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, are being held by the South African authorities.

The meeting voted to petition the South African government for their early release. — DDR.



Union

14/11/80  
attacks

ARRANS  
detention

of 13

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Labour Reporters

THE recent detention of 13 trade unionists working in East London was a repressive act aimed at crushing worker organisations and a definite setback to labour relations, the Western Province General Workers' Union said in a statement yesterday.

The union welcomed the release of the organisers and workers, who were detained for five days by Ciskeian police, but said they should never have been detained.

#### OVERTURES

'If the recent Government overtures to the black unregistered union movement are to be treated seriously, trade unions must be allowed to engage in their normal organising activities,' the union said.

It noted that four trade unionists were still in detention. Mr B P Norushe, branch secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union in East London, has been in detention for more than five months and the union's national organiser, Mr Oscar Mpetha, 71, for more than three months.

Mr Thozamile Gqwetha and Mr Sisa Njikelana are also still in detention.





The superintendent of St Matthews Hospital, near Keiskammahoek, Dr L. Pillso, yesterday addressed the visiting South African Minister of Health, Dr Lapa Munnik, the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr George Morrison, and the Ciskeian Minister of Health, Dr B. Maku. Dr Munnik later described Dr Pillso as one of the best community health workers in Southern Africa.

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## Munnik praises health services

**KEISKAMMAHOEK —** The South African Minister of Health, Dr Lapa Munnik, yesterday paid tribute to the standard of health care in the Ciskei.

In an interview after a two-day visit to the Ciskei, Dr Munnik said; "I was very impressed, particularly by the dedication of the nurses and doctors."

He was also impressed by the St Matthews Hospital here which he visited yesterday.

He said the community health services run by the hospital in the Keiskammahoek and Middledrift districts were very effective, with its 15 clinics throughout the area.

The hospital

superintendent, Dr L. Pillso, is "in my opinion one of the best trained and dedicated persons in the whole of Southern Africa in community health."

The Regional Health Organisation of Southern Africa (Rhosa) was organising a symposium on community health early next year and he would definitely be inviting Dr Pillso to deliver a paper at the symposium.

It was clear that a new hospital was needed in the area, because St Matthews was old, but in the circumstances the staff were coping very well.

The Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr George Morrison, who accompanied Dr Munnik on his

visit, said that the health of the babies in the hospitals, which he regarded as the base line for any assessment of the level of health in a community, had struck him very favourably.

There was clearly a considerable shortage of doctors in the Ciskei, but he disclosed that negotiations were under way for four Philippine doctors to join the Ciskei health services. This would help alleviate the situation.

Dr Morrison said the emphasis placed by the Ciskei Government on community involvement was particularly important.

"I feel in all respects the community must be in-

involved and that mothers should visit the clinics.

"Malnutrition is not always because of deficiency of food. It is often because the children are not fed properly," Dr Morrison said.

Dr Munnik and Dr Morrison, who are both medical doctors, left the Ciskei yesterday afternoon after visiting a number of hospitals and resettlement areas. Their programme was, however, curtailed because adverse weather prevented them flying by helicopter to the Hewu area where Thornhill, Oxton and Sada are situated.

Dr Munnik, however, went to Sada by road yesterday afternoon. — PC



# Sebe slams SA for fall-off in farming

**From MIKE CHANDLER and BARRY STRECK**

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The South African Government was to blame for the loss of lower production on land taken over from white farmers, Chief Lennox Sebe said yesterday.

The Ciskei's Chief Minister said the Ciskei could not be held responsible.

Rejecting allegations that land handed over to Ciskei inevitably resulted in a loss or lowering of production compared with the production under white farmers, Chief Sebe strongly criticised the South African Government.

"The Ciskei Government is not responsible for this situation, which is totally initiated, executed and supervised by the Department of Co-operation and Development of the Republican government," he said.

"In fact, in this process of land purchase the Ciskei government is not even consulted about its priorities for the purchase of land so there can be some integration of development plans for the efficient take-over of these properties and a continuation of the farming systems, thereby maintaining the level of production."

Chief Sebe said if Ciskeian farmers had the same opportunities and facilities as the previous white farmers had had, they would not only maintain production levels, but would do a better job.

"It is incumbent on me, not only to refute with scorn this slur on the Ciskeian people, but at the same time to give concrete evidence of the converse. As an example, look at

the situation at Keiskammahoek.

"Here some thousands of hectares of land, formerly productive under the German farmers of that district, became totally unproductive after being purchased by the Republican government and retained under that government's control for years.

"Even the few job opportunities that were created by the former German farmers were effectively rubbed out.

"This situation was of great concern to my government. Hence plans were laid for the development of the Keiskamma irrigation scheme and that same area today is now generating a gross income of nearly R1,5 million per annum and has created job opportunities for well

over 400 Ciskeian families.

"There are other examples that could be quoted, but I feel the Keiskamma example is sufficient to make the point."

He said where there had been a drop in production levels, it was related to the lack of any provision by the South African government of sufficient financial development capital.

"As a case in point, in November, 1979, a total of some 58 000 hectares in the south Peddie district was transferred to the control of the Ciskeian government.

"Since that date no additional funds have been made available to the Ciskeian government for the proper administration and control of the area, let alone any funds for its economic agricultural development," he said.

## Editorial on civil servants attacked

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — An editorial in the local newspaper here, The Mercury, was slammed yesterday by Ciskei's Chief Minister as the most insulting statement since the "slow thought processes" statement during the last sitting of Parliament.

In criticising the editorial, Chief Lennox Sebe said it "is typical of the worst type of verkampte white thinking."

The statement under attack by Chief Sebe was: "It has been almost a classic 'Catch 22' situation with Ciskeian civil servants, who are seconded South African civil ser-

vants, helping South African civil servants negotiate Ciskeian independence.

"Now the same civil servants are apparently also resident spokesmen for King William's Town in support of the Van der Walt Commission proposal that King William's Town be incorporated into Ciskei."

Chief Sebe said: "The statement implies that public servants of the South African government have been responsible for designing the independence package for Ciskei."

"The statement that my officials, seconded or otherwise, were the resi-

dent spokesmen for King William's Town in support of the Van der Walt Commission proposals is not only a lie which conflicts with the Mayor of King William's Town's statement on this subject, but is also deliberately calculated to cause dissent and enmity.

"My government was never at any time consulted in regard to the constitution of the Greeff Committee.

"I nominated two officials to that committee on the basis of their competence, not their colour, and we are satisfied they carried out their task.

"We resent it being implied they had any com-

mission to represent King William's Town or that they in fact did so.

"Anyone who is aware of the quality of those two men will fortunately see this spurious statement for what it is.

"My government had only two representatives on the Greeff Committee among some 14 from the white sector and we had no hand in the timing of the release of the report of the Van der Walt Commission or the manner in which it was released."

Chief Sebe said The Mercury's editorial was like the "slow thought process" statement as it implied blacks did not think for themselves.

## Sebe: I'm a South African

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**

Ciskei's Chief Minister said yesterday he would always be a South African national, although he would be independent "within" the Ciskei.

"Every black everywhere in South Africa is a national of South Africa," Chief Lennox Sebe said.

"When we take independence, we will take independence 'within' so that we don't lose... we don't deprive ourselves of that birthright.

"Now, you can ask me, what were you enjoying being a national of South Africa? Well, we were enjoying the privilege, but not the rights. It will have to be the privilege and the rights.

"My men are on the borders now fighting terrorism. They are not fighting for the Ciskei. They are fighting because they are nationals of South Africa," Chief Sebe said.

He was replying to a question at a press conference in Zwelitsha yesterday afternoon on the difference between Ciskeian citizenship and South African nationality.

Chief Sebe said there would be no need for a passport to travel through the Ciskei to South Africa.

"Why? You will be a South African national and we are South African nationals."

However, Chief Sebe said, the issue of citizenship was still under negotiation and there were details on which decisions still had to be taken.

"We are busy with the details," he said.



INGABA UYAHAMBISANA NA NENKULULEKO YEKISKEP ARE YOU IN FAVOUR OF INDEPENDENCE FOR THE CISKEI? IS U TEN GUKSTE VAN ONAFHANKLIKHEID VIR DIE CISKEI?

**EWE/YES/JA**

**HAYI/NO/NEE**

The ballot form that will be used in the Ciskei independence referendum

**Just Yes or No in Ciskei referendum**

ZWELITSHA — Ciskeian voters will be asked a simple and direct question when they are asked their views on the territory's impending independence on December 4.

They will be asked: "Are you in favour of independence for the Ciskei?"

To this question they can vote "Yes" or "No".

A copy of the referendum ballot and the regulations "for the guidance of the voter in voting" has been published in a notice by the Ciskei Government.

Once a voter has received his or her ballot, they will take it to a voting compartment and indicate their vote "by secretly placing a cross in the square opposite his/her choice".

However, once they have voted, they have to fold the ballot paper and show it to the presiding or polling officer so that he can see the official secret mark.

The regulations say: "After the voter has recorded his/her vote he shall fold the ballot paper so that the official secret mark is visible and his/her choice and the cross made by him/her is not visible, and having held up the ballot paper so that the presiding officer or the polling officer in charge of the ballot box can recognise the official secret mark, shall drop the ballot paper into the ballot box placed in front of the presiding officer or the said polling officer."

No reason is given in the document for this procedure.

Nor does it make any provision for the votes of illiterate people to be cast by polling officials, as has been the case in previous elections.

However, the ballot papers have a blue square for those who wish to vote "yes" and a red square for those who wish to vote "no".

Yesterday, at a press conference, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, said the referendum was being held "to honour one of the recommendations of the Quill Commission".

But as far as he and his cabinet colleagues were concerned, "a sacred referendum" had been held at the national shrine of Ntabakandoda where 100 000 Ciskeian people had voted in favour of independence.

He said he did not know how many people had been registered as voters for the referendum, but the figures were available from the Department of the Interior. — PC



**Whites can own property provided...**

ZWELITSHA — White and coloured people will be able to own property in the black towns of Mdantsane and Zwelitsha after Ciskei's independence — provided they become Ciskeian citizens.

This was stated yesterday by the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, at a press conference.

"If he has Ciskeian citizenship, there will be no problem," Chief Sebe said in reply to a question about white and coloured ownership of property in Mdantsane and Zwelitsha.

But he emphasised the Ciskeian Government would check on people who came in quickly to get rich and then left again.

Earlier, he said: "We want the white people who are committed to building a future with us, people who have a stake in the country with established businesses and properties rather than the get-in, get-rich and get-out quick mercenary types who so often flood into developing countries after independence."

Chief Sebe emphasised that Ciskeian citizenship would include people of all colours and as long as they were citizens they would be allowed to own agricultural land.

However, the condition of citizenship did not apply to ownership of property in towns. — PC



Chief  
S E B E  
SAYS:

# Winners

- We want whites to stay
- White schools can stay
- East London not my worry
- Industrialists prefer Ciskei

# Part of Deal

DD 14/11/80

(105)

**ZWELITSHA — Incorporating King William's Town into the Ciskei is part of the independence package deal negotiated with the South African Government.**

And if it is not incorporated into the Ciskei the South African Government will have to offer something similar.

This was stated emphatically yesterday by the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, in the wake of white protests about the move and government statements that the possible incorporation of the town was only a proposal.

Speaking at a press conference, Chief Sebe also lashed out at "several emotional statements" made about the possible transfer of Berlin and King William's Town into the Ciskei and said, "We have witnessed some insulting, irresponsible and even untruthful remarks".

**By BARRY STRECK**

But he added: "We need the whites. We want them to stay and we will convince them that they have a great future with us."

He said white South Africans could continue to buy and sell property in King William's Town and Berlin and, in reply to a question he said that policy would apply in other towns such as Alice and Peddie.

"We would place no obstruction on normal business expansion or on the purchase of property by white South African nationals in the two towns."

However, only Ciskeian citizens would be given full freehold title to agricultural land on condition that they used the land productively.

Chief Sebe also said the people and the cabinet of the Ciskei would have no objection to selected white schools remaining in the territory under the control of the Cape Education Department "for the foreseeable future".

The Ciskei would, however, establish "our own multi racial schools in King William's Town as soon as possible after independence".

In both King William's Town and Berlin, the Ciskei Government insisted on the natural development of a multi-racial situation and no restrictions would be placed on Ciskeian citizens seeking business opportunities or from acquiring property in the two towns.

"I say these two towns at present because they are in the boiling pot," he said.

Chief Sebe said he could not answer the question about what his government would do.

## No independence date

**ZWELITSHA —** No date has yet been set for the independence of the Ciskei.

At a press conference yesterday, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, refused to name a date for independence.

"That is a most dangerous thing to do. You limit the basis of negotiation," he said. — PC



Two Ministers of Health, Dr L. Munnik, of South Africa, and Dr B. Maku, of the Ciskei, shared an umbrella yesterday when it started raining while they were visiting St Matthews Hospital near Keskammahock. Report, page 19.



dependence if King William's Town was not, in the end, incorporated into the Ciskei, but he was sure that it would happen just as the people who had reacted in the press believed it would happen.

Asked if the transfer of King William's Town was part of the independence package deal, Chief Sebe said: "That is part of the package deal."

"If they say no to King William's Town, they must put something else in. They cannot revoke it."

Later, he was asked what alternative there was to King William's Town and whether it could be East London, but he dismissed that.

"I am not worried. East London is not my worry."

"In fact if we do not get East London it would be to our advantage."

Asked why it would be to the advantage of the Ciskei, he refused to elaborate, merely saying "Fullstop."

He then added: "What grieves me on the question of East London is the way people comment. They like to comment on issues which they do not know about and these issues can lead to their disadvantage."

In the past week four top industrialists had visited the Ciskei and they had all indicated that they wanted to invest in the Ciskei rather than East London.

"They have asked me to calm my people down, but you only ask people to calm down if there is war."

Chief Sebe also praised the Van Der Walt Commission proposals, saying that common sense had prevailed, but emphasised the door was open to future negotiations over land.

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14/11/80

DD



# 3-General Farms: SA blamed 105

Own Correspondent

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.** — The South African Government was responsible for any loss or lowering of production on land taken over from white farmers, not the Ciskeian Government, Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

Chief Sebe rejected allegations that the handover of land to Ciskei inevitably resulted in a loss or lowering of production.

"The Ciskeian Government is not responsible for this situation which is totally initiated, executed and supervised by the Department of Co-operation and Development of the republican government," he said.

"In fact, in this process of land purchase the Ciskei Government is not even consulted, so there could be some integration of development plans and a continuation of the farming systems, thereby maintaining the level of production."

He said that where production levels had dropped, it was because of the lack of any provision by the South African Government of sufficient development capital.

There is strong evidence to suggest that Benin learnt the art of cost management from the British as was previously asserted by...  
 The fact is that the South African Government is not responsible for any loss or lowering of production on land taken over from white farmers, not the Ciskeian Government, Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

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It's just  
a simple  
case of  
yes or no

Political Staff

EAST LONDON. — Ciskeian voters will be asked a simple and direct question when they are asked their views on the territory's impending independence on December 4.

They will be asked: "Are you in favour of independence for the Ciskei?" To this question they can vote Yes or No.

A copy of the referendum ballot and the regulations "for the guidance of the voter in voting" have been published in a notice by the Ciskei Government.

Once a voter has received his or her ballot, they will take it to a voting compartment and indicate their vote "by secretly placing a cross in the square opposite his-her choice".

However, once they have voted, they have to fold the ballot paper and show it to the presiding or polling officer, so he can see the official secret mark.

The regulations say: "After the voter has recorded his-her vote, he-she shall fold the ballot paper so the official secret mark is visible and his-her choice and the cross made by him-her is not visible, and having held up the ballot paper so that the presiding officer or the polling officer in charge of the ballot box can recognise the official secret mark, shall drop the ballot paper into the ballot box placed in front of the presiding officer or the said polling officer".

No reason is given in the document for this procedure.

# Sebe: future secure in Ciskei

ZWELITSHA — The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has gone out of his way to assure white and coloured people that their future is secure in an independent Ciskei.

He also mildly contradicted the attack by his Minister of Agriculture, Rev W. M. Xaba, on English-speaking farmers by paying tribute to the 1820 Settlers and to the 1857 German settlers.

At the same time, it is clear that the Ciskei cabinet is bitterly disappointed by the response of white people to the consolidation proposals by the Van Der Walt Commission.

The Minister of the Interior, Chief Lent Magoma, said the various champions of the black cause had suddenly kept quiet now that King William's Town was to be incorporated into the Ciskei.

"Now that some people

are saying we don't want to live with black people, where are the champions of the black people? Why are they so quiet?" Chief Magoma asked.

Both Chief Sebe and Chief Magoma were speaking at a press conference here this week.

In a statement, Chief Sebe said that his cabinet decided that "citizenship and nationality of Ciskei after independence will be available to any whites or members of other racial groups who demonstrate a willingness to join us in our endeavour to develop the Ciskei.

"Colour will not be a criterion in deciding on this issue."

He said freehold title to agricultural land would only be granted to Ciskeian citizens, but "in the proclaimed townships of King William's Town and Berlin we would not seek to restrict the rights of any races to acquire

and sell their properties.

"This is a well-considered and pragmatic statement. Why? If the white people cannot sell their property to their sons and family what you will get is a great exodus.

"We would like to prevent this with all the strength and power at our command.

"We would not insist for instance that a white man can only dispose of his business to a black man, nor would we insist that all white-owned properties be purchased by the South African Development Trust.

"We would place no obstruction on normal business expansion or on the purchase of property by white South African nationals in the two towns.

"Naturally we insist on the natural development of a multi-racial situation and we would place no restrictions on Ciskeians

seeking business opportunities in the two towns. I say the two towns at present because they are in the boiling pot right now."

Turning to schooling, Chief Sebe said: "We are conscious of the fact that much sentiment and tradition attaches to the older schools in King William's Town. We also appreciate the fact that majority of white people are not ready for a transition to a multi-racial schooling situation.

"The cabinet and the people of Ciskei would have no objection to selected white schools remaining under the control of the Cape Education Department for the foreseeable future.

"We would, however, seek to establish a new multi-racial school in King William's Town as soon as possible after independence.

"We are eager to retain the white residents in King William's Town. We

have lived together for years among these people. We have built a solid friendship and understanding in that time and we believe that nowhere else in Africa are circumstances more advantageous to future peaceful racial co-operation than they are in Ciskei.

"We need the whites, we want them to stay and we will convince them that they have a great future with us.

"I must stress that our greatest concern is with the whites who already live in King William's Town.

"We want the white people who are committed to building a future with us, people who have a stake in the country with established business, and properties rather than the 'get in, get rich and get out quick' mercenary types who so often flood into developing countries after independence," Chief Sebe said. — PC



DD 15/11/80 (105)

# Bus stop thugs kill 6

ZWELITSHA — Knife-wielding thugs stabbed six people to death in just two hours at a bus rank here.

This was disclosed by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe.

Chief Sebe said the murders were generated by the chronic unemployment situation in the Border-Ciskei region.

Yesterday, police spokesmen were unable to give any details of the killings. Chief Sebe said: "What frightens me is

not the guns. What frightens me is the number of have-nots."

After disclosing that six people had been knifed to death at the bus rank, Chief Sebe said: "What causes that? It is unemployment. People get desperate when they are hungry.

"It is not safe for a middle class black lady, nor is it safe for a white lady, to go shopping.

"An unemployed man is the worst terrorist because he has nothing," Chief Sebe said. — PC

(100) 16/11/80

# Nat backlash over proposals for Border town to go black

# WE'VE BEEN SOLD OUT

16/11/80 SUN (R) 105

By IAN WYNNE

THE Van der Walt Commission's proposals for the consolidation of the Ciskei have dealt a body blow to the National Party in the Border and spawned a branch of the Herstigte Nasionale Party which is gaining support daily.

The right wing backlash by former Nats follows discontent over broken promises by Nat leaders, who have for a decade been insisting King William's Town would remain white.

The Van der Walt Commission recommended the town become part of the Ciskei. It is highly unlikely its recommendations will not be accepted as they have already been considered by two Cabinet committees and the Cabinet itself.

Fuel was added to the fire in the hearts of former King William's Town Nationalists this week when Chief Minister of the Ciskei Lennox Sebe disclosed that the inclusion of King into the homeland was part of a package deal he had negotiated with the South African Government.

"We've been sold down the river," said Mr Brian Nel, leader of the breakaway, following a meeting with the chairman of the commission, Mr Hennie van der Walt in King this week.

Ten leading Nationalist supporters had an hour-long discussion with Mr van der Walt during a meeting chaired by the MP for King, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, but their questions were met with evasion, Mr Nel said.

"I was shouted down and insulted by Coetzer," Mr Nel said. He and other former Nationalists decided that evening to

HNP and he was elected chairman.

"The response has been so great we have run out of membership forms," he said. The infant party drew four supporters from among the 10 Nationalists who met Mr van der Walt.

They have already arranged for HNP leader Jaap Marais to address a meeting in the town on December 3 and, through Mr van der Walt, have challenged Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof to a debate with Mr Marais.

A branch of the HNP is to be established in East London next week and one has been formed in Cathcart—another white border town, but one not scheduled for inclusion into the Ciskei at this stage.

"The identity of the white race is at stake. People from all parties in King accept this and if you had a ballot now most would vote HNP," Mr Nel said.

Many other former Nationalists in the town agree.

"I was born and bred a Nat but now I'm HNP and I am fighting for what I've got," said Mr Piet Lourens.

"Even if I must take up a gun I'll do it. They've been lying to us all these years. They said never, but where is their white corridor today.

"Two months ago Lapa Munnik (Minister of Health) said King would never go black. Do you

only National Party supporters who were worried.

"I saw Dr Koornhof in Pretoria last week and asked him or Mr van der Walt to come down and enlighten the people. The meeting was fruitful and a lot of people's fears and worries were removed."

The history of Nat assurances that King would remain white stretches back 10 years and many King Nats feel they have been lied to and betrayed. Speaking in 1970, the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, said the town would not be engulfed by more "Bantu reserves."

He pledged the Government would do everything possible to open areas surrounding the town even more effectively to white people.

In the 1974 general election the issue became a political favourite, especially with the pending independence of Transkei.

At a public meeting in King the then Prime Minister John Vorster said East London and King William's Town were not going black for two reasons: In terms of the 1936 Land Act the Government had no plans "now or in the future" to incorporate either town into the Ciskei or Transkei.

"Secondly can you see any Government having enough money to buy out

page 1



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Breakaway leader, Brian Nel, plans his strategy



## He wasn't happy with Van der Walt's replies

MR. Brian Nel said he had presented 16 questions to Mr. Van der Walt and there had been few satisfactory answers.

On the future of white investment he was told the Ciskei would form its own building society which would give loans freely to everyone regardless of colour "and this can only adversely affect us," he said.

Mr van der Walt's replies to questions on the future of white schools, churches, hospitals, old age homes and orphanages had been evasive. The assurances he had given had not been satisfactory. He had been told the police would be taken over by Ciskei. He had questioned Mr van der Walt on what should happen if Chief Sebe were deposed — "either by the ballot or the bullet". The assurances he had received had been "unconvincing". What, he asked, would happen if he were to be deported from Ciskei? "I would be an alien in a foreign country. He couldn't tell me what would happen to my property and business. If that isn't nationalisation what is?"

Mr. Nel said he had been asked to keep his questions short as they had only an hour with Mr van der Walt. Mr van der Walt's answers had been evasive, drawn-out and time-consuming.



# Second big rift in two years

THIS is the second major rift in the King William's Town branch of the NP in two years.

Early last year the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, had to step in when a clash between the local MP, Hendrik Coetzer, and party dissidents resulted in seven of the 14 branch chairmen in the district either being suspended or resigning.

While the split was seen primarily as a clash between Mr Coetzer and individuals in the dissident group, it also represented a clash between Mr Coetzer's verligte group and a group of verkramptes who believed NP policies were formulated by the Broederbond.

A committee of inquiry appointed by the Prime Minister recommended against the dissidents. Their leader, Barry Botha, was expelled from the party for life.

A colleague, Mr C. J. Britz, was also expelled from the party for life. Johan Bester and Fanie Verwey were reprimanded and warned that a repetition of the incident in which they walked out of a stormy district council meeting would also result in their expulsion from the party.

Leader of the present break-away, Brian Nel, said it was connected with last year's dissatisfaction, which had been primarily a clash of personalities. It also did not necessarily involve the same people.

expect us to believe we never knew. He and the others were too shy to tell us the truth.

"Now they can go to blazes. I'm fighting for the future of white South Africa," Mr Lourens said.

Asked if she would vote Nat again, the reaction of former Nat, Mrs Shirley Viviers was: "I would never vote for them with a capital NEVER and 99 percent of the people feel the same as I do."

Since this week she has been an ardent campaigner for the HNP and says she gets the same reaction in virtually every household she visits.

"They don't know what to do. You give them a ray of hope and they're right behind you," she said. "They're fighting for their homes."

Mrs Viviers was brought up in the United Party tradition but changed her allegiance to the Nats because she believed "our interests would be taken into account."

"They obviously weren't prepared to do this and we've had enough now. I am now completely Herstigte and if possible an extreme Herstigte," she said.

Another former Nat who asked not to be named as he has business connections with the Ciskei said: "Never in my life would I vote Nat again. I was brought up Nat and voted Nat because the party stood for the white man, but now the NRP and the Progs should be happy as the Nats have advanced a lot of former UP policies," he said.

"I was born and bred here. I don't think we can change anything at this stage but we've got to fight."

"We'll let the rest of the country see what has happened and we'll save our country if we can't save King."

Nationalist leaders have dismissed the break away as insignificant. The MP Coetzer, said it was not

William's Town?"

Later the Minister of Planning, Mr Jannie Loots, repudiated a statement by UP leader in the Cape Myburgh Streicher that East London and King would go black.

Robbie de Lange, then mayor of East London and a staunch Nationalist, said he had read with disgust Mr Streicher's prediction.

"Such a statement is political trash," he said.

In April 1974 an election fever built up the then Foreign Affairs Minister Hilgard Muller repeated the assurances about King and dismissed speculation that it might go black as "ghost stories".

He said such a move would be against Government policies and impractical financially.

Rumours persisted, however, and in February 1976 the then Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development Ferdie Hartzenberg assured the deputy Mayor of Elliot that the final boundaries of all homelands had been determined and requests for more land by homeland leaders would not be considered.

A year later Dr Hartzenberg told an election meeting in Stutterheim that consolidation plans were final and boundaries could not change.

"I want to give an absolute assurance that the corridor will remain," said Mr Jan Jordaan shortly before his election as MP for the constituency.

In 1977 he repeated the assurances and attacking the sitting MP Gray Hughes for his speculation that Mr Vorster and Dr Hartzenberg's assurances might be empty promises.

Six months later the Borough of King William's Town sent a delegation to Dr Hartzenberg to discuss the possible incorporation of the town. They again received his assurances that the town would not be included in the Ciskei as had been stated in Press reports.



# Row over V d Wait proposals escalates

EAST LONDON — The row over the Van der Walt Commission's proposals for the consolidation of the Ciskei escalated over the weekend.

In Hogsback, a meeting of residents formed an action committee to fight the transfer of the mountain resort to the Ciskei.

And in King William's Town, it was announced that the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, would address a public meeting on December 3 in the Town Hall — the night before Ciskeian voters go to the polls in a referendum on the independence question.

With at least 20 foreign and a number of local journalists expected in King William's Town for the referendum, the Hmp meeting is clearly aimed at exploiting maximum publicity out of local opposition to the incorporation of the town into the Ciskei.

But the MP for King William's Town, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, scornfully dismissed the Hmp activity, saying his information was that only 18 people out of the whole area attended a meeting last week to form a branch of the party.

"As far as I am concerned, it doesn't worry the National Party because most people are sensible enough not to join a party that will ruin South Africa through confrontation, nor to join the Progs who want to give it away — and will remain supporters of the Np and the government in their own interests and in the interests of their country."

At a meeting over the weekend, Hogsback property owners adopted a resolution to retain Hogsback as part of South Africa in the Cathcart district.

They elected an action committee to formulate Hogsback's case for remaining part of the Republic and it was instructed to secure a final decision on the future of the area by not later than June next year.

A spokesman for the action committee said after the meeting the committee would meet on Wednesday to prepare a statement setting out the objections of the Hogsback community to incorporation into the Ciskei.

"We do not accept that incorporation is a foregone conclusion," he said.

Development, Dr George Morrison, who met opposition to the proposals when he and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, addressed a meeting in nearby Fort Beaufort recently.

The new Hmp branch in King William's Town was formed last week after Mr Hennie van der Walt, MP, chairman of the consolidation commission, addressed government officials and local Nationalists. His visit was arranged by Mr Coetzer after he had flown to Pretoria to discuss the matter with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

The Hmp, which has recently formed branches in Cathcart, Queenstown and Allwal North, also plans to form a committee in East London tomorrow night at a meeting at 16 Cunningham Avenue, Cambridge.

The party leader, Mr Marais, a fiery opponent of the government and a supporter of white domination in South Africa, will undoubtedly strongly attack the Van Der Walt Commission proposals when he speaks in King William's Town.

He could also exacerbate racial tensions over the consolidation issue, particularly after the Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, has strongly attacked critics of the proposals.

Yesterday, Mr Coetzer said: "No one I know has resigned from the party."

He did not know whether Mr Nel had even been a member of the Np, but he would check whether he was.

He also added he was most surprised by the statements by "Prog Mayor Card" — Mr Donald Card, the Mayor of East London — about the proposal to incorporate Berlin into the Ciskei.

He said that last year Mr Card and Mr Malcomess, the former MP for East London North, "could not wait to give Berlin away but now all of a sudden they are crying crocodile tears."

Mr Coetzer said he had arranged for the King William's Town Borough Council to meet Dr Koornhof on November 24 and he would be present at the meeting.

"We are also taking the leader of the coloured community in Breidbach, Mr Mike Bossr, to the meeting," Mr Coetzer said. — P.C.

## By BARRY STRECK Political correspondent

Development, Dr George Morrison, who met opposition to the proposals when he and the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, addressed a meeting in nearby Fort Beaufort recently.

The newly-elected chairman of the Hmp in King William's Town, Mr Brian Nel, has sent a telegram to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, challenging him to a public debate with Mr Marais on the consolidation issue.

Mr Nel said last night he had told Dr Koornhof that if he could not make the December 3 date, he should suggest an alternative.

"The people of King William's Town want to see the leaders and they want to question them."

"I know the people of King William's Town and we speak the same language."

"I am not a politician and a lot of people in King William's Town may disagree with my politics but we are not talking politics here. We are talking about our town and I know the people of King William's Town want to keep their town as it is," Mr Nel said.

The party leader, Mr Marais, a fiery opponent of the government and a supporter of white domination in South Africa, will undoubtedly strongly attack the Van Der Walt Commission proposals when he speaks in King William's Town.

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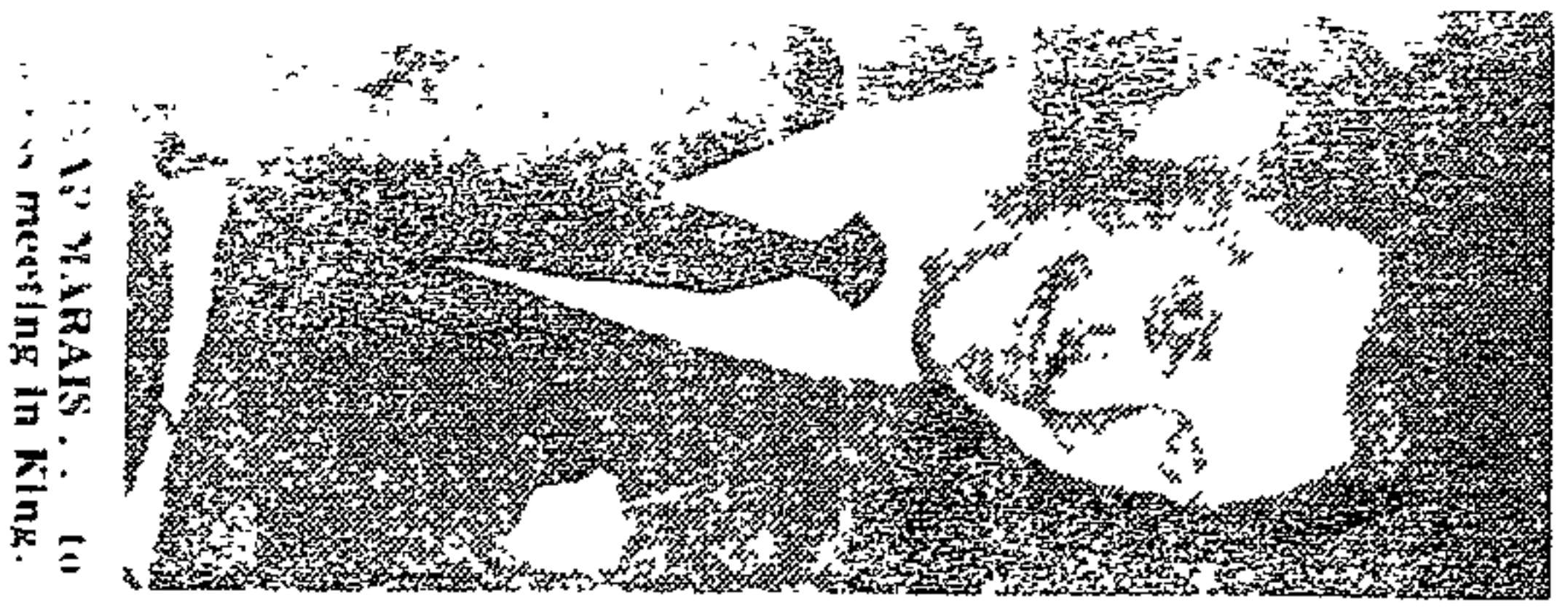
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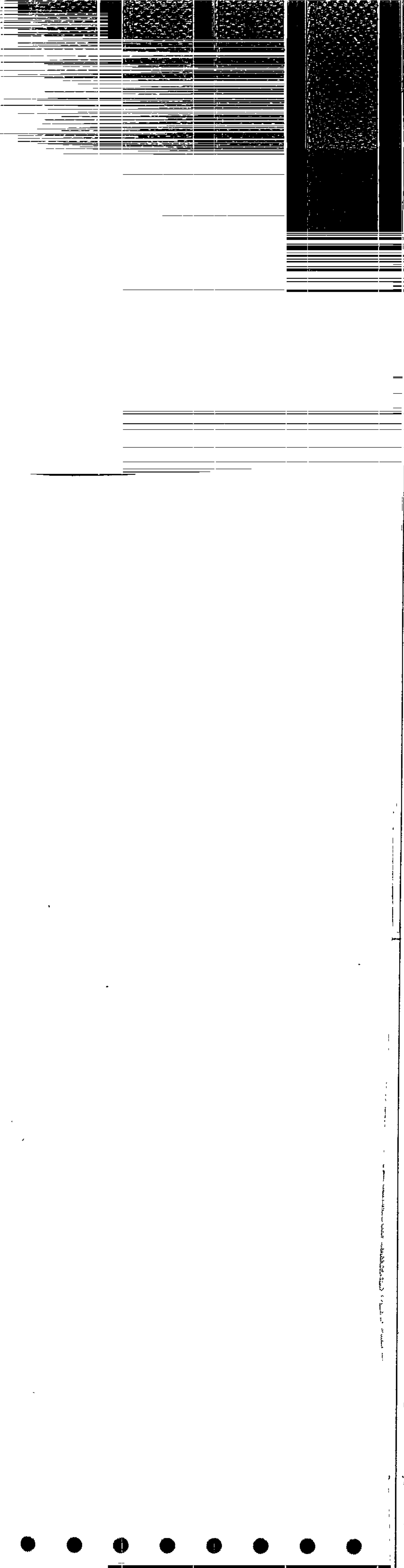
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"We are also taking the leader of the coloured community in Breidbach, Mr Mike Bossr, to the meeting," Mr Coetzer said. — P.C.



Mr Marais at a meeting in King William's Town.





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## 4 pupils held in Ciskei?

EAST LONDON — Four students in Mdantsane are believed to have been detained by the police under the Ciskei Emergency Regulations here at the weekend.

The president of the South African Herbalist Association and former professional ballroom dancer, Mr Richard Salman, said yesterday his son, Ndlalifa, 17, a standard eight pupil at Wongalethu High School, was taken by Security Police who arrived at his Zone Two home in three cars.

Mr Salman said the police gave no reasons why they were taking him away.

He approached the Mdantsane Station Commander, Major M. G. Pakade, who told him to contact the Security Police. Mr Salman said he was worried because his son was to write his final exams today.

Mr Salman added he had been told his son was being held in terms of the Ciskei Emergency Regulations Proclamation R252.

Relatives of a professional boxing promoter, Mr Eric Gabelana, of Mdantsane, said yesterday his three children had also been detained by Security Police.

Brigadier Charles Sebe head of the Ciskei Intelligence Service, could not be contacted for comment as he had been in conference for most part of the day. — DDR



# Maqoma appeal to employers

10-18/11

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Polling in the Ciskei independence referendum on December 4 will be from 7am to 9pm, and employers have been asked to give voters time off to vote.

In a statement yesterday, the Ciskei Minister of the Interior, Chief Lent Maqoma, said voters would have to show their reference books at the polling booths.

As only one day has been set aside for voting, employers are requested

to give their workers some time off to enable them to vote.

"I can assure the employers that their co-operation will be highly appreciated by the Ciskei Government," Chief Maqoma said.

Sufficient polling stations have been established to enable voters in the remotest areas of the Ciskei to participate in the referendum," he said.

It was also announced that polling in the urban

areas outside the Ciskei would be during normal office hours and would be under the control of the magistrates and commissioners.

Meanwhile, the Secretary for the Interior, Mr K. B. Tabata, said yesterday the referendum would be conducted under the same regulations governing elections in the homeland.

It would be held under the provisions of the Proclamation R194 of 1972

Commenting on reports that no provision was being made for illiterate voters, Mr Tabata said the procedure would be the same as in previous general elections.

"Illiterate people will be assisted by the polling officer in the presence of two witnesses.

"This has been the procedure in the past general elections and this procedure will be followed in the referendum," Mr Tabata said. — DDR.



CHIEF MAQOMA

# King Nats deny split

DD 18/11/80

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Not a single member of any of the five National Party committees in King William's Town has resigned, and rumours of defections from the National Party have been strongly denied.

The vice-chairman of the NP district committee, Mr Piet de Villiers, says any rebels in the party were "got rid of" a year ago, while King's Member of Parliament, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, says stories of a crack-up in the party here are "all based on hearsay and rumour."

Mr De Villiers said that although a number of members were dissatisfied with the Van der Walt commission proposals to incorporate King William's Town, Berlin, Hogsback and other Border areas into Ciskei, he knew of no resignations from the party.

"Dissatisfaction over the Van der Walt proposals cuts right across party politics. There are also Progs who don't like the idea. So it has got nothing to do with the party principles.

"I believe all our Nat-

ional Party members still believe in their principles and will not leave, even though they may be unhappy with the Van der Walt proposals," he said.

Mr De Villiers said he knew of no resignations from the party, "and I would be among the first to know if there were."

By MIKE CHANDLER: King bureau

Mr Coetzer said the stories of NP members leaving the party to join the newly formed branches of the Herstigte Nasionale Party were all based on "hearsay and rumours."

"The Daily Dispatch is stirring up trouble between blacks and whites by stirring up feelings unnecessarily," Mr Coetzer said.

"Instead of being a Prog new ~~new~~ which is supposed to care about the aspirations of blacks, the Dispatch is just polarising attitudes by giving so much coverage to this Hnp story."

Dissatisfaction in the local NP is nothing new. Nearly two years ago, on January 18 last year, the local party organisation was rocked with a major row, described as a verligte-verkrampete clash.

Three chairmen and a secretary of the 14 King William's Town consti-

although they were both "inactive".

In June this year, another row erupted when another branch chairman, and a member of the district executive, Mr C. F. Colyn, was strongly criticised by Mr Coetzer for a school circular advising De Vos Malan High School pupils not to come into contact with blacks to avoid scalp parasite infection.

Mr Colyn apologised for the circular, saying he had only been concerned with the health of pupils at the school, of which he is principal.

Mr De Villiers said Mr Colyn was still a member of a branch committee, and the argument had been "sorted out very amicably."

Mr De Villiers said the King William's Town constituency NP is a "verligte" party, and although there are arguments among members "like any other party," the members are strongly united by the party's principles.

"All the verkrampetes in the party got out long before now," he said. — DDR.

tuency branches of the party walked out of a district executive meeting. Two of them were subsequently expelled from the party after an inquiry ordered by Mr P. W. Botha in his capacity as leader of the Cape National Party.

Mr Barry Botha, a branch chairman, and Mr C. J. Britz, chairman of the central branch, were both expelled from the party, while Mr Johan Bester and Mr Fanie Verwey were severely reprimanded.

However, yesterday both Mr Bester and Mr Verwey said they were still members of the NP.



# 4 SAAWU

STAR 18/11/80

members

arrested

(229)

(152)

(105)

Four more members of the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) — an unregistered body active in the East London area — have been arrested by Ciskeian security police.

All were union organisers employed by Border Passenger Transport, of which the Ciskeian Government is a part-owner, a SAAWU spokesman said today. They are Mr Boyce Soci, Mr Sirking Goci, Mr Michael Ngesman and another whose name is not yet known, he said.

Thirteen unionists — eight of them SAAWU officials — were detained by the Ciskeian authorities last week in the East London township of Mdantsane, to be released five days later. SAAWU national organiser Mr Thozamile Goweta and East London branch secretary Mr Sisa Njikelana, detained two weeks ago, are still in Ciskeian police hands.

# 'Give Ciskei workers time off to vote'

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — The Ciskei has asked employers to give workers time off on December 4 so that they may cast their votes in the Ciskei independence referendum.

The Minister of the Interior for Ciskei, Chief Lent Maqoma, said in a statement yesterday that voters in the referendum would have to show their reference books at the polling booths.

He said voting would be from 7am to 9pm.

"As only one day has been set aside for voting, employers are requested to give their workers some time off to enable them to vote."

"Sufficient polling stations have been established to enable voters in the remotest areas of the Ciskei to participate in the referendum," he said.

It was also announced that polling in the urban areas outside the Ciskei will be during normal office hours and under the control of the magistrates and commissioners in the urban areas.

The Secretary for the Interior, Mr K B Tabata, said yesterday the referendum would be conducted under the same regulations governing elections in the homelands.

Mr Tabata said the referendum would be held under the provisions of proclamation R194 of 1972.

Commenting on reports that no provision was being made for illiterate people to cast their votes, Mr Tabata said the procedure would be the same as in previous general elections.

"It follows that illiterate people will be assisted, when voting, by the polling officer in the presence of two witnesses."

Meanwhile, it is reported that not a single member of any of the five National Party committees in King William's Town had resigned in dissatisfaction with the Van der Walt Commission's proposals to incorporate the city, as well as Hogsback, Berlin and other Boder areas in Ciskei.

Vice-chairman of the National Party District Committee, Mr Piet de Villiers, said the party had rid itself of any rebels in the party a year ago, and King William's Town's MP, Mr Hendrick Coetzer, said stories of a crack-up in the NP were all based on hearsay and rumour.

Mr De Villiers said that although a number of National party members are dissatisfied with the Van der Walt Commission's proposals, he knew of no resignations from the party.

"Dissatisfaction over the Van der Walt proposals cuts right across party politics. There are also Progs who don't like the idea," he said.

"I believe all our National Party members still believe in their principles and will not leave, even though they may be unhappy with the Van der Walt proposals," he said.

Mr De Villiers said he knew of no resignations from the party, "and I would be among the first to know if there were".



# Sebe to open new dam

**KEISKAMMAHOEK**  
The Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief L. Sebe, will officially open the Gaba Dam near here tomorrow.

The dam is part of the Keiskamma River valley irrigation project and will irrigate about 900 hectares. It will also become the domestic water supply of Keiskammahoeek.

The R10 million dam was recently completed after 16 months of construction.

At full capacity the dam will hold 12 million cubic metres of water. — DDR.

# Many in Ciskei will not vote

DD  
19/11/80

105

EAST LONDON — A large number of people officially regarded as Ciskeians will not be able to vote in the December 4 independence referendum because they are not registered as voters.

A spokesman for the Ciskei Minister of the Interior, Chief Lent Magoma, said that about 500,000 voters had been registered to vote in the referendum.

In 1978, a total of 474,000 voters were registered both inside and outside the Ciskei.

But the Quail Commission estimated there were many more Ciskeians, in terms of the South African Government's policies, than had been calculated previously.

It estimated that there were at least 2.1 million Ciskeians.

The Commission also estimated that there were two adults and five children in each Ciskeian family but warned that this was probably too low and that its estimate of two million was "if anything, on the conservative side".

But on its calculations, it would mean that there were 600,000 adult Ciskeians — 100,000 more than registered.

If its figures are accurate, only 80 per cent of the potential Ciskeian

electorate has been registered.

The provisional results of the 1980 census give a much higher estimate.

The census figures show that there were 630,353 black people inside the Ciskei and 2,684,084 non-Transkeian Xhosa people in the common area of South Africa.

If all these people were to be regarded as Ciskeian it would give a total population of 3,324,437 and an adult population, based on the Quail Commission's method of calculation, of 946,565.

That would mean that nearly half the adult population was not registered as voters.

But it is unlikely that as many as 3.3 million will be eventually regarded as Ciskeian in terms of the South African Government's policies.

It is likely, however, that the Ciskeian population is larger than that estimated by the Quail Commission.

If only 250,000 of these adults were eligible to be Ciskeian voters, it would mean that only two-thirds of the potential electorate were actually registered as voters.

In effect, therefore, whatever percentage of the registered electorate votes on December 4 it will be a low poll of the total potential. — PC



# Attend hearing urges Jordaan

EAST LONDON — The National Party MP for Griqualand East, Mr Jan Jordaan, has urged those affected by the Ciskei consolidation proposals to accept an invitation to meet the Van der Walt Commission on January 19 and 20 when it will sit at King William's Town to hear evidence.

"This will be the opportunity to debate, negotiate and bargain for satisfactory conditions," he said. "I am confident satisfactory conditions can and will be arranged."

"In the interests of this I plead with constituents to await January 19 and not to shout thoughtlessly and with reproach at the Government."

Mr Jordaan said a Daily Dispatch report last week could have created an impression he told people at a 'Gonubie' meeting. Kei Road farmers might be incorporated into the Ciskei.

"Referring to consolidation, I said the issue affected me because some of my constituents were Kei Road farmers for whom King William's Town was their hometown," he said.

Mr Jordaan said the Van der Walt Commission's proposals, together with the 1975 consolidation decision, affected the Griqualand East constituency in a big way.

"It aims at the consolidation of the black people who are presently

accommodated in six trust areas in the four magisterial districts of Stutterheim, Komga, King William's Town and East London into the national state of Ciskei.

"Areas which will be excised from Ciskei by the latest proposals are Gubu, on which Gubu Dam is situated, and two areas at Peulton eastward of the railway line."

Mr Jordaan said another matter which had caused confusion was the description of the Pirie area to be incorporated into the Ciskei.

This area had been described as the Pirie-Kubusie area in the King William's Town district but the Kubusie area was in fact situated in the Stutterheim district and was only affected by the excision of the Gubu Dam from Ciskei.

"In connection with the afforestation of the Upper Kubusie area, investigations and mapping are being done with the object of consolidating the area into the Amatola forest district in the Stutterheim magisterial district.

"Negotiations with the owners and relevant departments are planned for early next year and I am endeavouring to bring Dr Nak van der Merwe, the Minister of Forestry, to Stutterheim to investigate the merits and possibilities of this," Mr Jordaan said. — DDR.



# What will Dr Piet's reforms really mean for blacks?

DD 20/11/80

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Dr Piet Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, has announced three Bills which he says are an attempt to remove hurtful racial discrimination in the lives of blacks.

He has noted his belief that influx control is necessary to maintain order and stability in urban areas and to prevent problems associated with squatting. But he describes his proposed legislation as part of a process of reform, and as part of his declared war on the "dompas."

The Black Community Development Bill is the key to what is planned. It retains aspects of current law, and introduces new elements. If left unaltered, what will it mean in practice?

**BENJAMIN POGRUND**, in consultation with **SHEENA DUNCAN** of the Black Sash, cuts through the mass of words and "legalese" to assess it.

These are the pros and cons:

## PROS

1. Good intentions: Dr Koornhof says the new system "may not be perfect," but is still a genuine attempt to get rid of hurtful discrimination as far as possible. It is part of a process of reform.

2. The public was invited to submit representations (two weeks was allowed) on all three Bills before they are placed before Parliament for enactment.

3. The three Bills wholly or partly repeal 50 existing laws.

4. The present 72-hour limit on rural blacks being allowed to visit cities without permission is extended to 30 days (but see note No. 2 under "Con.")

5. It will be easier for the wives and children of some men who already qualify to be in cities to live with their menfolk (but see note No. 9 under "Con.")

6. Greater freedom of movement will be possible for those who qualify to be in the cities — through geographical enlargement of the "control areas" in which they can live and work, and in moving from one control area to the other

## CONS

1. Disqualified workers found in the cities — those who do not have permission to be there — will pay



Dr Koornhof at a meeting last year with Chief Lennox Sebe.

higher fines: R250 and/or 3 months' imprisonment (instead of the present maximum of R100 and/or 3 months' imprisonment).

2. Allowing rural blacks to visit city townships is for a maximum of 30 days in a year, and is dependent on "suitable and adequate housing" being available. The onus of proving that the 30-day limit has not been exceeded rests on the person concerned.

3. Those who harbour — give accommodation to — illegal disqualified people will face fines of up to R500 or six months' imprisonment. On a second offence, committed within two years, the fine is a minimum R250 or 3 months' imprisonment; or both the fine and the jailing; or compulsory jailing up to six months.

4. Those who give work to disqualified people will continue, as at present, to face fines of up to R500.

But the present option of three months' imprisonment is increased to six months. On a second offence, committed within two years, the fine is again a minimum R250 or three months' imprisonment; or both the fine and the jailing; or compulsory jailing up to six months.

5. Those who harbour or give jobs to disqualified people can also be ordered to pay the cost of repatriating the illegals to their homelands, together with their dependants and household effects — plus the costs of their detention.

6. The onus of proving that a person had no intention of giving work or accommodation to a disqualified person rests on the accused.

7. The criminal penalty imposed on a disqualified person can be suspended if the court orders his repatriation to a

homeland; or orders him to do compulsory "community service" (the details of which are not specified); or orders him to train as an artisan for however long the court determines.

8. Cars used in the transport of illegals (presumably whether to bring them into the cities, or even to drop them off at a bus stop after work) can be impounded on a second offence. Hence, in effect, a fine running into several thousand rands.

9. Wives and children of qualified workers — those with the right to be in the cities — will only be able to live with their menfolk if "approved accommodation" is available for them. (The current housing shortage in Soweto is estimated at 30 000).

10. The legal movement into the cities of unqualified people — those living outside the control areas — will be determined by the availability of jobs and suitable accommodation. This, as at present, will be subject to authorisation by official labour bureaux.

11. Qualified people will have to carry a document to prove their right to be in the city. They will have to produce this document on demand by a policeman or designated official. Unless there is a change in the law, presumably they will as at present be subject to instant arrest and prosecution if they cannot prove their right to be where they are.

12. A disqualified person can be ordered to be repatriated to his home, or to a place where he qualifies to be, or "to such other place" as may be decreed. Money belonging to him can be seized to help defray the costs of repatriating him, his dependants and household effects.

13. The language in the 47 pages of the Bill is complex and often tangled. One crucial sentence dealing with penalties, for example, runs to 268 words. Even experts on influx control are uncertain about all the ramifications of the Bill.

14. As at present, the minister retains his vast discretionary powers to make regulations as he sees fit.

15. Those who at present qualify to be in the cities will retain their

rights. But the Bill does not say anything to indicate that children born after the new law comes into effect will also have the right to be in the cities. Nor does it say anything about those who are currently working towards qualifying as urban residents through fulfilling the 10- or 15-year requirements.

16. Policemen and designated officials can at any time of the day or night, without warrant, enter anyone's premises, whether in black townships or white suburbs, to check on illegals. They can demand and seize "any book, document or thing"

## CONCLUSIONS

1. The situation of blacks who already qualify to be in the cities is barely altered. There is no major, fundamental improvement for them. The new freedom being given to them does, however, create rather more geographical space in which they can move. Even this, however, is still subject, as at present, to compliance with registration procedures for work and accommodation.

2. The greater right of some men to have their wives and children with them is likely, in a number of city areas, to be meaningless for at least the next few years because of the housing shortage. Without "approved housing" being available, the wives and children will not be allowed into the cities.

3. Life is going to be tougher for those in the rural areas who want to get to the cities. The penalties for doing so without permission will be greater.

4. There will be greater pressure, through increased penalties, to discourage people in the cities from giving work or accommodation to illegals.

5. The reference book, or pass, or dompas, will disappear. But it will simply be replaced by another document.

6. Legal sanctions against offenders will continue. That is, blacks will continue, as matters stand now, to face instant arrest. It seems that pass arrests will continue on the same scale unless the higher penalties deter more people from seeking to get to the cities. In 1978, a total of 272 837 people — 224 910 men and 47 977 women — were arrested under influx control laws.

7. The present influx control and pass laws are not materially changed by the proposed legislation. The present rigid control over blacks remains.

8. Policemen and officials will continue to have the same vast powers as they have at present to enter premises, to search and to seize, without having to produce a warrant.

— DDC



DD 20/11/80 (105)

# Hogsback kept in dark claim

HOGSBACK — The white community of Hogsback was walking a tightrope in its effort to retain Hogsback as an integral part of the Republic, Mr J. P. Stephenson, chairman of the Hogsback action committee, said here last night.

Reporting the first meeting of a committee which was appointed at a meeting of local property owners on Saturday Mr Stephenson said:

"We were handicapped in our attempt to assess the four implications of this recommendation by lack of factual information about a host of questions connected with it.

"As nobody at Hogsback was consulted by either the Van Der Walt Commission or the Greeff Com-

mission and consequently no one here had any occasion to give thought to this issue, we were in the position today of grappling with something that has been sprung on us out of the blue.

"It was evident to us however that Hogsback is confronted with a difficult and delicate situation as regards the future status of the area.

"The committee has a mandate from the property owners of Hogsback to endeavour to retain Hogsback as an integral part of the Republic. The feeling is that we will be doing this while walking on a tightrope and that we need to have a clearer idea of what is involved before deciding on our line of action.

"As a result of the calling of the public meeting of Hogsback property owners on Saturday, we have received assurances of support and offers of assistance from people all over South Africa. This is a heartening demonstration of Hogsback standing among nature lovers and others who cherish this beautiful little corner of South Africa." — DDC.

BD. 2/11/80 105

# Ciskei budget a joke says Sebe

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN** — The Keiskamma irrigation scheme took a major step forward yesterday with the official opening of the R10 million Cata Dam by Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe.

But, said Chief Sebe, although the huge dam would open up another 1 000 ha of land to irrigation, it was not enough.

"This dam is one of 18 to 20 dams required in the Keiskamma River basin alone.

"In being forced to work within the stranglehold of our pitiful statutory budget, it has been necessary to phase the implementation of the scheme and the construction of the dams," Chief Sebe said. He criticised the lack of



At the opening of the Cata Dam yesterday were (from left): Mr John Kleyn, resident engineer, Mr Gary Godden, Ciskei Secretary of Agriculture, Rev W. M. Xaba, Ciskei Minister of Agriculture, and Mr Stuart Nicol, director of the consulting engineers.

development aid to the Ciskei from the South African Government, saying the time had come for the Ciskei to get its fair share.

Describing the Ciskei budget as a "joke," Chief Sebe announced that his government's annual expenditure budget would be divided into statutory and development sections.

"In this way funds for our development projects and programmes will be clearly identified and the present miserable state of affairs regarding funds for agricultural development will be revealed for all to see," he said.

Describing agricultural development as the key to Ciskei's future, Chief Sebe said the homeland was ready to face the challenge provided the "ever frustrating bottleneck of lack of development capital is removed and overcome forever."

Soil and sweat, he said, were not enough. The drought had shown the Ciskei needed water conservation and irrigation.

"With the nation poised for political independence perhaps this great dam has a much greater significance and importance than even the life-sustaining water contained in the dam."

Chief Sebe said although the Ciskei Government had taken the initiative in building the dam, the real responsibility for the development of agricultural infrastructure lay "fair and square with the architects of separate development — the Republic of South Africa."

"We have invested in our own future out of our meagre resources, but I give notice here today that this situation will not be able to continue — and we will not accept these circumstances.

"In the negotiations for independence the interim

committee examining all the aspects of government wisely set down a new principle which augurs well for the future peace and prosperity of Ciskei and South Africa.

"It is a principle that is long overdue and needs urgent implementation.

"The interim committee recognised the need for Ciskei as well as South Africa to share equally in the benefits accruing from the natural resources of the confederation, and that no citizens should be prejudiced in their rights to such benefits by virtue of an anomaly of geographical distribution.

"The time has come for us to get our fair share of these benefits so that we may go ahead and develop the resources base of the Ciskei and so, in due course, contribute further to the wealth of the great South African confederation," Chief Sebe said. — DDR.



# Mountain residents wonder about future

**HOGSBACK** — Life in the exclusive mountain resort of Hogsback, with some 150 property owners, has been shattered by the news that the Van Der Walt Commission has recommended that the area be incorporated into the Ciskei.

About a third of the properties are permanently occupied, mostly by people who in retirement have invested their life savings in the area.

These people are worried that the peace of the misty, wooded mountains will be disturbed by a change of government.

They are worried, too, that the value of their properties will depreciate and that it will be difficult to get their investments out if they wish to sell.

And there is apprehension among the 142 white people living there about their future under a black government.

They never thought that it would happen to them and believed that the status quo would remain.

After a meeting they formed an action committee to fight the recommendation and to keep Hogsback within the

Republic as part of the Cathcart district.

But, in view of the existing boundaries of the Ciskei and the proposed new ones, it is unlikely that they will win their fight.

Moreover, the potential of Hogsback as a tourist area is obvious, although the average rainfall of 1 250 mm is not regarded as particularly conducive for large-scale tourism.

The Hogsback area also has vast state-run forests which would be an additional asset for the Ciskei.

Geographically, Hogsback is virtually a white "peninsula" which juts into the Ciskei, as defined in the 1975 consolidation proposals.

These are all factors which make it desirable in terms of the South African Government's current consolidation policies for Hogsback to be incorporated into the Ciskei.

But the Hogsback property owners will have none of it.

They are not totally unanimous, but the majority are determined to fight the Van Der Walt proposal.

Although numerically small, the property owners have some clout.

The Judge President of the Eastern Cape, Mr Justice J. D. Cloete, has a property there, as does the world-renowned social anthropologist, Prof Monica Wilson. A few Rhodes University staff and about 15 University of Fort Hare staff have property there. A number of East London and Border businessmen have also invested in the area.

There are also three hotels which, although they do a reasonable business, are not full all the year round.

The property owners employ some 300 black people as servants and there are others who work in the forests, but it is essentially a small and slightly remote community.

Many of them have retired there because they have done so to escape the racial tensions, grow peacefully and simply do their thing.

Now there is uncertainty. The majority are worried about the change and certainly do not want

it. The major concern is about the value of property there, which they fear has dropped since the Van Der Walt announcement. Will they get their money back if they want to sell, residents ask.

Then, they want to keep their peace and quiet. And they are concerned that it, too, may disappear.

But will the change be that traumatic?

It seems unlikely that the Ciskei Government would want to change the nature of Hogsback except for its racial exclusivity. And anyone hoping that Hogsback can be a little white island in the Ciskei can forget it.

Provided that is not the aim of the property owners, the change is unlikely to be as dramatic as it seems now.

As one Hogsback resident put it: "We can only benefit from the move. Things will take off."

"The Rhodesians fought a war for 11 years and look where that got them. We should, rather, look at it positively."

That would seem to be the most realistic response. — PC



The clouds settle over the Hogsback peaks, but for the property owners they seem much darker as they face the uncertainties caused by the proposal of the Van der Walt Commission that the area be incorporated into the Ciskei.



**KEISKAMMAHEOK —** A South African cabinet minister and a deputy minister were shown last week how one of the four hospitals in the Ciskei was forced to put two and even three sick babies into a single cot.

St Matthew's Hospital, an old mission hospital which is scheduled for replacement, has an impressive record in serving the (provisionally in the 1980 census) 85 000 people in the Keiskammahoek and Middledrift magisterial districts.

It operates 15 clinics in the two districts, each with two nurses which means there is one clinic for every 6 000 people.

The hospital staff readily admit that there should be more clinics so that health services can be taken to the people more effectively.

Next week, the Ciskei's Minister of Health, Dr B. Maku, will open a child nutrition clinic at St Matthew's. It will form an integral part of the network of clinics, which on Wednesdays have special baby clinics at which mothers are taught the need for balanced diets for their children and the necessity of preventive action to limit the spread of disease.

On three days a week, milk teams visit the clinics to provide milk for pre-school children — continuing a pioneering scheme launched by Dr Trudi Thomas and Dr Ian Harris when they were based at the hospital.

Today, the hospital authorities believe that the milk scheme has made a major contribution towards controlling malnutrition in the area.

Relatively few malnourished children have to be admitted to the hospital these days and, according to Mrs C. F. Mpamba, the Principal Matron, "the only malnutrition cases we have in the hospital are from the nearby farms".

The hospital superintendent, Dr L. Piliso, told the South African Minister of Health, Dr Lapu Munnik, and the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr George Morrison, during their visit last week that there had been no deaths from malnutrition for some time and that there were few admissions to the hospital for these cases.

Dr Munnik and Dr

# St M's shows way to health

Morrison both expressed admiration for what St Matthew's Hospital had achieved and Dr Munnik said he would be inviting Dr Piliso to a regional seminar on community health next year because she was one of the foremost experts in Southern Africa.

But they were also able to see for themselves the chronic overcrowding in the children's wards and they expressed concern.

St Matthew's is scheduled for replacement by a new hospital at Keiskammahoek and initial plans have been drawn up and a site set aside.

But it will take at least three years before that hospital is built and the children's wards are already overcrowded.

Dr Morrison inquired about the possibility of erecting a temporary extension so that all the babies could be kept in single cots.

And, indeed, that seems to be the only solution, which should be regarded as urgent.

Mrs Mpamba said there were other requirements as well: "We need more clinics and more nurses." The hospital authorities would like to have at least three nurses at the clinics.

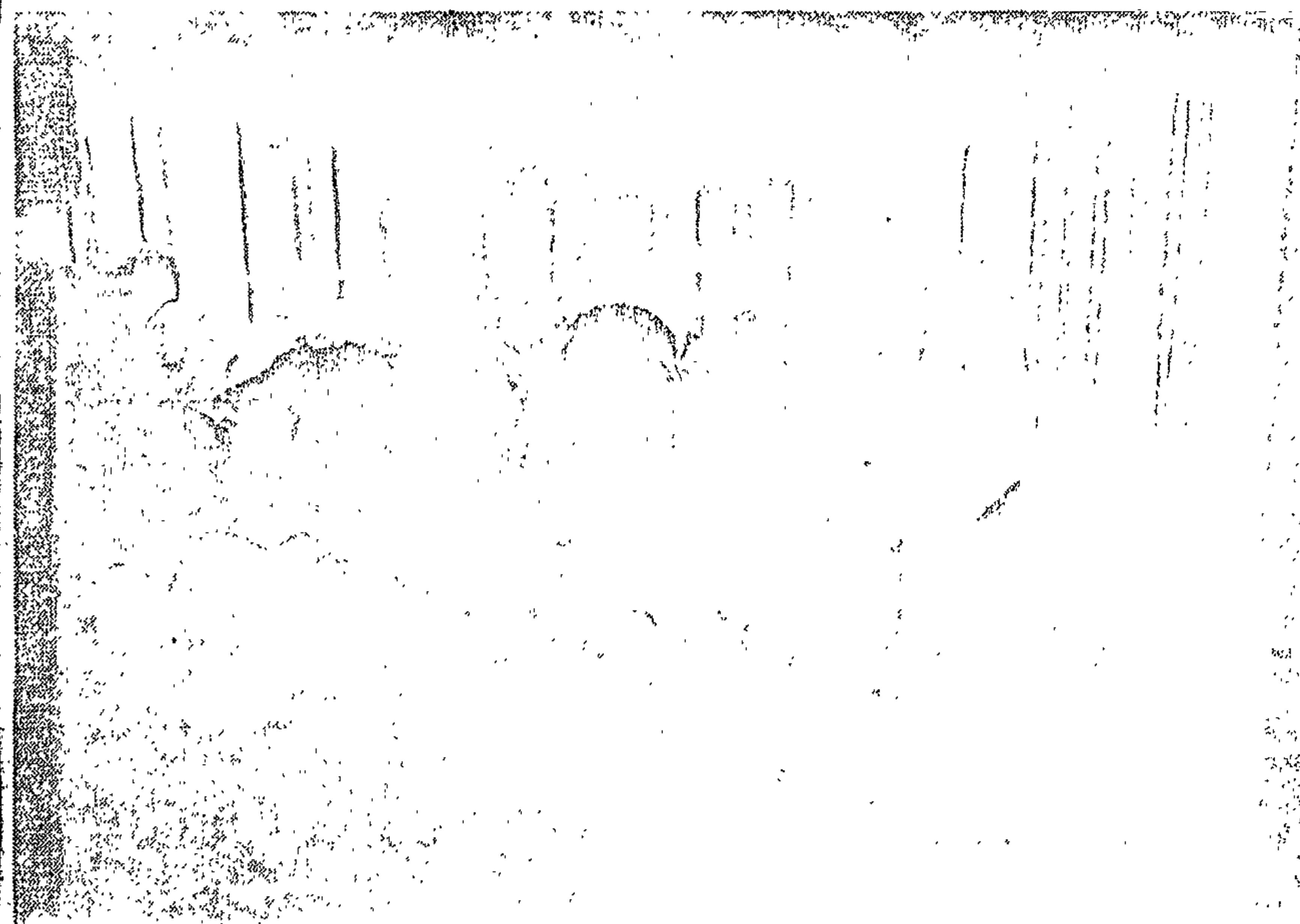
They also feel that the nurses should have greater mobility because the distances are so great.

"We need to be mobile to get around. We must get to the family but the distances make it impossible without transport," Mrs Mpamba said.

School nurses have also been appointed so that they can teach pupils the basics of health care, but, again, they are restricted because of the lack of transport.

Many of these needs are new. In the traditional health system, hospitals, doctors and nurses were primarily concerned about what to do with people once they were sick. Now the emphasis is to prevent them getting sick.

"The days of a matron sitting in an office are over. She must get out to the clinics where the people are.



Three children share a cot in the overcrowded children's ward at St Matthew's Hospital near Keiskammahoek. Two or three babies are crowded into the cots because of the shortage of space.

"The hospital is changing. It is no longer a place where people just come to when they are sick.

"It is now a place for preventive care resources to be sent out to the clinics," Mrs Mpamba said.

In the old days, "first aid", as it was known, played a very small role in the syllabuses for the training of nurses. Today, "primary health care" is strongly emphasised and it is developing all the time.

To prevent people getting sick, the need for a balanced diet is fundamental. Very often, Dr Morrison said, it is not the lack of food that causes malnutrition but incorrect diets.

Obviously, clean water is fundamental. To be able to afford correct food, money is needed. The nature of peasant farming has to change.



Mothers and grandparents wait outside the new nutrition clinic at St Matthews Hospital.

Obviously, nurses and other medical personnel cannot stimulate all that. In short, a transforma-

tion of rural society has to take place. But at least St

Matthew's Hospital, based on the foundations laid by Dr Thomas and Dr Harris, is making a good attempt.



# Hogsback in Ciskei 'out of the blue'

24/11/80  
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Argus Correspondent

HOGSBACK. — A 'difficult and delicate situation has arisen for the white community of Hogsback as a result of the proposals that the area be incorporated in the Ciskei,' Mr J P Stephenson, chairman of the Hogsback Action Committee, said here.

He said the Van der Walt Commission recommendations that this noted Eastern Cape holiday area should be incorporated had come out of the blue.

Speaking after the first meeting of the Action Committee appointed by Hogsback property owners at the weekend Mr Stephenson said: 'At the first opportunity to review the situation, we were handicapped by the lack of factual information about a host of questions arising from the proposal.

'As no one at Hogsback was consulted by either the Van der Walt or Greeff Commissions and consequently no one here had any occasion to give thought to this issue, we were not in a position to grapple with the problem affecting our future status.

#### INTEGRAL PART

'The committee has a mandate from our property owners to endeavour to retain Hogsback as an integral part of the Republic. The feeling is that we will be doing this while walking a tightrope and that we need to have a clear idea of what is involved before deciding on our line of action.'

Mr Stephenson added that as a result of a public meeting to discuss the Commission's proposals many assurances of support and offers of assistance from people all over South Africa have been received.

He said: 'It is a heartening demonstration of Hogsback standing among nature lovers and others who cherish this beautiful corner of South Africa.'

DD  
24/11/89  
(105)

# Sebe: don't waste vote

**EAST LONDON —** The Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, yesterday called on all Ciskeians to exercise their right and vote in the referendum on independence on December 4.

But he warned that whatever decision might come from the referendum would not change the matter because "the voice of the heroes, the spirits of those great chiefs, give us no choice — we have to take it whether we choose or not."

There was no getting out of the fact that Ciskeians had to make a momentous decision.

"We either pay dust for diamonds or diamonds for dust, one or either," he said.

This was a fact that had not dawned on some Ciskeians. He called on such people to stop being fooled by a belief that they could choose to turn their backs and believe they were not Ciskeians.

"All you can choose between is to go to the polls or not but still you pay the price," he said.

Chief Sebe seemed to be directing his call mainly to those who believed homeland politics was not for them.

He said Ciskeians had to face the "tragic fact" that they were not free.

"The life of the Ciskeian is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and chains of discrimination.

"The Ciskeian lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity.

"The Ciskeian still languished in the corners of South Africa's society and finds himself an exile in his own country," he said.

Chief Sebe referred to yesterday's rally at the Sisa Dukashe Stadium, Mdantsane, as an occasion to dramatise an appalling condition.

He appealed to Ciskeians to go to the polls where they would be signing a promissory note to which every Ciskei would fall heir.

"This note was a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness".

"Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice."

He warned against satisfying thirst by "drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred and called for a struggle conducted on dignity and discipline. — DDR



(105) DD 2571180

# King and Ciskei

LETTERS TO  
THE EDITOR

I feel strongly opposed to the inclusion of King William's Town and Berlin into the Ciskei as proposed by the Van der Walt Commission.

South African citizens of the entire white corridor should oppose this move which will take away their birthrights and belongings. The economy of South Africa cannot allow the government to buy out and give away King and Berlin. By taking this step they will be depriving approximately ten thousand whites and five thousand coloureds of their homes and businesses. We do not want to be placed in the same position as Rhodesia was. To my mind this will only lead to the ultimate starvation of the Ciskeian people themselves.

Chief Sebe should be satisfied with the land already donated to the Ciskeian territory which has cost South Africa millions of rands, and make Alice his capital. We, in the corridor, are one of the major food producing areas of South Africa supplying the majority of Ciskei and part of Transkei and as progressive farmers pay thousands of rands in tax.

In the corridor we are feeding and protecting our black people and as such will not let the uncertainty of our area continue. It is felt, in fact, that the corridor should be widened in parts as it forms a most important barrier between the Ciskei and Transkei.

How would Mr Van der Walt or any other members of parliament feel if they were placed in the same position as we are. I agree wholeheartedly with the chairman of the Breidbach management committee, Mr. Michael Boss, when he

states that the coloured people do not want to lose their South African citizenship as at heart they have always been South Africans and want to live in peace in South Africa under the South African flag.

It seems to me that our national prayer, which includes the following seven words, "Guard our land and guide our people," appears to read "Give our land and cripple our people."

E. B. MacLachlan,  
Nedlands, Stutterheim.

## Mandate

G. K. Nombewu (D.D. November 14) is not only misleading but mischievous and should be rejected.

When the Ciskei Government appointed the Quail Commission it made it known that it would not be bound to accept its findings. It is a well-known fact that any government appoints a commission not for it to make decisions but for guidance.

Mr Nombewu said Chief Sebe had said his independence would be different from that of the other three homelands who had already got their independence. That is true, because none of these leaders appointed a commission to advise them on independence. Also none staked their political careers by holding a referendum to determine the attitude of voters.

Chief Sebe has explained explicitly the reasons for opting for independence. He has been given a mandate by the people at NtabakaNdoda after the main issues contained in the Quail report were debated and certain proposals were put.

Out of those discussions arose a document which expressed the feelings of the people in regard to independence. That document was afterwards known as the "package deal" which was presented to the South African Government.

I advise my brothers and sisters of Ciskei who are going to vote on December 4 to vote yes and ignore people like Mr Nombewu. The idea of a united so-called Azania is wishful thinking. If leaders in exile are fighting for that, they should be with us instead of living in luxury overseas.

J. Mdzeke,

117 Bebelele St, Duncan  
Ext, EL.

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# We not being used — Sebe

EAST LONDON — The Ciskei Central Intelligence Service (Ccis) was fully fledged intelligence security organisation with its golden rules, the Secretary for the Ccis, Brig Charles Sebe, said yesterday.

Brig Sebe was reacting to a weekend report that the Ciskei security police were being used by the South African government to detain members of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu).

The claim had been made by the general secretary of Saawu, Mr S. K. B. Kikine.

Brig Sebe said it was a pity Mr Kikine did not base his claim on any stated facts.

"All he has done is to come up with ambiguous claims about people detained in the Ciskei.

"Our records are with the Ccis and not the South African government and we are a fully fledged intelligence-security organisation

"For Mr Kikine to say we are being used by other intelligence organisations to perpetuate the South African government's policy is unfounded and stupidity of the first order."

He said a better leader would have sought an interview with the Ccis and been informed about the reasons for which his men were being detained. —  
 DDR.



25/11/80 D.D. (ARC)

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DAILY DISF

# Koornhof hears King delegation's criticism

PRETORIA — The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was told bluntly yesterday that the people of King William's Town are virtually unanimous in their opposition to the town's incorporation in the Ciskei.

The Minister met a deputation from King William's Town led by the local MP, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, in Pretoria yesterday morning.

And although Dr Koornhof did not release a statement after the talks, Mr Coetzer believes the government has not yet taken a decision on the incorporation of the town into Ciskei.

"We had a frank and open discussion. We are convinced and satisfied that no decision has been taken about King William's Town," Mr Coetzer said.

The town clerk, Mr H. C. S. Hutton, said last night that the mayor, Mr S. J. Weyer, would make a statement on the discussions with Dr Koornhof at a meeting of the council tonight.

Mr Weyer and Mr Hutton were members of the deputation.

The deputation's main objective was to find out precisely what the government's intentions are in the face of fierce opposition from the whites of King William's Town.

Dr Koornhof made no statement after the meeting, but the issue is likely to be raised at today's Cabinet meeting.

The King William's Town's council has claimed it was not properly

consulted by the Van der Walt consolidation commission before the commission made its recommendation that the town be incorporated in the Ciskei.

Because of the council's protest Mr Van der Walt and commission officials met the council two weeks ago. The outcome of the meeting has not been revealed.

The council complained that while the Ciskei Government's views were heard by the commission the council itself was virtually ignored.

The local Chamber of Commerce, according to a prominent member, was totally opposed to incorporation and against any moves to excise King from South Africa.

Recently, too, angry residents of Hogsback expressed strong opposition to the incorporation of farmland in the area into the Ciskei.

Reacting to an Afrikaans newspaper report yesterday that the vice-chairman of the district council, Mr Nick Posthumus, and the vice chairman on the Buffalo River branch of the NP, Mr Ulrich Klackers, had written to resign from the party over the proposals, Mr Coetzer said he was not aware of any other party members who were so dissatisfied that they were threatening to resign.

"We are satisfied with the discussions and we are satisfied that no decision has been taken as it affects the living of people. The minister will issue a full statement soon explaining the whole position." — PC-DDC.



On December 4 some half million Ciskeians will go to the polls to decide in a referendum whether they will support the independence of the Ciskei or not.

As far as the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, is concerned, there is little doubt about the outcome: the voters will support the move.

And, indeed, at this stage, there is very little open evidence of any organised opposition that is prepared to fight the move.

But in February this year, a survey commissioned by the Quail Commission found that 700 Xhosa-speaking people with Ciskeian connections showed that "very little intrinsic merit is seen in the policy for the Ciskei at this stage."

"Less than four out of ten Xhosa-speaking people with Ciskeian connections are prepared to view the possibility of independence positively, and it seems clear that support for the policy will be lower among groups outside the Ciskei, groups which are likely to be more visible and vocal in their condemnation of the development if it occurs."

"More than six out of ten City Xhosa eschew all forms of participation in homeland affairs."

"Those who are positive in their views of independence are not ex-

# Challenge Sebe is facing

25/1/80 (105) (10)



Prof George Quall presenting a copy of his report to Chief Lennox Sebe last February.

pressing a superficial preference since roughly the same people indicate a willingness to accept a Ciskei passport which in the present context means loss of South African citizenship.

"While this minority may be convinced, the motives for the preference are negative rather than representing dependence seems to arise

a positive evaluation of ethnic autonomy and group-based self-determination.

"Indeed the comparative data suggest that the Xhosa people interviewed are even less likely than Zulu or Pedi to value such autonomy."

"The positive appraisal of homeland independence

very largely as a reaction to the disadvantages suffered by blacks in the common area.

"Homeland independence tends to be seen by a majority as an unfair dispensation imposed by Pretoria and implying a loss of rights and economic opportunities without necessarily offering an escape from the dic-

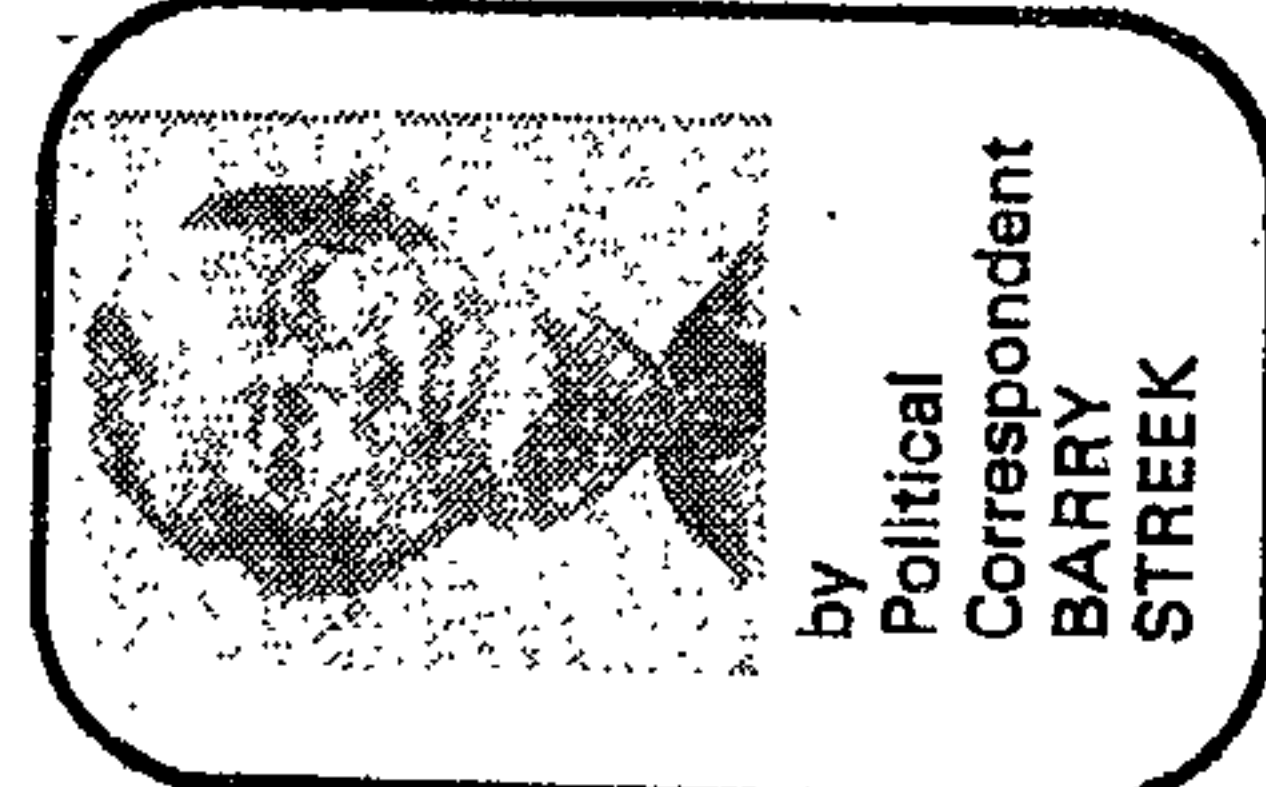
tates from Pretoria. "The people interviewed appear to be fairly pragmatic in their views on other possibilities, however."

"The reactions to hypothetical alternatives indicate that majority acceptance of 'separatist' alternatives can be obtained if it is indicated that certain important material and symbolic interests will be gratified."

"Apart from the more obvious material interests, complete freedom from domination by Pretoria and even more so the possibility of living and voting in a non-racial democratic state are attractive."

"Most of the political alternatives favoured by the respondents are unrealistic in the light of the severe impediments to development in the peripheral homeland territories."

"One alternative, however, could obtain very substantial backing from the rank-and-file Xhosa and is not entirely unrealistic; this being an enlarged homeland territory incorporating developed economic and social infrastructure and including non-Africans in



by Political Correspondent BARRY STREEK

a non-racial policy. "The non-racial democratic idealism which is very dominant, more so among the Xhosa than among the comparison groups, is somewhat contradicted by a majority view that whites in an enlarged homeland should sell their land to allow African ownership."

"The minorities willing to countenance open access to ownership of land, however, are sufficiently large to suggest that this issue could be negotiable." The survey concluded on the question of independence.

Earlier in the report, it was shown that only about 36 per cent of the respondents reacted positively to the prospects of independence, although it was slightly higher among older people, Ciskei urban dwellers, people of lower socio-economic status and those owning houses or cattle in the Ciskei, but even then it was just over 40 per cent.

The researchers ascribed part of the negative response to views held by the people surveyed to the independence of Transkei. Only 27 per cent thought that Transkei's independence had been a positive development.

Although most of the respondents favoured one-man-one-vote in a unitary state, there were other alternatives they were "realistically willing to accept."

The researchers said: "For the rural and urban Ciskeian residents, the Eastern Cape Xhosa and migrant workers from the Ciskei, enlarged, economically viable and independent (one presumes 'truly' independent) homelands are equally as attractive as one-man-one-vote."

The effect of these findings is, broadly, that many of those people prepared to vote for an independent Ciskei will so if they can see positive benefits coming out of the move.

With the proposed incorporation of places like King William's Town, Berlin and Hogsback, a Sebe has said his government is negotiating citizenship formula terms of which Ciskeian will lose South African nationality. It is possible that the independence question will receive a substantial "Yes" vote on December 4.

But it will be a conditional yes vote. The will have to be economic growth. There is strong premium on democracy and not racialism.

With the considerable unemployment problem in the Ciskei-Bordet region as well as the economic stagnation, will mean that Chief Sebe's Government will have to deliver material goods soon after independence — or face massive disillusionment.

The Chief Minister has accepted the challenge. And provided he wins the referendum, he will negotiate independent agreements with Pretoria.

But the Quail Commission survey has certainly warned him of the dangers.



# Expert lists the grim toll of malnutrition

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Of every 1 000 children born in the vast Mdantsane township near East London, 107 do not reach their first birthday, according to a paediatrician at the township's Cecilia Makiwane Hospital, Dr Trudi Thomas.

She urged interim solutions for the malnutrition problem, calling it an indictment of society.

Dr Thomas, a noted authority on malnutrition problems in the Ciskei, was addressing a service club luncheon.

She said the Mdantsane infant mortality figures compared unfavourably with those

for white children in South Africa — under five in every 1 000.

"And don't forget that Mdantsane is the best health area in the Ciskei," Dr Thomas said.

"In rural areas, one out of every four children born does not reach the age of one."

Children deprived of food were also inclined to be mentally deprived.

Children with a history of malnourishment were known to have educational problems even after their diet had been improved.

The problem also had eco-

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conomic implications.

It cost R30 a day to keep a child in hospital, which meant that aiding malnourished children was far more costly than preventing malnourishment.

Dr Thomas referred to a survey carried out by doctors at Tygerberg Hospital on Ciskei schoolchildren which showed 83% of the rural children were malnourished.

The figure for urban areas is 75%.

Dr Thomas said malnutrition was an indictment of society. The chief solution was the provision of jobs. But there would have to be other interim measures.

Wednesday, November 26, 1980

## Talk to Press on Ciskei ballot

MEMBERS of the Quail Commission will give a news conference in Johannesburg today on the subject of the Ciskei's independence referendum on December 4.

The chairman, Professor George Quail, Professor Peter Kilby of the United States, and Mr Richard Procter-Sims, the commission's secretary, will attend.

The commission was appointed by the Ciskei Government in 1978 to investigate the feasibility of independence for the homeland.

Its unanimous seven-member report advised against independence unless certain stringent conditions could be met.

However, after negotiations with the South African Government, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, announced plans for independence. This was greeted with acclaim when he addressed meetings at Zwelitsha and Nthabakandoda.

Chief Sebe said this acclaim made a referendum a formality, but one would be held as a "mark of respect" to the Quail Commission.

The commission then offered to set up an impartial body to conduct a referendum. Chief Sebe said this was a "good idea", then later turned down the offer. — Sapa.





MR COETZER:

"I made it clear the people were against the proposal and that alternatives should be explored."



MR WEYER:

"The advantages and disadvantages of incorporation will be investigated thoroughly."

# King gets assurance

DAK 9 disp 26/11/80 (105)

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The recommendation that King William's Town be incorporated into the Ciskei was only a proposal at this stage.

This was spelt out yesterday by the MP for King, Mr Hendrik Coetzer, and the mayor of the town, Mr Eric Weyer, following talks with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

Dr Koornhof also gave the assurance that alternative suggestions would be considered by the government.

Mr Weyer, and Mr Coetzer, emphasised in separate statements that the proposals were not final and alternatives would be considered.

Dr Koornhof met an eight-man delegation from King William's Town on Monday.

The King delegation included Mr Weyer, Mr Coetzer, the deputy mayor, Mr Ray Radue, the town clerk, Mr Henry Hutten, Mr Bev Radue, representing the chamber of industries, Mr Bob Stanford and Mr Michael Weir, representing the Agrarian Chamber of Commerce, and Mr Michael Bossr, representing the Breidbach Management Committee.

From MIKE CHANDLER

In his statement last night to a borough council meeting, Mr Weyer said that a committee would be appointed to investigate the Van der Walt proposals further and that representatives from the Borough Council, commerce, industry and the Breidbach Management Committee, would serve on the committee.

"The discussions were constructive and extremely informative, and our delegation was pleased to be reassured that the commission's recommendation that King William's Town be incorporated into Ciskei is in fact at this stage only a proposal and that the whole matter is still to be investigated thoroughly regarding the advantages and disadvantages in connection therewith, and, further, that alternative plans may also be given consideration before the Cabinet takes a final decision," Mr Weyer said.

In his statement, Mr Coetzer said King William's Town residents were opposed to incorporation of the town into the Ciskei and that alternatives should be explored.

"We had a near three-hour discussion concerning matters that affect King William's Town and

its inhabitants and of course, the proposed incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei.

"I as Member of Parliament made it clear to the minister that the majority of the people are against incorporation and asked that alternatives should be explored.

"The minister assured us that the announcement by the Van der Walt Commission that King William's Town be incorporated into Ciskei is only a recommendation and nothing more.

"The future of King William's Town will only be decided after comprehensive investigations have been undertaken and the views of all interested parties obtained.

"For this purpose the Van der Walt Commission will take evidence on January 19 and 20 in the King William's Town Town Hall from 9 am.

"Discussions will naturally be of an on-going nature.

"Affected persons and interested groups who wish to give evidence must hand in their names, together with supplementary memoranda that they wish to bring to the attention of the commission, to the town clerk of King William's Town.

"The above affects the areas of Chalumna, Berlin, King William's Town and

the Pirie-Kabusie area.

"The other affected areas, namely Hogsback, Klipplaat, Swartkei-Winterberg, will meet the commission in the Queenstown Town Hall at 9 am on February 3.

"The commission will not only take evidence in King William's Town, but might also establish a committee representing the commission and local representatives to investigate the proposals as well as alternatives.

"The delegation was satisfied that no decision has been taken affecting the normal position of the people or the future of King William's Town.

"Whatever the result of the investigations and the final decision of the cabinet may be in the future, the residents of King William's Town can be assured that the ultimate decision will be in the best interests of everybody concerned and of South Africa.

"To eliminate any further confusion, I wish to add that the valuation of properties in the Chalumna area shortly must not be confused as having anything to do with the Van der Walt recommendations.

"This area was earmarked to go black in 1972 and is compensatory ground for the Newlands location that will now become white.

"Lastly I wish to appeal to everyone not to say or do anything that could be harmful to good race relations," Mr Coetzee said.



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# Petition for release of Ciskei unionists

By Drew Forrest  
EAST LONDON — The South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) is to launch a nationwide petition calling for the release of six union officials currently in Ciskeian security police hands.

This was revealed today by the acting secretary of Saawu's East London branch, Mr Xolani Khota. Saawu members have been at the centre of a number of recent strikes in East London, and the local branch of the union claims a phenomenal leap in membership in recent months.

A petition calling for the charging or release of

Saawu national organiser, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, East London branch secretary Mr Sisa Njikelana, would be forwarded to the Ciskeian Minister of Justice, he said.

It will also call for the charge or release of four union organisers employed by the Ciskei Transport Corporation, of which the Ciskeian Government is believed to be part owner.

All six are held under a proclamation which provides for the indefinite detention of Ciskeians without trial.

The petition will be circulated on a countrywide basis, Mr Khota said.



# Ciskei's harsh realities

DATE: 26/11/80 (105)

A new study, Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence in a South African Homeland, has underlined the harsh economic realities that will face the Ciskei if it decides to opt for independence.

"The Ciskei relies heavily on subsistence agriculture. This accounted for from 19.5 per cent to 41 per cent of its gross domestic product (GDP) during the period from 1960 to 1971. The per capita income of the black inhabitants amounted to only R90.50," Rhodes University's Mrs Nancy Charton, who edited the book, wrote in the introduction.

The book, a collection of 2 papers by South African academics, covers aspects affecting the Ciskei today, focusing on racial, economic and political factors.

It is unfortunate the book was written before the Quall Commission report was published, because a number of details appeared in that report which would have aided the book. It is also laded by developments since the independence package deal was negotiated between the Ciskei and South African governments.

And some of the papers are primarily descriptive without particular significance.

Despite these weaknesses, it is an extremely useful resource book on the Ciskei — and it will help the planners who are doing their best to promote the development of the homeland.

There are a number of interesting facts and

research findings. In this connection, the paper by Mr P. A. Black, a Rhodes economics lecturer, is significant.

He wrote: "The Ciskei is a land of extreme poverty. A survey of 1 000 rural households completed during the mid-sixties revealed that most workers were unemployed or under-employed, or else simply under-utilised in the sense of not being able to work at their most productive level.

"This general under-utilisation of labour largely explained the extreme and widespread poverty of the people. Whereas elsewhere the average household income was equal to only 38 per cent of the estimated corresponding poverty datum line (PDI) no less than 91 per cent of all households received an income that was less than the PDI."

His own survey of Mdantsane, possibly the wealthiest area of the Ciskei, underlined the poverty. Figures from 300 households in 1975, showed that 217 people were seeking work, but unable to find any. Of these 47 per cent earned an income from part-time work.

"This left 170 unemployed persons, which is equivalent to an unemployment rate of 23 per cent, the corresponding rates for males and females being 16 per cent and 29 per cent respectively. These rates are much higher than most



Rhodes University's Mrs Nancy Charton — the Ciskei is welded to the Republic by social, economic, fiscal, constitutional and political bonds.

comparable estimates of black urban unemployment in South Africa."

The average income per household was found to be R174 a month — that is R31 per head of population. And 50 per cent of all households earned less than R107 per month.

"If our sample is taken to be representative of Mdantsane as a

villages, confirmed this extreme poverty: 40 per cent of families failed to provide sufficient food for their own requirements and 70 per cent of the income came from migrant workers.

Only six per cent of the homesteads had plots of land — which the Tomlinson Commission recommended in the 1950s — while 90 per cent had between one-third and one-sixth of the recommended size or no land at all.

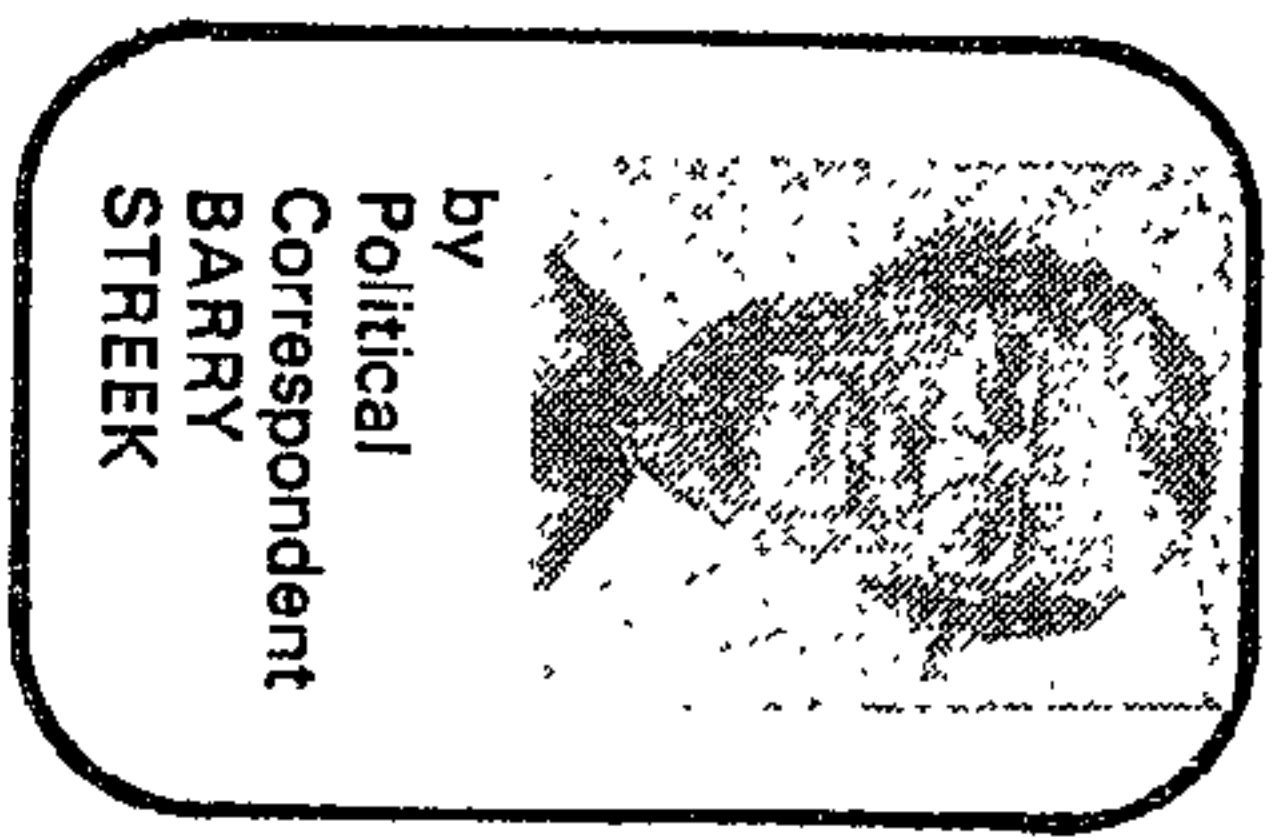
Mrs Charton emphasised the point in her concluding paper: the village "exports manpower, youth, courage and ability, and village society, having been selectively creamed of its initiative, is left to stagnate economically and politically. Headmen's and chiefs' councils are deprived of capable participants, men in their middle years, and the young who should be learning to use their political skills at local level."

She added: "It must be concluded that the Ciskei does not have an autonomous economy, nor any prospect of one. It remains a poverty-stricken area in one of the less well-developed regions of the Republic, its economic future firmly tied to the chariot wheels of the South African economy."

There are many contributing factors to this poverty, and it is not the purpose of this article to analyse those, but the lack of security of tenure of

whole, it therefore follows that in 1975 approximately 40 to 50 per cent of all households in Mdantsane earned less than the estimated minimum subsistence level of income," Mr Black wrote.

Another paper, by Prof J. B. Daniel of Rhodes, and Mr N. L. Webb of Port Elizabeth, on the results of a survey of two rural



land in the rural areas must be one.

Mr D. M. Groenewald of Stellenbosch University underlined the problem: "A chief may take land away from a man if he produces a surplus — this fact is sometimes attributed to witchcraft. Chiefs can also confiscate land which, in their opinion, has been cultivated improperly. This limits the application of new techniques. It is unheard of to appeal against such decisions."

Since then, Chief Sebe has announced that the land to be incorporated into the Ciskei in terms of the Van der Walt Commission proposals will be held by freehold title by Ciskeian citizens as long as the land is used productively. Perhaps that reflects a new approach to land tenure in the Ciskei.

Particularly for a journalist, Prof Les Switzer's study of the media in the Ciskei, is interesting. He found that 76.1 per cent of urban respondents read the Daily Dispatch regularly.

A number of papers in the book concern political activity in the Ciskei.

Particularly interesting is an explanation of Xhosa and Mfengu tensions by C. W. Manona, a research officer at the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes, an analysis of the reinvestment of Chief Magoma by Prof Michael Whisson and Mr Manona, a look at party political activity in the homeland by Mrs Charton and Mr G. R. Katywakadi, and examination of the role of the Ciskei legislature by Mrs Charton.

His conclusion is, moreover, significant for the media: "These newspapers — owned and controlled as they are by white capitalist interests — are being offered a unique role as surrogates for a genuine black press. If they accept this role, however, they will be obliged to promote the policies of those who are the credible opinion leaders."

"Merely recording their views — as was apparent with the Daily Dispatch even in 1976 — will not be enough to influence urban black readers in the Ciskei, and elsewhere in South Africa, today."

In her final paragraph, she says: "It must be concluded that the Ciskei is welded to the Republic by social, economic, fiscal, constitutional and political bonds. The communication system, whether modern or traditional, emanates from and is controlled by, the dominant partner, the Republic. It would be a singular operation which could amputate the Ciskei from the body economic and political of the Republic."

Which, for the Ciskeian electorate, about to go to the polls in the December 4 referendum, may be a sobering judgment.

Ciskei: Economics and Politics of Dependence in a South African Homeland, edited by Nancy Charton. Crook Helm, London. — 263 pages, R28.40.



# Ciskei decision surprised Quail

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Southern Africa Bureau

THE Ciskei Government's rejection of the Quail Commission's recommendations was a bitter disappointment and an indication of what little value was attached to its report, the chairman, Professor George Quail, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

In his first detailed reaction to the announcement in September by the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, that he was accepting independence for the homeland, Prof Quail told a Press conference that he had no reason to suspect that the commission was appointed in the expectation that it would sanction a break from South Africa.

Ciskeians vote in an independence referendum on December 4. Chief Sebe has described the poll as a "mere formality", and claimed that most of his people favour independence, despite the commission's findings to the contrary.

Prof Quail said yesterday that the commission had expected the Ciskeian government to accept its report whatever the verdict — and what had happened since it was presented in February had come as a complete surprise.

At the time, Chief Sebe's attitude to the commission's findings had been "excellent". Prof Quail had no idea what had happened in the past few months to make Chief Sebe change his mind.

Another commission member, Professor Peter Kilby, a United States specialist on development economics, said he was "devastated" by Chief Sebe's "cynical" decision.

Ciskeian independence would have a "severe impact" on US opinion and could lead to the view that South Africa was not acting to solve its race problems. It would also make the ultimate solution of South Africa's problems that much more difficult, and add impetus to the view that force was the only answer, he said.

The Ciskei was one of the world's poorest countries, economically unviable, and had one of the highest relative unemployment figures in the world, said Prof Kilby.

The commission sat for 14 months and cost about R160 000. An "attitude study" by Professor Laurie Schlemmer of the University of Natal, in conjunction with the commission, indicated that most Ciskeians were against independence.



# Ciskei go-it-alone bid shocks chairman Quail

By Josie Brouard

The chairman of the Ciskei-appointed commission of inquiry which investigated independence options for the Ciskei, Professor George Quail, has expressed publicly for the first time bitter disappointment that Ciskei is desirous of independence.

Professor Quail said at a Johannesburg Press conference yesterday that he was "shocked and disappointed" at chief Lennox Sebe's turnabout in sentiment over his homeland's independence.

Chief Sebe commissioned Professor Quail and six other local and overseas experts to investigate in depth — over a period of one year and at a cost of R150 000 — the question of independence for the Ciskei.

The commission reported to Chief Sebe last February with a categorical "no" to Ciskeian indepen-

dence. The report was received with gratitude and pleasure by Chief Sebe whom he believed was sincere, Professor Quail said yesterday.

But now Chief Sebe, in negotiation with South Africa, was going ahead with plans for a referendum to be held next week in the homeland — a referendum which could only be described as "irrelevant, and inexplicable."

Professor Quail said that, according to reports, Chief Sebe had admitted that the referendum — to sound out Ciskeians about proposed independence — was "a mere formality."

The professor said: "We had no reason at the time we made our report, to suspect the bona fides of the Ciskeian government. It was an honest, sincere attempt on our part to give advice in the best interests of the Ciskeian people — and I believe

this is what Chief Sebe wanted.

"I do not believe the Quail Commission was appointed as a 'sop' to international pressure," he added.

Professor Peter Kilby, an American member of the Quail Commission, also present in Johannesburg yesterday, said: "The Ciskei government is acting cynically by attempting to push independence on to its people — and South Africa, by negotiating with Ciskei, is not working in good faith to solve its racial problems."

Professor Quail said that the Ciskei government would lose all credibility if its referendum supported the Quail Commission findings — and still Chief Sebe pushed for independence, as he is expected to do.

The referendum on December 4 is expected to draw most votes from ru-

ral Ciskeians staying in the homeland. The Quail Commission report said that 54 percent of these do not want independence and that an even larger majority living outside Ciskei are against independence.

The commission found that independence was "an unattractive option" because, in terms of size and economic viability, Ciskei ranked among the least-endowed states, it would not be accorded recognitions as a bona fide member of the international community of nations — and because, according to a survey, two out of three Ciskeians opposed separation.

It also said that South Africa was changing, and that it was not the right time for Ciskei to cut itself off from gaining its rightful share of benefits within South Africa.

STAR 27/11/80 (105)

# Quail hits at Sebe move

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More to  
it than  
meets eye  
— Sebe

**JOHANNESBURG —**  
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from South Africa.

Yesterday's conference  
came barely a week before  
Ciskeians go to the polls  
on December 4 for an in-  
dependence referendum.

Chief Sebe has des-  
cribed the poll as a "mere  
formality", claiming that

the vast majority of his  
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the only answer, he said.

The Ciskei was one of  
the world's poorest and  
least endowed countries,  
it was economically un-  
viable and had one of the  
highest relative un-  
employment figures in the  
world, Prof Kilby said.

A significant aspect of  
the commission's report  
was that two thirds of Cis-  
keians were opposed to  
separation from South  
Africa, Prof Quail said.

Prof Kilby added that  
even in the rural areas, 54  
per cent of the people did  
not want independence.

The commission, which  
sat for 14 months, cost  
around R160 000. A  
R30 000 "attitude study"  
conducted by Professor  
Laurie Klemmer, of Natal  
University, in conjunc-  
tion with the commission,  
indicated that the majori-  
ty of Ciskeians were  
against independence. —  
DDC.

He said he could only  
comment further on the  
actual statements made by  
Prof Quail once he had  
studied them.

"I don't know exactly  
what was said so I would  
like to withhold further  
comment." — DDR.

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Reacting to yesterday's  
Quail Commission press  
conference, Chief Lennox  
Sebe said last night:  
"There's more to this than  
meets the eye."

He added: "Why have  
they been quiet all this  
time and then just when  
we are about to have a  
referendum, they make  
public announcements?"

He also criticised Prof  
Quail for making the  
statements without con-  
tacting the other men who  
had served on the com-  
mission.

"It's amazing — surely  
out of common decency he  
would have contacted Mr.  
C. Lalendle at Fort Hare  
before holding such a  
news conference, yet Mr.  
Lalendle knows nothing  
about it."

Chief Sebe also made it  
clear that as far as the  
Ciskei Government was  
concerned the Quail Com-  
mission no longer existed.

"Their terms of  
reference ended when  
they handed over their  
report — and they know  
it."



One of the major earners of revenue for the Ciskei is dagga dealing and sales, according to evidence before the Ciskei Economic Commission. Says Leon Louw, chairman of the commission: "These figures are never reflected in the establishment of per capita incomes and national accounts, which results in an economic fallacy.

"If incomes from illegal activities such as prostitution and dagga dealing were quantified, per capita incomes in the 'homelands' would be much higher."

According to Louw, "a huge error has pervaded economic thought in that economists have allowed personal morality to interfere with economic research. Calculations of income and national accounts should include smuggling, robbery, and prostitution because these exchanges cover thousands of millions of rands of transactions and economic transfers.

"However, there is obviously a problem of tremendous resistance and it is not possible to produce even reliable estimates of activities." While Louw is personally opposed to these illegal activities, he considers it his duty to investigate them.

The research undertaken by the Ciskei Economic Policy Commission is revolutionary in that it has attempted to quantify illegal activities.

It has also attempted to quantify the extent of legal informal sector activities.

Says Louw: "For the purposes of comprehensiveness we have tried to establish the extent of illegal activities. The extent of dagga dealing is very substantial and is also used quite acceptably by many people."

According to a reliable source, most senior Ciskei police officials favour legalisation of dagga and believe the problems arise because dagga is illegal rather than because of dagga per se.

Legalisation is a thorny issue, but ironically it is in line with fundamental principles of free enterprise. Brian Kantor, senior lecturer in economics at the University of Cape Town, says: "I don't believe we should interfere with people's consumption patterns in any way. Dangers can be pointed out but people should be free to do themselves as much damage as they wish.

"The major problem is that when certain kinds of consumption are illegal and there is a demand, scope is created for criminal dealings. The most ruthless then tend to monopolise and it is no longer a truly competitive enterprise."

Louw refuses to comment on speculation that the commission might recommend relaxing the anti-dagga laws in the Ciskei.



# Quail, Commments Childish — Sebe

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, has sharply criticised Professor George Quail's condemnation of independence moves.**

Professor Quail who chaired the 12-month Ciskei-commission, was described yesterday by Chief Sebe as "childish."

In an angry retort, Chief Sebe said Professor Quail's commission was not appointed to take over the reins of government.

"White 'baasskap' is apparently still not dead and some whites still seem to harbour the illusion that they are better informed or better qualified to take decisions for the black people than the black people themselves," Chief Sebe said.

"It should be made quite clear that in appointing the Ciskei Independence Commission, my government never ever intimated at any time that it would hand over the reins of government to the commission.

"We have always made it clear that in formulating our policies for independence we have taken some of the recommendations of a commission and have married them to aspirations of the Ciskei people.

"We have never sought to pretend that we were slavishly following the report.

"I am surprised at the childish pique which appears to be behind the statements," he said.

"I am even more surprised that Professor Quail should attack my government in the press rather than by seeking

private audience with us and I am mystified as to what he hopes to achieve.

"My last personal contact with the professor was most friendly and I wonder about this sudden change of heart.

"These criticisms, coming as they do on the eve of the referendum, can only be intended to harm my government's objectives.

"I find it significant that the press conference was only attended by two members of the commission.

"Messrs Lalendle, Marais and Van den Bergh, who are resident in South Africa, were apparently not at the conference."

The Quail report which was released on February 8 this year strongly recommended that Ciskei did not opt for independence.

Detailing economic, political and social reasons against independence, the commission did say, however, that independence should be accepted only if five conditions were first satisfied.

These conditions were: ● That majorities of Ciskeians both in the city and in the South African area vote for independence

in a carefully supervised referendum on the issue;

● That citizenship on satisfactory terms is negotiated which gives non-resident Ciskeians the choice of either Ciskeian or South African status or both, and that the South African Government relinquishes its rights to expel, deport or otherwise remove from the common area Ciskeians who have chosen South African status.

● That on land, an enlargement of the Ciskei to an extent acceptable to the Ciskei Government has been agreed with the South African Government (the commission is aware that the Ciskei Government claims the corridor and East London);

● That the rights of Ciskeians to seek work and remain employed in South Africa are explicitly preserved; and

● That South Africa agrees to provide equitable financial support.

Chief Sebe's "package deal" for independence contains references to all these conditions, including the referendum which is to be held on Thursday.

However, what is not known, is how successful-ly the "package deal" conditions — including citizenship, labour rights, land consolidation, and development aid — have been negotiated with the African Government.

## UN call

## to shun

## Ciskei

**UNITED NATIONS** — The chairman of the UN special committee against apartheid, Ambassador B. Clark, of Nigeria, has appealed to all governments and organisations "to denounce the moves to declare the so-called 'independence' of Ciskei."

Mr Clark said in a statement: "There must not and cannot be any recognition, direct or indirect, of the Bantustans and no dealings with them."

Mr Clark said he wanted to draw the attention of the international community to recent moves by South Africa to "force independence upon the Ciskei people, who, according to a recent survey, favour a one-man, one-vote government in the whole of South Africa."

"With the so-called independence of Ciskei — coming after the so-called 'independence' of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda — the racist regime purports to deprive seven million Africans of their rights of citizenship and nationality," he said. — SAPA-AP.

105  
25/11/80



# Quail attack 'childish', says angry Chief Sebe

CT. 28/11/80

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**Own Correspondent**  
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — A sharp counter-attack has been launched by Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, against Professor George Quail's condemnation of Ciskei independence moves.

The one-time confidante of the Ciskei Government who chaired the 12-month Ciskei Commission was yesterday described by Chief Sebe as "childish".

In an angry retort, Chief Sebe said Professor Quail's commission was not appointed to take over the reigns of government.

"White 'baasskap' is apparently still not dead and some

whites still seem to harbour the illusion that they are better informed or better qualified to take the decisions for the black people than the black people themselves," he said.

"It should be made quite clear that in appointing the Ciskei Independence Commission, my government never ever intimated at any time that it would hand over the reigns of government to the commission.

"We have always made it clear that in formulating our policies for independence we have taken some of the recommendations of a commission and have married them to the aspirations of the Ciskei people.

"We have never sought to pretend that we were slavishly following the report.

"I am even more surprised that Professor Quail should attack my government in the press rather than by seeking private audience with us and I am mystified as to what he hopes to achieve.

"My last personal contact with the professor was most friendly and I wonder at this sudden change of heart."

In his statement reacting to comments made by Professor Quail at a news conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday night, Chief Sebe did not respond to any of the arguments used by the commission against his government's intention to pursue independence.

The Quail Report itself, released on February 8 this year, strongly recommended that Ciskei should not opt for independence.

Detailing economic, political and social reasons against independence, the commission did say, however, that independence should be accepted only if five conditions were first satisfied.

These conditions were:

- That majorities of Ciskeians both in the Ciskei and in the South African common area vote in favour of independence in a carefully supervised referendum on the issue.

- That South Africa agrees to provide equitable financial support.

- That citizenship on satisfactory terms is negotiated which gives non-resident Ciskeians the choice of either Ciskeian or South African status or both, and that the South African Government relinquishes its rights to expel, deport or otherwise remove from the common area Ciskeians who have chosen South African status.

- That on land an enlargement of the Ciskei to an extent acceptable to the Ciskei Government be agreed with the South African Government (the commission is aware that the Ciskei Government claims the corridor and East London).

- That the rights of Ciskeians to seek work and remain employed in South Africa are explicitly preserved.

# Attack on Ciskei independence is childish — Sebe

105  
R.M. 28/1/80

ZWELITSHA. — The criticism levelled at the Ciskei Government's intention to opt for independence could only be intended to harm the homeland government's objectives, the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

In a Press statement released in Zwelitsha, near King William's Town, he said:

"I am surprised and shocked at scathing criticisms of my Government action which have been published in the Press and attributed to Professor George Quail.

"These criticisms, coming as they do on the eve of the referendum, can only be intended to harm my Government's objectives.

"In appointing the Ciskei Independence Commission, my Government never intimated at any time that it would hand over the reins of government to the commission.

"We have made it clear that in the formulation of our independence policies we have taken some of the recommendations of the commission and

married them to the aspirations of the Ciskei people"

Chief Sebe said his government had never followed the commission's report "slavishly" and he was surprised at the "childish pique" which appeared to be behind the statements.

"I am surprised that Professor Quail should attack my Government in the Press rather than by seeking private audience with us, and I am mystified as to what he hopes to achieve.

"My last personal contact with the professor was most friendly and I wonder at this sudden change of heart."

Chief Sebe said he found it significant that the Press conference was attended by only two members of the commission. "White baasskap is apparently still not dead, and some whites still seem to harbour the illusion that they are better informed or better qualified to talk for the black people than the black people themselves," Chief Sebe said. — Sapa.



# Joint control plan for BL Harbour

By Drew Forrest

Officials to place East London Harbour under joint economic control of South Africa, Ciskei and Transkei and to open the harbour hinterland to black businessmen are being "actively considered" by the Government.

The scheme — devised by local businessmen in response to the intractable problem of unemployment in the region — would not be launched until the homeland's governments had given it their blessing, sources said today.

But the favourable response of the Van der Walt Commission indicated an impending shift in South African Government policy "with major implications" for the country as a whole, they said.

According to East London



Buffalo Harbour in East London may fall under joint control soon to become "international."

mayor Mr Donald Card, the scheme envisaged the creation of an "international zone" encompassing the city's har-

bour and its immediate hinterland. The zone would fall under a controlling body comprising South African,

Ciskeian and Transkeian representatives. Harbour revenue would be shared between the territories, and entrep-

reneurs of all races would be free to set up shop in the area. However, residential segregation would remain

and the "nuts and bolts" of the scheme — including the integration of facilities — were still under consideration, Mr

Card said.

Mr Card said the creation of an "international zone" in white East London might be the first step in a larger plan designed to meet the massive unemployment in the Ciskei, southern Transkei and Border areas.

Unemployment in this region has been conservatively estimated at 25 percent, and the problem has not responded to Government decentralisation policies.

With Government approval, "international" growth points would also be established at Dimbaza in Ciskei, Butterworth in Transkei and elsewhere in the region, he said.

Prerequisites for the success of the scheme were increased labour mobility throughout the region and generous State incentives to outside investors, Mr Card said.

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STAR 28/11/80

# Referendum

With the announcement of the date of the referendum on the Ciskeian independence the issue of the independence has reached the most critical stage and calls for a wholly representative vote so as to pronounce the feelings of Ciskeians on this issue.

The true feelings of Ciskeians can only be known if the following criteria have been met:

(1) All Ciskeians are reached and given a fair chance to cast their votes. Ciskeians are Xhosa-speaking people who live all over the Cape Province outside Transkei and who live all over the rest of South Africa and have no Transkeian ancestry. These people are found all over South Africa because of employment in the public sector as teachers, nurses, clerks, social workers, post masters, railway ticket examiners, booking clerks and labourers, in mining, in

other employment as missionaries and in all categories of the private sector. Many Xhosa students are also outside the strip of land called Ciskei. To reach these people there must be polling booths all over South Africa. No non-conventional age restriction must be placed; any Ciskeian 18 years of age and above must be allowed to vote and no homeland citizenship must be required because after independence whether a Ciskeian Xhosa had this qualification or not he will be deemed to be a Ciskeian and be stripped of and denied South African citizenship.

(2) In true democratic style, freedom of speech is allowed. Every organisation must be allowed to air its views on the issue of independence; all media should be allowed and as much time in Radio Bantu (Xhosa) is given for other organisations who may



**EDITORIAL OPINION**

105 1/12/80

# Ciskei's future

One way or another this will be a fateful week for the Ciskei.

On Thursday the citizens of the territory go to the polls in a referendum for a simple yes or no vote on independence.

The Chief Minister of Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, has said the result is a foregone conclusion. By this he means he expects an overwhelming "yes" vote.

However, Chief Sebe has hedged his bet and has warned, in as many words, that no matter what the result, the referendum would not change the matter "because we have to take it (independence) whether we choose or not".

But what sort of a "matter" is Chief Sebe asking Ciskeians to take?

Even at this stage, only days before the poll, the package deal he is believed to have negotiated with Pretoria has not been spelled out.

Chief Sebe has told Ciskeians they would be going to the polls to sign a promissory note to which everyone of them would fall heir.

He added that the note would be a promise that all men would be guaranteed the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

These are noble sounding words,

but how do they match the harsh realities Ciskei will have to face under independence?

There appears to be nothing definitive in the promissory note regarding land and finance — and these must be the cornerstones of Chief Sebe's plan for independence.

Neither does there appear to be any realisation of the so-called citizenship issue.

All these issues were clearly spelled out in the report of the Quail Commission, whose recommendation that independence should not be accepted at this stage, has been rejected by the Ciskei government.

Chief Sebe is, of course, quite right in stating that he and his government are not bound by any or all of the aspects of the report.

He nevertheless claims he has taken some of the recommendations and married them to the aspirations of the Ciskei people.

But before Ciskei citizens are asked to sign a promissory note (or a blank cheque) on Thursday, they surely have the right to be told if the marriage is simply one of convenience.

If this is all it is, then wedlock starts off on a rocky road that may take a long time to find a happy ending.



# Xaba welcomes Siyo back into CNIP

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Former Sebe right-hand man, Mr L. F. Siyo, 73, who was expelled from the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party, has rejoined the party.

He was officially welcomed back yesterday by the Reverend W. M. Xaba, Minister of Agriculture, who is also the CNIP national chairman.

Mr Siyo's return to Chief Minister L. L. Sebe's party has also resulted in the dissolution of the Labour Party, which was established by Mr Siyo after his expulsion.

Mr A. Z. Lamani, of Port Elizabeth, one of the foundation members of the Labour Party, who was also a former Sebe supporter, was said yesterday to be the only Labour Party member who officially announced he would not rejoin Chief Sebe's group.

Mr Lamani told Mr Siyo he would no longer participate in homeland politics, saying he would have resigned from our party eventually because

his business suffered tremendously while he was attending to state affairs at Zwelitsha," Mr Xaba said.

Mr Siyo said he was expecting all his followers, apart from Mr Lamani, to rejoin the CNIP, which he had helped found in 1973.

"All my life as a politician I have been working towards attainment of independence by my people and now that machinery has been set in motion towards that end, I feel I also have a role to play to ensure success of the venture," Mr Siyo said.

Mr Siyo's political life has now turned a full circle, from the time he was party strategist for Chief Sebe's group, to the period when the two leaders became bitter enemies, resulting in detention and self-exile for Mr Siyo to the reconciliation yesterday.

While still in the CNIP, Mr Siyo served on the Cabinet as Minister of Interior and then as head of the newly-formed Department of Health

towards the end of 1975.

Finally he was assigned to head the Department of Agriculture.

He was expelled from the ruling party at the party's annual congress in 1978, but Mr Siyo established his own party and joined up with Chief J. T. Mabandla's opposition Ciskei National Party and Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe's Ciskei National Unionist Party to fight the 1978 election as an alliance. — DDR.

## Mangope to open R4m centre

**MMABATHO** — President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana will open a R4.3 million shopping centre here on Friday as part of the state's third anniversary celebrations.

They will end on Saturday with a full-day sports programme, which will include a number of Springboks among the estimated 780 participants. — SAPA.

**MR SIYO** ... I've a role to play.



# Sebe denies changing mind on independence

Dr Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, has denied changing his mind on the issue of Ciskeian independence.

For years Dr Sebe spoke out strongly against the idea of independence, but now, when the Quail Commission has described independence as "unattractive" he has decided to opt for it.

"I did not change my mind," he said. "We are only following the recom-

Ciskei has just confounded many political observers by opting for independence. Chief Minister Lennox Sebe spoke about the decision — and other crucial issues — in an exclusive interview in Zwelitsha with Star reporter MARGARET WHIBLEY.

mendations of the Quail Commission.

"We are still negotiating on some of the ticklish recommendations that were made, such as the question of citizenship.

These include Ciskeians having a choice of citizenship, South Africa relinquishing the right to deport Ciskeians who have chosen South African citizenship and South Africa agreeing to provide financial aid.

Another of the recommendations is that the South African Government stop regretting people in an already overpopulated Ciskei.



The Chief Minister, Dr Sebe.

## Protest deputation accused of incitement

The recent deputation to Pretoria to protest against the incorporation of King William's Town into the Ciskei has been accused of incitement by Dr Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei.

"It is a great pity that this should have happened when the issue is so sensitive," Dr Sebe said.

"All the businessmen here are supported by the buying power of the blacks. Yet they say things that can create problems. If they want King for the whites, why not only accept white money?"

"It grieves me when people are so shortsighted," he said.

"These whites have

brought civilisation — but also misunderstanding and disaster."

Mr Henry Hutton, Town Clerk and member of the deputation that went to Pretoria, expressed the fear that if the town was incorporated business would stagnate and ultimately go under.

"This is the norm in all the other homelands, so why should the Ciskei be an exception," he asked.

Public sittings will be held in King William's Town on January 19 and 20 to hear objections to the incorporation of the town.

A leading King William's Town attorney sharply criticised the attitude of the council, describing it as "childish hysteria."

## 'Better education will end militancy'

Students with low social and economic backgrounds are "sitting ducks" when it comes to militant agitators, said Dr Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei.

Speaking on education in the Ciskei, Dr Sebe said his Government had taken great strides in improving standards.

"We recently made a study of education and improvements have been introduced," he said. "Despite a minimum budget the quality of schools has improved.

"It can be proved that in schools where we made improvements there have been fewer problems."

Dr Sebe outlined his economic priorities after independence.

"I plan an all-out onslaught on agriculture," he said. "If we provide people with shelter and food, agriculture will work because it generates capital and jobs.

"I plan to use everyone in the Border region, irrespective of colour or creed, to uplift the standard of living and prevent the exodus of whites which has been so disastrous elsewhere."

Mr Henry Hutton, town clerk of King William's Town, said in an interview that the exodus of whites from the area was inevitable.

"It has already started," he said.



DO

# Pebco: poll futile

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2/12/60

**NEW BRIGHTON** — The Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) yesterday condemned Thursday's referendum on Ciskei independence.

Pebco said the referendum was an exercise in futility which was not in the interests of the majority of the people of South Africa.

"Pebco believes in a unitary system of government where all racial groups are fully represented. The persistence by the government with the referendum is indicative of its unwillingness to make meaningful changes which will be locally and internationally acceptable.

"We believe our energies could be far more usefully employed if we concentrated on a national convention of political parties, including the exiled, banned and imprisoned leaders, who could work out a constitutionally acceptable future for all South Africa."

Neither the urban representative of the Ciskei Government in Port Elizabeth, Mr E. L. Roqoza, or the chairman of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, who is also a member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly for Zwelitsha, Mr W. M. Maku, was available for comment. — DDR.



# Sebe confident of overwhelming 'yes'

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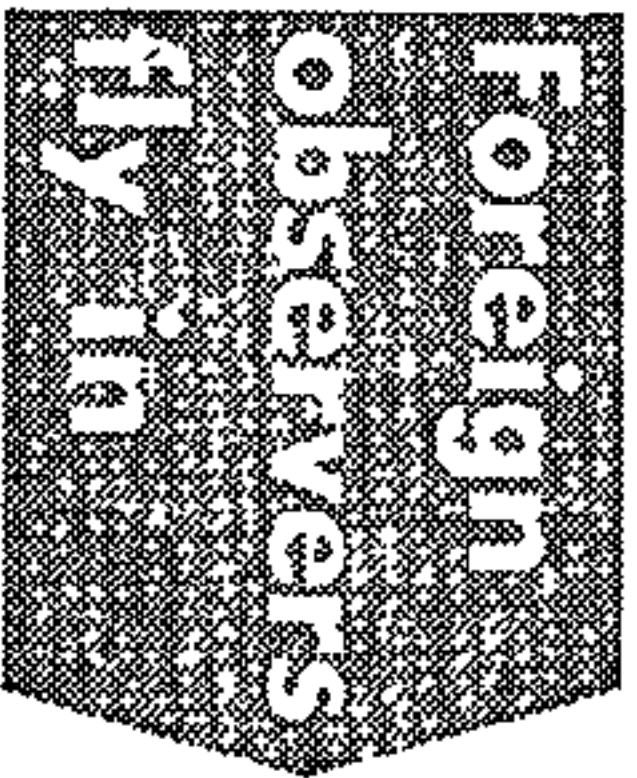
ZWELITSHA — Tomorrow the Ciskei becomes the first South African homeland to hold a referendum on independence.

When polling stations in the Ciskei and Magistrate's Courts and other points in white South Africa close at 9 pm tomorrow more than 500 000 registered voters will have voted "yes" or "no" to independence.

The Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, is confident of an overwhelming "yes" vote.

He bases this on several meetings with his people in recent months.

At one of these, he addressed about 80 000 people at Ntaba Kandoda, about 50 km north-west of



King William's Town, where he is believed to have been given a vociferous go-ahead on the independence issue.

On that day he spelled out the conditions under which the Ciskei would opt for independence.

They were that, the South African Government would undertake to include all land between

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN—The Ciskei Government has brought four foreign observers to South Africa to monitor the territory's independence referendum tomorrow. They are:

Mr Francis Lacost, a retired French ambassador and former representative of the United Nations Secretary-General. He acted as observer at the

1978 SWA/Namibia elections, Dr Claud Roux, a doctor of law and French MP since 1958 who chairs the French African Friendship Group; Professor Robert Hutchinson of the London School of Economics and Mr John Sears, a one-time manager of Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign. Twenty-three foreign journalists are also expected in the Ciskei.

the Great Fish and Great Kei rivers, and enter into a confederal agreement when the homeland became independent.

The confederal agreement would confer the right of citizenship on all Ciskeians resident within the confederation as well as the right to obtain and hold a confederation passport.

Should the confeder-

tion dissolve, or should South Africa withdraw from it at any time, or for whatever reason, the Ciskei should be granted the option of either reverting to its present self-governing status or to assume independence.

Chief Sebe said the Ciskei also sought inclusion in the rand monetary area and membership of the

South African Customs Union.

Before the Ciskei opted for independence, South Africa would also have to guarantee to negotiate a formula for the provision of development aid "on an indefinite basis."

On that not Sunday, speaker after speaker poured praises on the head of Chief Sebe and

gave him a mandate to carry on with independence negotiations.

Chief Sebe yesterday appealed to Ciskeians to "wake up and vote yes" in the homeland's independence referendum.

In a statement released in Zwelitsha he said the Ciskei was on the verge of another "momentous" election.

"The time is approaching when we must pass judgment on an important issue, which is not just our privilege as citizens but is also our obligation."

Chief Sebe said that of all the choices facing the Ciskeian nation, none could compare in importance with the task of making the Ciskei a better place. — Sapa.

3/12/54 argus (105)

# Ciskei education improved, says Sebe

Argus Correspondent

ZWELITSHA.—Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of Ciskei, said here that his government had made great strides in improving education.

He said: 'In spite of a minimum budget the quality of schools has been improved.'

'It can be proved that in the schools where we made these improvements there have been fewer problems.'

Chief Sebe outlined his economic priorities after independence.

'I plan an all out onslaught on agriculture', he said.

'If we provide the people with shelter and food, agriculture will work, because it generates capital and jobs.'

**WHITES**

'I plan to make everyone in the border region, irrespective of colour and creed, try to uplift the standard of living and to prevent the exodus of whites which has been so disastrous elsewhere.'

Mr Hendry Hutton, town clerk of King William's Town, said in an interview that the exodus of whites from the area was inevitable.

'It has already started,' he said.

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generated by a comparison of actual employment that would be needed if all the able bodied South African men and women were engaged in full-time employment (Kantor, 1980: 143). Yet such people may choose not to work ('choose to be unemployed' is Kantor's phrase) 'in order to search for jobs or to wait for something better to turn up' (Kantor, 1980: 106); these people appear in unemployment statistics but in no sense constitute an unemployment problem. The first assertion is simply not true - no study has postulated economic activity rates of close to 100% for adult men or women as a whole, though my study (Simkins, 1978a) has them close to 100% for men between 25-44. The rates used are probably a bit too high, yet men in this age group have passed the age where education is a reason for economic inactivity and not yet reached retirement age, so one would expect activity rates to be high. Of course, what is at stake here is the extent to which labour supply depends on wage rate. To rely on rigid economic activity rates to arrive at estimates of the labour supply over a period when wage rates have changed is to make assumptions which



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Knight, 1977:

PREPARATIONS for Ciskeian voters living in Cape Town are complete, a spokesman for the Department of Co-operation and Development said today.  
Seven polling stations and a mobile unit will be open from 7 am to 9 pm for those eligible to vote in the Ciskeian independence referendum on Thursday, he said.  
Two polling stations will be in Langa, two in Guguletu, one in Nyanga, one in Mfuleni, and one at the department's offices in First Street, Observatory.  
The stations in Langa will be at the Commissio-

# Polling stations ready for Ciskeians

*Argus 2/12/80*

ners' Court and Moshesh school. In Guguletu they will be at the civic hall and the Luyolo community centre. The others will be

in the Nyanga community centre and Mfuleni community hall.  
Only Ciskeians who had their reference books endorsed last month are eligible to vote, and proof of this must be shown at the polls.  
It is not yet known how many Ciskeians living in Cape Town are on the voters' roll.  
The votes will be counted at the department's offices, but the results will not be released until they have been sent to Ciskei.

that subsistence agriculture should not stand in the way of an adequate wage labour supply, to the point where a very small proportion of Africans are able to obtain (on average) very low incomes from homeland farms.  
'Black migrant workers in South Africa are usually only engaged periodically in employment. These workers account for an important proportion of the total labour force, and at any moment about half the potential migrant labour force is not in employment. (Sadie, 1977) Survey data indicate that, on average, migrant workers spend ten months between jobs of twelve months' duration, and that the period between jobs increases with age (Knight, 1977) (Kantor, 1980: 107). Kantor has misread both his sources here. What Sadie said was, 'But, at least, more than half of the manpower is always at home and available for economic activity in the neighbourhood and in subsistence agriculture it need be, or if there is a desire to so render such services' - in other words - some (an unspecified proportion) of this half are working, too, but not in the modern sector. And Knight derives his conclusion not from 'survey data but from 'the strong assumption that employment and unemployment is shared equally by all homeland men and unemployment takes the form of rest periods

# Sebe sure of a big 'yes' to independence

105  
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ZWELITSHA. — On Thursday the Ciskei becomes the first South African homeland to hold a referendum on independence.

When polling stations close, more than 500 000 registered voters will have had the opportunity to vote "yes" or "no" to independence.

The Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, is confident of an overwhelming "yes" vote. He bases this on several meetings with his people in recent months.

At one of these, he addressed about 80 000 people at Ntaba Kandoda, about 50km north-west of King William's Town, spelling out the conditions under which the Ciskei would opt for independence.

They were that:

- The South African Government undertook to include all land between the Great Fish and Great Kei rivers and enter into a confederal agreement when the homeland became independent;
- The confederal agreement would confer the right of citizenship on all Ciskeians resident within the confederation, as well as the right to obtain and hold a confederation passport;
- Should the confederation dissolve, or should South Africa withdraw from it at any time, or for whatever reason, the Ciskei should be granted the option of either reverting to its

present self-governing status or to assume independence.

Chief Sebe said the Ciskei also sought inclusion in the rand monetary area and membership of the South African Customs Union. Before the Ciskei opted for independence, South Africa would also have to guarantee to negotiate a formula for the provision of development aid "on an indefinite basis".

In August 1978, the Ciskei Cabinet appointed a commission to look into the feasibility of independence. Headed by Professor George Quail, the commission tabled its findings and recommendations in February this year.

"My government has not followed slavishly the Quail Commission report," Chief Sebe said. "We have married some of the recommendations with the aspirations of the Ciskeians."

When Prof Quail repeated at a Press conference in Johannesburg recently that the report had recommended that the Ciskei should not opt for independence unless certain conditions were first met, Chief Sebe said the criticism was intended to harm his government's objective.

He said that by appointing the commission, he had not meant the reigns of his government would be handed over to it. — Sapa.



Trade union man held

(105)  
(139)  
(142)

EAST LONDON — The chairman of the East London branch of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Welile Mzozoyana, has been detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations, the Secretary of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, confirmed yesterday.

Brig Sebe said Mr Mzozoyana was detained on Monday morning for Saawu activities.

Asked how Mr Mzozoyana, could be detained for Saawu activities, he said: "The terminology may be different, but the two unions are interwoven in their operations."

Mr Mzozoyana was one of 13 trade union officials arrested at the entrance to Mdantsane on November 7. They were released on November 12.

A spokesman for the African Food and Canning Workers' Union headquarters in Cape Town said: "One can only suppose Mr Mzozoyana's detention is part of the continuing harassment of trade unionists."

The union's branch secretary here, Mr Bonisile Norushe, has been in detention since June. He was detained by the South African Police under the General Laws Amendment Act and later under the Terrorism Act.

— DDR

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Linear programming  
Contract costing  
Capital budgeting  
Cash budgets

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KEY TO COSTING TUTORIALS

# Sebe

## urges

## yes

## vote

155  
110  
3/2/70

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Chief Minister L. L. Sebe has made a final plea to Ciskeians to register an unqualified "yes" in tomorrow's referendum, to set the wheels in motion towards independence.

In a statement released at Zwelitsha yesterday, Chief Sebe said it was not just a privilege for Ciskeian voters "to pass judgment on an important issue" but also an obligation on them "and on the quality of our decisions largely depends the quality of our government."

He said: "Of all the questions which can come before the Ciskeian nation there is none which can compare in importance with the great central task of leaving this country of ours an even better place for our descendants than it is for us."

He said what mattered in the issue of a referendum was making the right decision "which, in the case of the referendum, is an unqualified yes."

"It is my duty as your leader to exhort you to exercise this undoubted right responsibly, for your future, for our nation's future, for our children's future and for their children's future," he said.

A light aircraft flew low over Mdantsane yesterday distributing leaflets calling on Ciskeians to vote "Yes" in the referendum.

Also beamed from the aircraft was a personal message from Chief Sebe to Ciskeians to give his government a strong mandate to go for independence.

It was learnt that the aircraft which also distributed the leaflets in the Zwelitsha district earlier in the day, had been working in the Ciskei since the beginning of last week.

On Thursday the aircraft worked in the Cathcart and Stutterheim districts and concentrated on the Hewu-Thornhill-Sada region on Friday, Saturday and Monday. — DDR.

Observers — Page 5.

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# Four to observe referendum vote

105  
100 3/12/80

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— Four independent observers are to monitor Ciskei's independence referendum tomorrow.

One of the observers is Mr John Sears, at one time President-elect Ronald Reagan's campaign manager and still a top political figure in the US.

The others are Mr Francis Lacoste and Dr Laud Roux, both Frenchmen, and Professor Robert Hutchinson from England.

"Mr Lacoste is a retired French ambassador and a former special representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations," Chief L. W. Maqoma, Minister of the Interior, said in a statement yesterday.

He said the Frenchman headed the emergency mission to Bangladesh on behalf of the United

Nations and was an observer in the South West Africa elections in 1978.

Dr Roux, a doctor of laws and a French MP since 1958, is also chairman of a French-African friendship group. Professor Hutchinson, of the London School of Economics, is an internationally recognised political scientist.

Chief Maqoma said: "These observers will be given a free hand to examine any aspects of the referendum which they feel needs to be looked into."

The observers will arrive in the Ciskei today and will be taken on a study tour of the main areas of development in the homeland.

Journalists who will cover the referendum will be given a briefing by

Chief Maqoma at Zwelitsha this afternoon and Chief Minister Lennox Sebe will face the press at a conference tomorrow afternoon.

The Department of the Interior, which has arranged the referendum, also disclosed yesterday that a larger number of polling stations had had to be created for the referendum.

"Almost every village has a polling station, while every zone in the townships also has its own polling station," Mr K. B. Tabata, Secretary for the Interior, said.

There are more polling stations for the referendum than have been used for Ciskei elections because the referendum is a one-day affair. Elections in the homeland take place over at least four days. — DDR.

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# Town's HNP votes to fight joining Ciskei

4/12/80  
 105  
 STAYC



Mr Jaap Marais . . . "We owe blacks nothing."

**By Hannes Ferguson**  
**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
 —The "white backlash" against the South African Government gained momentum at King William's Town last night, when about 300 people attending a public meeting of the newly established local Herstigte Nasionale Party branch gave a vote of no confidence in the Government and resolved to fight for a white referendum on the town's possible incorporation into Ciskei.

The meeting in the town hall was arranged on the eve of today's Ciskei in-

dependence elections and was billed as a meeting "to protest against the give-away."

The HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, condemned the Government. The people united in an undertaking to fight incorporation with all their power. Among them were many former National Party supporters. Many English-speaking people also attended.

The 2½-hour speech was relayed outside the hall and many in the streets heard Mr Marais say Government policy would lead to black majority rule.

The motion read:

- The meeting rejects the proposed incorporation of King William's Town into Ciskei.
- There are no grounds for this incorporation.
- A referendum of whites in King William's Town is demanded before Mr Hennie van der Walt visits the town in January to hear representations to his commission.
- Incorporation will be fought.
- For that purpose, an action committee of five will be established.



# Ciskeians vote for independence

*Argus files* 105

CISKEIAN voters are pleased that they will be able to participate in today's independence referendum, a number of Ciskeian construction workers working in Cape Town said yesterday.

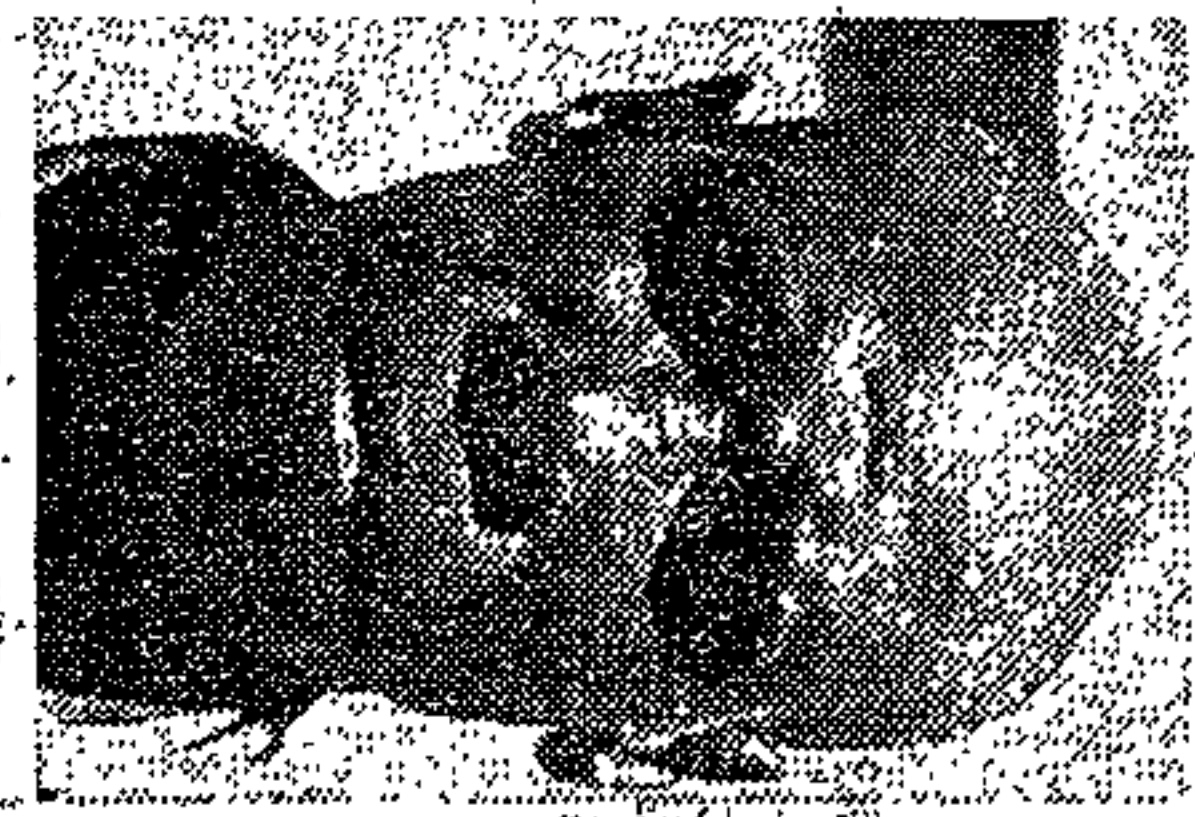
The men, interviewed in a random survey by 'The Argus', said they were looking forward to going to the polls.

All of them said they were in favour of independence and that their family and friends in the territory shared their feelings.

'My wife and mother are both going to vote for independence,' said Mr Nkosenmtu Ndhnisa, who arrived in the city last week.

'Independence is a good thing,' said Mr Solomon Mawu, who is working out a 12-month contract in Cape Town.

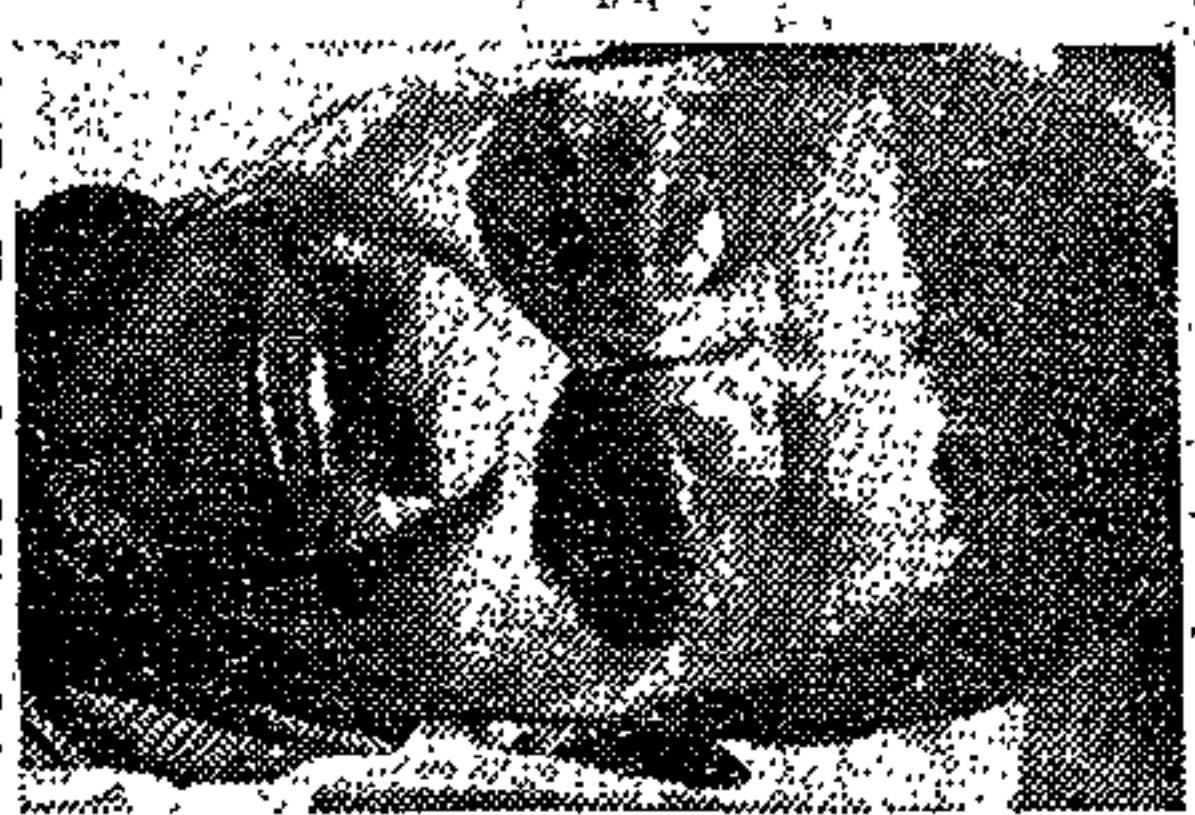
Ciskeian Mr Biko Hamilton told 'The Argus' that he wanted to vote, and Mr Diliza Santi said that he



MR Lindhous Sobekura... for independence.



MR Biko Hamilton wants to vote.



MR Enoch Mtumbi... voting 'yes'.



MR DILIZA SANTI... wants independence.



MR N KLAAS... voting for independence.



MR Welcome Ngeti... mother also voting.

his mother and his sisters would all vote for independence. Seven polling stations and one mobile unit will be open in the city until 9 pm for registered voters.

with the necessary endorsement in their reference books. About 500 000 Ciskeians, both inside and outside the territory, are registered to vote in a referendum

termed by its opponents a farce and an attempt to introduce a semblance of democracy although the end result is known in advance.

Urban	2 920	351	43 096	63	756	2	200
Rural	1 218	235	13 746	41	413	10 732	183 293
Homeland	239 138	844	1 462	13	147	1 424	445 792
TOTAL	134 949	685	17 622	168	1 510	10 760	290 245
TOTAL M & F	378 225	2 115	75 926	285	2 826	46 194	1 359 218
% Female	1 590 670	588 200	567 200	29 918	286 400	281 300	4 742 170
	23,8	0,4	13,4	1,0	1,0	16,4	28,7

CAUTION STICK  
Ciskei polling  
begins today (105)

Own Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
— More than 1 000 polling  
stations throughout South  
Africa opened at 7 am  
today for the one-day  
referendum to decide on  
Ciskeian independence.

Of the 503 000 regis-  
tered Ciskeian voters,  
296 000 are outside the  
territory and will be able  
to cast their votes at  
magistrate's or commis-  
sioner's offices throughout  
South Africa. More than  
2 000 000 Ciskeian Xhósas  
are estimated to be inside  
and outside the territory.



# Liquor outlets in Ciskei closed today

165  
20  
4/19/80

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — All liquor outlets in the Ciskei will be closed today during the independence referendum, when almost 630 353 registered voters will be expected to vote on whether the homeland should opt for independence or not.

About 295 144 of the voters are resident outside the Ciskei and will vote, mostly, at commissioners' offices of the Department of Co-operation and Development.

The referendum was recommended by the Quail Commission as one of the conditions the Ciskei Government had to satisfy before it could consider acceptance of independence.

Ciskei's Minister of Interior, Chief Lent Maqoma, said at a press briefing at Zwelitsha yesterday 1 058 polling stations had been created in the Ciskei and South Africa.

There were 463 Ciskei polling stations, and all the stations had been situated at various strategic positions "to enable voters to exercise their choice without them having to travel too far to

do so," Chief Maqoma said.

The polls would be open from 7 am to 9 pm but there were areas where there were very few voters.

"At these polling stations the hours of attendance will be 8 am to 1 pm and 2 pm to 4.30 pm," he said.

The voting infrastructure differs from one polling stations to the next.

At Zwelitsha there are six polling stations which will be manned by 20 polling officers, each of whom will be assisted by two witnesses and at least one agent.

The biggest number of polling officers will be at the communal hall, where four will do duty.

The other polling stations are at the schools Nobantu (Zone 2), Zwelitsha (Zone 7), Ngqika (Zone 8) and Nzondelelo (Zone 9), while voters at Zone 10 will be catered for at the magistrate's office.

At the Ciskei's other major centre, Mdantsane, there will be a polling station for each of the 13

zones and one at the magistrate's office.

Voters at Zone 3 will cast their votes at the civic hall, while polling stations in the other zones are the schools Zukisa, Mzingisi, Pambili, Lunga, Dumisa, Zamani, Isibane, Dicson, Dyani, Fikile Gaushe, Fikile, Bengu and Nowonga.

There will be two polling stations at Dimbaza, Metele School and Dimbaza School, where three polling officers and their helpers, will be on duty in each.

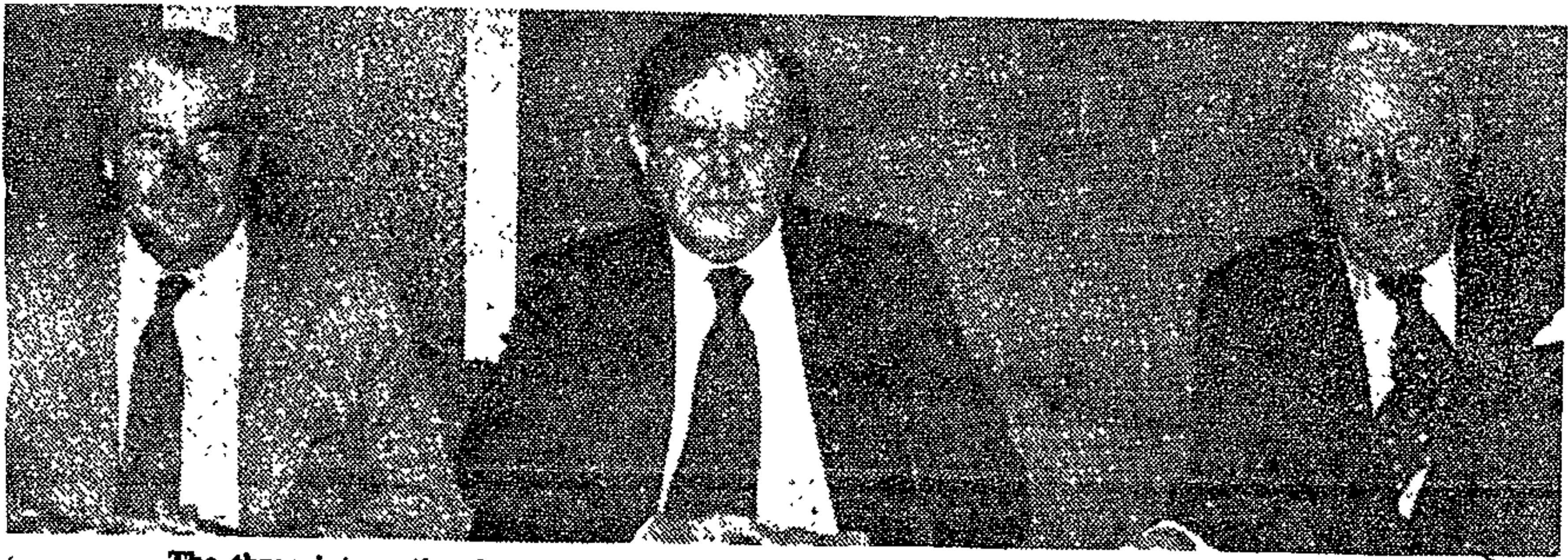
In East London voters will vote at the Duncan Village Community Centre and at the Co-operation and Development Commissioner's office, where voters will also go to in King William's Town. — DDR.

## Sowetans to vote

**JOHANNESBURG** — Ciskeians living in Soweto will also be able to vote in today's referendum.

Three polling stations — two in Soweto and the third in Johannesburg — will be open from 7 am to 9 pm to allow the estimated 800 registered Ciskeians to vote. — DDC.





The three international observers from left: Dr Laud Roux, Professor Robert Hutchinson, and Mr Francis Lacoste, at yesterday's news conference in Zwelltsha.

## Observers' role queried

105  
4/12/80

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — The position of the four independent observers, who have been invited to monitor today's independence referendum, was not clearly defined yesterday even after a barrage of questions from foreign and local journalists.

The questions were asked after a briefing on the referendum by Chief L. W. Maqoma, Ciskei's Minister of Interior, held at the Ciskei Legislative Assembly hall.

Three of the observers, Mr Francis Lacoste and Dr

Claud Roux, both from France and Professor Robert Hutchinson, from England, also attended the briefing.

The fourth observer, Mr John Sears, from America, will arrive today.

Chief Maqoma said the observers would be given "a free hand" to do as they pleased regarding the referendum.

When asked if the observers would file a report on the conduct of the referendum, Chief Maqoma kept on saying they would do as they pleased.

Chief Maqoma did not

give specific answers to questions whether the observers represented any governments or nations.

He said a 'blanket' invitation was issued to anyone who wanted to observe the referendum.

It seemed at least one of the observers, Prof Hutchinson, was also not too sure of his position when asked for comment.

He said he would at least write a report which he hoped would be used in some publication, but he did not name any publication.

He also said his report would be available to anyone and any organisation interested.

Prof Hutchinson said his invitation to observe the referendum was communicated to him through the South African Embassy in London. He said there were no strings attached to the invitation 'and I represent nobody here'.

Chief Maqoma said the observers would be flown in a helicopter to whatever polling stations they wanted to visit in the Ciskei. — DDR.



# Call to aid sick and aged to vote

4/12/80  
DD  
105

**NEW BRIGHTON** — The urban representative of the Ciskei Government here, Mr E. L. Roqoza, appealed to members of the Ciskei Urban Board throughout the Eastern Cape yesterday to assist the sick, aged and all those unable to reach the polling stations in today's independence referendum.

Mr Roqoza said the

referendum was a question of life and death to the Ciskei nation.

He appealed to Ciskeians to exercise their rights and respond to the clarion call by the leader of the Ciskei, Chief L. L. Sebe, to set the wheels in motion towards independence.

He appealed to farmers in the areas of Bradville

and Radene to allow their workers to vote today as there were many Ciskei voters in that area.

In Kirkwood, polling stations are at the following points: commissioner's office, Brountrog location, Mr D. Nel's farm, (West Bank), Mr Pienaar's trading store, Summer'sville Service Station.

In East London, Mr Roqoza said there were additional polling stations at Cove Ridge farm.

Another special request was made to all employers in the Dordrecht districts of Swampoort, Kleinville, Watervaal, Raaisson and Nooigedacht to allow their workers off to vote.

Polling stations in the Port Elizabeth areas are: Centenary Hall, War Memorial Hall, Daku Hall, YMCA Hall in Zwide, Africa House, Victory Hall (Walmer), Cripple Care Hall, Greenbushes, Fitchat Corner, Charles City Garden, Coega, Railway compound and Kwazakhele single men's quarters hostel.

Voting starts at 7 am and ends at 9 pm. — DDR.

4/12/60 DD

# Assurance on Ciskei voting

105

ZWELITSHA — The Ciskei Government yesterday assured Ciskeians who did not vote in today's referendum they would not be victimised later.

The assurance was given by Chief L. W. Maqoma, Minister of Interior.

Chief Maqoma said at a press briefing that polling officers would stamp the voter's identity document and stamp or write the date across it to ensure that voters did not vote again at another polling booth.

He was asked whether this procedure was not "undue influence" which would intimidate all registered voters into casting their votes "for fear of subsequent victimisation".

He assured that there would be no victimisation and no discrimination would be exercised against people who did not have the mark in their

books in cases where the holders sought employment at labour bureaus.

Chief Maqoma also revealed that apart from the polling officer and two witnesses in each polling station there would be another 'duly appointed officer' whom he called an agent.

He said the agents would ensure procedure in the polling station was always followed "to ensure fairness in the conduct of the referendum".

Chief Maqoma said no voters' roll would be used for the referendum but people wishing to vote must satisfy the polling officers that they qualified to vote by producing their identity documents showing they were registered voters.

Chief Maqoma said the referendum result, not expected for at least ten days, would be based on a simple majority. — DDR.

More details, page 2.



A tragedy is unfolding in the Eastern Cape's Hogsback holiday resort area because a dent in a boundary line is not wanted.

It is not a tragedy involving people — although scores of property-owners and thousands of holiday-makers are affected.

What is going to the all is an ecological, botanical and watershed area which is an important part of the natural heritage of South Africans of all races.

Situated at the western end of the historic Amatola Mountains — centre of savage fighting between whites and blacks in the last century — Hogsback's residential area, river sponges, natural forests and State plantations constitute a white "peninsula" sticking into Ciskeian territory.

In 1977 the peninsula was consolidated with the Athcart district, which is a turn part of the white corridor between the Ciskei and Transkei terminating on the coast at East London.

The Van der Walt Commission decided that this peninsula protruding inconveniently into the Ciskei must go. It spilt the look of the map. A new boundary line north of Hogsback was drawn to eliminate the dent.

We at Hogsback believe the people who drew this line have no idea of what they are cutting off from

### A personal view-point on the threat he sees looming to the botanical treasure of the Hogsback by F. W. HOLLIDAY, a former journalist who has been living at the Hogsback since 1970.

the rest of the Republic.

We are not merely an obtruding little tract of land which spoils the look of the Ciskei map. But the Greiff Commission — the regional offshoot of the Van der Walt Commission — did not bother to check on that when they were here. They simply had a quick cup of tea at the local hotel. They looked at nothing, asked no questions, disappeared.

The Hogsback "peninsula" includes about 1,500 acres of natural Amatola forest still under the control of the South African Government, and about 20,000 acres of watershed embracing the sponges of the Tyume and Kijuplaat Rivers. Adding to the botanical value of the area are the privately-owned gardens which have been developed over decades by dedicated horticulturists.

Concentrated in this little bit of the Republic are ecological, botanical and water features whose im-

portance is out of all proportion to the smallness of the area.

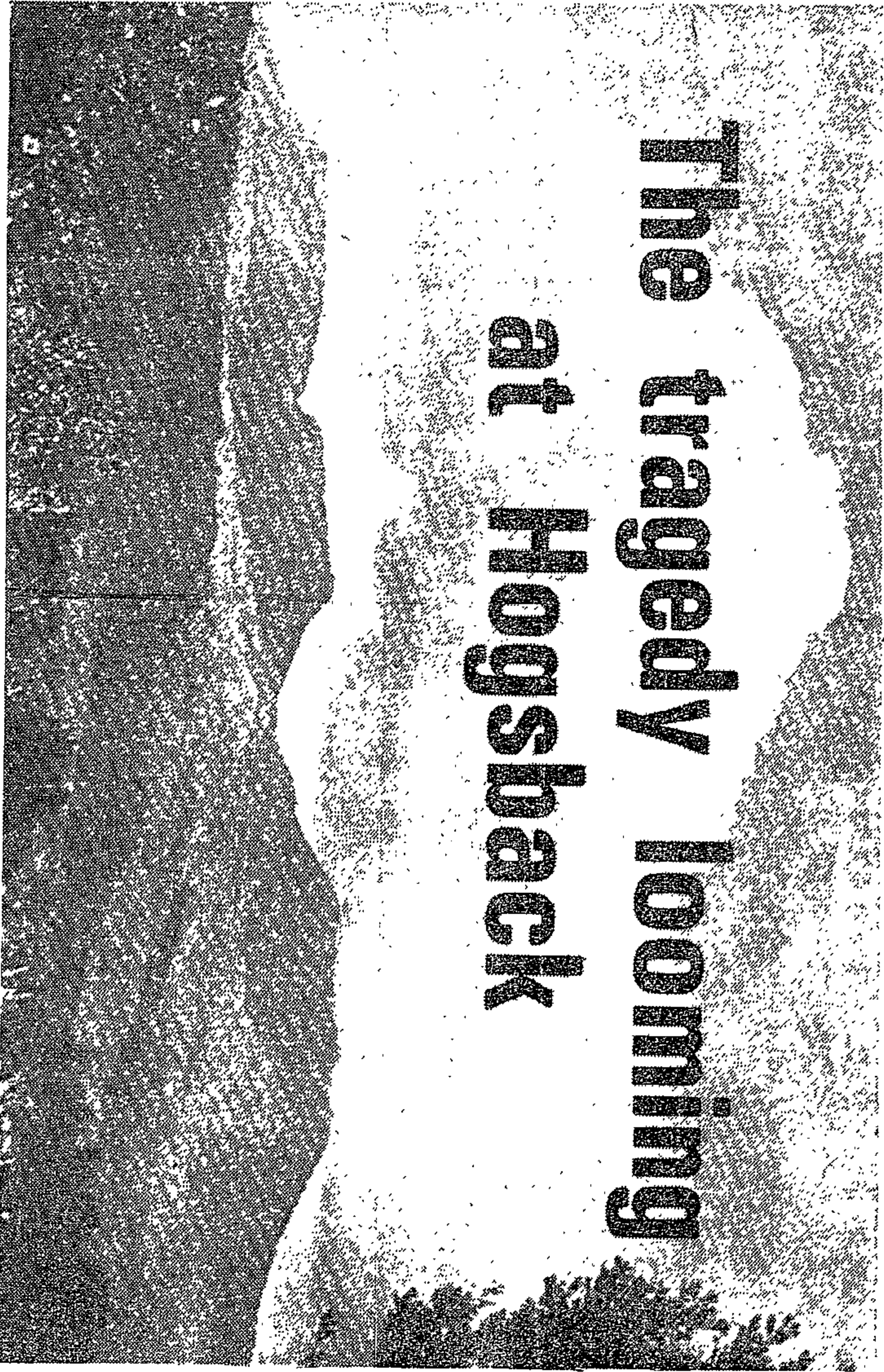
They require careful conservation — but the new boundary line will put them beyond the reach of those most competent to safeguard them.

Government spokesmen say the new line is "only a proposal" which can be contested. But we Hogsback yokels have some good connections. They say the moving of the boundary is a foregone conclusion, part of a package deal concluded months ago between the South African and Ciskeian Governments as a prelude to the attaining of independence by the Ciskei. Hogsback's inclusion in the Ciskei is, they believe, inevitable.

With the odds appearing to be almost totally against them, white property-owners at Hogsback have nevertheless formed an Action Committee to fight for the retention of Hogsback as an integral part of the Republic.

Owning about 150 properties with a rateable valuation exceeding R2 300 000 and a fair market value probably in excess of R6 000 000, self-interest dictates that they must try to keep Hogsback in the Republic.

But self-interest is not their only reason for opposing incorporation in the Ciskei. To their everlasting credit, many Hogsback people rate the fate of the natural forests and the watershed as of equal concern.



# The tragedy looming at Hogsback

They believe that if we here make no positive effort to save the glory of the high country, no one outside will be able to do it — and future generations will be the losers.

An important element of the dilemma facing Hogsback is racial feeling. Our wish to remain in the Republic will be

interpreted in some quarters as being essentially a wish to remain a white area. The most logical arguments against incorporation will be clouded by this factor: "Whatever you argue, you are really saying you don't want to

There are in fact some people here who bitterly resent the idea of their mountain paradise being handed over to the blacks. But among most whites there has long been an abiding goodwill towards blacks which is in evidence every day. They

status quo without conferring any new benefit on the Ciskei. I know the detailed arguments, and they are sound. But it is doubtful whether they will be decisive against the political expediency of

Creator for all to exploit. The trees, plants and wildlife are there to be taken or hunted freely by all.

Man-made plantations, on the other hand, are recognised as being the property of some person or authority which must not be tampered with

### Gift

"This sorry story — ex-plot forests, respect plantations — is part of the history of all races," a spokesman said. "The whites of South Africa are by no means blameless in this respect. But whereas whites have learnt the hard way that it is essential to conserve natural forests and the watershed areas usually associated with them, and are now doing so in the Republic through legislative and voluntary effort, blacks generally still look upon the forests as the gift of the Creator. They still have to learn what unheeding exploitation of that gift will cost their country and their people in the long run.

"So it is a regrettable fact that it can truly be said that any natural forest or watershed area which comes under black control is almost certainly doomed."

The conservationists say the Ciskei Government's record of forestal conservation is, not surprisingly in the light of black tradition, a dismal one. Such conservation legislation as exists is effective on paper but not in practice.

forests under Ciskeian control are being devastated — and with them, watersheds and sponges.

### Contrast

The conservationists say that in time the black's attitude to natural forests will change — it always does as an evolving society becomes more enlightened — but for the present the hard reality is that the black man is an uncomprehending destroyer of natural forests.

As long as this attitude persists, say the conservationists, the remaining unspoilt Amatola forestal areas and sponges of Prite, Evelyn Valley and Hogsback should not come under Ciskeian control as the Van der Walt Commission proposes.

What is happening in the black sectors of the Amatola Mountains is in marked contrast with the situation at Hogsback. Every white resident here is keenly aware of the need to conserve not only the natural forests, but every single facet of the local-natural environment.

At the official level, there is a record of effective conservation of our 21 500 acres of watershed and natural forestal area which goes back a century. But even the people of Hogsback do not, in general, realise just how rich is the botanical treasure about them. The Hogsback, Prite and Evelyn Valley forestal areas — and at one time all of the Amatola forests

AP 180  
SPD

105

cxhva

for Frances  
Moore



reasons for incorporating Hogsback into the Ciskei. But how can they oppose it without appearing to be anti-black racists?

They are mindful that if their case fails they will have to live under a black government. And cheek by jowl with the black followers of the government.

The racial dilemma arises against the background of what they have heard of incidents in the Transkei and in black territories to the north of the Republic. The temptation to shout that they do not want to live under black rule is almost irresistible.

Well-informed observers discount local white reservations about living under Ciskeian rule.

## Toleration

These sources say the Ciskeian Government is committed to a policy of multi-racialism and has clearly demonstrated its wish to make white residents feel at home in the Ciskei. This policy can be expected to endure long into the future.

They say comparisons with the Transkei are meaningless. The Transkei differs radically in philosophy from the Ciskei. The Transkeian principle of "Black power" merely tolerates the presence of whites as a necessary evil.

Most of us realise that the 142-odd permanent white residents of Hogsback are probably regarded as being expendable in the execution of the grand plan. A plea to keep Hogsback white is unlikely to carry weight with the Van der Walt Commission, the South African Government, or the Ciskeian Government.

If a plea for preserving our white identity would be both racially provocative and fruitless in practice, what other argument can fairly be put for the retention of Hogsback in the Republic?

A compelling claim could be that the Ciskei will not gain anything from incorporating Hogsback which is not already available to it, so why incorporate Hogsback?

Conservationists say the Hogsback area's standing as a prime watershed area of outstanding ecological and botanical importance offers ground for the strongest argument in favour of the "peninsula" being retained in the Republic.

For here the issue is not the self-interest of Hogsback's white property-owners, but the larger interest of the people generally of the Republic and of the Ciskei.

Ironically, the conservationists' case has a racial base. It is that any watershed or natural forestal area which comes under black control is faced with ruination.

The conservationists say this is because black people regard the natural forests of the mountains — vital components of watershed and sponge areas — as gifts of the

sources say, is permitting sawmillers to extract from the Amatola forests yellowwood trees and indigenous hardwood trees on a scale which horrifies forestry and conservation experts. It is permitting its citizens to make inroads into these forests for their own purposes which are exterminating wildlife, denuding mountain slopes, accelerating soil erosion, and damaging watersheds.

Commercial operators in the region are said to boast openly of the huge stocks of precious indigenous woods they have in store, and of the unlimited number of trees still available to them.

Traditional black attitudes apart, the main reason for this frightening exploitation of the Amatola forests is that the wood taken out feeds industries set up to provide job opportunities for the people.

This is the old, old story of short-sighted exploitation for immediate financial gain. The Amatola

embrace a botanical richness unparalleled in Southern Africa.

The conservationists say that while arguments of self-interest or white identity may not gain much support for Hogsback's case, the argument for safeguarding the Hogsback watershed and our little bit of the remaining Amatola forestal areas deserves to be backed to the hilt by thinking people everywhere.

They say the people of Hogsback can therefore justifiably plead on conservation grounds that the Hogsback "peninsula" should remain an integral part of the Republic for at least as long as the white corridor exists.

Should the white corridor eventually be absorbed in the Ciskei, the people of the Ciskei may, by then have learnt that the Creator's gift is one to be cherished for ever.

Meanwhile the streams of Hogsback will flow, the voiceless trees will live.

5/12/80

105

## Expediency

Coming from a community which is demonstrably well disposed towards blacks, and backed by logical arguments free of racial bias, this approach can show that incorporation will involve a needless and painful disruption of the



# Black town's white mayor pleads: Leave the be

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Whether the outcome of the Ciskei independence referendum today, at least one white couple have decided not to budge from the little town of Frankfort and its population of about 3,000 blacks.

Mr Deuwie Peter is Mayor of Frankfort and vice-principal of the Zeleni High School. He was born in the area and he and his wife, Joyce, have been living in Frankfort since 1935.

"I want to live and die in Frankfort," he said. "If I can't stay here, there is no future for me."

Mr Peter is not worried about the outcome of the referendum. He said he was seconded to the area by the Ciskei Department of Education and the people needed him and his wife.

"I can still play a valuable role as a teacher and in local government for quite a few years. Moreover, the blacks do not want us to leave."

"The parents' committee at my school has made representations to the Ciskei government to retain my services as an Afrikaans teacher because there is no one to take my place."

What worries him, however, is the fact that he has appeared in court three times for living in Frankfort illegally as the town was incorporated into the Ciskei a year ago.

On the last occasion he was found guilty of unlawfully occupying property of the South African Development Trust. He was given a suspended sentence and ordered to leave Frankfort before the end of March next year.

But he intends taking up the matter with the relevant Minister, Dr Piet Koorhof, or the Minister of Education, Dr Ferdie Hartzberg.

Mr Peter said he and his wife were living peacefully in Frankfort even though they were the only whites in the area. He said he had fought tooth and nail against the town being incorporated in the Ciskei and had let numerous delegates which had negotiated the matter.

"However, I have now resigned myself to the situation and have decided to throw in my lot in the interests of the black people. The same obligation applies to whites living in King William's Town, should the town be incorporated."

He said he expected no problems in an independent Ciskei under the leadership of Chief Lennox Sebe. His government would see to it that the way of life of whites in King William's Town would not change drastically overnight.

Mrs Peter is everything from an advisor to a nursemaid to the black community in Frankfort, who use her telephone and watch television at her home.

She said they liked Dallas and High Chapel, but could not stop talking about Heidi and Rich Man, Poor Man, SAPA.

TABLE 13: CAPITAL-OUTPUT RATIOS, 1971, 1976 AND 1978

a) All Sectors: K,Y measured in millions of rand, 1970 prices)

	1971		1976		1978		1970 prices	
	K	Y	K	Y	K	Y	K	Y
Manufacturing	174	2 182	178	1 702	4 726	6 479	7 545	30 274
Electricity	847	329	576	1 912	1 215	1 520	1 821	12 543
Construction	11	6,63	0,31	0,89	3,89	4,26	4,14	2,41
Commerce	246	3 615	231	2 468	7 613	8 868	12 027	45 541
Transport etc	342	507	591	2 420	1 801	1 867	2 418	15 554
Finance	51	7,13	0,39	1,02	4,23	4,75	4,97	2,93
Services	0	7,5	25,8	14,6	8,7	11,5	20,0	21,6
All								

**Ciskei: 7 000 vote in city**

*57/2/80*  
*(105)*

There were nearly 1 000 voters at the polling station at the Langa Commissioners' Court, Mr W Fourie, a magistrate, said today.

The final results of the voting in Cape Town will not be released until they have been sent to Ciskei.

From Zwelitsha Sapa reports that an official Ciskei spokesman said there had been a more than 80 percent poll in the homeland.

He said the turnout in the larger centres had been 'excellent'.

In Johannesburg not many Ciskeians cast their votes, while at other polling stations in the Eastern Cape outside the Ciskei, a 'fair to middling' poll was reported.

● See Page 23

day's Ciskeian independence referendum went off 'very well.'

An assessment of the voting was not available this morning as officials at the Department of Co-operation and Development were still counting the votes.

ALMOST 7 000 Ciskeians living in Cape Town voted in yesterday's independence referendum, the Department of Co-operation and Development's Commissioner for the Peninsula, Mr L J van Heerden, said today.

The percentage poll is not known as the department has no record of the number of eligible voters in the city.

Mr van Heerden said that as far as he knew there were no incidents at any of the seven polling stations and one mobile unit located in various suburbs.

The polls remained open until 9 pm, with an increase in the number of voters at the end of the working day.

Early reports indicate that local voting, in yester-

	1976		Manufacturing		Census		Reserve Bank - 1976		
	K	Y	K	Y	K	Y	K	Y	K/Y
Manufacturing	717	679	849	507	0,84				
Electricity	953	378	1 156	606	0,82				
Construction	292	580	2 116	716	1,08				
Commerce	379	266	1 041	443	0,36				
Transport etc	319	248	564	812	0,57				
Finance	1 595	530	2 163	022	0,74				
Services	6 257	681	7 892	106	0,79				
All									

( 1976 prices ) ( 1970 prices )



# Ciskei referendum

## Allegations of irregularities

EAST LONDON — A number of complaints were made yesterday during the voting in the referendum on the Ciskei's independence question.

One irate reader phoned the Daily Dispatch to say that both his domestic servants who voted at the old post office building in King William's Town, and a colleague, who voted in Zwelitsha, were given ballots already marked "yes" and told to put them in the ballot boxes.

At the Zone 6 Dalukhanyo polling booth in Mdantsane literate voters alleged there were no pencils provided to mark their crosses. They said they then had to go to the tables for illiterate voters where three officials watched them vote.

It was also alleged there that illiterate voters were given papers marked "yes" to put them into ballot boxes.

At the Mdantsane Civic Hall, a voter who complained that he was told "Kwenziwa ku Ewequa" ("Markings are done on ves only") was scolded by a polling officer when the voter asked if this was normal procedure. Polling officers were civil servants and witnesses were CNP members.

Another allegation was the registration of voters had taken place at the garage at the entrance to Mdantsane on Wednesday night although, officially, registration closed on November 9.

It was also claimed that people had been told in Mdantsane that people without registration stamps in their reference books would never get houses and those who had houses would lose them to registered voters.

At Qeto in the Peddie district, reporters observing a polling station saw a ballot box that had not been sealed and had been tied with a ribbon, a roll of which was still on top of the box.

At many polling stations, illiterate voters declared their votes to polling officials who then marked their papers.

It was clear, however, in a number of Hewu polling stations that illiterate voters had definite ideas about their preference which was for a "yes" vote. They pointed to the blue square when the electoral officials asked them what they wanted to vote for.

There were some 600 polling stations outside the Ciskei and 477 inside the territory. — DDR.



An illiterate man is assisted in his vote at the Lower Didamana polling station, Hewu district.

## Big Yes vote seems assured

1010  
516/80  
105

EAST LONDON — Voters in the Ciskei appear to have given a massive Yes vote in yesterday's independence referendum.

At most of the 477 polling stations in the territory voters enthusiastically supported the move to independence with singing, chants and flags.

Although the final result is only expected in about ten days' time, most observers agreed that a large majority of those who went to the polls yesterday appeared to have voted "yes".

But at some polling stations there was less enthusiasm, particularly in the middle of the day.

There were also some complaints of irregularities.

And at the approximately 600 polling stations outside the Ciskei, mostly in the urban areas of South Africa, voting was slow.

However, inside the territory Daily Dispatch reporters went to a number of polling stations and witnessed the scenes outside.

At the Mdantsane Civic Hall, there was a long queue when the polls opened and by mid-morning the 20 election officials there were still dealing with a steady stream of voters, but at the Magistrate's Court there were only 12 people at 9 a.m.

In Zwelitsha, where there was heavy voting, voters were exhorted by loud-hailers, praise-singers and poets.

In the northern part of the Ciskei, in the Hewu district, hundreds of voters queued for long periods, while people, mostly women, sang and waved Ciskei National Independence Party flags.

At the depressed resettlement camp of Oxtun, hundreds of people crowded around the polling booth, while in nearby Sada voters waited outside schools before they cast their votes.

In the Tyume valley in the Alice district in the late morning, groups of women with party flags were singing but at polling booths such as that at

Melane, there were few voters.

In Alice itself, where voters cast their ballots in a court clearly marked on the outside for whites only, there was a steady stream even in the middle of the day.

Voting was also steady at Dimbaza but at Middledrift, once scheduled to be the industrial capital of the Ciskei, and at Debe Nek, there appeared to be little activity.

In the depressed rural areas around Peddie voting got off to a slow start.

At Peddie, few youths were seen and at Kamma's Kraal and Qeto there were no voters at the polling stations. By midday only 261 voters had cast their ballots at Kamma's Kraal.

Nearby at Mgababa, where voters were singing exuberantly, only elderly men and women were seen while youths walked in the streets of the shanty village.

At the Weir Hall in Ginsberg in King William's Town there was very little interest shown in the polling. Ginsberg, where the late Steve Biko lived after his banning in 1973, was a stronghold of the black consciousness movement.

In Queenstown, which is outside the Ciskei, voting started off well but slowed down at about lunch time. By 11 am about 800 people had voted at the four polling booths there.

The Queenstown returning officer, Mr G. Keet, said that about three per cent of the people had been turned away because their papers were not in order.

At a press conference yesterday afternoon, the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, who clearly expects solid backing for the move, said a referendum was "entirely foreign" to the customs of the Xhosa people.

"Where a decision needs to be taken on a national issue, the customary approach is to draw together a representative gathering of people and thrash out the issue involved thoroughly."

"We realise, however, that we live in a world which is orientated towards western ideas of democracy and that a referendum in western terms is seen as being the ultimate way in which the feelings of a people can be tested."

"When we have done this we will be in a position to demand that the world acknowledges that we have done the ultimate in complying with democracy," he said.

More reports  
pages 14, 15



# All detainees will be charged says Sebe

ZWELITSHA — All people detained under the Ciskei's security measures would be charged, the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

Chief Sebe also refused to disclose why a number of trade unionists had been detained in the Ciskei because if he did so "I will be revealing security information".

Answering questions at a press conference here, he said the Ciskei's Proclamation R252 was "a security law, like any security law applied by any other country in the world".

Chief Sebe said that no

detained at present and, in any event, "those who have been detained will be charged".

Those who had been charged had been prosecuted for murder, arson and public violence.

"Who can allow that? Where have you had children murdering a teacher? Burning down shrines and pillars?"

"Those who have been detained will be charged, all of them."

"I am glad they have been arrested for their crimes," he said.

Later, answering the question about trade un-

"If you only knew, you would be surprised."

Among those in detention in the Ciskei at present are: Mr Thozamile Gaweta, national organiser of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu), Mr Sisa Njikelana, branch chairman of Saawu, Mr Sabeling Gaei and Mr Boyce Soti, both organisers for Saawu at the Ciskei Transport Corporation, Mr Welile Mzozoyana, East London Chairman of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and Mr Bonisile Norushe, the union's branch secretary who has been in detention



# SA passports for Ciskeians

5/12/82 DP 103

ZWELITSHA — Ciskeians will still be able to use South African passports after independence.

The South African and Ciskeian Governments have reached agreement to protect the travelling rights and other privileges in the event of the homeland attaining independence.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Lennox Sebe, at a press conference.

Chief Sebe said it had been "the wish of the Ciskei that its citizens should continue to enjoy on a reciprocal basis rights and privileges relating to South African nationality which they currently enjoy and that Ciskeians should not be prejudiced in their rights to seek employment or to reside in South Africa in the event of Ciskei taking independence".

Negotiations on this aspect of independence had been taking place for some time and independent investigations by both governments had

been undertaken.

An agreement has been finally reached between the two governments that a bilateral agreement or convention will be concluded at independence between us in terms of which on a

protect their own nationals who are abroad they will accord each others nationals protection insofar as they are able to do so," Chief Sebe said.

Effectively, the Chief

residential rights, not privileges."

— "uniform and un-complicated procedures regarding movement across international boundaries";

— use of "community

## Reports and pictures by Barry Streek, Charles Ngakula and Mike Chandler.

reciprocal basis certain privileges will be preserved after independence.

"In the event of the nationals of either Ciskei or South Africa finding it impossible to travel abroad to other states by virtue of the fact that either of these countries, passports are not recognised then the country whose passport is recognised will issue the required passport to the nationals of the other country.

"In the event of either South Africa or Ciskei not being in a position to

Minister's statement means that Ciskeians will still be able to use South African passports to travel.

Chief Sebe also said that other rights and privileges held by Ciskeians would be protected after independence in terms of agreements to be signed by both governments.

These included:  
— preferential job opportunities "in the sense that Ciskeians will not be treated as aliens for purposes of employment";  
— residential rights in South Africa. "I repeat,

facilities";

— social benefits; and  
— "any other rights and privileges sanctioned by law or usage".

Chief Sebe said the terms of the agreements reached would be incorporated into a convention and into the laws of both states.

They could be re-enacted in a confederal convention and "could become the charter for the future confederation of South Africa".

Earlier, Chief Sebe said the South African Government had agreed that at

the same time that the Ciskei attained its independence a confederal agreement would be signed by both governments. Other items included in the independence package deal were the nationality and citizenship issue, the land issue, the finance issue, the question of racial discrimination and steps being taken to eliminate this discrimination.

He said the land issue depended on the findings of the Van Der Walt Commission and the financial arrangements were still subject to more detailed negotiation.

In response to a question, he said the financial arrangements would be different from those negotiated elsewhere and that an agreement had been reached for the Ciskei to have a share of the assets of South Africa.

Chief Sebe also stressed that the negotiations between the two governments had been undertaken with an air of honesty and co-operation. — PC



Chief National Independence Party supporters at the stage of Lower Didadamana in the Hewu district enter in voters waiting to cast their ballots with singing during yesterday's referendum.



# High turnouts at Kwazakhele

**NEW BRIGHTON** — There were high turnouts in the Ciskei independence referendum voting in the black townships of New Brighton, Kwazakhele and Walmer yesterday morning despite lack of interest among the township youth.

At the Centenary Hall in New Brighton, Daku Hall, Cripple Care Hall and YMCA Hall at Kwazakhele voting was brisk in the morning but became slow during the day. Batches of voters came periodically and there were no reported incidences of violence anywhere in the area.

In Walmer voting went on smoothly with voters coming in large numbers especially after 5 pm.

The chairman of the Port Elizabeth community council, who is also a member of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Mr W. M. Maku, and the Urban Representative of the Ciskei Government in

Port Elizabeth, Mr E. L. Roqoza, said in a joint statement yesterday that they visited all the polling stations in the Port Elizabeth area. They both agreed the turnout was high.

They said that during the morning session at the Centenary Hall almost five batches of voting papers were finished. They added that recent stay away calls by anti-independence organisations had not affected voting.

Many Ciskei voters were reported to have been turned away from the Holy Spirit Hall at Kwazakhele, which was originally named as one of the polling stations, but was later changed to the Cripple Care Hall because of prior commitments made by the Rev James Haya.

Voting was brisk and at about 8 so much so that a private black bus company had to provide free transport for the voters.

# Sebe: 800 race laws will go

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — At least 800 laws and proclamations relating to racial discrimination would be repealed by the South African Government next year, Ciskei's chief minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, told a news conference yesterday.

Chief Sebe said elimination of racial discrimination in South Africa was one of the issues his government wanted to satisfy itself on before the Ciskei opted for independence.

"The racial discrimination issue is one which we are led to understand will be the subject of several laws to be placed before the South African Government at the next parliamentary session and we are awaiting with interest the outcome in that area," he said.

Asked whether the repeal of discriminatory laws would benefit only Ciskeians, Chief Sebe said: "We are looking for a universal answer to the problems of the black man in this country." Chief Sebe said no one from his government was using independence to improve their status. — DDR.



# 4 to check Ciskeian polling today

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —**  
The four overseas observers who would monitor Ciskei's independence referendum today were in the homeland in their personal capacities, the Ciskei Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Rev W Xaba said last night.

Speaking at a Press banquet in King William's Town, he said the Ciskei's invitations to them had been issued through South African Embassies abroad. They were under no obligation to report on their findings, but were free to do so if they wished.

"In inviting these men, all that we are seeking to do is to show that we have nothing to hide and that we are prepared to have our activities scrutinised by impartial observers.

"They can go where they like, see whom they like. They are permitted to examine the proceedings but are not permitted to witness people actually recording their votes."

Mr Xaba said all the expenses of the observers were being met by the Ciskei Government — Sapa



# All detainees will be charged says Sebe

"If you only knew, you would be surprised."

detained at present and in any event, "those who have been detained will be charged".

Those who had been charged had been prosecuted for murder, arson and public violence.

"Who can allow that? Where have you had children murdering a teacher? Burning down shrines and pillars?"

"Those who have been detained will be charged, all of them."

"I am glad they have been arrested for their crimes," he said.

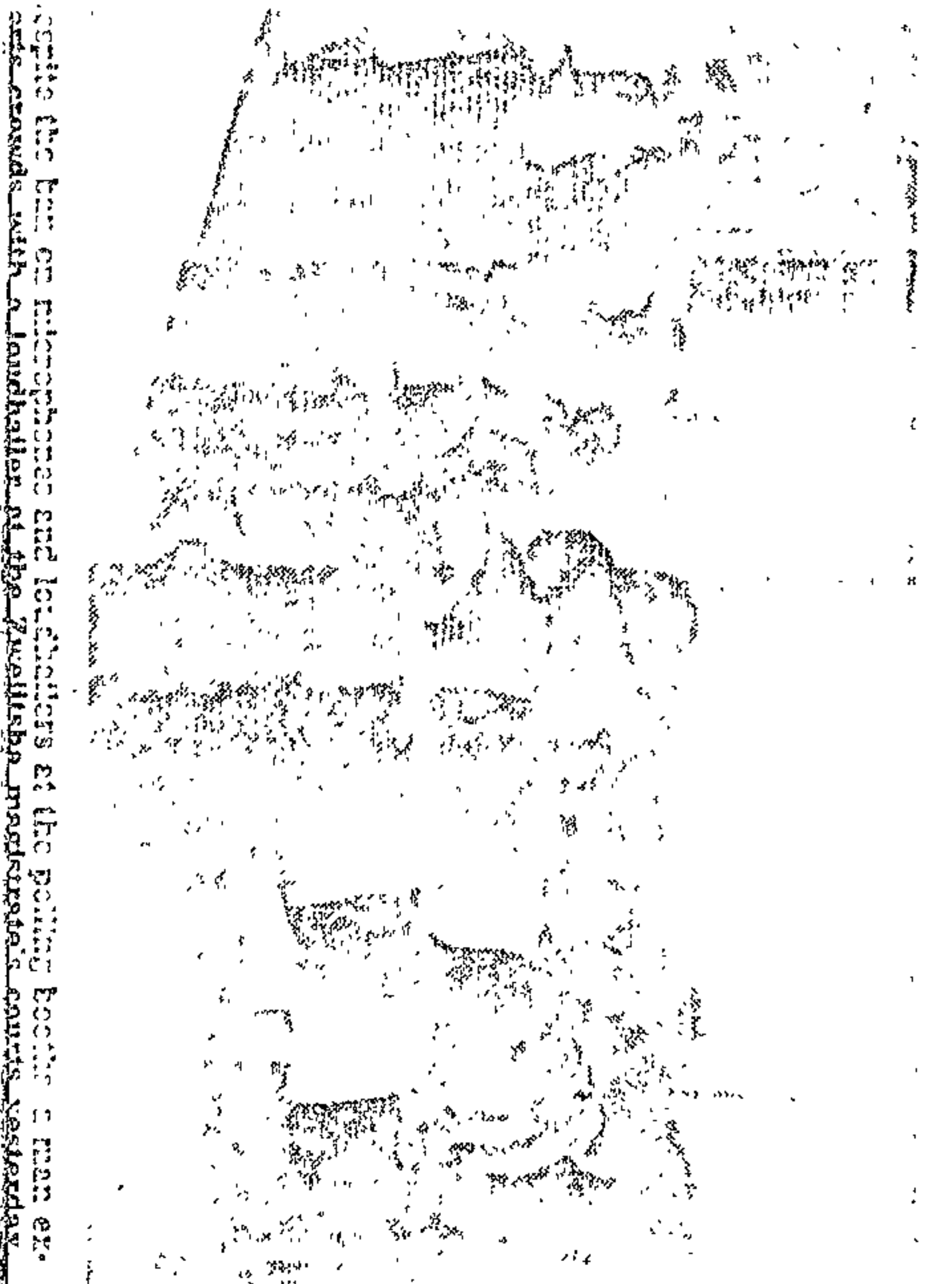
Later, answering the question about trade re-

Among those in detention in the Ciskei at present are: Mr Thozamile Gqwela, national organiser of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu), Mr Sisa Njikelana, branch chairman of Saawu, Mr Sirkang Gool and Mr Boyce Soci, both organisers for Saawu at the Ciskei Transport Corporation, Mr Willie Mozozwana, East London Chairman of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, and Mr Bonisie Norushe, the union's branch secretary who has been in detention

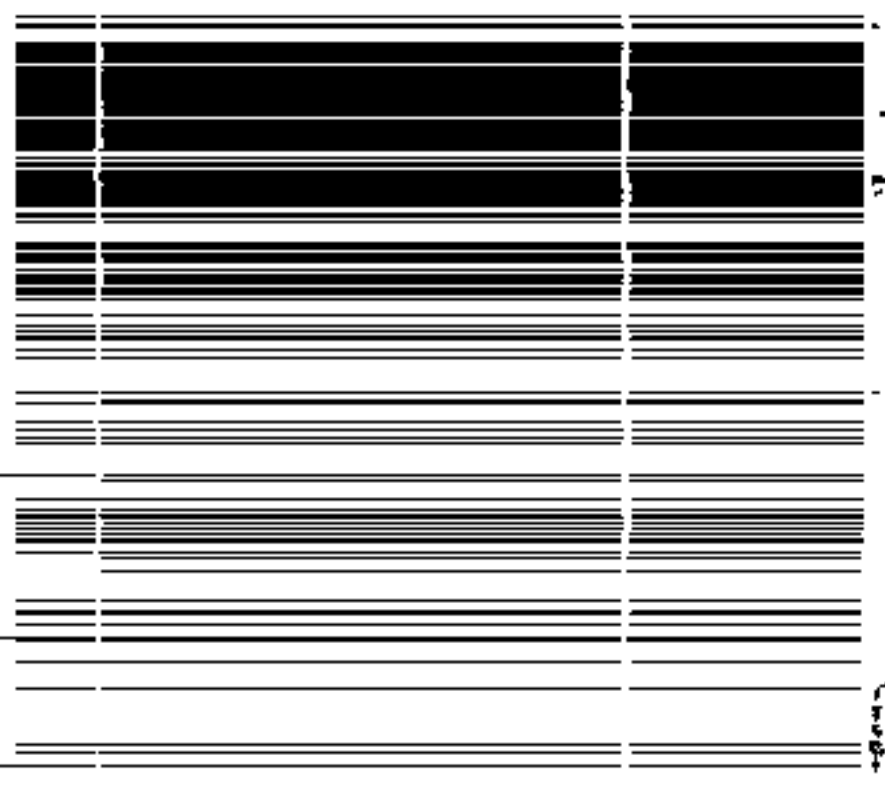
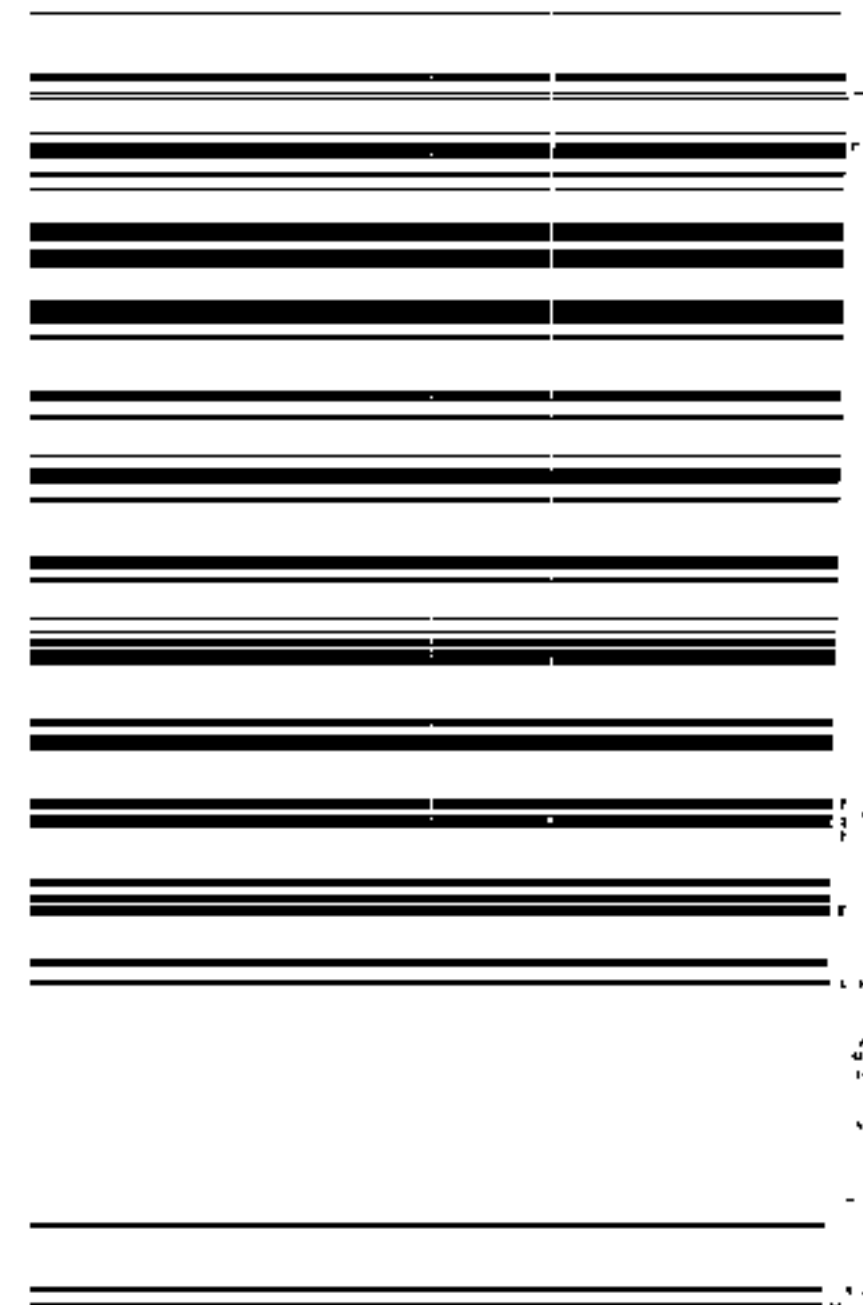
ZWELITSWA — All people detained under the Ciskei security measures would be charged, the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday. Chief Sebe also refused to disclose why a number of trade unionists had been detained in the Ciskei because, "he did so 'I will be revealing security information'".

Answering questions at a press conference here, he said the Ciskei's Proclamation R253 was "a security law, like any security law applied by any other country in the world".

Chief Sebe said that no



Despite the ban on microphones and loudspeakers at the polling booth, a man ex-... and crowds with a loudspeaker at the Zwelitswa master's court yesterday.





# Help to fight malnutrition

FIFTY per cent of all two to three-year-old children in the Ciskei were malnourished, the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Rees, said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said a survey conducted in 1978 and just released by the Ciskei Department of Health showed that three out of four urban, and more than eight out of 10 rural children were also malnourished.

In the two to three-year-old group, one in 10 urban and one in six rural children suffered

from malnutrition diseases such as kwashiorkor and marasmus (wasting of the body).

Mr Rees said infant mortality figures per 1 000 live births in South Africa were 12 whites, 69 urban blacks and 240 rural blacks, which gave an average of 117. In Niger the deaths were 200, Zaire 160, Botswana 97, United Kingdom 16, and Sweden 9.

The institute's Operation Hunger scheme had collected about R90 000 which had been sent to the Red Cross for feed-

ing people in KwaZulu, and for feeding and self-help projects in the Ciskei.

Feeding schemes at a school and two clinics had also been started in Venda and Lebowa.

A church group had also appealed for help in resettlement villages in the KwaNdebele homeland near Groblersdal.

The institute appeals to the public for contributions and anyone prepared to get involved with Operation Hunger should contact Ina Perlman at 724-4441 in Johannesburg. — Sapa.

# Poll: Ciskeians praised by Sebe

6/12/80  
105

EAST LONDON — Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, yesterday praised chiefs, organisers and Ciskeians in rural and urban areas for the support they gave the homeland's independence referendum.

He said he felt people in urban areas, like Port Elizabeth, where there was some intimidation, needed to be thanked more.

He also thanked the youth for ensuring there were no incidents.

Many employers had co-operated and Chief Sebe had a special word for housewives who drove their employees to the polling stations.

"This is the spirit of co-operation that should prevail in these parts," he said.

"But it is with regret that our people in King William's Town were arrested on the eve of the referendum and I have received reports that the police who

arrested hawkers actually said they would be locked up and not vote the next day."

He said these women had been treated like animals.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Ciskei Government said yesterday that more than 80 per cent of the eligible voters living in the territory had voted.

Two of the foreign observers were very positive about the conduct of the voting. Former campaign manager of the president-elect, Mr Reagan, Mr John Sears, said he was impressed with the enthusiasm of the Ciskeians.

A French observer, Mr F. Lacoste, said his impressions were more than satisfactory and expressed his amazement that the arrangements were similar to those in any other Western country. — DDR/SAPA.

Hawker boycott, page 2.

## Xaba: pre-marked votes void

ZWELITSHA — Ballot papers on Thursday's referendum which did not bear the voters' identity document numbers would be counted as spoilt papers, the Reverend W. M. Xaba, Ciskei's Minister of Agriculture, said here yesterday.

Mr Xaba was reacting to a report yesterday that a Daily Dispatch reader had complained that some of

his domestic servants had been given ballot papers already marked Yes when they went to vote.

Mr Xaba assumed the reader was white and said his attitude showed he was anti-Ciskei.

"If he is not anti-Ciskei why did he not alert the police or the Ciskei Government as soon as he learnt about the alleged discrepancy? Why contact

the Daily Dispatch?"

He said the attitude of the reader showed he had fallen under the influence of Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, "who came to King William's Town in the hope of being elected to Parliament."

"I want to say that the wagon of separate development started by Dr Verwoerd is on its

wheels and is moving fast so that even the HNP or any communist cannot stop it," Mr Xaba said.

He said if anyone voted as was alleged in the press report "then the voters' papers will be counted as spoilt papers since the number of a voter's reference book must be written on each voter's ballot paper and the ballot paper is then stamped." — DDR.

Code	Details	No. of Tuts
CA	Cash budgets	4
CB	Capital budgeting	8
CC	Contract costing	2
CL	Linear programming	5
CM	Marginal costing	7
CP	Probability	4



# Hawkers boycott market

## KING WILLIAMS TOWN

The market here started selling its produce out of hand this week, following a boycott by black hawkers, who are its biggest supporters.

The hawkers picketed the market yesterday morning and just before lunch, most of the produce in the establishment was still unsold.

The hawkers also boycotted — albeit momentarily — some of the local fruiterers, whom they accused of having collaborated with police in the local "operation clean-up" campaign.

A police spokesman

said yesterday the police received a complaint from some of the fruiterers that the hawkers, who operated in front of their premises, were taking away business from them and yet they did not hold hawkers licences.

He confirmed the police had confiscated some goods from the hawkers and had driven them away.

"This was also part of the town's operation clean-up of crime," the spokesman said.

He said it had also come to the attention of the police that the hawkers received stolen goods

from pick-pockets "which they then sell on behalf of the thieves."

The clampdown by the police on the hawkers was, however, seen as "harassment" by the Ciskei Government.

When he addressed a news conference on Thursday, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said 20 women had been harassed by police, and remarked to his Minister of Agriculture, Reverend W. M. Xaba.

"Please make sure you arrange with the Mdantsane market that these women are accommodated there at reduced tariffs." DDR.

Code	Details	No. of Tuts
CA	Cash budgets	4
CB	Capital budgeting	8
CC	Contract costing	2
CL	Linear programming	5
CM	Marginal costing	7
CP	Probability	4
CS	Standard costing	8
CX	Miscellaneous	9

KEY TO COSTING TUTORIALS



● IN THE SMALL TOWN OF FRANKFORT, APARTHEID DOES AN AMAZING FLIP-FLOP ...

# CLEAR OUT!



Mr and Mrs Gerhardus Petzer, last white couple in Frankfort; facing expulsion

You're too white to live here... <sup>105</sup> <sup>1000</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

By BEVIS FAIRBROTHER

**A MAYOR and his wife have been ordered out of the town ... because they are white.**

Mr Gerhardus "Douwie" Petzer was born in Frankfort in the Eastern Cape, 60 years ago. Now he and his wife Joyce are the only whites still living there.

He is also vice-principal of the Zeleni High School where he teaches Afrikaans to 500 black children.

But last week he was called before the King William's Town Magistrate's Court and told he was illegally living on South African development trust land.

He and his wife were ordered to leave by the end of March.

According to Article 62 of Proclamation 188 of 1969, no whites are allowed to live on trust property bought from a previous resident for eventual handing over to the Ciskei.

"But I'm not beaten yet," said Mr Petzer.

He will take his case to Dr Piet Koorhof, Minister of Co-Operation and Development, or Dr Ferdie Hartzberg, Minister of Education and Training.

"My children need me. There is no other Afrikaans teacher here. They can't do without me," he said.



Flashback to October when Mr and Mrs Petzer were elected unanimously mayor and mayoress of Frankfort for the fifth consecutive term

He also intended speaking to Ciskei Chief Minister Lennox Sebe. "I am a personal friend of the chief and he has said he wants me to stay on."

Mr Petzer hoped to speak to him soon. A deputation of Zeleni school teachers has also written to Dr Hartzberg pleading Mr Petzer's case, but have not yet had a reply.

Mr Petzer said if he had to move out it would destroy him. "Where would I go? I don't want to move. I grew up with these people."

He travels to every

## Calling

"We grow our own vegetables. We're very happy here."

He was born on his parents' farm in the area and after school he joined the South African Police in Johannesburg.

He left the police to study at the University of the Witwatersrand and a technical college after which he spent several years as a senior black welfare officer.

But the call of his hometown Frankfort, was too strong and he moved back in 1955.

He now hopes to become Ciskeian citizen.

"If the Ciskei becomes independent and I'm given the opportunity I will become a citizen. I would be proud to be one," he said.

"Nobody at the Department of Co-Operation and Development offices in East London and King William's Town could be contacted for comment as they were "too busy with the referendum."



STAR 8/12/80

# Discontents in Ciskei unite under Right-wing

Own Correspondent

## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The near certainty of this small border town's inclusion into the Ciskei has raised a groundswell of discontent among whites that cuts right across traditional South African political boundaries.

The Van der Walt Commission's recommendation that the town become part of the Ciskei is unlikely to be rejected as it has already received tacit approval from the Cabinet.

Ciskei's Chief Minister Lennox Sebe's disclosure that the town is included in a "package deal" he negotiated with the South African Government has alienated the town's Nationalists.

A local branch of the Herstigte Nasionale Party has sprung up with small but intense support and HNP leader Jaap Marais is to address a public meeting in the town hall tonight.

## DISILLUSIONED

Support for the fledgling group, under the leadership of a disillusioned Nationalist, Mr Brian Nel, has come from all sectors of white political beliefs, although most people are wary of being seen to support the Right-wing party.

"I have had encouragement from Progs, NRP and Nat supporters and I have also many black friends," says Mr Nel.

"It's not so much a matter of politics, we are fighting for our lives, our white identity and our culture."

Mr Nel says he does not fully support HNP policies. "Just see it as a sword to fight our way through to the bottom."

He and his supporters are dissatisfied with the uncertainties of King William's Town's future. Nationalist leaders have for a decade been insisting the town would remain white.

"We have three main objections to inclusion," says Mr Nel. "Forced integration has proved unsuccessful, right-down Africa."

**KING WILLIAMS TOWN**

The depth of local resistance here to the Vander Walt Commission proposal that the town be incorporated into Ciskei may soon be put to the test.

A petition is doing the rounds in town to drum up support for a referendum among King William's Town residents.

The petition is being organised by an "action committee" that was formed at last Wednesday night's Herstigte Nasionale Party meeting

**King referendum plan**

9/12/89  
D.D. Ross

in the town hall here.

But the chairman of the committee, and local leader of the HNP, Mr Brian Nel, says the Action Committee is not party political.

The committee was formed after a motion was passed at the meeting calling on the Borough Council to hold a referendum among residents on the Van der Walt Commission proposals.

They want the referendum to be held, and the results known, before Mr Hennie van der Walt comes to town on January 19 and 20 to hear the views of local residents on the commission's proposals.

If the petition is signed by at least 25 enrolled municipal voters, the Borough Council will be bound to call a public meeting.

If, at the public

meeting, a motion is passed calling on the council to hold a municipal poll, which will in effect be a referendum, the council will be bound to hold the poll.

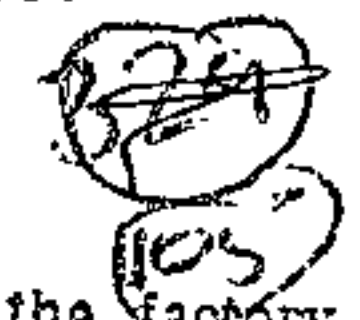
Even if the motion at the public meeting is defeated, if nine or more people on the losing side immediately insist on a municipal poll, the council will still be bound to call a poll.

The town clerk, Mr Henry Hutten, said yesterday that although only enrolled municipal voters would be permitted to cast their votes in the municipal poll, non-registered voters would be able to make their views known through a petition to the council.

The members of the action committee responsible for the petition are Mr Nel (chairman), Mr N. Posthumus, Mr P. Louwrens, Mr U. Klackers and Mr R. Schwartz. —  
DDR.



# 8 EL unionists now held in Ciskei



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JOHANNESBURG — Another member of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) has been detained by the Ciskeian security police — bringing to eight the number of East London unionists now in Ciskeian security police hands. Mr Victor Kale, a Saawu shop-steward at the Wilson-Rowntree sweet factory, was arrested at his home in Mdantsane on Monday, a union spokes-

man said. Both South African and Ciskeian security services were involved. Mr Kale is believed to be held under Proclamation R252 of the Ciskeian Government, which provides for indefinite detention without trial. Two other Saawu members active at Wilson-Rowntree, including the union's branch chairman Mr Eric Mtonga, had been visited by police, the spokesman said following

a stoppage at the factory last week. Seven Saawu members, among them the national organiser, Mr Thozamile Goeta, and East London branch secretary, Mr Sisa Nikelane, are in detention in the Ciskei, with the branch secretary of the closely linked African Food and Canning Workers Union, Mr Welile Mozoovana.

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(45)

of ... between contracts of employment', (Knight, 1977:

equally by all homeland men and unemployment takes the form strong assumption that employment and unemployment is shared derives his conclusion not from 'survey data but from 'the working, too, but not in the modern sector. And Knight words - some (an unspecified proportion) of this half are if there is a desire to so render such services' - in other neighbourhood and in subsistence agriculture it need be, or always at home and available for economic activity in the was, 'But, at least, more than half of the manpower is Kantor has misread both his sources here. What Sadie said jobs increases with age (Knight, 1977)' (Kantor, 1980: 107). jobs of twelve months' duration, and that the period between that, on average, migrant workers spend ten months between is not in employment. (Sadie, 1977) Survey data indicate at any moment about half the potential migrant labour force for an important proportion of the total labour force, and gaged periodically in employment. These workers account 'Black migrant workers in South Africa are usually only en- (11)

that subsistence agriculture should not stand in the way of an adequate wage labour supply, to the point where a very small proportion of Africans are able to obtain (on average) very low incomes from homeland farms.

# Ciskei <sup>STAR</sup> continues <sup>12/21/80</sup> crackdown <sup>(05)</sup> on unions <sup>(31)</sup>

By Drew Forrest <sup>(1/10)</sup>

Another member of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) has been detained by Ciskeian security police — bringing to eight the number of East London unionists in Ciskeian security police hands.

Mr Victor Kale, a Saawu shop-steward at the Wilson-Rowntree sweet factory, was arrested at his home in Mdantsane on Monday, a union spokesman said.

He added at the arrest was a joint operation involving both South African and Ciskeian security services.

Mr Kale is believed to be held under the Ciskei's proclamation B252 which provides for indefinite detention without trial. According to the spokesman, the arresting officers made it clear to Mr Kale that his arrest was the outcome of his union activities.

## STOPPAGE

Two other Saawu members, active at Wilson-Rowntree, including the union's branch chairman Mr Eric Mtonga, had been visited by police, the spokesman said. This followed a brief stoppage at the factory last week, caused by management's refusal to deal with the union committee.

A dispute over the same issue led to a walkout by the entire 1500 Wilson-Rowntree workforce in October this year.

The head of the Ciskeian security police, Brigadier Charles Sebe, could not be contacted last night but the current wave of arrests is seen in many quarters as a crackdown on independent unions operating in the East London area.

Seven Saawu members, among them national organiser Mr Thozamile Gqweta and East London branch secretary Mr Sisa Nukelane, are in detention in the Ciskei, together with the branch secretary of the closely linked African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Welile Mzozoyana.



10/12/80  
**Ciskei poll  
result  
today?** (105)  
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ZWELITSHA — The result of the Ciskei's independence referendum would probably be announced today, the chief electoral officer, Mr. J. Grieb, said here yesterday.

The referendum was held last Thursday to sound out Ciskeians on their acceptance or rejection of independence for the territory.

Mr Grieb said that with results from only about 100 of the more than 1 000 polling stations in the Republic and the Ciskei still outstanding, he was optimistic that the nation's decision would be announced today. — SAPA.

DD  
Sweet factory clerk  
detained at Mdantsane

EAST LONDON — A clerk at a sweet factory here, Mr Victor Kale, was detained by Ciskei intelligence men on Monday night, his wife said yesterday.

Mrs G. Kale said her husband was picked up from their Mdantsane home at 10 pm.

She said the men said they had been sent "by the Ciskei" to come and fetch him.

"They searched the house and found South African Allied Workers' Union registration

forms," Mrs Kale said.

"They asked my husband what Saawu was doing for the people because many companies that had no trade unions dealing with them were giving their employees better deals than what the unregistered union could ever hope to achieve," she said.

The Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services Brig Charles Sebe, was not available for comment yesterday. — DDR



# New deaf clinic at Mdantsane

EAST LONDON — A new R60 000 pre-primary school and therapeutic screening clinic for black children with severe hearing impediments will be erected in the grounds of the Cecilia Makiwane hospital in Mdantsane early next year.

This was made possible through the efforts of the East London and Border Society for the Deaf. Announcing the plans for the new school, the society's chairman, Mr. Theo Blumberg, said in his chairman's report at the society's general meeting that a German church welfare organisation, Kindernot-Hilfe, provided the finance.

Mr. Blumberg said he hoped that building would start early next year.

At the moment the society uses a house in the hospital grounds but the house has accommodation for only 20 children. The new school will accommodate 35 children.

At the meeting, Mr. Blumberg was re-elected chairman, Mrs P. Henson secretary and Mr. R. E. Macdougall, vice-chairman. — DDR

# Referendum: no results this week

105  
11/21/80

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN**  
— The results of the Ciskei independence referendum will not be known this week, and may only come out at the end of next week.

Ciskei's Secretary for the Interior, Mr K. B. Tabata, said yesterday morning that reports on the possibility of the election results being published today were incorrect.

"There is an outside chance that the results of the referendum will be announced towards the end of next week," Mr Tabata

said.  
"I would like to appeal to the media to verify everything with me before they print anything concerning the referendum," he said.

The chief electoral officer for the referendum, Mr J. Grieb, was reported as saying that with the results of only 100 of the more than 1 000 polling stations in the Republic and Ciskei still outstanding, he was optimistic that the nation's decision would be announced yesterday. — DDR.

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IS SOUTH AFRICAN UNEMPLOYMENT 'TECHNOLOGICAL' OR 'POLITICAL' ?

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# Ciskei continues union crackdown

By Drew Forrest

The Ciskeian security police crackdown on East London trade unionists continued yesterday with the detention of three more members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu).

Eleven unionists are now known to be held by the Ciskeians, including Saawu national organiser Mr Thozamile Gqweta, Saawu branch secretary Mr Sisa Njikelana and the branch chairman of the closely linked African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Welile Mzozoyana.

The current crackdown has been directed against Saawu members active in the Wilson-Rowntree sweet factory in East London, according to a union spokesman, and follows a stoppage over management's refusal to deal with the union.

The names of three of the detained Wilson-Rown-

tree workers — Mr Godfrey Shiba, Mr Boy Mandi and Mr Wilton Hloyi — were released by the union yesterday. They and a fellow-worker Mr Victor Kale, also arrested this week, are being held by the Ciskeians under proclamation R252 which provides for indefinite detention without trial.

Confirming the detentions, Ciskeian security police chief Brigadier Charles Sebe said the unionists were not being held for their union activities.

They had used Saawu to "further the aims and objects of a banned organisation," he said.

He denied that the Ciskeian security police were acting on South African police instructions, as the union has claimed.

The entire black work force at the Wilson Rowntree factory staged a brief stoppage yesterday in protest against the spate of arrests.

# Union deplures detention of chairman

EAST LONDON — The African Food and Canning Workers' Union here has deplored the detention of the East London branch chairman of the trade union, Mr Welile Mzozoyana.

In a statement issued by the general secretary of the union, Mr Jan Theron, the action against Mr Mzozoyana and other trade unionists detained in the Ciskei is seen not as action directed at the local unions but against the entire trade union movement.

"We consider it outrageous that our chairman should be detained quite explicitly for trade union activities which are perfectly legal and above board," the statement said.

"This kind of action completely undermines the credibility of any reforms to labour laws that have been proposed lately.

"As a trade union we are not concerned in the least with the Ciskei or Ciskei politics but with our members in factories in East London."

The union said it must once again assume that the Ciskei had not acted independently of South African authorities in harassing its officials whose activities did not concern the Ciskei in any way.

"We have noted the statement of Brig Sebe that Mr Mzozoyana was detained for South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) activities and further that Saawu and Afcwu were one and the same thing. "Saawu and Afcwu are separate unions but we have a co-operative relationship.

"This action is not action against Saawu or Afcwu but an attack on trade unions as a whole," the statement said. —  
DDR.



# Maths teachers may get project guides

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — There is a strong possibility that in 1982 new teachers' guide books will be available to standard 5 mathematics teachers in black schools.

The publication of the guides will be the result of a research project on the teaching of mathematics, which was started at the beginning of this year by the research unit for education planning, of the university of the Orange Free State.

The university's Professor D. Vermaak initiated the project after consultation with the education departments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, KwaZulu, Lebowa, Transkei and QwaQwa.

Mr J. M. Bartlett, leader of the full-time project staff, emphasised in an interview here that the unit only played a "supportive" role to mathematics teachers in the black states.

"We are merely assisting in the development of an in-service training structure where we can, as well as the development of teacher and pupil material for class use," Mr Bartlett said.

However, the guides that would be published after completion of the research would be helpful

to anyone involved in the teaching of maths in the various education systems in this country.

The research relates to the full secondary range, from Std 5 to 10. Guides for the other classes would be available at a much later stage.

Mr Bartlett also said the unit had a number of international consultants in Britain, central Africa and the USA.

Mr Bartlett attended the international conference on mathematics education held in California, and was able to establish more contact with other educationists who are doing research on the teaching of maths in third world countries.

The Ciskei government, which has been worried by the scarcity of commercial

and science teachers in the homeland, has also made its own arrangements to solve part of the problem.

Beginning next year, the education department will arrange in-service courses for mathematics and science teachers, which will be held over a 12-month period.

In the past teachers attended the courses on a weekly basis which, sources close to the department said, was not very effective and it was hoped when teachers received courses at the in-service training centre for a full year, the effort would be more profitable.

The teaching staff at the Hlaziya in-service training centre, at Mdantrano, where the courses will be held, will also be increased to cope with the new design. — DDC.

## ● AND TWO VIEWS OF A CHANGING CISKEI HOMELAND

# Ciskei gives massive yes to independence

*S. Times*  
*12/80* (105)

By BEVIS FAIRBROTHER

INDEPENDENCE for 3.4-million Ciskeians is assured. Observers say the answer was an overwhelming "yes" at this week's independence referendum.

Official results will only be known in about a week.

It is the first homeland to hold such a referendum before accepting independence.

It will become the fourth independent homeland in South Africa.

The Ciskei Government estimates were that inside the homeland the poll was as high

as 80 percent. The turnout at polling booths in South Africa, however, was far lower.

But observers predicted the results would be enough for Chief Minister Lennox Sebe to go ahead with independence.

Whether the referendum met with the Quail commission recommendations or Chief Sebe

followed the commission's advice before opting for independence, was of no consequence.

"The Ciskei Government never intimated it would hand over the reigns of government to the commission," said Chief Sebe.

The commission headed by Professor George Quail, was appointed by the Ciskei Government several years ago to make recommendations on possible independence for the homeland.

The commission advised Chief Sebe he should opt for independence only if certain conditions were met by the South African Government.

Among them was that South Africa provided suitable financial support for independence.

They also advised a "carefully supervised" referendum.

A referendum was held on Thursday at 477 polling booths spread throughout South Africa.

Inside the Ciskei it was evident from the start interest was high.

Long queues formed in the early morning with citizens having to wait up to two hours to vote at some stations.

It was almost a festive occasion with plenty of singing and dancing.

Electoral officers said they received no complaints of any irregularities at the booths.

But reports of undue pressure on voters filtered through.

It was claimed that helicopters circled rural areas warning people to vote or suffer the consequences.

This could not be confirmed.

A King William's Town employer said two of his employees were given ballot papers already marked in favour of independence.

Several black employees at a Port Elizabeth company said they were treated as illiterate voters and were told to vote for independence.

At some stations there were no booths available for voting in secret.

At a Press conference Chief Sebe pledged that Ciskeian citizens would not lose their right to seek work or live in South Africa after independence.

## A place where the kids go hungry

By MARION SPARG

THE Institute of Race Relations this week released figures from the Ciskei Department of Health which show that over 80 percent of rural children between seven and eight in the area suffer from malnutrition.

The figures, the result of a 1978 survey, also show that among black children in the two to three-year age group, 50 percent are malnourished.

In urban areas, three out of every four children in the seven to eight-year group are malnourished, and in the rural areas the figure is more than eight out of ten.

The institute's director, Mr John Rees, said in the three months since the launching of the Operation Hunger relief campaign, events have "underlined what we knew before — that the drought merely escalated the hunger crisis and gave dramatic publicity to what is, in fact, an ongoing situation."

### Mortality rate

The figures from Ciskei also show that in the two to three-year-old group, one in 10 urban, and one in six rural children actually suffer from malnutrition diseases such as kwashiorkor and marasmus.

"The Ministry of Health estimated that in the 1979 financial year there were 100 000 cases of pellagra in South Africa. The Government's subsidised skim milk scheme feeds 38 390 children — this figure covers just over a third of the estimated pellagra cases," he said.

Infant mortality figures for South Africa showed that there was a 24 percent mortality rate for rural blacks, seven percent for urban blacks and only 1.2 percent for whites.

This made South Africa's infant mortality rate higher even than countries like Botswana, Niger and Zaire.

Mr Rees said Operation Hunger had collected close on R90 000 in its three months of existence. This money has been used mainly in KwaZulu, Ciskei, Lebowa and Venda.

The programme had also become involved in a feeding scheme in the resettlement villages of KwaNdebele.

In these villages, thorough investigation has shown up — amidst almost universal poverty — 643 families who are virtually destitute.

The programme had pledged R1 500 a month in order to give these families two high-protein meals a week.

"These families have no bread-winner, no water, no land available to grow anything, and at this moment in time, no hope.

"We can provide high-protein meals and soup, at a cost of 5c per portion for two people per week.

"In no way is this sufficient to give them proper meals, but it keeps them alive and stops them getting kwashiorkor.

"We are able to keep at 5c per portion for two people because of special discounts we are getting from suppliers. We wish we could get this type of discount all the time.

"Those of us who have visited the area are haunted by the contrast between our own preparations for Christmas and what it will mean for these families," Mr Rees said.

He made an appeal for donations so that December food parcels could include a chicken and a few non-essentials.

Anyone able to help can contact Mrs Ina Perlman at telephone 724-4441 (Johannesburg). The South African Institute of Race Relations address is 68 De Korte Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg.



# Ciskeians' rights will be guaranteed — Sebe

11/12/80 DD  
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A bill of rights will entrench the right of Ciskei to share South Africa's wealth and the right of Ciskeians to have access to South African passports after Ciskei accepts its independence.

This was promised yesterday by Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, in a "thank you to the nation" message.

Chief Sebe said the bill of rights would "figure largely and be properly spelt out in statutes of both countries."

Chief Sebe said he felt it his duty to thank Ciskeians "for the trust and confidence you have placed in me and in my government so convincingly."

He said the Ciskei was at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of change in the territory's history.

The changes we seek within South Africa will

occur neither if we lift all pressure and help the South African economy to burgeon, nor if we totally isolate ourselves from South Africa.

"In referring to the drumbeat promises of change it has repeatedly and categorically been asserted by academics that the real problem is not the sign on the park benches, but the vast differences which exist between the races and their economic and political power."

Chief Sebe said the most important consideration facing Ciskei was the conditions and terms on which both dependence and interdependence were negotiated.

Ciskeians must accept that the cause we have been striving for and the things we believe in will be enshrined in a bill of rights and that specific entrenched clauses

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relating to Ciskei's rightful share in both the wealth of South Africa and the thorny question of dual citizenship will figure largely and be properly spelt out in the statutes of both countries. — DDR.

See also page 4.

# Credit curb on Ciskeians denied

EAST LONDON — A national jewellery chain store has denied it has imposed curbs on credit facilities for Ciskeians because of the impending independence.

Its denial follows a claim by a Mdantsane couple that they were refused credit facilities at Caress Jewellers in Oxford Street when they wanted to buy a R400 wedding and engagement ring combination.

Mr and Mrs Paul Xiniwe said they were told by a young saleslady they could not get credit facilities because they were from Mdantsane.

Mr Xiniwe is a quality controller at a car assembly plant and his wife, Tobeka, works at a baby products firm.

Mrs Xiniwe said she had lost part of her wedding

ring set and her husband offered to buy her another set.

The regional manager of the jewellery firm, Mr J. Brink, said he would investigate the complaint.

"Our policy on credit is very clear: we give it only on merit. Even with foreign states, we have no hard and fast rule and merit is still the main criterion.

"Although I must admit that with foreign states, it does complicate matters a bit because of borders having to be crossed if we have to trace a person.

"But I must emphasise merit is still the most important factor in credit facilities. We've had Ciskeians dealing with us for years and we certainly hope it will continue that way." — DDR



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# Sebe on island holiday

ZWELITSHA — Ciskei's Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, is on leave in Mauritius.

Chief Sebe "slipped out of the country" on Thursday evening, according to Brigadier Charles Sebe, his younger brother.

"There is nothing wrong with him. He has taken his track suit for jogging and all his tennis equipment to play as much tennis as he can," Brig Sebe said yesterday.

"He is suffering from tremendous fatigue. He slipped out of the country on Thursday evening to get away from it all and to get as much relaxation as possible."

Brig Sebe said Chief Sebe, who is holidaying with his wife, Mrs Virginia Sebe, would leave Mauritius on Christmas Eve to arrive back in the Ciskei for Christmas.

Chief Sebe has not been home on a number of occasions during the festive season and Christmas at home has been missed quite often.

He spent one Christmas in Israel, in 1977, a visit from which he came back imbued with the spirit of nationalism which he has since tried to inculcate in his followers.

He returned to Israel last December for an international conference of development in Tel Aviv, and again spent Christmas in the Holy Land.

— DDR.

# Tembus claims Whittlesea

UMTATA — State President Kaiser Matanzima warned the South African Government yesterday not to sow seeds of ill-feeling by giving Whittlesea to the Ciskei.

Installing Chief Bambilanga Dalindyebo as Paramount Chief of the Tembus, President Matanzima said: "There is conclusive evidence that the Tembus own Whittlesea, that land must be restored to its original owners and must not be given to the Ngqikas as a bribe."

He warned the South African Government not to sow seeds of ill feeling between the Tembus and the Ngqikas by ceding Whittlesea from the district of Queenstown.

He said they did not want bloodshed.

"I say this because all is not well and I will not repeat what I said."

Whittlesea is administered by the South African Government and the Vander Walt Commission of Inquiry into Ciskei land consolidation proposed that Whittlesea be incorporated into the Ciskei.

Pres Matanzima said those who followed Chief Sabata Dalindyebo as their leader should take note that the deposed Paramount chief had pledged to support the African National Congress.

"The ANC is being paid by the World Council of Churches to fight for the recolonisation of Africa, and Chief Sabata wants to fight for them.

"We as Transkeians will

never fight against the whites in South Africa as they are stronger militarily. Anybody who wants to fight must cross the Kei River, as we have left the fighting to the Ngqikas in the Ciskei," he said.

President Matanzima said there was no apartheid in Transkei and if Chief Sabata wanted to fight apartheid, he would have to fight South Africa.

He said the opposition party would have to explain Chief Sabata's stand to Parliament.

He told Tembus and the people of Transkei to be patriotic.

"If anybody undermines the authority of the leaders and makes a mockery of your country and its people, assault him as punishment, but do not kill him."

He said they should

respect their chiefs as the government held them in high esteem because they were traditional leaders. He warned of communist elements who wanted to destroy chieftainship, which he compared to the British system of royalty.

President Matanzima said the United Nations concerned itself with the policy followed in South Africa. They were not worried because this body would never rule the country.

"Threats made by this body of economic boycotts will not succeed. Most member countries of this body are experiencing trouble, chaos and wars that never come to an end. South Africa is an example of a civilised society that respects the rule of law."

In his maiden speech

Paramount Chief Bambilanga vowed to see to it that Tembus became a God-fearing tribe, and that they respected the government and the chiefs.

"I will encourage the Tembus to progress educationally and to dedicate themselves to exploring the agricultural potential of Tembuland.

"There was no reason for them to import food when the land they occupied was fertile.

"Tembus, men and women and young, will have five days to work on the lands, Saturday to have a drinking spree and attend sporting events, Sunday to attend church services."

Chief Matanzima robed Paramount Chief Bambilanga to office with a kaross presented by Chief Tlidiwane Pilane of Bophuthatswana.

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# No harassment says Sebe ~~105~~ ~~229~~ Hunger strikers warned

EAST LONDON — Eleven members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) are detained in the Ciskei, the Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, said in a statement issued here.

But there was no harassment of workers from Wilson-Rowntree as had been suggested, Brig Sebe added.

He said four men employed at the sweet factory had been detained on Tuesday. They are Mr Makwenkwe Hloyi, Mr Victor Kale, Mr Godfrey Shimba and Mr Boy Mandi.

Brig Sebe said the CCIS had no special dealings with the sweet factory.

"I do not even know who the directors of the company are," he said.

His men were investigating certain actions by members of Saawu and would continue to do so regardless of allegations levelled against them.

"Being accused of

harassing workers at Wilson-Rowntree is utter nonsense to me.

"I must warn many people who claim that trade unions have been operating for many years.

"Many of these are like the ANC which was formed in 1912 with the best intentions then. What it is now is a matter in which anybody's guess could be considered."

He said his men were fulltime workers who were doing extensive research on the operation of organisations. "We have what we have about the activities of Saawu. These people are detained for subversive activities which any country would action.

"We have what we have about their activities and we are not prepared to succumb to any pressures exerted on us—pressures such as 'charge or release'."

Brig Sebe said these men would be taken to court to stand trial if his department deemed it fit to do so. — DDR

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The hunger strike by detainees would not halt investigations into the activities of the trade unions, the head of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said yesterday.

Brig Sebe confirmed on Thursday that two executive members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu), Mr Thozamile Gqweta and Mr Sisa Njikalane, had been in hospital following a hunger strike.

Brig Sebe said the trade unionists were using the hunger strike "as the sword of Damocles over our heads to try to frighten us about death in detention."

He said everything "humanly required to be done" would be done to provide the detainees with food and medicine "but the hunger strike will not force us to abandon our investigations into Saawu's activities." — DDR.

# Petition forces King council to call meeting

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Pressure is being intensified here and in Berlin towards the holding of a referendum among white residents on the proposals of the Van der Walt Commission.

The commission has proposed that both King William's Town and Berlin be incorporated into an independent Ciskei.

The Borough Council here has called a public meeting on Monday night to discuss the proposal, and Berlin residents have formed an action committee to press for a referendum of ratepayers to demonstrate their feelings on the proposal.

The council called the meeting after a successful petition by an "action committee" under the chairmanship of the local Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Mr Brian Nel.

The petition, which was signed by 26 enrolled municipal voters, called on the council to convene the meeting.

If a motion is passed at the meeting calling for a municipal poll on the commission's proposal, the council will be bound to hold the referendum.

The Town Clerk, Mr Henry Hutten, said yesterday that only those whose

names appear on the 1980 municipal voters' roll would participate in the proceedings.

Even if the motion is not passed, if nine or more enrolled municipal voters immediately insist on the poll, the council will still be bound to hold it.

Mr Nel says he wants the poll held, and the results known, before the Van der Walt Commission sits here on January 19 and 20 next year to take evidence.

The Berlin committee was elected at a meeting on Thursday. The chairman of the meeting, Mr H. F. Werner, said yesterday it was well attended and most expressed strong views against incorporation.

The committee members are Mr Werner, Mr P. de Villiers, Mr N. Krull, Mrs Joy Breetzke and Mr J. A. Coetzee.

In addition to the five members, the committee has the right to co-opt further members to do whatever is deemed advisable or necessary and to hold a referendum if the Government and the East London Municipality fail to do so before the Van der Walt Commission's visit in January," Mr Werner said. — DDR.



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# Detainees go on hunger strike

EAST LONDON — South African Allied Workers' Union officials, Mr Thozamile Gqweta and Mr Sisa Njikelana, detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations, have been taken to hospital twice following hunger strikes.

The Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, yesterday confirmed Mr Gqweta had been taken to Mount Coke hospital for treatment while Mr Njikelana was admitted to the St Matthews' Hospital, near Keiskammahoek.

Brig Sebe said there had been some hunger strikes by detainees in Dimbaza and Keiskammahoek, particularly Saawu people.

He said some students, who were due for release a few days after the first hunger strike at Dimbaza had started, had also joined the strike but were released.

"I remember well there were two occasions when we had these strikes, the first was when they did not eat for two or three days and then I had talks with them and they resumed having meals.

"Last week a report was submitted to the station commanders at Dimbaza and Keiskammahoek about Njikelana and Gqweta respectively.

"Both were taken to hospital at Mount Coke and St Matthews and were later released after two or three days treatment."

Brig Sebe said his department was not frightened by the hunger strikes.

"We shall continue with our investigations and take them to doctors for treatment when necessary."

According to Saawu sources in East London the two men had gone on hunger strikes because they insisted on being charged or released.

Initially they had insisted that they meet Brig Sebe about their continued detention. — DDR



WHEN DEMOCRACY MEANS VOTING ON AN

# REFERENDUM

An empty ten-letter word,  
thanks to Ciskeian Government

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By ROD JACKSON-SMITH

REFERENDUM has become an empty 10-letter word — thanks to the Ciskeian Government.

Last week about 500 000 Ciskeians eligible to vote on the affairs of this Xhosa homeland subjected themselves to a costly and pointless exercise which went under the guise of a referendum.

At issue, supposedly, was whether those Xhosa-speaking blacks not tied politically to the Transkei — the first black homeland to opt for independence in terms of Pretoria's apartheid policy — wanted to follow a similar course.

But ironically, the issue of Ciskei's independence has already been decided and the territory's Chief Minister,



Officials helping voters cast their ballots

Chief Lennox Sebe, is proceeding on the basis that the will of the people has given him the mandate to do so.

At a Press conference on the afternoon of the referendum Chief Sebe urged his audience to see the referendum in what

he called "its proper context."

"An activity such as this is entirely foreign to the customs of the Xhosa people.

"Where a decision needs to be taken on a national issue the customary approach is to draw together a representative gathering of people and to thoroughly thrash out the issues involved," he explained.

Referring to his recent "state of the nation" address at Zwelitsha, Chief Sebe said at that meeting the Ciskei Government was given the mandate to proceed with negotiations on independence.

"We realise, however, that we live in a world which is oriented towards Western ideas of democracy and that a referendum in Western terms is seen as the ultimate way in which the feelings of a people can be tested," said Chief Sebe.

Having satisfied the locals and the West, he proclaimed, Ciskei would be in a position "to demand that the world acknowledges that we have done the ultimate in complying with democracy".

This makes it clear that the referendum — a one-day affair on Thursday — was no more than a sop to what he termed "Western ideas of democracy."

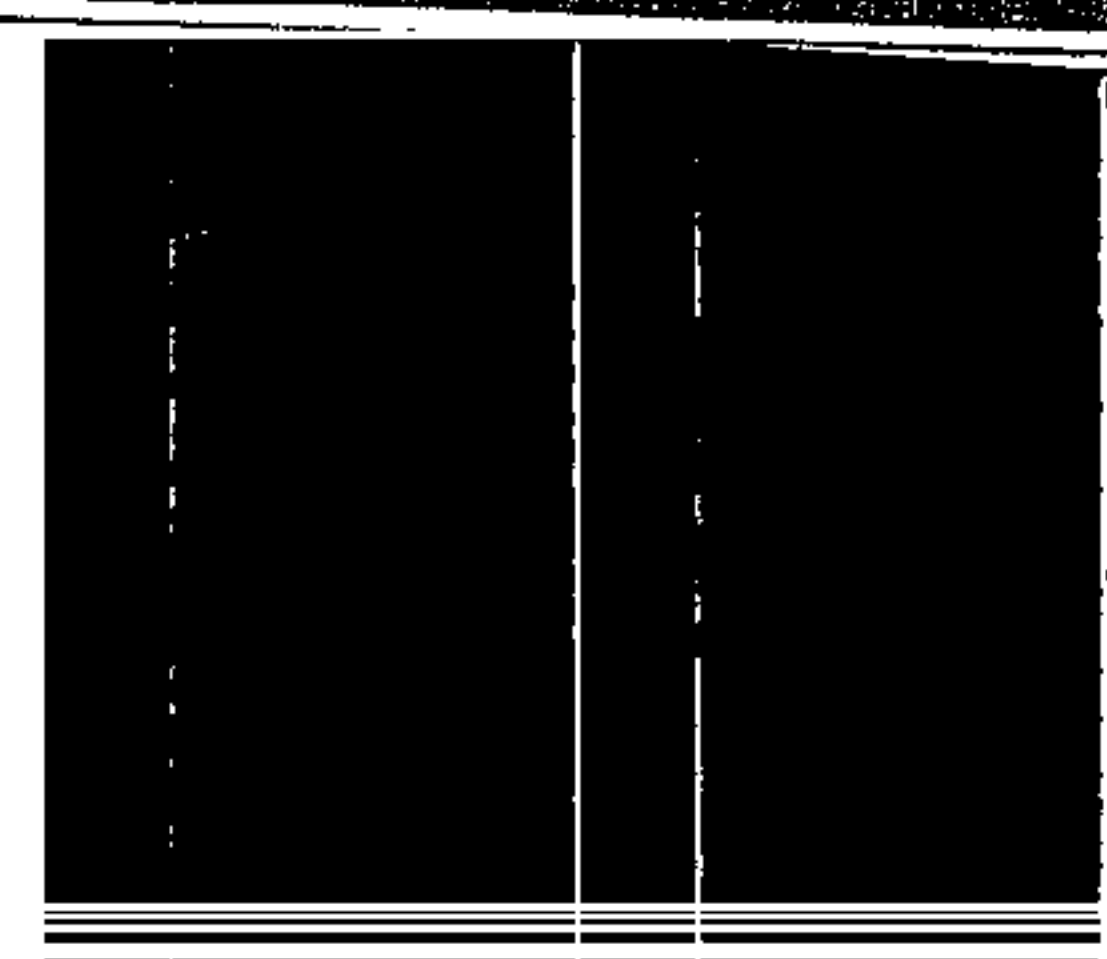
But if he is hoping that the West will respond favourably to this exercise it is a forlorn hope, taking into account the fate of the other so-called independent states



Mr Mzwandile Lusizi and his passport to the future — the all-important "R" stamp in his reference book

of Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana which are still struggling to be recognised beyond Pretoria.

And the West is not likely to be impressed by this tokenism, particularly in the light of measures at Chief





## ISSUE THAT'S ALREADY BEEN DECIDED



Chanting women plugging for a 'yes' vote

disposal to enhance his Government's political power base which are diametrically opposed to the democratic principle of freedom and all that it entails.

The chief weapon in the Ciskei Government's armoury is the notorious piece of legislation, referred to locally with trembling lips and a backward glance simply as R252.

Introduced in 1978 shortly after Chief Sebe swept the boards in the Ciskei general election, it is essentially aimed at eliminating threats to the security of the Ciskei.

But, according to sources in the territory, the measures contained in the document R252, have been used effectively to counter opposition to the Government to such an extent that a parliamentary opposition party no longer exists and fear of the measures makes it a practical impossibility to even consider establishing a political party opposed to the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP).

When one can be banished from the land of one's birth for overstepping the mark or punished for embarrassing the Ciskei Government then there must be a question mark over the extent to which Western democracy can be appeased.

Little wonder that on polling day there was no sign of opposition inside the homeland to the question of Ciskei choosing the path of independence.

It was equally impossible to determine whether enthusiastic groups of mainly women outside the booths were urging a "yes" vote because of a firm commitment to independence or because

their silence could be construed as possible opposition.

Most people questioned by the Sunday Tribune said they were voting for Inkululeko — freedom, but seemed hazy about details. One man made no bones about why he was voting for independence: "Because everybody else is."

The official announcement of the referendum was made at the end of October — with the deadline for the registration of voters set for November 9. This was seen, mainly by Xhosas outside the territory, as an attempt to give those opposed to independence as little possible time to organise a campaign.

But a major flaw emerged in a study of the registration procedures.

Only registered Ciskei voters were allowed to take part in the referendum, but to register a reference book has to be produced — and since the end of 1978 it has been mandatory for Ciskeians to take out citizenship if they required reference books.

In effect, this meant that those wishing to take part in the referendum had to register as Ciskei citizens. Those Xhosa-speaking blacks opposed to the concept of homeland citizenship were therefore excluded from the referendum.

Professor Terence Beard, head of the political science department at Rhodes University at Grahamstown, put it this way: To presume voters are Ciskei citizens before the referendum is held, presupposes an answer to one of the questions which the referendum is being held to decide.

By the time the polls opened there were 503 334 registered voters

— 208 190 inside Ciskei and 295 144 in other parts of the country. There are some 2 000 000 Ciskeians, which means that just over a quarter of all Ciskeians were eligible to vote in the referendum.

But a shock awaited those who did arrive at the more than 1 000 polling stations set up in Ciskei and other parts of South Africa. Voters found their reference books being stamped with an "R" to denote their participation in the referendum.

Sources inside the territory told the Sunday Tribune that this factor played a massive role in encouraging participation for the simple reason that those not wishing to vote would be victimised.

This victimisation, or fears of possible victimisation, are very real in a part of the country where a reference book is needed for virtually everything from obtaining a house to registering with the labour bureaux.

Without the "R" stamp there is a very real fear that on those two scores alone people could find themselves on a waiting list for ever.

At a Press conference on the eve of the referendum, the Ciskei Minister of the Interior, Mr Len Maqoma, gave the assurance that there would be no victimisation of those not participating in the poll, but several black journalists intimately acquainted with the Ciskei expressed misgivings.

Voting procedure also left a lot to be desired, particularly in the rural areas. Provision was made for illiterate Ciskeians to cast their votes with the help of the polling officer and two witnesses at each station.

But at virtually every polling station visited by the Sunday Tribune almost all the votes were cast in this manner, the rows of individual voting booths standing unused as officials recorded the votes on the ballot papers.

At one polling station at least, even the individual voting booths were dispensed with. And the stream of voters seemed quite content for officials to do the work of placing the compulsory "X" in the appropriate block.

Overseeing the referendum was a team of international observers, two from France, one from Britain and one from the United States — the only ones who responded to what was described as a "general

invitation abroad".

But after several hours of observing the voting the team were apparently unwilling to make any firm findings and played down their role after the referendum, particularly on whether they would be reporting back via official channels.

All — Mr Francis Lacoste, a retired French Ambassador, Dr Claud Roux, French MP, Professor Robert Hutchinson of the London School of Economics and Mr John Sears, once head of President-elect Ronald Reagan's election campaign — insisted that they had attended in their private capacity.

Near the end of the day Chief Sebe was looking a happy man, obviously convinced that

the poll had swung his way and that the result would be a resounding "yes" for independence.

Such was his confidence that he made bold to say that once Ciskei became independent a bilateral agreement or convention would be concluded with South Africa on Ciskei retaining "certain privileges" after independence.

Most of these concern existing "privileges", which prompted a very pertinent question on why Ciskei was pushing so hard for independence.

"In response Chief Sebe merely responded by saying: "if you didn't hear me read my statement and you are still in the dark, it's just bad luck."



# Ciskei poll result

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## KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

— It is highly probable the Ciskei referendum results will be announced tomorrow, according to Mr J. W. Grieb, Ciskei's chief electoral officer.

Mr Grieb said yesterday if today was not a holiday then I would be certain the results would be announced tomorrow.

He said the press would be told what time the results would be announced.

The outcome of the referendum is expected to be an overwhelming yes for independence for the Ciskei, which would make the homeland the fourth to opt for independence after Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda.



# Ciskei signs R20m Sandile Dam project

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**ZWELITSHA** — The Ciskei Government signed its biggest single engineering contract here yesterday — the R20 million Sandile Dam project.

Work on the dam is scheduled to start in January and will take an estimated three years to complete.

Unlike Cata Dam, also in the Keiskamma river basin, the Sandile Dam is not purely an irrigation dam, although it will be used for irrigation. It is being built to provide strong water storage for Dimbaza and Middledrift.

Some prospective industrialists have been wary of water supply to the Ciskeian industrial growth points, but the Ciskei Government hopes the Sandile Dam will give industrialists the assurance of good water supply.

The dam will also bring purified water to thousands of Ciskeians living in rural villages between the Sandile and Dimbaza, as well as to the Fort Cox Agricultural College.

The dam is also neces-

sary for a planned irrigation project to bring 760 ha of land in the Keiskamma basin under irrigated pasture.

Chief Z. P. Siwani, Minister of Works, said the dam was the hub of a R30 million regional development scheme in the upper Keiskamma River catchment area.

"It will supply sufficient water to meet the demands of the growing industrial centres of Dimbaza and the future growth point at Middledrift for at least 20 years," Chief Siwani said.

When full, the 800 metres long and 53 metres high dam wall is expected to push water nine kilometres up the Keiskamma River and five kilometres up the Wolf River, a tributary of the Keiskamma River.

It will have a full level surface area of 146 ha and will have a capacity of 29,4 million cubic metres.

The dam wall will be one of the largest of its kind in the country and will have a total volume of earthfill of almost three million cubic metres.

A concrete lined spill-

way will be capable of discharging a probable maximum flood of 2 800 cubic metres of water every second.

Because of the size of the dam, a separate R2 million contract has been awarded to Savage and Lovemore to rebuild 11 kilometres of the main road between Keiskammahoek and Middledrift as well as a branch road to Hogsback.

Work on a six kilometre pipeline connecting the dam, water purification works and irrigation scheme and a supply pipeline to Middledrift will also start next year.

The water purification works and 20 kilometre pipeline to Dimbaza are already in operation.

Chief Siwani described the water supply scheme as one of the most exciting developments in the Border region in years.

"It will open up tremendous employment opportunities for Ciskeians as well as industrial suppliers in neighbouring towns such as King William's Town and East London," he said. — DDR.



# Overwhelming 'yes' to Ciskeian independence

By CHRIS FREIMOND  
Southern Africa Bureau

IN THE first referendum of its type, Ciskeians have voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence from South Africa. The results, announced in Zwelitsha yesterday, showed that 295,891 of the homeland's 503,000 registered voters were in favour of severing ties with the Republic and only 1,642 against. There were 2,198 spoilt papers.

Of those who voted, 98% said yes to independence. The result had been expected and the only disappointment was the relatively low poll of 59.5%. When the voting began on December 4, polls of over 80% were predicted.

The Ciskeian Minister of Agriculture and acting Chief Minister, the Reverend W Xaba,

said yesterday that the Government had been expecting a better turn-out.

DON MARSHALL, the Rand Daily Mail's Pretoria Bureau Chief, reports that Dr Pieter Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, said in a statement issued yesterday:

"Like many nations before them, the people of the Ciskei have reconfirmed that the desire to be independent and to assume sole responsibility for the well-being of their country and its people, remain a factor to be reckoned with.

"To me it remains a source of great satisfaction that the black nations of South Africa, in their endeavours to attain independence and retain their separate identities, do not have to resort to violent measures but that adequate political in-

struments are at their disposal to achieve their goals."

Dr Koornhof said the Ciskeian government could now continue to take the necessary steps to implement its intentions.

He said it was also of great importance that the Ciskei was now in a position to participate with greater confidence in the co-operative projects being planned for the Eastern Cape region with the backing of the Development Bank.

"It is my sincere wish that the Ciskei and all its people will enjoy a bright and happy future. I am personally looking forward to the day when the Ciskei, as an independent and equipollent state, will be part of a confederation and constellation of Southern African states," Dr Koornhof said.

which is often the result of a change from a single class teacher to many teachers. The Education Authorities are unlikely to change this, because the teaching system is aimed at producing specialists. And from standard 6, schooling is by specialists. But the younger kids need older people to identify with, and standard 9 and 10 pupils should organise teachers with the younger pupils. These could be informal, they could discuss anything that was of interest to most of the people there, and it would not be necessary to stick only to school subjects. It could be a sharing of experiences. The best way of organising this would be through your Students Representative Council. If there is no SRC you should try to form one.

This informal teaching would be of benefit to both older and younger students. And they could take it out of the schools to people in the community. Many people in the community cannot read or write. Many of these are the gangsters too. SRC programmes could teach these people to discuss things that are important to them, then they would become interested. They must be shown that much of what they are doing fits in with the needs of the rich and that they are harming working class communities. It's a big thing to do, but no action can come out of a community that is divided against itself.



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# Ciskei

# Voters

# Give massive

# Yes

ZWELITSHA

Independence is on the cards for Ciskei following the massive Yes vote in the referendum results released here yesterday.

A total of 99.5 per cent of the 299 731 voters said "yes" to independence.

The results, announced here by the chief electoral officer, Mr J. W. Grieb, show only 1 642 voters rejected independence while there were 2 198 spoilt papers in a 59.5 per cent poll.

The result was welcomed yesterday.

Chief Minister L. L. Sebe said from Mauritius

where he is on holiday that the result gave him a strong mandate to bargain for independence.

He said he wanted a meal a day for his people and then the creation of a strong middle class.

The acting Chief Minister, the Reverend W. M. Xaba, said the results showed only 0.5 per cent of those who voted did not want independence.

"But 99.5 per cent want it and the voice of the nation has spoken," he said.

Mr Xaba alleged police harassment and intimidation of voters were some of the factors which prevented some Ciskeians from voting.

He said the SAP attitude was quite surprising

"because they are serving the South African Government, which is the architect of the policy of separate development."

All the other homelands were helped to achieve their independence "but Ciskei's independence is opposed even by those

### RESULT

Yes vote ..... 295 891  
No vote ..... 1 642  
Spoilt papers ..... 2 198  
Percentage poll ..... 59.5

who are supporters of separate development.

"But, in spite of all that, we had 80 per cent of the votes in the Ciskei," he said.

More votes could have

been received in Port Elizabeth were it not for intimidation.

"I must mention that we expected a high percentage on the results, but in Port Elizabeth people were afraid to go to the polling stations because of intimidation which was the result of the closure of schools.

He said 87 per cent of the people in Port Elizabeth were Ciskeian by virtue of birth "and these people belong to their chiefs and they all come to their homes during December holidays".

In Pretoria, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr. Piet Koornhof, said, like many nations before them, the

people of Ciskei had reconfirmed that the desire to be independent and assume sole responsibility for the well-being of their country and its people was a factor to be reckoned with.

He congratulated the voters "on their decision to enhance the status of their national state to that of a completely independent state in the near future."

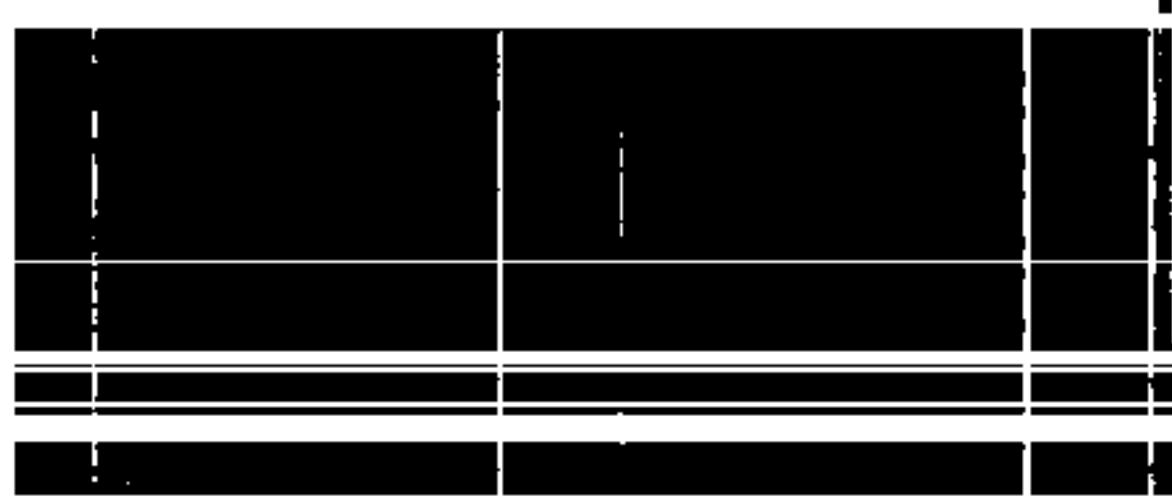
"To me it remains a source of great satisfaction that the black nations of South Africa, in their endeavours to attain independence and retain their separate identities, do not have to resort to violent measures — as in many other countries — but that adequate political instruments are at their disposal to achieve their goals.

Dr Koornhof said the Ciskei had followed the honourable and responsible path to independence.

It was also of great importance that the Ciskei was now in a position to take part with greater confidence in the co-operative projects being planned for the Eastern Cape — SAP/ADIR

an a 5% shift in  
en 1960 and 1970 are :  
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reas to homelands;  
areas to rural areas  
as to homelands;  
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# Ciskei <sup>105</sup> claims Kentani

ZWELITSHA — The Ciskei Government has demanded the exclusion from Transkei and incorporation into the Ciskei of Kentani, one of the magisterial districts of Transkei.

Making the claim for Kentani yesterday, after announcement of the Ciskei referendum results here, Ciskei's acting Chief Minister, Reverend W. M. Xaba, said Kentani was inhabited by Ciskeians.

Mr Xaba challenged the Transkei Government to conduct a referendum in Kentani and give those Xhosas there an opportunity to decide whether they want to secede from Transkei and join us in the Ciskei.

He criticised the incorporation into Transkei of Glen Grey after it had been excised from the Ciskei. "Those people were not given an opportunity to show their attitude towards incorporation into Transkei."

Mr Xaba also criticised Transkei's President, Paramount Chief K. D. Matanzima, for claiming Whittlesea.

"He should have ascertained his boundaries before going independent and not lay claim to territory outside Transkei after independence."

The incorporation of Whittlesea into the Ciskei has been proposed by the Van Der Walt Commission of Inquiry, which has also proposed that King William's Town and Berlin should be made part of the Ciskei.

President Matanzima said last Friday that the original owners of Whittlesea were Tembus, his own tribe, and that the area should be restored to them.

Mr Xaba also asked President Matanzima to "step down" from politics.

"In terms of international politics it is a disgrace for a ceremonial president to get himself embroiled in politics. It is just never done in the world of politics. He should step down," Mr Xaba said. — DDC.

Compulsory education proposed, page 12.



# Saawu detainees on hunger strike

EAST LONDON — A South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) official, Mr Sisa Njikelana, detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations, went on a hunger strike again this week, the Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, said yesterday.

Njikelana went on a hunger strike on Monday and was taken to a doctor yesterday.

He said Mr Njikelana was weak but he was not detained in hospital as the doctor had not deemed it necessary.

Mr Njikelana and the national organiser of Saawu, Mr Thozamile

Gqweta, who has been in detention since November 2, went on a hunger strike early this month and threatened to do so again on December 15 if they were not charged or released.

Brig Sebe said he had not received any information in connection with Mr Gqweta and the hunger strike this week — DDR

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(to be unemployed, one must be between 15 and 64 if male, 15 and when one uses the more rigorous CPS definition of unemployment part of African unemployment dissolves into economic inactivity important sectoral differences), so that it seems that a large (CPS) yield very similar employment totals (though there are ment estimates (based on Simkins, 1978a) and series B estimates lands (Simkins, 1979a:81). Table 3 shows that series A employ- areas and 54% and 62% higher for males and females in the home- 14% and 26% higher for males and females respectively in the 'white' male and female populations as denominators, the 1970 figures are reported by the 1970 Population Census; if one takes the entire is that CPS activity rates are considerably lower than those what are we to make of these rates? The first thing to note

Source: Simkins (1979a) Tables 1 and 2.

Region	% of age group economically active		Unemployment rates (%)	
	M 16-64	F 16-59	M	F
Metropolitan	92	58	8,0	22,6
Urban	97	53	2,3	15,5
Rural	93	50	2,6	9,0
Homelands	55	26	18,1	25,9
TOTAL	85	43	6,9	18,3

TABLE 10: AFRICAN AVERAGE ACTIVITY RATES AND UNEMPLOYMENT BY REGION AND SEX, MAY 1978

TABLE 4: ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN EMPLOYMENT BY REGION-TYPE AND SEX, 1960 AND 1970  
(a) 1960

# Bursaries for needy Ciskei scholars

JOHANNESBURG — Next year the Ciskeian National Development Corporation (CNDC) will grant a number of bursaries to select and needy Ciskeian secondary and high school pupils.

"This scheme is not open to all, but to those Ciskeian children unable to continue their education because their parents cannot afford to keep them at school," said Mr Frans Meisenholl, general manager of the CNDC.

"The pupils will be

selected after aptitude and other tests to determine their potential."

Since 1977, the CNDC had provided loans for study at Fort Hare. To date 30 students had made use of this assistance.

"By providing such schemes, the CNDC is confident it will assist in keeping these students in the Ciskei and ensure their acquired skills and abilities will be used to the benefit of all Ciskeians in future," Mr Meisenholl said.

DDC.

Male	Agriculture <sup>1</sup>	Mining <sup>2</sup>	Manufacturing <sup>3</sup>	Electricity <sup>4</sup>	Construction <sup>5</sup>	Commerce <sup>6</sup>	Transport etc <sup>7</sup>	Finance <sup>8</sup>	Services <sup>9</sup>	Total
Metropolitan	26 954	327 147	217 152	16 724	56 112	107 147	81 859	11 951	199 680	1 044 726
Urban	14 267	114 468	58 184	6 975	33 685	43 614	30 135	866	87 156	389 350
			18 896	517	29 593	5 671	7 760	46	10 149	898 520
			27 472	1 630	17 734	20 231	14 185	568	59 777	818 266
			321 704	25 846	137 124	176 663	133 939	13 431	356 762	3 150 862
			11 346	35	99	4 847	378	407	262 073	280 941
			3 415	12	89	2 817	266	51	118 770	126 883
			168	-	4	-	74	-	142 631	205 566
			2 767	12	84	2 273	143	11	68 759	226 996
			17 696	59	276	9 937	861	469	592 233	840 386
			339 400	25 905	137 400	186 600	134 800	13 900	948 995	3 991 248
			5,2	0,2	0,2	5,3	0,6	3,4	62,4	21,1



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# Ciskei opposed to compulsory schooling plan

ZWELITSHA - The Ciskei Government is opposed to the gradual introduction of compulsory education in black schools.

This was made clear yesterday when the acting Chief Minister, Rev. W. M. Xaba, addressed Ciskeians after the results of the independence referendum were announced here.

"This so-called free compulsory education is nothing else but the old Bantu education in the cloak of free education," he said.

The demand in the Ciskei was for compulsory education for all pupils up to Standard 8.

He said the gradual introduction of compulsory education as proposed by the Department of Education and Training meant full compulsory education

would become a fact of life after 16 years in South Africa after the initial introduction at Sub-A level.

The problem here is that we still have some whites controlling black education who cannot sit side by side with blacks, and the matter is particularly frustrating when such a man is a verkrampte," Mr Xaba said.

He also criticised members of the committees which have been established to liaise with the Department of Education and Training regarding introduction of compulsory education.

"I am surprised there are meetings with the minister on the matter as this free education is Bantu education which has been sugar-coated," he said. DDR

The main explanation for the discrepancy between my estimate and the CPS estimate of agricultural employment, then, is probably that I have overestimated employment in homeland agriculture. It may also be the case that the 1979 level of employment in 'white' agriculture is lower than that in 1976, continuing the trend between 1970 and 1976. This tendency for agricultural employment to contract in absolute and, a priori, in relative terms is a major 'demand-for-labour' factor against which to understand unemployment. The lack of a detailed understanding of the process remains a lacuna in any account of unemployment. It is possible, using the 1960 and 1970 Population Censuses, to analyse African unemployment by sex and region-type. The results are presented in Table 4: (see following page)

TABLE 4: ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN EMPLOYMENT BY REGION-TYPE AND SEX, 1960 AND 1970  
(a) 1960

Male	1 Agriculture	2 Mining	3 Manufacturing	4 Electricity	5 Construction	6 Commerce	7 Transport etc	8 Finance	9 Services	Total
Metropo- litans	26 954	327 147	217 152	16 724	56 112	107 147	81 859	11 951	199 680	1 044 726
	975	33 685	43 614	30 135	33 685	5 671	7 760	866	87 156	389 350
	517	29 593	20 231	17 734	29 593	5 671	7 760	46	10 149	898 520
	630	17 734	20 231	14 185	17 734	20 231	14 185	568	59 777	818 266
	846	137 124	176 663	133 939	137 124	176 663	133 939	13 431	356 762	3 150 862
Urban	1 379	84	3 415	35	99	4 847	378	407	262 073	280 941
Rural	62 045	644	168	12	89	2 817	266	51	118 770	126 883
Homeland	152 541	406	2 767	-	4	-	74	-	142 631	205 566
TOTAL	217 613	1 242	17 696	59	84	2 273	143	11	68 759	226 996
Total: M & F	1 671 248	533 000	339 400	25 905	137 400	186 600	134 800	13 900	948 995	3 991 248
% Female	13,0	0,2	5,2	0,2	0,2	5,3	0,6	3,4	62,4	21,1

**Ciskeian detainees released**

Fourteen East London trade unionists held by Ciskeian security police for periods of up to five weeks were today released without charge.

This was announced by the secretary of the South African Allied Workers Union, Mr Sam Kikine.

Among those released are the Saawu national organiser, Mr Thozamile Gweta, Saawu East London branch secretary Mr Sisa Njikelana and the branch chairman of the African Food and Canning Workers Union, Mr Weile Mzozoyana.

All the unionists had been held under a Ciskeian Government proclamation providing for indefinite detention without trial.



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# Bell: land used as lure

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Figure 1 is a histogram  
Source: Simkins, 1979

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**EAST LONDON**  
Proposals to incorporate Berlin, King William's Town, the Hogsback and rich farming areas into the Ciskei were announced purely as an incentive to the Ciskei to consider the adoption of an independent status in furtherance of National Party policy, the NRP MP for East London North, Mr Harland Bell, said yesterday.

The fact the announcement was made before any evidence was taken from a broad local spectrum and without consulting even the local authority of chambers of commerce or industry is deplorable," he said.

It seems quite evident the decision to allow the local inhabitants who would be expatriated to vote their views before the Van der Walt Commission in January was taken only after pressure by the inhabitants, which appears to confirm the high handed attitude adopted by the commission in dealing with the matter.

Mr Bell said under the circumstances only a referendum held by the landowners and residents about to be expatriated would give a clear indication of the views of the people. The result would be the true exercise of local option in a matter which vitally affected the daily lives and economic well-being of these people.

In terms of the policy of the Government of South Africa to incorporate certain areas into homelands would not arise from any reason other than to provide more viable self-administration or for socio-economic reasons.

In the case of Berlin, King William's Town and Hogsback this would certainly not be the case. A common economy to which all would have access by agreement, whether the parties were self-governing homelands or independent states would very rarely result in drastic steps as the Government is now suggesting.

The sooner the Government adopts the proposals of the NRP for the establishment of a federal-confederal constitution, the sooner will the continuing uncertainty and heartache caused by the Government's consolidation proposals be brought to an end," Mr Bell said. — DDR

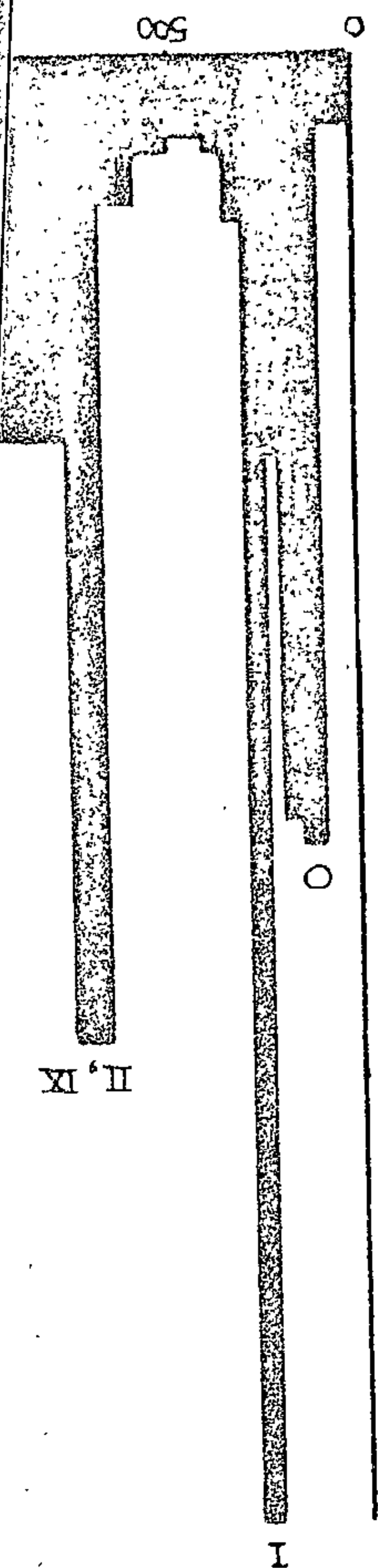


FIGURE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICANS 1976

# Transkei's first black stationmaster

UMTATA — An Idutywa man has become the first black stationmaster in Transkei.

Mr R. N. Soka, 54, is responsible for Bityi, Munyu and Idutywa stations, 63 railway employees and 16 trains daily.

He joined the South African Railways 35 years ago as a labourer in East

London, and I've been happy ever since.

After Mr Soka had completed a four-month course at the Germiston training centre in 1964, he was transferred as a clerk to Idutywa, and has been there since.

His new appointment is effective from December 1 — DDR.

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Four region-types, 1980 for either

The shift in the proportion of population in each region-type reflects net migration between them. Table 2 presents net migration between 1960 and 1970.

unemployment. to the least is the most important demographic fact affecting of Africans away from the most developed parts of South Africa proportion of Africans resident in the homelands. This shift Both these shifts have one result - a radical increase in the themselves. evictions where people have been left to find a new place for the context of a static demand for labour) a large number of ment villages' in the homelands; there must also have been (in of both policies involve state removal of people to 'resettle- will come to an end) and squatters on white farms. Application year, after which new contracts will not be signed and old ones of reducing the number of labour tenants (to zero after this spots' (small pockets of black-owned land in white areas) and the white rural areas, reflecting a policy of removing 'black Also remarkable, is the decline in population proportion in

and urban areas to a minimum. the economically inactive African population in metropolitan



# Siyo Cnip move upsets Nqwelo

Indaba Reporter

EAST LONDON — A former Ciskei National Independence Party organiser who joined the Labour Party is upset at the decision by Mr L. F. Siyo to rejoin Cnip.

"I left Cnip and joined the Labour Party led by Sivo

"He has now crossed again without telling his followers," Mr Nqwelo said.

A former detainee under Ciskei R252, Mr Nqwelo said he asked Mr Siyo why he did not call a meeting and was told he could not get a permit to do so.

Mr Nqwelo said he feared that those who opposed the move by Mr Siyo to rejoin Cnip could find themselves in trouble.

Mr Siyo said: "My followers will go along with me to the government party. I have strived for freedom and independence of the Ciskei and we now have it. No pressure has been brought to bear on me to take this decision."

Mr Siyo has held Cabinet posts in the Ciskei Government.

He was Minister of Interior, then Minister of Health and when he was expelled from the party, he was Minister of Agriculture.

When he was expelled from the party in 1978 he formed the Labour Party of South Africa and formed an alliance with the opposition Ciskei National Party led by Chief Justice Mabandla and the Ciskei National Unionist Party led by Chief S. M. Burns-Ncamashe.

Chief Ncamashe's party and Chief Mabandla's have been dissolved and members have joined the ruling party.

Mr Siyo was officially welcomed back by the Minister of Agriculture, the Rev. W. M. Xaba.

We are hindered in the it with Table 4) by the are excluded from the and commerce figures at

Source: Current Population Statistics, 1980, Statistics

	Male	Female	TOTAL	%
Agriculture	836	209	1 045	20,0
Mining	603	5	608	0,8
Manufacturing	64	14	78	1,8

TABLE 5: ANALYSIS OF

ment grew only by 2 employment in total A cross-check with is needed to ground but even if there employment estimate to reverse the conc women came on to th it in the 1960's. proportion of males 75% and to increase 15-59 from 27% to 3 considerably in the

s - January 1979 to January

	Male	Female	TOTAL	%
Agriculture	373	194	567	34,2
Mining	205	10	215	4,7
Manufacturing	538	13	552	25,0
Commerce	39	755	794	58,4
Transport	373	194	567	34,2
Finance	373	194	567	34,2
Services	373	194	567	34,2
Total	373	194	567	34,2

TABLE 5: ANALYSIS OF

share of female om 21,1% to 28,7%. employment figures result more firmly, men in the 1970 to be so great as numbers of African were absorbed by to reduce the employed from 87% to females between seems to have abated been from Table 5.

able 5) by comparing and Bophuthatswana the agriculture It seems unlikely

27.3 of 14 May 1980.



**EDITORIAL OPINION**

# After the referendum

The voters of the Ciskei have given the Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, the "promissory note" he asked for. They have come down firmly in favour of independence.

But where, in fact, does the referendum of December 4 take us?

Chief Sebe describes it as a strong mandate to bargain for independence. In other words, it is the beginning of the real nitty gritty.

On the other hand the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof — the Minister with whom Chief Sebe will have to bargain — describes it as the "honourable and responsible path to independence" — whatever that may mean.

Superficially, at any rate, Dr Koornhof seems to interpret the outcome of the referendum to mean that Ciskei independence on the pattern of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda is certain.

Perhaps he is right. Perhaps it would be impossible for Chief Sebe to turn back now. Why, after all, hold the referendum if he did not intend to implement its mandate? Has he not, indeed, been given a directive by his people?

For all that, there is a fog of uncertainty shrouding the whole issue. For instance —

Chief Sebe has made much about a

"package deal" — conditions for independence which he has said were not negotiable. These included land claims, dual nationality and much else.

First question: Do the Van der Walt Commission's recommendations as they affect the Ciskei satisfy those land claims? They are a long way short of what Chief Sebe demanded, which was for all the land from the Stormberg to the sea and from the Fish River to the Kei.

We don't even know at this stage that Chief Sebe will get as much as Van der Walt recommended. The ceding of King William's Town, Hogsback and Berlin to the Ciskei has become a political hot potato.

Second question: What will Chief Sebe do if Dr Koornhof says "No" to some others of his non-negotiable conditions — say, dual nationality?

Third question: What of economic viability? We cannot see this coming from anything less than the proposed co-prosperity zone. But for that to succeed all the people of Ciskei, Transkei and the white corridor must work together.

With Ciskei and Transkei making rival claims for Kentani and Whittlesea, will co-operation be possible?

of 14 May 1980. (Statistical News Release, P 27.3

selected after stratifying on the basis of geographical area and national unit'.  
10 000 dwellings (in clusters of 30 for practical reasons) ...  
this by collecting information from a sample of nearly  
lation, particularly as regards the unemployed'. It does  
on the structure of the economically active African popu-  
Its object is 'to obtain current short-term information  
a current Population Survey of Africans (and 'Coloureds').  
In 1976 the Department of Statistics started (from October 77)  
2. Following the sustained public discussion of unemployment  
otherwise stated.

1. 'South Africa' includes Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda,

N O T E S



# Ciskei frees union officials

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Fourteen East London trade unionists who have been held by Ciskeian security police for up to five weeks were released yesterday without being charged.

This was announced by the secretary of the South African Allied Workers' Union, Mr Sam Kikine.

Among those released were the SAAWU organiser, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, SAAWU East London branch secretary Mr Sisa Njikelana and the branch chairman of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Welile Mzozoyana.

All had been held under a Ciskeian proclamation providing for indefinite detention without trial.

Mr Kikine said the two senior officials, Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikelana, had been on hunger strike since last Friday.

Mr Njikelana was 'unwell' as a result of this and an earlier protest fast, he added.

Their release followed speculation that their original detention had been related to the Ciskeian referendum held this month.

Brigadier Charles Sebhe, head of the Ciskeian security services, could not be contacted for comment.

Mr Kikine called for the charge or release of an East London unionist still in detention.

He is the branch secretary of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Oscar Norughe, who has been held under South African security legislation since June.

Pass rate in  
'coloured' schools  
for 1977

TABLE 3

# Ciskei frees 12 unionists without trial

RDM  
20/12/88

12  
105

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN  
Labour Reporter

CISKEIAN security authorities yesterday released 12 detained East London trade unionists — some after six weeks detention — without laying any charges against them.

The unionists, 11 of whom are officials or members of the SA Allied Workers Union — were held in the biggest crackdown on South African unionists since 1976.

They were released a few days after two of the detainees went on a hunger strike for the second time, demanding that they be charged or released.

A spokesman for the Ciskeian Intelligence Service confirmed yesterday that the men had been released and that no charges had been laid against them.

The detainees included Saawu's national organiser Mr Thozamile Gqweta, its East London branch secretary Mr

Sisa Njikalana, and the East London branch chairman of the African Food and Canning Workers Union Mr Welile Mozozoyana.

The other detainees were active Saawu members at two East London companies, Border Passenger Transport — in which the Ciskeian Government has a share — and Wilson-Rowntree.

While in detention, Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikalana twice went on hunger strikes, demanding to be charged or released. The second hunger strike began earlier this week.

Both spent some time in hospital as a result.

Saawu's general secretary, Mr Samuel Kikine, said yesterday that Mr Gqweta was well but that Mr Njikalana would still have to spend time in hospital after his release.

The unionists had been held in terms of Proclamation R252, which enables the Ciskeian authorities to detain people for up

to 90 days without trial.

The secretary of the Ciskeian Intelligence Service, Brig Charles Sebe, had first claimed that the unionists had been held in connection with "schools unrest".

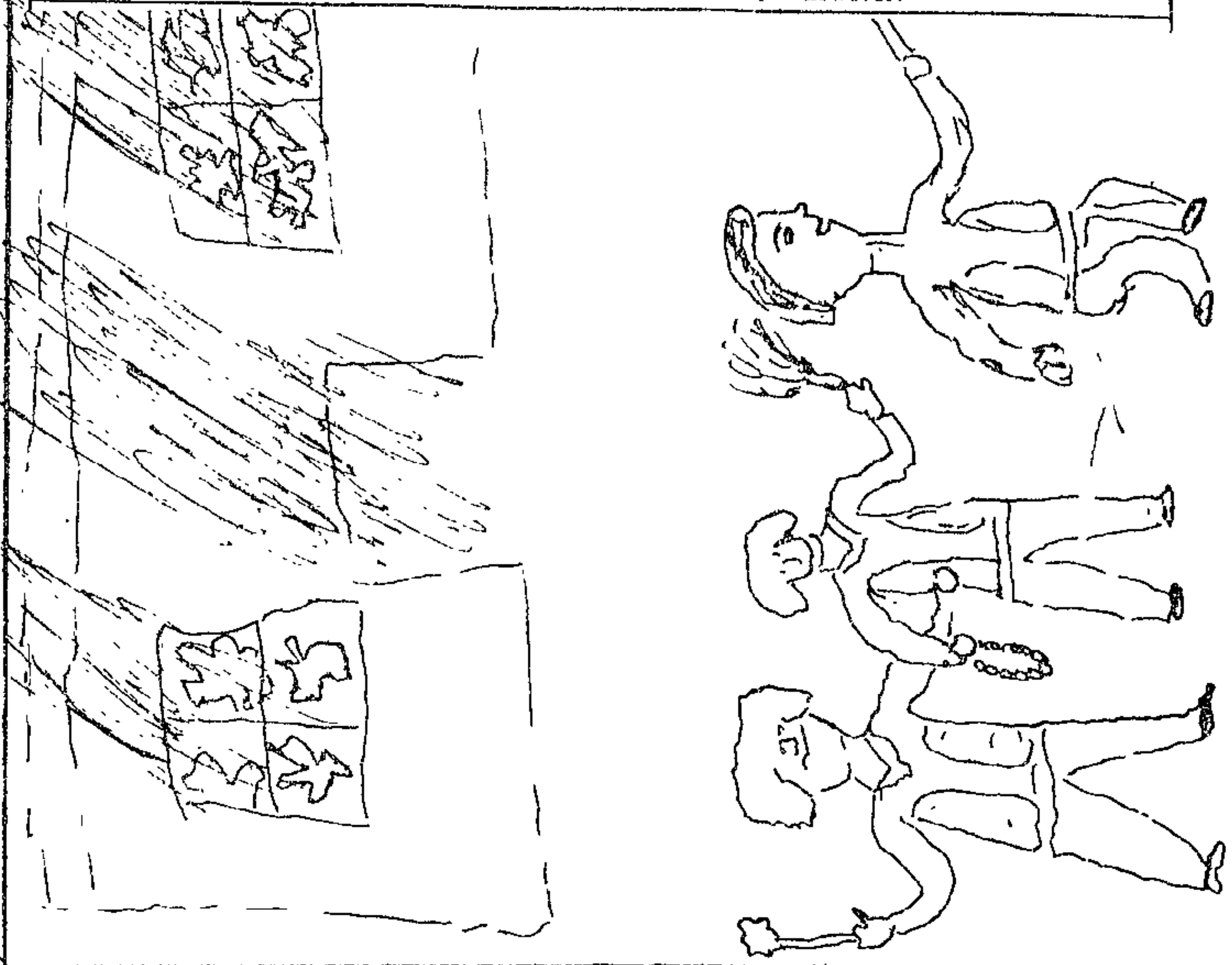
He later confirmed that they were being held for "Saawu activities" and said there was "more to Saawu than meets the eye".

Later Brig Sebe said that some of the unionists were being held because "they were using Saawu to further the aims of the banned African National Congress".

Labour observers in East London said yesterday that the detainees "appear to have been vindicated totally".

Unionists saw the detentions as a crackdown on unregistered unions which refused to register and claimed that the Ciskei was acting as a "proxy" for South Africa.

Brig Sebe denied this, however.





C  
Ciskei  
20/12/80  
12  
32  
105  
freed  
detained

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Ciskeian security authorities yesterday released 12 detained East London trade unionists — some after six weeks' detention — without laying any charges against them.

The unionists, 11 of whom are officials or members of the South African Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) — were held in the biggest crackdown on South African unionists since 1976.

The detainees included Saawu's national organizer, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, its East London branch secretary, Mr Sisa Njikalana, and the East London branch chairman of the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, Mr Welile L. Mozozoyana

The other detainees were active Saawu members at two East London companies, Border Passenger Transport — in which the Ciskeian Government has a share — and Wilson-Rowntree.

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Both spent some time in hospital as a result.

The unionists had been held in terms of Proclamation R252, which enables the Ciskeian authorities to detain people for up to 90 days without trial



Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikelana enjoy a meal after being released from detention yesterday.

## Ciskei frees 11 trade union detainees

EAST LONDON — Eleven trade unionists detained under the Ciskei emergency regulations were released yesterday.

The men included the national organiser of the South African Allied Workers Union, (Saawu), Mr Thozamile Gqweta, and another Saawu official, Mr Sisa Njikelana. Both men went on hunger strikes during their detention.

Others released were Mr Godfrey Shiba, Mr Victor Kale, Mr Boy Mandi, Mr Wilton Hloyi (all workers at a sweet factory here), Mr Solomon Goch, Mr Boyce Soci, Mr Michale Ngesimane, a Mr Matshoba (all from a local bus company) and Mr Welile Mzozoyana, branch chairman of the African Food and Canning Workers Union here.

Mr Gqweta, who was detained from his Mdantsane home on November 2, said he went through three hunger strikes during the period.

"I started the first on November 3 and continued until the 9th," he said.

The first strike was to get the Ciskei authorities who had detained him to give reasons why he was detained, he said.

He was taken in on November 9 and told a report had been submitted to the Ciskei cabinet for a decision.

"I was eating from November 10 to 12. On November 13 I was taken in and questioned for three days and Brigadier Sebe said he was through with me when I saw him

on November 17."

Mr Gqweta said he waited from November 18 to 23 and then on November 24 he told the magistrate visiting at Keiskammahoek that he would wait until November 26 for the cabinet decision, failing which he would go on another hunger strike if he got no reply.

He went on another hunger strike from November 27 to December 3 when he became dizzy and weak and was taken to St Matthews Hospital where he was put on drip and discharged on December 8.

On December 7 he was joined by Mr Njikelana who was on his third hunger strike. Mr Njikelana left hospital on December 10 and went on his fourth hunger strike on December 12. This continued until Thursday when they were told they would be released yesterday.

Mr Gqweta said other detainees were Mr Hubert Jekwa, an Adantsane businessman, and Mr Shepherd Dumazweni, a former National Converter Industries worker who was on his 139th day in detention yesterday—had also joined him on his last hunger strike.

Mr Njikelana's first hunger strike started on November 5 and ended on Sunday, November 9. He resumed it on November 16 with 15 other detainees who were released the following day. His third strike started on November 29 and went on until he was taken to hospital on December 7.

The Secretary of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brig Charles Sebe, was not available for comment on the release of the men yesterday.

Officials at his office said he would be away until Monday. - DDR

DD.  
20/11/80 (105)  
~~27/12/80~~



# State<sup>8.7</sup> accused<sup>2.1/2.18</sup> by top<sup>105</sup> farmers

By BEVIS FAIRBROTHER

FARMERS in the Border area, near Queenstown, claim they are being done out of hundreds of thousands of rand by "unfair" Government evaluators.

Some say they are only being offered half the true value of their land, now being expropriated for the Ciskei.

Among their complaints are:

- Evaluations vary from less than R200 a hectare on one farm to nearly R700 a hectare on another . . . for no apparent reason.
- Evaluators know nothing about the area.
- They are not interested in improvements to farms, which have cost the owners thousands of rand over the years.

Farmers feel they are virtually forced to sell at the low prices offered as a last chance before their land is included in the Ciskei. Selling chances will then be slim.

They also feel that, if they stay on, they will be "robbed blind" by stock thieves who have become active only since the Government resettled groups in the Border area.

A spokesman for the Eastern Agricultural Union confirmed that they received "complaints all day" from dissatisfied farmers.

## Fear of reprisal

The union could not act on individual complaints but was taking up the matter with "the powers that be".

Farmers interviewed did not want to be identified for fear of being "picked on".

One of the biggest farmers in the area said he was disappointed with the offer made to him, but accepted "with tongue in cheek".

He was close to retirement and was tired of fighting for a fair price.

"We've been waiting for them to do this for eight years.

It's been like a sword hanging over our heads," he said.

The evaluators finally came this year.

"They didn't take any improvements I had made into consideration.

"When we came here 35 years ago. There were no fences and water was scarce. Now we have the most improved farm in the Queenstown district.

"I invited the evaluators to see my cattle and sheep dips and they said they weren't interested.

"I insisted on showing them but afterwards they said they still weren't interested.

"I couldn't believe that in an

area where scab and ticks are rife, they were not interested in dipping tanks."

The farmer was offered the second lowest price in the area — R212 a hectare. Another farmer received only R180 a hectare.

## Stock thefts

Farmers could not understand how the land was evaluated. Stock theft became rife in the area when the government resettled Herschel blacks there.

"The blacks who have always lived here have been good neighbours. We never had any trouble until the newcomers arrived," a farmer said.

Another farmer said she turned down the first offer a year ago, but said her door was still open to negotiation.

When she heard nothing from the Government for a year, she made inquiries in Pretoria and discovered her papers had been lost.

She eventually received R50 000 more for her property, which was only as much as the interest that would have accrued on the original offer over a year.

"We would never be able to buy a similar farm anywhere else for the money we got. We got half of what we should have."

She said private evaluators had quoted much higher prices than the Government officials.

She suggested that a solution would be for the Government to take a figure between the two quotes.

Mr Louis Fouche, director-general of the Department of Community Development and State Auxiliary Services, said it was impossible to comment on general statements.

Each complaint had to be considered separately as separate evaluation had been made in each case. The evaluations had been conducted on a scientific basis."



THE Ciskeian vote in favour of independence was the result of a combination of the politics of boycotting and fear, says Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, who conducted an independent survey on Ciskeians' opinion of a break with South Africa.

He said this week that the credibility of the opposition Imbumba Party and the voters who stayed away from the polls was at stake. Their future opposition would be weakened by their refusal to register any protest in the referendum.

Before the voting started, the Imbumba Party said it would call on members not to vote in the referendum because it believed that Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, had already opted for independence no matter what the outcome; that anyone making the political statement ran the risk of arrest; and that Chief Sebe had a vested interest in the outcome.

The referendum results this week gave Chief Sebe a narrow win with 295 891 of the Ciskei's 503 000 voters opting for independence. An attitude study commissioned by the Quail commission into independence at a cost to

# FEAR and SILENCE

## Two hidden reasons for that Ciskei vote — by an expert

Geoffrey Allen speaks to Professor Laurence Schlemmer

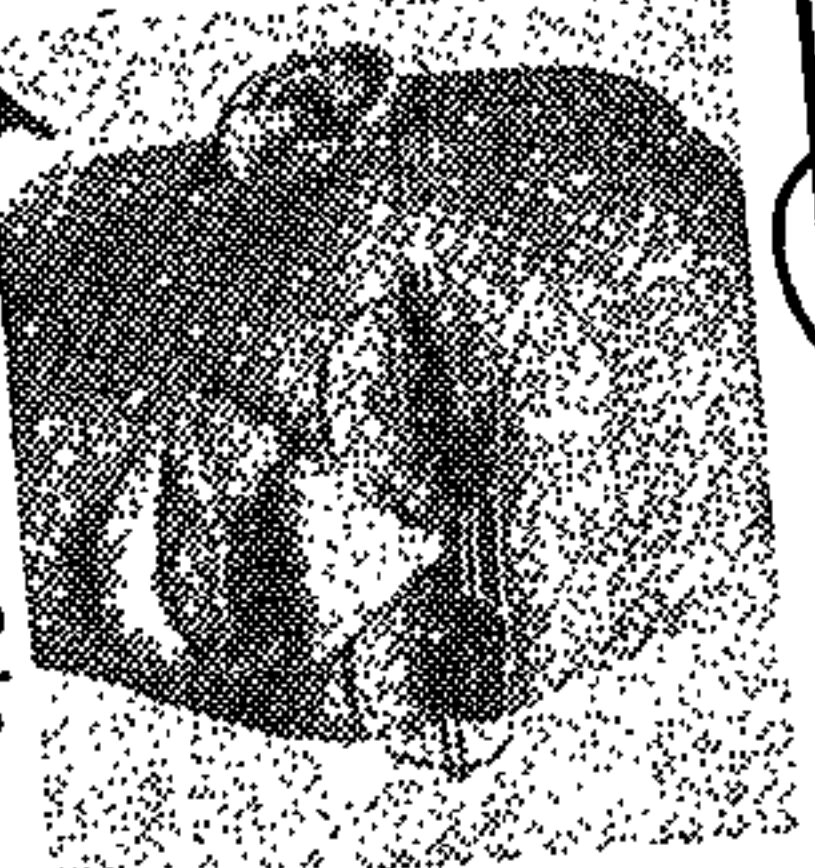
105 S. Times 21/12/80

the Ciskei Government of R30 000 was only 1.5 percent out in predicting that 42 percent of the voters would refuse to have anything to do with Chief Sebe's referendum.

The referendum results showed that, in fact, 40.5 percent of Ciskeians declined to cast their votes. Professor Schlemmer, head of the Department of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, which conducted the survey, said there was a popular belief that it was more honourable to boycott an issue in which the individual did not believe than to vote against it. Professor Schlemmer said this attitude was possibly rein-



Professor Schlemmer forced by an "incredible" speech made by Chief Sebe on November 22 when he advised those who would not vote in favour of independence to stay away from the referendum



Chief Lennox Sebe with a veiled threat of possible imprisonment if they did not obey him. At an independence rally at Mdatsane Stadium in East London, Chief Sebe told a large

audience: "The voice and great rumblings of our great chiefs are so loud and clear that there is no choice for us."

"Go to the polling stations as a nation, singing those songs you sucked from your mothers' breasts, or if you choose the worst — to betray the nation — do not go to the polling stations. "The spirits of our great chiefs will make a piercing cry: Deliver him or her to the officer and be cast into prison."

This week, Professor Schlemmer said: "In the light of Chief Sebe's speech it would appear that the positive result

of the referendum is not only the result of a boycott mentality but of the fear of political victimisation. "A reasonable man should have realised that Chief Sebe could not have prosecuted or victimised him if there had been a sufficiently large vote against independence. "It is very disappointing that there is a fairly substantial opinion in certain black circles that this kind of political exercise has to be boycotted. "An opportunity has been given to the people to record their stance with regard to an issue of vital importance. "I think a service would have been done in South Africa had all the voters and potential voters recorded their position. "It makes no sense at all for people to adopt an attitude of non-co-operation. "The position now is that Chief Sebe probably feels with some justification that he has a mandate to take independence but that a lot of people feel that he has not got that mandate. A seed for conflict has certainly been sown."

After the results were announced, the South African Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, said he looked forward to the day when Ciskei would be part of a confederation and constellation of Southern African states.



Whites to

meet

on Ciskei

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The white residents of King William's Town are a step closer to holding a referendum on incorporation into Ciskei after the borough council confirmed a decision by the Mayor to call a public meeting on the issue.

The meeting will be on Saturday night.

The decision was taken after a petition was handed to the Town Clerk, Mr H C S Hutten, calling for a referendum.

It was drawn up by an action committee of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, which is fighting against incorporation.

The council is obliged to hold a referendum if nine municipal voters ask for one.

DD  
21/12/80  
105

# Ciskeians to give thanks

EAST LONDON —  
Ciskeians have been invited to a thanksgiving service to be held at the Zwelitsha Stadium on Sunday, the acting Ciskei Chief Minister, Rev W. M. Xaba, said here yesterday.

Mr Xaba said the service was to give thanks for the rains that had fallen and relieved drought in many parts of the Ciskei and also to give thanks for the orderly manner in which the referendum on independence was carried out on December 4.

DDR



22/12/80 DD

# 114 arrested in police sweep (105)

MDANTSANE — A total of 114 people were arrested in police raids and roadblocks in Mdantsane at the weekend.

The secretary of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Brigadier Charles Sebe, said last night some would appear in court today on charges of possessing dagga, possessing dangerous weapons or dealing in illicit liquor.

He said police seized 11 bags of dagga.

Brigadier Sebe said the

people of Mdantsane could rest assured that police would take strict measures to control crime during the festive season.  
— DDR.

## Egypt confirms US base facilities

CAIRO — The Foreign Minister, Mr Kamal Hassan Ali, publicly confirmed yesterday that Egypt would give the US military facilities at its Red Sea base of Ras Banias.

61.	Radiological changes after withdrawal from Asbestos exposure	Table	10
62.	Becklake et al. Environmental Assessment Report of 14/1979.	11	
63.	See (18)	12	
64.	Report of the Commission on the Environment of 14/1979.	17	
65.	Industry. The town clerk Mr. Henry Hulten, replied that the law decreed that only those who were enrolled could vote.	18	
66.	That special arrangements be made to allow those ratepayers not enrolled on the municipal voters roll to vote in the referendum.	26	
67.	Mr. Nel also demanded that special arrangements be made to allow those ratepayers not enrolled on the municipal voters roll to vote in the referendum.	30	
68.	In view of the mayor not swearing on the Bible I am not prepared to put forward a motion of confidence in the mayor and the borough council," he said.	37	
69.	Mr. Nel said he had a document proving that the commission had finalised its recommendations in regard to King William's Town on June 13 this year in Cape Town.	47	
70.	He later promised he would show the document to the press today.	49	

# Ciskei: King's Pool date set

100  
23/12/80  
106

**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — A meeting here last night voted overwhelmingly in favour of a municipal poll to decide whether the town was in favour of being part of Ciskei or not.

The motion, which was passed, has bound the borough council to hold a municipal poll on the acceptability of the Vander Walt Commission proposals before January 15 next year.

The commission recommended that King William's Town be incorporated into the Ciskei.

Proposed by Mr. Norman Coleman, leader of the King Branch of the New Republic Party, and seconded by Mr. R. G. Schwartz, the meeting of over 100 said they wanted a poll to test the reaction of King residents.

A dissenting voice came from Mr. Jack Shopley, a long-time leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the town.

"I oppose the referendum because it has overtones of racial bias," he said.

Amid some loud heckling, Mr. Shopley proposed that the borough council and other interested parties enter into negotiations with the Ciskei Government.

"We need the goodwill of all to prosper," King William's Town's councillor, Mr. Eric Weyer, said.

"King William's Town is engulfed by the Ciskei unemployment, its social and economic dependence on the Ciskei Government."

One cannot ignore the effect of the Vander Walt Commission report's release. The Ciskei will never be the same again," Mr. Shopley said.

"The question of co-prosperity has become an issue which has to be handled resolutely and delicately," Hecklers shouted. "Do you want another Zimbabwei Sit down?"

Mr. Shopley's proposal that the meeting affirm the interdependence of all race groups in the area was rejected by the mayor, Mr. Eric Weyer.

Mr. Weyer said only an amendment to the proposed motion could be moved.

In his statement to the meeting, Mr. Weyer stressed that the borough council had no knowledge of the commission's proposals before they were announced.

He said that during a meeting between the council and Mr. Hennie van der Walt on November 12, the council made it very clear that the recommendations of the commission insofar as they affected King William's Town were not acceptable to us.

The man who motivated the municipal meeting by collecting 28 signatures on a petition, Mr. Brian Nel, leader of the local Herstigte Nasionale Party, caused a sensation when he demanded that Mr. Weyer swear on a Bible that the council did not know of the recommendations before they were announced.

Mr. Weyer refused, saying he had given his word of honour, and that was sufficient.

Mr. Nel said he had a document proving that the commission had finalised its recommendations in regard to King William's Town on June 13 this year in Cape Town.

He later promised he would show the document to the press today.

"In view of the mayor not swearing on the Bible I am not prepared to put forward a motion of confidence in the mayor and the borough council," he said.

Mr. Nel also demanded that special arrangements be made to allow those ratepayers not enrolled on the municipal voters roll to vote in the referendum.

The town clerk, Mr. Henry Hulten, replied that the law decreed that only those who were enrolled could vote.



# Whites to vote over Ciskei

23/2/80  
argus  
105

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — The white residents of King William's Town will hold a referendum early next year on the town's incorporation into the Ciskei, as proposed by the Van der Walt Commission.

This was the decision by municipal voters at a meeting last night, and feelings ran so high that the mayor was told to swear on the Bible at one stage.

Mayor Eric Weyer was confronted by the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in the town, Mr Brian Nel, who is also the chairman of an action committee formed by the HNP to fight the incorporation into the Ciskei.

### SWEAR

Mr Nel asked Mr Weyer to swear on the Bible that he had had no prior knowledge of the commission's proposal before it was announced last month.

Mr Nel said he had a copy of the recommendations, dated June 13, which he believed the town council had knowledge of, without informing the people.

Mr Weyer who outlined the steps taken by the council as a result of the commission's proposals, denied that the council had prior knowledge of the proposals, and he refused to take the oath.

Mr Nel then refused to propose a motion of confidence in the council.

Of the 150 people attending the meeting, only four voted against a poll on the issue of incorporation.

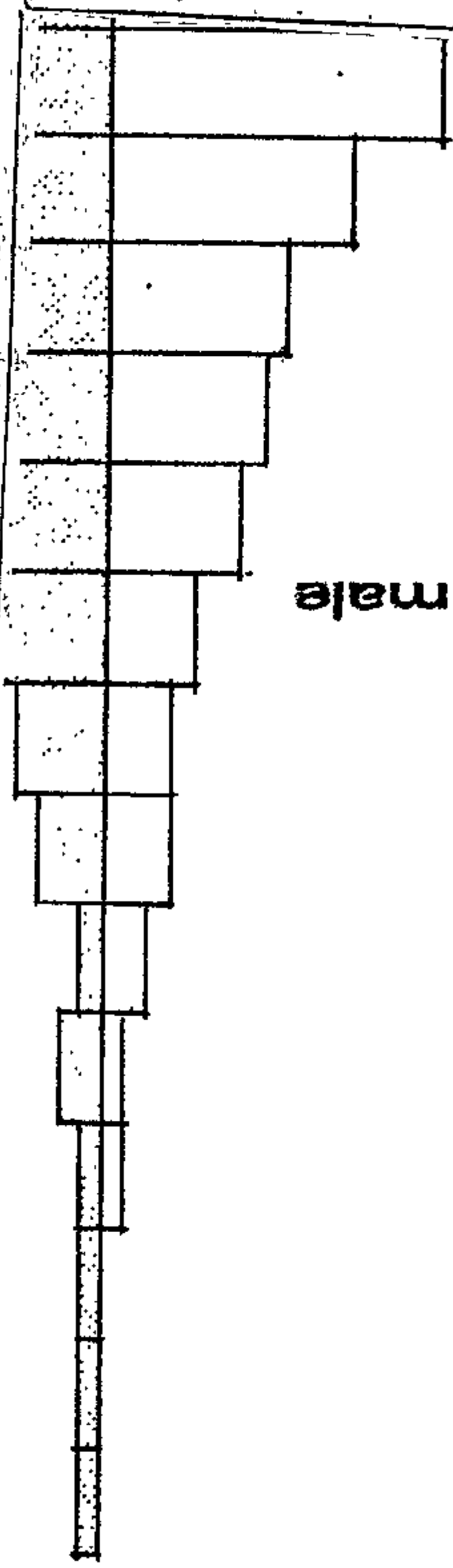
### PETITION

Only nine people were required to ask for a poll, according to a municipal ordinance.

The poll was initially called for in a petition handed to the council.

The result of the poll to be held on January 15, will be conveyed to Mr Hennie van der Walt, chairman of the commission, when he visits the town on January 19 and 20 to hear the views of residents on the issue.

age  
10-14  
15-19  
20-24  
25-29  
30-34  
35-39  
40-44  
45-49  
50-54  
55-59  
60-64  
65-69  
70-74  
75+



POPULATION PYRAM

TABLE 4

# Inkatha pans Ciskeian independence

By MARIKA SBOROS  
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement yesterday totally rejected independence for the Ciskei, following an overwhelmingly favourable referendum in the homeland earlier this month.

In the December 4 referendum, the first of its type, Ciskeians voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence from South Africa.

In a statement released by the Inkatha central committee's inner council, after a meeting at Ulundi on Sunday, the council recorded its "uncompromising rejection of the independence offered by Pretoria, despite the Ciskei Referendum result and the possible acceptance of vassalage or independence a la Pretoria".

Chief Buthelezi, who is Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha's president, may refuse to communicate with Pretoria

jointly through meetings of Chief Ministers as a result of the possible acceptance of "so-called independence" by the Ciskei, the inner council said.

The reason was that the acceptance of independence by the Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Venda and now possibly the Ciskei, undermined the agreement reached at the Umtata conference of leaders of the "so-called" homelands in 1973.

The Chief Ministers had deserted the Umtata solidarity by accepting independence without informing other members.

Chief Buthelezi should "not hesitate to withdraw from these arrangements in dealing with Pretoria jointly with other Chief Ministers, if he feels that the time for withdrawing from these arrangements has come," the statement added.

Chief Buthelezi had expressed correctly the feelings of black people when he said

that blacks were prepared to lay down their lives to retain their South African citizenship, the statement said.

"We accordingly mandate the president to reject without any hesitation attempts by the Government to hang the idea of economic development on the concept of a constellation of states, which we have already rejected," the statement read.

The inner council resolved that while they supported Government efforts in regional economic development aimed at improving the socio-economic lot of black people, they rejected any attempts to make economic development conditional on acceptance of a constellation of states.

The council also repeated and endorsed past decisions by all Inkatha's organs, and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, rejecting "so-called independence".

RDM  
23/12/80  
105  
ADP



# Town wants poll on joining Ciskei

RDM 24/12/80

105

## Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A meeting in King William's Town this week voted overwhelmingly in favour of a municipal poll to decide whether the town favoured becoming part of Ciskei.

The motion binds the borough council to holding a municipal poll before January 15 on the acceptability of the Van der Walt Commission proposals.

The commission recommended that King William's Town be incorporated into the Ciskei.

The motion this week was proposed by Mr Norman Coleman, leader in the town of the New Republic Party. It was seconded by Mr R G Schwartz.

A dissenting voice was that of Mr Jack Shopley, leader of

the Progressive Federal Party in the town.

"I oppose the referendum because it has overtones of racial bias," he said.

Amid loud heckling, Mr Shopley proposed that the council and other interested parties enter into negotiations with the Ciskei Government.

"We need the goodwill of all to prosper.

"One cannot ignore the effect of the release of the Van der Walt Commission report. The Ciskei will never be the same again," said Mr Shopley. "The question of co-prosperity has become an issue which has to be handled resolutely and delicately."

Hecklers shouted: "Do You want another Zimbabwe — sit

down."

Mr Shopley's proposal that the meeting affirm the interdependence of all race groups in the area was rejected by the mayor, Mr Eric Weyer, who said only amendments to the proposal could be moved.

Mr Weyer stressed that the council had no knowledge of the commission's proposals before they were announced. He said the during the meeting between the council and Mr Hennie van der Walt on November 12, the council "made it clear that the recommendations of the commission, in so far as they affected King William's Town, were not acceptable to us."

The man who motivated the municipal meeting by collecting a petition of 26 signatures,

Mr Brian Nel, leader of the local Herstigte Nasionale Party, caused a sensation when he demanded that Mr Weyer swear on a Bible that the council did not know of the recommendations before they were announced.

Mr Weyer refused, saying he had given his word of honour, and that was sufficient.

Mr Nel said he had a document proving that the commission had finalised its recommendations on King William's Town on June 13 in Cape Town. He promised he would show the document to the Press later.

"In view of the mayor not swearing on the Bible, I am not prepared to put forward a motion of confidence in the mayor and council," he said.

Stock amounting to R22 000 comprises merchandise and is valued at the lower of first in first out cost or net realisable value.

Investments		No. of Shares		Cost or Book Value		Market Value		Directors' Valuation	
2.	Listed	250		375		375			
	Unlisted								
3.	Duppa (Pty) Limited	900		800		900			
	Stock								

The company is in arrears with the dividends amounting to R2 000 payable to preference shareholders for the period 1 July 1979 to 31 December 1979.

DEAL SALES (PTY) LIMITED - BALANCE SHEET (continued)

RDM 29/12/80 (27A) (105)

# Glenmore tragedy: SA urged to act

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — A Grahamstown community councillor and chairman of the Fingo Village Ratepayers' Association, Mr B B Zondani, expressed concern yesterday at the tragedy that has befallen Glenmore in the Ciskei.

He also made an urgent appeal to the Government to take immediate action.

Speaking from his Grahamstown home yesterday, Mr Zondani said: "I am concerned and touched about the tragedy that has befallen the people of Glenmore.

"It is a shocking experience

at this time of the year, when people throughout the world are enjoying the festive season."

These people were removed amid protests from many angles and against their will, Mr Zondani said

Condemning the Government's resettlement policy, he said the whole system was inhuman in the true sense of human value, especially regarding the treatment meted out to the people of Glenmore from the very onset.

To remove people from their homes should be a thing of the past. The poor people did not know to which side they be-

longed — the Ciskei or South Africa.

Mr Zondani added that, as a leader, he felt something should be done as soon as possible

The Glenmore tragedy had focused international attention and had been bad publicity for South Africa ever since the people had been rooted out of their homes.

"They have lost their livestock, not to mention their relatives or children, through the unhygienic conditions in which they are living," Mr Zondani said.

He also revealed that recent-

ly he received a report that the ration normally supplied to the Glenmore people had been withdrawn.

"All these things are the re-  
action of the God Almighty to have the eyes of the world focused on the plight of these people.

"I am pretty sure that there are more than 500 people in hiding, afraid of publicity, and who will not come out for help in destitute conditions," Mr Zondani said

He appealed to South Africa to provide humane accommodation for the Glenmore people so that they could be as happy as they were before.



AS year crawls to a close, there is not much one sees which is reassuring as far as change is concerned. About this time last year, we were encouraged to hope that something was going to happen which would change direction in South Africa.

What has happened is far from encouraging. It is quite clear that we need to have new ideas as to what ballgame this situation forces us to play in view of the apparent white intransigence we face in spite of so much talk about change.

As I have stated, there is a lot that will test your patience and political acumen and sagacity to the very limits in 1981. It is clear that when the Ciskei adds more respectability to apartheid by going for so-called independence, we will get more and more to be treated as a nutcase here, as a result of our stand against this Pretoria-type of independence.

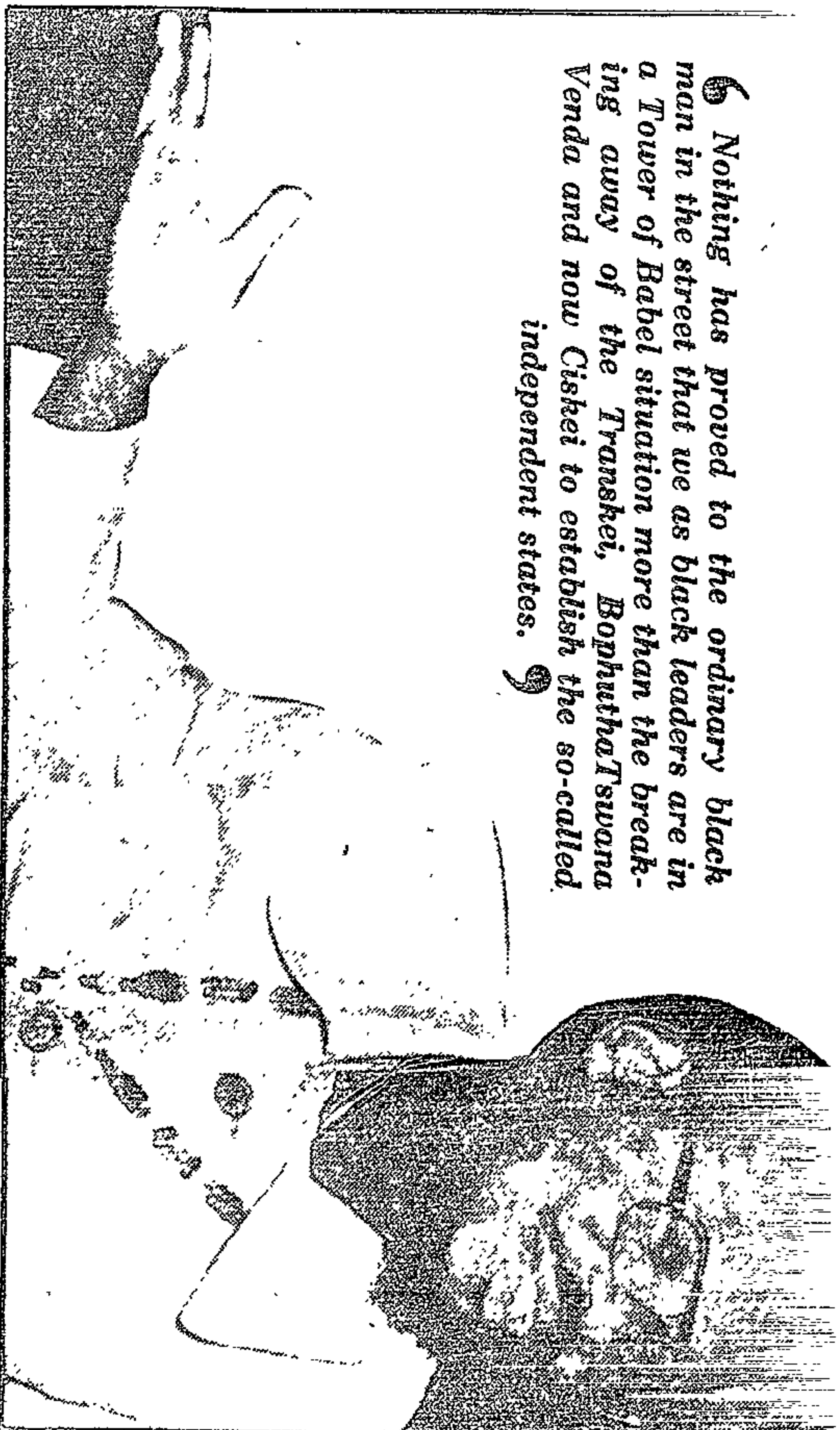
You must have the maturity to place yourselves in the shoes of the men at the helm of our affairs in Pretoria. They have their own trophies on the wall in terms of their own ideology. They have the Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Venda, and they will soon add to Ciskei. What reason have they to bother about KwaZulu's stand? To them these trophies spell success of their policies. That is why KwaZulu will be regarded as an irritant in these circumstances, and Inkatha as a nuisance.

It looks to me as if there needs to be a re-declaration of attitude on the part of black leaders in the so-called homeland areas as to where they stand on the whole issue of so-called independence, and the whole nebulous concept of a constellation of states.

It looks as if even the resident of BophuthaTswana, who should be a better judge of Government policy from his experience, is sceptical about this concept.

We have always seen this as an attempt to have white South Africa as the sun and other really independent states as satellites of the all-white state. This is white supremacy and white domination by consent if we accept being led down a primrose path through the blandishments of a few white men.

**Nothing has proved to the ordinary black man in the street that we as black leaders are in a Tower of Babel situation more than the breaking away of the Transkei, BophuthaTswana Venda and now Ciskei to establish the so-called independent states.**



# Buthelezi's case against the Ciskei

and his Ministers on the constellation of states.

White South Africa will continue to be the big wheel, and all other States just cogs on that wheel, doing no more than the will of the wheel.

We seem to be getting to another crossroads as black leaders flowing from the political conduct of our brothers in the so-called independent National States, and now also in the Ciskei. How can one know how many other leaders harbour the ambitions which our brothers and sisters in the Ciskei have now revealed?

I am pained by the fact that I was one of the architects of the Umtata Conference, at which we tried to forge links of unity between ourselves as brothers, and as a rejection of Pretoria's ruse to fragment us as black brothers.

I am pained because, if as I am beginning to feel inclined, I go on my own, on the basis of making it clear to South Africa, Africa and the world that my stand against so-called independence cannot change under any circumstances, there are those who will want a firm stand of

I have destroyed what is left of the black solidarity we were hoping to entrench when we went to Umtata in September, 1973.

And yet, as I see it, it is extremely important not to mistake the Prime Minister or any of his Ministers that we are prepared to play ball with them on their so-called confederal formula, and the consequent constellation of states.

I just want to share these thoughts with you because I feel that the time has come for me to state to you where I stand. If there is anyone amongst members of the movement who are taken up with the glitter of the constellation of states, let them be given a chance to say so.

This applies equally to black leaders, some of whom were at Umtata in September, 1973. That relationship is no different than that which exists between the family known as the commonwealth of states. That is not a body which can legislate for member states. The conference we have had as black leaders or Chief Ministers has no consti-

should be no pretence that it has any locus standi in judging, for legislating or deciding for each individual so-called homeland.

I do not want anyone to have any illusions on that one. We have for example a meeting with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koorhof, on his three Bills on the 15th of next month. No decision can be taken there which is binding on all of us so-called homelands.

I want to make it clear that I cannot be dragged even at such a meeting to adopt political stances which are against the policy of Inkatha and for that matter that of the KwaZulu government. We might look at any breaking down of those Umtata established links as a setback.

It would be an illusion to pretend that the setback takes place only now. When the Transkei went for so-called independence after we had been assured by its leader Chief Matanzima that he was not opting for so-called independence, that was the

amounted to the undoing of what we had already established.

When BophuthaTswana and Venda followed, these were further setbacks, and the very disintegration of the Umtata solidarity.

After what the Ciskei has decided to do, after all the assurances we had from our brother Dr Sebe that he was not opting for independence, it would be silly to regard anyone who decides to walk alone, as was the case before Umtata, as if he is destroying black solidarity.

The people who are responsible for the breaking of that solidarity are known. It amounts to playing into the hands of our political enemies to continue, as I see it, as if Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Venda, have not destroyed our Umtata-founded black solidarity.

There are very painful facts we have to live with. There has been a lot of pretence by people who originate from these very areas as if I am on the same political wavelength with Transkei, BophuthaTswana and Venda

The majority of registered Ciskeian voters have opted for independence for the impoverished East Cape homeland. But KwaZulu's leader, Chief GATSHA BUTHELEZI, in an address to the Inner Council of his Inkatha movement's Central Committee, believes all they have achieved is to give a semblance of credibility to apartheid.

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in order to divert attention from their own failure to stop this madness of fragmenting blacks and South Africa in the areas where they originated historically.

There are very trying tests I have at this moment in history to go through, and it is clear that your wisdom will be crucial in helping me to resolve these problems.

No one in fact can accuse me of wanting to break black solidarity because I take the South African Black Alliance as representing the real black solidarity which is crucial, and which will be decisive in the liberation struggle.

In fact, those who have not identified with us in the alliance have not done so either because they want to placate Pretoria or because they are playing up to the popular fallacy that because I am chairman of the alliance, Zulus are seeking to establish a Zulu imperium, and in this way dominate other people. That myth, it must be recalled, was reiterated ad nauseum by the apartheid-supporting mass media at the time we founded the Black Alliance.

These are serious matters which I feel we cannot be over-diplomatic about. If we try to do this we will be misleading those who may be harbouring the same ambitions as Dr Sebe. At the same time we will be giving Pretoria false hopes that what they are talking about — that the so-called constellation of states has possibilities as a solution to South African problems — while we know quite well that it is not so.

I have tried to lay bare what is going on in my mind at this time. I do believe very seriously that this may be the time to detour and to rethink, and also to lose friends, if they are false friends, and face reality. I will be grateful to you for your wisdom in these issues which are really bothering me at this time.

Leadership demands of us to be honest and to make decisions not to curry favour with this or that political faction. One of those moments is with us, when we have to rethink and to act boldly. Acting boldly in the circumstances is responsible conduct, which is in the interests of South Africa and what is good for everyone in South Africa.

I feel certain that if we are all stupid enough in South Africa to allow that to happen, it will not just be Zulu blood through which black and white will wade, but the blood of both races. That is too ghastly to contemplate, as Mr Vorster once

have as much time as is warranted by these very serious issues I have raised. For this reason I have tried also to be very brief in making these remarks.

I do believe that however desirable it is for us to have machinery where we speak with one voice as blacks it is no use maintaining a resemblance of this, which is not based on reality.

Nothing has proved to the ordinary black man in the street that we as black leaders are in a Tower of Babel situation, more than the breaking away of the Transkei, BophuthaTswana, Venda and now Ciskei to establish the so-called independent states.

There are black people and I suspect that their view may be a majority black view, who see this as a betrayal of the black cause. This has suited many detractors to denigrate us both here and abroad, without any good reason, as if we were all waiting in the wings to grab these political crumbs, at the expense of millions of black people and of our future generations.

We have to be honest with each other, as with the Government, if we must save this country from the dangerous road which is leading to destruction, on which this country seems to be moving.

The formula is simple. Let us have a forum where people of all political persuasions debate the issue of what may be a suitable political dispensation for South Africa. I am not keen to impose even what I think is the best formula without any consensus. I am prepared to have my suggestion debated at a representative meeting.

A few days ago Blood River was commemorated. It is one of the blood-stained beacons of our history during the last century. Let the Government not precipitate a situation where we can so easily have other Blood Rivers in South Africa.

I feel certain that if we are all stupid enough in South Africa to allow that to happen, it will not just be Zulu blood through which black and white will wade, but the blood of both races. That is too ghastly to contemplate, as Mr Vorster once



# What Schlemmer said

DD 24/12/80 (105)

EAST LONDON —

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, whose views of the Ciskei referendum were criticised by Rev W. M. Xaba yesterday, was invited by the Quail Commission to be its consultant on an attitude survey among blacks and whites regarding various options open to the Ciskei.

Prof Schlemmer said in the interview with a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper last week that the Ciskeian vote in favour of independence was the result of a combination of the politics of boycotting and fear.

He said the credibility of the opposition of the Imbhumba Party and the voters who stayed away from the polls was at stake.

Their future opposition would be weakened by their refusal to register any protest in the referendum.

Before the voting started, the Imbhumba Party said it would call on members not to vote in the referendum because it believed that Chief Lennox Sebe, Chief Minister of the Ciskei, had already opted for independence

no matter what the outcome; that anyone making public political statement ran the risk of arrest; and that Chief Sebe had a vested interest in the outcome.

An attitude study commissioned by the Quail Commission into independence at a cost to the Ciskei Government of R30 000 was only 1.5 per cent out in predicting that 42 per cent of the voters would refuse to have anything to do with Chief Sebe's referendum, he said.

The referendum results showed that, in fact, 40.5 per cent of Ciskeians declined to cast their votes.

Professor Schlemmer, head of the Department of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, which conducted the survey, said there was a popular belief that it was more honourable to boycott an issue in which the individual did not believe than to vote against it.

"It is very disappointing that there is a fairly substantial opinion in certain black circles that this kind of political exercise has

to be boycotted," he said.

"An opportunity has been given to the people to record their stance with regard to an issue of vital importance.

"I think a service would have been done to political developments in South Africa had all the voters and potential voters recorded their position.

"It makes no sense at all for people to adopt an attitude of non-cooperation." — DDR.

## Polish protest over meat rations

WARSAW — Workers at 50 Polish factories near the Soviet border staged a one-hour strike yesterday to protest against the size of Christmas meat allocations.

The independent trade union, Solidarity, said from its national headquarters in Gdansk that the protest was carried out without opposition from local authorities, factory managers or police. — SAPA-AP.



# Xaba hits back at referendum critic

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**KING WILLIAM'S TOWN** — Ciskei's acting Chief Minister, Reverend W. M. Xaba, has reacted strongly to sentiments on Ciskei's referendum expressed by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the Natal University.

Prof Schlemmer's views were published in a Sunday newspaper last weekend.

Mr Xaba said in a statement yesterday Prof Schlemmer was "not telling the truth" when he told the Sunday Times he had conducted a survey in the Ciskei.

"In fact, his views are based on false, one-sided information he had received from an informant who was ignorant of the facts of what he was speaking about," Mr Xaba said.

He said the Ciskei did not want to "break" from South Africa but wanted independence within South Africa.

Mr Xaba denied that Chief Minister, L. L. Sebe had threatened with possible imprisonment those who would vote "no" in

the referendum.

He said the Minister of Interior, chief L. W. Mqoma, had given an assurance no one would be victimised in any way as a result of their views regarding independence.

"More than 1 000 people voted 'No,' having said openly before that they would vote like that and, although their identities are known, nothing has been done to them," Mr Xaba said.

Calling Prof Schlemmer the "biggest enemy" of the Ciskei, Mr Xaba said the professor was deliberately "twisting" the truth to accommodate his own political ideology.

"But what has he done for the blacks and why should he bother about the Ciskei?"

Mr Xaba said he was praying for the advent of the day "when the black states of South Africa will take independence and make a federation of blacks in South Africa."

He hoped such a federation would be joined by Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho to form the

United States of South Africa federation.

Mr Xaba said there was a lot of positive response to Ciskei's independence referendum.

In Port Elizabeth voters had still wanted to cast their votes a day after the referendum.

"Our people are not used to a one-day voting session as they normally have a whole week within which to vote. The magistrate in Port Elizabeth also said it was a pity the referendum was given just one day."

He said some people had gone to the polling stations although they were not registered voters.

"There were also some youths who were singing at some polling stations in King William's Town wanting to vote although they did not have reference books."

Her said the independent observers from overseas who had watched the referendum had remarked that voting was on the same standards as in Europe. — DDR.

### Ciskei poll (105)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN.  
—King Williams's Town residents have voted overwhelmingly in favour of a municipal poll to determine whether the town should be incorporated in the Ciskei. The poll is to be held before January 15, Sapa.

*argues 27/1/80*

These conclusions were based on simple linear regression of employment growth rates and clearly in-  
volve implicit ceter  
labour controls, the  
etc. Some critics  
maintained in an ec

In the foreseeable future.  
Africa will have high, and possibly rising, rates of unemployment  
ceeded in the 1960's), the conclusion has been drawn that South  
Since these are high rates (though the former was slightly ex-  
a rate of 6,7% needed to stabilise the number of unemployed.  
per annum was necessary to stabilise the unemployment rate and  
In Simkins (1978a), I concluded that a growth rate of 5,3%

### DOES LOW GROWTH CAUSE UNEMPLOYMENT? WILL HIGH GROWTH CURE IT?

The last two sections have dealt with the determinants of the  
regional distribution of African unemployment. The next two  
deal with determinants of the aggregate level of unemployment.

(Duncan, 1979: 71-73)

being completely closed for thousands of families.  
and this will probably result in all avenues to survival  
of people into towns and cities will be much more efficient,  
of disaster. As Dr Rieker claims, control over the entry  
people in the rural areas can only deteriorate to the point  
should be 'repatriated' means that the condition of many  
that people found in occupation of illegal accommodation  
higher fines) coupled with the Commission's recommendation  
... Now even this will be taken away from them ... (The



# Ciskei won't cut ties with Republic — Sebe

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D.D  
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EAST LONDON — There was no truth in a Johannesburg newspaper report that the Ciskei wanted to sever ties with South Africa, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said yesterday.

Chief Sebe said he wondered whether the report had been a deliberate misrepresentation, based on ignorance, a mistake or intended as some form of propaganda.

"We cannot run away

from the dish that has the food," he said.

The Ciskei had entered into a confederation with South Africa and would not have been so foolish as to spend money on the Quail Commission and international observers at its recent referendum if it wanted to accept the Pretoria blueprint for independence.

"It is stated in the confederal agreement that geographical problems should not put any of the

signatories to a disadvantage," he said.

Any statement that suggested a break with South Africa was in fact intended to sow seeds of discontent, he added.

"To the Ciskei, independence is not a status affair. It is a matter of a nation rising from the dust where the heroes of the nation fell."

Turning to an attack on the referendum by Prof L.

Schlemmer, Chief Sebe said it was unfortunate there were some confused professors.

He said Prof Schlemmer was disappointed because he was architect of the condominium idea — something the Quail Commission recommended — which had not been tried anywhere.

"He wants to try the plan in the Ciskei. Fortunately he has stripped himself off and shown his true colours and in so doing has identified himself as the Ciskei's Enemy No. 1."

He said Prof Schlemmer had kept quiet and the referendum had cleared the air.

"Now he comes up with this attack. Where are his academic ethics?"

On the 59,5 per cent poll in the referendum when there was talk of an 80 per cent poll after the voting, Chief Sebe said, that Ciskeians were used to having elections in which they voted over five days. One day was just not enough for them. — DDR

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# Ciskei still faces 2 major issues — Sebe

EAST LONDON — The massive "yes" vote registered by Ciskeians in favour of opting for independence gave "fierce urgency" to the fact that the package deal items still outstanding should be resolved, the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, said here yesterday.

Chief Sebe was interviewed at the airport here soon after arriving back from a holiday in Mauritius with his wife.

He said there were two major issues outstanding on the package deal his government has set down as a condition for accepting independence.

These were the financing of the Ciskei and the question of resettlement camps.

He hoped the question of resettlement camps would be resolved soon.

"Shortly before I left the man who was asked to go into the matter, the Deputy Minister of Development, Dr Wentzel, and two of my cabinet colleagues, Chief D. M. Jongilanga (Minister of Education) and the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, the Rev W. M. Xaba, met and I have not seen the report which should go to the cabinet on the matter," Chief Sebe said.

The referendum result also meant that the Ciskei Legislative Assembly would have to have a special session to endorse the results of the referendum. Chief Sebe said. "But the first thing we have to do is thank the nation on Sunday," he said.

— DDR.

See also page 2.



# Chief attacks minister for closing schools

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EAST LONDON — The Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, came under heavy attack from the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief L. L. Sebe, here yesterday. Commenting on the Ciskei referendum, Chief Sebe blamed the closure of schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage for poor turnouts in those areas.

"When we went to Port

Elizabeth to outline the voting in the referendum, the hall was packed as never before and some parents came to us afterwards to air their problems about the closure of schools," Chief Sebe said.

"One parent came up and said her daughter who was in Standard Three was pregnant and we heard of many other social problems which had

arisen as a result of the closure of schools."

Chief Sebe questioned the wisdom of giving one man the power to decide on the future of schools and schooling in areas where he had no idea of the conditions.

"To me the whole exercise of closing schools in Port Elizabeth is a direct undermining of the Cilie Commission Report. —  
DDR.

# Sebe: hope lies in Yes vote

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ZWELITSHA — The desire by Ciskeians to opt for independence, as expressed in the independence referendum, was a universal answer to the problems of all blacks, Chief Minister Lennox Sebe said here yesterday.

He was the main speaker at the communal hall here, at a thanksgiving ceremony organised by the Ciskei Government.

Chief Sebe also asked the youth in the Ciskei to "stop the whirlwinds of revolt."

He said: "We need our youth in our nation-building and our youth in the prison cells would be useless to us. They must stop their revolt now as the bright day of justice emerges."

Chief Sebe said the massive "Yes" in the referendum gave hope to the youth whose aspirations could not be ignored and was also a strong modern weapon of democracy.

He said the positive response in the referendum meant there should be no departure from the independence package deal.

The package deal served to remove the situation where brilliant black youths became rebels instead of nation builders.

It also meant that "when the clarion calls to defend our great South Africa against the ever-increasing communism threat, the great Ciskeians will be the first to defend the temples of our fathers, the shrines of this country."

"The package deal will enable the talented black youth to reach his sacred goals and be able to serve his country and South Africa."

"The package deal will break the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination."

Chief Sebe said he shuddered to think what would eventually happen in South Africa if the "problem" of apartheid was not solved.

Speaking at the same ceremony, Reverend W. M. Xaba, who was Acting Chief Minister while Chief Sebe was on leave in Mauritius, asked whites not to fear Ciskei's independence.

He said the future of both black and white in the Ciskei was linked "and we must work hand in hand in building a new, stable, prosperous and safe Ciskei."

Lending his voice to an assurance of peaceful co-existence with whites in the Ciskei, Chief Sebe said there were times when his government's package deal was misrepresented as a "time bomb" which threatened the survival of whites.

In a special plea to his followers, Chief Sebe said those who had cultivated long-standing friendships with whites in King William's Town should keep such friendship.

"Ignore those few 400 people who would drag you into the mud," he said.

"Now is the time to make democracy real. Now is the time to rise

from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlight of racial justice."

He said it was time to lift South Africa from "the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood."

"The white man's destiny is tied up with our destiny and his freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom," he said.

Chief Sebe, however, warned the South African Police in King William's Town to stop harassment of his people and make petty unfounded statements to the press.

He said the statements, which he claimed were made by the SAP, bordered on "insulting the nation and my government and will not be tolerated at all as they are not in the interests of peaceful change."

He said his remarks about harassment were based on "evaluated facts given freely by both black and white eye-witnesses."

Mr Xaba said the Ciskei was already using white officials "who, together with our own men participate in building a stable and secure Ciskei, which would also mean a stable and secure South Africa." — DDC.

Siyo rejoins, page 9.



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# Chickens come home to roost

The proposed independence of the Ciskei must now be a clear indication even to the most ardent supporters of the South African Government that South Africa's political chickens are coming home to roost.

Whites in King William's Town are learning what apartheid is all about because the sword of Damocles, in the form of the proposed annexation by the Ciskei of King, is hanging over their heads.

The question we should seriously look into is whether separate development, at the tail-end of the 20th century, is still a concept even the race-conscious whites can entertain.

In 1950 the South African Government appointed the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas, which we have since known simply as the Tomlinson Commission.

The Commission presented its report to the government in 1954 and said South Africans had to choose between the complete integration of blacks and whites or their separation, and the Commission's own recommendation was separate development.

An analysis by the Commission, of the implications of integration must have given the white minority goose pimples.

There was, however, one commissioner, Prof. J. H. R. Bisschop, who had the foresight to comment in a minority report: "The practicability of

the segregation formula must be fully investigated and tested out. If in due course it is found impractical, and I greatly fear that it will be found to be so, progressive integration

modern political development is anybody's guess.

Even some chiefs themselves realise chieftainship will have to take a back seat in modern times.

Chief Sebe himself has suggested chiefs in the future Ciskei will be divested of political decision-making and will be given new status in a college of chiefs, where they will deal only with traditional matters.

I still want to be told what white people mean when they speak about the black man's custom and tradition, which would be reason enough to make blacks non-citizens in their own fatherland.

The reason advanced by pro-South African propagandists for the introduction of apartheid among the black nations themselves is that they have different cultures and languages.

No one will say why no such apartheid separates Jews and Afrikaners, who have different cultures and different languages. I am at home in both English and Afrikaans, which is better than some Afrikaners and some English-speaking people, but I am not a South African in terms of the country's racial laws.

Chieftainship, custom and tradition are the pillars on which separate development is based, but how long chieftainship can endure the test of

must the African shirts I wear debar me from patronising a public bar?

Through separate development the government was able to make blacks, coloureds and Indians develop as three separate groups with different "customs and traditions."

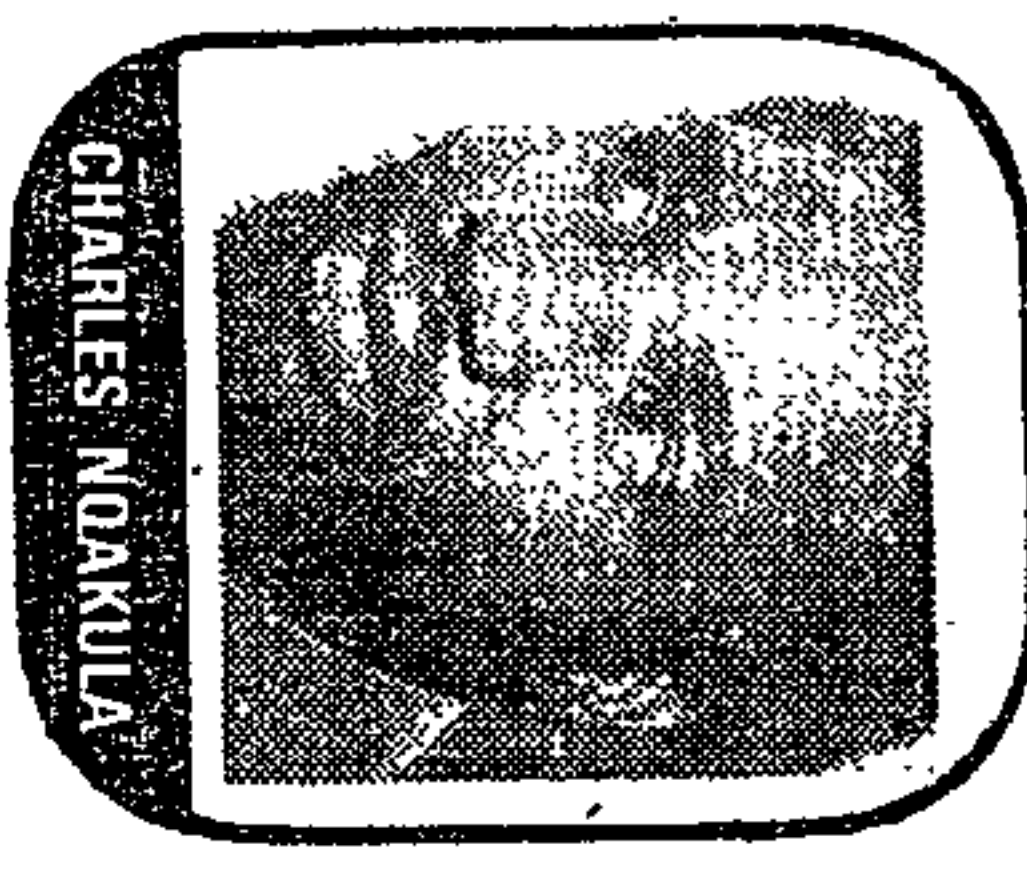
At the end of 1980, however, there is a gradual reversal of the situation and there is more getting together between the three races, a trend the government cannot stop now.

Meanwhile, as the three races are gravitating towards each other in a spirit of political camaraderie, there is further polarisation between them and the whites of the land.

This situation is completely unhealthy but the National Party Government prefers it to free association, which would place more emphasis on merit than on the colour of a person's skin.

The desire to achieve independence of the homelands will result in further uncertainty in towns in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal as the homelands of Gazankulu, Lebowa, Kangwane, Owaqwa and KwaZulu will also have to be consolidated to make independence look attractive.

And South Africa must spend more money for the



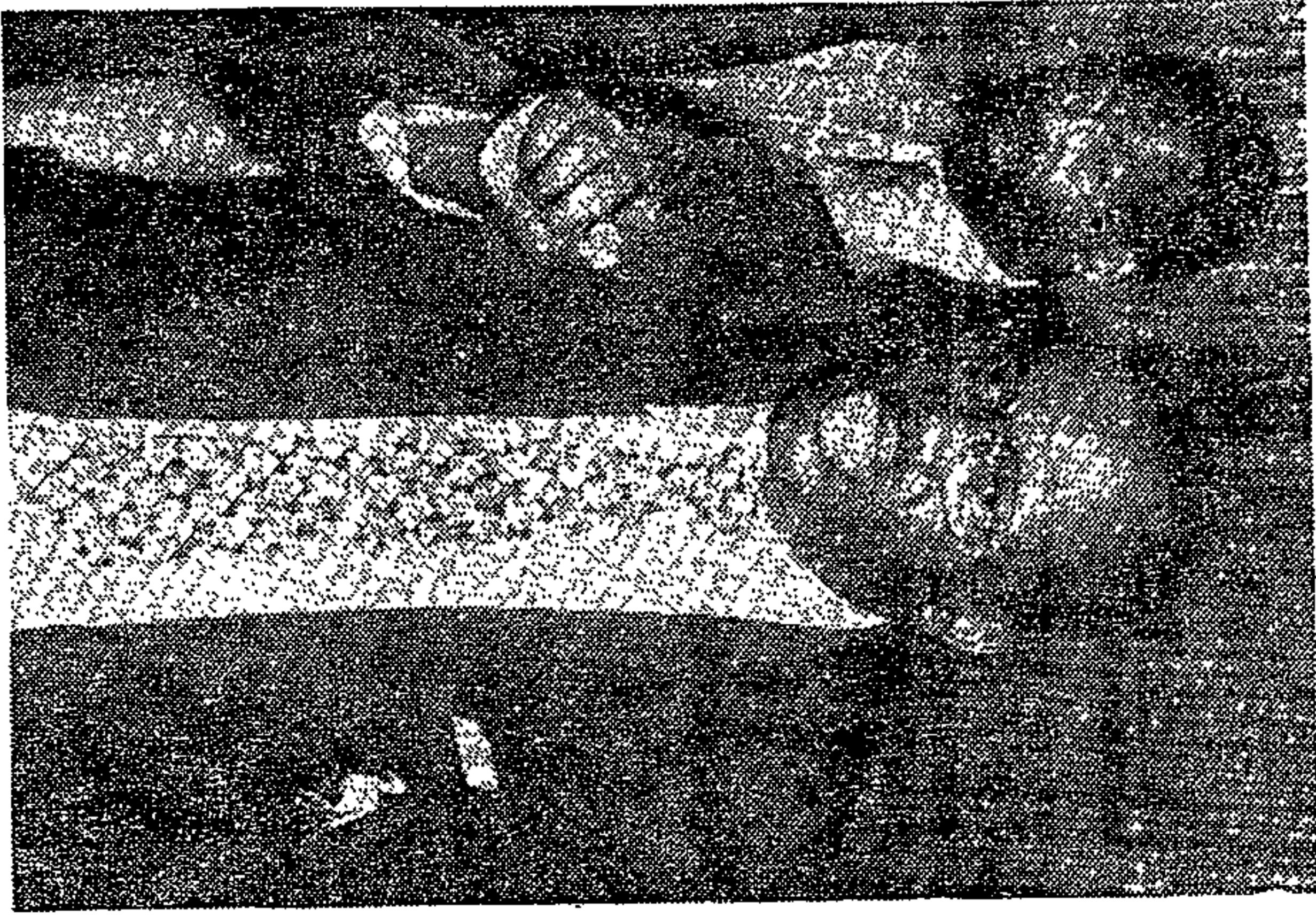
CHARLES NANKWILA

tion with its economic and political sequences." will have to be accepted.

I still have to be shown where, in terms of the Commission's recommendations, the blackman has profited.

Twenty-six years after the recommendations, homeland leaders like Ciskei's Chief Minister Lennox Sebe will tell you there has been "more separation and less development" in the homelands by the South African Government.

Chieftainship, custom and tradition are the pillars on which separate development is based, but how long chieftainship can endure the test of



Ciskei's Chief Minister Lennox Sebe will tell you there has been "more separation and less development".

ing to build, don't want to have anything to do with their "legacy."

Students, whose voices of dissension have been ringing clearly and loudly since 1976, eschew separate development.

What then is likely to happen in the future — say about the year 2000 — in the independent black states, formerly called homelands?

Transkei and Ciskei will never solve their economic problems on the basis of minerals and have to depend on agriculture in a bid to make the states economically viable.

But present trends speak very eloquently against chances of betterment of the economy through agriculture.

The South African Government, Chief Sebe maintains, was never sincere in its efforts to improve agriculture in the homelands.

The Ciskei has had to rely on one agricultural school for many years, and Fort Cox cannot be described as one of the leading agricultural schools in the land.

There are agricultural projects which have been initiated in some of the black states but they have not benefited all residents and cannot be relied on as sound economic propositions.

The industries in the states are just enough to keep the home fires bur-

ning, but not enough to provide new employment opportunities.

The biggest threat to all kinds of development in the states, however, could be refusal by today's year 2000's leaders, to participate in the development.

Even by the year 2000 the clamour for an egalitarian society in South Africa will still be ringing if there is not complete change before then and the whole separate development concept will collapse.

We have already seen such collapse with the abolition of the Coloured Representative Council.

There is a pro-homelands element in the black community, but it is comparatively small.

The estimates of the Quail Commission are that there are 2 100 000 Ciskeians in this country.

The Commission further estimated there would be 1 834 000 registered Ciskeian voters in 1980.

By December 4, however, there were only 500 000 registered voters and what is significant is that only 59.5 per cent of those voters responded to the independence referendum.

If the Quail Commission estimate is accurate, only 16.1 per cent of the adults in the Ciskei this year said "yes" to independence.



# Sebe tells why Siyo asked to rejoin party

DD  
29/12/80  
105

ZWELITSHA — Former ruling party strategist in the Ciskei, Mr L. F. Siyo, was asked to rejoin the Ciskei National Independence Party to save him from the "wrath of the spirits".

This was said at the communal hall here yesterday by Chief Minister Lennox Sebe, who, with Mr Siyo, founded the CNIP in 1973.

Mr Siyo rejoined his old party towards the end of last month, but Chief Sebe said yesterday his acceptance by the party would

not be automatic.

"It should be known here that he was asked to rejoin the party to save him from the wrath of the spirits," Chief Sebe said.

He said before Mr Siyo was readmitted to the ruling party, he would have to apply for readmission through his Mdantsane branch, which would be required to make a recommendation regarding the application.

"The chiefs who also re-joined the party were ex-

empted from this procedure only because they are automatic members of the Ciskei Legislative Assembly," Chief Sebe said.

Mr Siyo was one of the people who jam-packed the hall yesterday to attend Ciskei's thanksgiving ceremony. He shared the main table with Chief Sebe and his Cabinet ministers.

Chief Sebe paid special tribute to the members of the Ciskei Central

Intelligence Services for "brilliant service to the nation."

He said if all departments in the Ciskei worked as zealously as the CCIS "then we would not have any fears of our future as we prepare to opt for independence."

He said when he reviewed the year, he found as being singular "and noteworthy" the fact that Ciskei's police force never shot anyone to quell the riots which plagued his homeland. — DDR.

# Xaba: SA route to recognition

DD  
29/12/80  
105

ZWELITSHA — Any country which recognised South Africa's sovereignty would also have to recognise Ciskei's independence, Reverend W. M. Xaba said here yesterday.

Mr Xaba, one of the speakers at Ciskei's thanksgiving ceremony at the communal hall here, said Ciskei's new concept of independence would ensure such recognition.

"Ours is not a go-it-alone type of independence but independence which will not sever the links between us and South Africa and while our subjects will

have Ciskeian citizenship, they will also be South African nationals."

He said in terms of the confederal agreement between the Ciskei and South Africa, the black state would share with South Africa all the wealth that is found in the latter state.

"We shall not be cutting ourselves off from our rightful share of that wealth."

He said Ciskei would not create independent embassies overseas after independence but would attach its staff to the South African embassies there. — DDR.



Storm  
RD. 30/12/80  
victims  
24 (105)  
to get

## 40 new houses

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Forty new houses have been ordered for Glenmore resettlement camp, near Grahamstown, to replace those totally destroyed in the violent storm that left one dead and five hundred homeless last week.

Another sixty houses were severely damaged when their roofs were blown off and East Cape Administration Board officials spent yesterday surveying the damage and estimating the amount of materials needed for repairs.

The freak storm, sweeping south through the Fish River valley, brought gale-force winds and lashing rain to Glenmore on Friday afternoon.

Some of the homeless are living in 40 large Defence Force tents. Other families are living with neighbours until repair work on their homes is completed.

A visit to Glenmore yesterday showed the storm had followed an erratic path. In some streets houses were left intact right next door to others which were virtually levelled.

The worst damage occurred at the local school, where five classrooms were totally destroyed and two others were damaged.

The home of the school headmaster, Mr S Mazi, was destroyed, with only a brick fireplace left standing.

The house was one of the sturdiest in Glenmore. Built with prefabricated panels, it stood near the school on the hill above the camp which appeared to have taken the full brunt of the storm.

Most of the injuries and much of the damage in the township was caused by flying asbestos from the roof of the school.

Fourteen people were taken to Settlers' Hospital, in Grahamstown, after the storm. One, Mr Nonzakwana Fotulekwa, was dead on arrival with head injuries. Others suffered broken limbs and one youth was transferred to Livingstone Hospital with an eye injury. The township manager, Mr F D Kidson, yesterday surveyed the damage with the magistrate of Alice, Mr L D Strydom. Mr Kidson said 40 new houses and about 600 asbestos

school. Fourteen people were taken to Settlers' Hospital, in Grahamstown, after the storm. One, Mr Nonzakwana Fotulekwa, was dead on arrival with head injuries. Others suffered broken limbs and one youth was transferred to Livingstone Hospital with an eye injury. The township manager, Mr F D Kidson, yesterday surveyed the damage with the magistrate of Alice, Mr L D Strydom. Mr Kidson said 40 new houses and about 600 asbestos sheets, for roof repairs, had been ordered. He estimated the homeless would have to continue living in tents or with neighbours for at least another two to three weeks. Offers to supervise the building work needed to repair the camp have come from administration board employees in Grahamstown who are on leave for the Christmas New Year period. At the tent town which has sprung up, toilets were being installed yesterday and a truck stood by to collect possessions from ruined homes.

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under  
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way to  
rebuild  
wrecked  
camp

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mopping up was under way yesterday at the Glenmore resettlement camp, where nearly 100 homes were wrecked by a freak storm on Family Day.

Mr F D Kidson, the township superintendent, said yesterday he had only a rough estimate of what rebuilding would cost.

About 40 houses would have to be rebuilt at a cost of about R500 each.

Others needed roofing sheets, doors and windows replaced.

The Eastern Cape Chief Commissioner of the Department of Co-operation and Development, Mr John Hitge, and Mr Roger Matlock, director of technical services and building manager for the East Cape Administration Board, confirmed 98 houses were damaged in the storm.

About 50 houses lost roof sheeting.

Mr Matlock said 17 houses had been repaired so far. Mr Hitge said he was obtaining materials to repair others. He had already arranged for delivery of 34 prefabricated houses.

Mr Matlock said: "Fortunately our source of supply is no problem. There are firms which have not closed during this period."

It was hoped that Glenmore would be back to normal by about mid-January.

Mr Hitge said that Glenmore, a temporary township, and its people were still the subject of negotiation between the South African and Ciskei Governments.

The main problem in that area was a lack of employment, although Alice authorities had arranged jobs for several residents.

Mr Matlock said the Granamstown Ecab maintenance team had volunteered to repair homes. However, he said, it was unlikely they would call in all these men because it could cause disruption in the rest of the Albany region.

The freak storm hit Glenmore, the Committees Drift police station and neighbouring townships.

Meanwhile offers of aid to the victims of the disaster have come from as far as Port Elizabeth.

Mr S Ndesi, chairman of the Glenmore Citizens' Committee, said although there was no damage to furniture or personal possessions, any offers of aid would be welcomed.

A spokesman for the Red Cross Society in Grahamstown said the society would help if asked.

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S (PTY) LIMITED - BALANCE SHEET (continue)